GLOBALISATION AND NEWS MEDIA: THE IMPACT OF THE GLOBAL NEWS MEDIA ON NIGERIA

J.O.E. Mbagwu

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Globalisation and News Media:
The Impact of the Global News Media on Nigeria

Joy Oluoma Ezeji Mbagwu

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Abstract

The focus of this thesis is the impact of the global news media on Nigeria, and the extent to which it has affected Nigeria's development and international relations. The unprecedented impact of the global news media in recent decades has been conceptualised as perpetuating underdevelopment and inequality in the developing countries. This study develops the idea that the kind of global news that flows into and out of Nigeria, coupled with the access Nigerians and the world have to the news, as well as the way it is packaged, shaped, represented and interpreted, have profound effects on Nigeria.

The study integrates both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches. It refers to and selects from various theories of International Relations (IR) and Mass Communication. It is apparent that there is a growing perception that the global news media have influenced Nigerian society. The study suggests that the effects of the global media on Nigeria are psychological, sociological, economic, cultural and political. The global news media are believed to be the best instruments for the purpose of stimulating global and transnational economic development and international relations. However, the benefits of media globalisation are unevenly shared and its costs are unevenly distributed, the main beneficiaries being the developed nations, while the developing nations (such as Nigeria) are disadvantaged. The study recommends the promotion and strengthening of the local media in Nigeria.

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"For the LORD gives wisdom, and from his mouth come knowledge and understanding"

Proverbs 2: 6 (New living Translation)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In examining the impact of the global news media on Nigeria, it is necessary to discuss a number of crucial issues that form the background and structure of this study. It is also necessary to look at the goals of this research and the purpose of the investigation. Thus, the first consideration of this chapter will be the research context, which discusses the circumstances that surround the background of this study. Next are the discussions on the theoretical frameworks that support this study. The theories are selected from the field of International Relations and Mass Communications. Communication researchers and International Relations researchers formerly studied in distinct cubicle, however such a distinction is currently indiscreet with the globalisation or 'transnationalisation of communications' (Alleyne, 1995:1-2). This chapter also clearly sets out the research questions that form the setting of the study, including the underlying assumptions, aim, objectives and significance of the research. Even though this study is interdisciplinary in nature, the case will be located within the field of International Relations. This chapter is summarised by highlighting the key issues discussed within it.

1.1 Research Context

The circumstance that forms the setting of this work came as a result of the misrepresentation of Nigeria in the global news media which, arguably, is affecting its development and diplomacy. In globalisation, when all the

nations of the globe are connected together through communication technologies and there are unrestricted cross-border flows of information and capital, the global news media continue to make a great deal of impact in different nations. In support of this, Feist affirms that: 'The global village is coming, and international relations will never be the same. The global media will continue to have a greater and greater impact on diplomacy, democracy, and international commerce' (2001:713).

Feist (2001:709) further affirms that the convergence of the Internet, print media, and television will perpetually alter the conventional ways by which audiences find out information concerning the world they inhabit. The new communication technologies have not only transformed media landscapes and the scale of news coverage, but have also changed the ways the audiences receive, interpret, utilise and respond to globally distributed media messages. Consequently, the impact of the global media in recent decades is increasing and unprecedented.[1]

However, it is observed that while the impact of the global news media is beneficial to some nations, it is not so to many other nations. Nigeria belongs to the information age but seems not to be benefitting from the global news media. As a leading member in the Developing World and

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[1]For example Glenn (2007:4) confirms that: 'The impact of recent technology has been so great, many now refer to the microprocessor technology that enable these changes as the "third revolution"…' Glenn further affirms that: 'The advent of personal computers, the Internet, electronic mail, the mobile phone, etc. have altered the way in which millions conduct their daily affairs. Our world seems to be shrinking before our very eyes as new communication technologies have led to time-space compression allowing us to span the world in the blink of an eye'. (Glenn, 2007:4)

"the giant of Africa", Nigerian development was expected to have come up to a high standard. Harrison and Palmer in their book *News out of Africa* stated that:

> *'Nigeria had formerly been considered one of Britain's model colonies- a place which young recruits to the colonial service in Africa gave as one of their first preferences for a posting. With the recent discovery of oil there, it was believed that Nigeria, the largest of British's former colonies in Africa would also emerge as the strongest and most successful.' (1986:5)*

As part of the growing media's roles and power, it has been argued that the global news media [2] should be helpful in spreading democracy (Centre for Democracy and Governance, 1999:3), stimulating socio-economic growth in the poor and developing nations (Islam, 2002:1), and encouraging international relations. In Nigeria, it was hoped that the global media and the new communications technologies would solve the problem of the "brain drain" which, it has been argued, is one of the greatest impediments to Nigeria's development (see Umechukwu, 2001:71). Devereux (2003:46) points out that the global media industries possess enormous power in the way they report things happening beyond the developed countries. He holds that the global news agencies and main broadcasting corporations are mostly in charge of the choosing and covering of news from the developing countries (2003:46). According to him, Third World countries depend largely on the global media industries especially in times of devastation when news needs to be disseminated promptly (2003:46). It could then be argued from a normative perspective

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[2] The term "global news media" or "global media" in this study refers to big media conglomerates based in the West (i.e. western media platforms such as the BBC, CNN and ABC). By extension, media conglomerates like Multichoice based in South Africa is part of the picture.

that having such colossal power and responsibility, the global news media ought to concentrate on matters that permit development especially in the Third World countries. In this view, the global news media's content ought to be fair, devoid of prejudice and dominance by any set of people. It should be mobilised to promote international peace and unity, strengthen international relations and foster mutual understanding and co-operation. It ought to enhance co-operation between the Third World and the developed world. This at least would allow the Third World countries to tap ideas, knowledge, skills, resources and information that would facilitate their development. It has been argued that the media platforms in African countries are dominated by content from the West (Salawu, 2009:82; Ndlela, 2009:58). The global media corporations are responsible for the production and distribution of global media texts. Baran and Davis (2002:363) observe that there is an excess of U.S. - created content in the media of various small countries due to the fact that journalists were able to buy it more cheaply than it would cost to produce (media texts) locally (2002:363).[3]

Another concern of some people on the global scale is the irresistible diffusion of the US vision (Shawcross, 1993:7). Shawcross confirmed that

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[3] In agreement with this, Redmond states that: '"Buying American" also actually contributes to a vicious loop. Poorer countries do not have enough money to invest in their own programming and they buy American, so technical, creative and production resources are laid to waste; the domestic market becomes flooded with American product; and the local audiences become ever more familiar with these products and demand them as part of their television experience. And so, as the loop turns again, poorer countries syndicate the shows because buying American is cost effective or the only real choice available…and so on and so on until, demand is high and broadcasters reliant on this programming'. (Redmond, 2001 cited in Rayner, Wall, and Kruger, 2004:244-245)

'the new communications networks are like a huge megaphone blaring American messages across the world' *(1993:7).*

The theory of globalisation is debatable and widely criticised for many reasons. It has been argued that globalisation is western capitalist imperialism in another form. Marshall McLuhan postulated that 'this is the age of anxiety for the reason of the electric implosion that compels commitment and participation, quite regardless of any "point of view"' (1964:5).[4] It has also been argued that globalisation entails the extension of western social corporations into the entire provinces formerly subjugated by the East. The eastern institutions hardly ever expand into the West (Baran and Davis, 2002:362). Devereux notes that with the new technology, it is currently possible to disseminate news across the world instantly. On the contrary, news from the Third World in general is rarely seen in the western media (2002:32).

Poor nations contend that multinational companies or foreign media texts that encourage foreign ideologies and values, weaken their authority (Baran and Davis, 2002:363). However, Devereux (2003:27) concludes that although the dominance or hegemony of the global media industry is very apparent in the twenty-first century, we should by no means underrate the capability of people in the local areas to resist, amend, or reform globally distributed media messages. In support of this, Boyd-Barrett (1977:119) held that due to the fact that there are significant

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[4] See also Devereux (2003:33-34).

disparities in the 'gross wealth' between the 'Third world' countries, it would be incorrect to leave out 'the factor of political discretion at the receiving end of media influence.'

Through the global media, we can know to a certain degree about what is happening in different parts of the world.[5] The mass media make a decision on 'what people are informed about, how they are informed and indeed when they are informed' (Devereux, 2003:44).

Furthermore, unequal access to the global news media as well as the imbalance in global news flow has generated serious debate and criticism, which consequently has formed one of the debates on global inequalities. Shawcross (1993:7) notes that 'there is a danger of a new kind of literacy gap stemming from unequal access to the resources of new communications and information technologies'. In his study on "*Asian Journalism in the Twentieth Century"*, Richstad (2000:278) found that there was an imbalance in the flow of news from the West to the Third World and that the Third World is often negatively represented in the news. For Mahbub ul Haq (1991) these asymmetrical relations spread through the academic sphere as well as the mass media (Mahbub ul Haq, 1991:316). He argues that 'the mass media, which greatly shape world opinion, are primarily under the control of the rich nations' (1991:316). Mahbub ul Haq further argues that the disparity between the developed

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[5] This explains why Volkmer (1999:9) stated that: 'Global communication gives us an eyewitness view of events taking place in remote locations and in the commercial and political capitals of the world, enabling us to become informed about issues of global, regional or local relevance. It also allows us to participate in a globally disseminated world culture'.

and the Third World has an effect on all international corporations together with academic pursuit (1991:316).

Some media globalisation critics talk of the "information rich" and "information poor" and the "digital divide" that is obvious between the developed and the underdeveloped countries (see Campbell and Breen, 2001, cited in Devereux, 2003:35-41). Recent studies have confirmed that an information deficit exists between the West and the Third World countries.

In the year 2000, the UN Development programme estimated that Internet connections in sub-Saharan Africa, where 9 percent of the world population is living is 0.1 per cent (Devereux, 2003:41). Internet World Stats updated for March 31, 2009 reveals that Africa has 3.4% of the world's Internet users. In contrast, the Americas has 26.6% , Europe has 24.6% and Asia has 41.2% (Internet World Stats, 2009). It has been argued that access to reliable and current information is a precondition for adequate decision making and sustainable development. Feist (2001:713) holds that 'access to the Internet includes access to the world's news media'. He adds that 'as people around the world become "connected," they will also become informed' (2001:714).

In Nigeria, Internet connectivity faces some limitations. According to Internet World Stats, Nigeria, which is the most populous country in Africa, has 10,000,000 Internet users as of Mar/08. This represents 6.8% of the

population, per ITU and '500 broadband Internet subscribers as of Sept/07, per ITU' (Internet World Stats, 2009). The big question is: how then can Nigerians be informed if they are not well connected?   It has been argued that access to up-to-date information facilitates economic and social progress. There are quite a few cyber cafés (i.e. Internet cafes) in Nigeria dotted about mainly in the urban areas, yet many urban dwellers still have limited access as they cannot afford to pay the cost of Internet connection and usage. It is observed that the Internet mostly serves the few wealthy people in the urban areas. In addition to this, inadequate power supply is another major obstacle. For the rural dwellers in Nigeria, access to the Internet is still a myth.   This is in sharp contrast with the developed world where in most cases free Internet access is provided in community libraries, primary and secondary schools, colleges, universities and hospitals, while in developing nations like Nigeria, Internet access is by no means free.

Stevenson (1994:250) confirmed that 'countries like Nigeria have a double information gap. Even the limited media serve mostly the urban elites'. Thus, there is a wide gap in media configuration between the developing and the developed countries (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2010:372). It can be argued that Nigeria is not only faced with the challenges of how to keep pace with the ongoing developments in information and communications technology (Umechukwu, 2001), but it is faced with the influence of the global news media. It can be argued that the sort of global news that flows in and out of Nigeria, coupled with the access Nigerians and the

world have to it, as well as the way it is packaged, shaped and represented, determines the impact it makes on Nigeria. It is against this background that this research is designed to determine whether the impact of the global news media has affected Nigerian development and diplomacy. This study presents a better understanding of the theoretical underpinnings and the socio-economic implications involved when a particular country is misrepresented in the global news media.[6]

1. 1.1 Facts about Nigeria

Figure 1: Map showing the 36 States of Nigeria
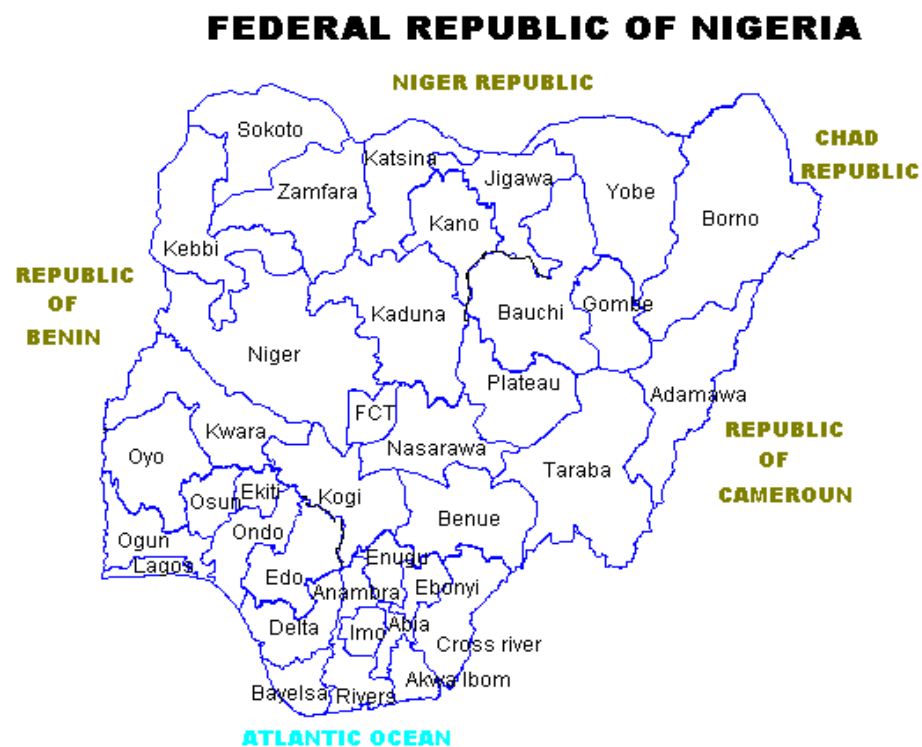
Source: The European Commission's Delegation to Nigeria (2002)
http://www.delnga.ec.europa.eu/docs/CountryStrategy.pdf

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[6] This study focuses on the broader impact of the global news media on Nigeria, but then it also tries to look at the misrepresentation of Nigeria in the global media. A negative image is part of being excluded from the dominant world media – but the worst impact of exclusion are probably felt internally because of the unequal global balance of political and economic power and the resulting information gap and cultural imperialism.

Nigeria, officially known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria, is located in West Africa on the Gulf of Guinea between Benin and Cameroon. Nigeria was colonised by the British and gained her independence in 1960. The 'provisional results of the 2006 census indicate a total population of 140 million' (Library of congress, 2008:8). However, the information on Nigeria's profile published by BBC News (2009), based on a UN estimate, indicates a total of 154.7 million.

The federal capital of Nigeria is Abuja while its largest city is Lagos. In size, 'Nigeria has an area of 923,768 square kilometres, including about 13,000 square kilometres of water' (Library of Congress, 2008:5; BBC News, 2009). The official language in Nigeria is English while its national languages are Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa. Nigeria consists of 36 states and 250 ethnic groups. (Library of congress, 2008:7). The major ethnic groups are 'Hausa and Fulani (29 percent), Yoruba (21 percent), Igbo (also seen as Ibo, 18 percent), and Ijaw (10 percent). Hausa and Fulani have traditionally dominated in the North, Yoruba in the Southwest, Igbo in the East, and Ijaw in the Niger Delta' (Library of congress, 2008:7). The major religions in Nigeria are Christianity, Islam and indigenous beliefs. The main exports from Nigeria are petroleum, petroleum products, cocoa, and rubber (BBC News, 2009). Its GNI per capita is $1,160.0 (World Bank, 2009).

In terms of telecommunications in Nigeria, the information published by the Library of Congress in July 2008 shows that:

> *'Television and radio broadcast stations currently operational in Nigeria include 83 AM, 36 FM, and 11 shortwave radio stations and three television stations. Recent information on the number of radios and televisions is not available. In 2006 Nigeria had about 8 million Internet users, many of whom relied on equipment at cybercafés. In 2007 Internet hosts totalled 1,968. In 2006 more than 32.3 million mobile cellular telephones and 1.7 million main lines were in use.*

As of June 2009, Internet usage in Nigeria according to World Internet Stats is 11,000,000, which is 7.4% of the population per ITU (Internet World stats, 2009).

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In its in-depth examination, this research will refer to and select from various theories of International Relations (IR) and Mass Communications which include, theories of globalisation; liberal interdependence/integration theory; dependency theory; media/cultural imperialism theory; agenda setting theory; social responsibility theory; and free press theory. These theories serve as a "guide book", because they inform us what to search for and aid us to comprehend what we have perceived. 'Good theories are succinct, precise and broadly applicable' (Stevenson, 1994:104). These theories will in part be evaluated in the context of undertaking this research.

1.2.1 Theories of globalisation

Various theoretical positions have emerged over the past decade to explain the concept of globalisation. In his examination of the concept, Robertson noted that in the latter part of the 1980s, globalisation (in addition to its difficult variations "internationalisation") turned out to be a word which is generally applied in academic, trade, press as well as in other spheres, and in so doing it obtains different connotations, with conflicting levels of accuracy (1992:53).

Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996:23) suggested that the debate on globalisation has traditionally been related to utopian notions of communication structures, initially emerging with the discovery of telecommunication. They further added that the initial excitement about globalisation was there at the introduction of the initial international cable in the mid -19th century and, in reality, globalisation is recognised to be a visible feature of the initial phase of the information community.

A number of analysts have argued that globalisation is linked to modernity and modernisation (Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992:53)[7]. Furthermore, the concept of globalisation has been explained by a number of analysts as the compression or shrinking of the world as a whole (McLuhan, 1964;

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[7] Giddens (1990:63) for example said that 'modernity is inherently globalizing — this is evident in some of the most basic characteristics of modern institutions, including particularly their disembeddedness and reflexivity.' He declared that modernity cannot be disconnected from 'its "own" media: the printed text' followed by 'the electronic signal' (Giddens 1991:24).

Toffler, 1980; Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992; Shawcross, 1993; Holton, 1998; Waters, 2001).[8]

Giddens (1990:64) affirmed that the growth of international social relationships connects far-away places in such a manner that local activities are formed by the things happening in distant places and vice versa. He argued that globalisation occurs in the following key areas: the growth of the nation-state system; the rise of global capitalist economy or the nation-state system; global contact of the capitalist economy alongside international division of labour; a global method of military alliance; and the intensification of global communications infrastructures (1991:21; 1990:63). Giddens (1990:65) acknowledged the literature of international relations and world system as two distinct bodies of literature on globalisation debate.[9] In a general way, Giddens (1991:21) stated that:

> *'...the concept of globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presences and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities.'*

Appadurai (1996:33) proposed 'five dimensions of global cultural flow that can be termed (a) *ethnoscapes*, (b) *mediascapes*, (c) *technoscapes*, (d)

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[8] For example, McLuhan asserted that, '…our world has become compressional by dramatic reversal. As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village' (McLuhan, 1964:5).

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[9] According to Giddens (1990:65), 'theorists of international relations characteristically focus upon the nation state system, analyzing its origin in Europe and subsequent world-spread'. Similarly, Barraclough confirmed that: 'The gradual emergence of the global systems centred on Europe was itself the consequence of technological change from the late fifteenth century onwards' (Barraclough, 1979 cited in Basrur, 1994:384).

financescapes, and (e) *ideoscapes*'.[10]   Devereux in agreement with Sklair's (1999) view summarises the different positions that seek to explain the concept of globalisation under four main titles: (1) Global society approach; (2) global culture approach; (3) the world system approach; (4) the global capitalism approach (Devereux, 2003:32-33).

Explaining the global society approach he says that this view specifies the growing awareness of the global that is believed to be present in daily living (Devereux, 2003:32).   That is to say, global phenomena have increasingly influenced the local lives of people (Devereux, 2003:32). According to this approach, the global media corporations perform a vital function in increasing global consciousness and in the level to which global events are thought to interrupt daily awareness through the products of the media (Devereux, 2003:32). One of the problems within the global society approach is 'the failure of the media in the western world to report on Third World poverty and famine in a sustained and critical way' (2003:32). He further argues that this approach has been blamed for severely underrating the persistent level of global disparities and of exaggerating the discussion that we reside in a "global village" (2003:32).

The Global Culture approach according to Devereux (2003:32) perceives a growing degree of 'cultural homogenisation' happening on the international stage. Friedman (1994) suggests that the frequent pressure of

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[10] Appadurai used the suffix-*scape* to identify 'fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterise international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles' (1996:33).

homogenisation and heterogenisation implies that the formation of identity is a major issue in globalisation (Friedman, 1994 cited in Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996:8).

Devereux (2003:33) notes that the World system together with the Global Capitalism approach mainly focuses on providing explanations on the common control of capitalism. The World System proffers a pattern that splits 'the world into *core, semi-peripheral* and *peripheral'* groups as well as the countries that are subjugated by the capitalist method (2003:33).

The *Global* Capitalism approach contends that the globalisation of capitalism is at the core of the globalisation system (Devereux, 2003:33). Transnational corporations are its major actors which in various cases are more dominant economically and politically than a lot of the nations they profit from, in matters such as labour, raw materials, or the marketplace (2003:33). Devereux, however, emphasises that one point is definite: there is very little agreement as to what constitutes globalisation (Devereux, 2003:32).

Marshal McLuhan's theory of the "global village" has also been used to explain the concept of globalisation in the media context. McLuhan (1962: 31) postulated that: 'the new electronic interdependence recreates the world in the image of a *global village'*. He asserted that:

> *'…the world has become a computer, an electronic brain, exactly as in an infantile piece of science fiction. And as our senses have gone outside us, Big Brother goes inside.' (McLuhan, 1962:32)*

According to McLuhan, what we are thinking at this juncture, however, are the psychological and sociological effects of the plan because they intensify or speed up the processes on hand (McLuhan, 1964:8). McLuhan further explained that "the message" of any medium or technology is the variation of degree or speed or designs that it brings in human issues (1964:8). He asserted that the global village is characterised by 'total interdependence, and super-imposed co-existence' (McLuhan,1962:32).[11]   McLuhan's argument suggests that technology and electronic interdependence in a globalised world would profoundly shape the way individuals think, behave and see the world around them and, by extension, the way societies understand and think. Some authors have supported McLuhan's theory of the "global village". For example, Shawcross confirmed that the supposition of Marshall McLuhan's have been established as true since the end of 1980s, as communications keep on locking up much of the earth into a global village(1993:5).

As a result of the widespread use of electronic media, everyone is concerned about everybody else's business (Allen and Hemnett 1995:31). Meyrowitz (1985, 17-18) in this context suggested that 'electronic media are like extensions of our nervous systems that embrace the planet. Electronic sensors return us to village-like encounters, but on a global scale'. Alber et al. (1975:4) similarly confirmed that 'transistor radios, telephones, and television are linking most of the world's households into a global network'. Held et al. (1999:357), in support of this, explained that

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[11] In the same vein, Webster (1995:141) confirmed that globalisation 'signals the growing interdependence and interpenetration of human relations alongside the increasing integration of the world's socio-economic life'.

a succession of technological and political reforms have changed the television setting and have added to the globalisation of television as a channel and as a corporation. Abler et al. (1975:21) suggested that the advancement of technology gave rise to the electronic era, which made 'global mentality' feasible. They observed that electronically, we can watch and listen to the entire earth almost immediately through satellite (1975:21). Devereux (2003:44) agrees that to a large extent our knowledge of what is happening in another place is due to 'mass mediatisation'.

According to Mohammadi (1997:15), globalisation affirmed the 'global-in-the local'. This he said entails that the local is enclosed and permeated by a global, which at the same time takes out and selectively distribute the local.

Globalisation proposes that political, economic and social events are translated into global scale (Held, 1991 cited in Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi 1996:3).[12] According to Holton (1998:1), inside what has been described as the "global village", people in almost all nations and provinces buy global goods and services manufactured by global industries. Economically, a number of analysts perceive globalisation as a system of consumerism, with the increasing diffusion and influence of international conglomerates (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1997:287;

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[12] Waters (2001:5) supports this view when he defines globalisation as: 'A social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly.

Devereux, 2003).[13] Culturally, it is perceived by many as 'Westernisation', a change to, or renewing of, the thought of 'cultural imperialism and synchronisation' (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1997:287).

The foregoing theories suggest that the concept of globalisation is still debatable and problematic as no consensus has been reached about its meaning. There is an increasing dissatisfaction about the global media universally. The essence of media globalisation, as some have argued, is to make the world a smaller place (Undercurrents, 2002). However, the global media have been criticised for not presenting a clear picture and comprehensible analysis of what is really going on. For example, CNN footages have been denounced as being very defective and for limiting the scope of discussion (Undercurrents, 2002). In the case of Nigeria's experience, some have argued that negative stories are often reported. What about good events in Nigeria? Do we ever hear about them? Do we ever hear the voices of people in Nigeria and other Third World countries who are looking for solutions to fundamental issues about power, distribution of wealth and resources? Do we hear the voices of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)? (Undercurrents, 2002). Critics of media globalisation have accused CNN and other global media industries of being biased and imbalanced and of misrepresenting what is truly going on (Undercurrents, 2002). Globalisation campaigners and critics in the developed countries have argued that the global media have failed to report important issues and turned themselves into government propaganda tools by more often presenting the voices of those who

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[13] For example Devereux (2003:33) observes that the media companies persistently encourage consumerism by stressing what is regarded to be a popular way of life.

support the status quo than those who criticise the policies (Undercurrents, 2002). They have also argued that there has been an obstruction in the mainstream media as they tend to report the same issue, in the same way, again and again (Undercurrents, 2002). As a result, some have turned to camcorders, digital cameras and the Internet to record their own view of events which are often not heard through the mainstream media (Undercurrents, 2002).[14]   A number of analysts have argued that globalisation in the media industry has socio-cultural and economic implications in the poor and developing countries (Schiller, 1992; Sliverstone, 1999; McQuail, 1987; Shawcross, 1993).[15] Consequently, the concepts of globalisation that inform this thesis are based on the socio-economic and cultural aspects of globalisation, and primarily, the pivotal role that the media play in the general globalisation process.[16] Rayner, Wall, and Kruger (2004:242) suggest that: 'In media studies terms, globalisation is often identified through the concept of "media imperialism" ' which, they say, is identical with the invasion and rule of other nations through military power (2004:242). Tomlinson (1991:175), in support of this, concluded that "globalisation" can be a substitute for "imperialism". In September 2000, The General Assembly adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration:

> *'We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalisation becomes a positive force for all the world's*

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[14] See Undercurrents video (2002) 'Globalisation and the Media', also available at You Tube : http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6HRt1bH_dw

[15] For example, Silverstone (1999:107) supported this view when he stated that 'globalisation is the product of a changing economic and political order, one in which technology and capital have combined in a new multi-faceted imperialism'

[16] Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996:3) noted that: 'The discourses of globalisation, growing out of broad social and political theory, yet often recognizing the key global roles of communications technologies and mediated culture'.

*people. For while globalisation offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognise that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalisation be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.' (*UN, 2000a: 1)

There are a number of strengths in globalisation theory which provide good reason for its relevance and use in this thesis. One of its merits, like the liberal interdependency view, lies in its central feature and emphasis on connectivity in every aspect. It assumes that the world is more interconnected than ever. The media play a pivotal role in the imagined global interconnectivity. Besides, 'globalisation has created an unprecedented number of new media outlets' (Thussu 1998: 5). Another merit of globalisation theory lies in its assumption of global consciousness. Again the media play a true "mediating" role in encouraging global consciousness (UNESCO, 2009). When we watch and listen to the news and see what is happening to other parts of the world, at least at a superficial level, meanings, ideologies and perceptions are formed and reformed across national boundaries (Kennedy, 2009). A study of the impact of the global news media on Nigeria presents a striking example of the way in which global information exchange can form and reform perceptions and images of individuals and nations. Furthermore, globalisation theory has recognised that the significance of information flow in public life has expanded. While the sharing of information will continue to have effects both on the lives of private individuals and their

relationships with each other and the nation-states they inhabit, it will also continue to have effects on the relationship between nation states. In addition, globalisation theory affirms increased anxieties which according to McLuhan characterise this age (1964:5).

Critics of globalisation theory like Kennedy (2009), while acknowledging that global interconnectivity is undeniable and very important, argue that forming collective shared cross-national meaning and solidarity, which will enable us to combat the forces of globalisation, is difficult. Kennedy argues that people still think locally in spite of the assumption that there is global interconnectivity. For example, on issues such as job loss, migration and security, people turn to local agents, politicians and media in order to address the problem. Another weakness of globalisation theory is that because of the breadth and multidimensionality of issues that connect to globalisation it is hard, if not impossible, to give it a precise definition (Ampuja, 2004:64).

Regardless of how one views globalisation, one cannot dispute the changes brought about by the forces of globalisation. Our lives are all affected. In general, globalisation theories offer a useful paradigm which can be applied and adapted to different research fields and contexts. They have an explanatory power because they try to interpret the ongoing changes in the current era and possible reasons why there are such changes. They also provide different approaches or lenses for looking at and explaining the ongoing changes in the world system. They explain the benefits and costs of global connectivity. Moreover, they are inclusive and

multidimensional as they refers to the economic, social, (geo) political, technological, environmental and cultural (Ampuja, 2004:64). They offer a good theoretical focus for interdisciplinary research as they connect and refer to the media as well as to international relations. They open ground for further research and debate and also explore the global future.

To this end theories of globalisation, though problematic and debatable, present a strong theoretical foundation by which the impact of the global news media on any given country can be evaluated.

1.2.2 Liberal Interdependence /Integration theory

Liberal interdependence /integration theory is one of the theories of international relations. It rejects the classical (realist) view of human nature which believes human nature to be selfish, greedy, prejudicial and power-hunger (Travis, 1994: 250-251). Travis (1994:251) stated that the liberalists maintain that human beings have various makeups and that individual deeds are derived from wilful preference affected by the surrounding circumstances. According to Travis, the liberal interdependence thinkers agree about various features of the international setting, though they stress diverse parts. The interdependence school, he argues, concentrates on 'transnational interactions, which create interdependencies, defined as mutual sensitivity, reactivity, and vulnerability among two or more actors' (Travis, 1994:251). Examining the interdependence school, Couloumbis and Wolfe (1990:27) suggested that

these thinkers use the 'idealist' belief in predicting the continuing increase of a global structure 'of *complex interdependence* in which economic, technological and cultural' explanation will make traditional combat over matters relating to a state out of date. According to Keohane and Nye (1977:24-29), the three main characteristics of complex interdependence are "multiple channels of communication"; an "absence of hierarchy among issues"; and the relatively "minor role of military force". Keohane and Nye further suggested that the three major features of "complex interdependence" 'give rise to distinctive political processes, which translate power resources into power as control of outcomes' (Keohane and Nye, 1977:29-30).

On the other hand, the integration school, according to Travis, emphasises an integrative relationship whereby societies and governments are jointly tied together by increasing 'cultural homogeneity, attitudinal responsiveness, and economic and social interdependence' along with 'the establishment of super national institutions in ample dimensions to satisfy common needs' (Travis, 1994:251-252). Travis emphasised that the end product of the 'integrative process would be political union between two or more separate states' (Travis, 1994:252). The regime issue school stress the 'formation of clusters of rules and international laws', which at times is linked with 'supranational institution, to promote cooperation on a given issue area' (Travis, 1994:252). According to Krasner (1983:2) regimes are 'sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms,

rules, and decisions-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations'.

Developing nations have argued that the basic norms of the international information order regarding international flow of information has been unbalanced and have therefore called for a new information world order in the 1970s (See Watson and Hill, 2003:173)**.** Travis (1994:252) held that 'interdependence, integration and regimes may be symmetrical or asymmetrical and occur between two or more states within a region or across the globe'. In Travis's view, 'most liberals think that such cooperative behaviour will increase the equity and mutual benefit of interstate treaties and regimes' (1994 252).

It has also been argued that the rise of the multinational co-operation will help to resolve global problems**.** The liberals find much proof in the rising world system to maintain their perspective. They can supply a great deal of data showing 'the rise in economic, social, media and scientific transactions which have forged new global interdependencies, and which require leaders to act more cooperatively' (Travis, 1994: 253). The liberals also observe the increasing task of the 'nonstate actors' in tackling global difficulties (Travis. 1994 254). He added that if these are not present, disagreement and fighting will have to continue (Travis, 1994: 255). In addition to this, the liberals are also pleased about the eradication of the East-West dispute, but are displeased about the persistence of the North–South dispute (Travis, 1994: 255).

The neoliberals believe that the revolution of technical know-how modifies relations in a more essential manner by gradually withdrawing the sovereignty of nations (Basrur, 1994). Some of the schools of thought present in liberal interdependence /integration theory proffer additional theoretical viewpoints by which some of the arguments in this work can be further analysed. Its interdependency school and integration school affirm the increase of transnational relations and cultural homogeneity respectively, which characterise the globalisation of news media.[17] It has been argued that the main features of media globalisation include the appearance of multinational communication firms as major actors in the global structure of communication and information dissemination (Thompson, 1995:159-160). The dominance or hegemony of the global news media by transnational corporations and its consequences on the developing country has raised serious anxieties and questions which this research seeks to investigate.

There are a number of strengths in the liberal interdependence /integration perspective which provide the justification for its relevance and use in this thesis. This perspective identifies "multiple channels of communication" as well as transnational interaction as part of the defining features of complex interdependency. By expansion, the media is included in the picture of multiple channels of communication, which has facilitated transnational interaction and the free flow of information across national boundaries. It is

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[17] The term "news media" in this study includes print media (newspapers, magazines); broadcast media (radio stations, television stations, television networks) and the Internet.

assumed that the current international system is characterised by growing interdependence. Dependence among the media industries is also an aspect of interdependence. The perspective assumes that vulnerability exists between two or more actors in interdependence (Travis, 1994:251). Developing countries (such as Nigeria) are believed to be more vulnerable to the media influence of the developed world. Adherents to the perspective assume the existence of asymmetric interdependence and power relations (Straubhaar 2010; Keohane and Nye, 1977:24-29). They assume the rise in the power of Multinational Corporations and the decline of state power. This assumption is recognised in the domination, concentration of ownership and control of the global media industries by a few multinational corporations which, it has been argued, have been disadvantageous to poor nations. The Liberal interdependency perspective assumes that cooperation is possible among states by the removal of transnational barriers. The assumptions of the perspective have been criticised by realists who believe that the state is the singularly most important actor on the world stage and that co-operation between states is difficult due to the problem of 'cheating' and 'relative gain'. This perspective can be proved irrelevant if co-operation among states is not achieved through the removal of transnational barriers. The perspective can to some extent be criticised for not entirely covering media issues.

For the purposes of this thesis, the strengths of this approach outweigh its weaknesses. Generally, the liberal interdependency perspective has a descriptive power. It assumes what characterised the concept of

interdependence and the likely things that occur when states depend on each other and transnational and geographical barriers are removed between states. It is an inclusive approach because it relates to different aspects of independence which include *economic*, social, cultural and political interdependence. It has perhaps some predicative power which forecasts that interdependence will lead to complex interdependency (Couloumbis and Wolfe 1990:27). This thesis draws from the strength of this perspective with which the contextual background of this thesis is formed.

1.2.3 Dependency theory

In the 1970s, dependency theory was propounded as a structural - globalist view with particular reference to Latin America which also generally applies to all less developed countries (Michael, 1998:102). This theory suggests that the world system has been planned in such a way that core countries are made influential and wealthy while periphery countries remain impoverished, feeble and reliant on the core for security, investment and insight (Stevenson, 1994:309).

The main focus of dependency theory was to explain the gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world. The theory holds the view that the rich nations are rich because the poor nations are poor. It creates a worldview which suggests that the wealthy nations of the world need a peripheral group of poorer states in order to remain wealthy. Many of those who started as dependency theorists have come to be identified with

world-system theory. Andre Grunder Frank is one of those who identified with a world-system perspective (Shannon, 1996:15). Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, (1997:241) similarly held that the view of the dependency theorists suggest that the relationship which exists between the Northern core and the Southern periphery is 'far from being a relationship of mutual–interest cooperation'. It means 'both the subordination of the latter to the former and the exploitation of the latter by the former'.[18] In support of this, Frank's version of dependency affirms that an unfair relationship exists between developed capitalist nations and the periphery (Shannon, 1996:16).

This state of dependency is extensive and includes media control. Examining dependency thinking, Shannon (1996:15) suggested that the fundamental concern of this perspective has been to offer explanation for what many believe to be the slow growth of the peripheral nations in attaining economic progress and over-all 'modernisation'. Dependency theory, according to Boyd-Barrett, affirms that national independence is not an adequate protection against the likelihood of real domination of a country's wealth by foreign interests (1982: 174).[19] Boyd-Barrett, however, argued

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[18] According to Shannon (1996:18-19) the general consensus of all the dependency theorists suggests that 'the poverty of the periphery can be explained by the exploitation of the region by the corporations of advanced capitalist countries.'

[19] In similar vein, Thompson (1995:165) noted that: During the last few decades, however, there is one account which has occupied a particular prominent role: this is the view that the globalisation of communication has been driven by the pursuit of the commercial interests of large-US-based transnational corporations, often acting in collaboration with western (predominantly American) political and military interest; and that this process has resulted in a new form of dependency in which traditional cultures are destroyed through the intrusion of western values.

that dependency theory has no vital explanation for 'why the economic and political interests of the communist superpowers should not sometimes also distort or stunt the autonomous development of poorer nations' (1982:174).

According to Mowlana (1997:108) there are different views on this issue. One view contends that information systems proffer less developed nations inexpensive and more effectual gateways to the most recent technology from the advanced nations. Conversely, other views maintain that poor nations see 'themselves in dependency relationships, suggesting that the information that is transferred to the Third World is often "ill-suited to the resources, needs, and climates of the developed world" ' (Mowlana, 1997:108).

Some have argued that the belief that the difference between affluent and impoverished nations would in due course be eliminated has been discarded in support of a basic reformation of global economic affairs (Macmillan and Linklater, 1995:152). This turned out to be celebrated as dependency theory (Myrdal, 1970; Sears, 1972 cited in Macmillan and Linklater, 1995:152).

Dependency is a kind of international interdependence in which wealthy countries lend out their funds exactly as needy countries require them. However, this situation is 'an interdependence with extreme imbalance of

power' (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2006:472).[20] From a media point of view, there has been an increasing dependence by the developing nations on the global news media for information. Such a state of dependency, it has been argued, has perpetuated the underdevelopment of the Third World.

Some have argued that the answer to questions of underdevelopment in the Third World countries can be provided by significant reformation in the structure of global news media, which are greatly dominated by small multinational corporations from the West for profit-making and foreign interests. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the debate in New World Information Order (NWIO) took place at UNESCO to address the imbalance observed in global news flows and unfair media representation of the developing nations (Stevenson, 1994: 306-310). The majority of the expressions on the NWIO debate at UNESCO originated from dependency theory, which focused on the big and increasing gap between the wealthy advanced nations of the North and many poor nations of the South. 'Why was one part of the world rich and the other poor?'(Stevenson, 1994:308). The NWIO debate developed from the New International Economic Order of 1974.[21] Some of the topics brought up in the NWIO debate included the

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[20] Similarly, Couloumbis and Wolfe (1990:27) examining the view of the dependency theorist observed that: 'They believe that international relations divides the world horizontally (into nation-states), while the reality of political and economic life can be better understood in vertical terms by depicting the capitalist classes and their domination of the working classes'.
[21] Stevenson (1994:309) observed that: 'In an age that defined wealth more and more by information and the technology that controlled information and less and less by money, manufacturing, and raw materials, the leap from the NWEO to the NWIO was relatively easy and, to many at UNESCO, obvious'.

following: global media focus on natural disasters and political problems, instead of basic realities in the developing countries; news coverage on Third World countries that represents the main concern of news bureaux in New York, London, and Paris; unauthorised satellite transmission of television signals into developing nations that was seen as a threat to national autonomy. Delegates from the Third World nations proposed media policies that stressed the significance of government to manage and regulate media configuration and opposed profit-making and foreign interest. However, Stevenson (1994: 309) confirmed that, in the end, the goal of the NWIO was certainly not achieved, and even the term (NWIO) vanished from use. He further confirmed that, in the 1990s, the New World Information Order has become mostly a thing of the past, hardly ever called up 'by critics of western dominance and submerged in the recent global triumph of western journalism' (Stevenson 1994:309).

However, Richstad (2000) in his study observes an unbalanced flow of information between the less developed and the developed countries. It has been argued that this unbalanced flow was deliberate to help keep the Third World in a state of dependency. Recent studies reveal that this state of dependency is intensified in this era of globalisation. Dependency theory therefore presents a strong theoretical support by which the impact of the global news media on the developing nations can be analysed. Apart from "political" theories which support this thesis, some media theories presents viewpoints by which some of the arguments in this work can be further evaluated.

The strength of dependency theory lies in its description of the structure of the world system. According to this body of theory, the world system is made of the core, semi-peripheral and the peripheral nations. Its assumption about the exploitation and inequalities in the structure of the world system could be adapted to describing the structure of global news flows. Alleyne (1995) argues that the flow of international news reflects various configurations of international power as news flows from the core to the semi- peripheral and peripheral nations. The media dependency of the Third World countries on that of the developing nations is believed to keep them in a state of dependency. Authors like Ankomah (2008a), Wall (2007), Philo (2001), Richstad (2000), Brookes (1995), and McQuail and Windahl (1993) share the assumption that there is a one-directional flow of news from the West to the Third World. However, this assumption has been challenged by some scholars like Thussu (2010) who saw what he describes as a contra flow or 'subaltern flow' from the South to West.

In spite of the challenges to dependency theory, it has proved to be a useful perspective as it draws our attention to the dimension of international development as well as bringing under close scrutiny the power relations between states. It predicts what will happen to less developed nations if they carry on to depend on the developed world. It provides a framework by which the assumption of imbalance in the global news flow can be partly explained. The merits of this theory as explained above provide the justification for its use in this thesis.

1.2.4 Media/Cultural imperialism theory

There is a critical theory of media imperialism concerning the apparent effects of globalisation on the News Media. The theory argues that, as new technologies are introduced and multinational media conglomerates grow larger and become more powerful, they will dominate and suppress the small local media. This will ultimately lead to a new type of imperialism, in which many less powerful nations will be subordinate to the media content of the most powerful nations or companies (Devereux, 2003). One of the chief proponents of the media imperialist thesis is Herbert Schiller, who perceived the export of American television as a way of conquering the world (Watson and Hill, 2003:173). Schiller (1992:156) argued that the cultural blending that has been ongoing for a long time in the United States is currently about to engulf the world. Explaining the concept of media imperialism, Watson and Hill (2003:173) state that the term "media imperialism" is used to portray the role western capitalist media play in dominating "Third World" developing countries using communication systems. They note that information flow was very important for development and expansion in the era of western economic colonialism in the nineteenth century (Watson and Hill, 2003:173). In regard to this, Stevenson (1994:116) argued that:

> *'If knowledge is power and information the basis of wealth in the information age of the 1990s, then availability of mass media becomes an important factor in the distribution of wealth and power within a country or among countries. Countries that cannot afford to develop their media systems will be left behind.'*

Schiller argued that information and communications are initial components of long-established and known capitalist efforts   (Webster

1995: 74). Webster (1995:74), examining Schiller's perspective about information and advanced capitalism, stated that 'the "information explosion" is a striking feature of contemporary life and any social analyst who ignores it risks not being taken seriously'. Webster supported Schiller's opinion on the development of the information era, as well as stressing information as being the core of continuing development.

Watson and Hill note that the progression of trade has brought about the growing media operations, which broadcast the principles, way of life, and faith of those who possess and control the flow of information (2003:173). Watson and Hill (2003:173) further explain that as the developing nations attained independence there was great anxiety at the extent of western media diffusion.

It has been argued that the theory of "media imperialism" is closely tied to the theory of "cultural imperialism". Watson and Hill (2003:173) suggest that essential to the notion of 'media or cultural imperialism is the understanding of the relationship between economic, territorial, cultural and informational factors'.[22]   Quoting Schiller (1976), Mattelart and Mattelart (1998:94) have written that:

> *'The concept of cultural imperialism today (1976) best describes the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social*

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[22] Similarly, James Petras defined cultural imperialism as the 'systematic penetration and domination of the cultural life of the popular classes by the ruling classes of the West, in order to reorder the values, behaviour, institutions and identity of the oppressed peoples to conform with the interests of the imperial classes'. (Petras ,1993 cited in Richstad, 2000:277).

> *institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominant centre of the system.'*

McQuail argued that the connection of the idea that media can assist in "modernisation" by bringing in "western" principles is that they accomplish that at the expense of a collapse of 'traditional values' as well as the damage to the real local way of life (1987:100).

Richstad (2000:277) , however, points out that another debate is that some acquire components of an external way of life like a piece of music, and change it to suit their cultures by making 'authentic preferences', afterward describing the end result as belonging to them. According to Richstad, 'authentic preferences' comprise alteration of elements of the external culture considered appropriate. He suggests that, for example, a western television layout may be employed, but with local subject matter (2000:277). Richstad (2000: 277) further suggests that the intensification of global social interaction will merge cultures making it difficult to differentiate authentic ways of life. Schiller (1992:12) held that in the 1960s it was correct to talk about 'American media and cultural imperialism'; however, in the 1990s the word and the idea have to be reconstructed. He argued that in recent times, it has grown to be 'transnational corporate cultural domination' (Schiller 1992:39).

It has been argued that most of the media imperialism and cultural imperialism discussion assumes that the primary actors are nation states (Tomlinson, 1991). Boyd-Barrett observed that imperialism is considered to be an unavoidable result of capitalism in the majority of Marxist theories

(Boyd-Barrett, 1982:174). Explaining the concept of media imperialism, Boyd-Barrett (1977:117) stated that:

> *'…the term refers to the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without appropriate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected.'* [23]

Boyd-Barrett (1977:127) further observed that the actual selling of media products abroad is probably most likely the major noticeable type of media imperialism. He observed that the market saturation of various nations by some is particularly obvious in films, television programmes, records, news and by their profound consumption of records, news, radio, books, and periodicals (1977:127). Boyd-Barrett affirmed that the method of "media imperialism" thus symbolises a fresh and much required structure for methodical examination of global media operations (1977:118). McQuail and Windahl (1993:216) agreed with Tomlinson's (1991) view which held that the expression "cultural imperialism" was frequently understood to summarise the intention or inclination of "internationalisation".

Watson and Hill (2003:173) explain that poor nations have believed for a long time that the western media concentrate only on negative reports of events in their countries. In addition, the theory of media imperialism also recognises the unequal and unbalanced state of information flow and access between the developed and the less developed nations. With regards to this, Watson and Hill (2003: 173) note that, in a meeting held in

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[23] According to Boyd-Barrett: 'The absence of reciprocation of media influence by the affected country combines both the element of cultural invasion by another power and the element of imbalance of power resources between the countries concerned. These two elements of invasion and imbalance of power resources justify the use of the term "imperialism"'. (1977:118)

Algeria in 1973 by the heads of state of non- aligned countries, there was a consensus to take serious action to promote a fairer, further equitable exchange of information in the Third World and to free them from relying upon the professionals of the richer nations. They stipulated the restructuring of existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past. The UNESCO General Council in 1978 agreed its new pronouncement on mass media, stressing the "balance" aspect of a notion of information base on the principle of 'free and balanced flow' (Watson and Hill, 2003: 173). Watson and Hill (2003: 173) observe that inequalities not only exist in wealth, culture and media provision between core nations and peripheral nations, but that there are also serious and ongoing information gaps between them. These gaps can scarcely be bridged until deprivations are removed. They acknowledge that it is not only the inequalities in the distribution of information that cause major concern but also the flow of communication. In support of this, Hamelink suggested that:

> *'Information flows across the globe are imbalanced, since most of the world's information moves among the countries in the North, less between the North and the South, and very little flows amongst the countries of the South.' (1995:3)*

Hamelink (1995:45) further declared that the gap in information access is very disadvantageous to developing nations. He added that their incapability to gather, manage and use information for their precise needs 'compromise their national sovereignty' (Hamelink, 1995:45).

Furthermore, recent research has found evidence of "media imperialism" and "cultural imperialism" in most of the developing countries. In his study

on "*Asian Journalism in the Twentieth Century*", Richstad (2000:277) examined the notion of "cultural imperialism" and "communication imperialism". His study reveals that the influx of western media products and way of life was eroding indigenous cultures and values. Examining the structure of global news flow, he observes that there is a one-way flow of information from the West to the Third World. News from the Third World rarely flows to the West, and then only in negative terms (2000:277).

Examining media imperialism in Nigerian society, Umechukwu (2001:134) argues that while apportioning responsibility to the advanced nations for the huge disparities in media structure between them and the Third World nations, the latter are aggravating the condition inside their individual countries by harmful tribal divisions. Umechukwu observes that: 'Instead of meritocracy, we have tribalism and nepotism dictating not only state affairs but private enterprises' (2001:134). He argues that media imperialism gave rise to the ethnic prejudice system seen in Nigerian press today (Umechukwu, 2001:135).[24]

Nonetheless, the theory of media imperialism is not without criticism and opposition. Thompson (1995:168) argued that it would be pretty unbelievable to propose that this difficult and changing domain of international power relationships may perhaps be evaluated in expressions of the theory of cultural imperialism. He further contended

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[24] Umechukwu (2001) observes that 'the history of the establishment of broadcasting in Nigeria, showing the distrust, calumny and personality clashes' is an indication to the truth that 'each government - assisted medium tried its best to run down those it considers or the perceived opponents of its proprietors'.

that the thesis is just rigid and narrow to explain global condition which is in great volatility (1995:168). Thompson also argued that Schiller's line of reasoning presents a report of what he has portrayed as the 'fallacy of internalism'. Thompson pointed out that Schiller tends to presume, from an examination of the social structure of the media corporation, what the cost of media messages are expected to be for those who get them (1995:171). Thompson argued that these types of conclusions have to be handled with doubt, as they disregard the intricate, diverse and particular context wherein messages are understood by people and integrated into their daily living (1995:171). Thompson's view suggests that both the sender and the receiver have a part to play in the interpretation of globally distributed messages. Similarly, Tumber (2000:6) analysing Herbert Schiller's view on "media imperialism", argues that Schiller paints a gloomy picture of corporate power in the communications sphere.

Herbert Schiller, in his recent writings, admitted these criticisms yet maintained that global hegemony by US culture has not significantly decreased. No matter what the criticism of the media imperialism thesis, the concentration of symbolic power chiefly in the US as a result of the ongoing process of globalisation of ownership within the media and cultural industries cannot be denied.[25] Despite the criticisms of and opposition to the theory of media imperialism, it nevertheless provides a

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[25] Thompson, acknowledging Schiller's revision of "media imperialism" thesis, had stated that: 'Schiller's revision of the cultural imperialism thesis is, in effect, a way of acknowledging the globalisation of economic activity while still insisting on the continued dominance of American media culture' (1995:169).

good theoretical foundation by which the impact of the global news media on any country can be evaluated.

The epistemological assumption of media imperialism theory makes it clear that there is only one fundamental truth which will never change. It assumes that as long as the Third World countries carry on broadcasting programmes from the West, they will constantly believe they should behave, feel, think and live like people living in western countries. This body of theory has an explanatory power because it relates what happens when one set of people transmit messages through the media to a different set of people. It also has a predicative power because it foretells that the culture of Third World countries will be eroded as they identify with western culture. In the theory we can also see the effect of one-way communication between the sender and the receiver. The theory could be proved   untrue if the culture of Third World countries is not affected by western media. The theory could produce new hypotheses concerning which cultures or Third World countries (if any) are more vulnerable to the western media effect than others. It has organising power because it classifies what tallies with existing knowledge about the disparity between Third World countries and western countries (Spring Theory Workbook, 2000). It also stimulates further research.

The theory of media imperialism /cultural imperialism has been criticised by authors such as Fejes, 1981; Lee, 1988 as being wrong in several respects. They contend that the theory lacks conceptual precision or

agreement (Lee, 1980); it does not recognise the active media audience members and represents cultural processes as a one-directional flow of power (Tomlinson, 1997: 181; Ang, 1985); it does not recognise the ability of the audiences' to process information and interpret messages differently based on their individual background (Liebes & Katz, 1990); it is not supported in every situation of information exchange between nations; it does not hold true in all circumstances of the experience that it attempts to describe (Sinclair, Jacka, and Cunningham, 1996) and 'it is has never seriously been tested' (Boyd-Barrett, 1998:156).

In spite of its weaknesses, media/cultural imperialism theory must nevertheless be recognised (or accepted) as a critical theory. One of the reasons why cultural/media imperialism still remains in the research agenda of cultural and globalisation critics is the asymmetrical power relations of the world system. Besides, the classification of core-periphery, Third World-First World and North-South still exist as representations of power relations as well as of indications of differences in cultural power between these partitions. Litttlejohn (1999:15) argues that 'critical theories consist of a loose confederation of ideas held together by a common interest in the quality of communication and human life'. The theory provides support to most of the arguments raised in this thesis.

1.2.5 Agenda-setting theory

Agenda-setting theory was propounded by Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw in the 1970s. It is not just referred to as a theory of the press but also as a function of the mass media. It explores the power of the press to set the public agenda, telling people not what to think, but what to think about. The agenda-setting method has in general examined who sets the public agenda. Evidence credibly indicates that the agenda is set by the news media (Croteau and Hoynes, 1997:210).[26] Lang and Lang (1966) claimed that the mass media compulsively draw attention to specific subjects. They also observed that the mass media 'build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about' (Lang and Lang 1966). With regards to the "agenda-setting function of the media" Cohen (1963:13) noted that the press 'may not be successful much of the time in telling the people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about'. In their 1968 study of voting behaviour in Chapel Hill North Carolina, McComb and Shaw (1972) put forward the idea that the 'mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward political issues'. Agenda-setting is believed to occur because the press must be selective in reporting the news. According to McComb, agenda setting is: '...an effect that results from specific content in the mass media'

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[26] This denotes that the press is the primary agenda setter. For example, 'it sets the agenda of public discussion…. No major act of the American congress, no foreign adventure, no act of diplomacy, no great social reform can succeed in the United States, unless the press prepares the public mind. And when the press seizes a great issue to thrust onto the agenda of talk, it moves action on its own (Agee, Ault and Emery, 1985 cited in Umechukwu, 2001:132).

(2004:36). He notes that one of the most surprising characteristics of these extensive results is the remarkable inconsistency of the environmental and cultural backgrounds wherein agenda-setting by the press takes place (McComb, 2004:36). Maxwell McComb observes that the agenda-setting effects of the media are extensive. Agenda-setting effects have been observed across the United States in both rural communities and big towns. 'These effects also have been found abroad in cities as diverse as Tokyo, Japan and Pamplona, Spain and in countries as different as Argentina and Germany' (2004:36).

Acknowledging the importance of McComb's contribution, William et al., (2006:359) emphasise that McComb and Shaw planned their research primarily to deal with the popular perception that voters' 'selective attention' to news reports, as prompted by social means, would cancel out the influence of the press. They showed how voters' opinions of the significance of matter were decided by media concentration on those issues (in relation to the amount of coverage) instead of by the voters' 'selective attention' (William et al., 2006:359). Folarin (1998), in agreement with this theory, suggests that agenda setting entails the mass media deciding what matters are considered as vital at any moment in a particular society. Agenda-setting theory explains the correspondence between the extent to which the media cover a story and the extent to which people think that this story is important.[27] It is pertinent to note that

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[27] McQuail likewise confirmed that evidence suggests that there is '...a correspondence between the order of importance given in the media to "issues" and the order of significance attached to the same issues by the public and the politicians' (McQuail,1987:275). He further added that: 'The hypothesis presupposes a process of

while agenda setting theory is developed to explain the role of the media within a country, it could also be adapted to the global or international context to describe the significant roles which the global media currently play in global agenda setting (e.g. the CNN effect).

In the 1990s, the argument about the CNN effect continued to a large degree. For instance, the policy makers re-emphasised their conviction in the power which the media have to attract western attention to intervene in humanitarian crisis (Robinson, 2002:11). Nonetheless, the results of western humanitarian interventions driven by the global media have been argued from both negative and positive perspectives. Some analysts from the positive perspective have argued that western humanitarian intervention acts to defend the fundamental human rights of individuals in different nations of the world (Robinson, 2002:8). The supposition supporting this belief is that the western media operate 'with humanitarian motivation and intent' (2002:8). This viewpoint praises the media for the important role they play in persuading the western leaders to 'do the right thing' (Robinson, 2002:8). On the other hand, those with negative views believe that western intervention simply depicts a continuance of conventional political influence wherein the 'humanitarian' tag is just a disguise for western self-seeking interest (Robinson, 2002:9).

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influence from the priorities of political or other interest groups, to the news priorities of media, in which news values and audience interests play a strong part, and from there to the opinions of the public' (McQuail, 1987: 276).

Furthermore, specialists in foreign policy making were shocked by what they perceived as unnecessary interference by the 'Fourth Estate into the policy process' (Robinson, 2002:10). Universally, critics from the realistic viewpoints complained about the CNN effect and emphasised the significance of 'elite control of foreign policy' (Robinson, 2002:10). For example, Kennan expressed concern that 'elite control of foreign policy-making had been lost to the media'. Other analysts who supported Kennan's view feared the risk involved in 'media-directed foreign policy' (Kennan, 1993 cited in Robinson, 2002:10). Hoge noted that the contemporary omnipresent media compel political leaders to react urgently to news reports 'that by their very immediacy are incomplete, without context and sometimes wrong' (Hoge, 1994 cited in Robinson, 2002:10).

Therefore in the global context, it could be argued that through an agenda setting function, the global or mainstream media promote and export western culture to different countries of the world which gives rise to the concept of cultural imperialism discussed earlier. It could be argued that culture is at the heart of the policy agenda of the superpowers propagated through the global media. The global media have become powerful corporations in the world through exercising power and transmitting culture abroad. They have also become part of the global policy-making process. Global news flows reflect or show different compositions of international power. It has been argued that the global or mainstream media support the powerful against the powerless and also that the wealthiest and the most powerful are those who are heard the most (Undercurrents, 2002). Within this framework, therefore, it could be argued that the agenda often

promulgated through the global media reflects the various views, ideologies, and cultures of the most powerful nations of the world while the views or voices of the less powerful nations are hardly ever heard.

Examining agenda-setting theory, Berger (1995:63) held that the mass media transmit programmes that focus our attention on particular areas of life particularly in the realm of 'news shows, talk shows, narratives, and other genres'. By doing this, agenda setting theorists propose, other more essential areas of life and issues are relegated to a less important position (1995:63). [28]

William et al. (2006:359) suggest that agenda-setting studies also demonstrate a high-level of relationship that exists among different media. That is to say, there is a considerable agreement among television news, magazines, and newspapers on the amount of reporting which is given to different subjects of the day.

Umechukwu (2001:107) tries to differentiate "agenda setting" from "agenda building". According to him, agenda building extends beyond agenda setting. Agenda building is the method by which news reports affect the opinion of audiences on subject matters and the assessment of the suitability of suggested government policies (Craber, 1984 cited in Umechukwu, 2001:107). Umechukwu suggests that the mass media set the agenda for the public when they have succeeded in drawing attention

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[28] According to Croteau and Hoynes (1997:208), this capability of the press to direct the attention of people to particular subjects turned out to be agenda setting. It emphasised the significant function of the press in choosing and forming the news.

to a problem. According to him, the mass media in Nigeria, through agenda-building, can provide the context for the public to assess its need and also decide the real risk in this strategy for political unity and strength (2001:108).[29] Umechukwu stressed that "agenda building" is significant for political stability due to the fact that the masses should be aware and comprehend the government policies and their effects on society (Umechukwu, 2001:108).

Recent research on the agenda-setting effect has provided empirical evidence which differentiate two levels of analysis of agenda setting theory. The first level of analysis argues that the size of a picture determines the reader's view of importance. A more recent experiment establishes that negative pictures of public demonstrations additionally negatively affect those watching them (Coleman and Banning, 2006: 315). That research inferred that a picture on its own is able to affect individual's view of the subject matter (2006: 315). The first-level of agenda setting proposes a task for the press in determining what topics the people know, with researchers concentrating on the number of news stories (Coleman and Banning, 2006:313). The second level of agenda setting proposes that the press, moreover, structure the quality of these subject matters, consequently influencing how a matter is described (2006:313). Second level-agenda setting theory identifies the significance of 'affective perceptions, emphasising these attributes and their tone as being just as

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[29] Similarly, Paletz and Entman (1981:184) affirmed that the media 'supply the context that, by making the problem politically relevant, gives people reasons for taking sides and converts the problem into a serious political issue' (Paletz and Entman, 1981 cited in Umechukwu, 2001:107).

important as cognitive level issue salience' (Coleman and Banning, 2006:313). In the same vein, Graber (1990) concluded that visual photographs in television broadcasts were easier to remember than oral parts (Graber, 1990 cited in Coleman and Banning, 2006:316).

In applying agenda-setting theory to the global or international context, it has been argued that the global media set the agenda for international discussion which presently affects all nations, be it Nigeria, the United Kingdom, the United States, or China, by giving an overriding image of the globe, which adds pressure to economic and political actions in different nations of the world (Devereux 2003). The global media are the most dominant supplier of information which the global audience utilised in private and public place. They provide the ubiquitous images and expressions through which we ring true our lives and the world around us (Devereux 2003). They provide topics or subjects of global talk and debates, which may have national and transnational impact.

In their continual job of explaining a nation to itself, the global media unavoidably select particular subject matter and then shape them in certain ways, so that they influence our knowledge from inside that framework (Devereux 2003). In this context, it could be argued that the global media explains Nigeria to itself, by selecting certain Nigerian aspect and framing them in particular ways, so that it can influence the perceptions of Nigerians and non Nigerians from within that frame. This means that the global media can tell Nigerians what to think about themselves and other nations of the world. Equally, they can tell other

nations of the world what to think about Nigeria.   The global media have the ability to either inflate or deflate subjects of potential public significance. In so doing, they may prevail in drawing government attention to urgent policy making (Devereux 2003). This suggests that the global media have the ability and power to direct the attention of the Nigerian government by focusing on certain subject matters, which can potentially influence the government in their policy making process. This therefore implies that the domestic political agenda of Nigeria might be influenced by external media.

From what has already been said, it could be argued that in globalisation, the global news media have the power to influence both the domestic and global political agenda. They can set a "global agenda" on issues which will be globally regarded as important, and these global agendas could have a significant impact on individual countries and on their individual politics and policy making. Having such a great power and ability to influence, persuade and direct attention to specific subject matters on a global scale, it could then be argued that the global media ought to be mobilised to set the "global agenda" on issues that will promote global peace and unity: trade balance, brotherhood, empathy, mutual benefit, international co-operations, understanding, and transfer of skill and knowledge that in turn will foster active diplomacy and sustainable development in the poor nations. However, as we have seen, the global news media only set the "global agenda" on issues that largely favour the developed world to the detriment of the poor nations.

There are number of good reasons why agenda setting theory is relevant in this thesis. Agenda-Setting theory suggests that people will place importance on the same issues, should they be exposed to the same media. It has explanatory power because it interprets the reason why people place importance on the same issues. It can also explain how people form their opinions concerning certain issues (Lee, 2010:760; McCombs, 2004). It is simple and less complex than other theories to understand. It encourages further research. It possesses organising power as it arranges what is already known concerning media effects. Agenda-setting theory therefore forms one of the theoretical frameworks by which this study can be evaluated.

1.2.6   Social responsibility theory

The social responsibility theory is one of the normative theories of media conduct. Just like the agenda setting theory, it serves as a function as well as a theory of the press. This theory emerged owing to the fact that the free market had failed to fulfil the promise of press freedom and to benefit the society. The social responsibility theory combines the freedom of the press and their responsibilities to society. According to McQuail (1987:116), the key basics points of this theory are: the belief that the media do provide important roles in society, particularly relating to democratic political views and a perception that the press ought to agree to an obligation to perform these roles mostly in the area of news and

presenting a stage for various opinions, as well as in cultural issues (McQuail, 1987:116).

In the issue of ownership and control of media, this theory holds that the media is a sort of 'public stewardship, not a private franchise' (McQuail, 1987:116). In terms of private ownership, the media specialist ought to be accountable 'to consumer and shareholder' as well as to the general public (McQuail, 1987:116). McQuail (1987:116-117) further noted that social responsibility theory has to seek to bring together to some extent three different ethics: person liberty and selection, press liberty and press duty to the public.

According to Umechukwu (2001:27), social responsibility theory suggests that anybody who has an initiative to articulate could make use of the press; however they are not allowed to impinge upon personal civil liberties. He further suggests that social responsibility theory is feasible in a 'democratic society' where media liberty is assured (Umechukwu, 2001:28). He however concluded that such liberty has to be watched and regulated to prevent 'disrupting vital social structures' (2001:28).

In the view of McQuail, (1987:117) social responsibility theory provides two kinds of solutions to resolve likely contradictions: (1) 'the development of public, but independent, institutions for the management of broadcasting…' (2) 'the further development of professionalism as a means of achieving higher standards of performance', at the same time

upholding 'self –regulation by the media themselves' (1987:117). McQuail (1987:117-118) summarised the main principles of social responsibility theory as follows:

- *'Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society.*
- *These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance.*
- *In accepting and applying these obligations, the media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.*
- *The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups.*
- *The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.*
- *Society and the public, following the first named principle, have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good.*
- *Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market.'*

Following the principles of social responsibility theory, it could be argued that the global news media in this era when there is unrestricted cross-border flow of information, has increasing obligations to protect the minorities as well as avoiding what might cause trouble or lead to crime. They should avoid disseminating news that could possibly generate or fuel international or regional conflicts and war, racial discrimination and fear. This is because global audiences largely depend on the global news media in order to know what is happening in other parts of the world and they tend to believe whatever they are told about a particular country or event happening in faraway places. When a particular country is misrepresented in the global news, it is very likely to affect its dealings with other nations which will in turn hamper the development and diplomacy of that nation. With regards to this theory, it is expected that the global media

ought to meet their obligations by setting high 'professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance' (McQuail, 1987:117). Social responsibility theory therefore proffers a good parameter by which the impact of the global news media on any developing country can be measured.

The strength of social responsibility theory lies in the fact that it is a normative theory of the press which is concerned with the ideal functions of the press. It assumes that the media has an obligation to the society and that media ownership is a public trust (McQuail, 2000: 150). It assumes that the media should be free, but self-governing (McQuail, 2000: 150). It stresses journalistic ideals of objectivity in reporting; investigative reporting and factual reporting. It assumes basic principles which are 'truth, fairness, openness, respect for others, decency and the need to avoid harmful public consequences' (McQuail, 2000: 152). These ideals have become influential globally. The principles of social responsibility theory provide codes of ethics and professional conduct (McQuail, 2000: 150) for daily journalistic practice across the globe. The Commission on the Freedom of the Press (1947) notes that, in the present day, a truthful, comprehensive report of the news is not necessarily sufficient: 'It is no longer enough to report the *fact* truthfully. It is now necessary to report *the truth about the fact*' because 'today's complex world often necessitates analysis, explanation and interpretation' (1947). The Commission further writes that 'today's large media conglomerates, however, may not function naturally as a public forum, where all ideas are shared and available' (The Commission on the Freedom of the Press,

1947). 'The owners and managers of the press determine which persons, which facts, which versions of these facts, shall reach the public' (The Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947). McQuail writes that quite a few media organisations, especially in television broadcasting, maintain an internal code of practice (McQuail 2005:152). Generally, social responsibility theory has an explanatory power because it tells what the press should do and should not do. It helps us to measure daily journalistic performance and roles within the public sphere although it lacks any systematic critique of capitalist media ownership and funding (Baker 2002; McQuail 2005).

1.2.7   Free-press theory

This theory is also known as the "liberal theory". Free press theory originated from the emergence of the 'printed press from official control in the seventeenth century' and at present is extensively considered to be the ideal and 'main legitimating principle of print media in liberal democracies'(McQuail, 1987:112).The theory prescribes that each person should have the liberty to make public whatever he or she would like (McQuail, 1987:113). The essential principles and values according to McQuail are similar to those of the liberal democratic state: a faith in the authority of a person, a faith in wisdom, honesty, improvement and will power (1987:113). Umechukwu (2001:25) acknowledges that crucial to this theory was Milton's idea of the 'self-righting process of the free market-place of ideas'. This implies that good views would eradicate bad

ones if all views were assured to be expressed without restrictions (2001:25). According to McQuail (1987:113) a vital and persistent aspect has been the assertion that 'free and public expression is the best way to arrive at truth and expose error'. Furthermore, McQuail held that a free press is perceived as being an essential part of 'a free and rational society' (1987:113). McQuail (1987:113) argued that 'the nearest approximation to truth will emerge from the competitive exposure of alternative viewpoints and progress for society will depend on the choice of "right" and "wrong" solution'. McQuail (1987:115) summarised the principles of free press theory as follows:

- *'Publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party.*
- *The act of publication and distribution should be open to a person or group without permit or licence.*
- *Attack on any government, official or political party (as distinct from attacks on private individuals or treason and breaches of security) should not be punishable, even after the event.*
- *There should be no compulsion to publish anything.*
- *Publication of 'error' is protected equally with that of truth, in matters of opinion and belief.*
- *No restriction should be placed on the collection, by legal means, of information for publication.*
- *There should be no restriction on export or import or sending or receiving 'messages' across national frontiers.*
- *Journalist should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organisation.'*

Looking at the free-press theory, it could be argued that in this era of media globalisation, which is characterised by a free-market place and unrestricted flow of information across national boundaries, the global news media enjoy a high degree of free and deep investigation and dissemination of information across the globe. Having such a high degree of freedom of investigation and ownership of media, it could be argued that the global media should not abuse their freedom by diffusing

information that will undermine the sovereignty and international reputation of a particular race or nation. Instead, this freedom should be utilised to reach the unreachable, develop the underdeveloped, and educate the uneducated with no attempt at wiping out indigenous cultures and imposing an alien culture that will erode the cultural identity of any particular race. With regards to this, Hiebert (1995:135) pointed out that within free-press society, no law prohibits people from been dishonest. At present, it is simple to manipulate images with the intention of distorting the truth; however, some will be mislead into thinking that an image represents the truth about a particular situation, such is the power of the visual image. Hiebert therefore asked 'Isn't that telling a lie?' Even though not unlawful, many would consider it immoral.

Free press theory does not, therefore, support the view that freedom of the press automatically gives the global media the right to override an individual's, organisation's or nation's right of privacy.[30] It could then be argued that the global media, in their freedom of investigation, should respect the authority of every nation whether small or big, poor or rich. It is on this basis of free-press theory that this work also presents its argument.

Some would argue that the strength of free press theory lies in its key assumptions, which consider man to be rational and able to distinguish between truth and lies and, as a result, capable of choosing between

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[30]Liberation media are well known for their philosophy of rationalism and natural rights. They exist to check on governments and that requires that they be free of government control. However, nobody has ever said that the freedom should include freedom to defame, to indulge in unbridled obscenity, to violate individual privacy or to commit sedition.(Kunezik, 1988:79 cited in Umechukwu, 2001:25)

better and worse options. Man is capable of determining his own destiny, and given all the facts will make the right choice. This theory is rooted in Thomas Jefferson's belief that if man exercised reason, the majority, working as a group would make sound decisions, even if individual citizens might not. It has a predictive power because it forecasts what will happen if people are given all the facts. The theory is very credible and generally acceptable. However, McQuail identifies some limitations in free-press theory. Firstly, the theory relates very much to 'property right — the ownership of the means of publication', ignoring the economic difficulties to access and the misuse of monopolistic publishing authorities. Secondly, to a large extent, it has been framed as a concept of negative freedom — freedom from the government (McQuail, 2000:154).   The theory has a great deal of approval of opinion and belief, but less relevance for information, and it raises a lot of questions relating to freedoms that occur in the more recent situation of an information society, together with 'access, confidentiality, privacy, property rights'(McQuail, 2000:155). Fourthly, the theory is unclear about who has, or gains from, the right of liberty. Other arguments include the 'question of where the limit of freedom can come, and at what point can the state legitimately intervene to protect "essential interests"' (McQuail, 2000:155). In spite of the limitations of this theory, it provides a framework which helps inform this study.

Having discussed and critiqued the theories used in this thesis, it is very important to provide a clear explanation and justification of the way theory is used in the thesis, but before that, it is crucial to note that:

> *'Theories give researchers different "lenses" through which to look at complicated problems and social issues, focusing their attention on different aspects of the data and providing a framework within which to conduct their analysis' (Reeves et al., 2008).*

For the purposes of this thesis, political theories such as globalisation theory, liberal interdependency/integration theory and dependency theory provide the contextual background of the study while media theories such as media imperialism theory, agenda setting theory, free press theory and social responsibility theory are more substantial and applicable due to the fact that the study focuses on media impact. The political theories used in this thesis provide a complex and broad conceptual understanding of how the world is more interconnected than ever, why countries depend on each other, how the world system is structured and operates, and why Third World nations remain poor. Apart from providing the contextual background of the study, political theory such as liberal interdependency and dependency theory have informed the research questions and helped in data interpretation as well as in the explanation of causes. The media theories inform the thesis about the growing role, obligation, power, effect and influence of the media. They have helped in designing the research questions. They have served as a guide for the selection of relevant data and data interpretation and they have also helped to offer explanations for causes or effects.

Thus the justification for using the above theories is that they all informed this thesis, and above all, there are links between the political theories and

media theories used. For instance, the liberal interdependency perspective assumes that the world is interconnected more than ever; it favours free transnational flow of communication and multiple channels of communication. Similarly, globalisation theory which is born of a liberal independency theoretical view, assumes connectivity in the world in all aspects including free flow of communication across national boundaries. In the same vein, dependency among states in all aspects, including the media, is believed to be the result of interdependence. Media industries tend to share or depend on each other for information across the globe, even though vulnerability exists among states (as affirmed by liberal interdependency theory) in that developing nations tend to depend more on the developed nations for news coverage. Emerging from the general issues of dependence are factors such as cultural/ media imperialism. Social responsibility theory, which is a normative press theory, favours freedom of the press. In parallel with social responsibility theory, free press theory also advocates press freedom and the rights of individuals to hold and make public their view. In the same light, political theories such as liberal interdependency and globalisation theory favour free flow of information across national boundaries as well as the liberalisation of the media. A Neo-liberal policy of deregulation and privatization is assumed to have led to the convergence of telecommunication, computing and media industries (Thussu, 1998:1). In addition to this, its '"free market" policies have opened up ownership of stations as well as cable and satellite systems to private and transnational interests' (McChesney, 1998:28). It has also led to an increasing transnational corporation (TNC) control over

media distribution as well as content (McChesney, 1998:28). The speedy globalisation of new information and communication technologies has made possible the construction of new kinds of empires (Thussu, 1998:1). In this concept media imperialism theory, which is a critical theory, assumes that the power of the media which is owned and controlled by these transnational firms will grow stronger and subdue the media of less powerful nations. In connection to this, agenda setting theory or effects, when adapted to a global context, suggest the growing power of the global media to influence global agenda and foreign policies.

1.3   Research Questions

In general, this study, due to its interdisciplinary nature, uses afore-mentioned "political" and "media" theories in answering the key research questions which form the setting of this work. Specifically, the 7 Research Objectives of this study can be framed into 7 main Research Questions, which are as follows:

RQ1. What sorts of global news flows in to and out of Nigeria and to what degree?

RQ2. Which areas are ignored or highlighted in global news media in issues relating to Nigeria, and to what extent are they told from the western perspective?

RQ3. How is Nigeria represented in the global news media?

RQ4. Do the Nigerian news media depend on the global news media for local and international news coverage as suggested in media imperialism and dependency theories?

RQ5. What sorts of forces within and outside Nigeria are responsible for the selection and packaging of the global media product?

RQ6. To what extent has the impact of the global news media in Nigeria affected its development and international relations?

RQ7. What measures need to be taken to address the influence of global news media on the developing nations?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Project

- **Aim of the project**

This project will examine the major impact of the global news media on Nigeria and how it has affected Nigerian development and international relations.

- **Objectives of the project**

The key research questions which this work seeks to investigate are developed around these specific objectives:

1. To examine the type of news that flows in and out of Nigeria.

2. To examine which areas of Nigerian news are usually highlighted or ignored in the global news media.

3. To analyse the way news from Nigeria is packaged and represented in the global news media, and how it is interpreted in the western perspective.

4. To examine the extent to which Nigerian mass media depend on the global news media for news coverage.

5.   To examine the forces responsible for the selection and packaging of global media product.

6.   To examine the effects of the global news media on Nigeria and the extent to which they have affected Nigerian development and diplomacy.

7.   To examine how the influence of global news media on Nigeria can be addressed.

1.5   Assumptions

There is a progressive link or relationship between the assumptions, research questions and research objectives of this study. Determining the research objectives of this study is vital because these objectives help to frame specific questions that this thesis attempts to address. Underlying the research questions are certain assumptions shared by some authors which this study seeks to investigate. Specifically, the 7 research objectives of this study as stated in the foregoing section were framed into 7 main research questions. Underlying the 7 main research questions were 7 assumptions shared by some authors, which are as follows:

1. There is an imbalance in the type of global news flow between the core countries (developed nations) and peripheral countries (the developing nations). This assumption is shared by authors such as Mowlana (1997:45), McQuail and Windahl (1993:215), Alleyne (1995:69) and Philo (2001). This assumption relates to Research Question one (RQ1) and Research Objective no 1.

2. The media of the developed nations (especially western media conglomerates) concentrate on negative reports from developing nations, ignoring positive reports. This assumption is made by authors such as Ankomah (2008a), Wall (2007), Philo (2001), Richstad (2000), Brookes (1995), and McQuail and Windahl (1993).

The assumption relates to Research Question two (RQ2) and Research Objective no 2.

3. Developed countries are better represented in the global news than the Third World/developing countries. Authors such as McQuail and Windahl (1993:219) and Masmoudi (1978) make this assumption and it relates to Research Question three (RQ3) and Research Objective no 3.

4. The media reliance of the developing nations upon the media of the developed nations keeps them in a state of dependency. This assumption is made by authors such as Ndlela (2009:56), Fatoyinbo (2000), Esipisu and Kariithi (2007:2), Richstad (2000), and Stevenson 1(994). The assumption relates to Research Question four (RQ4) and Research Objective no 4.

5. The global media are dominated by a few corporations from the West who are responsible for the production and distribution of global media product. Authors such as Ndlela (2009:56), Bagdikian (2000), Thussu (1998), Mcchesney (1998), Schiller (1998), Devereux (2003:35) and Masmoudi (1978) make this assumption and it relates to Research Question five (RQ5) and Research Objective no 5.

6. Media globalisation has had an impact on national development and diplomacy. This assumption is made by authors such as Saddiki (2006:93) and Feist (2001:713) and it relates to Research Question six (RQ6) and Research Objective 6.

7. The ongoing debate on globalisation has opened a new discussion about how the impact of globalisation on developing nations should be addressed. Authors like Rantanen (2004:4) make this assumption and it relates to Research Question seven (RQ7) and Research Objective no 7.

1.6   Significance of the Research

This work is designed to examine and address the major problems associated with the unprecedented impacts of the global news media on the Third World using Nigeria as an example. It intends to make significant

contributions to the existing body of knowledge in this area as well as opening up new ground for further research to be undertaken. In particular, it seeks to evaluate the perceptions of audiences regarding Nigeria in the global news and the effect this has on Nigeria. In general, it will encourage international cooperation and understanding between developing countries and the developed world; fostering democracy, equal access and participation in the global news media. Above all, it will inform the global news media professionals of the need to cross-promote international culture, products, values, traditions, goods and services in all nations of the globe without any racial chauvinism.

1.7   Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the contextual background of this thesis as well as its theoretical underpinnings. The theories which are from International Relations and Mass Communication disciplines, are in part evaluated in the context of this research. Also, this chapter has highlighted the main aims and objectives of this research, its key research questions, as well as its significance. The chapter supports and acts as the bedrock on which this thesis is built. The key points in support of the validity and timeliness of this research can be summarised as follows:

- The impacts of the global news media have raised anxieties in the developing countries.

- The effects of the global news media have raised important questions that needed to be addressed.

- Strong theoretical viewpoints from IR and Mass communications have emerged to evaluate and address the impacts of the global news media in developing countries.

- Globalisation of news media is perceived as western imperialism in disguise.

- Investigating the impact of globalisation in the media context is very crucial to the equality and development of poorer/less developed nations.

CHAPTER TWO

GLOBALISATION AND NEWS MEDIA:

A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review recent writings, current debates, research, and some recognised works in the area of globalisation and global news media. This review will inform the study about the current state of knowledge and trends of globalisation in both the fields of International Relations (IR) and Mass Communication. The review also covers topics such as the roles and power of the media in globalisation; the disparities and models of international news flow; the impact of global news flow on IR in the 20th and 21st centuries; global media representation of the Third World; and ultimately, the experience of Nigeria in the globalising world. The review in these areas will provide support and solid background for this investigation and validate subsequent data. The chief source of literature in these areas has been authoritative texts in the field of International Relations, Mass Communication and other related fields that have made significant contributions to our current knowledge.

2.2 Current Debates on Globalisation

White (2008:136) examines globalisation and development. He notes that in the 1990s, the notion of globalisation dominated the literature on international political economy. He argues that the notable drop in the cost of transport and the increase in high-speed and low-price communication

technology have rendered geography irrelevant (White, 2008:136).[31] White (2008:136) states that 'whether or not such developments are good or bad is a topic of ongoing political debate'.[32]

A widespread concept of globalisation is that of 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspect of contemporary social life…' (Held et al., 1999:2). Giddens (1990:64) defined globalisation as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'.

Held (2002), examining the concept of globalisation, believes that though globalisation has no exact definition it has grown to be the 'big idea' of the contemporary age and it depicts significant transformations or changes (Held, 2002: 60; Kiely, 2005:896; Devereux, 2003:29, Holton, 1998:1). Held observes four different kinds of changes introduced by globalisation: (1) The extension of social, political and economic activities across political, regional and continental boundaries; (2) the increasing scale of networks and flows of trade, investment, finance and so forth; (3) the growth and acceleration of international communication and transport systems, which has expedited the transmission of ideas, goods, information, capital and people; (4) the intensification of impact of global

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[31] See also Winseck and Pike (2007: 1).

[32] Rantanen (2004), acknowledging the debt to Giddens, notes that the debates on globalisation have developed into three different stages. The first stage saw the debate on whether globalisation is real. The second debate focused on the consequences of globalisation, while the third stage is currently looking at ways of addressing the negative consequences of globalisation (Rantanen, 2004:4).

interactions, to the extent that events in one part of the world increasingly have effects on people in distant places, and even most local events potentially have huge global effects (Held, 2002: 60-61; Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2008:8).

Dobson (2005) examines globalisation, cosmopolitanism and the environment. Using the environment as an example, he argues that globalisation has reinforced inequalities (Dobson 2005:261) and that what is absent in Held's (2002) description of globalisation 'is the asymmetry at work in it'. He contrasts 'interdependence globalisation with an asymmetrical view that builds inequality into the description of the phenomenon' (Dobson, 2005:261; Hannerz, 1997). For him, globalisation has created new environmental problems and has aggravated the existing ones.

From an IR point of view, Griffiths, O'Callagham and Roach (2002:131) describe globalisation as encouraging 'global interdependence' and possibly, in due course, 'global political and economic integration'.[33] They argue that globalisation is thus 'a revolutionary concept, involving the deterritorialisation of social, political, economic, and cultural life' (2002:131). They suggest that globalisation is a drastic transformation of existing economic and political structures in international relations (2002:132).

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[33] Chandler (2009:530) notes that the general belief today is 'that politics, power and resistance increasingly make themselves felt at the global level rather than primarily at the level of nation states – the traditional subjects of international relations'

Robinson (2007:126) examines the globalisation debate and theoretical discourses. He notes that while there is disagreement amongst scholars about what constitutes globalisation, we can recognise some points with which most scholars would agree. First, the latter decades of the twentieth century have witnessed an increasing speed of social change with multidimensional connotations of globalisation theories. Second, there is growing connectivity among people and nations in the world. Robinson suggests that most scholars would agree that the effects of globalisation are noticeable everywhere both in economic, social, cultural, political and ideological processes, and that various aspects of globalisation are interconnected. Robinson (2007: 127) suggests that perhaps the most significant 'domain question' in the studies of globalisation is: 'when does globalisation begin?' Robinson identifies three broad approaches to this question. In the first approach, it is viewed as a process that has been going on since the beginning of history (within a 5,000–10,000 years frame). In the second approach, it is viewed as a process that is being contaminated with the spread of capitalism and modernity (within a 500 year frame). In the third approach, it is viewed as a recent phenomenon connecting with such 'processes of post-industrialisation, postmodernisation or the restructuring of capitalism' (within a 20–30 years frame) (Robinson (2007: 127). A second 'domain question' identified by Robinson seeks to know whether the centre of globalisation process is economic, political or cultural.

Another domain question within globalisation studies seeks to know whether globalisation refers to a process or to a condition. According to Robinson (2007:127), most theorists would see it as a process of transformation while some theorists refer to globality as a condition. Robinson identifies five main samples of the theories of globalisation: (1) the 'world-system theory', which sees globalisation as the same as the birth and spread of world capitalism and the division of the world into three great regions: the core, the peripheral and the semi-peripheral;[34] (2) 'the network society', which typifies an approach to globalisation through technology or the notion of globalisation as a 'new information age', also referred to by some as the 'new economy'. One view in this approach sees the development of new information technology (IT), particularly computers and the Internet, as representing a new technological paradigm while others believe that the power of these technologies is being used by the capitalist nations to introduce a new system of 'information capitalism' (including the ownership and control of the global media corporations); (3) the theories of space and place which conceive globalisation as the reconfigurations of time and social space. For example Giddens perceived globalisation as 'time-space distanciation'. He defines time-space distanciation as ' the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'(Giddens, 1990:64); (4) 'theories of transnationality and transnationalism', which describe different revolution processes, practices and developments that happen at the

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[34] See also Wallerstein, I. (2000) Globalisation or the age of transition? *International Sociology*, 15 (2): 249–65.

same time on a local and global level, and that individuals, societies and organisations are connected in economic, political, social and cultural matters across national boundaries; (5) the 'modernity and postmodernity' theories which conceptualise that we are living now in a postmodern world. However, some theorists in this group think that globalisation has merely revolutionised or concluded the project of modernity; (6) the 'global culture' approach, which emphasises the globalisation of cultural forms, belief systems and ideologies over the economic and/or the political (Robinson, 2007:128-141).

Some communication, media and IR scholars connect media and globalisation. For example, Rantanen (2004:1) notes that 'the early globalisation theorist Marshall McLuhan made this connection by combining 'the medium is the message' with his theory of 'global village'. As a result, McLuhan's (1964:5) famous theory of the 'global village' is acknowledged by many scholars when explaining the concept of globalisation (e.g. Shawcross, 1993:5; Allen and Hemnett, 1995:31; Giddens, 1991:24). However, some who are sceptical about McLuhan's theory of the global village doubt the extent to which the world is truly global (Feist, 2001).

In addition, some observers think that the rise in global media, technology and trade has facilitated transnational flows, global integration and complex interdependence, which has resulted in media and cultural imperialism, growing inequalities in power, wealth and position between

the developed and developing countries (McChesney, 2010:188; Straubhaar, 2010:262; Keohane and Nye, 2000; Alleyne, 1995).

Using Lenin's analysis of imperialism, Fuchs (2010:1) examines whether modern society can be considered as representing a new type of the Marxist notion of imperialism. Fuchs (2010:1) notes that Lenin's five features of imperialism are: (1) the role of economic concentration; (2) the dominance of finance capital; (3) the importance of capital export; (4) the spatial stratification of the world as result of corporate dominance; and (5) the political dimension of the spatial stratification of the world.[35] Fuchs (2010:34) categorises contemporary theories of imperialism, empire and global capitalism, on the continuum that describes the newness of imperialism. He observes that at one end of the continuum are scholars who contend that imperialism is not present today and that a post-imperialist empire has surfaced. At the other end of the continuum are scholars who think that contemporary capitalism is just as imperialistic as was imperialism one hundred years ago or that it has formed a new imperialism (Fuchs, 2010:34). In analysing Lenin's first characteristic of imperialism, which is the role of economic concentration, Fuchs (2010:37) found that there is a high concentration of information industries in both Europe and the US. He states that:

> *'In the entire US media sector, there were 330 large corporations (>1000 employees), which accounted for 0.01 per cent of all media corporations in 2002, but controlled 78 per cent of all revenues. In the telecommunications sector, 72 large corporations made up 0.9*

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[35] See (Lenin, 1912; 1916; 1917:177–270).

per cent of all companies in the industry, but controlled 88 per cent of all sector-wide revenues.' (Fuchs, 2010: 37)

Fuchs (2010:55) in his analysis, tests the role of the media and information industries in the new imperialism. He concludes that the media and information industries play a significant role in the new imperialism but they are "not dominant", because 'they are subsumed under finance capital and the continued importance of fossil fuel, which is a resource that motivates imperialist warfare' (Fuchs, 2010: 56). Fuchs suggests that Lenin's theory of imperialism ought to be used to explain contemporary media and communication studies (2010:56). Following Fuchs, media imperialism theory remains relevant and crucial in analysing the impact of the global news media on Nigeria, which this study seeks to investigate.

There have been debates among media and IR scholars on the homogenising influence of the global media industries on local identities, culture and ideologies (Chadha and Kavoori, 2005:85). Many perceive globalisation of the media as a harmful influence that will eventually annihilate the cultural uniqueness of certain countries by flooding them with media content from the United States (McChesney, 2010: 189; Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004:243). Advanced nations in Europe are vulnerable to this influence, which at times is characterised as "McDonaldisation" or Coca-Colonisation (Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004; Griffiths, O'Callagham and Roach, 2002:131). McChesney (2010:188) affirms that 'the rise to dominance of the global commercial media system is more than an economic matter; it also has clear implications for media content, politics, and culture'. Martell (2007:175) notes that culturally,

nations may well respond to globalisation differently. Rayner, Wall and Kruger observe that it is the poorest nations that are mainly susceptible to globalisation, as they may lack the capability to combat the western cultural encroachment (2004:243).

Curran and Gurevitch (2005:85) note that the neo-Marxist and functionalist positions on globalisation argue that globalisation is chiefly driven by the wish of developed capitalist nations to continue their economic and cultural domination by penetrating markets all over the globe; consequently there has emerged what one reporter has termed "pan-capitalism" (2005:85). Some of this opinion see globalisation as an alternative to western hegemony (Curran and Gurevitch, 2005:85; Devereux, 2003:31; Tomlinson, 1991). For some scholars, globalisation is assessed more positively. According to Devereux (2003:31), a positive viewpoint about globalisation would argue that the process of globalisation introduces the likelihood of building a real 'global society'.

Some theorists acknowledge the presence of western media and cultural products linked with globalisation, but oppose the view that the flows of global media symbolise a kind of dominance or one- direction transfer (Thussu, 2010: 230; Curran and Gurevitch, 2005:85). They, however, argue that 'there is a contra-flow of culture from the periphery to the centre as well as between geo-cultural markets, especially in the area of television and films' (Thussu, 2010: 230; Curran and Gurevitch, 2005:85). It has been argued that media globalisation promotes 'multidimensional

flows of media imagery' (Curtin, 2004: 272). Thussu (2010:221) argues that 'the rise of non-western media may reflect a refiguring of hegemony in more complex ways', noticeably with the rise of China, such that economic (and most likely political and cultural) influences will increasingly be located in the East (China) as much as in the West' (Youngs, 2008:1).

Wasserman and Rao (2008:163) argue that in areas such as media and journalism, globalisation has made an impact on the countries in the South. Drawing from Sreberny (2005), Wasserman and Rao (2008:164) note that the complication of the global media arrangements in the contemporary world has made it understandable that there should be a reconsideration of those earlier paradigms and traditions by which the media globalisation process had been described as 'communication for development, dependency and cultural imperialism' (Wasserman and Rao, 2008:164). They further note that globalisation scholars and researchers are starting to recognise that countries in the South present 'contra flows' in opposition to western media domination, and build up their own schemes to oppose or weaken such cultural homogenisation.

Rantanen (2004:4) argues that even though many scholars acknowledge the indispensable roles of the media in the globalisation process, early debates and strong contributions on globalisation were not started by media and communication scholars. He argues that 'the role of media and communications is, of course, obvious in globalisation theories, but it is not necessarily visible' (Rantanen, 2004:4).

Adler and Mittelman (2004:198) evaluate the effects of globalisation. They found that '88 percent of the interviewees (or the survey participants) believe that globalisation has a direct impact' (Adler and Mittelman 2004:198). 'Of the 88 percent, two thirds says that globalisation diminishes the quality of their lives' (Adler and Mittelman, 2004:198), although, a 'small but notable minority (19 percent) claim that globalisation enhances the quality of life' (2004:198). Furthermore, their study also records replies about the impact of features of globalisation and their cost for everyday life. The result shows that the participants think that the impact of features of globalisation is negative (in altering local cultures, reducing government expenditure, and privatisation) (2004:198). According to Alder and Mittelman, 'these findings clearly suggest that interviewees think that globalisation is not a monolith, and readily differentiate the impact of its various dimensions' (2004:1999).

From an IR point of view, Martell (2007: 173) examines the third wave in globalisation. He identifies three waves or perspectives in globalisation theory and debate: the hyperglobalists, the sceptics, and the transformationalists (Held et al., 1999:3). The first perspective, often categorised as "hyperglobalists", suggests that national economies are increasingly becoming insignificant or even do not exist anymore as a result of free movement of capital, technological transformation, increased multinational businesses and economic interdependence. Martell also notes that the globalist perspective is viewed as "economistic" in that economic changes have political and cultural implications. This

perspective believes that the global economy has integrated and included more parts of the world. However, whether or not this has been a positive development is a subject of debate. This school of thought also sees that nation states are becoming less powerful and influential, while the Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations, and transnational actors such as multinational corporations (MNCs) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) are becoming more powerful than the nation-states (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008:9; Saddiki, 2006: 103; Hosseini, 2006:20). The hyperglobalist perspective is that national differences are becoming less significant due to people consuming culture from around the world, instead of depending on their own country.

The second perspective, often referred to as the sceptics, reject the hyperglobalists' claim that the power of the nation-states is being weakened. They think that the states' power is continuing, and that the role of the nation-states is continuing inside and outside their own boundaries, and that the state is acting as an agent of the transnational processes of globalisation (Martell, 2007: 173; Held et al., 1999). They also think that the integration of the world economy is not a new thing and that the global economy is not globally inclusive.

The third wave according to Martell (2007: 173) is the tranformationalists. They share concern with the sceptics but cannot deny the unprecedented movement of the process of globalisation. For example, economic

interdependence is believed to have increased considerably in recent decades. In examining the three waves of globalisation theory, Martell argues that third wave scholars draw conclusions that attempt to support globalisation, yet embrace qualifications that in actual fact restate the positions of the sceptics (Martell 2007: 173). He concludes that the third wave presents a more complicated structure than the first wave in that it demonstrates the authenticity of globalisation today and weaken sceptics' assertion that 'we, at best, live in an era of internationalisation rather than on a new global plane above and beyond the international' (Martell, 2007: 173).

As scholars debate these conceptions of globalisation, another strong debate concentrates on the increasing power of big corporations that operate at the global level. Lee and Rugman (2009:59) argue that 'multinational enterprises (MNEs) are the key institutions driving globalisation'. Their growing power and operations, especially in the developing countries have raised arguments from both positive and negative perspectives. Those with a positive view argue that multinational corporations 'can spur economic activities in developing countries and provide an opportunity to improve the qualities of life, economic growth, and regional and global commons' (Vasquez and Litvin, 2003). Those with a negative view accuse MNCs of destructive activities such as damaging the environment, complicity in human rights abuses, and involvement in corruption. Whether or not such allegations are true or false is a topic of political debate. It has been argued that many MNCs are

now attempting to deal with these complex sets of issues in the host countries by putting into practice corporate social responsibility (CSR) (Vasquez and Litvin, 2003).

To this end, it is pertinent to note that the debates on globalisation have not ceased. Hirst and Thompson (2002:263) examining the future of globalisation reach the following conclusion: (1) that the present state of international interconnectedness is not extraordinary and that earlier experiences of integration have produced a reaction and have ended in the weakening of international trade and investment; (2) that nation-states are not being weighed down and that 'the future of extended multilateral governance does not look promising'. They predict that in a turbulent physical and international environment the nation-state may become more important as a means of security against global forces beyond supranational governance; and (3) that there may be natural limits to the expansion of international trade, that national borders do matter; and that we may be coming close to those limits. Martell (2007:176) based on the Third Wave perspective (as discussed earlier) suggest that 'globalisation's future is uncertain and open-ended...; it can take different forms (perhaps more neoliberal or more social democratic)'; 'or it can even be reversed rather than giving rise to ever increasing globalisation or the continuation of the nation-state structure'.   The above conclusions suggest that debate on globalisation is more or less sure to carry on. Also, the debate about its costs and benefits is expected to increase.[36]

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[36] See also Kegley (2008:331)

So far, the review of current debates on globalisation from both the IR and media perspectives would seem to suggest that over the past decades, the debates have focused mainly on the reality, benefits and cost of globalisation. Little or nothing has been said about how to address the cost of globalisation especially in the developing countries, of which this study, amongst its other objectives, seeks to investigate. Nevertheless, the literature on globalisation debates, as well as the theory of globalisation (as also discussed in Chapter One), offer the framework to understand the impact of the global news media on Nigeria. Crucial to this study is also the review of the concept and characteristics of media and news globalisation.

2.3 Media and News Globalisation:

Ndlela (2009:56) suggests that globalisation of media entails the change of media industries and the support of local and transnational networks of communication. The convergence of television and broadband has not only opened new opportunities for the flow of media content (Thussu, 2010:222), but has also provided new prospects and challenges to media studies around the world (Ndlela, 2009:56; Wasserman and Rao, 2008; Devereux, 2003). It has also been argued that media globalisation is increasing the direction, speed and volume of information flow across the globe (Thussu, 2010:221; Devereux, 2003). Baran and Davis (2002) argue that media globalisation has also helped in producing and disseminating information. Saddiki (2006:94) observes that because of the extensive

coverage of the latest ICTs, particularly TV channels, it is marked by the following five characteristics:

> '1. It is broadcast around the clock 24 hours a day;
> 2. It is transmitted in real-time,
> 3. It is broadcast from every place in the world to every place;
> 4. It is headline dominated; and
> 5. It is live event-oriented.'

Feist (2001: 716) argues that 'technology is altering the reporting of news around the world as well as the way that individuals across the globe are receiving globally distributed media messages.[37] Feist (2001: 709) suggests that technology will be the thrust as the media develop from 'print-based and broadcast-based methods of communication to become an integrated computer-based and computer-transmitted multimedia' mixture accessible to nearly everybody who owns a computer and is connected to the Internet.

A number of analysts observe that the primary attributes of media globalisation over the past decade or so include the growth of a few media transnational corporations (TNCs) coupled with the tendency towards the centralising of media operations, and the increase and intensification of commercialisation (McChesney, 2010:189; Thussu, 2010; Devereux, 2003; Herman and McChesney 1997:8; Thompson, 1995:160). Devereux (2003:35) identifies that corporations, for instance AOL-Time Warner, Bertelsmann, Disney, Viacom and News Corporations, operate at

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[37] 'News, globalisation of satellite technology coupled with trends in transnational media ownership and control have created global patterns of information transmission characterised by both convergence and diversity' (Watson and Hill, 2003:195).
See also Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998).

international level in creating, broadcasting and marketing their own media products.

Notable in the rise of the media, in globalisation, is the extraordinary transformation the trend has brought to media studies and journalistic practices (Ndlela 2009: 56, Wasserman and Rao, 2008). Ndlela (2009:55) suggests that the transformation of the media and the rearrangement of the media studies curricula around the world show the significance of connecting this development to the trend of globalisation. Pavlik (2000:229) observes that technological change affects journalism in four ways: (1) the method by which journalists perform their work; (2) the quality of news content; (3) the arrangement of newsroom and news industries; (4) the quality of relationships between and among media industries, reporters and their audiences, rivals, sources of news, sponsors and those who try to manage the media (2000:229).

Berglez (2008:847) examining the meaning of global journalism, affirms that the epistemology of global journalism is defined as 'global outlook'. Berglez observes that it is difficult for any mainstream news media to produce only a global outlook without national domestication. This implies that although global media cover global events they still follow the traditional national outlook (2008:847-848). He identifies CNN, BBC and Reuters as global media. According to him, these news networks in their financial reporting deliver a global outlook, but not so with their political, cultural and ecological issues (Berglez, 2008:848). Berglez (2008:851)

observes that a global news style occurs when international actors such as multinational and global powers are incorporated in news reporting. He describes global powers as actors who possess both economic and political power with the ability to influence the whole world. Berglez (2008:851) attempts to differentiate traditional foreign news journalism from global journalism. While the former comprises global powers such as G8, IMF, EU, Google, the World Bank, NATO, Microsoft, and the Hollywood film industry, the latter concentrates particularly on how people's lives are affected at the domestic (local/national) level by such powers and, inversely, how the tiny choices people and governments make every moment of every day change or challenge the power of the global players (Berglez, 2008:851).

2.3.1 Glocalisation and Subaltern Flows

The idea of "*glocalisation"* was shared and advanced by authors such as Robertson (1995), Thussu (2010; 2007), Rhedding-Jones (2002), Roudometof (2005), Rao (2009) and Wasserman and Rao (2008). According to Robertson, the word '"*glocal*" and the process noun "*glocalisation*" are formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend'. Also, according to the Oxford Dictionary of New Words the idea has been 'modelled on Japanese dochakuka (deriving from Dochaku "living on one's own land"), originally the agricultural principle of adapting one's farming techniques to local conditions, but also adopted in Japanese business for global localisation, a global outlook adapted to local conditions'(Robertson, 1995:28). The idea of glocality is meant to go beyond the binary opposition

between the 'global' and the 'local' and to give a precise linguistic depiction of their blending in the real world (Robertson, 1994; Rhedding-Jones ,2002: Roudometof, 2003: 50–3; Urry, 2002: 83–9). Simplistic models of globalisation present the global as opposite to the local. Doing away with either/or choices allows for the emergence of what some have termed *'glocalisation'* (Robertson 1995). This disallows the binary division between local and global and hence leads to the `triumph of culturally homogenizing forces over others' (Robertson 1995: 25). Rao (2009) examines the "*glocalisation*" of Indian journalism. Rao argues that *glocalisation* involves the transformation of the local, however not to the point that it will be beyond recognition as local. Instead 'global and local are contexts that mutually affect each other without being absorbed within each other according to any hierarchical order' (Rao, 2009:486). Roa argues that 'the impact of globalisation on news, when recognised as *glocalisation,* can be explained as 'a set of practices where the local media have absorbed the global (or, at times, rejected them), rejuvenated the local, and given audiences possibilities of strengthening democratic discourses'. By this Roa means that the forces of western globalisation have not destroyed the local (Hafez, 2007: 23); instead the local is being adapted to transnational media in many ways. Robertson (1995: 25) notes that globalisation has led to the production and integration of new forms of locality. He further affirms that *glocalisation* portrays the dynamics of the local in the global and the global in the local (Robertson 1995: 25).

For Thussu (2007:19), the increasing rate of western media flows around the world is central to *glocalisation*. Thussu notes that this seems to be leading to the appearance of what has been characterised by Sony as ' global localisation'- wherein media content and services are adapted to certain cultural consumers, not mainly due to any regard for national cultures, but motivated by commercial interest. Thussu argues that a glocalisation approach provides a good example of how the global can include the transnational as well as geo-cultural by co-opting the local so as to sustain the dominant flow. He further notes that the trend of localisation is visible in the proliferation of regional versions of western, especially American, magazines or newspapers; the broadcast of television channels in local languages and even the production of local programming and in the creation of websites for local languages. He notes that for example in India, the cartoon network has indigenised its operation to incorporate traditionally Indian cultural themes (Thussu, 2007:19).

New transnational networks that are similar to the globalisation of American media networks have appeared, leading to what has been termed 'Easternisation and South-South flows'(Thussu; 2010: 230; 2007: 21; Nederveen Pieterse, 2003:300). Thussu argues that global media flow is not only a one way traffic from the West (especially the USA) to other parts of the world, though it favours mostly the West. Thussu (2010), examining what he calls '*subaltern*' contra-flows, argues that new transnational actors have appeared, giving rise to what has been termed '*subaltern flows'*. New transnational networks which are originating from

major cities in the Global South such as, Hong Kong, Mumbia and Cairo represent these *'subaltern flows'* (2007:21). There has been an increase in the growth of multilingual content coming from cities in the Global South (Sowerby, 2010). Thussu notes that non-western countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, Brazil and India have progressively emerged as important distributors of cultural products (Thussu, 2010: 230-231).The growing flows of content from the Global South to the North has been made possible by the presence of digital technologies as well as the privatisation and deregulation of satellite networks and broadcasting. Examples of the increasing international visibility of these regional broadcasting companies and networks include the pan-Arabic Middle East Broadcasting Company(MBC), the Al-Jazeera 24/7 news network and the appearance of Korean and Indian films (Thussu, 2007:21).

So far, the literature on media and news globalisation provides us with the understanding of the concept and the attributes of media and news globalisation as well as glocalisation of journalism and subaltern flows, which is crucial in analysing the impact of the global news media on Nigeria - the case this study seeks to investigate. Crucial to this study is also the understanding of the role and power of the media in globalisation, which will be reviewed in the next section.

2.4   Media Roles and Power in Globalisation

Rantenen (2004:4) notes that a good number of theorists agree that basically, globalisation cannot take place without the media and communication. It has been argued that the global media corporations perform an essential function in creating global awareness to the extent that global events are believed to intrude on daily awareness through media products (Devereux, 2003:32). Devereux acknowledges that both the positive and negative views about globalisation agree largely on the essential function which television and especially the Internet perform in the process of globalisation (2003:31-32).

A number of scholars have also observed that the global media promote and perpetuate the ideology of consumerism by stressing what is thought to be a popular way of life. They do so through advertisement, sponsorship and by giving approval. Consumerism has been argued to be a priority of the New Capitalism and the globalisation process (Skovmand and Schroder, 1992:19; Devereux, 2003: 33). In the view of Noam Chomsky (1992), the role of the media ranges from being agents of international consumerism to the total manufacturing of consent. The media are perceived as cleverly gathering together public support for special exclusive interests. Skovmand and Schroder (1992:19) argue that 'the ideology of consumerism encourages people to seek private solutions to problems by purchasing a commodity. It urges them to buy their way out of trouble rather than pressing for social change and improved social provision'.

Thussu (2010:5), examining the relationship between communication and power, argues that the mass media is a tool for political propaganda. The softer description of political propaganda has been termed as 'soft power' (Thussu, 2010:5). Nye (2010: 333), in his writing on public diplomacy and soft power, defines soft power as 'getting others to want the outcomes that you want — [it] co-opts people rather than coerces them'. Nye (2010:333) adds that 'soft power rests on the ability to shape the preference of others'. For him, soft power is not just influence, but it is one basis of influence. It exceeds the capacity to persuade or move the public by means of argument (Nye, 2010: 333). It entails the ability to entice and attract (Nye, 2010:333). Nye suggests that public diplomacy is a tool which governments employ to attract people of other nations by drawing their attention to the possible resources through 'broadcasting, subsidising cultural exports, arranging exchange and so forth' (Nye, 2010: 334).

However, the increasing role and power of the media in globalisation not only reinforces the social responsibilities theory of the press, but has also provoked a great deal of rethinking about free press theory, which promotes liberalisation and privatisation of the media (Hallin and Mancini, 2010 : 154; Castells, 2010: 38; McQuail, 2000:149). As already discussed in Chapter One, social responsibility theory describes the concept of media ownership as a form of public trust or stewardship, rather than as an unlimited private franchise (McQuail, 2000:149). McQuail, drawing from the view of William Hocking (1947:169), about the inseparable nature of

the right of the media to be free and the right of the people to have a free press, argues that public interest has moved beyond that position. It is now the right of the public to have a suitable press. Of the two rights, 'it is the right of the public that takes precedence', he says. McQuail declares that, 'this is the primary basis for the demand for responsibility' (2000:149). The other basis for the demand of responsibility, he says, is the fact that media ownership is now highly concentrated in the hands of few people, giving them huge power (McChesney, 2010: 189). This power, he says 'carries with it a responsibility to exercise it with great caution and respect for others' (McQuail, 2000:149). It is on this basis of social responsibility theory that this study also draws its strength in analysing the impact of the global news media on Nigeria.

Fuchs (2010) in his study of new imperialism found that media ownership has become highly concentrated in the US and Europe (Fuchs, 2010; Devereux, 2003). It has been argued that deregulation, liberalisation, privatisation (Castells, 2010: 38) and growing commercialisation have made possible the concentration of ownership (Wasserman and Rao, 2008:165; Thussu, 2010: 222). Neoliberal policies of "free market" have created the opportunity for ownership of cable and satellite networks for private and transnational interests (McChesney, 2010:190). These developments are making it difficult for the press to be a free marketplace of ideas, and consequently are seen by some to be inappropriate to the needs of the developing nations (Mohammadi, 1997:44).

So far, the literature on the roles and power of the media in a globalizing world, based on the social responsibility theory and free press theory (the theoretical frameworks of this study), will help us analyse the performance of the global news media in reporting on Nigeria, and primarily, the impact of their coverage on Nigeria. Crucial to this study is also the literature on the disparities and model of international news flow.

2.5 The Disparities and Model of International News Flow

Garyantes and Murphy (2010: 152), drawing from Chalaby (2007:70), from an international communication perspective, note that the emergence of new media spaces as a result of globalisation 'are not only changing patterns of international communication flows, but also . . . creating contemporary cultures pregnant with new meanings and experiences'. Against the background of world system / dependency theory, Chang et al. (2009:141), argue that the presence or absence of hyperlinks on websites on the Internet, especially news websites, could not be duly ascribed to the inadequacy of the network itself or to its complication and variety. Part of the answer, they argue, 'could be largely rooted in the political economy of the world system' (Chang et al., 2009:141). They note that the dependency theory put forward that, due to earlier colonialism and economic exploitation, the international structure is mainly 'a two-tier concentric market'. While the western developed countries and Japan are located at the centre, the rest of the world remains at the periphery, particularly countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Oceania (Chang et al., 2009:141). Similarly, Ndlela (2009:62-63) argues

that 'in a globalised world characterised by uneven power relations, cultural centres as places where culture is produced and from where it is diffused, are located in the centre'. Chang et al. (2009:141) illustrate (in Figure 2) the determinants of international flow and hyperlinks of foreign news in cyberspace.

Figure 2: Determinants of international flow and hyperlinks of foreign news in cyberspace
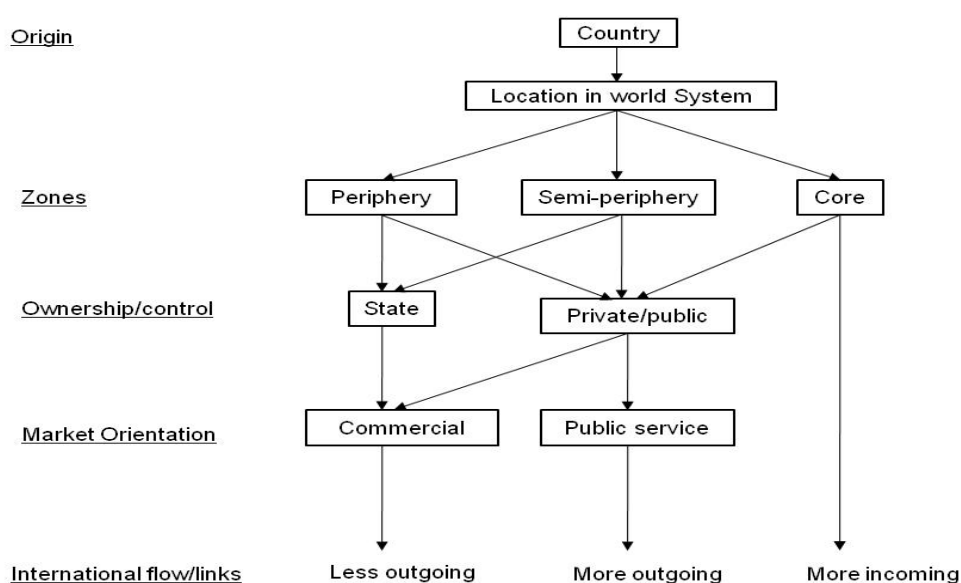
Source: Chang et al., (2009:141)

According to Chang..., this model of international flow and hyperlinks of foreign news shows that 'core countries are more likely to be connected through incoming hyperlinks on the Internet than semi-peripheral and peripheral nations' (Chang et al., 2009:141). They suggest that 'there will be a higher probability of linkage for the core countries' (Chang et al., 2009:141). They argue that, 'by occupying the central position in the global communication system, a core nation such as the USA or the UK in the world system is more probable to 'command foreign attention in the flow of

news and information than countries in the other two zones' (Chang et al., 2009:141). Core countries also stand at the higher level of the world to mediate how the countries at the lower level ought to resolve and settle their conflicts or dispute (2009: 141). They add that together as a sender and as a receiver, the actions of a core country may possibly have severe effects on people at the semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. And the majority of countries in the semi-periphery and periphery are unlikely to draw cross-national news attention for many reasons, including freedom of the press.

Straubhaar (2010: 262) notes that dependency theory critics such as Lee (1980) argued that the development of US media into international business and investment could be recognised more as a normal sense of a business succession, rather than as a consequence of universal imperialism or plan to dominate. Straubhaar (2010:266) further notes that the context of dependency was significant in the analysis of early history of Third World broadcasting in the 1950s and 1960s, due to the costs of opening radio and television stations. However, a number of analysts have argued that lack of funds, poor infrastructure, lack of professionalism and press freedom affect the media system in developing countries, making them more dependent on the western media (Fatoyinbo, 2000; Esipisu and Kariithi, 2007:2; Richstad, 2000; Stevenson, 1994). In this regard, Ndlela (2009:56) affirms that: 'For African media institutions, globalisation has increased the degree of dependence on the West rather than making them more independent'. Straubhaar (2010:265) notes that dependency

theorists attribute such a state of dependency to low wealth caused by the exploitation of the developed countries as they pay meagre prices for primary products from poor countries.

Using International Telecommunication Union data, Goldstein and Pevehouse (2010:372), show the phone and Internet gap between the global North and the global South from 1994 – 2008 (See Figure 2a). They argue that 'a person living in the global North is four times as likely as a person in the global South to have a land line or cell phone, and eight times as likely to use the Internet'(Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2010:371). They describe such gaps together with the gap in information access inside a country, as a digital divide (2010:371). Similarly, Flanagan, Frost and Kugler (2001:24) demonstrate the density of worldwide communication flow on a single day. The highest density of flow is observed across North America, Europe and Northeast Asia (2001:24).

Figure 2a: Phone and Internet gap between the global North and the global South from 1994 – 2008.

The North-South digital divide, 1994-2008
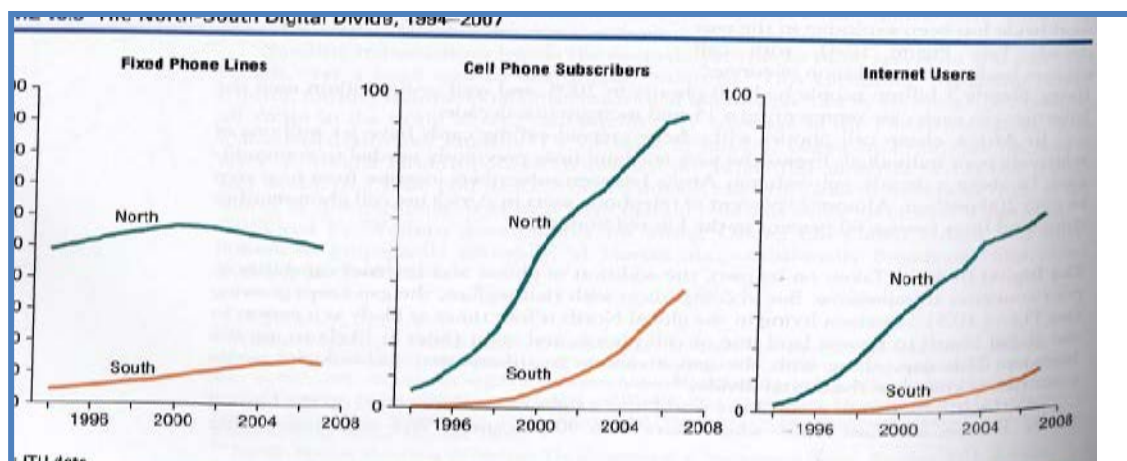
Source: Goldstein and Pevehouse (2010:372)

Richstad (2000:278) in his study of 'Asian Journalism in the Twentieth Century', points out that 1952 and 1953 witnessed the first main studies planned to comprehend and get better global news flow 'in the International Press Institute's *As Others see US and Flow of News'*. According to him, the Third World and developing countries cried out for more rationalisation and fair representation of common people (Richstad, 2000: 278).

Greg Philo (2001), in his study of how the media portrays the poor, states that:

> *'For over 30 years, numerous academic studies of how news flows between the developing and the developed world have reached the same conclusion: far from being two-way, news circulates in a deeply uneven and distorted manner. "Not only is there a quantitative imbalance in news flow, with the Third World receiving far more material about the First World than vice versa," says media theorist Annabelle Sreberny," but the continual coverage of the global centres of the industrial world contrasts with the intermittent images of the south in crisis.'*

Additionally, the literature on international news flow in the 1990s looked at the differences in the structure of global news flow. For example, McQuail and Windahl (1993:215) declared that the fundamental truth had to be known 'that "free" international communication in the modern world was bound to be unequal and one-directional, from rich to poor and from north to south'.

Alleyne (1995:69) from an International Relations point of view argues that in the case of global news flow, the definitions of news are determined by

those with power. He illustrated this hierarchy in the structure of global news flows in Figure 2b.

Figure 2b: The structure of global news flows
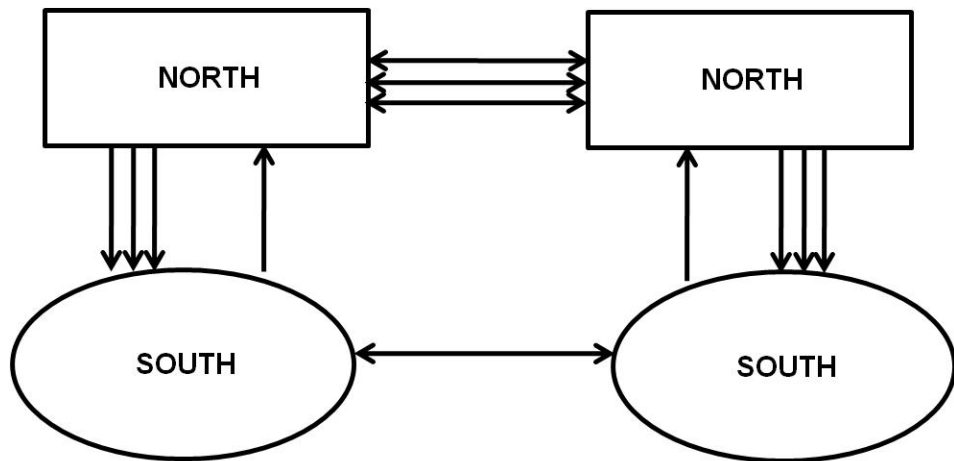
Source: Alleyne (1995:70)

'North= the richer, industrialised states concentrated mainly in the northern hemisphere's regions of North America and Europe, and also including Japan.
South = the smaller, poorer states located mainly in the southern hemisphere and concentrated in such regions as Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia.' (Alleyne, 1995:70)

Alleyne (1995:69) observes that news flow between regions differs '*quantitatively* and *qualitatively*'. According to him, 'the high quantitative and qualitative North-North flow can be contrasted with the South- South flow which is relatively low in quantity and quality' (1995:71). "South-south flow" is irregular not just due to 'its very different quantitative and qualitative character, but also because it has a higher propensity not to flow directly' (Alleyne, 1995:71).

Galtung's argument on international news flow in the 1970s is relevant in understanding contemporary global news flow. Galtung's study of structural imperialism in the 1970s demonstrates a communication model which shows the direction of news flow (Galtung, 1971). His model shows communication regarding the Centre (western or developed nations) and the Periphery (Third World nations) countries. Galtung hypothesises that there is reduced flow among the periphery countries that join together to exploit their masses and keep them cut off and hostile to each other. Periphery countries are receivers from the Centre countries of a one-way flow of news and information- together with movies and television programmes (Galtung, 1971 cited in Richstad 2000: 276). The Centre-Periphery flow of international communication can also be associated with the theoretical premises propounded by Andre Gunder Frank in the field of International Relations, which envisage the centre-periphery structure to be one of the characteristics of the world system, which is also one of the premises of dependency theory. In world system approach, which is an outgrowth of dependency theory and Marxist in orientation, the manufacturing regions (industrialised region) are called the core or centre of the world system; the extraction regions (Third World) are called the periphery (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2006:464). Mowlana (1997:45) agrees with Galtung's theory and further illustrates the centre-periphery model of news flow in Figure 2c.

Figure 2c: Centre-periphery model of news flow
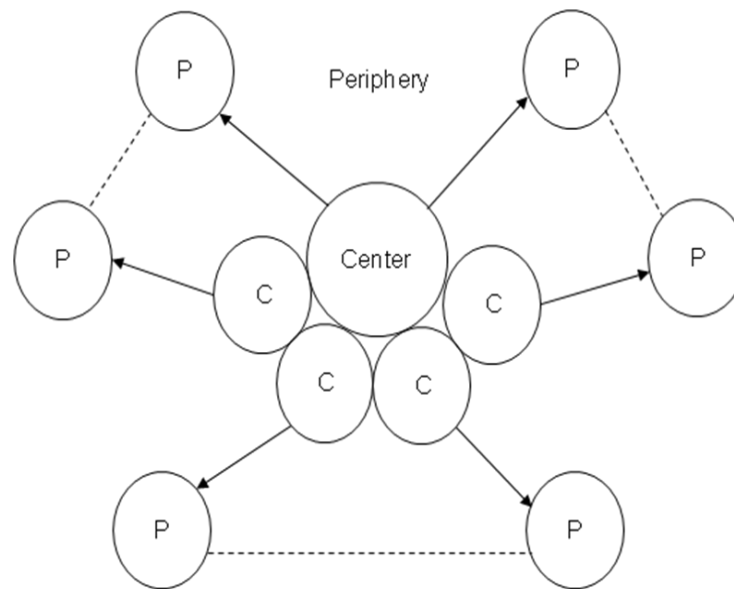
Source: Mowlana (1997:45)

Mowlana (1997:44) summarises Galtung's hypothesis in four statements portraying international news:

> '1.　There is a preponderance of "centre" news events reported in the world press systems
> 2.　There is a much larger discrepancy in the news exchange ratios of "centre" and "periphery" nations than in the exchange ratios of "centre nations.
> 3.　"Centre" news occupies a larger proportion of the foreign news content in the media of "periphery" nations than the "periphery" news occupies in the "centre" nations.
> 4.　There is relatively little or no flow of news among "periphery" nations especially across colonial-base bloc borders.'

Mowlana (1997:108) underlines that states and multinational corporations are the most important players in transborder data flow because they are heavy users of international computer communication systems, and own and operate local communication systems that propel and collect global information flow (Mowlana, 1997:109).

The aforementioned suggests that, while we should not turn a blind eye to the asymmetrical attributes of global news flow, we should also recognise the fact that there is a contra-flow from the rising economies such as China, Japan, South Korea, Brazil and India (Thussu, 2010:231). The literature on the models of international news flow, against the backdrop of dependency theory — one of the theoretical constructs of this study — is crucial in analysing both the quantitative and qualitative flow of global news in Nigeria as well as the perceived impact on Nigeria.

2.6 The Impact of Global News and Information Flow on International Relations in the 20th and 21st Century

Saddiki (2006:93) examines diplomacy in a changing world. He argues that since the end of the cold war, there has been a remarkable change in the way the international actors manage their diplomacy and foreign policy. He maintains that two major factors have basically influenced contemporary international relations. [38] According to him the 'cornerstone of these factors is the fast development of new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), and its impact on diplomacy practices' (Saddiki, 2006:93). He argues that 'the new ICTs, especially the global television channels and Internet, have replaced in many cases ambassadors as a main source of foreign information'. Citing Smith's

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[38] For convenience, when the activity of the real world is being referred to, the lower case 'international relations' will be used, and when reference is to the academic field, then the upper case 'International Relations' can be differentiated (Russell, 1984:391).

redefinition of diplomacy, Saddiki notes that it is 'the art of advancing national interests through the sustained exchange of information among government, nations, and other groups…' [39] (2006:103). Saddiki observes that the key thing to be noted in this definition is the importance given to communication.

Authors such as Keohane and Nye in the 20th century, argue that global communication will increase international interdependence 'in economics, in communications, in human aspirations' (Keohane and Nye, 2000:5; 1977:3). By 'interdependence', Keohane and Nye mean the growing relations and relative dependence between countries as a result of socio-economic integration. Keohane and Nye (2000:5) argue that 'interdependence affects world politics and the behaviour of states, but governmental actions also influence patterns of interdependence.'[40] Furthermore, they developed the term 'complex interdependency', which according to them, refers to 'situations characterised by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries' (Keohane and Nye, 1989:8). They argue that the reciprocal effects of interdependence entail both cost and benefits. They further maintain that increased economic and other forms of interdependency enhances the likelihood of cooperation among states and reduces the use of military force as a policy tool (Keohane and Nye, 1989:8; He, 2008:494). Interdependency theorists believe that the increase of transnational businesses will possibly diminish

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[39] See Smith(1999)
[40] Saddiki (2006:104) notes that the term 'complex interdependency' has been used by Keohane and Nye 'on the basis of new transnational flows to explain contemporary developments in international relations'.

the power of nation-states and increase the power of MNCs (Keohane and Nye, 1989). In this regard, Saddiki (2006: 104) notes that the end of World War II has seen the increase of new diplomatic actors (governmental and non-governmental). He argues that the growth of non state actors (NSA) challenges the power of the nation-states in the formulation and conduct of domestic and international public politics.

Straubhaar (2010) examines the concept of asymmetrical interdependence. Building on the concept of dependency, Straubhaar (2010:261) reinterprets the concept of asymmetry interdependence to refer to the range of possible connections wherein nations observe asymmetrical relationships among themselves while having variable levels of authority and ideas in politics, economics and culture.

It has been argued that widespread and rapid electronic communication and media flow across national boundaries (McLuhan, 1964:5) has made possible socio-economic integration and interdependency between countries (Keohane and Nye, 2000:5) to the extent that everyone is concerned in everybody else's business (Allen and Hemnett 1995:31), since what affects one country may possibly affect other countries or have a global impact (Berglez, 2008:851). According to Toffler (1980:335), every country is exposed to external penetration through global communication flow. Toffler (1980:334) argued that the new system of communications introduces new actors to the global stage and as a result weakens the authority of each nation-state.

Thussu (2010: 235) argues that 'media flows have a close relationship with economic power '. He concludes that 'media flows and contra-flows form part of the wider struggle over information flows which define power relations in the global information economy' (2010: 236). In spite of the huge flow of media across continents, cultures and communities, we ought not to ignore the truth that 'soft' media power is strongly 'underpinned by 'hard' political and economic power' (Thussu, 2010: 236). Alleyne connects international communication with international power when he asks:

> *'Can we really fully understand the transformation of political culture and the collapse of national governments without looking at the influence of global communications media that serve to undermine national autonomy?' (Alleyne, 1995:2).*

By this, Alleyne means that the global media industries have become powerful corporations in the world. They have influence on foreign and domestic policies. Also, their extensive coverage and deep penetration challenge the authority of governments. From an IR point of view, Alleyne further asks: 'What does the use of the new international communication technologies mean for the distribution of power and influence in the world?' (Alleyne, 1995:1). By this, Alleyne (1995) means that new communication technologies and the rules for using them have deliberately been used in global politics by the powerful nation states to exercise power and influence. He argues that power is 'not only about getting others to do what they otherwise might not do', 'but also about deciding the rules of the game' (Alleyne, 1995:16). He makes a distinction between the power of information and the power of communication. He explains that the 'power of ideas' is about the power of certain types of

information, while the power of communication refers to the media by which these ideas and other kinds of information are passed on to the public (Alleyne, 1995:15).

Garyantes and Murphy (2010: 151) examining framing and ideology in news coverage of the Iraqi national election, assert that globalisation which involves worldwide complex interconnections has produced a fresh system of distribution of economic and cultural power, wherein power is diffused instead of being concentrated. They add that the increase of media globalisation as well as political interdependence has reinforced the importance and prospects of understanding between cultures. They, however, argue that this opportunity is substantially missed, reflecting the rift between the Arab Muslim and western world, following the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001 (Garyantes and Murphy, 2010: 151).

Anderson, Brook, and Cochrane observe that the telecommunications regime functioned with little disagreement until the 1970s. They point out that by the late twentieth century the challenges of sustaining an effectual global communications network have become more complicated and very much more politicised (Anderson, Brook and Cochrane, 1995:40).

The International Conference of Labour and Social History (ITH) notes that the rapid increase of new transnational non-state networks and NGOs are an inherent part of globalisation, and as such avoid being regulated by the state (ITH, 2007). It is also believed that networks may be formed through

the flow of people, information, ideas, values, beliefs and opinions without the need for the people who circulate these ideas to move themselves in space (ITH, 2007). A further understanding is that transnational networks also comprise 'a centre and a periphery'. The centres of those networks and organisations functioning in a transnational identity are located in the centres of global power and the world economy (ITH, 2007).

Samuel Feist, an executive producer of public affairs programmes for the Cable News Network in Washington, believes that all nations will feel the impact of media convergence (2001:711). 'Even if every citizen is not online, virtually every community will be' he says. He argues that 'individual communities, whether in the United States, in Europe, or in rural China, will be more closely connected than ever before' (Feist 2001:711).

According to Feist (2001: 714), a number of people think that a world linked through business, civilisation, and communication is intrinsically more secure, because a nation with widespread economic and cultural links would avoid the economic damage and cultural commotion that would stem from aggressive military assault. Feist, however, opposed the notion that a larger international business and international connection at the beginning of the twentieth century would lessen the possibility of conflict or could totally eradicate it (2001:714). 'If it is true that this interconnectedness creates a safer world, then globalisation of the media would contribute to that safety' (Feist, 2001:714). Feist argues that the advancement of the 'global village', nevertheless, hardly removes war

(2001:714). Following Feist, this thesis would agree that globalisation of the media has not apparently contributed to world safety or peace; rather, it has provoked much anxiety about media imperialism and stimulated protests due to obvious growing global inequalities.

Furthermore, some have argued that one of the drastic impacts of the global news media is its cultural implications (Curran and Gurevitch, 2005). According to Rao (2009:475), 'the influences of globalisation broaden boundaries, yet also strengthen existing boundaries of self, identity, and culture'. Rapley (2004:96) notes that militants are frequently provoked by the fear that globalisation will erode the cultural identity of their people. According to Lehmannová (2003:244), cultural identity influences international process. He suggests that cultural identity 'is the self-reflection of both the society as a whole, and of individual personality. Cultural identity manifests itself, e.g*.,* in the process of intercultural communication as an aspect of international negotiations' (2003:244).

The explosion of information is gradually weakening the realist view of state sovereignty in International Relations. The increase in global information flow has empowered MNCs, NGOs and other new institutions to emerge as actors on the international stage (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2010:370-381). In this regard, Feist (2001) acknowledges the Internet as a brilliant "organisational device" mostly in circumstances where a government suppresses public opinion and opposition. He argues that in order to react to such challenges, 'governments and multilateral

organisations' have to be well equipped against activists and an overflow of contradictory information since the Internet permits groups to associate and correspond relatively secretly (2001:714). Feist argues that Internet access can weaken the power of government by strengthening the protester and by provoking faction and dissention (2001:714). According to him, globalisation as well as technology can subvert elements in a nation-state (2001:714).

In addition to this, it has been argued that foreign policy makers to some degree are influenced by the media. Examining this subject, Keith (1995:73) argues that the ways in which actions and views are covered in the news have both direct and indirect effects on foreign policy makers. According to him, the government may rely on the media to disseminate their information to the general public (1995:74). Keith describes the relationship that exists between policy makers and the press as 'symbiotic' (1995:74). He acknowledges Patrick O' Heffernan's view which perceives the media as 'part of the policy process' and the assertion that 'government has become and must remain part of the media process' (1995:74). Ekeanyanwu (2007:2) notes that democratic culture has also offered the news media and the media in general the opportunity of setting the agenda of political discussion and other kinds of socio-cultural and economic discussions. Gandy (1982: 7), in his work *Beyond Agenda Setting,* calls up researchers 'to go beyond agenda setting constructs to determine who sets the media agenda, how and for what purpose it is set, and with what impact on the distribution of power and values in society.'

According to McCombs (2004), agenda setting has expanded into five stages of effective scholarship which include (1) basic agenda setting effects: (2) attribute agenda-setting effects, (3) contingent conditions for agenda-setting effects; (4) sources of the media agenda; (5) and consequences of agenda-setting effects. Global media coverage of humanitarian crises and natural disasters such as famine, earthquakes and other disasters often captures the attention of governments and evokes overwhelming sympathy and response from people around the world, due to the visual imagery used by the media (Deveruex, 2003; Dunne, Kurki and Smith, 2007: 220-225). Such media influence has been described by some scholars as the "CNN effect", discussed below. According to Thussu, (2002: 205) such distorted reporting of wars potentially has a global impact, considering the international reach of the US-dominated western media. Thussu (2002:205) further argues that 'as in many other aspects of international information flows, global news and current affairs channels continue to have a northern, or more accurately, western bias'.

The foregoing suggests that in the 20th and 21st Century, the global news flow appears to have had significant impact on international diplomacy, economy, identity, culture and power relations. The literature on the impact of global news and information flow on IR, with the background of interdependency theory and agenda setting theory of the press, are crucial to evaluating and understanding the impact of global media on Nigeria.

2.6.1 The CNN effect

Hawkins (2002:1), examining the CNN factor, notes that the primary concept underlying the CNN effect suggests that the concentration, selection and packaging of emotionally based media coverage may evoke an emotional reaction among the people of a distant country, compelling the interest, and possibly the intervention, of the government of that country in a particular conflict. This concept suggests that the CNN factor has become a recognised tool which the global media use to influence foreign policy. Hawkins (2002:1), however, looks at the "other side" of the CNN effect, and argues that the concentration of the media on one particular conflict comes at the expense of another conflict, which often may be more serious (Hawkins, 2002). Hawkins notes that, even though the ability of the media to influence foreign policy is not a new experience, its effects since the 1980s have become very obvious due to the intense coverage of the Ethiopia famine of 1984–1985, which evoked much response (Hawkins, 2002:222). Saddiki (2006: 94) notes that '"CNN effect" thesis is based on the assumption that the news can make policy, or at least shape the environment of political decision-making'.

Robinson (2002:21), in his early argument about the CNN effect, maintains that describing the CNN effect requires the writers to find out 'who was setting the news agenda'. Some researchers of the CNN effect conclude that the news media agenda is being set by the officials and not the news reporters (Robinson 2002:22). Robinson argues that the meaning used by

these researchers of the CNN effect is insufficient (2002:22). One of the reasons for his contention is that the thesis lacks proof either to support or oppose the argument that, through persuading 'senior policy-makers to respond to emotive reporting of suffering people, news media coverage actually influences intervention during humanitarian crises' (Robinson 2002:23).

Robinson (2005) revisits the CNN effect. He holds that 'CNN, with its global reach, 24-hour news cycle, and foreign affairs agenda, came to encapsulate the idea of a media-driven foreign policy, creating the so-called "CNN effect"' (Robinson 2005:344). Robinson (2005:346) however, argues that concerning the CNN effect thesis, there are three developments which have minimised the possibilities of it happening. The first development, he says, is that 'the "war on terror" has pushed humanitarian concerns down, if not off altogether, the U.S. foreign policy agenda'. He further argues that not only does this imply that the CNN effect is not likely to happen, 'but also that media coverage has become far more deferential and constrained, thereby reducing the chances of an adversarial or oppositional media that might influence policy' (2005:346). The second development he says is that, in the 1990s, the humanitarian war discourse had served as an additional 'legitimating device employed by both British and U.S. political elites when justifying military action in Afghanistan and Iraq'. He notes that the disclosure of the Attorney General Lord Goldsmith made it clear that 'war in Iraq could not be justified in humanitarian terms' (Robinson, 2005:347). He adds that post 9/11 has

witnessed the conception of humanitarian intervention employed as a policy tool that western leaders have used to justify interventions motivated by national interest, and not selfless concern to help other people in need (2005:347). The third development mitigating the CNN effect, he says, pertains to 'the accelerated attempts by government to manage the information environment' (2005:347). The literature on CNN effect is relevant in this study in determining the occurrence of CNN effect in Nigeria (which will be examined in Chapter Five).

From a mass communication perspective, Frank (2006) examines how famine captured the headlines. He states that 'famines occurred regularly in the twentieth century and indeed throughout history: many of them were more severe than the Ethiopian famine of 1983—85'. However, the press coverage of this catastrophe was of a distinct magnitude to what had previously occurred (Franks, 2006:291). She adds that this discrepancy, wherein some distant news events are reported and others are neglected, is a continual issue in news reporting.

Examining media coverage of humanitarian crises from a poststructural perspective in International Relations and Politics, Dunne, Kurki and Smith (2007: 220-225) argue that 'visual imagery is of particular importance for international politics because it is one of the principle ways in which news from distant places is brought home'. From this perspective, they conclude that 'interpretation and representation are indispensible and unavoidable when it comes to engaging both the domain of international politics and

the field of International Relations'. Commenting on the Ethiopian famine of 1984, they note that content analyses of newspaper images during this period establish that mothers and children occurred more frequently than other issues. These famine images often show 'women and children, barely clothed, staring passively into the lens, flies flitting across their faces' (2007: 221). They further note that the 'Live Aid phenomenon' was brought about by these images (2007:221).

The argument at the centre of the CNN effect is who has the power to control? People who believe in the CNN effect argue that the media has weakened the functions of the policy specialists and diplomats to the extent that 'foreign policy is reactive to news content'. The journalists, programme producers and news editors make major judgements. In spite of the arguments surrounding the CNN effect, its literature is relevant in assessing the impact of the global news media on Nigeria, which this study seeks to investigate.

The reverse of the CNN effect has been described as 'manufacturing consent'. 'Manufacturing consent' thesis argues that the media are mobilised and manipulated into supporting government policy (Saddiki, 2006: 95). It describes when the governments and the dominant elites try to work with the media to create influence. 'Manufacturing consent' is based on Chomsky's model of how issues are framed and topics chosen by the media. Herman and Chomsky (1994: 1) argue that for the media to perform their role, they need what is called 'systematic propaganda'.

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Chomsky's propaganda model concentrates on 'inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interest and choices'. It locates the way in which money and power are able to filter out the news that's fit to print, and allow the government and dominant private interests to communicate their message to the public. Herman and Chomsky declare that it is hard for news to get into the mass media if they do not agree with the framework of the established system of belief or the status quo. They declare that governments manipulate news by intentionally diverting attention from other issues and imposing their own agenda (Herman and Chomsky, 1994:2).

2.7 Global News Representations of the Third World

A number of analysts have argued that Third World and developing countries are often negatively represented and stereotyped in the global news media, particularly the African countries (e.g. Ankomah, 2008a; Wall, 2007; Philo, 2001; Richstad 2000; Brookes, 1995; McQuail and Windahl, 1993).

A report by Boggan (2002) states that researchers have concluded that 'Live Aid, Bob Geldof's seminal charity event for Ethiopian famine victims, has left Britons with a negative stereotypical view of the developing world'. According to Boggan, the research suggests that 'the "*Live Aid legacy*" has had a profound influence on the nation's [Britain's] psyche', such that once the word "Africa" is pronounced a lot of Britons unconsciously

visualise 'war, starvation and grinding poverty' (Boggan, The Independent UK 7 January 2002). He added that Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) research demonstrates that the images used 16 years ago by Sir Bob in his campaign have become deeply embedded in the memories of the British public, to the extent that 'more positive images printed and broadcast since have failed to make an impression'. Boggan further notes that Selina Fox, the author of '*Live aid legacy'* says that:

> *'We aren't saying there aren't wars or poverty, but we are saying that our failure to understand that that is only part of the picture is having a serious effect on our relationships with those countries.'*
> *(Boggan, The Independent UK, 7 January 2002)*

VSO polling of more than 1,000 people in November 2001, showed that 'eighty per cent of the British public strongly associates the developing world with doom-laden images of famine, disaster and western aid'. VSO researchers argue that 'stereotypes of deprivation and poverty, with images of western aid, can lead to an impression that people in the developing world are helpless victims'. The research found that 74% of the British public thinks that developing countries 'depend on the money and knowledge of the West to progress' (Boggan, The Independent UK 7, January 2002).

Furthermore, VSO research found that the popular view believes that Britons 'are the "powerful givers" while Third World countries are "grateful receivers".' Such a view, as Boggan notes, leads Britons to believe they are superior to the Third world/ developing countries, and as a result are 'less likely to take anything positive from their customs and cultures'

(Boggan, The Independent UK, 7 January 2002). Describing the significance of overcoming such views, the research suggests that:

> *'The potential benefits from breaking down the stereotypes ... are profound. At a personal level, it opens up an opportunity to reassess individual priorities and accepted cultural norms. At a UK level, according greater understanding and respect for cultures other than our own can only improve race relations and cultural richness. At a global level, it demands a necessary engagement with global politics and the impact of UK policies on developing countries.' (Boggan, The Independent UK, 7 January 2002)*

Glasgow Media Group (GMG) research on how the Rwanda refugee crisis of 1994 was reported showed that 'the dominant images in the crisis were of chaos, terror and suffering', but, 'there was little in the accounts which offered explanations of the nature of the events or the history which led up to them' (Eldridge, 2000: 124-125). In addition, the research into the coverage of Africa in the US media has supported the arguments that western media 'paint a one-dimensional portrait of...the African continent. Various organisational constraints have combined with a tendency toward the stereotype' (Wall, 2007).

Ankomah (2008a:1) notes that 'in a six-month period between March and August 2000, the Trans Africa Forum in the USA had counted 89 stories on Africa published by *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Of the 89, 75 were negative, and 63 of the 89 were about conflict in Africa'. According to Ankomah, the first factor affecting the reporting of Africa in the western media is 'historical baggage'. He notes that 'in 1999, George Alagiah, the *BBC* newscaster and former Africa correspondent, defined historical baggage as: 'The 20th century view of Africa infected with the

prevailing wisdom of the 19th century' (Ankomah, 2008a:1). Ankomah describes three factors that affect the way Africa is represented in the western media. The first factor, he says, is that 'British media report into a box', which contains predetermined ideas (2008a:3). Any story from Africa that does not fit the box is either edited to fit the box or discarded. In this condition, reporters who desire their stories published are compelled to conform to the box (Ankomah, 2008a: 2-3). The second factor Ankomah (2008a:3) says is 'the comfort zone'. According to him:

> *'Africa has become the "comfort zone" used by the West to calm down their restless masses. The trick is simple: portray Africa in the most negative light, show African refugee children with flies flying around their mouths, their stomach distended, their parents living in huts, and western NGO workers at the rescue – the more these images are shown, the more it works on the masses in the West, however poor they are, they are left with one response: Oh, I am better than these wretched Africans. Thank God.' (Ankomah, 2008a:3)*

The above remark by Ankomah implies that the negative portrayal of Africa in the western media gives some sort of consolation to the poor people living in the West, in that it makes them feel they are far better than people living in Africa, reducing their additional demands on their own governments (Ankomah, 2008a:3). The third factor affecting the reporting of Africa in the western media according to Ankomah is 'economic'. He argues that in the contemporary globalised world, in which everybody is struggling for a position in the 'economic sun', portraying Africa positively in the western media will imply that 'Africa, on whose natural resources western economies depend, may get more investments and may even dare to use its resources for itself' (Ankomah, 2008a:3).

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For Wall (2007:261), the factors that have contributed to the way Africa is being treated in the western media include lack of interest in reporting Africa, lack of resources and news bureaux. Wall adds that 'rather than being evenly distributed throughout the world, bureaus are concentrated primarily in western Europe'. Wall (2007:261) points out that 'the trends in the coverage of African conflict can be seen in the reporting of the Nigerian civil war, also known as the Biafran war. According to him, during this period, the coverage concentrated on events ignoring main subjects, outcomes, cost and other forms of contextual information (Wall, 2007).

Jared Diamond in the September, 2005 issue of *National Geographic* dedicated completely to the African continent writes:

> *'Ask someone to tell you quickly what they associate with Africa, and the answers you'll get will probably range from "cradle of humankind" and "big animals" to "poverty" and "tribalism." How did one continent come to embody such extremes?' (Diamond, 2005)*

Diamond (2005) further asks, 'Is the continent, or at least its big tropical core, doomed eternally to wars, poverty, and devastating diseases?' 'Absolutely not,' he says. McQuail and Windahl hold that, 'if not negatively portrayed, Third World countries are simply often invisible on the stage of world events' (1993:219). In this regard, McQuail and Windahl (1993:219) confirm that 'one of the costs has been referred to – the importation of a negative or pessimistic vision of their own region (e.g. Africa)'. However, in contrast to the argument about the negative representation and stereotype of Africa in the western media, Scott's (2009:544) research into UK press coverage of Africa found that, 'in terms of the amount, positioning and type

of articles, the character of the UK press coverage of Africa is encouraging' (Scott, 2009 :554).

So far, the literature on the representation of Third World/ developing countries, particularly Africa, provides strong support to this study in analysing the way Nigeria is represented in the global media, which this study (among its other objectives) seeks to investigate.

2.8   Globalisation of News Media: The Nigerian experience

Oshikoya (2008:31) examines Nigeria in the Global Economy. He argues that 'Nigeria's integration into the global economy is below its potential'. Oshikoya observes that in recent years, international media have concentrated on the globalisation of the world economy. However, while they concentrate more on the rising economies in Asia including China and India, African countries including Nigeria remain marginalised. He argues that 'among African countries, Nigeria and South Africa have strong potential to harness the opportunities and meet the challenges that the global economy could provide' (2008:31). Nigeria, often referred to as the "giant of Africa", has great potential to emerge as one of the strongest countries in a globalising world (Oshikoya, 2008:31).

Oshikoya (2008:32) observes that, with the liberalisation of the telecommunication sector, Nigeria has one of the fastest growing cellular telecommunication sectors in the world. A report by Telecompaper (2009)

shows that 'Nigeria's mobile subscriber base reached 62.99 million at the end of 2008, up 55.9 percent annually'. Oshikoya (2008) points out that the competitiveness of Nigeria can be benchmarked against big countries within the continent and big rising economies beyond Africa. However, in spite of the strong potential which Nigeria has, there are major challenges awaiting Nigeria as the country is ranked among the twenty-five poorest countries in the world in terms of social indicators (Oshikoya, 2008:32) .Oshikoya's argument suggests that apparently, Nigeria is benefiting little or nothing from the globalisation of the media. His argument also implies that globalisation does not present equal opportunities, as countries in Africa, especially Nigeria, do not get proper attention from the global media. This view supports Wall's (2007:261-77) assertion that one of the major factors affecting the reporting of Africa in the western media is lack of interest in reporting Africa.

Furthermore, it has been argued that Internet connectivity and access in Nigeria faces some constraints (Agba, 2001). World Internet statistics (2009) show that only 7% of the Nigerian population have access to the Internet which is a major global media outlet. Esipisu and Kariithi (2007:39) and Fatoyinbo (2000:6) note that, generally in Africa, the usage and access to the Internet is very limited. Esipisu and Kariithi (2007:39) add that, 'transnational satellite television stations like CNN and BBC World, although widely available, are inevitably inadequate for African audiences'. They argue that CNN and BBC coverage of African news and

current affairs is narrow (Esipisu and Kariithi, 2007:39), meaning that their coverage does not present a full picture of events in Africa.

Tunstall (2010:241) argues that the media products from the United States and western Europe, do not have big sales in 10 countries namely: Indonesia, Japan, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia, each with a population of over 100 million. He argues that perhaps not more than 10% of their whole audience spent time with foreign media. Even though not many people in Nigeria spend time with foreign media as Tunstall (2010:241) observes, Ibie (1992:47), examining media/cultural imperialism in Nigeria, argues that some television stations in Nigeria pirate and localise foreign media products and make them available to the audience. He goes further saying that satellite dishes which have become a 'symbol of status' since 1991, can be afforded easily by the local elites/professionals who occupy high positions in decision-making in Nigeria. He argues that the elites in Nigeria are at the front line in accepting and transmitting new cultural products. According to him they 'are not only opinion leaders but are also models for younger women' (Ibie, 1992:47) 'as defined by western commercial standards' (Ibie, 1992: 49).

Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:24) in their study of Nigeria media, found that, 'the number of radio stations nearly doubled in the period 2000-5, from 53 to around 100, but only 17 of the stations were outside of direct government ownership in 2005'. Fatoyinbo (2000:6) indicates that 'radio is undoubtedly the most powerful instrument for nation-building in Africa'. He

adds that, due to the African oral tradition, radio is an effective medium by which news can easily be disseminated in Africa (Fatoyinbo, 2000:6). Adeyanju and Okwori (2006: 16) note that in the radio sector, 'private investment has to this point been 100% local, with foreign partnerships existing only at the level of programming and programme exchange'.

Okwori and Adeyanju (2006:24) found that in Nigeria, 'TV sector growth has been rapid in the period 2000-5, with the number of TV services more than doubling, from 58 to 130'. They note that since 2000 when the new civilian government embarked on deregulation and privatisation of all public enterprises, many licences have been granted and more government television stations have been set up (Adeyanju and Okwori, 2006:22). Fatoyinbo argues that television in Africa is gradually developing into a dominant tool 'for public education, entertainment and information' (Fatoyinbo 2000:6).

Furthermore, communication scholars such as Salawu (2009:81), Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:24) and Fatoyinbo (2000:6) have argued that mass media in Nigeria and Africa in general have experienced remarkable changes and development in the last decade. For example, in journalism education and media studies in Nigeria, Salawu (2009:84), with reference to Jamb 2002/2003, notes that, at the beginning of the 21st century, there are 48 media and journalism training institutions in Nigeria, 23 of them are essential parts of universities (JAMB 2002), while 13 are essential parts of polytechnics (JAMB 2003). Salawu (2009: 84) declares that 'there is

evidently a boom in communication programmes in Nigeria'. Salawu (2009:83) adds that the rise in the number of media institutions and facilities across Africa is prompted by the importance of using the media for development and political reasons

However, in spite of the growth and positive changes in Nigerian mass media, scholars have argued that there are long-standing and serious challenges facing the Nigerian mass media and the African media system in the globalised world. Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:24) in their research for BBC World Service Trust on the state of the Nigerian media note that the problems faced are almost the same across the TV, radio and print sectors. According to them, the problems include: interference from government through the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC); political instability weakening investment; lack of a truly independent judiciary; dependence on political patronage; and, the crisis of professionalism produced by shortfalls in equipment and training. (Adeyanju and Okwori, 2006:24; Fatoyinbo, 2000:6; Esipisu and Kariithi, 2007:2). Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:24) argue that the above factors have prevented private investment in the Nigerian media sector, and continue to weaken their future progress.

Ndlela (2009:56) examines African media research in a globalised world. He argues that any deliberation on African media research ought to take into account the fact that African media are entrapped 'with colonial history and the current marginalised position of Africa in the global context'

(Ndlela, 2009:56; Faringer, 1991:2). Fatoyinbo (2000:6) points out that, for a long time, the governments in Africa and their cooperation with multinational companies have influenced and chained the African media. Ndlela (2009:60) highlights the different issues that have dominated African media research in certain periods. He notes that, from the 1990s through to the 1970s, the issue of development-communication research dominated; during the 1970s and early 1980s the debate on NWICO dominated; in the 1980s and 1990s media and democratisation research dominated. This is followed by the HIV/AIDS media and communication research agenda, and then the implication of new communication technology (Ndlela, 2009: 55-68). Ndlela concludes that Africa 'still remains under the unchangeable grasp of the tentacles of external forces' (2009:65). He argues that colonialism still continues under fresh terms such as 'neo-colonialism' and 'globalisation' (Ndlela, 2009:65). He further argues that earlier colonial powers carry on setting the agenda in the advancement of media institutions and media research in Africa. Ndlela (2009:66) suggests that in the globalised world, African media studies should move outside the fixed margins and recognise that Africa is entangled in a world that is globalised. Ndlela (2009:65) concludes that 'the post – independence era was marked by decolonisation but Africa could still not extricate itself from the ideological underpinnings defined mainly by the West'.

In agreement with Ndlela (2009:58), Salawu (2009:82) notes that 'journalism education in Africa was heavily influenced by the American

model'. This he says 'was because the Europeans who were the colonial masters had no clear academic model of journalism education (2009:82) in Africa. In the same vein, Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:14) conclude that 'the American profit-driven model of media is not serving Nigeria's needs'. Ankomah (2008b) explaining why journalism should be Africanised, says that:

> *'…while we were sleeping in Africa, journalism was slowly transforming from being merely a tool for information, education and entertainment, to one that looks after, and protects, national interest; a tool used by the power centres of the world for their own ends.'*

Similarly, Salawu (2009:83) contends for compulsory inclusion of Nigeria indigenous languages in the mass communication/ journalism curricula in Nigeria (Salawu, 2008:1).

Information published on the BBC News website (March 2009) describes the state of Nigerian mass media as 'one of the most vibrant in Africa'. BBC (2009) further notes that:

> *'State-run radio and TV services reach virtually all parts of the country and operate at a federal and regional level. All 36 states run their own radio stations, and most of them operate TV services. Radio is the key source of information for many Nigerians. International broadcasters, including the BBC, are widely listened to. Rebroadcasts of foreign radio stations were banned in 2004. Private radio and TV stations have been licensed, and there is substantial take-up of pay TV. Private TV stations in particular are dogged by high costs and scarce advertising revenues. Moreover, legislation requires that locally-made material must comprise 60% of output. Viewing is concentrated in urban areas. There are more than 100 national and local newspapers and publications, some of them state-owned. They include well-respected dailies, tabloids and publications which champion the interests of ethnic groups...Press freedom improved under former President Obasanjo, but restrictive decrees remain.' (BBC News, 2009)*

In examining press freedom in Nigeria, Ojo (2003:825) explains that press freedom is the right of the press to express their opinion, views or report /publish events in an exact manner without looking for the consent of anyone and without being made to experience any kind of 'intimidation, molestation, persecution or harassment' (2003:825). Section 36(1) of the 1979 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria also backs the freedom of the press:

> '. . . every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.'(Ojo, 2003:285)

Ojo (2003:825) however, argues that the freedom of the press is divided into two, namely: absolute press freedom and qualified press freedom. Absolute press freedom he says is a condition wherein the press has complete freedom to perform its job and not to experience any sort of 'harassment and intimidation'. However, he also remarks that 'there is no polity in the world that enjoys this kind of utopian absolute freedom. Advanced democracies only are close to it', he says (2003:826). Qualified press freedom, Ojo says, is a situation where the press is not so free to do its job. For him, 'Nigeria appears to be a model of qualified press freedom' (2003:826). Ojo (2003:826) suggests that Nigeria mass media need to be reinforced for them to perform their roles successfully as watchdogs. He notes that the problems facing media industries in Nigeria as well as the Nigeria Union of Journalist (NUJ) and the Guild of Editors, 'is to fight for the inclusion of specific provisions in the Constitution guaranteeing press freedom' (Ojo, 2003:826).

Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:28) in their research found that the first and perhaps greatest challenge facing Nigeria's mass media is 'the increasing intolerance of the present administration towards differing opinion'. They observe that there are growing cases of 'harassment and intimidation of journalists', regardless of the return to civilian rule under a democratic era since 1999 (Adeyanju and Okwori, 2006:28).

The research of Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:10) for BBC World Service Trust on Nigeria media health has the following key findings:

- *'The 1999 Constitution recognises access to information, but the 2000 Freedom of Information Bill has yet to be passed into law.*
- *There are no provisions for the independence of the two media regulators, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) and Nigerian Press Council (NPC).*
- *The 1999 Constitution calls for media freedom, but the state-controlled regulators, the NBC and NPC, use their powers to sanction media outlets that go against government views.*
- *By one estimate, there are 30,000 journalists in the country, many of whom receive low pay and are thus susceptible to offers of payment in return for writing favourable.'*

The UNESCO reports show that the freedom of the press in Nigeria faces huge challenges as there are growing cases of killings of journalists. For example, the Director-General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura, condemns the killing of Bayo Ohu, the assistant news editor of the Nigerian daily newspaper *The Guardian*, on 20 September 2009. Matsuura says that: 'Freedom of expression is a basic human right and its corollary, press freedom, is essential for democracy and rule of law'. He adds that 'the authorities, in the interest of the whole of Nigerian society, will do all they can to bring the culprits of this crime to justice...' (UNESCO, 2009a).

Matsuura also condemns the assassination of Paul Abayomi Ogundeji, of the Nigerian newspaper *ThisDay*, on 17 August 2008. Matsuura says that '...his killing is a blow to the basic human right of freedom of expression in Nigeria' (UNESCO, 2008). In addition, Matsuura condemns the shooting of Godwin Agbroko, a former chairman of ThisDay's editorial board, on 22 December 2006. Matsuura remarks that: 'This heinous crime is a blow to independent journalism in Nigeria and to the basic human right of freedom of expression' (UNESCO, 2007).

On the area of film industry, it has been argued that recent decades have witnessed tremendous growth in the Nigerian video-film industry called Nollywood (a parody of Hollywood), made feasible by globalisation and accessibility of information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Abah, 2009: 735). Abah (2009:734) argues that Nigerian video-films have become very popular. However, it could be argued that Nigerian video-films are consumed mostly inside African and among Africans who live in the United States and other countries (Abah, 2009). The system and culture of Nigeria's film industry has attracted different viewpoints. For Abah (2009:733), Nigerian video-films are used to spread Nigerian cultural messages into the international marketplace. He adds that the Nigerian video-film industry has potentially emerged as 'a strong force for social change' (Abah, 2009:745). He concludes that the Nollywood industry is already making an impact on Nigerian society. Similarly, Adeyanju and Okwori (2006:24) in their research found that 'the "Nollywood" video drama production sector is a prominent source of local content'. On the other hand, Mhando (2009:31) examining the distribution and reception of

African films in English speaking countries, from the perspective of Nigeria and Ghana, proposes that 'African cinema has lost and stands to lose even more in its cinematic expressions through accepting systems that are different and vigorously negative to its culture (Mhando, 2009:31). Moreover, it has been argued that the Nigerian mass media and the Nollywood film industry mostly feature themes of violence and crimes. This, according to Soola (2007:1), is as a result of 'Nigerian media's romance with foreign films which were generously laced with crime, violence and sex'. Soola (2007:1) declares that 'the Nigerian home video, currently in vogue, is not better in that it thrives on similar themes – crimes, violence and sex'.

Soola (2007:4) examining coverage of crime and violence in Nigerian mass media, states that the media operators and the media, particularly television due to its visual attractiveness, make profits from the coverage of crime and violence. According to him, 'crime and violence have taken a severe toll on Nigeria', and media operators and the media feed on them, in that they 'make and sell headlines and news programmes' (Soola, 2007:3). He adds that 'crime and violence make news reports juicy; they are sensational, dramatic and sometimes, colourful'. He notes that crime and violence stories appeal not only to media operators and the media, but also to the audiences, albeit for diverse reasons. He suggests that the media ought to provide the public with information and knowledge on how to protect themselves against crimes and violence. He states that 'the undercurrents of crime and violence and how society deals with criminals

must receive significant attention' (Soola, 2007:8). Egbon (1994) however, argues that as a developing nation, Nigeria needs a press that is more in tune with developmental reporting than with conflicts and crises (Egbon, 1994 cited in Ekeanyanwu, 2007:4).

Alozie (2007:211) however, observes that in this globalised world, where information and communication technologies have emerged as a basis of international economic and political activities, many African governments are changing their policies to improve the development of the communication sector as well as engaging in joint efforts to enhance communications.

So far, the review of literature on the experience of Nigeria in a globalised world is crucial in analysing the impact of global news on Nigeria in Chapters Four and Five.

2.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature in the area of globalisation and news media from the point of view of International Relations and Media studies. The review of the current debates about globalisation from both IR and media points of view, against the backdrops of globalisation theory and media/cultural imperialism theory, show that the debates focus mainly on the benefits and costs of the trend. Also, the review of media and news

globalisation highlights the main features of media globalisation and the growing changes they have brought to journalism across the globe.

The review of the role and power of the media in globalisation, against the background of social responsibility theory and free press theory, suggests that the global media perform a pivotal role in globalisation, though they are greatly dominated, owned and controlled by a few multinational corporations. It also suggests that globalisation has increased the power of the media. In addition, the review of the disparities and models of international news flow against the backdrop of dependency theory, suggests an imbalance in the flow of information between the developed and the less developed nations, although there is a contra-flow from the rising economies in the global south.

Furthermore, the review of the impact of the global news flow on international relations in the 20th and 21st century, against the backdrop of interdependency /integration theory and agenda setting theory suggests that the advancement of new communication technologies, as well as the unrestricted cross-border flows of information and the media, exerts great influence on international relations, politics, diplomacy, economy, culture, identity and power relations. In addition to this, the review of literature on the CNN effect against the background of agenda setting theory, suggests an extension of agenda setting constructs. It further suggests that new developments may potentially reduce the CNN effect and that the reverse of the CNN effect can be described as manufacturing of content. Also, the

review on global media representation of the Third World suggests that the Third World/developing countries are often stereotyped and misrepresented in the western media, as news about them is often biased towards negativity.

Ultimately, the review about the experience of Nigeria in a globalised world suggests that though there are notable improvements in the communications and media sectors, Nigeria still faces huge challenges in its media development and its full integration and recognition in the global economic market. It also suggests that Nigeria faces enormous challenges in keeping pace with the advancement of new communication technology. The suggestions from the review in this chapter as well as the theoretical frameworks (also discussed in Chapter One), underpin the research questions which will be examined in Chapters Four and Five, and will also provide strong support in analysing the impact of the global news media on Nigeria.

The gaps identified in the literature review suggest that not much has been said concerning how to combat the forces of globalisation with respect to global media impact on the developing nations. Besides, there is a dearth of empirical works in these areas as little research has been carried out in these areas. More so, certain assumptions shared by some authors whose works have been reviewed in this chapter have never seriously been tested. For these reasons and others, the following points provide originality to this thesis:

1. This thesis to some degree tests certain ideas and assumptions of some scholars in this area of study as specified in the introductory chapter.

2. It carried out a research in Nigeria which has not been done before, though related research may have previously been done in other countries.

3. It carried out empirical work that has not been done before, integrating and providing evidence from Nigeria, North America and North Europe.

4. It is an inter-disciplinary research recognising links or relationships between International Relations and the media research using different methodologies.

5. It extends the boundaries of knowledge of International Relations and media research.

6. It brings new empirical evidence of media impact to bear on an old issue or what is already know about western media effects in the developing countries.

7. It contributes to the ongoing critique and debates in International Relations and Media.

8. It adds to knowledge in a new way by presenting new empirical evidence which will help to fill the gap identified in the literature of International Relations and Media.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach and research techniques used in carrying out this research as well as the rationale for the choice of techniques. The methods are discussed in detail to provide in-depth understanding. The information that informed this study was gathered from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the questionnaire survey, interviews, participant observation, official reports and documents from the World Bank and the Nigerian government. The secondary sources include texts, empirical works, newspapers, journals, periodicals, television broadcast and reliable websites. The limitations of some of the methods used in eliciting information are highlighted. The study areas, sample size and techniques used as well as the instruments of data collection and procedure of data analysis are all discussed in this chapter.

3.2   The Research Methodology and Rationale for the Choice of Techniques

A research methodology has been described as 'a general approach to studying a research topic' (Silverman, 1993:2). Silverman explained that 'any methodology only makes sense if we understand what the research process is all about' (Silverman, 1993: 1). He further described "methods" as 'specific research techniques' (Silverman, 1993:2). In its in-depth

investigation, this research has combined quantitative and qualitative methods due to the nature of the research, which is basically audience-based. The two research methodologies employed are the quantitative method (positivist) and the qualitative method (interpretivist). The nature of this research is one which involves an in-depth investigation of people's perceptions, feelings, judgement and interpretations of Nigerian news in the global news media, and consequently, the impact this has on Nigeria. In other words, the study looks at the way Nigeria sees the world and the way the world sees Nigeria. In support of integrating two methodological approaches for this kind of research, Devereux (2003:142) affirmed that: 'Two competing methodological paradigms - the quantitative and the qualitative- have traditionally been used within audience-based research'. He explained that 'quantitative approach (behaviourist/positivist) makes use of experiments and survey, in order to measure both media power and audience behaviour'. On the other hand, the 'qualitative approach (the interpretivist) uses interviews, focus groups and participant observation as the main methodological tools in examining media audience' (2003:142-143). In the same vein, Patton (2002:555) stated that 'by combining multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources, [researchers] can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single-observer and single-theory studies'. Patton (2002: 558) further affirmed that qualitative and quantitative data can be productively integrated to clarify corresponding features of very similar occurrence.

In the same vein, Ragin (1994:48) suggested that owing to the fact that social research has varying and competing goals, 'many different strategies of social research have emerged to accommodate its multiple and competing goals'. A research strategy, he said, 'is best understood as the pairing of a general research objective and a specific research method' (1994:33). According to him, 'each strategy constitutes a way of linking ideas and evidence to produce a representation of some aspect of social life' (1994:48). He noted that 'even though some strategies are clearly more popular than others, there is no single "correct" way of conducting a social research' (Ragin, 1994:48). Among different strategies that the social researchers use, Ragin (1994:48) has emphasised three very broad approaches:

- *'the use of qualitative methods to study commonalities*
- *the use of comparative methods to study diversity*
- *the use of quantitative methods to study relationships among variables.'*

Ragin (1994) suggested that 'researchers use qualitative methods to address phenomena that they believe have been seriously misrepresented... or perhaps not represented at all'. According to Ragin (1994:31), 'social researchers seek to identify order and regularity in the complexity of social life; they try to make sense of it. This is their most fundamental goal'. In general, Ragin has identified seven majors goals of social research which include: identifying general patterns and relationships, testing and refining theories, making predictions, interpreting culturally or historically significant phenomena, exploring diversity, giving voice and advancing new theories (Ragin, 1994: 32-33). Ragin declared that 'it follows that the goals of social research are multiple and sometimes

contradictory. Today, no single goal dominates social research' (1994:31). In support of this, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:19) hold that: 'No single method can grasp all of the subtle variations in ongoing human experience'. In essence, the rationale for combining the quantitative and qualitative methods in this study is not only to provide an in-depth investigation, but also to achieve viable, valid, accurate and balanced research in such a way that information which is not covered in the quantitative method can be elicited using the qualitative method, which is more in-depth. Both methods in this research will inform the other. Studies have revealed that using triangulation and multi-dimensional investigation methods will seek to significantly reduce the possibility of bias and systemic errors (Yin, 1994). In support of this, Denscombe (2003:132) suggests that 'using multi-methods produces different kinds of data on the same topic'. He further suggests that, 'seeing things from a different perspective and the opportunity to corroborate findings can enhance the validity of the data' (Denscombe, 2003:133). He acknowledges that this does not establish 'that the researcher has "got it right", but they do give some confidence that the meaning of the data has some consistency across methods', also 'that the findings are not too closely tied up with a particular method used to collect the data' (Denscombe, 2003:133). Devereux (2003:142) notes that: 'Despite the calls in recent times by some researchers for a more integrated methodological approach, the marked "stand-off" between quantitative and qualitative camps remains'. He further states that: 'Crucial epistemological, theoretical and methodological

differences exist between these two contrasting approaches' (Devereux, 2003:142).

Generally speaking, Brannen identified the two important differences that exit between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. 'The most important difference is the way in which each tradition treats data', she said (Brannen, 1992:4). She added that: 'In theory, if not in practice, the quantitative researcher isolates and defines variables and variable categories' (1992:4). On the contrary, 'the qualitative researcher begins with defining very general concepts which, as the research progresses, change their definition' (Brannen, 1992:4). Brannen further illustrated that: 'The qualitative researcher is said to look through a wide lens, searching for patterns of inter-relationships between a previously unspecified set of concepts'(1992:4). On the other hand, 'the quantitative researcher looks through a narrow lens at a specified set of variables' (Brannen, 1992:4).

'A second important difference is said to turn on data collection' (Brannen, 1992:4). She added that 'in the qualitative tradition, researchers must use themselves as the instrument, attending to their own cultural assumptions as well as to the data' (1992:4-5). In search of the creative 'insights into the respondents' social worlds the investigator is expected to be flexible and reflexive and yet somehow manufacture distance' (1992:5). On the other hand, 'in the quantitative tradition, the instrument is a pre-determined and finely-tuned technological tool which allows for much less flexibility, imaginative input and reflexivity'. Frey et al. (1991:99) suggested that

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quantitative observations offer a greater degree of accurate measurement and statistical authority, whilst qualitative observations offer higher in-depth information concerning how individuals observe actions in the real circumstances wherein they happen (Frey et al., 1991: 99 cited in Schroder, 1999: 48-49).

Examining qualitative research, Jensen (1991:1) noted that there seems to be a rising agreement that a huge number of key research topics cannot be sufficiently studied by the sort of questions that are raised by 'hypothetico- deductive methods and addressed with quantifiable answers' (Jensen, 1991:1).

Brannen suggested that, 'the combining of different methods within a single piece of research raises the question of movement between paradigms at the level of epistemology and theory' (1992:3). She declared that 'whether or not such movement occurs, the process of combining methods highlights the importance of choosing the appropriate methods for the research questions and theory (1992:3)'.

Brannen confirmed that there is supposed to be a connection among 'epistemology, theory and methods' (1992:3). She noted that even though a lot of researchers tie themselves to a single paradigm, others gleefully merge methods (1992:3). Schroder (1999:38) examining the rival paradigms in media audience research suggested that:

> *'Irrespective of their academic upbringing, media audience researchers share a common goal: to increase our knowledge of*

> *how the media are used -in the widest sense of the word- by diverse groups in contemporary culture and society, and how in turn the media may be seen as vehicles of social...change.' (1999:38)*

Combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study is not strange in social research. Studies reveal that within audience-based research, both the quantitative and the qualitative methods have traditionally been used. For the purposes of this research which is mainly audience-based, a mixed method appears to be appropriate for data collection, analysis and interpretation. This is because combining quantitative and qualitative methods may produce deeper insights than either method alone, and may also eliminate possible bias that comes from using a single method.

3.3   The Survey Strategy

In this study, survey approach has been used as a means of obtaining information that will inform the research. According to Gary Easthope (1974:48), 'the social survey grew out of a concern for the poor in the large city and a desire to understand and help those in poverty'. The major goal of social survey according to Graziano and Raulin (1993:301) 'is to learn about ideas, knowledge, feelings, opinions, attitudes and self-reported behaviour of a defined population of people by directly asking them'. Fowler (2002:2) describes three uses of survey techniques as follows:

> *'the measurement of public opinion for newspaper and magazine articles, the measurement of political perceptions and opinions to help political candidates in elections, and market research designed to understand consumer preferences and interests. Each of these well-developed programs of survey research is aimed primarily at tapping the subjective feelings of the public.'*

A sample survey according to Stacey (1969:87-88) 'is the best way to find out information about a particular population either on a simple matter of fact, such as occupation, or religious or political allegiance'. She added that: 'A survey may prove essential before any firm conclusions can be drawn from any piece of work, and generalisations made' (Stacey, 1969:88). Research has proved the survey to be the most convenient and cost effective way to: assess changes in people's views and opinions, to foretell the future actions and to obtain a common reaction of the situation. While comparing the results of different data collection strategies in the past 20 years by many studies, Fowler (1993:58) identified that 'for most survey questions studied, the aggregate distributions obtained by personal interview, telephone interview, and self-administered procedures have been very similar'. Fowler further (1993:69) stated that:

> *'In surveys, answers are of interest not intrinsically but because of their relationship to something they are supposed to measure. Good questions are reliable (providing consistent measures in comparable situations) and valid (answers correspond to what they are intended to measure).'*

Denscombe (2003:6) holds that the word "survey" in one sense means 'to view comprehensively and in detail' and in another sense it refers specifically to the act of 'obtaining data for mapping'. Denscombe (2003:7) argues that 'the survey approach is a research strategy, not a method. Many methods can be incorporated in the use of a social survey'. He further holds that 'researchers who adopt the strategy are able to use a whole range of methods within the strategy: questionnaires, interviews, documents and observation' (2003:7). Denscombe also notes that 'what is

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distinctive about the survey approach is its combination of commitment to a breadth of study, a focus on the snapshot at a given point in time and a dependence on empirical data' (2003:7). In line with this view, the survey strategy employed in this research incorporates the quantitative and qualitative methods, and was used in obtaining empirical data. Graziano and Raulin (1993:300) affirmed that 'virtually any human issue can be surveyed'. According to them: 'A survey asks people about their attitudes, beliefs, plans, health, work, income, life satisfactions and concerns, consumer preferences, political views, and so on' (Graziano and Raulin, 1993:300).

A survey strategy was used in determining audiences' perceptions, feelings and judgement regarding Nigerian news in the global media and its subsequent impact on Nigeria. It was also used to examine the sort of global news that flows into and out of Nigeria and its accessibility to Nigerians. By using the survey strategy an in-depth empirical study was carried out. Denscombe affirms that 'surveys are about a particular approach...in which there is empirical research pertaining to a given point in time which aims to incorporate as wide and as inclusive data as possible' (2003:7). Graziano and Raulin (1993:307) concluded that 'a good deal of important information on a variety of human issues has been gathered through surveys.'

3.3.1 The case study area

The study area of this research is Nigeria. Nigeria is a typical nation in the Third World wherein the unprecedented impact of the global media in recent decades has been an issue of major concern and, consequently, was an impetus for this study. Personal knowledge and familiarity combined with accessibility to the study area also helped provide a rationale for the choice of study area. In addition, this study spread its tentacles to countries in the West – the UK and the US precisely – but has its central focus on Nigeria. The reason for such an extension is to examine audience views and feelings regarding Nigeria's image in the West. This will provide a balanced, valid and accurate investigation. Thus the survey was conducted with respondents in Nigeria, the UK and the US.

3.3.2 Research population

 At the commencement of a sample survey it is very crucial to be clear about what constitutes the population to be surveyed. 'In human research, a *population* is the larger group of all the people of interest from which the sample is selected' (Graziano and Raulin, 1993:107). The population of this research are respondents who are literate (i.e. those who can read and write in the English Language) and also some who are computer literate. They are selected from the following calibres of people and administrative areas: reporters, broadcasters, mass media researchers, news writers, freelancers, Mass Communication and International Relations students and lecturers in Nigeria, UK and American universities; and mass media audiences in Nigeria, UK and the US (i.e. viewers,

readers and listeners). All of these formed the research population of this study. According to Stacey (1969:89) 'the population may be defined by reference to a geographic area….Occasionally the social population neatly fits the administrative area'. The reasons for the choice to survey a population with these characteristics were mainly due to their supposed exposure, awareness, usage and accessibility to global media products. It was believed that a population with the above characteristics would be more likely to have Internet access, and for this reason, would be in constant contact with the world's news media and they would provide valid, accurate, reliable and up-to-date information that would inform this research. In addition, it was assumed that this population was educated and knowledgeable; that is to say: this population could read, write, understand and interpret global media texts. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this study, it was also considered essential to include in the research population people who had good subject knowledge in the field of International Relations and Mass Media. It was also assumed that this population would be likely to have a genuine interest in participating in this research, and a concern for the subject matter. A population of this nature would be most likely to know how Nigeria is often represented in the global news, and as result could make good judgement. People who neither have access to the global news media nor any contact with the outside world are less likely to know how Nigeria is often represented in the global media, and thus, may possibly be insensitive to the subject under investigation. Furthermore, people in the UK and US were included in the

research population of this study to counterbalance any error of judgement

from Nigeria respondents.   According to Selltiz et al. (1965:520-521):

> *'A common strategy of purposive sampling is to pick cases that are judged to be typical of the population, in which one is interested, assuming that errors of judgment in the selection will tend to counterbalance each other.'*

3.3.3 Sample technique

The method of sampling employed in this work is *purposive sampling,* which involves going straight to the population to select some members of it who possess certain characteristics required by the research. Selltiz et al. (1965:520) stated that the fundamental supposition behind purposive sampling is that with good verdict and a suitable plan one will be able to select the cases to be incorporated in the sample and therefore increase samples that are suitable in proportion to one's requirement.

Silverman (2001: 250) holds that: 'Purposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested'. Silverman further added that 'this does not provide a simple approval to any case we happen to choose' (2001:250). He suggests that purposive sampling instead 'demands that we think critically about the parameters of the population we are interested in and choose our sample case carefully on this basis' (2001:250). According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994:202) a lot of qualitative researchers use purposive instead of random sampling methods. They look for group, locations and persons where the trend being investigated is most likely to be found.

3.3.4 Sample size

The sample size refers to the number of cases in a sample. Graziano and Raulin (1993:107) said that 'the sample is a subset of people drawn from that population'. For the empirical study here, the online survey conducted pulled 300 respondents: 195 male and 105 female, spread across all age ranges in Nigeria, UK and US. 250 of these were Nigerians, 25 were British, and 25 were US nationals. Nigerian respondents outnumbered respondents from the West because the case study was about Nigeria. However, information was sought from UK and US respondents to provide a balanced investigation. That is to say, UK and US respondents were included in this survey to establish if their views would differ from the views of the Nigerian respondents. In addition to this, interviews were conducted with 10 respondents: 6 from Nigeria and 4 from the West (UK and US). This brought the total number of people who participated in this survey to 310, which forms the sample size. This sample size was considered to be appropriate for a study of this nature because it represented a subset of the research population of the entire study. It was sufficient to establish results that were valid and from which conclusions could be drawn. It provided variance in the characteristics of the respondents who participated in the survey. Nigeria being a multicultural country with 36 states and 250 ethnic groups, the residential region of the Nigerian respondents who participated in the online survey indicated a reasonable representation of the geographical regions and cultural dispositions of the country. 55 respondents lived in the East, 100 lived in the West, 59 lived in the North and 36 lived in the South. However, the number of

respondents living in the western region of Nigeria outnumbered respondents from other regions in the sample. The reason for this may have been the fact that western region of Nigeria has the largest Internet access. Olatokun and Adeboyejo (2009:184) note that Lagos state (which is in the western region of Nigeria) has the largest concentration of Internet service providers, telecom operators, and cybercafés.

The occupational characteristics of the respondents who participated in the online survey indicated: 67 students, 11 lecturers, 17 businessmen and women, 145 professionals, 15 self-employed, 9 retired, 6 unemployed and 30 other occupations. Therefore, respondents from the professional classes outnumbered other groups in the sample, followed by students, then those in other occupations. The reason for this may have been that these respondents, perhaps due to their occupational disposition, were in a better position to participate in the online survey. Nigeria is a country where many do not have access to the Internet; professionals and university students in Nigeria, UK and US however, are more likely to have easier access to the Internet and as a result, were in a better position to participate in the online survey. All the respondents who participated in the online survey had Internet access and were therefore exposed to the global news media,[41] and could express their perceptions, understanding, beliefs, judgements and awareness of what they constantly read, hear and watch about Nigeria and the world around them.

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[41] Feist (2001:713) argues that 'access to the Internet includes access to the world's news media'.

3.4   Primary Data Collection Methods

Data collection can be described as the process of gathering or eliciting relevant information that will inform a research project. It involves finding the location for empirical research and subsequently having access to and developing rapport with focal actors for the purpose of gathering information. According to Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1994:15), 'the general term data collection applies to all manner of activities by which researchers construct a project's primary data records'. In essence, the primary sources of information in this research include the use of online questionnaire survey, interviews, observations and official reports of the UNESCO, the World Bank and the Nigerian government.

3.4.1 Questionnaires

The quantitative data was elicited using an online questionnaire survey, which was distributed electronically to the e-mail addresses of the respondents. According to Fowler (1993:62) 'the principal advantage of computer-assisted data collection is having answers instantaneously in machine-readable form'. This was the first instrument of data collection used in this research. It was a crucial aspect of this study because much data was elicited using this method. It served as a springboard and provided an insight and clue to secondary method of data collection. The questionnaire is one of the primary sources of information in this research. The use of a questionnaire has proved to be the most efficient instrument of eliciting quantitative data. Quantitative data is very useful because it provides numerical data which can be measured using statistical tools. Put

another way, it provides 'a high level of measurement precision and statistical power' (Schroder, 1999: 48-49). Such measurement is vital because it provides the fundamental links between mathematical expression of quantitative relationships and empirical observation. Essentially, it is very useful in describing and summarising results. It is also useful in comparing results and making reasonably accurate estimates and predicting outcomes.   In addition, quantitative data is time saving, easy to handle, convenient and cost effective. The results received are neat, clear, organised, well computed, accurate and valid. The overall response to the questionnaire was positive and thought-provoking. The advantage of using a questionnaire according to Sellitz et al. (1965:240) is that 'respondents may have greater confidence in their anonymity, and thus feel freer to express views they fear might be disapproved of or might get them into trouble'. They further added that an anonymous questionnaire, with no obvious distinguishing information, gives the participant deeper assurance that his answers will not be recognised as his own (Sellitz et al., 1965:240).

According to Fowler (1993:69) 'good questionnaires maximise the relationship between the answers recorded and what the researcher is trying to measure'. Essentially, an online questionnaire survey used in this research was designed to suit respondents from Nigeria and also those from the West, (i.e. the US and the UK). The questionnaire therefore had three sections: Section 1 was to be completed by all the respondents; Section 2 was to be completed by respondents from Nigeria only, while

section 3 was to be completed by respondents from the UK and the US. It contained 43 questions in all, which were intended to elicit information that would best inform this research. Responses were offered to the respondents with various ordered categories. The majority of the questions asked in the questionnaire were closed questions. In some questions, respondents were to reply in such ways as: "agree", "strongly agree" , "disagree", "strongly disagree" or "neutral"; while in others, they were to choose: "yes", "no", "don't know" or "not sure". The questions were to be answered by simply ticking the proper response from ordered categories provided by the researcher. Their responses were analysed statistically. Fowler (1993:56) suggested that 'if one is going to have a self-administered questionnaire, one must reconcile oneself to closed questions….' Stacey (1969) observed that 'the advantage of the close-ended questions of this kind is that the responses can be pre-coded'. She explained that 'in close-ended questions they must reply in one of a predetermined number of ways such as "yes", "no", or "don't know' (1969:12).

Nonetheless, the questionnaire designed for this research contained a few open answers. The open answers obtained from the questionnaire were qualitative in nature. They were useful because they not only produced direct quotations from the respondents about their opinion, but led to new discoveries too. The respondents used their own words in answering the questions. In support of this, Gillham (2000:34) says that 'questions like these can be motivating for the respondent, and they enable the

researcher to trawl for the unknown and the unexpected'. He however notes that 'the analysis of these kinds of answers can be troublesome and certainly lacks the neatness and speed of "answer-prescribed" questions' (Gillham, 2000:35).

Fowler (1993:56) observed that 'people who are particularly interested in the research problem tend to be most likely to return questionnaires'. However, Sellitz et al. (1965:241) identified some important factors that may influence the percentage of returns of questionnaires as follows:

> *'(1) the sponsorship of the questionnaire; (2) the attractiveness of the questionnaire format; (3) length of the questionnaire; (4) the nature of the accompanying letter requesting cooperation, (5) the ease of filling out the questionnaire and mailing it back; (6) the inducements offered to reply; (7) the nature of the people to whom the questionnaire is sent.'*

3.4.2 Interviews

Apart from using the online questionnaire survey, information was also collected through qualitative methods, which involved conducting interviews with the respondents as well as by direct observation. Basically, the interview was another primary source of information in this study. According to Patton (2002:10), qualitative methods are frequently utilised in assessments because they relate the event's account by catching and conveying the respondents' remarks. He adds that qualitative findings develop from three types of data collection: '(1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; (2) direct observation; and (3) written documents' (2002:4). Similarly, Silverman (1993:8) identified four major methods used by qualitative researchers to include the following: observation, analysing

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texts and documents, interviews, recording and transcribing. He suggests that these methods are normally combined in research. Silverman (1993:24) adapting Bryman's (1988) view has characterised qualitative research by six criteria. They are as follows:

> '1   *"Seeing through the eyes of"…or taking the subject's perspective.*
> 2   *Describing the mundane details of everyday settings.*
> 3   *Understanding actions and meanings in their social context.*
> 4   *Emphasising time and process.*
> 5   *Favouring open and relatively unstructured research designs.*
> 6   *Avoiding concepts and theories at an early stage.'*

Silverman argued that using qualitative methods such as interviews apparently proffers a '"deeper" picture than the variable-based correlations or quantitative studies' (Silverman, 1993: 15).

A reliable tape recorder was used here as a major instrument of data collection in order to capture the exact quotations of the respondents. Sellitz et al. (1965:241) held that surveys carried out through personal interviews have an extra 'advantage over surveys conducted by mailed questionnaires in that they usually yield a much better sample of the greater population'. They further added that 'many people are willing and able to co-operate in a study when all they have to do is talk' (1965:241). Sellitz et al. argued that 'another advantage of the interview is its greater flexibility' (1965:242).   They further observed that 'often the simplest and most economical method of obtaining "facts" is to go directly to the people who are in a position to know them and to ask for the desired information' (1965: 244). According to them:

'Questioning is particularly suited to obtaining information about what a person knows, believes or expects, feels or wants, intends or does or has done, and about his explanations or reasons for any of the preceding.' (Sellitz et al., 1965:243)

Sellitz et al. (1965:242) confirmed that an interview is the more suitable method of disclosing difficult information 'about complex, emotionally laden subjects or for probing the sentiments that may underlie an expressed opinion'. In the same vein, Patton (2002:4) affirmed that interviews produce straight quotes from individuals concerning their understanding, views, beliefs, and awareness.

3.4.2.1   *Structured interview*

Stacey (1969:75) held that we can categorise interviews based on the way they are structured. She held that predetermined questions are used in structured interviews (1969). According to her, the interviewer asks the same question to the interviewees using the same words in structured interviews (1969:75). Hawe, Degeling and Hall (1990:137) held that in a structured method the interviewer decides upon a series of questions in a survey which are then answered by the respondents. According to Stacey (1969:77), the set questions can be grouped into open-ended and closed questions. In the case of open-ended questions, the respondents are allowed to give their replies (1969:77). She stated that although the pre-coded response to a structured question promotes clear and unequivocal answer, it has the weakness that responses may perhaps be constrained to a form that does not utterly correspond (1969:79). She added that open-ended questions have the problem of gathering a great variety of

replies wherein some use several terms that have identical meaning, and some use identical terms that have several meanings (1969: 79-80).

Stacey said that issues that mainly relate to viewpoints, opinions or judgements are better with open-ended question, though they are difficult to analyse (1969:80). The way to choose between open and closed questions as summarised by Stacey is that closed questions ought to be utilised where substitute responses recognised, are restricted in quantity and are precise (Stacey 1969:80). On the other hand, open-ended questions ought to be utilised in a complicated matter wherein appropriate scope or extent is not common, and where a method is under investigation. She suggested that unlike closed questions, open-ended questions are often more problematic, time-consuming and more costly to evaluate (Stacey, 1969:80).

In this research structured interviews were conducted by asking some predetermined questions in person and over the telephone to the selected respondents who have current knowledge of the subject under study. Structured interviews were used in this study in order to ask preset questions, and in so doing, answers were compared uniformly (without differing explanations and interpretations). All the selected respondents for the structured interview were thus asked the same questions, in the same order, and in exactly the same way.

3.4.2.2   *Unstructured interview*

Unstructured interviews were also used for the qualitative data collection of this research. In this case, there were no fixed or predetermined questions. According to Stacey (1969:75), in unstructured interview, the interviewer is merely offered the theme of the entire interview in general and is allowed to extract the information in any manner that seems appropriate for the task. She added that unstructured interviews are less likely to be identical either in the questions asked by the interviewer or in the responses received. On the other hand, information might be obtained which would not be extracted with a more structured series of questions.

With regards to this, Hawe, Degeling and Hall (1990:137) held that 'with an unstructured approach the person being interviewed is allowed to take the lead and talk about whatever aspects of the survey topic he or she chooses'. The strength of this approach, they said, 'is that it often reveals issues and ideas that you, the survey designer, might have never considered' (Hawe, Degeling and Hall, 1990:137). Research has revealed that this type of interview gives ample room for much discovery. Stacey added that:

> *'Unstructured interviews are most common at the explanatory stage of any research and in those studies where depth of understanding is more important than large scale coverage.' (Stacey 1969:75-76)*

During the unstructured interview carried out for this research, the researcher raised issues with respect to the goals of the research and the respondents were allowed to develop their ideas and pursue their chain of thought. Denscombe (2003:167) holds that the difference between

structured and unstructured interviews 'is the degree of control exercised by the researcher over the nature of the responses and the length of the answers allowed by the respondent'. Stacey (1969:75) however, argued that 'there is no hard and fast dividing line between the structured and unstructured interview'.

3.4.3 Observations

Direct observations made in this research were also another primary source of information. According to Selltiz et al. (1965:201), 'many types of data required by the social scientist as evidence in research can be obtained through direct observation'. Observational notes were taken in the course of the research. Observations were made regarding the quality of responses and the reactions of the respondents to the questions. According to Selltiz et al. (1965:242), 'the interviewer is in a position to observe not only what the respondent says but also how he says it'. The researcher was also observing if the respondents were passive, active or indifferent towards the research. In addition, changes in people's behaviour, attitudes, social and cultural life, resulting from the influence of the global news media in Nigeria, were also being observed. All the observations made were noted and thereafter interpreted to inform this research.

3.4.4 Reports

World Bank official reports as well as Nigerian government reports with respect to this study were consulted and used to buttress this

investigation. Most of these reports were published on the World Bank website and other World Bank publications and documents as well as the official Nigerian government website.

3.5 Secondary Data Collection Methods

Secondary sources of information in this research include information from dependable and authoritative texts by renowned writers in the field of Mass Communication and International Relations that have made significant contributions to the current knowledge bank in these areas. Other secondary sources of information include newspapers, magazines, periodicals, journals, and reliable websites.

3.6 Data Analysis Methods

3.6.1 Method of quantitative data analysis

Quantitative analysis in this study is the process of presenting and interpreting numerical data gathered from the questionnaire. In this analysis, descriptive statistics has been used. According to Graziano and Raulin (1993:91), 'descriptive statistics are used to summarise, simplify, and describe a large number of measurements'. Statistical tools are applied to the results to give a picture of the data collected. The quantitative data gathered in this research is thus presented in tables showing the frequency distribution and simple percentage distribution of the responses. This process is called tabulation. According to Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1994:40), frequency distribution tables convey quantitative information in an explicit and accurate way. The first step in constructing a

distribution table according to Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1994:31) is to decide the number of times 'observations occur in each response category of a variable. From the count results, a frequency distribution is constructed'. A frequency distribution is thus 'a table of outcome or response categories of a variable and the number of times each outcome is observed' (Bohrnstedt and Knoke 1994:32). These are transformed into familiar relative frequency distribution and percentage distributions. To create relative frequencies, or proportion, the number of cases of each outcome is divided by the total number of cases. Proportions are transformed into percentages by multiplying each by 100. Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1994:32) affirmed that 'percentages are usually presented to the nearest tenth'. The statistical procedures used can be expressed as follows:

$$\text{(a)} \quad f = \frac{n}{T}$$

$$\text{(b)} \quad \% = \frac{f}{1} \; X \; \frac{100}{1}$$

$$\text{(c)} \quad T = \sum f(_s)$$

f denotes each frequency or proportions; n denotes number of cases in each outcome; T denotes total sample size; $\%$ denotes percentage; $\sum f(_s)$ denotes sum of the frequencies for each outcome.

Graziano and Raulin (1993:90) suggested that 'statistical procedures depend on variability or differences in responses among subjects'. According to them, 'no two subjects or groups will respond in exactly the same manner, and measurements of their responses will show variability'. They further noted three essential aspects of descriptive statistics namely:

'(1) frequency counts and frequency distributions, (2) graphical representations of data, and (3) summary statistics' (Graziano and Raulin, 1993:91).

Silverman (2001: 36) however, argued that: 'It is, of course, mistaken to count simply for the sake of counting without a theoretical rationale behind the tabulated categories'.[42] According to him 'counting only gives a spurious validity of research'. For this reason, the theoretical frameworks which support this research serve as a guide to explain the tabulated categories.

3.6.2 Method of qualitative data analysis

The qualitative analysis in this study is an interpretative process, which involves organisation, inference and rationalisation of the qualitative data. The qualitative data gathered from the interviews, open-ended questionnaire answers and observational notes were transcribed into a word processed document. The transcribed data were subsequently analysed using the interpretative method. The interpretations are subjective, but are guided by the theories, which support this study. For instance, open-ended answers in the questionnaire are reasonably interpreted by selecting the most dominant words or views and categorising them under suitable major headings. Results are in some cases presented in diagrams showing relationships of ideas. From the

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[42] Silverman concluded that: 'Simple counting techniques, theoretically derived and ideally based on participants' own categories, can offer a means to survey the whole corpus of data ordinarily lost in intensive, qualitative research...' (2001: 37).

results inferences are made. Interpretations are also given of the interviews, documents and observational notes gathered for the purpose of this research. Patton notes that qualitative examination converts a piece of information (data) into results. Of course there is guidance, but no formula is present for the conversion (2002:432). 'Direction can and will be offered, but the final destination remains unique for each inquirer, known only when – and if – arrived at' (Patton, 2002:432).

Examining interpretative paradigms, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:19) state that: 'The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises may be termed a *paradigm*, or an interpretative framework', which according to Guba (1990:17) is 'a set of beliefs that guides action' (Guba, 1990 cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2002:432)

The interpretative process involves making sense of what the respondents have said. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000:23), 'the interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artistic and political'. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:19) further stated that:

> *'All research is interpretive; it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial.'*

They added that: 'Each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions he or she asks and the interpretations the researcher brings to them' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:19). However, the use of the interpretative method to analyse

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qualitative data in this research is not void of theoretical support but was guided and directed by the theories on which this work is built (or parts thereof). Crucially, they are used to provide answers to some key research questions, which this work seeks to address. This can be seen in the data analysis section in Chapter Four of this thesis where qualitative data were interpreted to provide answers to some key research questions, which this study investigates. According to Silverman (1993:2), 'theories provide the impetus for research. As living entities, they are also developed and modified by good research'. Silverman further held that 'theories provide a set of explanatory concepts' (Silverman, 1993:1). According to him 'these concepts offer ways of looking at the world which are essential in defining a research problem' (Silverman, 1993:1). He further declared that 'without a theory, there is nothing to research' (Silverman, 1993:1).

According to Patton (2002:432), the qualitative analysis faces the challenge of making comprehensible vast amounts of information. This, he says, entails cutting down the amount of unrefined data, filtering unimportant from important, classifying important recurring themes, and creating a structure to convey the real meaning of what the information discloses (2002:432). In the same vein, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:19) held that qualitative researchers embark on varieties of interrelated interpretive methods, constantly looking for improved ways of understanding the wide range of events they have investigated.

Patton notes that no formulas exit for deciding importance (2002:433). He further states that:

> 'No ways exist of perfectly replicating the researcher's analytical thought processes. No straightforward tests can be applied for reliability and validity. In short, no absolute rules exist except perhaps this: Do your very best with your full intellect to fairly represent the data and communicate what the data reveal given the purpose of the study.' (Patton, 2002: 433)

Like Pattons, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:393) held that qualitative researchers do not assert that a phenomenon can be explained in just one method. No single accurate explanation exists. Stacey (1969:1) affirmed that human understanding has no boundary and that it is most improbable that the ultimate solution always lies in the hands of someone. She emphasised that there are yet additional things to discover. Hamersley (1992:163) concluded that:

> ' We are not faced, then, with a stark choice between words and numbers, or even between precise and imprecise data; but rather with a range from more to less precise data. Furthermore, our decisions about what level of precision is appropriate in relation to any particular claim should depend on the nature of what we are trying to describe, on the likely accuracy of our descriptions, on our purposes, and on the resources available to us; not on ideological commitment to one methodological paradigm or another.' (Hammersley, 1992:163)

3.7   Limitations

3.7.1 Limitations of using an online questionnaire survey

One of the limitations of this research is the use of questionnaires. According to Gillham (2000:2), 'one of the weaknesses of questionnaires is that they seek to get answers just by asking questions' with possible

answers already decided by the researcher in advance. By doing so, he says, 'the element of discovery is much reduced (unless there is a much unexpected pattern to the answers selected)'. This implies that the use of the questionnaire often limits or suppresses the opinion or views of the respondents. Gillham (2000:2-4) suggested that 'it is partly for this reason that questionnaire data are necessarily superficial: you only have the answers to go on'. Gillham (2000) however, affirmed that 'open questions are only occasionally used in questionnaires because they are more difficult to analyse (and more troublesome to answer)'. Notwithstanding, he argued that 'open questions lead to a greater level of discovery but that their number and kind has to be restricted to justify "cost" ' (Gillham, 2000:5). In view of this limitation, but bearing in mind the possible advantages, this research used a limited number of open-ended questions.

Furthermore, the use of an online survey to collect data confined the study to an audience who can read and write and who were also computer literate. Consequently, the uneducated and those who could neither use the computer nor were connected to the Internet were excluded from participating. This was a barrier to equal participation in this research.

3.7.2 Limitation of using structured interviews

The use of structured interviews was also another limitation to this study. The use of structured questions limits the respondents to fixed questions, which are predetermined in advance by the researcher. It does not give

the respondents enough room to follow their own line of thoughts, feelings, judgements, beliefs and viewpoints regarding the subject or issue under study.

3.8   Chapter Summary

In concluding this chapter, it is pertinent to note that the data that informed it was gathered from two methodological approaches and paradigms - (1) the positivist (quantitative method) and the interpretivist (qualitative method). In the quantitative method, the questionnaire is the major instrument of data collection while for the qualitative methods information was obtained using structured and unstructured interviews as well as by direct observations. Basically, the use of an online questionnaire survey and interviews involved asking questions to elicit some sets of answers to the research questions. Quantitative data were analysed statistically by determining the frequency distributions and percentages, while the qualitative data analysis was an interpretative process. The limitations of this research include the use of an online questionnaire survey, which contained mostly closed questions and less open-ended questions. This was to some extent, an inhibition to discovering the depth of respondents' perception of the subject matter. Furthermore, the use of an online questionnaire not only excluded an audience who cannot read and write from participating in the research, but also excluded people who had a computer but had no access to the Internet. The use of a structured interview was another restraint to discovery as it did not give the

respondents enough room to follow their own line of thoughts about the subject matter.

However, despite the limitations of this research, the integration of the two methodological approaches in this research has been used to great efficacy in this investigation. In essence, the strengths of the different research methods were fully integrated in order to achieve the objectives of this research and to surmount the bias that come from using a single-method. On the other hand, the weaknesses and limitations of some of the methods were highlighted and addressed in order to achieve a balanced investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULT PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the empirical data gathered for the purpose of this research. Two types of data analysis are carried out in this chapter: the quantitative analysis and the qualitative analysis. In quantitative analysis, numerical data gathered from the questionnaire survey are analysed using statistical procedures. In qualitative data analysis, an interpretative method is used to explain the data gathered from the questionnaire's open-ended answers, interviews, documents and observational field notes. The results obtained from both the qualitative and quantitative analysis are used to provide answers to the research questions, which this study investigates. Some results are presented in tables, charts and diagrams to provide effective visual images for the purpose of clarity and precision. In addressing some of the research questions, this chapter also looks at the way Nigeria sees the world and the way the world sees Nigeria; and the role played by the global media in shaping the perception of audiences in Nigeria and the world. Moreover, to underpin this study, a brief content analysis of *The Times* (London) coverage of Nigeria, in a three months' period, was carried out in this chapter.

Table 1: Characteristics of Online Survey Respondents

		Respondents	
		N	%
Gender	Male	195	65.0%
	Female	105	35.0%
	Total	300	100%
Age	18-25	48	16.0%
	26-35	124	41.3%
	36-45	71	23.7%
	46-55	36	12.0%
	56+	21	7.0%
	Total	300	100%
Occupation	Student	67	22.3%
	Lecturer	11	3.7%
	Business	17	5.7%
	Professional	145	48.3%
	Self employed	15	5.0%
	Retired	9	3.0%
	Unemployed	6	2.0%
	Other	30	10.0%
	Total	300	100%
Place of residence	Urban	241	80.3%
	Rural	59	19.7%
	Total	300	100%
Nationality	Nigerian	250	83.3%
	British	25	8.3%
	American	25	8.3%
	Total	300	100%
Region of Residence (Nigerians only)	East	55	22.0%
	West	100	40.0%
	North	59	23.6%
	South	36	14.4%
	Total	250	100%
Ownership and access to a radio or Television set	Yes	280	93.3%
	No	20	6.7%
	Total	300	100%

Source: Author's Survey.

Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage distributions of the characteristics of the respondents who participated in the online survey. The total sample of 300 respondents who completed the questionnaire were used for the quantitative data analysis, with 83.3% (N=250) representing Nigeria nationals, 8.3% (N=25) representing British nationals and 8.3% (N=25) representing American nationals.

Of those who indicated gender, 65.0% (N=195) were male and 35.0% (N=105) were female. For age distribution, 16.0% (N=48) of the respondents belonged to the age range 18-25; 41.3% (N=124) belonged to the age range 26-35; 23.7% (N=71) were 36-45; 12.0% (N=36) were 46-55; and 7.0% (N=21) belonged to the age range 56 and above.

Regarding ownership or access to a radio or TV sets: 93.3% (N=280) of the respondents owned or had access to a radio or TV set while 6.7 %(N= 20) had neither.

The table further shows that 80.3% (N=241) of the respondents lived in urban areas while 19.7% (N=59) lived in rural locations.

The distribution of occupations showed that: 22.3% (N=67) were students; 3.7% (N=11) were lecturers; 5.7% (N=17) were in business; 48.3% (N=145) were professionals; 5.0% (N=15) were self-employed; 3.0% (N=9) were retired; 2.0% (N=6) were unemployed; and 10.0% (N=30) were in other occupations.

In addition, the table shows the regions of residence for Nigerian respondents as follows: 22.0% (N=55) lived in the East; 40.0% (N=100) lived in the West; 23.6% (N=59) lived in the North; and 14.4% (N=36) lived in the South.

4.2 The Way Nigeria Sees the World

In this era of media globalisation when all nations of the world are connected through new communication technologies, the global media industries play a central role in the way Nigeria sees other nations and the world in general. Global media organisations are the best monitors of what is happening in other nations and audiences turn to them to tell these stories. It could be argued that Nigeria today sees the world through the glasses of the global media. The globally distributed media text, which Nigerians often receive regarding other nations, not only shapes them but also shapes their views and impressions about other nations of the world. According to Herman and McChesney (1997: 2-3) 'the media provide information (or myths and disinformation) about the past and present that helps to create a common culture and system of values, traditions and ways of looking at the world'.

In this study, the way Nigeria sees the world is determined by examining the sorts of global media products that flow into Nigeria and how they are received and interpreted. These media products include news, films, movies, soaps, advertisements etc. In essence, these media products to some extent give Nigerians the "picture" of what is happening in other

parts of the world. For example, the types of global news that Nigerians often receive about the West (i.e. UK and USA) is revealed from the survey carried out in this study.

4.2.1   Global news into Nigeria:

Research question 1 (RQ1): What sorts of global news flows into and out of Nigeria?

This is important because it has been argued that there is disparity between the kinds of global news that flows into and out of the developing countries from the developed countries. As part of examining the type of news that flows into Nigeria, questionnaire item 11 (open-ended) asked the respondents to describe in their own words the sort of news they often hear about western countries (i.e. UK and United States) through the global media and what it suggests to them. From all the responses given by the respondents, the news that comes into Nigeria from the West can be broadly categorised as follows: science and technology, economy and business, politics, environment and health, social and entertainment, education and sports. News in these areas can be further categorised to include news such as technological advancement, economic and financial growth, dominance in world politics, the fight against terrorism, sports achievements, educational standards, global warming, humanitarian efforts/ African aid, health awareness, celebrities, and style industries (see Figure 4, pg 181).   In describing these sorts of news the respondents have used the following terms: positive news, balanced reporting, mixed

news, constructive news, sometimes negative reports, peaceful news, robust news, more incisive and detailed, and the impression that nothing goes wrong (see Figure 5, pg 183). Of all the terms used in describing the news that Nigerians often receive about the western world (UK and US) the term "positive news" was observed to be dominant. Thus, the overall descriptions of the news that comes into Nigeria shows that the majority of the respondents believe they do receive more positive news from the West than negative news as the survey revealed. However, a few respondents acknowledged that they do sometimes receive negative news such as gun and knife crime, social decadence, teenage pregnancy, serial killings, murder etc, but such news is usually rare. For visual clarity, the replies of the respondents on this entry have been filtered, categorised and grouped according to news types and descriptions and they are presented in diagrammatical form (see Figure 5). Some examples of the participants' replies in this respect include the following:

> *'It's constantly news of great accomplishments and developments. It suggests to me that UK and USA are greatly developed countries with no crime or any form of inadequacies.'* ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, female, professional)***

> *'Positive reports about development; indeed CNN behaves as if the world is only America. They bore the whole world with details about America. Even when President Bush makes obvious mistakes, CNN finds a way of making it sound positive.'* ***(Author's survey: age 46-55, female, professional)***

> *'Oh, there are only good things about the western world where they can do no wrong and where they have the best of times, but we know otherwise. This suggests that they want us to believe that nothing can ever go wrong where they live. It is a wrong and false image.'****(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)***

'News about the growth of their economy, growth per capita income, appreciation in the value of their currency & the rest.' ***(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, civil servant)***

'Positive events: price of stock markets, inventions, might of the super powers. It appears nothing bad happens in the West. No poverty, no discrimination, no corruption and so on.' ***(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, professional)***

'Mostly discoveries, inventions, interventions to other countries, sometimes negative but not always.' ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)***

'I hear mostly positive things about the western countries such as good economy, concern for climate change, stable government, job creation, good health facilities, and adequate infrastructure. Such news creates the impression that the western world is better in all aspects.' ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, student)***

'Positive news: The western media most tries to show that the West is good, while developing nations like Nigeria are a crime hot spot.' ***(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, professional)***

Looking at the undertone or connotations of the above expressions as used by the participants, it can be seen that though the stories they often hear about the West tend to be positive, there is also some underlying scepticism about such news. In other words, some of the respondents believe that some of the news received from the West is too good to be true. It suggests that there could be a certain amount of cover-up or a deliberate attempt by the global media industries to promote a positive western image to the detriment of Third World countries like Nigeria. Other than being sceptical, the responses still do suggest that Nigerians to some extent are inclined to believe that the developed world (US and UK) are far better than Nigeria in all facets based on the information they often receive from the global media. In summary, the global media encourage Nigerians

to believe that they are nowhere near as developed as the rest of the world.

To further examine how Nigerians see the world, the survey looked at western media products such as films and their influences on the Nigerian mass media. Questionnaire item 12 asked respondents to decide if there is a predominance of western films in the Nigerian mass media and in the global media. The result is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: **Predominance of western films in the Nigerian mass media and the global media**

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Disagree	46	18.4%
Strongly disagree	13	5.2%
Agree	102	40.8%
Strongly Agree	42	16.8%
Neutral	47	18.8%
Total	250	100%

The total number of participants who answered this question was 250 Nigerian respondents only). 18.4% (N=46) indicated "disagree"; 5.2% (N=13) indicated "strongly disagree"; 40.8% (N=102) indicated "agree"; 16.8% (N=42) indicated "strongly agree"; while 18.8% (N=47) were "neutral". This result shows that the greater percentage of the respondents think that western films dominate the Nigerian mass media and the global media. It also shows that the perceptions of the majority of the respondents regarding the dominance of western media products in the

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Nigerian mass media would seem to agree with one of the premises of the media imperialism thesis, which according to Rayner, Wall and Kruger (2004:243) presupposes the worldwide 'imposition of commodified western media products onto/over what are seen as the fragile and vulnerable traditional culture of, in particular, Third World countries'. Similarly, empirical study carried out by Richstad revealed that many Asians believe that their local culture is being eroded due to the influx of western media products (see Richstad, 2000: 275-278).

In order to discover if there is inequality of news flow between Nigeria and the developed world, especially the West as postulated in media imperialism theory, item 13 of the questionnaire survey asked the respondents for their perception. 8.0% (N=20) indicated "disagree", 4.4% (N=11) indicated "strongly disagree"; 41.2% (N=103) indicated "agree"; 35.6% (N=89) indicated "strongly agree" while 10.8% (N=27) were "neutral "(see Table 3 and Figure 3).

Table 3: Inequality of news flow between Nigeria and West

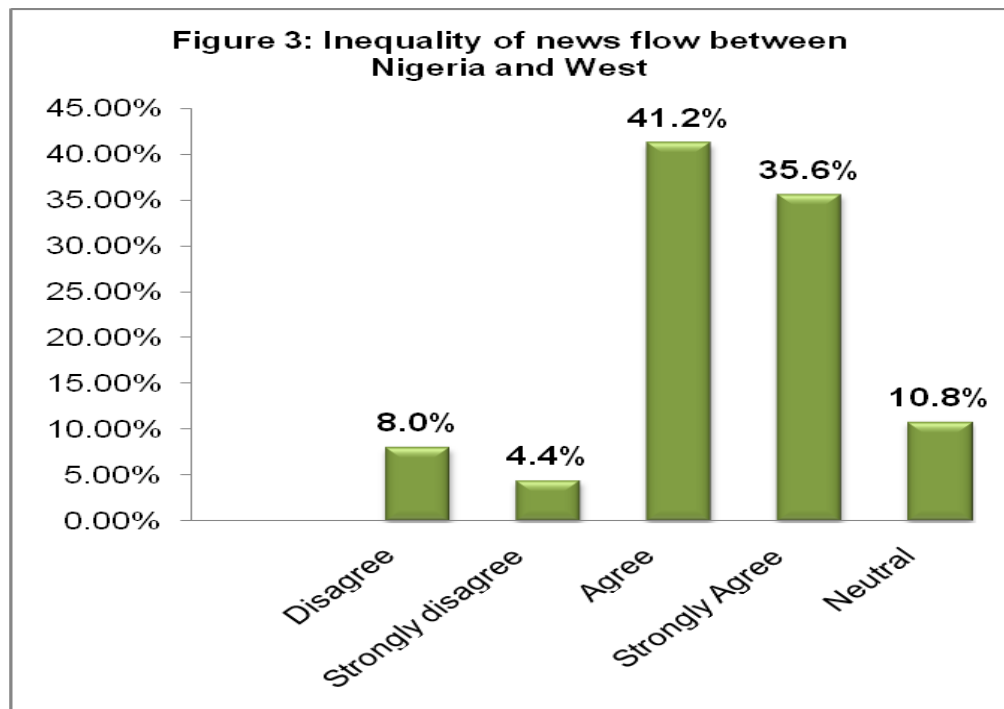| Response	Frequency (%)	Percentage (%)
Disagree	20	8.0%
Strongly disagree	11	4.4%
Agree	103	41.2%
Strongly Agree	89	35.6%
Neutral	27	10.8%
Total	250	100%

Figure 3: Inequality of news flow between Nigeria and West

A bar chart showing percentages for the following categories:
- Disagree: 8.0%
- Strongly disagree: 4.4%
- Agree: 41.2%
- Strongly Agree: 35.6%
- Neutral: 10.8%

It could be argued that one of the reasons behind the influx of western media products to Nigeria is an unrestricted cross-border flow of information, which has characterised the era of media globalisation. According to Baran and Davis (2002:363), 'the airwaves of many small nations are flooded with US produced content because it is sold to broadcasters at prices far below what it would cost to produce locally'. Dr. Lloyd A. Free, Director of the Institute for International Social Research, describing the media situation in Nigeria in the 1990s had stated:

> *'I did a study in Nigeria a couple of years ago. During that time I watched Nigerian television. Do you know that most of the prime hours of programming time on Nigerian television was made up of filmed television shows from the United States, many of them of a soap opera variety?... The Nigerians apparently watched because there was nothing else to watch. But of all the sheer waste of program time in a country faced with very grave problems as we see today, it just seems atrocious that this medium with the potential of television was utilised in that way. The reason that it is utilised that way is that it is cheaper for the Nigerian television networks to buy American films than produce their own or get other types of material.' (Quoted in Schiller, 1992:155-156)*

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Uche (1989: 87) explaining the danger of cultural colonisation of the people in the third word by foreign media programmes stated that:

> '*A former director-general of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) once claimed that a relatively high percentage of programming on Nigeria's television stations was indigenous and produced locally, claiming that there was about a 50-50 division between local and foreign programmes.*'

Uche argued that:

> '*The claim that there was a relatively high degree of indigenous and locally produced programmes in Nigerian television stations could not be substantiated by the available data at the time of the former director-general's claim. A UNESCO world-wide survey at the time showed that in Nigeria, for every 100% of television hours in each year, when the survey was conducted, only 27% of such transmitted hours aired locally produced programmes.*'*(Uche, 1989:87)*

He further observed that:

> '*The second channel of the NTA-2, Lagos, ...transmits 80% of foreign-produced media products weekly to its viewers. On the other hand, Radio Nigeria Two, AM –FM, devotes an unusually high percentage of its hours of transmission to foreign popular music. Of the eighteen hours of transmission on the air per day, 15.5 of the hours are devoted to music. On the selected week-end day it was monitored to obtain data for the nature of its broadcasts for the international Communication on Youth Culture (ICYC) consortium project on Youth and culture industry, out of a total of 154 record air-played, 70% were foreign sounds, 26% were Nigerian records, while the remaining 4% were sounds from other African countries, other than Nigeria.*' *(Uche, 1989:87)*

In recent decades, some have argued that the predominance of foreign media products in Nigerian broadcasting systems has not significantly changed (see UNESCO, 2009b). In a speech delivered by Chief Mike Ozekhome at the African Film and Television Programmes Expo, BOBTV 2009, held in Nigeria, at Ladi Kwali conference centre of the Sheraton hotels and towers, Abuja on the 9th March 2009, he states that:

> '*A look at the pattern of global information exchange shows an information order in which the western world is bombarding*

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*developing and underdeveloped countries including Nigeria with
information disseminated through their powerful media. Such
information comes with their established prejudices and
stereotypes. The advent of new technologies particularly in the area
of satellite and computers has even made it much easier for
western nations to really flood the poor nations including Nigeria
with their information and culture. In the process of the continuous
global information exchange, images of persons, nations and
countries are continually formed, or reformed in the mind of the
global community.' (Ozekhome, 2009)*

However, the information published by IREX (2006-2007), an international
non-profit organisation, which provides leadership and innovative
programmes to strengthen independent media, states that:

*'Nigerian broadcast media outlets produce their own programming
in addition to purchasing programming. The programming produced
by private media differs significantly from that produced by state or
public media; the private media treat their news more objectively
than the public media and are able to produce more in-depth
reporting on issues, thus looking at all sides of an issue. Most
stations, small or large, local or national, produce their own news
programs. Independent and state media frequently source their
international news stories from foreign or international media.'*
(IREX, 2006-2007)

A research project on 'African media development initiative' carried out by
the BBC World Service Trust – in collaboration with Rhodes University
(South Africa) and Ahmadu Bello University (Nigeria) in 2006,
acknowledges Mohammed Musa's (2005) argument that 'the liberalisation
of broadcasting tailored along the American version of advertising and
profit-driven media is not suitable for Africa and Nigeria' (Adeyanju and
Okwori, 2006:12).

In this light, it could be argued that the dominance and influence of
western media products on Nigerian mass media seemed to have

influenced and shaped the way some Nigerians see the world especially the western world. In this regard, Takis Fotopoulos remarked:

> *'Every single TV viewer in Nigeria, India, China or Russia now dreams of the American way of life, as seen on TV serials (which, being relatively inexpensive and glamorous, fill the TV programmes of most TV channels all over the world) and thinks in terms of the competitive values imbued by them.' (Fotopoulos, 1999)*

Some Nigerians, to some degree at least, perceive the western world as a perfect world, where nothing goes wrong; a land flowing with milk and honey. As some respondents have stated:

> *'Descriptions are usually perfected to give the impression that nothing is difficult overseas or nothing goes wrong there.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 18-25, male, student)***

> *'Developed nations are heaven on earth (untrue)*
> Nigeria is a bad, fraudulent country (untrue).'
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)***

The survey revealed that the global media products that flow into Nigeria suggest that the western world is a land of opportunities with, for example, superior education, advanced technology, good governance, high security, good health, good food, better wages, and a good standard of living (see Figure 4). In this light, it could be argued that the global media would seem to have shaped the perceptions of some Nigerians to perceive a western way of life (culture, values and ideologies) as ideal.

4.2.2 The perceived impacts

4.2.2.1   High wave of migration

In recent decades, studies have revealed that the rate at which Nigerians make their way to other nations especially to the western countries like Britain and the United Sates to study, live and work is accelerating. For

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instance, the UK Visa Annual Report produced by the UK Border Agency in 24 July 2007 shows that 226,446 visa applications were received from Nigeria. Of these, 169,415 were received in Lagos (the largest city) while 57,031 were received in the capital, Abuja (UK visas Annual report 2006/07: 33). The UK Border Agency immigration statistics for 2006-2007 and 2008-2009 showed that Nigeria was one of the top ten nationalities demanding UK visas. (UK visas Annual report 2006/07:33; UK Border Agency Entry Clearance Statistics 2008/09: 13).   The UK handled 2.75 million visa applications in 2006/07 from all round the world, which is 8% more than in 2005/6, making a total income of £190 million from visa fees. (UK Visas Annual Report 2006/07:4). In the case of the US, 'An estimated one million Nigerians and Nigerian Americans live, study, and work in the United States' (US Department of State, 2008). It is confirmed that 'Immigrants made the United States what it is' (U.S. Department of State, 2008). It could be argued that the UK and the USA not only boost their economy from the visa application fees they receive from developing nations like Nigeria but the process also strips these same nations of their talented workforce. In this regard, Umechukwu (2001:71) confirms that the "brain drain" 'is one of the greatest obstacles on the road to Nigeria's development'.[43] Moreover, it has been affirmed by some scholars that:

> *'International migration, the movement of people across international boundaries, has enormous economic, social, and cultural implications in both origin and destination countries. It is estimated that some one hundred and eighty million people (three per cent of the world's population) are living in countries in which they were not born. Among these are millions of highly-educated*

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[43] 'Brain drain -- the emigration of skilled workers -- is pervasive in most least developed countries (LDCs) and is a serious barrier to using technology to help such nations expand their economies and raise living standards, an UNCTAD report warns'.(UNCTAD, 2007)

*people who moved to developed countries from developing
countries that already suffer from low levels of human capital and
skilled workers.' (Schiff and Ozden, 2005)*

In a Nigerian Television Authority 3rd National Lecture series, April 3rd 2007, it was stated that out of the 140.7million Nigerians, based on last census figures, more than 5 million Nigerians are in Diaspora mainly in Europe and North America. '3.5% of the Nigerian people are in Diaspora. World Bank estimates remittance figures to Nigeria at 2.2billion per annum (06)' (Ako, 2007).

4.2.2.2   Shortage of highly skilled workers

In recent decades, highly skilled workers such as qualified doctors, engineers, nurses, and other talented and professional people have migrated to the UK and the United States to work. As a result of this, they have invested their talents and skills abroad instead of investing them in their home country. This has led to a shortage of highly skilled workers in Nigeria. Stilwell et al. (2004) in their study 'managing brain drain and brain waste of health workers in Nigeria' state that:

> *'Nigeria is one of the several major health-staff-exporting countries
> in Africa. For example, 432 nurses legally emigrated to work in
> Britain between April 2001-March 2002, compared with 347
> between April 2000-March 2001, out of a total of about 2000
> (legally) emigrating African nurses, a trend that is perceived by
> Nigeria's government as a threat to sustainable health care delivery
> in Africa's most populous country.' (*Stilwell et al., 2004)[44]

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[44] See also *The Internet Journal of Health*. Available from :
http://www.ispub.com/journal/the_Internet_journal_of_health/volume_8_number_1_5/artic
le/the_nigeria_health_sector_and_human_resource_challenges.html [Accessed: 11 May
2010]

Furthermore, UNDP Human Development Report estimated in 1993 that there are over '21,000 Nigerian doctors practising in the United States alone while Nigeria's health system suffers from an acute lack of medical personnel'(Economic Commission for Africa, 2000). Also, a survey conducted by African Recruit Healthcare found 'over $50 billion dollars in personnel value of Nigerian healthcare professionals (half of respondents). Moreover, approximately 75% had postgraduate qualifications' (Ako, 2007). Nunn (2005:10) examining "brain drain" in Africa states that:

> 'Even relatively developed African states, like Nigeria, demonstrate a lack of capacity to meet demand for education. In 2000, Nigerian universities could accept only 12% of applicants. The loss of skilled labour and academic staff in particular is thus an acute problem.

According to BBC News (2001),

> 'a new report says Africa has lost a third of its skilled professionals in recent decades and it is costing the continent $4b dollars a year to replace them with expatriates from the West.' (BBC News, 17 October 2001)[45]

In this light, it could be argued that the loss of skilled labour has serious repercussions on the development of Nigeria, while at the same time assisting western economy. It could also be argued that the accelerated influx of Nigerian skilled and semi-skilled workers to Britain and the United states to study, live or work is as a result of the information they have

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[45] It has been argued that 'at least 70,000 highly qualified Africans leave their country of origin annually for western countries. Concerned Africans believe the figure is even much higher'(Ejime, 2003) .
Similarly, Barka (2000) states that, 'Africa lost 60,000 professionals (doctors, university lecturers, engineers, etc.) between 1985 and 1990. The emigration of doctors and other experts from Africa is the most striking illustration of this problem' (Barka, 2000 cited in Nunn,2005:32).
See also: findajobinafrica.com/.../Brain Drain Background Analysis.pdf

received from the global media. This has both short and long term damaging effects on the Nigerian economy and overall development.

4.2.2.3 Loss of confidence

Due to the influence of globally distributed media text which Nigerians often receive about the West, there is a growing sense of fear and intimidation, perhaps because of the economic, technological, political and military might of the West as often perceived through the global media. According to Herman and McChesney (1997: 2-3), 'the media can, however, strengthen people's sense of isolation and make them more fearful of the world outside'. There is a huge loss of confidence amongst some Nigerians as many Nigerians lack the ability to believe in themselves. In this respect, one of the participants stated:

> *'The negative aspect which I am considering about is the confidence which they have taking away from us. Believing in yourself! That is psychological impact. Because for any country to develop, they must first of all believe in themselves. That is why you see countries like China progressing. They use their own language. The more you try to copy others you will never be exactly like that.'* **(Author's survey, age 46-55, male, lawyer)**

In this light, it could be argued that the West through the global media, influences and controls the way many Nigerians think. Consequently, western ideology has permeated and influenced the way of life of many Nigerians. It has been stated that 'being an American depends on acceptance of certain American ideals, not on the place of birth of a person or of his or her ancestors' (U.S. Department of State, 2008). This agrees with "media imperialism theory", which according to Rayner, Wall and Kruger (2004:243) 'involves the global transmission of a dominant,

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western ideology that both naturalises the western way of life as the only life worth having, and fetishises its democratic structures, social relationships and lifestyles'. This is in agreement with what one of the participants stated:

> *'Pen is mighty than the bullet, and the western world has been able to demonstrate that over the years. The person that controls the way you think, is controlling your life. If you are able to control the way a man thinks, then you are able to change that man.'* ***(Authors survey, age 46-55, male, lawyer)***

On this note, it could be argued that lack of confidence is one of the major obstacles in the way of Nigerian development. This is because some Nigerians do not believe they have got enough initiative, wisdom and inventive capability to create or make new products that could face international competition. Nigerians seem inclined to believe that the western world has got it all. Consequently, they continue to depend on the developed world for latest technologies.

Also in Nigeria, there seems to be a high moral regard and respect for people from the West. They are perceived as being genuine, transparent and honest. In addition to this there appears to be a higher regard for some Nigerians who have made their way to the West to study, live or work. They are seen as being very intelligent, exceptional and well talented.

For further illustration, the qualitative answers given by the respondents in the questionnaire survey regarding the kind of news that flows into Nigeria are represented in diagrammatical form (see Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 4: Global News into Nigeria.

Global News into Nigeria

Science & Technology News	Economy & Business News	Politics News	Environment & Health News	Social & Entertainment News	Education /Sports News

Science & Technology News
- technological break through
- discoveries & inventions
- advancement in technology

Economy & Business News
- price of stock markets
- good food & new products
- growth in per capital income/
- value of currency & abundant wealth
- economic power/ US is the richest
- financial supremacy and dominance
- economic & financial growth
- poverty eradication

Politics News
- respect for rule of law
- might of the super powers
- robust political system
- concern about security
- superb and good governance
- immigration, global issues/US in Iraq
- wars in the Middle East /West victories
- humanitarian efforts/ African aid
- interference to other countries' affairs
- most powerful and in control
- zeal by the US and the UK to export democracy
- dominance in the world politics & power
- war against terrorism
- achievements of the superior countries
- interest in peace

Environment & Health News
- global warming/ climate change
- weather
- community dev. and support
- progress in medicine
- good health

Social & Entertainment News
- style industries
- celebrities and heroes
- affluent lifestyle
- great accomplishment
- no discrimination and social ills
- good crime control

Education /Sports News
- sound and best education
- high educational standard
- sports achievements

Positive News

- natural disasters /plane crash
- propaganda
- bribery and corruption scandal
- war and crises
- international political assault
- celebrity gossip, nudity
- crime reports/ violence
- anti-social behaviour
- kidnappings, Shootings & killings
- murder, sodomy teenage pregnancy
- social decadence, gun and knife crime

Negative News

Source: Author's Survey.

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Figure 4 shows the different types of news that flow into Nigeria from the West based on the survey conducted. This news falls into the following categories: Science and Technology (e.g. technological breakthrough, discoveries and inventions); Economy and Business (e.g. new products, value of currency, price of stock markets); Politics (e.g. respect for rule of law; robust political system, zeal by the US and the UK to export democracy, war and crises, bribery and corruption scandal, propaganda); Environmental and Health (global warming/ climate change, weather, good health); Social and Entertainment (e.g. style industries, celebrities and heroes, crime, shooting, murder, anti-social behaviour, affluence lifestyle); Education and Sports (e.g. sports achievements, high educational standards). Due to the mixed nature of this kind of news selection, it has been classified as both "Positive" and "Negative", though the survey further suggests that Nigeria receives more positive than negative news about the western world.

Figure 5 shows the respondents' own descriptions of the news that flows into Nigeria from the west. From the metaphors used by the respondents four categories of descriptions are observed namely: positive, balanced, sceptical and negative descriptions. For positive descriptions, some respondents have used terms such as "constructive news"; "wonderful news"; "positive news"; "more incisive and detailed"; "polished news"; "peaceful news"; "good news"; "robust political discussion". For balanced descriptions, the respondents used terms like: "mixed news"; "balanced news"; "not too bad news"; "both good and bad"; "both positive and

negative". For sceptical descriptions the respondents have used terms such as: "too much cover-up"; "not entire true"; "success and fake perfection"; "impression that nothing goes wrong"; " heaven on earth"; "flowing with milk and honey". For negative descriptions the respondents have used terms such as: "self aggrandising"; "intimidating"; "promote western interest"; "suggests pride and discrimination". It is pertinent to note that of all the terms used in describing the news that flows into Nigeria from the West, the term "positive news" is observed to be the most dominant. This suggests that many Nigerians believe that they do receive more positive than negative news from the western world. However, there are some elements of scepticism about such positive news.

Figure 5: The Descriptions of Global News That Flows into Nigeria
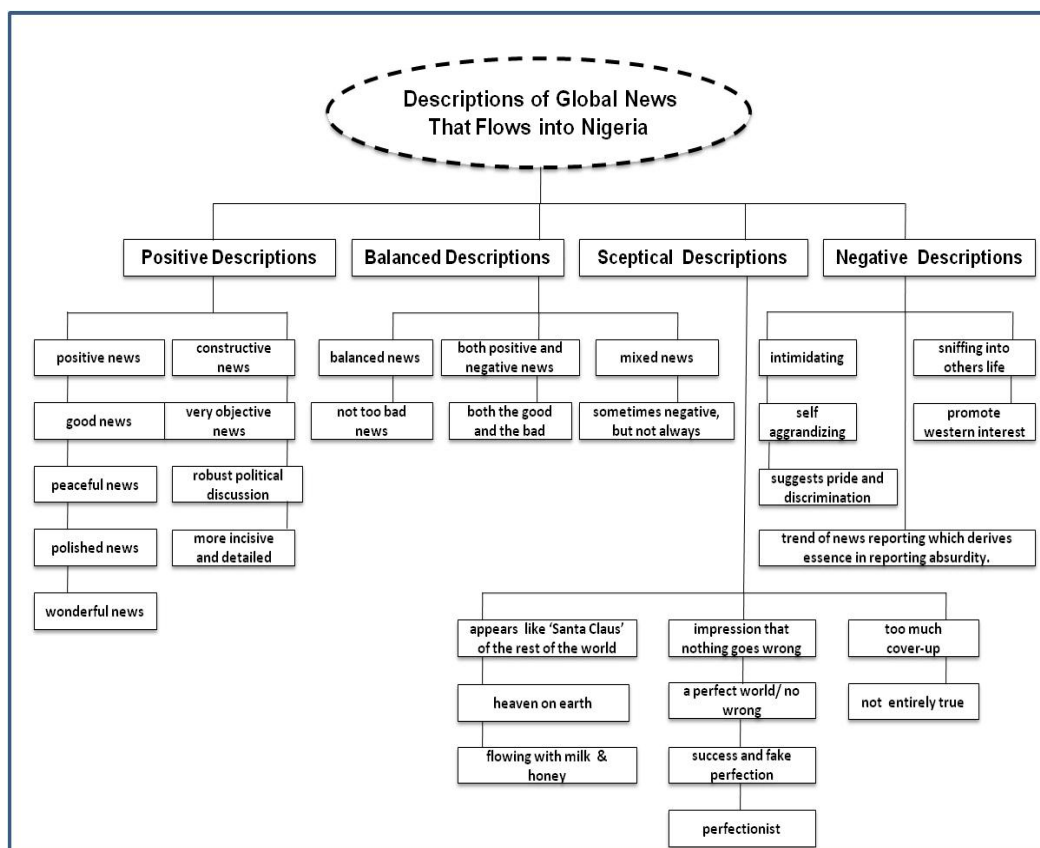
Source: Author's Survey.

4.3 The Way the World Sees Nigeria

In this era of media globalisation, the global media conglomerates have powerful influence over the way the world sees Nigeria. It could be argued that the world sees Nigeria through the windows of the global media. As the world is watching Nigeria, Nigeria is watching the world. It could also be argued that globally distributed media messages about Nigeria by the global media industries determine what the world thinks about Nigeria. In other words, the global media texts, which the world constantly reads, hears or watches affect and shape their perception about Nigeria. Evidence suggests that the mass media play a very crucial role in shaping the way we see ourselves and the world around us. Moreover, studies have revealed that media is one of the most significant factors in the development and shaping of public opinion in many issues. For instance, an opinion poll conducted by the British Council in Turkey on May 2009 showed that a majority of the public think that media play a significant part 'in shaping people's opinion about the status of less advantaged groups in the society such as women, children, disabled people, people with different sexual orientations and cultural groups' (British Council Turkey, 2009)

In recent decades, there has been a growing concern amongst patriotic Nigerians about the global media misrepresentation of Nigeria, which has been observed as undermining the international reputation of Nigeria as well as its overall development. The former President of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, expressed concern about this situation.

> *'Over the past years, the image of our nation has been battered at home and abroad…This has been an issue of great concern to all patriotic Nigerians, at home and in Diaspora as well as friends of Nigeria.' (Ajayi, 2004)*

Similarly, Chief Mike Ozekhome a constitutional lawyer and human rights activist, expressed his concern about the current image of Nigeria in the speech he delivered at the African Film and Television Programmes Expo, BOBTV 2009 held in Abuja.

> *'At the moment, no one can deny that Nigeria has a battered national image.'(Ozekhome, 2009)*

In this study, the way Nigeria is perceived by the world, especially by the western world, is determined by the kind of news which frequently diffuses from Nigeria to the western world and to the rest of the world. It could be argued that when positive news about Nigeria is globally disseminated it will certainly boosts the image of Nigeria, but when negative news about Nigeria is frequently disseminated it invariably tarnishes the image of Nigeria.   A survey carried out in this study looked at the global news that goes out of Nigeria and what it suggests to people abroad.

4.3.1 Global news out of Nigeria:

Investigating the kind of news that flows out of Nigeria, questionnaire item 12 (open-ended) asked respondents to describe in their own words the kind of news they often hear about Nigeria in the global media. From their responses, news that flows out of Nigeria to the globe falls under these categories: political news; economic news; socio-cultural news; environmental and health news. News in these areas includes for example: political unrest, fraud, scamming, Niger-Delta oil crisis, bribery

and corruption, kidnapping, violence, HIV/Aids and diseases . Such news about Nigeria makes negative headlines in the global/western media. The respondents have described these sorts of news for example as negative news; unbalanced news; sad news; bad news; depressing news; repressive news; exaggerated news; news of uncertainty; horrible news; disgusting news; lopsided information; untrue news; discriminating news; and doomed stories . Examining the overall descriptions of the kinds of news that goes out of Nigeria, the term "negative news" was observed to be most dominant. This result agrees with what Nweke (2007) lamented at the launch of Nigeria's Heart of Africa project in Houston, Texas:

> '*It is unfortunate that some of the international media only focus on violence and crimes, while ignoring our vast talents, resources and other investment potential .'(Nweke, 2007)*

This type of negative news could be seen as selective and biased reporting which is very disadvantageous to the developing nations. In support of this, Watson and Hill (2003:173) stated that 'this bad news - based upon what Anthony Smith in his book *The Geopolitics of Information* terms "aberrational" criteria for news selection- causes serious harm…' to the developing countries (Watson and Hill 2003:173).

This result suggests that the global media industries portray a bad image of Nigeria rather than a good image through their constant concentration on negative news about Nigeria and that this situation is disturbing and worrying to Nigeria. Some participants expressing their concerns have stated:

> '*News on Nigerians Abroad - Fraud, Crime, Drug trafficking, etc. News on these listed topics are being particularised, personalised,*

pointed and painted Nigerians as evil or bad, while the truth is that all the country of the world are guilty of the same, but for lack of means of defending herself through international media Nigeria is painted black because it is in Africa. Note: that Nigerians don't consume drugs.' **(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)**

'All that you hear is bad news. It's like the CNN & BBC decided never to say or see anything positive about Nigeria. It's very bad publicity. There is violence in Chicago, London, Paris, even Washington, but you hardly hear of them, but if a fly perches on food in Nigeria, its bad news as if it's not natural. They make Nigeria look as if it's the most dangerous place in the world yet we know that a weekend report of crime in Chicago is higher in number than the one of the whole Nigeria in a week.'
(Author's survey: age 46-55, female, professional)

'From the global media, I only hear about the latest kidnappings or violence in the Niger Delta. But if I want real news about Nigeria, I usually consult the website of The Guardian newspaper (Nigeria-based), or sometimes Radio France Internationale.' **(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, student)**

The above replies from the participants clearly show a sense of growing concerns, anxieties, bitterness, resentment, anger and strong feelings of outrage about the continuing negative coverage of Nigerian news by the global/western media conglomerates. According to Herman and McChesney (1997: 2-3), the media can provide emotional outlets, evoking anger, pressure, and release. In this light, it could be argued that while most of the negative reports about Nigeria in the global media are not false, they are shaped, packaged, and presented in a manner that aims at deliberate negative impact. Examining Third World complaints against western news media, Stevenson (1994:306) acknowledged that 'one of the most influential bills of indictments against western news media was prepared by Mustaph Masmoudi (1978), a Tunisian who served as

ambassador to UNESCO'. Quoting Masmoudi, Stevenson (1994:306-307) has written that:

> *'A flagrant quantitative imbalance between North and South... created by the disparity between the volume of news and information emanating from the developed world and intended for the developing countries and the volume of flow in the opposites direction... [resulting in] a veritable de facto monopoly on the part of the developed countries. A de facto hegemony and a will to dominate ... evident in the marked indifference of the media in the developed countries, particularly in the West, to the problems, concerns and aspirations of the developing countries.... They are exercised above all through the control of the information flow, wrested and wielded by the transnational agencies operating without let or hindrance in most developing countries and based in turn on the control of technology, illustrated by the communication systems satellites, which are wholly dominated by the major international consortia.... By transmitting to the developing countries only news processed by them, that is, news which they have filtered, cut, and distorted, the transnational media impose their own way of seeing the world upon the developing countries....Moreover, [they often] present these communities— when indeed they show interest in them — in the most unfavourable light, stressing crises, strikes, street demonstration, putsches, etc., or even holding them up to ridicule...'*

According to Stevenson, the above extensive quote 'captures both the substance and the strong emotion of Third World complaints' (1994:306). These agree with the theory of media/cultural imperialism which according to Devereux, (2003:33) 'raise important questions that we need to address as students of the media'.

According to Allen and Hemnett (1995:33), it was thus difficult for people trapped in this way to challenge the interpretations and representations of events emanating from those who did control and channel the flow of information through society. In examining further the way Nigeria is

perceived by the world, this study also looked at the way news about Nigeria is told from a western perspective.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): Which areas are ignored or highlighted in global news media on issues relating to Nigeria and to what extent are they told from the western perspective?

This is important because it has been argued that the global media industries concentrate more on negative news in the Third World, ignoring the positive messages and events. Investigating this question, item 10 (open-ended) of the questionnaire as already discussed showed clearly that the areas that are mostly highlighted about Nigerian news in the global media are mainly "negative news" about the Nigerian oil sector, political system, socio-cultural sector, environment and health issues, while Nigeria's immense achievements in promoting African unity, sports, education, cultural heritage, talents, resources, and other investment potential are vastly ignored. In this respect, one participant stated:

> *'Global Media prefer to elaborate news on fraudsters rather than to talk about the positive impact we Nigerians are making in terms of career or sports. For instance we won this year's under 17 world cup. I couldn't hear the news from global media.'*
> *(**Author's survey: age 36-45, male, professional**)*

In examining how news from Nigeria is told from a western perspective, item 38 (open-ended) of the questionnaire asked respondents from the West to describe the kinds of news they often hear about Nigeria in the global media and what it suggests to them. Below are examples of responses by the participants.

'In IRIS news I usually learn about political or social interactions while the media tends to blow out of proportion the negative (Internet scandals, corruption) and never shedding light on the positive movements, therefore reinforcing the negativity about Nigeria and limiting others' thoughts about the country, making them think it isn't a 'helpable' country and constantly thinking poor formed thoughts about the country... it's a shame.'
(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, nonprofits association, American)

'We hear about catastrophes, about poor and wars.'
(Author's survey: age 56+, female, retired, American)

'Terrible things happening (NEGATIVITY).'
(Author's survey: age 36-45, female, professional, British)

'I hear about fraud and kidnapping, and it suggests instability and lawlessness.'
(Author's survey: age 26-35, female, self employed, British)

'Fraudulent activities and political unrest and state of anarchy: That Nigeria is a lawless nation which is very risky to visit.'
(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional, American)

The above replies, from the survey participants in the West suggest that news received about Nigeria portrays a negative image of Nigeria, as reflected in these replies from western audiences. This suggests that there is a high dose of pessimism about Nigeria in the West. With respect to this, McQuail and Windahl (1993:219) affirmed that 'If not negatively portrayed, Third World countries are simply often invisible on the stage of world events'. It could therefore be argued that constant concentration on negative news by the global media industries, with little or no reporting about the positive events and achievements in Nigeria, will not only continue to undermine the international reputation of Nigeria but will perpetually impede Nigerian development.

Research Question 3 (RQ3): How is Nigeria represented in the global news media?

This question is vital to ascertain the global media representation of Nigeria. In order to find answers to the above question, questionnaire item 22 asked respondent if they think Nigeria is misrepresented in the global media. The result is presented in Table 4a and Figure 6 below.

Table 4a: Misrepresentation of Nigeria in the Global Media

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Yes	201	80.4%
No	32	12.8%
Don't know	17	6.8%
Total	250	100%

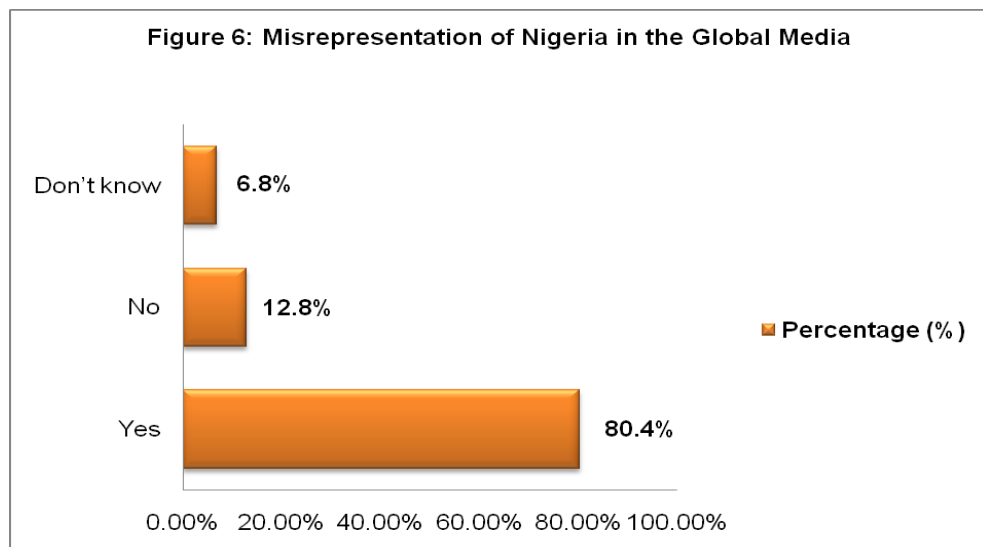Figure 6: Misrepresentation of Nigeria in the Global Media

Table 4a and Figure 6 show the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents' responses determining if Nigeria is often misrepresented in the global media. The total number of people who answered this question was 250 (Nigeria respondents only). 80.4% (N=201) of them indicated

"yes"; 12.8% (N=32) indicated "no"; while 6.8 % (N=17) indicated "don't know". This result clearly shows that a majority of the respondents think that Nigeria is often misrepresented in the global media.

To examine further how Nigeria is represented in the global media, respondents from the United States and the United Kingdom were asked if Nigerians are fairly represented in the global media. Their responses to this question are shown in the Table 4b below:

Table 4b: Are Nigerians fairly represented in the global media?
(UK and US respondents only)

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Yes	2	4.0%
No	27	54.0%
Not sure	21	42.0%
Total	50	100%

Figure 7: Are Nigerians fairly represented in the global media?
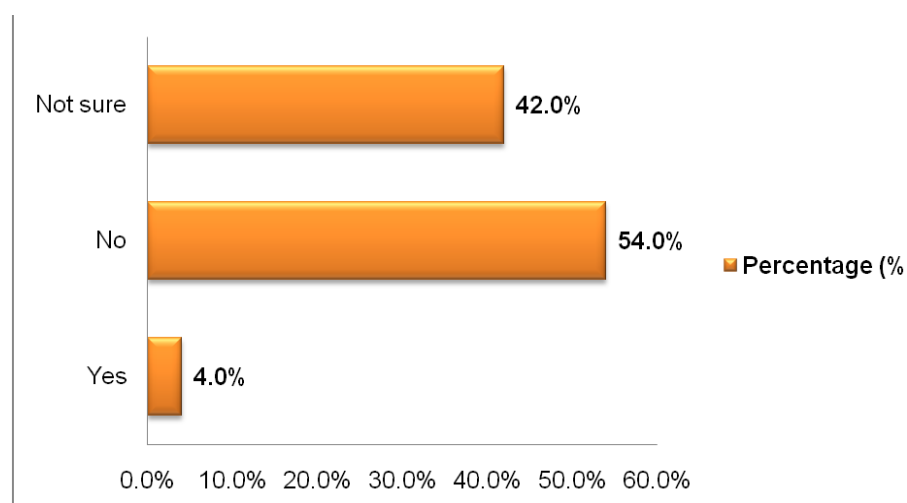

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Table 4b and Figure 7 show the frequency and percentage distribution of western respondents' responses determining if Nigerians are fairly represented in the global media. The total number of people who answered this question was 50 (UK and the USA respondents). 4.0% (N=2) of them indicated "yes"; 54.0% (N=27) indicated "no"; while 42.0 % (N=21) indicated "Not sure". This result indicates that a majority of the respondents from the USA and UK think that Nigerians are not fairly represented in the global media. However, 42.0% were sceptical. An example of how the western media represent Nigeria can be seen in headlines like this:

'Nigeria blacklisted by U.S. faith panel'
(The Washington Times, May 1, 2009 Friday, WORLD; A13, 535 words, By Nicholas Kralev).[46]

More examples of how Nigeria is represented in the western media can be obtained from the New York Times coverage of Nigeria's general election held on 14 April and 21 April 2007. Polgreen (2007) reporting Nigeria's election in the New York Times has written stories with the following headlines:

'Candidate back on Ballot in Chaotic Nigeria Vote.'
(New York Times, 18 April 2007)

'Opposition Candidates Threaten to Boycott Nigeria Election'
(New York Times, 19 April 2007)

'News Analysis; Nigeria Frets over How to Give Voters Real Say.' (New York Times, 20 April 2007)

'Fears of fraud grow before Nigerian Vote.'
(New York Times, 21 April 2007)

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[46] Available from: http://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/nexis/search/newssubmitForm.do

Further examples are seen during the twelve US senior gatekeepers' visit to Nigeria between January 22 and February 1 2007 in the run-up to the presidential elections. 'They reported on such issues as the future of the conflict-ridden Niger Delta, political corruption, and poverty' (International reporting Project, 2007). Their stories, published on the International Report project website about Nigeria, include the following:

> '- *Oil giant that runs on grease of politics.*
> - *Nigeria's elite keeps slum at arm's length.*
> - *Nigerian Corruption.*
> - *In a Vast Nigerian Shantytown, Hope Lies in Rhythm and Rhyme.*
> - *Battle for Nigeria.'*
> *(International Reporting Project, 2007)*

These stories were also reported and published in the media, of which 12 senior editors represented influential names such as the San Francisco Chronicle, Los Angeles Times, WashingtonPost.com, National Public Radio, Slate.com, Boston Globe, Detroit Free Press, and the St. Petersburg Times. Recent investigations, instead of focusing on the content, have concentrated on the gatekeepers who determine what content is reported. It could be argued that the global media senior gatekeepers have an upper hand in the way global news is shaped, packaged and presented. In this regards Shawcross stated that:

> *'Democratic societies must consider such issues as unequal access to information. They have to weigh the implications of a literacy gap on concepts such as "the consent of the governed". And if it is true that we neither need nor can cope with it all, what responsibilities does that place upon the so –called gatekeepers, the journalists and publishers whose tasks are to sift, distil, interpret and disseminate information?' (Shawcross, 1993:7)*

Explaining the general functions of gatekeepers, Watson and Hill state that:

> *'They include the editor who decides on the day's coverage, or the organiser who briefs the camera crews and reporters and allocates assignments, the film editor who selects the film to be included in the bulletin, the copy-taster who chooses the stories from the tape to accompany the film, the sub-editor who writes the story and the duty editor who supervises the compilation of the bulletin, fixes the running order of the stories and gives it its final shape.' (2003:114-115).*

Watson and Hill further state that:

> *'The selection or rejection of material is made according to a set of criteria determined by a number of factors- the gatekeeper's class background, upbringing and education and his/her attitudes to the world (VALUES); plus the values, norms and traditional wisdom of the organisation of which the gatekeeper works.' (2003: 115).*

Acknowledging Donohue, Tichen, and Olien's (1972) definition of gatekeeping, Shoemaker (1991:1) suggested that:

> *'gatekeeping be defined as a broader process of information control that includes all aspects of message encoding: not just selection but also withholding, transmission, shaping, display, repetition, and timing of information as it goes from the sender to the receiver.'*

According to Stevenson the gatekeeper approach is one which determines 'why one event ends up on front pages around the world while others remain in darkness' (1994:302). He further suggested gatekeepers to be 'people throughout the global news system who open or close the gate as each story passes through' (1994:302).

In this light, it could be argued that the gatekeepers of the global news media represent the values, norms and interests of the transnational organisations they work for. However, owing to the fact that the developing countries have no global media or gatekeepers who represent their

interest in the global news selections, they are consequently either invisible or not adequately represented in global affairs. This situation could be argued to be disadvantageous to developing countries like Nigeria. Moreover, it can be argued that the gatekeepers of the global media shape the way the world perceives Nigeria and the way many Nigerians perceive the world. Complaining about the constant negative representation of Nigeria news in the global media, one participant stated:

> *'Mainly negative news; every little bad news is blown out of proportion; one would think all Nigerians are fraudsters, or kidnappers, or armed-robbers and no foreigner is safe in our hands.'* ***(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, professional)***

The overall survey results and other information examined revealed that the world to a certain degree sees Nigeria as corrupt, unsafe, chaotic and undemocratic through the information distributed by the global media industries. One could argue that the global media concentration on the negative stories from Nigeria was perhaps due to 'what is "newsworthy" and what is not' (Stevenson, 1994:302). This is because there is a saying that 'it's news when a man bites a dog but not when a dog bites a man' (Stevenson, 1994:302).[47] However, one of the survey respondents and some representatives of Third world countries have argued that the concentration on the negative stories from the Third World countries suggests a deliberate attempt to undermine their political, socio-economic and cultural integrity and autonomy.

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[47] See also Venables (2005:2-1)

> *'The global media are only interested in reporting negative stories about Nigeria and this is not good enough. There are positives in my country but they deliberately leave those ones out. It suggests that they are comfortable with neo-colonisation.'*
> **(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)**

In this regard, Stevenson (1994:307) quoting Mustaph Masmoudi (1978) had stated that:

> *'The present-day information system enshrines a form of political, economic, and cultural colonialism which is reflected in the often tendentious interpretation of news concerning the developing countries. This consist in highlighting events whose significance, in certain cases, is limited or even non-existent; in collecting isolated facts and presenting them as "whole"; in setting out facts in such a way that the conclusion to be drawn for them is necessarily favourable to the interests of the transnational system and of the countries in which this system is established.... Even important news may be deliberately neglected by the major media in favour of other information of interest only to public opinion in the country to which the media in question belong. Such news is transmitted to the client countries and is indeed practically imposed on them, despite the fact that readers and listeners in these countries have no interest therein.'*

Furthermore, Stevenson (1994:302) highlighted four criteria which determine what is "newsworthy". These criteria are: '(1) violence and disruption; (2) magnitude; (3) personal and human interest; (4) prominence' (1994:302-303). According to him, 'these factors account for some of the reasons why the world we see through the media is not a cross-section of the real world' (1994: 303). It has been argued that whenever we come across a media text, we do not perceive reality, but somebody's account of it. The International Federation of Journalists Report 2002 states that:

> *'The exposure of emotions and sensationalism attract audiences and sell news. Cash-conscious media organisations apply greater pressure on news teams for productivity. Journalists, therefore, sometimes take an ill-considered, easy route to newsgathering,*

perpetuating myths and stereotypes. An uncomfortable balance of interests prevails where ethical standards are too often sacrificed in defence of commercial imperatives. Self regulation may not be convincing when media organisations appear to ignore the process or to use professional codes to support their narrow interests. Very often even regulatory bodies lack the power to enforce sanctions that bite.' (International Federation of Journalists Report, 2002)

4.3.2 The perceived impact

4.3.2.1 Low foreign investment

It could be argued that one of the major impacts of the global media misrepresentation of Nigeria is low foreign investment and that foreign investment is necessary to achieving Nigeria's enormous potential. Despite the Nigerian government's efforts to encourage the growth of foreign investment, 'the country's investment climate remains daunting to all but the most determined' (U.S Department of State, 2008).

> *'Nigeria is keen to attract foreign investment but is hindered in this quest by security concerns as well as by a shaky infrastructure troubled by power cuts.' (BBC News, 2008)*

In 2007, the foreign direct investment (FDI) of Nigeria was 6.2% of GDP (US Department of state, 2008). Examining World Bank business report 2008 across 181 economies, Nigeria's ranking for "ease of doing business" has improved considerably from 114 in 2008 to 118 in 2009. Also, Nigeria's ranking for starting business has increased from 86 in 2008 to 91 in 2009 (The World Bank Group, 2008). The improvement in the business status of Nigeria presents a positive outlook for potential foreign investors. However, despite the optimistic outlook of business in Nigeria, it could be argued that foreign investments have been dissuaded from

investing in Nigeria due to constant reports on subjects like the Niger-Delta oil crisis, poor infrastructure, corruption, political instability and fraud, as the survey revealed. Foreign investors are repelled due to fear generated by the negative information they receive about Nigeria. Consequently, this creates a barrier to transnational contacts and foreign investments in Nigeria. Expressing concern over this, Ozekhome (2009) argues that: 'Nigeria's current negative image has a serious effect on direct foreign investment and at individual level, causes great pain and embarrassment to honest Nigerians'. He further argues that 'crisis in the Niger Delta has exacerbated this negative perception' (Ozekhome, 2009)

4.3.2.2 Suspicion and restricted international contact

It could be argued that the rate at which some Nigerians abroad face unjustified deportation, suspicion, humiliation, abuse and harassment is on the increase. For instance, a 23-year-old Nigerian man, Osamuyia Aikpitanhi, died in mid-flight on 9 June 2007 from cardio-respiratory failure caused by asphyxia during a forced deportation by Spanish police officers (Statewatch, 2007). This incident attracted widespread criticism and was described as inhuman and a violation of fundamental human rights. A protest note to Spanish authorities was published by "Nigeria Village Square" a meeting spot for Nigerians all around the globe, which was to be delivered to Spanish embassies all over the world at 12pm on Friday June 29 2007. It could be argued that this sort of disgraceful and inhuman treatment, which some Nigerians face especially in the western world, is due to international suspicion about Nigeria. As a matter of fact, Nigerians

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today are being stigmatised by the world as corrupt people. In this regard,

Ozekhome (2009) states that:

> *'As soon as a Nigerian travels to any other country in the world and identifies himself as a Nigerian either by his green passport or by verbally affirming so, he or she automatically becomes a "suspect" for various types of wrong behaviour, including criminal actions. A Nigerian gets "special" discriminatory treatment at foreign airports the moment he or she submits his or her passport. He or she is sometimes subjected to vigorous body searches, asked all manner of questions, etc, some very personal and degrading whilst nationals of other nations are smoothly welcomed into that country. Nigerians are generally perceived as a corrupt, selfish, noisy, criminally-minded and dubious set of people.'*

Regarding the regular reports about email crime that comes from Nigeria,

which to a large extent has damaged the international image of Nigeria

and restricted international contacts, some have argued that in most cases

the perpetrator and their victims have something in common - greed. For

instance, ABC News (2006) footage about Nigerian scammers broadcast

on You Tube has been criticised by some Nigerians. Some replies

concerning the footage read:

> *(Reply)*
> *'i [sic] DO NOT support scam in whatever form but the westerners are always greedy thats[sic]   why they can reply to emails which promise them $10billion if the pay $100. Lets[sic] not forget the fact that these emails clearly states the money the[sic] are trying to transfer...,so they are also criminals and if we don't have these greedy people existing, then the scammers will find a decent job.'*
> *(You Tube, 2007)*

> *(Reply)*
> *'this is good for those GREEDY AMERICANS that wants hot cash (dolla) [sic]   they are the motivators of this nigerian[sic]   scamm[sic] and ... will suffer for the acts they created out of thier [sic] GREEDYNESS[sic] ..., if this is done by Americans to Africans u [sic]   will never put it on air...' (You Tube, 2007)*

However, despite the alleged greed of both the perpetrators and their

victims, it could be argued that only a very small percentage of people

actually reply to the emails but huge numbers receive them and that creates an impression about Nigeria.

4.3.2.3 Low tourism

Tourism is one of the areas that boost the economy of a country. Some countries improve their economy through income generated from tourism. Nigeria is blessed with many tourist attractions as confirmed by the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (2008).

> *'Besides the many natural features of Nigeria, the cultural assets of the nation are of universal recognition. The richness and diversity of the Nigerian culture is a manifestation of the socio-cultural differences of the over 250 ethnic groups that inhabit the land for ages. These, coupled with hospitality of the over 110 million people, make Nigeria one of the richly endowed potential tourist destinations in the globe.'*

Despite the presence of many foreign attractions in Nigeria, it could be argued that tourism in Nigeria is hugely restricted due to the negative information which the world receives about Nigeria. For instance, travelling advice for Britons and of course the entire world available in the Foreign and Commonwealth office (FCO) website about visiting Nigeria states:

- *'Public transport is dangerous. Taxis and long distance buses are poorly maintained and are often uninsured and driven by fraudulent drivers. Most major hotels offer cars for hire with drivers. We would recommend that you use these where possible.*
- *Traffic in many of Nigeria's major cities can be chaotic and slow moving. Serious traffic jams in Lagos are not uncommon. Short journeys that normally take minutes can sometimes take hours. We advise you to take a mobile telephone with you when travelling by car so that you can stay in touch with family, friends and employers.'(Foreign and Commonwealth office, 2008b)*

In the same vein, part of a travel warning for US citizens visiting Nigeria states:

> *'The U.S. Department of State warns U.S. citizens of the risks of travel to Nigeria and continues to recommend U.S. citizens to avoid all but essential travel to the Niger Delta states of Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, and Rivers; the Southeastern states of Abia, Edo, and Imo; and the city of Jos in Plateau State, because of the risks of kidnapping, robbery, and other armed attacks in these areas.'*
> *(United States Department of State, 2010)*

Information of this kind on the Internet which is accessible to the world portrays Nigeria as an unsafe and risky place to travel and may deter foreigners from coming to Nigeria. In this respect, one of the participants stated:

> *'... lack of security for investors and travellers, tourists are over-blown...'***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional).**

On the other hand, it could be argued that the problem of corruption and other related offences in Nigeria is obvious and of serious concern, as information published on Nigeria Direct website, which is described as an official gate way to the Federal republic of Nigeria confirms that:

> *'One of the major challenges that have faced the Nigerian nation over the years is the issue of corruption and its debilitating ancillaries – bribery, graft, fraud and nepotism.'(Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

It further states that:

> *'Corruption has become so deep-seated in the country that it has stunted growth in all sectors and has been the primary reason behind the country's difficulties in developing fast.' (Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

It confirms that:

> *'Transparency International, an independent global watch on corruption ranks Nigeria among the five most corrupt nations in the world, an inglorious record that has stunted growth in all areas of endeavour in the country.'(Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

Similarly, one of the survey respondents in Nigeria also stated that:

> *'The truth of the matter is that Nigeria is indeed a grossly corrupt nation, so when I hear stories on these media bordered around corruption etc, I simply feel sad but then again it is the truth.'* **(Authors survey: age 36-45, female, professional)**

While the true perception of corruption and other related offences are of crucial concern to the Nigerian government and many patriotic Nigerians as well as the international community, it can be argued that the global media major focus on disseminating only the negative stories about Nigeria around the globe, with little or no attention to the positives, perpetuates underdevelopment. The survey result reveals that in most cases negative news about Nigeria is seen to be blown out of proportion.

> *'Most of the news items are blown out of proportion and stereotyped (i.e. insecurity in Nigeria). It portends danger to the international community.'* **(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)**

4.3.2.4 Fighting against corruption

On the positive side, the global media focus on corruption and other related offences in Nigeria have commanded the attention of the Nigerian government, and reinforced the campaign against corruption in Nigeria. The report published on the Nigerian government official website (Nigeria Direct, 2009) suggests that the Nigerian government is showing serious

concern about corruption and its destructive effects on Nigeria, and therefore have put in place some measures to curb this cankerworm.

> *'While the problem of corruption has been around for a while, it is instructive to note that the will to combat it has become more resilient and with the expected co-operation of the international community, it will be reduced if not completely eliminated from Nigeria in due course.'(Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

> *'With renewed confidence in the government to combat and reduce financial crimes and other corrupt practices, foreign investors have the guarantee of achieving their objectives in Nigeria.' (Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

The report also confirmed that the Nigerian government has set up the following anti-corruption bureaux: Due Process Office, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) (Nigeria Direct, 2009).

> *'The government's campaign against corruption manifests also in the setting up of the Due Process Office. This office oversees and demands that standard processes be followed in the execution of government activities and projects, thereby plugging avenues for bribery and corruption.' (Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

> *'The other organ also set up by the Federal Government to fight corruption in public office is the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) which too had scored remarkable successes since inception.' (Nigeria Direct, 2009)*

The report further suggests that the Nigerian government proactive campaign and fight against corruption is producing some good results (e.g. Nigeria's debt cancellation).

> *'Part of the reasons for granting Nigeria debt forgiveness by the Paris Club is the renewed drive to curb corruption in the land and for transparency in government affairs.*
> *Many fraudsters have been arrested and prosecuted by the EFCC since it started. It has also prosecuted officials involved in corrupt enrichment and is currently pursuing the prosecution of a former*

Inspector General of Police on so many charges of corruption.'
(Nigeria Direct, 2009)

In this light, it could be argued that, in this era, the global media have played and are continuing to play a very significant role in exposing corruption and other related crimes which have for a long time eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society. It could also be argued that the global media, through their agenda setting function and influential capabilities, may have directed and are continuing to direct the attention of the Nigerian government to fight against corruption and to take the matter seriously during their policy making. Devereux (2003) confirms that the media at times 'succeed in making issues command the attention of governments as matters of urgent public policy'.

It could further be argued that the global media focus on reporting corruption and other related offences in Nigeria has helped in alerting the international community about these crimes and may help to prevent people all around the world from becoming victims.

Nonetheless, while acknowledging these crucial roles which the global media have played and are continuing to play in bringing to light problems of corruption in Nigeria as well as drawing government attention to them, it could still be argued that their focus on reporting negative stories only and ignoring positive events may perpetuate underdevelopment in Nigeria. Some respondents have argued that balanced reporting, investigative and responsible journalism is the answer to the problem.

> *'I suggest that the global media should be balanced in their coverage of Nigerian news. I believe that responsible and investigative journalism will provide lasting solution to this problem.'*
> **(Authors survey: age 26-35, male, student)**

However, Venables (2005:1-3), a BBC former correspondent commenting about "investigative journalism" argues that:

> *'Members of the public sometimes speak glibly of the 'investigative journalist' as if every reporter were an Arthurian hero courageously exposing unfairness and wrongdoing. In reality very little journalism is investigative. Most reporters spend their time turning around material made available to them in press releases and government or council reports, regurgitating copy provided by news agencies and "borrowing" stories covered by the competition.'*

4.4 Role of the Global Media in Shaping Audiences Perception: Nigeria and the World.

In globalisation, the global media industries play a pivotal role in shaping audience's perception. The power of the global media in shaping audiences' perception transcends national, geographical and cultural boundaries. According to the pluralist perspective, 'media audiences shape and are shaped by media globalisation' (Devereux 2003:42). It could be argued that in globalisation, the way a nation perceives itself or is perceived by other nations of the world could be determined by the manner in which globally distributed media texts are shaped. 'The power of both media organisations and media texts to shape perceptions of social reality hinges ultimately on their capacity to influence audiences' (Devereux 2003:18). The influence of the global media industries on the perception of audiences is seen in their ability to select and adapt news in such a manner that will alter audiences' ways of looking at things. In other words, what the world makes out of an issue sometimes depends on how

it is shaped and presented by the global media. Audiences may take an issue very seriously or less seriously depending on how it is highlighted or repeated in the news. The globally distributed media texts have the capacity to alter behavioural patterns, opinions belief systems, character and attitudes of the audiences. Devereux argues that '...media texts have the potential to alter one's perception of the world' (Devereux 2003:18). According to Devereux, 'the media occupy a privileged position in the socialisation of both young and old in society (2003:18). Mass media has also been conceptualised as an agent of globalisation (Devereux 2003:9).

It could be argued that the global media industries shape audiences' perception through persuasive messages and advertisements. These messages and advertisements are carefully selected, highlighted and often repeated in such a manner that they will grasp the attention of the audiences. Global media industries like CNN, BBC and SKY NEWS report news around the clock and this news is often recorded and repeated. They also use the language of globalism. For instance the News Corporation's language of globalism includes: "Creating and distributing top-quality news, sports and entertainment around the world" (News Corporation, 2008). It could be argued that audiences are influenced by compelling globally distributed media texts due to the constant repetitions and emphasis made on them.

Media audiences in Nigeria in particular and the world in general, to a great extent, rely on the global media for prompt, accurate and reliable

information about what is happening around the globe. Owing to this privileged position occupied by the global media conglomerates, they have the capacity to influence the global agenda on whatever issue they want the audiences in Nigeria and the world to think about or talk about. According to Devereux (2003:44), what we know about what is happening elsewhere in the world is as a result of mass-mediatisation. The global media determines what people are informed about, how they are informed and when they are informed. It could be argued that the role of the global media industries in shaping public perception is judged by what the audiences are repeatedly told, when they are told, and how they are told.

Agenda setting theory, as propounded by Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw in the 1970s, explored the power of the press to set the public agenda, telling people not what to think, but what to think about. It could be argued that the global media select and adapt news, adverts and programmes to suit whatever issue they want the audiences to believe or think about. This implies that the global news could sometimes be shaped or modified to enhance news values.

Studies have revealed that some of the global or international news is full of exaggeration, inaccuracy, distortions and misrepresentation. According to Bell (1991:212), miscommunication comprises concepts like 'misrepresentation, misunderstanding, inaccuracy, distortion and misreporting'. Bell differentiated between misunderstanding by the audience and misrepresentation by the communicator. Bell (1991:224) observed that 'networkers edit stories on the production line with four

goals in mind: clarity, brevity, language standardisation, and news value'. In his study of how networkers edit international news, Bell discovered 150 errors in the editing of 290 international news agency stories (see Bell 1984a). He observed five classes of editing errors –'falsification, over-assertion, over-scope, refocus and addition' (Bell, 1991:225). Bell asserted that 'technical linguistic failure presumably plays a part in most editing errors, with the copy editor misunderstanding, possibly through haste or lack of geographical, political or other knowledge' (1991:228:229). He further argued that 'if that was all that was going on, we would expect editing inaccuracies to be scattered at random' (1991:229). He however argued that 'this is not the case' because almost every editing inaccuracy he found served to increase the news value of the story, mainly for 'unambiguity, negativity, consonance, superlative-ness, recency or proximity' (Bell, 1991:229). Bell contended that 'inaccuracy not only alters stories in patterned ways, it also occurs in particular types of news' (1991:229). Bell from his findings concluded that news about nations of the south was more inaccurately edited than that about the United States or Western Europe (Bell 1991:229). He emphasised that 'such a finding is consistent with the many studies which have shown imbalances in news flow and presentation between the north and the south' (1991:229).

> *'No surprise here, western media report western events with the accuracy and urgency they deserve. What do you expect? Media is a sociological subject and media people are products of their environment. The media are critical stakeholders in moulding public opinion in their respective countries. US Media are concerned with US matters, same with Russian and UK, French or Argentine media. News is the event construction of the human beings keeping the gate.'* **(Authors survey: age 35-46, male, professional)**

It could be argued that the way audiences may receive news is determined by the degree of importance the media attach to news coupled with how the news is being stressed. McComb and Shaw stated that the 'audience not only learns about public issues and other matters from the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the media put on it' (McComb and Shaw, 1976: 176).

In recent decades, the global media have focused attention on tragedies such as war, earthquakes, famines, cyclones, droughts, disease, and political crises. Such news arouses compassion in the heart of audiences around the world and sometimes may trigger global reactions. This has been described as the CNN effect (see Chapters Two and Five). For instance on December 26, 2004 when a tsunami occurred it was observed that 'the world has responded to the tsunami with unparalleled generosity. The driving force behind the free flowing aid has been the global media attention' (The World Bank news and Broadcast, 2005). Devereux (2003:44) argues that, 'Global issues such as famine or poverty, although experienced through the mass media, are nonetheless appropriated through a local prism' He further states that, 'Media audiences are exposed to stories about faraway places and events, but these stories have a heavy emphasis on local involvement' (Devereux 2003:46).

The survey result in this study revealed that global media industries focus attention on corruption, catastrophe and crisis in Nigeria and other Third

World countries and pay little or no attention to positive events. In this respect a participant from Nigeria stated:

> *'Negative publicity; disasters; news on corruption and corrupt leaders; communal crisis; civil unrests etc. Nigeria is a very bad country with vicious criminals as citizens. The streets of Nigeria's capital and major cities are not safe. Do not come and invest in the country there is no political stability and you will be duped and so on.'* **(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, professional)**

Consequently, this presents Nigeria in a bad moral light. It could be argued that news about Nigeria in the global media is shaped in such a manner that aims at intentional negative impact. According to Devereux (2003:46), 'media coverage of Third World issues sustains the unequal relations of power that exists between the West and the Third World'. According to Devereux (2003:46) 'the global media industry has immense power in terms of how it covers events outside the developed world'. Herman and McChesney (1997:8) observed that the primary characteristics of media globalisation over the past decade or so have been bigger 'cross – border flows of media products, the expansion of media transnational corporations (TNCs) and the predisposition towards centralisation of media control, and the spread and strengthening of commercialisation'. It has been argued that such media control helps keep the developing nations in a state of dependency as suggested in dependency theory. This in turn can be seen as perpetuating underdevelopment of the Third world. In support of this Fitzgerald (1989:59) states that 'Africans rely on the foreign media for reliable reports of what is happening on their doorstep...' (Fitzgerald, 1989:59 cited in Volkmer, 1999:75). In this light, it could be argued that the global media's ability to shape the perception of audiences

both in Nigeria and the world is as a result of audiences' trust and dependence on them for the latest information around the world.

Research question 4 (RQ4)- Do the Nigerian news media depend on the global news media for local and international news coverage as suggested in media imperialism and dependency theories?

This question is crucial because it has been argued that the Third World countries rely on the global media industries for coverage of local and international news. As a means of investigating this claim, an interview was conducted with one of the directors of a broadcasting corporation in Nigeria, Imo Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) Owerri, which consists of radio and television and operates daily from Owerri. Its broadcast covers the entire state and beyond. During the interview, he was asked if the Nigeria news media depend on international news media for local and international news coverage. He answered:

> *'No! Sometimes for international news only.'*
> (**Author's survey: age 36-45, male, media professional-Imo Broadcasting Corporation, Owerri**)

He added:

> *'We depend on foreign media mainly for foreign news only because we are not there.'* (**Author's survey: age 36-45, male, media professional-Imo Broadcasting Corporation, Owerri**)

He was further asked how the Nigerian mass media get international news. He answered:

> *'By tuning to BBC or by dubbing off air some films of foreign news reports.'* (***Author's survey: age 36-45, male, media professional-Imo Broadcasting Corporation, Owerri)***

He disclosed that one of obstacles, which the Nigerian mass media encounter in covering international and local news, is that:

> *'Political news is often compromised as a result of sectional interests. If you pursue the truth you step on peoples' toes. The result may be tragic or you can lose your job or even be jailed by the powers that be.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, media professional-Imo Broadcasting Corporation, Owerri)***

In this light, it could be argued that "sectional interests" in the Nigerian mass media may also indicates why negative portrayals of Nigeria dominate. It could as well indicate the reason why the Nigerian mass media are somewhat dependent on the foreign media. Umechukwu (2001:134), commenting on ethnic chauvinism and political influence in the Nigerian Press, states that:

> *'...the politicians and the elites still dominate the press to the detriment of the masses of this country. The press in Nigeria is not only ethnic oriented, its control is located in the power sources according to their ideological and political divides...'*

Additionally, Umechukwu argues that: 'The Nigerian Press has always been dominated by non-professionals' (2001:137). He contends that a dearth of professionalism as a result of 'deep ethnicity and personal aggrandisement' have sunk the Nigerian mass media (2001:139). With this in mind, it could be concluded that lack of professionalism in the Nigerian Press may also indicate one of the reasons why they depend so much on the foreign media. A survey respondent in Nigeria, in this regard, remarked:

> *'Nigeria media practitioners need to have more confidence in themselves and what they report about Nigeria. They also need to be to engage more in investigative journalism. They should make more effort to get news "from the field" instead of lazily depending on second hand information handed down to them by agents of western propagandists.'* **(Authors survey: age 36-45, male, professional)**

Another respondent argued that:

> *'It is easy for the rest of the world to believe all the negative publicity on Nigeria because we on our part haven't done anything to communicate the opposite to the world. We indeed do have issues as a nation.'* **(Authors survey: age 36-45, female, professional)**

Fitzgerald (1989:59) argued that 'Africans rely on the foreign media for reliable reports of what is happening on their doorstep…' especially during crises when news has to travel fast. (Fitzgerald, 1989 cited in Volkmer, 1999:75). In support of this claim, a survey participant interviewed confirmed that Nigerians resort to the international media during crises to get balanced information and to gain an external perception of the situation. This is to avoid possible bias, which may be seen in the Nigerian mass media as some tend to be pro or anti government during crisis.

> *'During crisis there is trend for us to get to know the situation of things externally than internally. For instance, if you look at the situation of the media in Nigeria, they are divided into two camps. The source of news of every major crisis is the government because they are the peace makers. They hold the political powers. So any major crisis worth mentioning at all emanates from the government either election or any other problem. What they do in government is that you have a situation where the press is divided into two. Some will be pro-government and those that will be anti-government. And some of them colour their news with their bias. So if you want to hear balanced news you now resort to international news to know how they are seeing it externally because they don't have a personal view or interest. But they drop the news latter and*

*it doesn't get sustained globally.' **(Author's survey: age 46-55, male, lawyer).***

As part of further examining the above research question, item 20 of the questionnaire asked respondents if Nigerian news media rely on the global news media for local and international news coverage. The total number of respondents who answered this question was 250 (Nigerian respondents only). 23.2% (N=58) indicated "disagree"; 3.6% (N=9) indicated "strongly disagree"; 38.0% (N=95) indicated "agree"; 18.4 %(N=46) indicated "strongly agree" while 16.8% (N=42) were "neutral". (See Table 5)

Table 5: Nigerian mass media depend on the foreign media for local and international news coverage

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Disagree	58	23.2%
Strongly disagree	9	3.6%
Agree	95	38.0%
Strongly Agree	46	18.4%
Neutral	42	16.8%
Total	250	100%

The result in Table 5 shows that those who "agree" that Nigeria's mass media depend on international media for local and global news coverage outnumbered those who "disagree". Also, those who "strongly agree" outnumbered those who "strongly disagree" and also those who were "neutral".

These results suggest that the respondents think that Nigeria's mass media to a large extent depend on the global news media like BBC or other global media output for international news because of their extensive coverage. On the other hand, Nigerian audiences to a certain degree and especially during crises, resort to the international media for local news to know how other countries perceive the situation in Nigeria, as the Nigerian mass media may be divided in times of crisis. These perceptions confirm Devereux's (2003:46) assertion that 'the Third World countries have an obvious dependence on the global media industries, and especially in times of crisis'. In this light, it could be argued that global media power in shaping the audience's perception is heightened during crises.

However, it could also be argued that the main reason why the Nigerian mass media depend on the global news media for coverage of news during crises is to some extent due to a dearth of adequate communication infrastructures and lack of funds.[48]

Nigeria is faced with the challenge of how to keep pace with modern communication technologies. It could be argued that the global media industries take advantage of lack of modern sophisticated communication equipment in the Nigerian mass media to continue negative coverage about Nigeria. The Nigerian mass media cannot challenge the global media's continuing negative coverage of Nigerian news because they have not got enough capital to set up a global media industry that will

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[48] See also Stevenson (1994:249)

broadcast globally. Uche, discussing Nigeria's electronic media and cultural dependency, has written:

> *'Some critics of media dependence suggest that the reason for the disparity between domestic production and foreign importation of programmes is due to lack of adequate funds within the developing nations; other critics attribute this phenomenon of high reliance on imported programmes as resulting from lack of technical equipment, trained personnel, programme material, and the cheapness of the imported programmes that the home governments have even gone to the extent of introducing legislations to be able to write off the costs for the companies as long as the companies' programmes for overseas markets promote the best cultural ideals of their societies.'* (Uche, 1989:77)

It could also be argued that the global media's ability to shape audiences' perception is as a result of their profound surveillance and dominant position at both national and global level. The global media now act as both national and international watchdog. With their responsibility to maintain a functioning democracy, violation of human rights and dictatorship in any nation attract global media attention. Also, with their surveillance technology, hidden parts of the world are through them visible to the entire world. With free press and advanced communication technology, it is impossible to act secretly or restrict global media access. Even when the global media are banned from reporting in a particular nation, they still carry out undercover reporting in order to keep other nations abreast of the latest news across the globe. Furthermore, owing to interdependence which has characterised the era of media globalisation, it is very difficult for a particular nation to remain in isolation. This is because what happens in one nation affects other nations directly or indirectly. Interdependency theory predicts the ongoing increase 'of a global system of *complex interdependence* in which economic, technological, and

cultural interpretation will render classical warfare over territorial issues obsolete' (Couloumbis and Wolfe, 1990:27)

Consequently, the role of the global media in shaping public perception at both national and global levels is central and inevitable in media globalisation. At this juncture, it could be concluded that the central role of the global media in shaping audience perception both in Nigeria and the world is made possible due to their extensive coverage, influence, power, dominance, ownership, access and control of the global media, and ultimately the audience's trust and dependence on them for the latest information around the world.

4.5 Content Analysis: *The Times* (London) Coverage of Nigeria

In underpinning this study, a brief content analysis was carried out to examine the coverage of Nigeria in a period of three months by one of the world major newspapers. *The Times* (London) also known as the *London Times* was chosen for this study. *The Times* (London) is a serious-minded daily national newspaper, published by Times Newspapers Limited, a subsidiary of News International. It is owned by News Corporation, one of the largest global media conglomerates, headed by Rupert Murdoch, with one of its headquarters based in London. *The Times* (London) covers national and international events.

The period covered in this content analysis was the three months from 1st June 2009 to 1st September 2009. The analysis examined the coverage of

Nigeria in the headlines. It does not take into account the stories behind the headlines. The electronic database LexisNexis UK was used to produce a list of all the articles that contained the word Nigeria or Nigerian in the headline in a three-month period. The search produced a total of 9 articles which occurred within the study period. Below are the results:

	Results
1.	**'If you're going to go mad, do it in Nigeria, not here in Britain'; health The outspoken psychologist Richard Bentall argues that mental health services dish out drugs but ignore the value of good relationships. Interview by Ed Halliwell** *The Times* (London), June 22, 2009 Monday, T2;FEATURES; Pg. 8,9, 1748 words, Ed Halliwell
2.	**Nigerian rebels attack** *The Times* (London), July 14, 2009 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 1, 31 words
3.	**More killed in Nigeria attacks** *The Times* (London), July 28, 2009 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 31, 85 words, Jonathan Clayton
4.	**600 feared dead as army attacks Islamist sect in mosque siege; Nigeria** *The Times* (London), July 31, 2009 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 7, 776 words, Tristan McConnell
5.	**Nigeria nears victory over Islamist sect; IN THE NEWS** *The Times* (London), July 31, 2009 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 1, 39 words
6.	**Fury at 'summary killing' of Islamist leader; Nigeria** *The Times* (London), August 1, 2009 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 14, 562 words, Jonathan Clayton
7.	**Nigeria on the Brink; The killing of hundreds of rampaging Islamists will not prevent future violence. Only better government in Abuja can stop the country becoming a failed state** *The Times* (London), August 1, 2009 Saturday, EDITORIAL; Pg. 2, 644 words

8. **Uproar at 'summary killing' of Islamist leader; Nigeria**
   The Times (London), August 1, 2009 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 38, 562 words, Jonathan Clayton

9. **Voodoo aids illicit income; City Diary; In the blue corner Nigerian scammers**
   The Times (London), August 13, 2009 Thursday, BUSINESS; Pg. 40, 109 words, Martin Waller.

Source: LexisNexis UK (01 June 2009 to 01 September 2009) [49]

For the purpose of this analysis, it was crucial to briefly look at the meaning of "content analysis". Content analysis according to Berger (1998:23) 'is a means of trying to learn about people by examining what they write, produce on television, or make movies about' (Berger, 1982:107 cited in Devereux, 2003:121). For Devereux (2003:120):

> 'Content analysis is typically used to identify the intentions and other characteristics of communicators, detect the existence of latent propaganda or ideology, reflect cultural patterns of groups, reveal the foci of organisations and describe trends in communication content.'

The assumption in content analysis according to Berger (1998:23) is 'that behavioural patterns, values, and attitudes found in this material reflect and affect the behaviours, attitudes, and values of the people who create the material'. Apart from looking at those who create the content, content analysts also assume that an analysis 'of messages and communication gives insights into the people who receive these messages' (Berger, 1982:107 cited in Devereux, 2003:121).

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[49] Available from: http://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/nexis/search/newssubmitForm.do, (Accessed 01 September 2009).

Devereux notes that content analysis could be quantitative or qualitative and could be employed in the area of media research in combination with other methodologies (2003:120). For the purpose of this analysis, the quantitative content analysis approach was employed. Quantitative content analysis according to Berger is assumed to be a:

> *'research technique that is based on measuring (counting) the amount [number] of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form, such as newspaper comic strip.' (Berger, 1998:23)*

Following Berger and Devereux,[50] the themes examined in this analysis were divided into four major categories namely: violence (e.g. attacks, killings, fury, rampage, siege, summary killings); fraud (e.g. scams); ridicule and other. In essence, the purpose of this content analysis was to measure the amount of violence, fraud, ridicule, and other events that occurred in the sample. From the findings, it could be determined whether the coverage of Nigeria over a period of three months by *The Times* (London*)* was balanced or not. Furthermore, it looked at the portrayal of Nigeria in the sample and what it might suggest and it examined whether the coverage of Nigeria by *The Times* (London) fits with the media imperialism theory.

Some crucial questions were helpful in analysing the contents of the headlines in the sample. Questions such as: Which themes dominate the coverage? What does the text say about Nigeria? What picture does the

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[50] See (Berger, 1982:107,1988:23-24; Devereux ,2003:120-122)

text portray about Nigeria? What sort of language does the communicator use? What has the communicator focused on? What is the recurring pattern in the content? Whose point of view does the news reflect? As a means of answering some of these important questions, this analysis also considered some conditions and elements of news such as: continuity, scale, negativity, language, and competition. It also examined if there were any ambiguities in the headlines.

In measuring the themes covered in the sample, Table 6 shows the total number and the total percentage of the events covered in each category. It also shows the number of times each category occurred in each month of the sampled period (from 01June 2009 to 01September 2009).

Table 6: Events in *The Times* (London) coverage of Nigeria

Events	MONTHS			Total	Total Percentage (%)
	1st June 2009	July 2009	August - 1st sep 2009		
Violence (e.g. killings, attacks, rampage, uproar, summary killings, siege, sectarian clashes and religious violence)	0	4	3	7	78%
Fraud (e.g. scams)	0	0	1	1	11%
Ridicule	1	0	0	1	11%
Other	0	0	0	0	0%
Total	1	4	4	9	100%

Table 6 indicated that, in the coverage of Nigeria by *The Times* (London) between 1st June 2009 and 1st September 2009, the events under the category of violence appeared seven times, accounting for 78% coverage of Nigeria; events in the category of fraud occurred once, accounting for 11%; events in the category of ridicule occurred once, accounting for 11%; while no event occurred in the other category, accounting for 0%. The above result is further presented in a pie chart. See Figure 8.

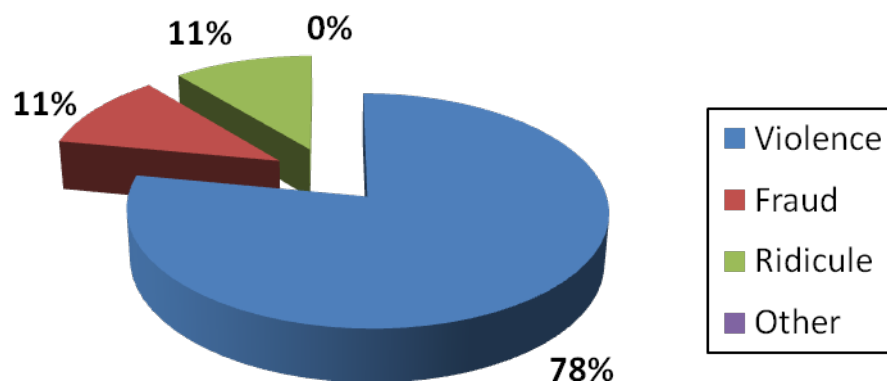**Figure 8: Percentage of events in *The Times* (London*) coverage of Nigeria**

Figure 8 would seem to indicate imbalance in the coverage of Nigeria within the sampled period. While 78% coverage of Nigeria focused on violence, 11 % on fraud and 11% on ridicule, there was no reporting on any other events in Nigeria. This kind of imbalance shown in the coverage of Nigeria in a three-month period would seem to agree with the media imperialism thesis which identifies the unbalanced coverage of the

developing nations by the developed nations, as well as the unequal flow of information between the former and the latter.

Table 6 also indicated that the coverage of violence was greater in the month of July 2009 and August 2009 and consequently outweighed the coverage of other events in the sample period. This is not surprising as much of the coverage was made during an ethno-religious crisis in the northern part of Nigeria which happened to fall within the sampled period.[51] However, John Venables, a former BBC science and environment correspondent with twenty years' experience in radio, television and online news, explaining continuity of news, states that:

> *'Once a story is on-going, it has a proven news value, the background research has been done and the logistics have been planned and put in place. It is easier and more economical to continue coverage than hunt around for another issue.' (Venables, 2005: 3-4)*

Venables (2005:2-5) further pointed out that 'once an event has become news it will continue to be covered even if its scale is reduced'. Following Venables, it could be argued that while the recurring pattern of the stories under the violence category is beneficial to the communicator, it is damaging to Nigeria because it would seem to suggest a continual negative portrayal. It has been argued that the recurring patterns or continuity in the news can shape its content.

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[51] See Yusuf (2009). Available from: http://www.vanguardngr.com/2009/08/08/ethno-religious-crisis-the-north-and-the-rest-of-nigeria/ [Accessed: 01 September 2009]

In measuring the negative and positive portrayal of Nigeria in the sample, examination of the contents of the headlines would seem to suggest that, out of the nine headlines, seven were negative towards Nigeria, while two headlines were positive. Of the two headlines that seemed to be positive towards Nigeria, one of them fell under the category of violence (i.e. headline No.5 'Nigeria nears victory over Islamist sect'), while the other (i.e. headline No. 1) contained a lead sentence which could be interpreted negatively ('If you're going to go mad, do it in Nigeria, not here in Britain' (this will be discussed latter on). This disclosure confirms Venables' (2005) view that 'negative news is more frequently covered than good news'. Explaining 'negativity' as one of the conditions for news, Venables (2005:2-5) says plainly that 'bad news is good news'. This then raises the question: 'Why is bad news good news?' (Venable 2005:2-5). Willmott Lewis, explaining the need to draw the audience's attention, stated:

> *'I think it well to remember that, when writing for the newspaper, we are writing for an elderly lady in Hastings who has two cats of which she is passionately fond. Unless our stuff can successfully compete for her interest with those cats, it is no good.' (Willmott Lewis, quoted in Harrison 2006:21)[52]*

Questions may be raised about whether the dominant coverage of violent stories about Nigeria are a deliberate attempt to attract the attention of a western audience. It has been argued the news providers often report stories that they think will be of interest and significance to their society. In this regards, Gurevitch et al. argued that:

> *'The domestication of "foreign" events by national news providers is an attempt to construe the significance of these events' in ways that are compatible with the culture and the "dominant ideology" of*

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[52] See also Sherrin (2003:165)

> *societies they serve.' (Gurevitch et al., 1991: 207 cited in Harrison 2006:95).*

Following Gurevitch et al. (1991:207), it could be argued that the dominant coverage of negative stories about Nigeria by the western media as shown in Figure 8, would seem to reflect and demonstrate the "dominant ideology" and "power" of the western media conglomerates who produce and distribute global media contents and are the major actors in global affairs. It has been argued that power is exercised through international communication (Alleyne, 1995). McQuail and Windahl (1993:219) argued that such dominant negative coverage, demonstrates how "organisational and social cultural factors" gave rise to a predominance of news in "northern" news media which was 'implicitly negative towards the Third World- tending to portray it as unstable', chaotic and doomed.

The analysis proceeded on the supposition that the news contains the image of the nation. A look at the occurrence, meanings of words and terms (that is, the language) and relationships of the words used in making the headlines provided further insight into the image they portrayed about Nigeria. The words also provided a conceptual tool by which the information in the headlines was interpreted.[53] 'The language used by the journalist encodes the social and political point of view from which they write or speak' (Simpson, 1993, quoted in Venables, 2005:4-8).[54]

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[53] "Words that readily evoke images are better remembered than more abstract ones, because they provide better conceptual pegs on which information can be hung and more readily retrieved" (Venables, 2005: 8-10) .

[54] 'The fact that language encodes a writer or speaker point of view might at first seem quite obvious and an unnecessary point of make, but news production is a constructive process affected by individuals, social groups and political influences. News is not a neutral, value-free phenomenon conveying information in an impartial manner, news is

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Venables argues that 'news is also shaped by language: the words, symbols and images used by journalists, their sources and interviewees to tell a story' (2005, 4-8). He further declared that, 'language marks bias' (2005:4-9). According to him:

> *'The language the journalist uses is one determinant of how the viewer or reader perceives the event reported. This perception also depends on the values and meaning the audience ascribes to terms and words used in the news report. Choosing the words is therefore a deceptively simple issue, as, in fact, a labyrinth of shifting complexities lurks beneath their surface value.' (Venables, 2005:4-9)*

From the samples used, some of the words or terms used in making the headlines were extracted from each headline and examined. The following words were examined:

	Words	**Headlines**
1	mad	headline no. 1
2	rebel, attack	headline no. 2
3	attacks and killed	headline no.3
4	dead, attacks, sect, siege	headline no.4
5	sect	headline no.5
6	fury, summary killings	headline no.6
7	on the brink, killing, rampaging, violence, failed state	headline no.7
8	uproar, summary killings	headline no.8
9	voodoo, illicit, scammers	headline no.9

selected and encoded in language and images from a particular point of views'.(Quoted in Venables, 2005:4-8)

While examining the above words in the sample, it was observed that some of them occurred more than once. For example, the word 'attack(s)' occurred 3 times; 'sect' occurred two times; 'summary killings' occurred 2 times; 'killing/killed' occurred 4 times, which was the highest occurrence in the sample. See Table 7.

Table 7: Occurrence of words and terms in the headlines

words/terms	occurrence
attack(s)	3
summary killings	2
killing/killed	4
sect	2

Indeed, it is not enough to count, just for counting sake, without looking at the meanings of the words and their relationships. The word 'mad', as used in the headline (No.1), means or suggests insane, disorderly, lawlessness, and foolish. Connecting 'Nigeria' and the word 'mad', arguably, may be read as mockery or satirical look at Nigeria. Words such as 'rebel, 'uproar', 'fury', 'sect', 'violence', 'siege', 'rampage' and 'attack' are related. They could mean or suggest a state of unrest, chaos, anger, division, fighting, riot, and confrontation respectively. The phrase "on the brink" in headline (No.7), arguably, may be read as (or suggest that) Nigeria was about to experience destruction, disaster or war. Furthermore, words and terms such as 'killed/killing/dead' and 'summary killings' are also related. While the former mean or suggest murder, the latter suggest

massacre, bloodbath, arbitrary killings, and violations of human rights. The word 'illicit' in headline (No. 9) means or suggests unlawful, while the word 'scammer' suggests swindler or fraudster. Also the portrayal 'failed state', in headline (No. 7) could suggests an unsuccessful, unproductive or a ruined country. The word 'voodoo' in headline (No. 9) means or suggests: fetish, witchcraft, juju, and magic, and they portray the image of superstition and deception. Based on the meanings ascribed to the above words and terms, and the understanding of what they could imply, it would seem that their relationships suggest the following: they can arouse a sense of fear, panic, tension, anxiety, insecurity, and emergency; they can give a sense of intimidation, failure, derision, humiliation and weakness; they can be read as derogatory; they seem to portray a negative image rather than a positive one. However, the meanings decoded from these words and their relationships were ambiguous and could be interpreted differently by different media analysts.[55]   Venables identified 'that one complication is that there is not always a one-to-one relationship between what is said and what is meant' (2005, 4-9).

Furthermore, it has been argued that headlines give the reader an indication of the main theme of the news, and as a result, are very significant in setting the agenda and shaping public opinion. Venables (2005, 3-4) states that 'in newspapers there is commercial pressure to get to a headline story first' due to competition. It could be argued that the choice of the words above which make up the headlines may indicate the

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[55] 'There is always room for differing interpretation of the same language because each person brings a different perception of the context of situation' (Soule, quoted in Venables, 2005:4-10).

drive for competition and commercial interest in selling the news. In this regard, Harrison remarks:

> *'Overall, the global news market...turn news into an exportable commodity and sell it, only for it to be repackaged according to the political or cultural dispositions of different news providers operating as state or regional level.' (Harrison, 2006: 96)*

This analysis proceeded by examining conditions of news such as the scale of events in the sample. For example, the use of the comparative 'more' in the headline (No. 6): 'more killed in Nigeria attacks' indicated a rise or an escalation in the scale of events. The expression: '600 feared dead' in the headline (No. 4), also indicated a rise in the scale of events. Explaining 'scale' as one of the conditions of news, Venables (2005: 2-4) states that: 'It's fair to say that, generally, the bigger the story the more likely it is to be reported.

Furthermore, there seemed to be ambiguity and sarcasm in the first sentence in the headline (No. 1) - 'If you're going to go mad, do it in Nigeria, not here in Britain'. Even though the story behind headline (No. 1) is positive towards Nigeria, its lead sentence may be read differently by someone who did not read the stories behind headlines (No.1). The above sentence, then, could possibly be read or interpreted to mean the following: an unparallel comparison between Britain and Nigeria, wherein the former is good (wise or sane) and the latter is bad (foolish or insane); Nigeria is a country where mad people live while in Britain there is no room for madness; people are not serious-minded in Nigeria, while in Britain people are serious-minded; people with mental illness receive better care in Nigeria than in Britain. Whatever meaning is ascribed to the above

sentence, it could be argued that its construction and meaning is vague, and it appears to suggest more negative meanings than positive ones. For this reason, it was categorised under the ridicule category in this analysis although it may well be interpreted differently by different media analysts. However, Bell argued that inexactness in news about the developing nations serves to increase the news value of the story,[56] mainly for 'negativity, consonance, superlative-ness, recency or proximity' (1991:229).

In conclusion, this brief content analysis examined the coverage of Nigeria by *The Times* (London*)* over a three-month period. It found that of all the themes examined in the sample, the theme of violence dominated the coverage. While the themes of fraud and ridicule had less coverage, there was no reporting on any other events in Nigeria. This kind of news coverage would seem to suggest negative portrayal and unbalanced coverage. However, this is not unexpected given the ethno-religious crisis in the northern part of Nigeria, which occurred within the sampled period. It is probable that this sample size did not provide sufficient evidence to establish the results in this analysis. This analysis would seem to be repeated with a larger sample to verify whether this portrayal and imbalance are actually present. However, the findings of this brief analysis would seem to indicate the argument put forward in media imperialism theory.

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[56] '... news values are neither natural or neutral. They form a code that sees the world in a very particular way... [they] are in fact an ideological code' (Hartley, cited in Venables, 2005:4-9).

4.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the qualitative and quantitative analysis have been applied to explain the information gathered for the purpose of this research. In the quantitative analysis, statistical procedures were employed which involved the use of frequency and percentage distributions to explain the numeric data obtained from the questionnaire. For the qualitative analysis, interpretative processes were used. The results produced from both kinds of analysis provided answers to some of the research questions which this study has investigated. In addressing some of the research questions, the perceptions of respondents were examined. Their perceptions of the type of news that flow into Nigeria were used to explain the way Nigerians see the world, while their perceptions on the type of news that flows out of Nigeria were used to determine the way the world sees Nigeria, and the perceived impacts. This chapter further examined the role which the global media industries play in shaping audiences' perception both in Nigeria and in the world. To underpin this study, it provided a content analysis of three-month coverage of Nigeria by *The Times* (London) newspaper. The analysis and results in this chapter provided a strong platform and support for the discussion that follows in the next chapter, which looks at the effects of global news media.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EFFECTS OF THE GLOBAL NEWS MEDIA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the various effects of the global news media and the debates and consensus on media effects. It further examines the perceived global media effects on Nigeria in particular. In examining the effects, some research questions have been tackled. Some of the empirical quantitative and qualitative data gathered for the purpose of this research have been utilised in this chapter to access the effects of the global media on Nigeria. Furthermore, ways of addressing the influence of the global news media on Nigeria and other developing countries have also been investigated in this chapter.

5.2 Debates on Media Effects

Over the past decades the effects of the media on individuals and societies have raised serious deliberation and debates amongst mass communication scholars and across various academic disciplines. Buckingham (2006:279) confirms that the 'questions about the impact of the media have frequently been caught up with debates about the impact of real-life events' (Buckingham 2006: 279).

In the 21st century, the debates on the alleged media effects have not stopped. The age of media globalisation has raised new arguments about media influence on local, national and global levels. Individuals, groups,

families, NGOs, governments, and the general public more often than not blame the media for bad influence and negative reporting. With regard to this, Aram (2006:214) states:

> *'Civil society often blames the media for exercising a bad influence by only highlighting the bad things and ignoring the good work it does. For instance, an organisation may say that the media do not adequately report children-related issues or do it in an insensitive manner.'* (Aram, 2006:214)

The media in globalisation have emerged as a powerful force in shaping public opinion (Undercurrents, 2002). Early studies of international communication also 'saw the potentialities of media in shaping people's behaviour and attitudes through propaganda' (Rantanen, 2004: 1). Due to the pivotal roles which the global media play in globalisation, Buckingham (2007) affirms that it may perhaps be impossible to isolate their negative effects from their positives. Cumberbatch and Howitt (1989: 1) noted that generally, the history of media studies lacks precise and clear evidence on the harmful effects of mass media. Cumberbatch (1998:262) argued that the mass media are so profoundly implanted in 'our culture and our lives that disentangling the possible effects on us has proved a frustrating research enterprise'. Cumberbatch, examining the various debates on media effects amongst different academic disciplines, has stated:

> *'By and large, media studies tend to reject popular concerns about the harmful effects of the mass media. Psychologists seem inclined to believe that the mass media have harmful effects on society, whereas sociologies tend to the view that the mass media have only served to amplify perceptions of a problem in society. Other disciplines such as criminology and political science tend to ignore the issue, while film, art and literary studies tend to seek out the intrinsic value of media representations and rarely engage in any discussion about the media effects.'* (Cumberbatch, 1998:262)

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A number of researchers have tried to ascertain the effects of the media on individuals or group behaviour and have reached many conclusions. For example, some studies have looked at the relationship between media violence and real-world aggression. In this regard, Freedman (2002) provides samples of studies and conclusions drawn from a variety of research:

> *'A study conducted by the Kaiser Family Foundation in 2003 found that nearly half (47 per cent) of parents with children between the ages of 4 and 6 report that their children have imitated aggressive behaviours from TV. However, it is interesting to note that children are more likely to mimic positive behaviours — 87 per cent of kids do so.' (Freedman 2002)*

> *'Craig Anderson and Brad Bushman of Iowa State University reviewed dozens of studies of video gamers. In 2001, they reported that children and young people who play violent video games, even for short periods, are more likely to behave aggressively in the real world; and that both aggressive and non-aggressive children are negatively affected by playing.' (Freedman 2002)*

Having examined many studies and many conclusions about the effects of television in aggression and violence, Freedman (2002:8) argues that: 'The point is that stories about its effects are often false and that obvious effects may be explainable in other ways'. He further argues that the 'people's institutions and observations are sometimes wrong' (Freedman, 2002: 8). He emphasises the need to rely on scientific investigation to establish whether children truly become more aggressive due to their exposure to media violence (Freedman, 2002:8).

In agreement with Freedman (2002), some 'theorists since have thought that media could not have such direct effects on the audiences they serve' (Hanes, 2000). They have argued that the media is relatively weak in

shaping individual values, opinion and attitudes (Hanes, 2000). They further affirmed that 'other factors present in society, such as personal contact and religion, are more likely to influence people' (Hanes, 2000). Gauntlett (2001:47) examining some stories about alleged effects of media in violence, argues that media has no effect on actual violence. He concluded that the discussion of media effects from politicians and popular press is ridiculous and naive.

Looking at the current debates about "media effects" in aggression and violence, it could be deduced that what appears to be the general consensus suggests that the audiences bring some set of beliefs, understanding, attitudes and values which may determine how they interpret or utilise media messages (Cumberbatch and Howitt, 1989: 1). In this light, Cumberbatch and Howitt suggested that 'instead of asking what the mass media do to people, why not examine what different people do with the mass media?'(1989:3). According to them, 'this approach, more generally is called the "uses and gratifications approach" (1989:3).

Nevertheless, what appears to be the general consensus on alleged media effects has not stopped the growing anxieties and perception about global media influence in globalisation. Owing to the powerful role which the global media play in the globalisation process, they have shared the blame for the growing global inequalities. It has been argued that globalisation of the media has had an unprecedented transnational impact. Many have argued that while the impact of global media is beneficial to

advanced nations, it is not so to developing nations. According to a United Nations report, 'globalisation has not only reinforced the traditional inequality between North and South, it has also reinforced inequalities within the North' (United Nations, 2000). This view has some links with the arguments raised in "globalisation theory" concerning its unequal benefits and costs especially in the developing world. The obvious growing gap between the developed and the developing nations in globalisation has intensified the argument, and poses a great challenge to the latter.

This thesis argues that in globalisation, the influence of the global media has become increasingly dominant and obvious. It could be argued that the new communications technologies together with the free marketplace have transformed the media landscape and effects on people and societies. The new media has changed the scale, depth and speed of news coverage. In-depth investigations by the global media coupled with constant repetition of news 24/7 exert powerful influence on the audiences. Feist (2001:711) asserts that 'as media technologies are converging and increasing the impact will be felt in all nations'. The global media industries have become strong agents for social change and cultural flows. Devereux (2003:43) confirmed that: 'Media globalisation is a powerful process...' He observes that: 'Globalisation has resulted in the movement of people and the circulation of media texts on a transnational basis. Meyrowitz (1985:69) confirmed that the same media may have various effects in various societies. He noted that 'the impact of electronic media in many Third world countries, which have not yet become widely

literate, is no doubt quite different from the impact of electronic media in our own country'(1985:69). In the case of Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, the effects of the global news media have been observed.[57]

5.3   The Effects of Global Media on Nigeria

Following British influence on Nigeria as a result of colonisation, it could be argued that the era of globalisation[58] has unleashed unprecedented effects on Nigeria. It has been argued that globalisation is a new form of colonisation and imperialism in disguise (Devereux, 2003). Some media analysts have argued that the developing countries are the ones most likely to be susceptible to global media effects (Redmond, 2001 cited in Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004:243). Thompson (1995:164) suggested that:

> *'if we wish to explore the impact of the globalisation of communication, we must consider not only the patterns of uptake but also the uses of globalised symbolic materials - that is, what recipients do with them, how they understand them, and how they incorporate them into the routines and practices of their everyday lives.'*

McQuail (1994:113) examining general media effects affirmed that:

> *'The effects of communication...may derive from any number of aspects of the communication content. They may be considered as psychological or political or economic or sociological. They may operate upon opinions, values, information levels, skills, taste, or overt behaviour.'*

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[57] These also include the effects of media genres such as television and radio programmes, films, music, video games, adverts, magazines and websites.
[58] The term "era of globalisation" in this study refers to later half of the 20th century and the early 21st century.

Following McQuail (1994), the effect of the global media on Nigeria is examined with respect to the following areas: socio-cultural effects; economic effects, psychological effects; political effects; and effects on Nigeria's diplomacy.

5.3.1 Socio-cultural effects

5.3.1.1 Perceived effect on Nigerian culture

Research by some communication scholars has suggested that one of the severe impacts of the global media on the developing countries is its cultural implication (Richstad 2000; Schiller 1992; Tomlinson, 1991). In agreement with this, McQuail and Windahl (1993:215) affirmed that 'the perceived effects of the international flow of communication included diminished sovereignty and autonomy in cultural matters'.

According to Dasylva (2006:326): 'Culture defines a people's civilisation and determines its identity'. For Falola (2003:51): 'Culture shapes the perception of self and interaction between people and their environment'. He adds that culture describes 'norms of behaviour ...boundaries among people' Falola suggests that culture 'is the basis of identity and ultimately of development'. (Falola, 2003:51 cited in Dasylva 2006:326). Nigeria can be described as a nation with rich cultural diversity. 'The richness and diversity of the Nigerian culture[59] is a manifestation of the socio-cultural differences of the over 250 ethnic groups that inhabit the land for ages' (NTDC, 2008). As a matter of fact, each ethnic group in Nigeria has a

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[59] The term "Nigerian culture" refers to all the different ethnic groups that make-up Nigeria.

distinct culture and language. Mr Nweke, the former Minister of Information and communications, declared that:

> 'Nigeria has one of the richest cultures in Africa and is steeped in decades of history and heritage dating back to the times of the Nok (500BC - 200AD).' (Nweke, 2007)

The rich cultural heritage of Nigerian is identified in areas such as music, foods, dress, names, languages, architecture, marriage, dance, religion, humour, arts, philosophy, folk tales, proverbs and oral traditions. Explaining the importance of cultural diversity UNESCO states that:

> 'Cultural diversity is a driving force of development, not only in respect of economic growth, but also as a means of leading a more fulfilling intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual life....Cultural diversity is thus an asset that is indispensable for poverty reduction and the achievement of sustainable development.' (UNESCO, 2001)

Following Dasylva and UNESCO, it could be argued that Nigeria with its rich cultural diversity should emerge as one of the strongest countries; cultural diversity should have been an asset for development and poverty reduction in Nigeria. However, it has been maintained that Nigerian culture has been greatly influenced by western culture (Ibie, 1992).

The origin of western cultural influence on Nigeria dates back to colonisation of Nigeria by the British in the 1880s. Ibie (1992:43-44), examining media /cultural imperialism on Nigeria in the 1990s, has stated:

> 'One obvious casualty of colonialism has been the indigenous culture of the country. The introduction of the value systems of the colonising powers not only polluted or compromised elements of the

indigenous culture but also contributed in some way in making certain cultural practices in these places irrelevant outmoded.'

In recent decades, however, the globalisation of the media and the powerful cross border cultural flow and exchange have vigorously reinforced the perception and raised new arguments about western cultural influence on Nigeria and other developing countries. As part of examining this perception, item 18 of the questionnaire survey asked the respondents if Nigerian culture is fading away as a result of western influence through the global media. 74.0% indicated "yes"; 21.2% indicated "no"; while 4.8% indicated "don't know". (See Table 8)

Table 8: Deterioration of Nigerian culture as a result of western influence

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Yes	185	74.0%
No	53	21.2%
Don't know	12	4.8%
Total	250	100%

The above result shows that a greater percentage of the respondents think that Nigerian culture is being eroded as a result of western influence. Uche (1989:75) had argued in the 80s that one of the contributing factors to this cultural influence has been the preference and regular consumption of western media products in Nigeria. He stated that:

> *'... the term media imperialism refers to the overwhelming universal influence the mass media products of the industrialised countries exert over the media programme preference of media administrators in Nigeria and other Third World countries, that have*

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contributed to the imbalance in international flow of media products and contents, whereby local cultural autonomy and awareness are threatened and relegate by external cultural values.' (Uche, 1989:75)

According to Uche, the effect involves 'a risk of an assumed cultural imposition on the people of Nigeria and their counterpart in the Third World from the media source countries' (1989:75). A report by UNESCO (2009b) notes that, Dr. Emmam Shehu has condemned 'the current trend of insufficient programmes promoting Nigerian culture in Nigeria's media practice'. Ibie (1992:42) affirmed that: 'The influences of these programmes may not be computable in the proportion of their real impact on the audience, but for those who watch them, such influences can be said to be real. Ibie (1992:47) argued that the elites together with the media play an active role in the socialisation process in Nigeria society. According to him, they have 'become channels for defining the agenda for the Nigerian woman' (Ibie, 1992:47).

However, in the globalized world, it could be argued that the socio-cultural change observed in Nigeria is driven by the desire to become modernised. Giddens (1990:63) correlated global processes to modernity. He argued that modernity is intrinsically globalising. In an attempt to become modernised, most Nigerians are caught up between two unequal cultures and relations, wherein the dominant culture of the advanced countries prevails over the indigenous culture of Nigeria. Thus, in an era where there is a free cross border flow of culture, it may be difficult to protect the indigenous Nigerian culture.

Perhaps one of the noticeable cultural influences in Nigerian society today is in the area of dress which has raised some concerns and deliberations. The issue of "indecent dressing and nudity" is believed by some to be the consequence of adopting western culture often promoted by the global media. Ekwowusi, echoing the voice of some people on the issue of indecent dressing in Nigeria states that: 'Nigerians have abandoned the old Pan-Africanist outlook of Kwame Nkrumah and others in preference for strange and alien Western lifestyle' (Ekwowusi, 2008). A survey respondent interviewed also remarked that:

> *'The country is so Westernised that almost the western culture is what they do, the way they dress, the way they do, so it will be difficult to measure it.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 46-55, male, lawyer)***

Expressing serious concern about indecent dressing and public nudity seen in Nigerian society today, especially, among the younger generation of woman, Senator Eme Ufot Ekaette MFR proposed a 'Bill for an Act to prohibit and punish public nudity, sexual intimidation and other related offences in Nigeria' (Vanguard, 31 August 2008). The bill though seeming to 'gain wider acceptance suffered a major set-back at the United Nation's General Assembly when it was criticised and dismissed by committee experts across the world' (Gabriel, 2008). The bill on nudity generated serious debates and criticism in Nigeria and across the globe. For example, parts of the criticisms put forward by Alliances for Africa against the Bill state that 'it discriminates against women' and 'infringes on the fundamental rights protected in Chapter IV of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria'. In addition, Article 4 of the UNESCO declaration on cultural diversity states that: 'No one may invoke cultural

diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope' (UNESCO, 2001). Criticising the bill on its religious basis, Alliances for Africa (AFA) (2008) states that 'it legislates on morality which is distinct from law'.

Though the bill against indecent dressing in Nigeria was unpopular and widely criticised, it depicts the growing concerns of some Nigerians about indecent dressing which some have argued was the consequences of western cultural influence on Nigeria through the global media. Information published by BBC news disclosed that 'about 90 women and three men have appeared before a magistrate's court in Nigeria's commercial capital, Lagos, on charges of indecent dressing' (BBC News, 27 July 2007). According to a BBC report (2007), 'the clampdown on "indecently dressed girls" was ordered by new Lagos police chief Muhammad Abubakar who says skimpy dressing could cause public disorder'(BBC News, 27 July 2007). It could be argued that even though 'there is no law banning indecent dressing in Nigeria' (BBC News, 27 July 2007), it is nevertheless an issue of some concerns to many Nigerians in particular and to Africans in general.

Furthermore, a popular reality TV show, the Big Brother Africa programme, run by Multichoice cable company which transmits the show live to subscribers in Nigeria and other parts of the world, attracted wider criticism in Nigeria and other parts of Africa and consequently was banned by the House of Senate 'due to what the lawmakers described as indecent and

obscene show of nudity during the BBA 2' (Nkwazema, 2008). According to Nkwazema (2008), Honourable Dino Melaye, addressing the management of the MultiChoice and the Broadcasting Commission of Nigeria in Abuja, declared that 'the negative consequence of BBA cannot be over emphasised'. (Nkwazema, 2008)

The Big Brother Africa (BBA) programme was perceived as an infringement and not compatible with Nigerian and African cultural values. Expressing further concern over the programme, the chairman of the House Committee on Information and National Orientation, Honourable Dino David Melaye, said that:

> *'We will not tolerate a foreign company to abuse and insult the sensibility of our people. What was showed on the BBA was an insult on the image of Africa. This is why we ordered NBC [Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation], who regulate what goes on air to stop hence with any serialisation, analysis or clips of the BBA.'(Nkwazema, ThisDay, 15 November 2007)*

Honourable Dino David Melaye further declared that:

> *'Even though, the show has ended, the House was against showing the clips of the nudity displayed, which he noted was not in consonant with African cultures and values.' (Nkwazema, This Day, 15 November 2007)*

Expressing concern over watching indecent films/movies in Nigeria, a survey respondent has also remarked:

> '*We should filter films and the kinds of news that come to Nigeria.'* **(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, billing administrator)**

Considering what was also described as the "recklessness of the broadcasting outfit", Honourable Dino remarked that the future of

Multichoice in Nigeria would be decided by the National Assembly (Nkwazema, 2007). He added that 'it was incumbent on every nation to protect the choice and values of the people' (Nkwazema, 2007).

In globalisation, Nigerian society has also witnessed a tremendous and fast growth of the Nigerian film industry called "Nollywood" (The Nollywood Factory, 2010). The Nollywood film industry in recent years has emerged as the third-largest producer of films in the world.[60] Commenting on the production of Nollywood films, Hoffman states:

> *'...the local industry produced more than 2,000 films last year - up from 662 movies five years ago. Most of the films are in English, with the rest produced in the major local languages of Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Edo.'* (Hoffman, 2009) [61]

Observations made in this study also suggest that there are many cheap Nigerian films on DVDs, which fill market stalls as well as video rental shops in Nigeria. Explaining in a Canadian documentary some of the reasons why the Nigerian movie industry is attracting a wider audience in recent decades, (particularly in Nigeria and other African countries), Onookome, a film writer and historian, says:

> *'The one thing that makes Nollywood thick [with fans] is that it's able to touch base with the local poor people who aspire to become rich. So the aspirations of this community of sufferers is something that Nollywood identifies with. It speaks to them directly.'* *(Onoo*kome, *quoted in Dixon, 2009)*

However, the culture portrayed by Nigerian films/movies has attracted opposing viewpoints. Some argue that the Nollywood film industry

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[61] For more information on "Nollywood" See also URL http://www.thenollywoodfactory.com/

promotes Nigerian and African culture while some argue that it promotes western culture. Pheko (2008) is among those who think that Nigeria films promote African culture. In support of this, Addelman adds: "It's like cultural wallpaper. If you go into anyone's house, any restaurant, hotel lobby, there's a Nollywood film playing in the corner," (Addelman quoted by Dixon, The Globe and Mail (Canada), 20 January 2009). Explaining the style of Nigerian films, Hoffman states that:

> *'Whatever Nollywood movies may lack in technical quality or western- style production values, they more than compensate their audiences with eye-level, up-close looks at African life, with compellingly real African stories told by Africans themselves.' (Hoffman, 2009)*

Those with contrary views argue that the name "Nollywood" is first coined by the western journalist, and consequently has copied western style, images and standards, which affect the audiences watching it in Nigeria. Uche (1989:90) is one those who thinks that 'Nigeria is tied to the apron strings of the western media because of her adoption of the western media model'. Acknowledging Tunstall in his argument, Uche stated that:

> *'The international influence of imported western media products, according to Jeremy Tunstall, "lies in the styles and patterns which most other countries in the world have adopted and copied. This influence includes the very definition of what newspaper or a feature film, or a television set is.' (Uche, 1989:90)*

Whatever the case about western cultural influence on Nigeria, the observation made in this study suggests that globalisation has a visible impact on Nigerian culture as most Nigerians tend to copy or adopt the western life style, latest fashion, music, habits, slogans, and taste. These social changes are more visible among the younger generation than the older generation. The younger generation seem to prefer western music

(particularly hip-pop music), Hollywood movies, Coca Cola, fast food, and blue jeans. The Minister of Information and Communications in Nigeria, Professor Dora Akunyili, as a result of this has blamed the older generation for failing 'to pass on the age-old values from Nigeria's fore-fathers to the younger generation' (Okereke, 2009). It could be argued that the agent and channel of this cultural and social transformation is the media, be they global media or Nigerian mass media, Hollywood or the Nollywood film industry. The mass media in general have been identified as a strong agent of socialisation. With the globalisation of communication, Nigeria is not isolated or immune to the global cultural flow and exchange. These changes are inevitable in an era where there is free cultural flow. Foreign media products are localised by Nigerian mass media and these products are incorporated into the daily living of many Nigerians. With regard to this, Ibie stated:

> *'At the level of the mass media, the localisation of the realities portrayed on programmes from satellite is a function of editorial judgment. While reference can be made to the western orientation of media managers through education and exposure, it is necessary to state that decisions on programming are inevitably a local affair regardless of the degree of external influences that are known to exist.' (Ibie, 1992:47)*

This finding has some agreement with Marie Gillespie's works (1995) which looked at the interaction between the globalisation and the localisation of culture. In her study, she confirmed that:

> *'The consumption of a growing number of transnational television programmes and films has affected cultural change among London Punjabi families.'*

She argues that 'Punjabi cultural "traditions" are just as likely to be reaffirmed and reinvented as to be challenged and subverted by television and video viewing experiences' (Gillespie, 1995:76).

The survey result in this study would seem to suggest that while many Nigerians are excited about media globalisation and its benefits, they still have concerns about the loss of Nigeria's cultural identity. Nigeria and other developing countries are therefore faced with the challenges of how to protect their indigenous cultures without infringing on fundamental human rights as adopted by the United Nation. It may be difficult for developing countries to be modernised or become inclusive as part of the global community without their local cultures being contaminated by the dominant culture of those who define, own and control the global cultural flow. Attempts to protect local culture in globalisation may thus be difficult at the international stage due to diminished autonomy in cultural matters characterised with international communication as McQuail and Windahl (1993:215) affirmed.

5.3.1.2   Perceived effect on anti-social behaviour

The rising tide of gun crimes, kidnapping and other anti-social behaviour in Nigeria in recent decades is being perceived by many as the consequences of global media influence, even though such claims may lack scientific evidence. Crime statistics compiled by the Research Department of the Cleen Foundation from 1994-2003 indicated a rise in armed robbery in Nigeria (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Crime statistics in Nigeria from 1994-2003

Summary of Crime Statistics in Nigeria from 1994-2003
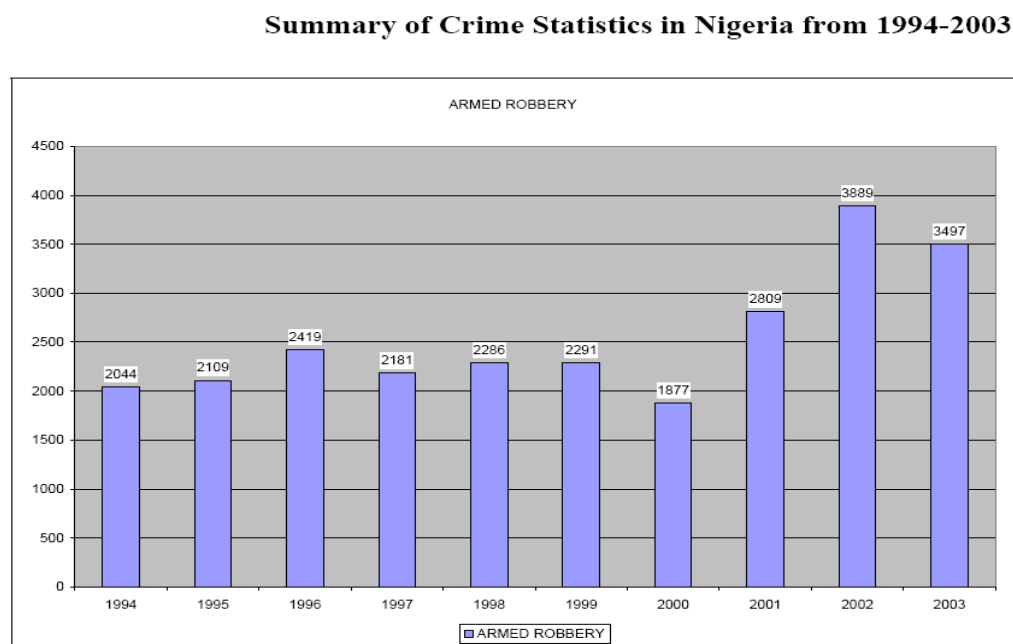
Source: Cleen foundation

In 2005, further reports in some Nigerian newspapers also show a rise in armed robbery in Nigeria (for example, see Musa, This Day, 16 February 2005; Daily Champion, 26 April 2005; This Day, 8 August 2007). Furthermore, information published on Global Post website confirms that:

> 'Nigeria has a reputation for kidnappings of foreign workers by rebels... But in 2009 the country has seen a rise in kidnappings of wealthy Nigerians by criminal gangs.' (George Esiri/Reuters, quoted in Global Post, 2009)

As part of examining the perception about the rising trend of anti-social behaviour in Nigeria, item 19 of the questionnaire asked respondents if western films, music and television programmes in Nigeria have greatly increased gun crimes, violence, moral decadence and corruption in recent decades. 80.4% (N=201) indicated "yes"; 11.2% (N=28) indicated "no" while 8.4% (N=21) indicated "don't know. (See Table 9)

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Table 9: Western media products in Nigeria have increased gun crimes and anti-social behaviour.

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Yes	201	80.4%
No	28	11.2%
Don't know	21	8.4%
Total	250	100%

Figure 10: Western media products in Nigeria have increased gun crimes and anti-social behaviour
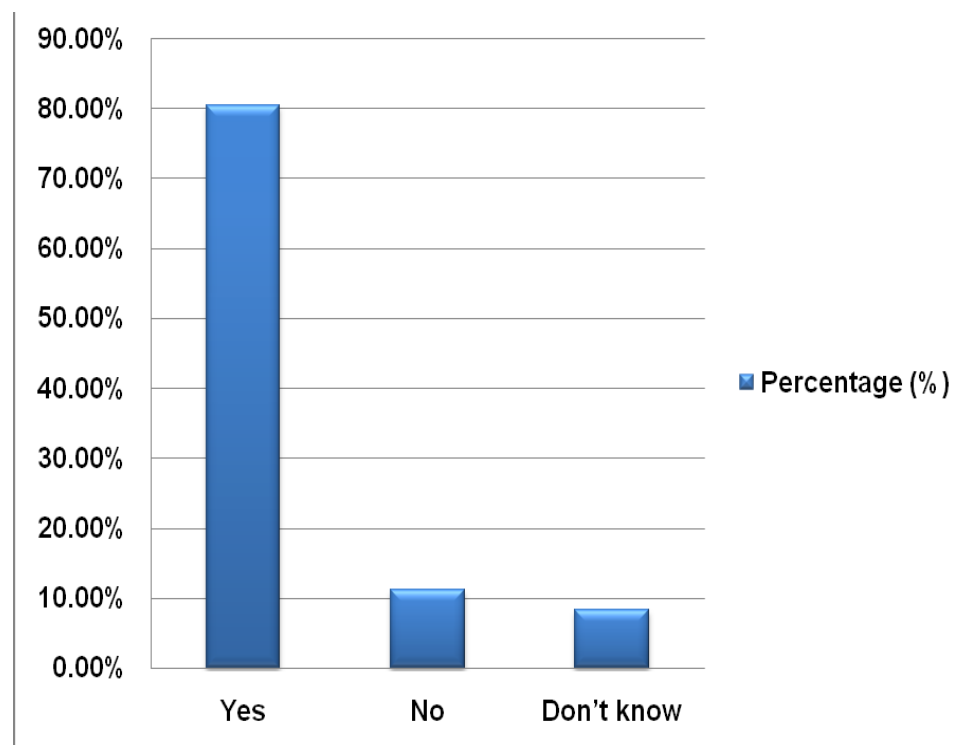
The results in Table 9 and Figure 10 show that a majority of the respondents think that the consumption of western media products in Nigeria has increased gun crimes and antisocial behaviour. The perception of the increasing rate of gun crimes and antisocial behaviour in

Nigeria in recent decades is tested against a more recent empirical research on gun violence carried out in Nigeria by Ime et al. (2007:421). In their study, they found that:

> *'Owing to significant underreporting, accurate statistics on gun violence are rare in Nigeria. The homicide rate, for example, is reported as only 1.5 per 100,000 but is likely many times greater...Although 30% of Nigerians report having been a victim of crime in the past year, only 25% of these crimes are reported to the police... Commentators note a marked increase in gun violence in Nigeria in the last decade, with armed robbery becoming commonplace.'* (Ime et al., 2007:421)

However, Ime et al. (2007:422-424) observed that 'many factors have contributed to the development of a ''gun culture'', in Nigeria.   Some of the factors according to them include poverty and economic disparity, military history and police presence, ethno-religious diversity and conflict (Ime et al., 2007:422).   Ime et al. observe (2007:422) that 'more and more individuals and groups are turning to SALW to achieve their goals' (Ime et al., 2007:422).

According to BBC news (2006), 'it is estimated that there is one gun for every 20 Africans'. Accessing public opinion in a debate about gun crime increase in Africa, BBC news asked: 'Is gun crime on the increase in your area?' (BBC News, 12 January 2006). The debate on gun crime increase in Africa attracted some comments from concerned Nigerians both at home and in Diaspora. Among the views selected by BBC are the following replies from some Nigerians:[62]

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[62] See URL http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4596126.stm

> *'I am a Nigerian Engineer in Canada. In Nigeria gun crime seriously went up between the late 1990s and early 2000s. The present government is now genuinely looking into the issue. I was a victim of attempted assassination with guns before I left. Another time, criminals put a gun to my head and forced me to withdraw money from my account. My wife was hit by a gun when she was due for our first baby. The baby was brought out alive but she was already in severe stress from the attack on her mother. We lost the baby.'*
> **Kaseem Farayola, Calgary, Canada** *(BBC News, 2006)*

Another replied:

> *'... I am suggesting that since armed robbery and gun proliferation has become the order of the day in Nigeria, Nigerians must be allowed to carry licensed guns for their personal protection .The police force in Nigeria must be decentralised. The federal government, the state governments and local governments must have their separate police institutions if gun proliferation and its ugly consequences are to be curtailed.'* **Anthony Okosun, Baltimore, USA.** *(BBC News, 12 January 2006)*

Another replied:

> *'Gun crimes are very common in Africa these days, in the late 90's when I was in the university, guns were freely used. Now in the Niger Delta Region where I live, I've witnessed the robbery of two banks by heavily armed men and women. The more the guns, the more the crime.'*
> **Victor Owo, Eket, Nigeria.** *(BBC News, 12 January 2006)*

Another replied:
> *'I am not in support of illegal gun ownership but I am also not against owning a gun to protect your life and your family's in a society where hardly a month goes by without being harassed. Our state police are not adequately equipped to respond to distress calls, and arrive at the scene of crime several hours late.* **Olaoluwa Nelson, Lagos, Nigeria** *(BBC News, 12 January 2006)*

A look at the above replies or perceptions about gun crime increase in Nigeria in particular, would suggest that many think that gun crime has really gone up in Nigeria in recent decades. Although many factors may have contributed to the increase, as Ime et al. (2007) observed in their research, media influence is perceived by some to be one of the contributing factors. Buckingham (2006:279) argued that: 'media violence is routinely identified as the primary cause of what is seen as a rising tide of youth crime'. According to him, 'it is rare to read reports of violent crime that do not at some point attempt to attribute responsibility to the media'. Buckingham (2006:279) provides instances of murder that have been attributed to media influence:

> *'Coverage of the murder of London head teacher Philip Lawrence, for example, and the spate of random killings in US high schools- not to mention the mass murders at Dunblane and Port Arthur – dwelt at length on the question of media influence, despite its complete irrelevance to the circumstances of these crimes.'*

Buckingham observes that in many instances of killings, 'the media were clearly used as a convenient scapegoat for events which were too complicated, or simply too horrible, to explain' (2006:279). Buckingham's examples suggest that audience perception of media influence on the rising anti-social behaviour among the youth cuts across all nations. In other words, some media audiences in both the developed and the developing nations to some point think that media influence is responsible for the increase of gun related violence and antisocial behaviour.

According to Freedman (2002), many think that when children and perhaps also adults are in regular contact with media violence, it will cause

them 'to become more violent and even to commit violent crime' (Freedman 2002). Early studies such as Baker and Ball (1969: 199) had also concluded that:

> *'a constant diet of violent behaviour on television has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes. Violence on television encourages violent behaviour and fosters moral and social values about violence in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilised.'*

In opposition to the above conclusion, Freedman argues that the view of many concerning the effect of media violence on aggression and crime, lacks scientific support (Freedman, 2002: 209). He adds that 'both aggression and crime have been with us for a long time, since well before television and movies' (Freedman, 2002: 208). According to him, 'there is no indication that in general, either aggressiveness or crime has increased since the invention of movies or television' (Freedman, 2002: 208). He argues that a more probable reason is that the increase or decrease of violent crime is not caused by media violence; 'both of these were caused by major social forces' he declares (2002: 209). Freedman however, thinks that 'it is likely that real violence and the coverage of real violence do affect aggression and crime (2002: 210). According to him 'both children and adults may be influenced by their knowledge that their society or their neighbourhood has a lot of violence' (2002: 210). Furthermore, he suggests that it appears believable that 'repeated exposure to real violence, either directly or in the media, causes desensitisation to subsequent real violence' (2002: 210). Freedman therefore concludes that:

'In any case, I hope that neither organisations nor individuals will ever again say that the evidence for a casual effect of the media violence is overwhelming or that the case is closed. Perhaps people will even begin to accept the clear fact that the evidence does not support the notion that exposure to media violence causes aggression or desensitisation to aggression.' (Freedman, 2002: 210)

Co-relating media violence and real-life violence has been difficult for a long time and often generated debates in different societies and among different academic disciplines. Recent media scholars have argued that audiences are selective in the communication process, which implies that they can decide how they utilise the media contents and the degree of effects the media will have on them. In other words, both the sender and the receiver play active parts in the communication process.

5.3.1.3.   Perceived effects on Nigeria's image

One of the serious challenges facing Nigeria in globalisation is the image problem. This has been perceived by some as one of the effects of the global media, which many have argued may perpetuate underdevelopment in Nigeria. The world has become more aware of the social ills in Nigeria through the global media. The concentration of the global media on the negative stories from Nigeria has also been perceived by some as an imperialistic approach (for example see Schiller 1992; McQuail and Windahl, 1993). The global media has become a window through which the world sees the image of Nigeria. It could be argued that a negative image is part of being excluded from the dominant world media. According to the former Minister of Information and communications, Mr

Frank Nweke Jnr, 'such negative reports create a halo of negativity around Nigeria, which spills over to Nigerians and everyone associated with Nigeria (Nweke, 2007).

Mr Nweke acknowledged the fact that 'over the years Nigeria has had its own fair share of problems and challenges' taking into consideration 29 years of military rule and corruption, ranked the 6th most corrupt country in the world in 2005 by Transparency International (Nweke, 2007) . Mr Nweke, however, pointed out that 'statistical analysis shows that although it is perpetuated by only 0.001% of the population, the damage to the country's image is enormous'. Giving an example of how Nigeria is portrayed by the global media such as CNN, Mr Nweke noted that:

> *'On Saturday, 10th February, 2007, CNN aired a report on its interview with a Nigerian militant group – Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), this time portraying Nigeria as a terrorist haven, thus battering her already maligned image.' (Nweke, 2007)*

Kothari (2010:212), examining news coverage of Africa, notes that 'scholars have expressed concern about the US media coverage of Africa, by arguing that sporadic and superficial reporting on a limited number of topics (war, famine and disease) has reinforced a negative image of Africa.[63] Mr Nweke, commenting on the general image challenges facing Africa, states that: 'Africa has an image problem as a continent of war, famine and disaster, and is labelled with the iconic images of starving African children' (Nweke, 2007).[64] Explaining the effects of the images of

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[63] See also Hawk (1992)
[64] 'Content analyses of news images through time reveals that regardless of the context, time or place in which famine has been observed, the same images recur' (Moeller, 1999 cited in Campbell, 2007:221).

humanitarian crisis, which are often represented in the global media with images of starving children in Africa, Campbell (2007:221-224) writes:

> *This discursive information has effects on 'us' at the same time as it gives meaning to 'them'. Indeed, it establishes a series of identity relations that reproduce and confirm notions of self/other, developed/underdeveloped, North/South, masculine/feminine, sovereignty/anarchy, and the like. Given that most contemporary famine imagery comes from one continent, it reproduces the imagined geography of 'Africa', so that a continent of 900 million people in fifty- seven countries is homogenised into a single entity represented by a starving child.... In doing this, a stereotypical famine image is not creating something from nothing. It is drawing upon established modes of representation, bringing into the present something that has been historically significant for European identity- that since the first colonial encounters, 'Africa' has been understood as a site of cultural, moral, and spatial difference populated by 'barbarians' , 'heathens', 'primitives' and 'savages'.*

Following Campbell, it could be argued that Nigeria is not only faced with the general image problem of all African countries, but on its own faces a serious image problem as a nation. Consequently, the effects of image problem in Nigeria have raised serious concerns.

> *'Apparently worried about the image of Nigeria abroad, the lawmaker said the National Assembly would do everything possible through legislation to make Nigerians living abroad enjoy their stay overseas as well as project good image for Nigeria'. (Dickson, 2008)*

Survey results in this study suggest that a majority of the respondents think that negative news about Nigeria is often disseminated globally by the global media industries while the positive news is often ignored, which consequently is affecting the international image of Nigeria. As a result, many have blamed the global media industries for the image problem of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. Adamson (2006), Director of Program in International Public Policy, University College, London, in her

speech at 'Mind the Gap 2006' conference highlighted that **'Nigeria's** international image is associated with corruption, crime, poverty, and violence'. According to her, 'a nation's image affects how it is perceived internationally in politics, business, education, culture, sports; how the nation, its citizens, its business community are treated (Adamson, 2006). She went further to say that, 'nations are being branded all the time by media, by NGOs, by individuals. She declared that 'earned publicity is more valuable than paid publicity' (Adamson, 2006). Expressing concern over the negative image of Nigeria, some of the survey respondents stated:

> *' Global media tend to paint a bad image of Nigeria which is not true.'* **(Author's survey: age 18-25, male, National Youth Service Corps)**

> *'Most of the news on Nigeria is all about fraud and this is affecting the image of we Nigerians outside because this portray us all as fraudsters which can take sometimes to convince average European that we are not one of them.'*
> **(Author's survey: age 36-45, male, student)**

The impact of the image problem of Nigeria prompted the launching of "The Heart of African" project by the Nigerian government in Paris, France, in 13 March 2007. The project aimed to improve the international image of Nigeria. According to the Minister of information and communication, Mr Nweke (2007):

> *'The Heart of Africa Project will ensure that the right kind of information is received about Nigeria, both locally and internationally. On the domestic front, it will also reorient Nigerians and promote national values.'*

Ajayi (2007), Nigeria World columnist, commenting on the Nigeria image project states:

> *'Nigeria and Nigerians have been subjected to negative profiling for almost eight months past, as of now (February 2007), by CNN, ABC and some local Television stations. Both Nigerian Government and Nigerians Abroad have been struggling to stop Nigeria negativism with little or no success, hence the launching of "Nigeria: The Heart of Africa" project.'*

A report by UNESCO (2009b) notes that Professor Dora Akunyili, Minister for Information and Communications, has said that 'the media is a critical stakeholder in the "re-branding Nigeria" campaign...' The report added that Dora Akunyili reaffirmed her strong support as well as the support of the media in rebranding Nigeria:

> *'As we begin the journey to reposition Nigeria's image and change the negative perception about our dear country, I am happy to say that we have the support of the media. In cases where we have been criticized, we have taken it as constructive criticisms and have included some of the suggestions into the campaign.' (UNESCO, 2009b)*

The worst aspect of Nigeria's image is the issue of alleged Advanced Fee Fraud (AFF) associated with Nigeria and Nigerians. This has aggravated the negative perception and publicity of Nigeria around the world by the global media. It is observed that AFF has not only damaged the international reputation of Nigeria, but has also affected businesses in Nigeria, as businessmen who want to engage in genuine business with people in other parts of the world face suspicion.

> *'AFF has created such a negative impact on legitimate Nigerian businesses, the Nigerian Government periodically places notices in newspapers worldwide warning people of the fraud.' (U.S. Department of State, 1997)*

Information published by the US Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, has warned American citizens and the international community about receiving AFF letters from Nigeria. Publications by the United States Department of State concerning AFF indicated a rise in this crime over the last decades, which is perhaps one of the reasons why the negative coverage persists:

> *'According to the Metropolitan Police Company Fraud Department in London, some 3,000 AFF letters a week are mailed or faxed worldwide; primarily from Nigeria. The United States and Great Britain are the recipients of over 50 percent of this material.*
>
> *The U.S. Secret Service Financial Crimes Division, which receives 100 calls a day from Americans approached or defrauded from AFF criminals, indicates that "Nigerian organized crime rings running fraud schemes through the mail and phone lines are now so large, they represent a serious financial threat to the country [United States]."*
>
> *Profits obtained in AFF are often used to support other more violent crimes such as narcotics trafficking. In the early 1990s, Nigerian drug traffickers expanded their operations to include AFF, which is less risky, does not require much travel, nor the movement of contraband. According to the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency, drugs and financial fraud are inextricably intertwined in Nigeria. Conservative estimates indicate that about 30–40 percent of heroin that moves throughout the world is either moved by or its movement is controlled by Nigerian criminals.'*
> *(United States Department of State, 1997)*

In response to the growing rate of AFF from Nigeria, the Nigerian government and the Central bank of Nigeria have warned the international community, particularly those in the West who mostly fall victim to this crime. They have also argued that cases of this crime are driven by greed. Both the perpetrators and their victims are equally guilty in the crime. Consequently, the Nigerian government has put a law in place to prosecute anyone in possession of an AFF letter. Such a law has also

been criticised, as some have argued that it may prevent the victims from reporting cases to the police (U.S. Department of State, 1997). As long as AFF and other social ills in Nigeria persist, their coverage will continue to dominate the global media. On this note, it could therefore be argued that the global media role in reporting the social problems of Nigeria are at the same time both harmful and beneficial. As the media create global awareness of these social ills, global audiences become more aware of them and learn from the reports. On the other hand, the focus on such negative stories continues to damage the image of Nigeria and perpetuates the global negative perception about Nigeria.

5.3.2 Economic effect

The age of media globalisation has had effects on the transnational economic relations of Nigeria (Oshikoya, 2008). Basrur (1994:385) affirmed that technological advancement has made an impact on international economic relations. Globalisation of trade and production is expanding very rapidly but not every country is benefiting from it (Undercurrents, 2002). The era of globalisation is characterised by economic interdependency which has resulted in a global economy. Some argue that globalisation will offer the developing countries opportunities to integrate into the global economy as well as stimulating rapid development, while others believe that the phenomenon has increased exploitation and further marginalisation of the developing nations (White, 2008:136). The issue of exploitation and unequal trade relations between the developed world and Nigeria started right from the colonial era.

Examining this, Williams (2009) states that 'early on Nigerian economics were heavily dependent on trade with the British, where they would trade great amounts of their natural resources for weapons and tools'. Williams (2009) argues that 'this uneven exchange has also left its mark on the nation, which though it is rich in resources still, has a staggering ratio of poverty to population'.

Some of the arguments surrounding globalisation examine the role played by the global media in transnational business. Devereux (2003:43) confirms that 'the global media giants localise many of their products to ensure market domination and profits'. It is observed that through public relations (PR) and advertising in the global media, the multinational corporations market their own products. This situation may perpetuate underdevelopment in Nigeria because businesses in Nigeria and other developing nations do not have enough capital to set up a global media wherein their products can be advertised and marketed globally. Consequently, foreign products continue to flood Nigeria markets to the disadvantage of local products. Oxfam, campaigning for fairer trade in Nigeria, argues that:

> *'The dumping of cheap, highly-subsidised, western products on the Nigerian market has put thousands of Nigerians out of business.'* (Oxfam, 2009)

> *'Local producers can't compete with the cheap cotton and rice that flood the market from overseas. This leads to high unemployment. Rather than acting as a way of helping people work their way out of poverty, unfair trade rules are doing the exact opposite.' (Oxfam, 2009)*

Oxfam's crusade against the dumping of western products on the Nigerian market is in accordance with its development assistance model, which suggests that for a "genuine development" to take place in countries in the global South on a long term basis, the market for local products should be promoted. Oxfam believes that 'support for local groups...can stimulate self-sustaining economic development at a local level' (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2006:532.) Oxfam thus campaigns for mutually beneficial North-South partnership and relations (2006:532). From a political perspective, 'foreign competition can bankrupt domestic businesses (which may benefit consumers with better value, more efficient goods, but disadvantages domestic companies whose employees face redundancy)'. Salmon, Imber and Fraser (2008:139) argue that 'security and domestic opposition may give governments political reasons for restricting trade'. As a way of restricting the dumping of foreign products on the Nigerian market and, subsequently, promoting local products, 'the Nigerian government has imposed a ban on the use of foreign beverages at official functions and in government offices (Daily Champion, 2009).   According to Daily Champion, 'the ban covers tea, coffee, biscuits, fruit juices, water and soft drinks' (Daily Champion, 2009). The paper states that Nigerian president Umaru Yar'Adua gave this order 'at the official launch of the Made-in-Nigeria products campaign… in Abuja' (Daily Champion, 2009). The president Yar'Adua…further 'directed that Nigeria's foreign aid to other countries must utilise Nigerian products like "Nigerian assembled vehicles and Nigerian made blankets." (Daily Champion, 2009).   The Daily Champion (2009) further states that:

> *'Henceforth, all government contractors must give priority to the use of Nigerian products whose quality is certified by relevant regulatory agencies of government.*
>
> *"All uniforms and boots of the armed forces ; army, navy, air force, police as well as para-military, customs, immigration, prisons and civil defence corps, road safety etc, must be sourced from Nigerian manufacturers certified by the Standard Organisation of Nigeria (SON)," Yar'Adua added.' (Daily Champion, 14 October 2009)*

The president 'Yar'Adua noted that the policy measures were to boost industrial production, check imports and revive the nation's ailing industrial sector' (Daily Champion, 2009). According to him, 'the campaign to buy Made-in-Nigeria products was one of the measures meant to counter the negative effects of the global economic crisis on the manufacturing sector' (Daily Champion, 2009). He also 'reiterated the government's commitment to the revival of the industrial sector, particularly the textile industry that used to be the most vibrant in the economy. The paper also stated that:

> *'With a population of over 140 million people, Nigeria's market is big enough to sustain a bubbling domestic industrial sector if only Nigerians look inwards at their local products.' (Daily Champion, 14 October, 2008)* [65]

This investigation into the economic effects of media globalisation on the transnational economy of Nigeria suggests that the uneven benefit which characterises globalisation of trade poses a great challenge to Nigerian economy.

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[65] For more information on this topic, see also All African. Com : http://allafrica.com/stories/200910140745.html

Research question five (RQ5): What sorts of forces within and outside Nigeria are responsible for the selection and packaging of global media product?

This research question is crucial because it has been argued that global media products are produced and disseminated by multinational transnational corporations from the West who own and control the global media (Devereux, 2003). This has been argued as being detrimental to the economies of the developing nations.

As part of the analysis of this question, item 28 of the questionnaire survey asked the respondent if the global media is greatly dominated by transnational or multinational corporations from the West (as suggested in media imperialism theory). 2.0% (N=5) indicated "disagree"; 3.2% (N=8) indicated "strongly disagree"; 56.0 %(N=140) indicated "agree"; 24.4% (N=61) indicated "strongly agree" while 14.4% (N=36) were "neutral". (See Table 10).

Table 10: Domination of global media by Multinational and Transnational Corporations from the West

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Disagree	5	2.0%
Strongly disagree	8	3.2%
Agree	140	56.0%
Strongly Agree	61	24.4%
Neutral	36	14.4%
Total	250	100%

The result in Table 10 indicates that a greater percentage of the respondents think that multinational and transnational corporations are responsible for the selection and packaging of global media products. Husain (2006:374) affirms that multinational corporations '(MNCs) are powerful global economic forces'. According to Ray and Kaarbo (2008:9): 'Transnational actors operate across state borders and include multinational corporations (MNCs), which are large companies doing business globally'. Studies suggest that 'nonstate actors have their own goals and interests that sometimes diverge from those of the state' (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008:9). Thus, the domination, concentration of ownership, and control of the global media industries by a few multinational corporations from the West have raised issues concerning bias about the products which the global media industries are delivering. However, the impact of multinational corporations in the developing nations has been argued from both a positive and a negative perspective. The positive perspective argues that multinational corporations (MNCs) 'contribute to a host country's economic modernisation', increase the speed of economic growth of the host country, promote peace, create jobs and impart important skills needed for triumphant trade in a global economy' (Husain, 2006:374-375). The positive perspective corresponds with liberal views which 'tend to be optimistic about the potential for mutual gains in human interaction, including under globalisation' (Salmon, Imber and Fraser, 2008:137). The majority of liberals are enthusiastic concerning the economics of the free market. On the other hand, the negative perspective argues that 'MNCs are agents of exploitation and neo-imperialism'; they

are beneficial to their home countries at the expense of their host countries; they 'pollute and degrade the environment of host countries' (Husain, 2006, 375). These negative views agree with the Marxist view. 'Writers in the Marxist tradition perceive globalisation as a highly negative phenomenon' (Salmon, Imber and Fraser, 2008:137-138). 'Marxists argue that globalisation has given new power to people that own businesses' (2008:138). They have criticised multinational corporations 'for using their wealth, power and influence to control high-level governments, allowing MNCs to exploit developing countries' (Husain, 2006:374). In the same vein, Mohammadi (1997:44) noted that 'experience indicates that globalisation, via the operation of the multinational companies, is frequently inappropriate to national needs in Third World countries'. In this light, the operation of Multinational Corporations in Nigeria (for example, Shell Oil Company and others) have been perceived as being exploitative rather than beneficial.

5.3.2.1 Perceived effects on Nigeria's oil production

The penetration and impact of western multinational corporations and the global media on Nigeria's economy are observed in the recent civil charges brought against the multinational oil corporation Royal Dutch Shell in the New York based Centre for Constitutional Rights. Royal Dutch Shell oil was charged with complicity in Nigerian government crimes against its people and, most remarkably, with the torturing and killing of Ken Saro Wiwa and his comrades in 1995, who were protesting for fair distribution of oil wealth and respect for the environment and the people (Ford, 2009).

> *'It is a false dichotomy to separate the corruption of Nigeria's governments - military or civilian - from the predatory presence of Big Oil. The two are locked in the deepest embrace." Both the paymasters and the thugs are equally guilty of the crime.'* (*Ford, Black Agenda Radio, 10 June 2009).*

Consequently, the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation was required to 'pay $15.5 million to the families of the late Nigerian activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa and others executed by a Nigerian military regime in 1995'(Ford, 2009). According to Black Agenda Radio commentary, 'Shell can be compared to a businessman who hires a hit man to kill a union organiser (Ford, 2009). However, 'Shell has always maintained the allegations were false' (Shell Nigeria, 2009). Shell executives declared that the settlement was a "humanitarian gesture" (Shell Nigeria, 2009). The alleged exploitative behaviour of Shell in Nigeria and other developing nations has also been criticised by non-government organisations (NGOs) such as Amnesty International, which is also a transitional actor (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008). In recent decades, some of the NGOs have become strong voices echoing the major concerns of the developing nations at the international stage. However, their voices are usually not heard in the mainstream media due to blockage, as argued by anti-globalisation campaigners (Undercurrents, 2002). A report published by Amnesty International USA (2009) confirms that little of the massive oil wealth is allocated to the Niger-Delta region where the oil is produced or indeed to Nigeria as a whole, which has left many Nigerians impoverished.

> *'The Niger Delta is the main oil producing region of Nigeria, which is the largest oil producer in Africa, and the fifth-largest oil producer within the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (1), the cartel of world's leading oil producing countries. However,*

little of this wealth is distributed within the Niger Delta, or to the Nigerian people as a whole. Economic and social rights, such as the right to health and the right to an adequate standard of living, remain unfulfilled for many Nigerians.' (Amnesty International USA, 2009)

Consequently, there has been a state of war between the Nigerian government and the insurgents in the Niger-Delta region who are fighting for a fair share of the massive oil profits, environmental protection and developmental aid in the region. The Nigerian government have been operating a military offensive called *Operation Cordon and Search*, in the region since 15 May 2009 (Ford, 2009). 'The fighting has resulted in significant casualties among the combatants. But the greatest suffering has fallen on the civilians' (Ford, 2009).

The fighting between the Nigerian government and the militants in the oil rich Niger-Delta region has had a massive negative impact on the Nigerian economy. Its frequent coverage by the international media has also reinforced a negative perception about Nigeria. Nweke in his presentation stated that 'Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa and the 10th largest in the world. She also has the 7th largest proven natural gas reserves in the world' (Nweke, 2007). Analysis by Volman (2009) shows that Nigeria 'exports1.7 million barrels of oil per day' (Volman, 2009). [66] The analysis further indicates that 'the United States imports 44 percent of Nigeria's oil production, making the country the U.S.'s fifth largest foreign source of oil' (Volman, 2009). However, the increased activity of militants in the Niger-Delta has led to enormous losses in oil production. The Associated Press

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[66] See also: http://www.opec.org/home/

(AP) disclosed that 'the attacks from MEND [The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta] and unrest in the Delta region had cut Nigeria's oil production by about a million barrels a day, allowing Angola to overtake it as Africa's top oil producer' (Adigun, 2009).[67] The President of Nigeria Umaru Musa Yar'Adua was unhappy 'with the recent leapfrogging of Nigeria by Angola which assumed Nigeria's position as number one oil producing nation in Africa' (Awhotu, 2008). Highly disturbed by the development, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua said, 'it is unfortunate that Angola a new entrant into the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has over taken the country in crude oil production as a result of avoidable circumstances' (Awhotu, 2008).In addition to alleged Shell crimes in Nigeria, the Chevron Oil Company has fuelled human right abuses in the oil-rich Niger-Delta region as disclosed by Amnesty International USA (2009).

Apart from the massive negative impact of the fighting on Nigerian oil production, it has also led to an increased rate of kidnapping in the Niger Delta region. According to BBC News 25 May 2007, 'More than 100 foreign workers and a few Nigerians have been kidnapped so far this year in the swampy creeks of the Niger Delta where the bulk of Nigeria's oil comes from'. The rising trend of kidnapping is affecting Nigerian economy as foreigners are dissuaded from coming on business trips to Nigeria for fear of being kidnapped. This condition is also effecting Nigerian foreign direct investment as discussed in the previous chapter. 'In addition to

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[67] Report by Black Agenda Radio also confirms that: 'The regional war has cost the oil industry at least 24 million barrels in production, causing Nigeria to fall to second place among African producers, behind Angola'. (Ford, 2009).

kidnappings, the militants have also bombed several oil pipelines, cutting production and helping push world oil prices to near-record highs' (BBC News, 25 May 2007). Consequently, the US Department of State has issued a warning for its citizens travelling to Nigeria (US Department of State, 2009*).

However, some have argued that the oil fighting and kidnapping in the Niger Delta region are the consequences of the exploitative behaviour of the multinational corporations such as Shell and their counterparts. With regard to this, one comment published in Global Post (2009) reads:

> *'Kidnapping is not a Nigerian culture. It is an easily available instrument of criminality, aggression and revenge. It is being employed by disenfranchised youths in Nigeria to signal the need for better political leadership. Gross inequalities and disparities ...fuel this.' (Global Post. 2009)*

Furthermore, in an award winning documentary presented by Undercurrents (2002) on globalisation and the media, globalisation campaigners together with social and environmental activists apportioned blame to multinational corporations such as Royal Dutch Shell for causing devastating environmental damage in the oil-rich Niger-Delta, which has deprived those living in the region of their source of livelihood. The activists have argued that the global media are one-sided, not offering a clear analysis of the situation, biased towards the government line, misrepresenting what is really going on, and have failed to report important issues (Undercurrents, 2002). Expressing concern, Danny Schechter, a former CNN producer and the director of Mediachannel.org, said the 'CNN

documentary is often very flawed in part because it narrows the range of discourse'. He further said that:

> 'There are many people who are looking for answers to basic questions about power in the world, distribution of wealth and resources, who are looking for media outlets that reinforce their own sense of the world, reinforce their own perspectives in the world but also give them an outlet and a way to disseminate their own views to other audiences ; and there have been points of blockage in the mainstream media [that] tend to cover the same issues, the same way over and over again.' (Undercurrents, 2002)

George Monbiot (2002), an investigative journalist, disclosing what goes on inside ITN Company said that:

> 'CTN was using ITN staff [and the same equipment] to make highly misleading corporate videos [for corporations like Shell] and it was effectively expecting its staff on the one hand to make highly biased propaganda and on the other hand to make objective news report. And I felt that the two roles were entirely highly irreconcilable.'(Undercurrents, 2002)

Expressing doubts about the objectivity of ITN, George Monbiot said:

> 'The fact that this was quietly going on within ITN building seriously shook my confidence about ITN's ability to deliver the product it said it was delivering.' (Undercurrents, 2002)

Connor (2002) pointed out that due to blockage in the mainstream media, 'the new technology such as the camcorder has encouraged people to record their own viewpoints such as oil spill in Nigeria' (Undercurrents, 2002). These voices, however, are not usually heard, as Connor has shown (Undercurrents, 2002). The blockage in the mainstream media has also led to the emergence of many independent media outlets that can transmit from the Internet and present a critical analysis and clear account of what is really going on. The globalisation activists have also blamed today's journalists working in the global media industries for lazy journalism (Undercurrents, 2002). According to George Monbiot (2002):

> *'It use to be a process of getting out engaging with the world, finding out what is happening, now it is the process of sitting in the office, waiting for the world to come to you, and of course, the world that comes to you is the one that has got the PR agencies, has got the money, has got the time, has got the resource to put out the press release and make all the phone calls and the rest of it.' (Undercurrents, 2002)*

According to Connor, **'television news is supposed to be objective'** (Undercurrents, 2002). Connor's views seem to agree with social responsibility theory, which is one of the parameters by which the impact of the global media in this study is measured. Social responsibility theory states that the media has an obligation to set high 'professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance; the media should be 'pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view' (McQuail, 1987:117-118).

Research question six (RQ6): To what extent has the impact of global news media affected Nigeria's development and international relations?

This question is significant because it has been argued that one of the results of media globalisation is unequal development. Apart from the impact of unfair trade on Nigeria's economy, many believe that the constant negative news about Nigeria in the global media has had far reaching effects on Nigerian development and international relations. Expressing concern, the former Minister of Information and Communications, Mr Frank Nweke, declared that:

> *'Focusing only on negative messages & reports however fail to present Nigeria's myriad achievements and the progress the country has made over the years. They also fail to accurately reflect*

> *who Nigeria is and the opportunities that abound in the country today.' (*Nweke*, 2007)*

The above comment by Mr Frank Nweke implies that the global media's constant focus on negative reports about Nigeria hinders people in other parts of the world from perceiving the true identity, strength, prospects and many great accomplishments of Nigeria. Mr Frank Nweke declares that the links between the national image of a country and its business brands cannot be separated. According to Nweke (2007):

> *'A positive national image is a growth factor for businesses and through strong brands a country can become a major player in the world economy (Cf: China and India).' (*Nweke*, 2007)*

By this comment, Nweke meant that a good national image increases business opportunities and that through building a robust and successful brand image a country can become an important actor in the international market. Nweke stressed that:

> *'Reawakening our common sense of identity is critical to how we are perceived by others. Importantly, there is a strong connection between the image of a nation and its economic prosperity and its development.'(*Nweke*, 2007)*

In his speech delivered at "Mind the Gap", the National Conference on the Nigerian Brand and Economic Development, 9th October 2006,   Mr Nweke pointed out that Nigeria has abundant natural resources and human resources which are yet to be fully exploited. According to him, the intention of the government is to 'boost the economy by promoting our brand assets and decisively tackling our national brand eroders such as 419, corruption and human trafficking' (Nweke, 2006). According to Mr

Nweke, for any country to surmount its image problems and become successful in the global market, it ought to:

> '1. Successfully deploy sophisticated information substitution strategy which portrays its strengths and downplays its weaknesses. 2. Tackle the root causes of its image challenges and put in place structures to overcome them.' (Nweke, 2007)

The above comment by Mr Nweke implies that Nigeria needs a refined information scheme that will present Nigeria in a more positive light and de-emphasise its weak points. Importantly, Nigeria needs to deal with the initial causes of its image problems by introducing measures that will address them.

Following Mr Nweke, a majority of the survey respondents in this research also think that the impact of global news media is affecting Nigerian economy and overall development, (See Table 11)

Table 11: The impact of the global news media on Nigeria is affecting its economy and overall development

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Disagree	35.	14.0%
Strongly disagree	10	4.0%
Agree	112	44.8%
Strongly Agree	69	27.6%
Neutral	24	9.6%
Total	250	100%

5.3.3 Effects of the global news media on Nigerian diplomacy

Nigerian foreign relations focus on Africa, while relations with other nations outside Africa have yet to grow. In this era of globalisation, there is a growing level of connectedness between nations in terms of both time and space facilitated by technology advancement. The growing interests in natural resources, wealth, trade, and new technologies motivate nations to strengthen ties and relations. In addition to this, the need for humanitarian and military intervention, conflict resolutions, nuclear disarmament and war on terrorism are also factors which stimulate nations to build alliance and reinforce diplomacy and co-operation.

In a globalizing world, Nigerian diplomacy was expected to have improved considerably. A majority of Nigerians think that the global media misrepresentation of Nigeria is affecting Nigeria's international relations. See Table 12.

Table 12: Do you feel the way Nigeria is being misrepresented in the global media is affecting its international relations with other nations?

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Yes	205	82.0%
No	22	8.8%
Don't know	23	9.2%
Total	250	100%

The global media play a major role in the way other nations perceive Nigeria and the way Nigeria perceives other nations as discussed in the previous chapter. Nigeria is a member and a key African player in the World Trade Organisation (WTO). It is also a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and vigorously encourages regional union and collaboration. Mr Nweke declared that:

> 'Nigeria *has constantly been involved in peacekeeping efforts within the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). She recently expended about $4billon in peace keeping efforts to solve the crisis in Liberia. Nigeria is also a leading player in the Commonwealth and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).' (Nweke, 2007)*

However, it could be argued that the regional power and achievements of Nigeria are not sufficient to improve its international relations. Being the highest oil producer in Africa (though, it was overtaken in April 2008 by Angola), oil and gas wealth have been the main foreign attraction and interest in Nigeria. For example, Khakee (2007) argued that 'democracy promotion is not a top priority in EU-Nigerian relations. Oil is widely regarded as paramount, followed by trade relations'. Similarly, Emetulu (2008) describes Anglophone-Nigerian relations as 'an oily romance'. Khakee (2007) noted that: Given Nigeria's size, oil and gas wealth, and regional importance, EU-Nigerian relations are more multifaceted than those that Europe maintains with many other African countries (Khakee, 2007).

Since the 1970s, oil production has been at the centre of Nigeria's economy and foreign relations. Oil and gas wealth in Nigeria have been

the main attraction for most multinational corporations from the West such as Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco and Chevron. In globalisation, multinational corporations are perceived as major actors in international affairs and their activities in the developing nations have been argued as being manipulative. The liberals believe that the multinational firms and their activities have become more powerful than the nation-states in contemporary international relations. On the other hand the realists believe that the 'state is the main actor in international relations; that military force and security issues are the most salient aspect of contemporary international relations; and that interdependence is a myth' (Keohane and Nye,1989:241).   It has been argued that 'giant MNCs [multinational corporations] contribute to global interdependence' (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2007:363), and have emerged as political actors (Willetts, 2008:334). They are capable of influencing the global agenda and international regimes. According to Kegley (2008:208), 'MNCs generate both credit for the positive aspects of free trade and globalisation as well as blame for their costs'. They also have the ability to influence governmental domestic and foreign policies in countries where they operate, if deemed not favourable to their business (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2007:374). For example, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and his comrades who were protesting against environmental crimes and unequal distribution of oil wealth in the oil-rich Niger Delta region indicates the influence of the multinational corporation Shell over domestic policies in Nigeria. Oxfam argued that the

execution of Ken Saro Wiwa provided a strong ground for intervention from human and environmental activists all over the world (Oxfam, 2009).

Furthermore, the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa had an impact on EU-Nigeria relations. Khakee (2007:4) notes that.

> *'In the aftermath of the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni leaders in late 1995 for their protests against Shell operations in the Niger Delta, political relations came to an almost complete standstill. The EU reinforced travel restrictions, imposed an arms embargo, and suspended most development cooperation with Nigeria.'*

Khakee (2007:4) observes that despite the involvement of Shell Oil Company in the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa, 'there was no oil embargo and no freezing of Nigerian leaders assets in Europe'. Khakee notes that 'EU companies, including oil companies such as Shell and Total, also continued operating in the country'(2007:4) Khakee further noted that 'the EU measures were lifted after the elections in May 1999, following the death of the military dictator Sani Abacha in 1998 (2007:4).

Examining further EU-Nigeria relations, Khakee (2007:4) argued that 'relations between the EU and Nigeria have been rocky since the latter gained its independence from Britain in 1960'. He remarked that 'with the return to democracy, political relations between the EU and Nigeria were resumed' (Khakee, 2007:4). However, information published at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2008a) revealed that Nigeria's bilatereral relationship with the UK is strong.

> *'The UK has been a leading supporter of Nigeria since the return to civilian rule and was a key advocate of debt relief for Nigeria. There*

> *is a steady flow of high-level visits in both directions, including a visit by HM The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh in December 2003, and the Prince of Wales in 2006.' (Foreign and Common Wealth Office, 2008a)*

Furthermore, it is estimated that between 800,000 and 3 million Nigerians live in the UK, while about 4,000 Britons live in Nigeria (Foreign and Common Wealth Office, 2008a). Also, the information published by the European Commission's Delegation to the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2002) confirms that 'European Commission relations with Nigeria are increasingly active'. Khakee (2007:4) however, describe the EU-Nigeria relation as a relation between two unequal giants.

In the case of US-Nigeria relations, information published at US Department of State (2008) discloses that Nigeria's foreign relations with the United States have improved considerably after the regime of General Abacha.

Nonetheless, it could be argued that in spite of the believed improvement of western relations with Nigeria, the bias and restrictions have not completely been removed. For example, the choice of the US President Baraka Obama to visit Ghana shortly after he assumed office has been perceived by some as an indication of scepticism over Nigerian democracy. Being the most populous country and the supposed "giant of Africa", many thought Nigeria should have been the first African country to be visited by the first black American president. In this regard, the Daily Guide Ghana (2009) newspaper states:

> *'... the sulking comments of Nigerians with regard to the US President's visit to Ghana attest to their remorse.*
>
> *A retired Nigerian diplomat who was asked to comment on why President Obama chose Ghana instead of 'the Giant of Africa', as Nigerians love to call their country, said a lot has gone wrong in Nigeria in the last couple of years.*
>
> *He said perceived systemic corruption has led to distrust in important circles and that the current economic downturn has meant that the government can no longer back its diplomacy with funds.*
>
> *"Yes indeed Nigeria is the giant of Africa but has she demonstrated that politically? No," another person commented.'*
> *(Daily Guide Ghana, 10 July 2009)*

The remorse over Obama's choice to visit Ghana is, though, not peculiar to Nigeria, as other African countries such as Kenya and South Africa have also complained. With regard to this, BBC News (July 2009) states that**:**

> *'In Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa, writers interpreted Mr Obama's decision to choose Ghana as the first sub-Saharan country to visit as a comment on the democratic performance of their own governments.' (BBC News, 10 July 2009***)***

Furthermore, the increasing rate of kidnapping of foreign oil workers in the Niger Delta region due to the oil fight between the Nigerian government and the militants has reinforced the negative perception and bias. Consequently, the US and UK government have put in place travel warnings to their citizens wishing to travel to Nigeria. Such travel warnings could be affecting Nigeria's international relations. It may not only dissuade US and UK citizens from travelling to Nigeria but may also discourage people across the world from visiting Nigeria or engaging in any sort of business with Nigerians. In addition to this, the failed bomb

attempt of the Northwest Airlines by a Nigerian man named Umar Farouk AbdulMutallab, on the 25th December 2009 has put further strain and restrictions on Nigerian-American relations (as will be discussed latter in view of the CNN effect).

Also, the stigma of alleged Advance Fee Fraud (as discussed earlier) has had effects on Nigeria's foreign relations. In spite of the vigorous efforts of the Nigerian government in fighting against corruption and social ills, and the removal of official barriers to foreign investors, Nigeria's poor international image continues to hamper and jeopardise its international relations and development. A majority of the respondents in this research also think that the impact of global media is affecting Nigerian diplomacy and general development.

On the other hand, Okpokpo (1999) has argued that the inadequacy of Nigeria's diplomacy is as a result of Nigerian foreign policy which focuses mainly on Africa. According to the Daily Guide Ghana newspaper, a retired Nigerian diplomat argued that:

> *'...the most important reason why President Obama chose Ghana over his country is that Nigeria has not been seen to demonstrate any serious interest in matters beyond its shores.' (Daily Guide Ghana, 2009)*

Okpokpo (1999) suggested that 'although Nigeria hasn't got the means and might to have a global foreign policy, it should endeavour to take more into consideration current trends in international relations and diplomacy such as globalisation, human rights, and democracy'. Okpokpo (1999) further suggested that the scope of Nigerian foreign policy should not be

focused on continental issues, but ought to be focused world-wide, and geared towards the promotion of Nigeria's cultural heritage. He further recommended that Nigeria ought to be wise in choosing closet allies not based on wealth or technological advancement, 'but on Nigeria's vital national interests in the cultural, economic, political, scientific and technical areas as well as in the military field'(Okpokpo, 1999).

Whatever the perceptions about Nigeria's foreign relations, it could be argued that the global media play an indirect role in all this in that they are the means by which information about Nigeria is distributed to all parts of the world. It could be argued that the way the global media portray Nigeria affects the way Nigeria is perceived globally. Consequently, the way Nigeria is perceived globally affects the way other nations relate to Nigeria in cultural, economic, social and political matters. The media relate to foreign events through coverage. For example, the content analysis of *London Times* coverage of Nigeria in the headlines for a period of 3 months (as seen in the previous chapter) would seem to suggest that Nigeria is more often than not represented in a negative way. It could be argued that negative headlines create an atmosphere of fear and tension, which can affect foreign relations and policy makers. It could therefore be argued that for Nigeria to extend and establish strong and lasting relations with other countries in the world, people in both Nigeria and other countries need balanced and accurate information about Nigeria and vice versa.

5.3.3 .1   The CNN effect in Nigeria

The primary notion about the CNN effect (as seen in Chapter Two) suggests that the coverage of emotionally-based events by the media evokes an emotional response among people of a distant country, prompting or forcing the government of that country to intervene in a particular conflict or disaster (Hawkins, 2002:1). It could be argued that the emotional response evoked by the CNN effect could possibly be expressed in forms of protest, defence, support, confrontation, clashes and so forth.

An example of an international event that has evoked an emotional response and, consequently, provoked clashes in Nigeria can be seen in the US Air strike on Afghanistan. Alex Duval Smith, Africa correspondent in *The Independent* (London), Monday 15th October 2001, writes that:

> *'Hundreds of people may have been killed in three days of religious clashes in northern Nigeria triggered by demonstrations against the air strikes. Dozens of mosques and churches have been burnt.'*
> (Smith, 2001:5)

Smith (2001:5) further writes that:

> *'The Nigerian government, which has been supportive of the air strikes, is generally keen to play down death figures to avoid provoking worse clashes.'* (Smith, 2001:5)

Arguably, in Nigeria people knew about the US air strike on Afghanistan through the media, as Volkmer (1999:9) suggested that this is generally the way in which audiences are informed about events in distant locations, be it local, national or global media. Even though, the access and usage of global media in Nigeria (such as the CNN and also the Internet) are not widespread, international events/ programmes in the global news are

being recorded, reproduced, localised and made available to the audiences in Nigeria by the Nigerian media (Ibie, 1992:47). Stories about violence feed the media as well as attracting audiences (Soola, 2008: 3; Venables, 2005:2-5). 'Research indicates that television news images can evoke a strong emotional response in viewers, which influences how people respond to stories' (Pfau et al., 2008: 305).[68]

Examining the US Air strike in the light of the CNN effect, it could be argued that in Nigeria such news of violence from distant places, particularly the Middle East, can potentially evoke strong sentiment or trigger religious clashes between(Christians and Muslims)groups especially in the northern part of the country. For example, information published by the Foreign and Commonwealth office updated on the 21st May 2010, about travel warnings to Nigeria, states that:

> *'International events, particularly in the Middle East, can lead to demonstrations and unrest. British Nationals are advised to remain vigilant.'*

Another instance of the occurrence of the CNN effect in Nigeria could be seen in the CNN report poll on Nigerian-American reaction to the Christmas Day failed bomb attempt by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab (Dondero, 2010). According to the report in Texas Broadside, some astonishing poll numbers provided by John Roberts, a Veteran CNN reporter, which were released from the Pew Research Centre, found that:

> *'43% of Nigerian Muslims polled believed suicide bombings against the West were justified.*

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[68] Research by Nabi (2003) found that visuals arouse emotions that affect message processing**.**

> *54% of Nigerian Muslims polled said they were supportive of Osama bin Laden.'*
> (Dondero, *Texas Broadside*, 3 January 2010)

In response to the above report poll, some concerned individuals such as Temi (2010) on the 5th January 2010 writes:

> *This poll is the result of an exceptionally lazy research. It is completely ridiculous how the western media comes up with unsubstantiated opinions about Africans in general…It is not clear where in Nigeria this ridiculous poll was conducted and I find it very doubtful. The average Nigerian is simply not interested in committing suicide. Abdulmutallab is someone who has spent most of his adult life outside Nigeria. He was influenced outside the country and should not be used as an opportunity to jump into a lazy conclusion about the country as a whole. Besides, most terrorists appear to come from West, the IRA, Timothy McVeigh, Richard Reid, and the British men who planned to blow up transatlantic flights with liquid bombs. Why hasn't Britain been added to the list of terrorist nations. Come to think of it Abdulmutallab was radicalised in Britain.*
> *(Temi, Texas Broadside, 2010)*

In addition, Olusegun (2010) on the 14th January 2010 writes:

> *'…If a country like Nigeria were [sic] I come from should be blamed, the first thing I ask is that were[sic] on earth did the acclaimed infamous terrorist undergo is[sic] training? Of course a country like Britain should be held responsible. ... I want to say that the hypothesis generated from the so called primitive research is funny, absurd and preposterous to the extreme. In all this, I want to say Muslims don't support terrorism we only fight for our right when necessary.' (Olusegun, Texas Broadside, 2010)*

Following the failed Christmas attempt to blow up a commercial airliner over Detroit by 23 year Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, a Nigerian national (Agba and Nyam, 2010), Nigeria was branded a terrorist country, and consequently was included in the list of the US "countries of interest". Also, information published by Foreign and Commonwealth Office updated on the 21st May 2010, about travel to Nigeria, states that:

> *'There is a high threat from terrorism in Nigeria. Attacks could be indiscriminate, including in places frequented by expatriates and foreign travellers.'*

The inclusion of Nigeria on the list of the US "countries of interest" provoked reactions from Nigerians and protest from the Nigerian government. Reporting on this, Agba and Nyam in *Leadership* (Abuja) 4th January 2010, writes that:

> *'The Nigerian government yesterday protested its inclusion by its American counterpart among nations it considers as "countries of interest" - those that sponsor state terrorism.'*

Agba and Nyam (2010) went further to state that:

> *'Nigeria yesterday condemned in strong terms the tough screening imposed on Nigerian passengers wanting to fly to the US.'*

'Minister of Information and Culture, Prof. Dora Akunyili, said the rules discriminated against 150 million Nigerians' (Agba and Nyam, 2010). Dora Akunyili went further to condemn the restriction imposed on Nigeria, saying that: 'Abdulmutallab did not represent Nigeria'; 'His act was a "one-off", she said. Examining the CNN effect in the light of Abdulmutallab's failed bomb attempt, it could be argued that the CNN report poll as well as the inclusion of Nigeria in the list of the US "countries of interest", provoked emotional reactions amongst Nigerians and compelled the Nigerian government to protest.

It could therefore be argued that the kind of emotional reactions and responses by Nigerians and the Nigerian government in the wake of the US Air strike on Afghanistan and Abdulmutallab's failed bomb attempt, are consistent with the primary notion about the CNN effect, and may also be

regarded as an extension of the CNN effect. In the light of these findings, it could be argued that there are possibilities of occurrences of the CNN effect in Nigeria contrary to Robinson's (2005:346) argument (as seen in Chapter Two).

5.3.4   Psychological effects

According to Herman and McChesney (1997: 2), the media 'provide emotional outlets, evoking anger and feelings of sympathy, stress, and release'. It could be argued that the global media have had some psychological effects on many Nigerians. Evidence is seen in some of the responses by the respondents.

> *'The news I hear about Nigeria in the media is the 419*[69] *fraud. It is making it difficult for people to trust Nigerians as individual and using the collective assessment of Nigerians as fraudsters.'* ***(Author's survey, age 26-35, male, professional)***

> *'Nigerians are critically taken to be insane creatures with little ability to amount to something in life and the only black race that doesn't need charity.'* ***(Author's survey, age 18-25, male, student)***

> *'Stories on CNN are usually; if not always doom stories about Nigeria. We do have good things happening most of the time but you'll never get to hear them.'* ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, female, professional)***

> *'They normally bring the ills that happen in Nigeria; they never try to bring to lime light the good things that happen in Nigeria.'* ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, female, student)***

The above responses by the respondents suggest feelings of anger, insecurity, anxiety and self-pity. McLuhan (1964:8) in his theory of global

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[69] "419" is the section in Nigeria constitution with prohibits people from obtaining money by fraudulent means.

village asserted that 'what we are considering here, however, are the psychic and social consequences of the designs or patterns as they amplify or accelerate existing processes'. A survey respondent revealed that the psychological effect of the global media on Nigeria is as a result of the emotional attachment and loyalty which every patriotic citizen has for Nigeria.

Another perceived psychological effect of the global media on Nigeria is loss of confidence (as already discussed in the previous chapter). It is observed that most Nigerians today have lost self confidence especially when they are in other nations. This is because of the disgrace attached to Nigeria as a corrupt nation. It could be argued that today millions of Nigerians now hold deplorable perceptions about their nationality. In some circumstances, some Nigerians lie about their nationality in order to exonerate themselves from the scandals. Furthermore, loss of confidence has resulted in some Nigerians developing a feeling of self-pity when they are in other countries. For this reason, they tend to give a negative and gloomy view about Nigeria especially when they are being interviewed by the global news media gatekeepers, with the hope of attracting foreign aid and sympathy. With respect to this, McQuail and Windahl (1993:219,) stated that 'one of the costs has been referred to – the importation of a negative or pessimistic vision of their own region'. Such desolate views about Nigeria reinforce negative perceptions.

In light of this, it could be argued that what Nigeria needs in a globalised world is not international aid or sympathy but equal trade, fair

representation, balance flow of information, and equal access to the global

media. Other perceived psychological effects of the global news media on

Nigeria include feelings of intimidation, marginalisation, deprivation,

isolation, mistrust and suspicion.

5.3.5 Political effects

It could be argued that one of the effects of media globalisation includes

diminished political sovereignty. McQuail (2000:4) argued that the mass

media have increasingly become:

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

McQuail (1998:13) further argues that 'new technology increases the

individualisation and privation of media use. In postmodern consumerist

society, the media and their content are more and more depoliticised and

"secularised"'. According to Higgins (2008:20), 'Ideas of public, of public

interest and of public representation, as well as to the conceptualisation of

politics itself, are also central to the way media engage in the political

process'. According to Higgins (2008:20) 'many have sought to argue that

media have profound responsibility to help maintain a functioning

democracy'.

Following McQuail (1998:13), it could be argued that the domination and

ownership of the global media by multinational corporations from the West

influences the way political news is reported, especially about the Third World countries. It could also be argued that the global media industries represent the political view of those who own and control them. For instance, during elections they may favour any candidate or parties which their stockholders support due to the fact that they work in the interest of their stockholders. It could be argued that the multinational corporations through the global media may promote policies that will promote their business and operations.

Examining British imperialism and influence on Nigerian politics for example, Williams (2009) a freelance journalist and editor, states that:

> *'Ever since the British occupation and colonisation of Nigeria, the nation has never been the same. For hundreds of years British missionaries and soldiers worked alongside and against Nigerians up and down the Atlantic coast, bringing Christianity, British education, and the English language to the people of the country.'*

Williams (2009) argues that 'Britain's mark on Nigerian government and politics can still be seen today'. According to him, 'it is impossible to ignore the slight British flavour that still clings to the government and its institutions'. He affirmed that:

> *'At the inception of the Fourth Republic, the most recent marked change in Nigerian politics was marred by allegations of corruption and misconduct. Perhaps the opinion is biased, but many believe that the initial British infiltration and colonisation of Nigeria sowed the seeds for much greater turmoil in the future.'* (William, 2009)

In globalisation, it could be argued that the regular reporting of negative political news about Nigeria, undermines the power and autonomy of the Nigerian government. Ritchard (2000) argued that it is no longer

imperialism through military power; it is now imperialism through communication technology. In describing the sort of news often heard about Nigeria in the global media, some of the respondents from the western nations (UK and US) have made the following remarks:

> *'I often hear a lot about political conflict and crime which suggests it may be quite a troubled country even though that is probably untrue.***(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, student, British)**

> *Fraudulent activities and political unrest and state of Anarchy: That Nigeria is a lawless nation which is very risky to visit.***'**
> **(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional, American)**

The above responses indicate audience perception of how Nigeria's political system is being portrayed in the global/western media. Global media criticism and propaganda is, though, not peculiar to Nigeria, as they also criticise governments in the developed world. For example the recent MP expenses row (BBC News, 18 June 2009) dominated the international and UK media. However, some have argued that the global media are more constructive when criticising governments of the developed world than governments in the developing nations.

5.4   Addressing the Influence of the Global News Media on Nigeria

Research Question Seven (RQ7): What measures need to be taken to address the influence of the global news media on Nigeria and other developing nations?

This is important as the global media's continuing influence on Nigeria and other developing nations has been seen to be perpetuating

underdevelopment, and thus needs to be addressed. As part of finding answers to the above research question, item 31 of the questionnaire which is an open-ended question, asked the respondents to describe in their own words possible measures that could be taken to address the influence of the global media. From the answers given, two schools of thoughts are observed- the optimist and the pessimist. The optimist view to some extent agrees with the liberal theoretical perspective, while the pessimist view broadly agrees with neo-Marxist theory, dependency theory and imperialism theory. See Figure 11.

Figure 11: Addressing the influence of the Global News Media on Nigeria.

Source: Author's survey
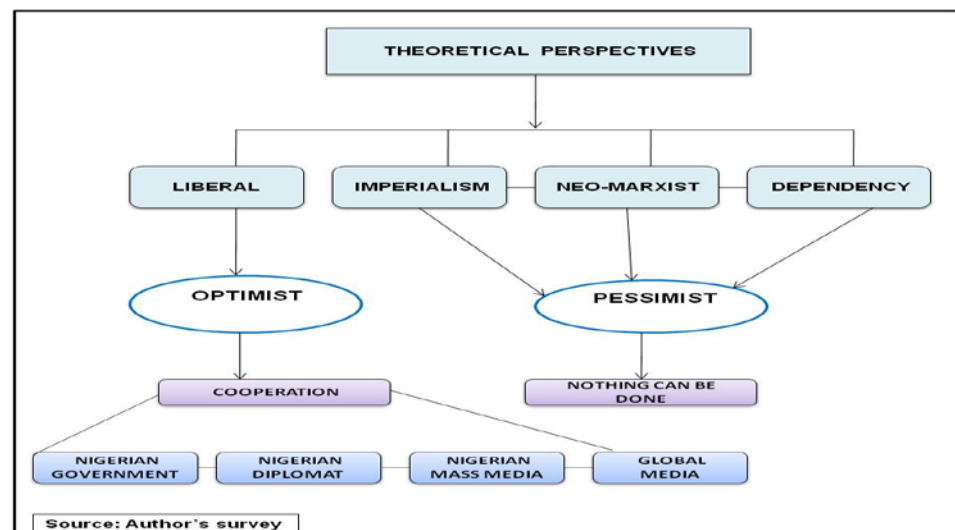
5.4.1 The optimist view

The optimist view in this study represents those who believed that the influence of the global media has been both beneficial and harmful to Nigeria. They are mainly professionals and students.   They are quite

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happy and optimistic about the benefits of media globalisation but have some concerns about its alleged negative effects on Nigeria and other developing countries. It is pertinent to note that those with an optimistic view outnumbered those with a pessimistic view in this research. Examples of responses of respondents in this group include the following:

> *'Yes, I am optimistic about global media because, without it you will not know what is happening in other countries of the world. The world is now a global village.'*
> *(Author's survey: age 46-55, male, lawyer)*

> *'There is no stopping global media as information technology and transmission grows. No country now live in insular and are now been influenced by global media and social/economic interaction. Every nation has to access and take what is good and use for self development.'* *(Author's survey: age 46-55, male, professional)*

The optimist view in this study shares some features of the liberal theoretical perspective, even though there are concerns over the negative influence. The liberal perspective believes that interdependence, cross-border flows, free market, globalisation and/or transnationalisation will create a better world, stimulate cooperation and promote international peace and unity. The liberal perspective believes that by interdependence state interests are interconnected and transactions will stimulate cooperation. (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008:8; Jackson and Sorensen, 2009:44). They believe that the state is not the only significant actor on the world stage as there are non-state actors increasingly important in global politics (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008:9). 'Liberalism views IGOs, NGOs, and MNCs as important international connections across state boundaries' (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008:9). The neo-liberalist thinks that cross -border flow of information and culture will create common values (Jackson and

Sorensen, 2009:44). Those with this view in this study recognised the benefits of globalisation and hope it will improve conditions in Nigeria, create better international relations and stimulate cooperation between Nigeria and the outside world. They suppose modernisation is a good thing which every nation should embrace. They think that the global media are playing a crucial role in connecting Nigeria to the outside world as well as keeping Nigeria informed of what is happening in other parts of the world. They also believe that the use of modern communication technology such as the mobile phone, the Internet and satellites will facilitate development and reduce poverty in Nigeria (Agba, 2001). Even though they are concerned over negative influence and the battered image of Nigeria, they think that such negative portrayal and influence can be addressed by the collaboration of the Nigerian government, Nigerian mass media, Nigerian diplomats, and the global media.

5.4.1.1 *Nigerian government:*

Regarding the Nigerian government, the optimists suggested that it has a greater role to play in addressing the influence of the global media on Nigeria. This includes offering incentives to the local and private media in Nigeria that will enable them to broadcast internationally, fight against negative information, ensure its positive activities are well documented and reported, improve governance culture and expand media capability, rebrand Nigeria and encourage co-operate participation and investment in broadcasting. Some of the respondents with an optimistic view acknowledged some aggressive steps already taken in the past by the

Nigerian government to address this issue, while some still thought that more needed to be done by the government and the politicians to counter this influence. In this regard, a respondent remarked:

> *'Steps are already been taken by the Federal Government. The National Orientation agency is saddle with this responsibility. The onus lies with the politicians and political office holders to be committed on their part and see themselves as players in favourable global information dissemination. Information co-ordination should be properly channelled and documented for reference purposes and not through myriad of bureaucratic bottle neck that is usually associated with doing things in the 3rd world countries. It is just of recent that we have live coverage of proceedings. This should be encouraged across board. The continuity also lies in continuing democratisation of the various facet of the polity of the 3rd world countries'.*
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, Business)***

Also, acknowledging government's previous efforts in addressing the global media influence, another respondent remarked:

> *'Govt. of last regime in Nigeria took the very best aggressive measure to curb this media mess by encouraging Nigeria Televisions too to go on world air of transmission to be able to tell the world the true position of the Nation Nigeria (a blessed country with positive talents). The stations currently are: NTA, AIT, Channels TV, Minaj and Emmanuel, Redeem TV, etc.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)***

However, some respondents think that firm steps have to be taken by Nigerian government to address the negative influence. In this regard, a respondent has stressed:

> *'Determined efforts by governments and local news agencies in the Third World to correct this imbalance through global broadcasts of locally developed content.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional)***

Part of the Nigerian government's determined efforts in addressing the negative influence of the global media could be seen in the launching of the "Heart of African" Project as discussed earlier in this chapter. In

globalisation, the global media has become a strong tool for branding different nations. Explaining branding in her speech at the 'Mind the Gap' 2006 programme, Adamson (2006) says that 'branding is an image'. She stressed that Nigeria needs to be rebranded due to its current poor national image. Adamson remarked that 'starting with a negative image is not necessarily the worst starting point but need to transform negative perceptions'. Adamson noted that a 'branding strategy targets an external audience, and mobilises internal audience cities' (Adamson, 2006). For Adamson, the external targets include tourism, investment, export markets, political relations and global public opinion, while internal targets include citizens, businesses, government ministries, regions and cities (Adamson, 2006). She underlines that developing countries such as Nigeria must give priority to 'good governance, good infrastructure, inclusion and participation of population' (Adamson, 2006). Adamson stressed that developing a national brand requires: political will resources, time and patience, trust, inclusion, transparency, local collaboration and genuineness. Adamson (2006) concluded that branding cannot be imposed from above. It must be genuine.

5.4.1.2   *Nigerian mass media*

For the Nigerian mass media, the optimistic view suggested they need to build more confidence in themselves and carry out more investigative journalism to counter any foreign media propaganda. They also need to: develop and adopt new approaches in modern journalism, go global in their outlook, work very hard to get prompt and first class information

instead of the relying on the western media in times of crisis, have a vibrant media network that will project a positive image of Nigeria, filter films and other kinds of media products that come into Nigeria (films that promote violence and moral decadence should not be allowed to be shown in Nigeria), engage in training that will enhance their professional development, showcase Nigerian culture and ideology, monitor global news about Nigeria, and ensure accurate and balanced editing and reporting of contents. A report by UNESCO (2009b) at the World Press Freedom Day held in Abuja, Nigeria, notes that:

> *'Mr. Shehu [has] challenged the Nigerian media to adapt the possibilities thrown open by the Internet, one of which was adapting community oriented productions to information technology and establishing community media, which would ensure that programmes are more relevant to the masses.'*

Ozekhome in his speech delivered at the African Film and Television Programmes Expo, Bob TV 2009 asked the question: 'Has the Nigerian media done enough to rebrand Nigeria and dress it with the garb of a beautiful bride that must be courted by foreigners, tourists and investors?' He further asked 'have we not allowed the foreign media to dictate the tune and tenor of what our image and perception should be within the international community? Ozekhome (2009:3-4) noted that:

> *'At the moment, Nigeria's minister of information, Prof. Dora Akunyili's first step at starting a new re-branding of Nigeria's image has been to heap all the blame for Nigeria's bad image on the Nigerian media for always playing up the negative without telling the world the positive achievements.' (Ozekhome, 2009:4)*

Consequently, Nigeria's mass media has been blamed by Nigerians and the Nigerian government for not doing enough to counter the negative

portrayal of Nigeria in the global media. In this regards, Ozekhome declared that the 'Nigerian media play a critical role in creating an image for Nigeria'. He noted that Nigerian mass media 'is usually the first source of information that the foreign media obtains and uses'. He added that given the powerful setting of the foreign media, negative stories and views about Nigeria usually become powerfully loud (Ozekhome, 2009).

Explaining the causes of Nigeria's battered image, Ozekhome points out that it 'is a direct product of the negative activities of the leadership of the nation'. He argues that 'it is not the Nigerian media that launders money, milks the country blind and buys choice property in other global capitals of the world'. Ozekhome (2009) further argues that 'it is not the Nigerian media that exposes money laundering by Nigerians buying properties in Dubai, London, South Africa, US and Paris with stolen and ill-gotten wealth.' Ozekhome (2009:5) thus blames the 'the top Nigerian government officials, ministers, governors, civil servants and former heads of state' for being responsible for the Nigeria battered image which persistently portrays Nigeria as a 'corrupt nation where nothing thrives better than sleaze, bribery and corruption'.

5.4.1.3 Nigerian diplomats

As for the Nigerian diplomats and missions abroad, the optimists suggested that they should inform the world by giving correct information about Nigeria and also by telling the global media gatekeepers where to

get reliable news about Nigeria. They should also engage in a more proactive Nigeria diplomacy.

> *'Nigerian Diplomats should strengthen their media houses. Satellite II for Communication (under Fed. Min. of Science & Tech) should be launched to enhance communication image. Nigerian Journalists to counter this western propaganda.'*
> **(Author's survey: age 46-55, male, student)**

In addition to this , it could be argued that Nigerian diplomats need to do the following to promote the Nigerian image abroad: organise a programme aimed at promoting the good side of Nigeria such as establishing art galleries and museums; carry out exhibitions of Nigeria's cultural artefacts in their host countries; engage in programmes that would showcase and promote Nigeria's cultural heritage in the foreign media; organise workshops and seminars wherein people can be well informed about Nigerian tourist attractions, business, work and study opportunities and organise programmes where Nigerian goods and services would be advertised. This will not only help to export and project Nigeria's culture abroad but will also promote Nigeria's cultural diplomacy and comparative advantage.

More importantly, Nigeria's diplomats should always monitor Nigerian news in the media of their host country to see how Nigeria has been represented. They should also be ready to address the foreign media when they notice any sort of misrepresentation and imbalanced coverage of Nigerian news in the media of their host countries. Furthermore, Nigerian diplomats in every nation should regularly organise annual meetings of Nigerians aboard and decide how to promote Nigeria's image

abroad as well as making a significant contribution to both their host and parent country.

5.4.1.4. The global media:

Regarding the global media, the optimistic view suggested that they should engage in objective reporting and avoid reporting anything that would be offensive to the minority group as stated in social responsibility theory (McQuail, 1987:117). The global media should give liable, accurate and fair coverage of news from all around the globe (McQuail, 1987:117). They should respect the cultural values of developing countries such as Nigeria. The global media should be inclusive and made responsible to the global communities and not be used to promote the interests of the multinational corporations and their stockholders. They should also understand that "under condition of private ownership, the media professional is not only responsible to consumer and shareholder, but also to society at large" (McQuail, 1987:116). McQuail stressed that the global media is a sort of "public stewardship, not a private franchise…" (1987:116). The global media should also promote global equality through fair representation and equal participation. In this regard, a respondent has stated:

> *'The global media should do more reportage about the wonderful things that take place in Nigeria. We are not that bad. We have lots of positive potentials which, if seen in a good light and given its right of place, will make us great in the comity of nations. They should also see the impacts Nigeria has in Africa and other developing nations of the world. They should stop to paint Africa as a nation of wars, crime, poverty and negativity.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, male, professional***

5.4.2   The pessimist view

The pessimist view is represented by those who argued that the global news media industries have had little or no positive effects on Nigeria and other Third World countries. They believed that the global media has been more advantageous to the developed world than to the underdeveloped (Mohammadi, 1997:44).   Their view supports neo-Marxist theory, dependency theory and imperialism theory. In their neo- Marxist thinking they believe that the globalisation of the media is a new form of western capitalism wherein the global capitalist economy controlled by the wealthy capitalist states uses communication technology to impoverish the developing nations and undermine their autonomy in political, socio-economic and cultural matters. The pessimistic view argues that multinational corporations (MNCs) are 'agents of exploitation and neoimperialism' (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2007:375). This view also expressed concern over the loss of Nigeria's cultural identity which they think was the aftermath of both colonisation and globalisation. Examples of responses of respondents with the pessimistic view include the following:

> *'Frankly, I don't think anything can be done as long as Nigerian remains dependent in any way on the Western World. An adage in my place says, he who holds [sic] the piper dictates the tune.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, profession)***

Another supported:

> *'I don't really think anything can be done, except that Nigerians should learn to be original and proud of their products generally.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 18-25, female, self employed)***

Another suggested:

> *'Either the term global media is wiped out if they refuse to be factual and sincere in their coverage.'*
> ***(Author's survey: age 26-35, female, professional).***

The pessimistic view also thinks that the globalisation of the media has not helped to solve the problems of global inequalities. Instead, it has only reinforced the usual inequalities between the North and South as the gap continues to grow. This view is supported by 'Dependency' theory, which according to Jackson and Sorensen (2007:50) 'is a core concept for neo-Marxist'.[70] Jackson and Sorensen (2007:50) affirmed that the Neo-Marists 'claim that countries in the Third World are not poor because they are inherently backward or underdeveloped. Rather, it is because they have been actively underdeveloped by the rich countries of the First World'. The pessimistic view in this study believes that nothing can be done about the negative influence of the global media on Nigeria and other developing nations so long as Nigeria and other Third World nations continue to depend on the developed world as propounded in dependency theory. They think that as long as the global media is being controlled and owned by few wealthy multinational corporations from the West, they will continue to represent and promote the ideology and interest of their stockholders and the countries they originated from. A more radical view in this group, however, suggested that the idea of media globalisation should be wiped out if they continue to fail to give accurate reports about the developing nations.

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[70] 'Neo-Marxism is an attempt to analyze the situation of the Third World by applying the tools of analysis first developed by Karl Marx'... which 'argued that the bourgeoisie or capitalist class used its economic power to exploit and oppress the proletariat, or working class. Neo-Marxists extend that analysis to the Third world by arguing that the global capitalist economy controlled by the wealthy capitalist states is used to impoverish the world's poor countries' (Jackson and Sorensen, 2007:50).

5.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the effects of the global media and the debates and consensus about media effects. In particular it has examined socio-cultural, economic, psychological, and political effects of the global media on Nigeria. It has also examined the occurrences of the CNN effect in Nigeria, and argued that the emotional reactions and responses by Nigerians and the Nigerian government following the US air strike on Afghanistan and Abdulmutallab's failed bomb attempt, could be described as the CNN effect or its extension. In examining the global media effects, some research questions which this study investigates were addressed using the empirical data and other information gathered in this study, and were supported by some of the theoretical frameworks of this study.

Ways of addressing the influence of the global news media on Nigeria and other developing nations were also examined. Two viewpoints were observed in this respect – the optimist and the pessimist. The optimistic view to some extent agrees with the liberal theoretical perspective as it recognises the benefits of media globalisation and interdependence and thinks that its negative influence can be addressed with the cooperation of the Nigerian government, the Nigerian mass media, Nigerian diplomats and the global media. On the other hand, the pessimistic view to some extent supports neo-Marxist theoretical perspectives which include dependency theory and imperialism theory. They believe that the globalisation of the media has had little or no positive effects on Nigeria. Rather, it has increased the economic gap between the North and the South. They therefore think that the globalisation of the media is a new

form of capitalism through communication technology. For them, there is no solution to this problem as long as Third World countries continue to depend on the developed world which invariably control and dominate the global flow of information.

The findings in this chapter suggest that the effects of the global media on Nigeria are of crucial and growing concern to a majority of Nigerians and the Nigerian government. Nevertheless, just as the concept of globalisation attracts opposing viewpoints (as seen in Chapter Two), so do the effects of media globalisation. While the cost of media globalisation to Nigeria cannot be ignored, its benefits cannot be denied. However, as its effects on Nigeria become increasingly apparent, it reinforces anxieties and the perceptions about media globalisation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1   Conclusions

Finally, to conclude this thesis, it is crucial to revisit the initial research questions as outlined in Chapter One. It is important to note that the influence of the global media on Nigeria and their unprecedented impact are of crucial and growing concerns. The way Nigeria is being perceived in the global news has been widely criticised by a majority of Nigerians. Fighting against corruption, promoting Nigerian culture and products, rebranding and rebuilding the international image of Nigeria were the central concern of the Nigerian government. Crucial to this study is also the understanding of the growing role and power of the global media in influencing and shaping perceptions, culture, power, behaviour, identity and image. The conclusion here is that the global media have not only played a pivotal role in the way Nigerians see themselves and the world around them, but have also influenced the way the world sees and relates with Nigerians.

Basically, two research techniques have been used in this research: the quantitative and the qualitative approach. Integrating both approaches into this study was beneficial as information which was not gathered through the quantitative approach was elicited through the qualitative approach. Data used in this study were collected from primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected using a purposive sample of

students, lecturers, media professionals, researchers, audiences (in Nigeria, the UK and the US) and professionals from different walks of life as respondents. An on-line questionnaire survey was used for data collection. The quantitative replies of the respondents were processed and analysed using descriptive statistical tools, which involved the use of simple percentage and frequency distributions tables. Some of the results were represented in bar, column and pie charts for clarity and precision. The qualitative replies from the questionnaire were analysed using an interpretative approach. Dominant views were filtered, categorised, and represented in diagrams showing relationship of views. Other primary sources include interviews (structured and unstructured), direct observation, official reports and documents from the World Bank and the Nigerian government. Data from these sources were also analysed using an interpretative approach. The secondary data were collected from various publications including texts, empirical works, newspapers, journals, periodicals, television broadcasts and reliable websites to support the findings. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis were used in informing the research questions, which form the setting of this work and were guided by the theoretical framework of this research. All the research questions and theories underlying this work were relevant as conceptualised at the start of this work.

a) <u>Research Question One (RQ1).</u>

Research question one (**RQ1**) asked what sorts of global news flows into and out of Nigeria and to what degree. The assumption behind this question was that there are inequalities in the quality and quantity of global news flow between the core countries (developed nations) and peripheral countries (the developing nations). The result of the analysis in this study indicated that a majority of Nigerians think that positive news (especially from the UK and the US) often flows into Nigeria such as news of technological advancement, economic and financial growth, celebrities and style industries; achievements in sports, education, health, politics, security, the environment and the fight against terrorism. They also think that negative news from the West sometimes flows into Nigeria but not very often, such as natural disasters, Anti-social behaviour, wars, killings and gun crimes. They have described such news as balanced, mixed, robust, positive, constructive, peaceful and more detailed. However, they think that they hear little of the negative stories about the western world compared to the positive news that flows into Nigeria. On the other hand, they think that negative news often flows out of Nigeria through the global media to the world, such as news about corruption, crises and crimes (e.g. Internet scams). They have described such news as unbalanced, sad, bad, depressing, repressive, exaggerated, uncertain, horrible, disgusting, lopsided, untrue and discriminating. They think that Nigeria hardly features in global news, and then only in negative terms. Consequently, this study has argued that the differences between the perceptions of the type of news that flows into and out of Nigeria would have influenced most

Nigerians in this study to have a high view about the West and a low view about themselves. It could be argued that liberalisation, unrestricted cross-border flows and advanced communication technologies have facilitated the extensive penetration of the global media into the developing nations. A majority of Nigerians in this study also think that western media products flood the Nigerian market to the disadvantage of Nigerian products. Consequently, the Nigerian government has banned the importation of some foreign products such as tea, coffee, biscuits, fruit juices, water and soft drinks (Daily Champion, 2009). This thesis has argued that the consumption of western media products coupled with the flow of positive news from the West would seem to have influenced Nigerians in general to have an idealist impression about the West. The perceived impact of positive news from the West on Nigeria includes high migration, loss of highly skilled workers (brain drain), loss of cultural identity and loss of confidence. For example, the UK Border Agency immigration statistics for 2006-2007 and 2008-2009 showed that Nigeria was one of the top ten nationalities demanding UK visas. These perceived impacts are discussed in Chapter Four. The discrepancies in the quality and quantity of global news flow between the developed and the developing nations has been regarded as neo-colonisation and imperialism through communication technology propelled by the globalisation of the media. From an IR perspective, it has been argued that the structure of international news flow is unequal. Some of the arguments in globalisation theory have affirmed that the advancement of modern communication technology and the increased communication flow are the thrusts of globalisation, and that

globalisation has reinforced traditional inequalities in the world system. The developing nations for a long time have expressed concern about the unequal global news flow, and consequently, they have called for a New World Information Order (NWIO). Even so, the debate on NWIO has hardly arisen at UNESCO meetings since the past decade; the result in this study would seem to suggest that the resentments about the inequality in international news flow have not significantly changed today. In assessing **RQ1**, results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis carried out in Chapter Four would seem to support the argument of media imperialism theory which propose an unbalanced flow of news between the developed and the developing nations.

b)   Research Question Two (RQ2**).**

Research question two (**RQ2**) asked which areas are ignored or highlighted in global news media on issues relating to Nigeria and to what extent are they told from the western perspective. The assumption underlying this question was that the media of the developed nations (especially western media conglomerates) concentrate on negative reports from developing nations, ignoring positive reports. Results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis carried out in Chapter Four indicated that a majority of Nigerians think the global media concentrates more on negative stories than positive ones in their coverage of Nigeria. Correspondingly, a majority of respondents from the West (UK and US) apparently believe that Nigeria is corrupt, poor, unsafe, chaotic and undemocratic. This view has been formed as a result of what they read,

watch or hear about Nigeria in the global news. In addition, the content analysis carried out in Chapter Four to underpin this study indicated that in three month's coverage of Nigeria (from 1st June 2009 to 1st September 2009) by *The Times* (London), 78% of the coverage focused on violence, 11 % on crime and 11% on ridicule; there was no reporting on any other events in Nigeria. Consequently, the perceived negative impact of this on Nigeria includes low foreign investments, suspicion, restricted international contact and low tourism. Nevertheless, there is a positive side to this since, the media focus on negative stories such as crimes in Nigeria has helped to direct the attention of the Nigerian government towards reinforcing its campaign against corruption as well as formulating new policies that will help to curb corruption and other related offences in Nigeria. Agenda setting theory suggests that the media may succeed in directing the attention of government on crucial issues and policies. In this light, it is supposed that in response to global media messages, the Nigerian government has established various anti-corruption bureaux such as the Due Process Office, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). Another positive side is the possibility that the global media have greatly helped to create a global awareness of criminal activity in Nigeria with the aim of preventing people from becoming victims of such crimes. However, despite any good intentions to highlight crimes in Nigeria, concentrating on negative reports results in coverage that could be perceived as imperialistic. In assessing the **RQ2**, the quantitative and qualitative results and the content analysis

of *The Times* (London) coverage of Nigeria over a period of three months would seem to agree with the proposal raised in the media imperialism theory, which explain that developing nations have long believed that the western media concentrate only on negative reports of events in their countries (Watson and Hill, 2003:173). Arguably, the concept that 'bad news is good news' (Venables, 2005:2-5; Soola, 2007:3) may perhaps be the reason why the media tend to focus on negative stories coming out of Nigeria. If that is the case, the implication is that negative stories about Nigeria will probably continue to dominate, since these are the stories that attract the media. However, social responsibility theory suggests that the media should avoid anything that might give offence to a minority group or race. Striking the right balance between the coverage of positive and negative news in Nigeria becomes a challenge to both the global media and the Nigerian mass media. Restricting global media coverage of Nigeria may imply that a skeleton is hidden in the cupboard. Hence, the Nigerian government faces the enormous challenge of fighting against corruption and crime, establishing a transparent and stable government, and maintaining peace and stability in Nigeria. If it does not succeed, there will be more negative news.

c)   Research Question Three (RQ3).

Research question three (**RQ3**) asked how Nigeria is represented in the global news media. The assumption behind this question (which is also closely related to **RQ2**) is that developed countries are better represented in the global news than the Third World/developing countries.   The

qualitative and quantitative results in chapter four showed that 80.4% (N=201) of Nigerians believed that Nigeria is misrepresented in global news. The Nigerian government, apparently worried about the bad image problem of Nigeria, has launched the Heart of Africa Project aimed at rebranding Nigeria and tackling those things that give it a bad name such as 419 (see page 280), corruption, kidnapping and human trafficking (Nweke, 2006). This study has argued that the negative representation of Nigeria in the global news would most likely affect the way Nigeria is being perceived internationally. This is based on the supposition that news contains the image and identity of a nation, and that nations are frequently being branded by the media. Results from the analysis in Chapter Four suggested that there are growing feelings amongst Nigerians that Nigeria has a poor international reputation which is affecting its development and international relations. One of the causes of Nigeria's image problem has been connected to the global media representation of Nigeria in the news. Social responsibility theory as summarised by McQuail (1987:117-118) stipulates that the media have an obligation to be balanced, accurate and objective in their reporting. It also suggests that the media ought to be pluralist, inclusive and should reflect diversity. Social responsibility theory combines the freedom of the press with their obligations to society. Anti-globalisation campaigners however, believe that global media coverage (e.g. the CNN footage) is often very flawed as it narrows the range of discourse, and does not offer a clear analysis of what is really going on. Today's journalists have also been blamed for lazy journalism and for not going out and really engaging with people (Undercurrents, 2002). In

assessing **RQ3**, concerning the perceptions of a majority of Nigerians: the quantitative and the content analysis results in Chapter Four would seem to support the argument presented by media imperialism theory, which states that international news flow is generally pessimistic in its view of the developing nations, and likely to represent them as unsteady, autocratic and prone to catastrophe (Galtung and Ruge, 1965 cited in McQuail and Windahl 1993:219).

d)   Research Question Four (RQ4).

Research question four (**RQ4**) asked whether the Nigerian news media depend on the global news media for local and international news coverage, as suggested by media imperialism and dependency theories. The assumption here was that the media reliance of the developing nations upon the media of the developed nations keeps them in a state of dependency. Results, however, suggested that the Nigerian mass media to some extent depend on the foreign media for news coverage, especially international news, due to lack of adequate communication infrastructures, lack of funds, lack of professionalism, and ethnic division within the media. Media imperialism theory affirmed that the introduction of news communication technologies and the wealth of the capitalist economy will increase the power of the western media, making the media of less powerful nations subordinate to the media content of the most powerful nations or companies (Devereux, 2003).This study found that the Nigerian mass media often obtain foreign news by dubbing from the global media channels such as BBC. This study argued that due to the dependency of

the Nigerian mass media on foreign media for international news, the Nigerian mass media lack both the power and resources to challenge the way the country is represented in the global news. This study further argued that since power is exercised through communication, unequal communication flow implies unequal power relationships; while the developed world has the resources and wealth to influence Nigeria through communication, Nigeria lacks the means to resist such influence. It has been argued that asymmetries of power, wealth and status in the world system keep the developing nations in a state of dependency. By relating communication to power, this study argued that unequal communication flow would most likely affect the way in which Nigeria is perceived on the global stage and would also influence the ability of Nigerians to effectively voice their opinions on international matters. Mowlana's (1997:45) model of global news flows (as seen in Chapter Two) has been referred to as the 'centre-periphery model' where information, news and entertainment are seen to flow from the West to 'the rest' (poorer, developing countries) who are incapable of resisting this domination because of power and resource inequalities (Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004:243). In addition to this, Chang... illustration about the determinants of international flow and hyperlinks of foreign news (as also seen in Chapter Two), shows that 'core countries are more likely to be connected through incoming hyperlinks on the Internet than semi-peripheral and peripheral nations'(Chang et al., 2009:141). In assessing the **RQ4**, results from the qualitative analysis in Chapter Four would seem to suggest that Nigeria does not completely depend on the global media

for local news coverage but it does depend on the global media for international news due to its own limited resources.   The implication of Nigerian media dependency on western media for foreign news, suggests that it would be very difficult for the Nigerian media to challenge the portrayal of Nigeria in globally distributed messages.

e)   Research Question Five (RQ5).

Research question five (**RQ5**) asked what sorts of forces within and outside Nigeria are responsible for the selection and packaging of global media products. The assumption underlying the above question was that the global media are dominated by a few corporations from the West. The quantitative and qualitative results in Chapter Four showed that a majority of Nigerians think that the multinational corporations based in the developed nations and the senior gatekeepers of the global media giants are responsible for the production, packaging and distribution of the global news through the mainstream media. This study identified that the seven global media giants include: AOL Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, New Corporation Bertelsmann, Viendi and Sony. The global media conglomerates have been identified as powerful corporations in the world which shape the public opinion and as such they help to set the global agenda. Agenda setting theory looks at the power of the press to set the public agenda, telling people not what to think, but what to think about. Agenda-setting theory describes the connection between the speed at which the media cover a story and the degree to which people think the

story is important. Even though agenda setting theory is developed to explain the role of the media within a country, it could equally be adapted to the global context to describe the power and growing roles of the global media in global agenda setting (e.g. the CNN effect). From an International Relations (IR) perspective, the liberal interdependence thinkers believe that the main features of media globalisation include the appearance of multinational communication firms as major actors in the global structure of communication and information distribution (Thompson, 1995:159-160). This study argued that since the global media are controlled and dominated by the multinational corporations, it follows that they would be likely to promote and represent the interests, ideology, views, values and principles of their owners. Cultural imperialism theory suggests that western culture and values are being transmitted abroad through the global media, which has resulted in cultural homogeneity.

One of the arguments surrounding globalisation theory from an IR point of view was that globalisation has increased the power of multinational corporations (MNCs) and weakened the power of the state. MNCs have emerged as political actors and have the ability to influence global and domestic policies (Willetts, 2008:334). However, the appearance of MNCs as major players in the structure of global communication has been widely perceived as exploitative and manipulative, especially in the developing nations. Globalisation activists have argued that as corporations take a tighter control of the mass media, some journalists are concerned that business interest will affect their ability to report in an unbiased way

(Undercurrents, 2002).This study found that the operations of multinational companies in Nigeria (such as Shell) has been criticised by some Nigerians, anti-globalisation campaigners, institutions and NGOs (such as Amnesty International and Oxfam). Consequently, MNCs have shared the blame for corruption, poverty, environmental damage and oil crises in Nigeria (especially in the Niger-Delta region). In assessing **RQ5**, the quantitative results in Chapter Five and the qualitative data collected in this study would seem to suggest that the criticism and negative perceptions about the influence and operations of multinational corporations in Nigeria support the arguments raised in media imperialism theory. This theory asserts that, as new technologies are introduced and multinational media conglomerates grow larger and become more powerful, they will dominate and suppress the small local media (Devereux, 2003).

f)   Research Question Six (RQ6).

Research question six (**RQ6**) asked to what extent has the impact of the global news media in Nigeria has affected its development and international relations. The assumption underlying the above question was that media globalisation has had an impact on national development and diplomacy. Results of the quantitative analysis carried out in this study showed that a majority of Nigerians think that the global media is adversely affecting Nigeria's development and international relations. Effective or progressive national development has also been connected to having a positive national image and adequate information flow. It has

been argued that a positive national image promotes development and that through strong brands a country can become a major player in the world economy. Additionally, information is perceived as a veritable tool to aid or encourage national economic development and active international economic relations. This research argued that limited access to information may continue to hinder many Nigerians from obtaining news, knowledge, contacts, training and skills required for national development and economic growth. For instance, only 7% of Nigerians have access to the Internet (Internet World statistics, 2009). Since information is "power", limited access to information may continue to undermine the autonomy of Nigeria in economic and political and social matters. Conversely, perpetrators in Nigeria have notoriously turned Internet access into a tool for fraudulent activities such as Advance Fee Fraud (also known as 419 or scam), which has given Nigeria one of its most dishonouring international brand names. This research argued that Nigeria's foreign relations, though focused mainly on Africa, ought to have reached beyond that in the globalised world since communication between governments no longer depends on the skills of professional diplomats (Saddiki, 2006:93, Feist 2001:175,). The information published by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2008a) and the US Department of State (2008) suggests that Nigeria's bilateral relations with the UK and the US have improved significantly (see Chapter Five). Nevertheless, the survey results in this study suggest that there is some element of scepticism regarding Nigerian relations with the West. This study also argued that   the growing rate of kidnap of foreign oil workers and advance fee fraud, often focussed by the

global media, has apparently hampered Nigerian's international contacts. In addition, this study argued that the emotional reactions and responses following the US air strike on Afghanistan, which sparked off clashes between Muslims and Christians in the northern part of Nigeria, could arguably be regarded as an occurrence of CNN effect or its extension. It further argued that the inclusion of Nigeria on the US "countries of interest" list following Abdulmutallab's failed bomb attempt on the 25th December 2009, and the protest of the Nigerian government against the inclusion (Agba and Nyam, 2010), could also be attributed to CNN effect (see Chapter Five). In light of this, this thesis argued that the supposed CNN effect in Nigeria has probably caused further bias, stress, suspicion and restrictions between Nigeria and other countries (especially western countries) to the general detriment of their relationships.

In general, the psychological effects of the global media on Nigeria observed in this research include feelings of anxiety, fear, deprivation, anger, defence, despair, isolation, inferiority complex and loss of confidence. The economic effects observed include a feeling of exploitation and marginalisation, especially in the Nigerian oil sector. The political effects observed include a feeling of diminished political sovereignty, criticism from other countries, of propaganda being used against Nigeria's interest and mistrust of political leaders. The socio-cultural effects observed include image problems, a feeling of loss of cultural identity and an increase in anti-social behaviour. These effects were examined in Chapter Five of this thesis. In assessing **RQ6**, the

results of this study would seem to suggest that the global media have had a perceived impact on Nigeria's overall development and international relations.

However, it is important to note that the impact of the global news media on Nigeria in this study is perceived to be to some extent beneficial as well as harmful although, the negative effects are believed to be far greater than any benefits. The survey result showed that 49.2% (N=123) of the Nigerian respondents believed that the global media have made both a positive and a negative impact on Nigeria; 41.2% (N=103) believed that the global media have made a negative impact; 5.2% (N=13) believed that the global media have made a positive impact; while 4.4 % (N=11) were not sure.

This research acknowledges the debates and general consensus about media effects and has maintained that the era of media globalisation is characterised by a powerful force and irresistible penetration of the media, which is reshaping developing nations and global communities. News is now reported round the clock (24/7) with constant repetition and much emphasis. Media globalisation has transformed the media landscape, roles and operations, and consequently it exerts enormous influence on the audiences at different levels of analysis.

Research questions seven (**RQ7**) asked what measures need to be taken to address the influence of global news media on the developing nations. The assumption underlying this question was that the ongoing debate on globalisation (see Chapter Two) has opened a new discussion about how the impact of globalisation on developing nations should be addressed. Here, two view points were observed: the optimistic and the pessimistic. The optimistic view appreciates the idea of media globalisation and sees it as a good thing which Nigeria and every country must embrace and benefit from. The optimistic view in this study spreads across all the occupation distributions; however, the view is more dominant among professionals and students. The optimistic view in this study is similar to the view of the liberal theoretical perspective. The liberal perspective thinks that interdependence, cross-border flows, free market, globalisation and/or transnationalisation will make a better world by encouraging cooperation and promoting international peace and unity. This group thinks that the advancement of new communication technology will improve the condition of Nigeria. However, despite their somewhat romantic views about media globalisation, the optimists still have concerns and fears about its negative effects on Nigeria. They suggest the cooperation between the Nigerian government, the Nigerian mass media, Nigerian diplomats/missions abroad, and the global media in providing solutions to the unequal flow of global news and its negative effects on Nigeria and other Third World countries

The pessimistic view, on the other hand, believes that the global media has made little or no positive contribution in Nigeria. Those with this view are fewer in number compared with those with the positive view. The pessimistic view in this study, just like the optimistic view, spreads across all age and occupation distributions. Their view supports neo-Marxist theory, dependency theory and imperialism theory. The neo-Marxist theory is an extension of Marxist theory which holds that the riches of capitalist economy are used to impoverish the poor countries of the world (Jackson and Sorensen, 2007:50). Dependency theory suggests that the world system was designed in such a manner that core countries are made powerful and rich while periphery countries remain poor, weak and dependent on the core for protection, investment and knowledge (Stevenson, 1994:309). It suggests that the poor countries are poor because the rich countries are rich. Media imperialism involves the global imposition of western media products on to what is perceived to be the weak and susceptible culture of the developing nations who due to inequalities, lack the power and resources to resist the domination (Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004:243). The pessimistic view in this study perceives media globalisation as neo-colonialisation. They argue that the system of uneven global news flow will continue to aggravate as long as Nigeria continues to depend on the developed world which owns and controls the flow of information. They believe that an unbalanced flow and negative coverage of Nigeria will most likely perpetuate underdevelopment and keep Nigeria in a state of dependency.

Media theories such as free press theory, agenda-setting theory, social responsibility theory, and media/cultural imperialism theory have informed this study of the growing roles, power, operations, obligations and the influential ability of the media corporations in a globalised world. At the same time, political theories such as globalisation theory, liberal interdependency / integration theory and dependency theory have informed this study of how the ongoing development of a global system of interdependence and integration has been facilitated by the rise in media corporations and communication technologies. This in turn has resulted in too many inequalities of power, wealth, and status in the world system. It has been observed that increased communication flow and transnationalisation of communication are the thrusts of globalisation, which has changed the face of international relations both in practice and as a field of study. The combination of media theories and political theories in this study is crucial due to its inter-disciplinary nature. The theories have thus served as a guide and support used in assessing the research questions and the underlying assumptions which this study has investigated.

Having revisited the research questions which form the setting of the study, the key findings emerging from this investigation suggest the following:

1. The global media have exerted profound influence on Nigeria, and the impacts of the global media on Nigeria are profound and are of crucial and increasing concern to Nigerians and to the Nigeria government.

2. Analysis of this study shows that a majority of Nigerians think that negative news flows out of Nigeria to the West and to the rest of the world more often than positive news, and that there is an imbalance in the coverage of Nigeria in the global news. In contrast, they think that more positive and balanced news about the West usually flows in to Nigeria, even though there is an element of scepticism about such news.

3. A majority of respondents from the West think they hear more negative stories about Nigeria than positive ones in the media. What they hear, read and watch about Nigeria suggest that Nigeria is corrupt, chaotic, poor and unsafe.

4. A three-month content analysis on the coverage of Nigeria in the headlines (from 1ˢᵗ June 2009 to 1ˢᵗ September 2009) by *The Times* (London), showed that 78% of the stories focused on violence, 11% on fraud, 11% on ridicule, and there was no reporting on any other event.

5. A majority of Nigerians and the Nigerian government believe that Nigeria currently has a bad international image due to its frequent misrepresentation in the global news.

6. The discrepancy between the quality and quantity of global news that flows into and out of Nigeria is the consequence of unequal power relations between Nigeria and the developed nations.

7. The global media concentrate on the negative stories ignoring the positive achievements of Nigeria. Such concentration has been perceived as being at the same time both harmful and beneficial.

    a. It has been blamed for contributing to Nigeria's poor international reputation. The image problem which Nigeria currently faces is hampering and undermining its general development, international relations, national identity and autonomy, integration and recognition in the global marketplace.

    b. On the other hand, the focus on negative stories in Nigeria has helped the Nigerian government to vigorously launch a serious campaign against corruption and related offences in Nigeria, and has also prompted the launching of the 'Heart of Africa' project by the Nigerian government, designed to rebrand and rebuild the image of Nigeria. The coverage of negative stories has also helped in creating global awareness of criminal activities in Nigeria.

8. The proliferation of gun crimes, advance fee fraud, kidnapping, corruption, oil fights and religious crises in Nigeria are some of the reasons why negative news about Nigeria dominates the global news. Furthermore, it has been seen that negative stories feed the media

(Soola, 2008: 3; Venables, 2005:2-5), presenting an unfavourable, biased view of Nigeria to the rest of the world.

9. The global news media through their 24/7 reporting extensive and deep penetration, play a central role in the way Nigeria sees the world and the way the world sees Nigeria.

10. The Nigerian mass media depend on the western media for international news coverage. Due to lack of funds, infrastructure and professionalism, international news is often sourced from global news media such as the BBC, and then reproduced and made available to audiences in Nigeria.

11. The multinational corporations and the senior gatekeepers of the global media giants are responsible for the production and distribution of global news that flows into and out of Nigeria.

12. The effects and implications of the global news media on Nigeria are psychological, cultural, political, economic and sociological. These effects have had a noticeable impact on the views, values, feelings, character, reactions, tastes and behaviour of people in Nigeria. They are also perceptible on economic, information and technological level.

13. There are occurrences of the CNN effect or its extension in Nigeria. This research argued that the emotional responses and reactions evoked by the CNN effect could not only be expressed in the form of intervention but also in the form of protest, defence, support,

confrontation and clashes. The occurrences of the CNN effect in Nigeria has been examined in the light of the aftermath of the Christmas Day failed bomb attempt by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab and the religious clashes in the northern region of Nigeria triggered by the US air strike on Afghanistan.

14. Though Nigeria's bilateral relations with the West are said to have improved considerably, bias, doubt, fear, restrictions, propaganda and stereotypes still exist.

15. Addressing the influence of the global news media on Nigeria and other developing nations has raised two viewpoints - the optimist and the pessimist.

    a. The optimist view advocates the cooperation of the Nigerian government, the Nigerian mass media, Nigerian diplomats and the global media.

    b. The pessimist view thinks that nothing can be done to address the influence of the global media as long as Nigeria and other developing countries continue to depend on the developed world who own and control the flow of global news.

It is pertinent to point out that this thesis provides information on peoples' perceptions of the impact of the news media, which suggest the power of the press to influence and shape public views as assumed in agenda setting theory. 'We are the most conditioned, programmed beings the

world has ever known' O'Shea (2007) declares. 'Not only are our thoughts and attitudes continually being shaped and moulded; our very awareness of the whole design seems like it is being subtly and inexorably erased' (O'Shea, 2007). It is believed that: 'The media greatly influences not only what we think, but also how we act' (UNESCO, 2009). There is evidence in this study to suggest that the perceived impact of the global news media on Nigeria has contributed to the shaping or influencing of the perception of Nigerians. Many factors shape and sometimes have distorting effects on perception. Robbins (1998: 64) observes that past experience and expectations can also shape perception. Perhaps, the past experience of colonisation and its aftermath perhaps still leaves fears and lasting memories in the psyche of Nigerians. The overall conclusion is that the perception of Nigeria, with regards to the impact of the global news media is increasingly negative. 'While negative public perceptions hinder integration, positive attitudes can contribute to a successful integration process reversing the downward spiral of stigmatisation and marginalisation' (Canoy et al., 2006:20). The perception of Nigerians is crucial because people tend to act on their perceptions or what they believe to be true. It also has important implications for policy makers. In addition to this, knowing what people of other nations think about Nigeria as a result of global media impact is crucial in order to understand the way Nigerians are being treated, as well as being crucial to understanding the relationship between Nigeria with the outside world.

6.2   Further Research:

This research has focused on the impact of media globalisation on Nigeria. However, this research has not exhausted all the impacts of the global media on Nigeria. Nonetheless, crucial issues emerging from this research have opened additional room for further investigation to be carried out to substantiate the findings.   In this regard, it is important that further research continues to ask questions such as:

1.   To what extent are global media truly global?

2.   What are the contributions of the global media to the promotion of world peace and unity?

3.   To what extent do the global media influence the global audience and represent global interests?

4.   What is the next stage in media globalisation?

5.   Is media globalisation associated with neo-colonialism?

6.3   End Note

The global media are believed to be the best instrument for the purpose of stimulating global and transnational economic development and international relations. However, the benefits of media globalisation are unevenly shared and its costs are unevenly distributed. Nigeria and other developing nations face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. This study therefore recommends that the Nigerian government should launch a Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) as seen in South Africa and India to increase the range of community media in the country. This process of strengthening both the local and the global

media has been described as "glocalisation" (Wasserman and Rao, 2008: 166).   This will help to reaffirm Nigerian cultural identity and image. Nigeria needs to brace up to this challenge in order to move forward in terms of development.

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APPENDIX A

My name is Joy Oluoma Ezeji Mbagwu. I am currently carrying out a research on the impact of the global news media on Nigeria at Staffordshire University, United Kingdom. The research is an independent piece of project.

Your assistance in completing this online questionnaire will be invaluable. All responses will be treated in strict confidence.

The process of completing it is very simple and should not take more than five minutes.

To complete the questionnaire click on this link below:
http://FreeOnlineSurveys.com/rendersurvey.asp?sid=ef4svnr463sa40x349397

Click on **Submit** when ready to send. Once you submit your questionnaire, it will immediately be received.

Thank you very much for your help.

Joy Oluoma Ezeji Mbagwu

Ph.D. Research student

Faculty of Arts, Media & Design

Staffordshire University

Staffordshire, United Kingdom, ST4 2XW

Questionnaire Survey of the Impacts of the Global News Media on Nigeria.

STAFFORDSHIRE UNIVERSITY

This questionnaire is designed for a research aimed at determining the impacts of the Global News Media on Nigeria. It has three sections: Sections 1, 2 and 3.
□ Section 1 is to be completed by all respondents. *(i.e Questions 1 to 5)*
□ Section 2 is to be completed by respondents from Nigeria only. *(i.e Questions 6 to 31)*
□ Section 3 is to be completed by respondents from UK or America. *(i.e Questions 32 to 42)*
All responses will be treated in strict confidence.

Instruction
Please tick (□) to indicate your response, unless otherwise stated.

SECTION 1 (i.e Questions 1 to 5)
(To be completed by all respondents)

*1) What is your Gender?

○ Male
○ Female

*2) What is your age-range?

○ 18-25   ○ 26-35   ○ 36- 45
○ 46-55   ○ 56+

*3) What is your occupation?

○ Student   ○ Lecturer   ○ Business
○ Professional ○ Self employed   ○ Retired
○ Unemployed   ○ Other (Please Specify): _____

*4) Where do you live?

○ Urban
○ **Rural**

*5) Do you own or have access to a radio or television set?

Please Select

6) Is your nationality Nigerian? **(To be completed by Nigerian National only i.e Questions 6 to 31)**

Please Select ▢

7) Which part of Nigeria do you live?

○ East   ○ West
○ North   ○ South

8) Which of the under-listed media are you directly connected to or have access to?

○ BBC Radio   ○ CNN
○ Internet   ○ None of the above
○ All of the above   ○ Other (Please Specify):

9) If you are connected to or have access to any of these media, (i.e. BBC Radio,
CNN, Internet etc), are you satisfied with the sort(s) of news you hear or read
about Nigeria from their broadcast or publications?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Don't know

10) Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about Nigeria in the
global media and what does it suggests to you? (Please write in)

11) Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about the western
countries (e.g. UK and USA) in the global media and what does it suggests to
you?(Please write in)

12) There are too many western films featuring in Nigeria television channels,
radio stations and in the global media?

- ○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree
- ○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree
- ○ Neutral

13) There is unequal flow of news and information between the west and Nigeria.

- ○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree
- ○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree
- ○ Neutral

14) Do you feel the global media are democratic in terms of Nigerian ownership,
participation and access to the global news media?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't know

15) Nigerian news hardly ever features in the global media, and then only in
negative terms.

- ○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree
- ○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree
- ○ Neutral

16) The global media are not balanced in their coverage of Nigerian News

- ○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree
- ○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree
- ○ Neutral

17) Do you feel the global media promote mainly western culture rather than
cultures in the third world?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

○ Don't know

18) Do you think Nigerian culture is fading away as a result of Western Influence?
through the global media?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

19) Do you think the influence of western films, music and televsion programmes in Nigeria has greatly increased gun crimes, violence, moral decadence and corruption in recent decades?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

20) Nigerian News media rely on the foreign media for local and international news coverage.

○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree

○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree

○ Neutral

21) Do you believe that news about Nigeria is often misinterpreted and over-represented in the global Media?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

22) Do you feel Nigeria is often misrepresented in the global Media?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

23) If YES, do you feel the way Nigeria is being misrepresented in the global media is affecting its international relations with other nations?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

24) The impacts of the global news media on Nigeria is affecting its economy
and overall development.

○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree

○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree

○ Neutral

25) As a Nigerian, do you have any fear of western dominance through the
global media?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

26) Do you think news from the global media sometimes trigger conflicts in Nigeria?
(e.g. religious, economic, socio-cultural and political conflicts)

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

27) In your own assessment how do you rate the impacts of the global media
on Nigeria?

○ Positive   ○ Negative

○ Both   ○ Not sure

28) The global media is greatly dominated by transnational or multinational
cooperation from the west.

○ Disagree   ○ Strongly disagree

○ Agree   ○ Strongly Agree

○ Neutral

29) Do you like the idea of media globalization?

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○ Yes
○ No
○ Don't know

30) Do you feel Nigerian diplomacy with other nations of the globe has not been
satisfactory because of the effects of the global news media?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Don't know

31) What do you suggest could be done to address the influence of the global
media on Nigeria and other developing countries? (Please write in)

32) What is your nationality? (**To be completed by UK or
American National only i.e Questions 32 to 42**)

○ British
○ American

33) Do you listen to international news?

Please Select

34) If you are American, from which of the under-listed global media do
you get information about Nigeria?

○ ABC TV   ○ CNN   ○ CBS
○ NBC   ○ Internet   ○ All of the above
○ None of the above   ○ Other (Please Specify):

35) If you are British, from which of the under-listed global media do you
get Information about Nigeria?

○ ABC TV   ○ CNN   ○ BBC

○ RTL   ○ Internet   ○ All of the above

○ None of the above   ○ Other (Please Specify):

36) How often do you hear about Nigeria from any of the above Global media?

○ Never

○ Seldom

○ Sometimes

○ Always

37) Does the news you hear about Nigeria appeal to you?

○ Never

○ Seldom

○ Sometimes

○ Always

38) Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about Nigeria in the global media and what does it suggests to you? (Please write in)

39) Does the news you often hear about Nigeria affect your perception about Nigerians?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Not Sure

40) Do you think Nigerians are fairly represented in the global media?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Not sure

41) Do you consider Nigerian diplomacy with the west satisfactory?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Not sure

42) In your own assessment how can you describe Nigerians following what you
have read or heard about them from the global news media? (You can tick as
many as possible)

☐ Well behaved   ☐ Crime minded   ☐ Corrupt

☐ Hardworking   ☐ Hostile   ☐ Good people

☐ Friendly

[Submit]

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APPENDIX B

Results for: Questionnaire Survey of the Impacts of the Global News Media on Nigeria.

What is your Gender?

		Percentage	Responses
Male		65.0	195
Female		35.0	105
	Total responses:		300

What is your age-range?

		Percentage	Responses
18-25		16.0	48
26-35		41.3	124
36- 45		23.7	71
46-55		12.0	36
56+		7.0	21
	Total responses:		300

What is your occupation?

		Percentage	Responses
Student		22.3	67
Lecturer		3.7	11
Business		5.7	17
Professional		48.3	145
Self employed		5.0	15
Retired		3.0	9
Unemployed		2.0	6
Other		10.0	30
	Total responses:		300

Where do you live?

		Percentage	Responses
Urban		80.3	241
Rural		19.7	59
	Total responses:		300

Do you own or have access to a radio or television set?

	Percentage	Responses

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		Percentage	Responses
Yes		93.3%	280
No		6.7%	20
	Total responses:		**300**

1) Is your nationality Nigerian? **(To be completed by Nigerian National only i.e Questions 6 to 31)**

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		100.0%	250
No		0.0%	0
	Total responses:		**250**

Which part of Nigeria do you live?

		Percentage	Responses
East		22.0	55
West		40.0	100
North		23.6	59
South		14.4	36
	Total responses:		**250**

Which of the under-listed media are you directly connected to or have access to?

		Percentage	Responses
BBC Radio		4.8	12
CNN		6.0	15
Internet		26.4	66
None of the above		0.8	2
All of the above		56.0	140
Other		6.0	15
	Total responses:		**250**

If you are connected to or have access to any of these media, (i.e. BBC Radio,
CNN, Internet etc), are you satisfied with the sort(s) of news you hear or read
about Nigeria from their broadcast or publications?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		18.4	46
No		68.8	172
Don't know		12.8	32
	Total responses:		**250**

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Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about Nigeria in the
global media and what does it suggests to you? (Please write in)

(The last five responses are given)

- **political, sports and economic news**
- **News of uncertainty, political unrest. And this is sad.**
- **bribery and corruption**
- **Bad**
- **scamming,kidnapping, theft, corruption, poverty**

Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about the western
countries (e.g. UK and USA) in the global media and what does it suggests to
you?(Please write in)

(The last five responses are given)

- **reccession, sports and politics**
- **all about development.they are moving forward**
- **financial growth, economic growth**
- **techology advancement,sound education, good standard of living**
- **Politics, Immigration,Global Issues, Corruption, Violence etc.**

There are too many western films featuring in Nigeria television channels,
radio stations and in the global media?

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree		18.4	46
Strongly disagree		5.2	13
Agree		40.8	102
Strongly Agree		16.8	42
Neutral		18.8	47
	Total responses:		**250**

There is unequal flow of news and information between the west and
Nigeria.

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree		8.0	20
Strongly disagree		4.4	11

		Percentage	Responses
Agree	▬▬	41.2	103
Strongly Agree	▬▬	35.6	89
Neutral	▪	10.8	27
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you feel the global media are democratic in terms of Nigerian ownership,
participation and access to the global news media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	▪	12.0	30
No	▬▬▬	60.8	152
Don't know	▬	27.2	68
	Total responses:		**250**

Nigerian news hardly ever features in the global media, and then only in negative terms.

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree	▪	6.4	16
Strongly disagree	▏	3.2	8
Agree	▬▬	38.8	97
Strongly Agree	▬▬	44.0	110
Neutral	▪	7.6	19
	Total responses:		**250**

The global media are not balanced in their coverage of Nigerian News

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree	▏	4.8	12
Strongly disagree	▏	4.4	11
Agree	▬▬	40.8	102
Strongly Agree	▬▬	40.8	102
Neutral	▪	9.2	23
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you feel the global media promote mainly western culture rather than cultures in the third world?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	▬▬▬▬	81.2	203
No	▪	11.2	28
Don't know	▪	7.6	19
	Total responses:		**250**

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Do you think Nigerian culture is fading away as a result of Western Influence?
through the global media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		74.0	185
No		21.2	53
Don't know		4.8	12
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you think the influence of western films, music and televsion programmes in Nigeria has greatly increased gun crimes, violence, moral decadence and corruption in recent decades?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		80.4	201
No		11.2	28
Don't know		8.4	21
	Total responses:		**250**

Nigerian News media rely on the foreign media for local and international news
coverage.

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree		23.2	58
Strongly disagree		3.6	9
Agree		38.0	95
Strongly Agree		18.4	46
Neutral		16.8	42
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you believe that news about Nigeria is often misinterpreted and over-represented in the global Media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		73.6	184
No		17.6	44
Don't know		8.8	22
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you feel Nigeria is often misrepresented in the global Media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		80.4	201

		Percentage	Responses
No	■	12.8	32
Don't know	▪	6.8	17
	Total responses:		**250**

If YES, do you feel the way Nigeria is being misrepresented in the global media is affecting its international relations with other nations?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	■■■■■	82.0	205
No	▪	8.8	22
Don't know	▪	9.2	23
	Total responses:		**250**

The impacts of the global news media on Nigeria is affecting its economy and overall development.

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree	■	14.0	35
Strongly disagree		4.0	10
Agree	■■■	44.8	112
Strongly Agree	■■	27.6	69
Neutral	■	9.6	24
	Total responses:		**250**

As a Nigerian, do you have any fear of western dominance through the global media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	■■■	46.0	115
No	■■■	45.2	113
Don't know	■	8.8	22
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you think news from the global media sometimes trigger conflicts in Nigeria?
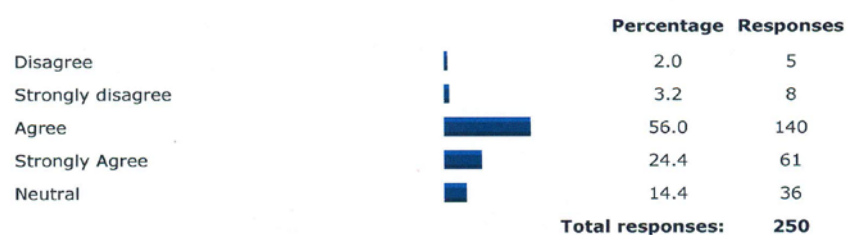(e.g. religious, economic, socio-cultural and political conflicts)

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	■■■■	65.2	163
No	■	19.2	48
Don't know	■	15.6	39
	Total responses:		**250**

In your own assessment how do you rate the impacts of the global media

on Nigeria?

		Percentage	Responses
Positive		5.2	13
Negative		41.2	103
Both		49.2	123
Not sure		4.4	11
	Total responses:		**250**

The global media is greatly dominated by transnational or multinational cooperation from the west.

		Percentage	Responses
Disagree		2.0	5
Strongly disagree		3.2	8
Agree		56.0	140
Strongly Agree		24.4	61
Neutral		14.4	36
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you like the idea of media globalization?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		68.4	171
No		12.8	32
Don't know		18.8	47
	Total responses:		**250**

Do you feel Nigerian diplomacy with other nations of the globe has not been
satisfactory because of the effects of the global news media?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		58.0	145
No		21.6	54
Don't know		20.4	51
	Total responses:		**250**

What do you suggest could be done to address the influence of the global media on Nigeria and other developing countries? (Please write in)

(The last five responses are given)

- **integration and civilization**

- **better repackaging of the media houses**

- **fair reporting and balance coverage of news from Nigeria and the other third**

countries

- **Nigerian Media should step up its efforts towards using media as a powerful tool to make to restore its global image.**

- **Nigeria should get its act together and do something positive for and to its country for it to be taken seriously by the west**

2) What is your nationality? (**To be completed by UK or American National only i.e Questions 32 to 42**)

		Percentage	Responses
British		50.0	25
American		50.0	25
	Total responses:		50

Do you listen to international news?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		90.0%	45
No		10.0%	5
	Total responses:		50

If you are American, from which of the under-listed global media do you get information about Nigeria?

		Percentage	Responses
ABC TV		3.7	1
CNN		7.4	2
CBS		0.0	0
NBC		3.7	1
Internet		11.1	3
All of the above		33.3	9
None of the above		7.4	2
Other		33.3	9
	Total responses:		27

If you are British, from which of the under-listed global media do you get Information about Nigeria?

		Percentage	Responses
ABC TV		0.0	0
CNN		0.0	0
BBC		41.7	10

		Percentage	Responses
RTL	|	0.0	0
Internet	▬	20.8	5
All of the above	|	4.2	1
None of the above	|	0.0	0
Other	▬	33.3	8
		Total responses:	**24**

How often do you hear about Nigeria from any of the above Global media?

		Percentage	Responses
Never	▌	6.0	3
Seldom	▬▬	48.0	24
Sometimes	▬▬	42.0	21
Always	▌	4.0	2
		Total responses:	**50**

Does the news you hear about Nigeria appeal to you?

		Percentage	Responses
Never	▬	14.0	7
Seldom	▬▬	32.0	16
Sometimes	▬▬	44.0	22
Always	▬	10.0	5
		Total responses:	**50**

Can you please describe the sort(s) of news you often hear about Nigeria in the global media and what does it suggests to you? (Please write in)

(The last five responses are given)

- we hear about catastrophes about poor and wars.

- It's an emerging market where the profits are enormous for those who can deal with the corruption and instability.

- corrupion, Niger delta crisis, kidnapping, political unrest

- Violence, and social ills

- The news I hear about Nigeria, it often about crimes, political unrest, kidnapping, religious crisis, and oil crisis. It suggests that Nigeria is marked with crisis, corruption and insecurity

Does the news you often hear about Nigeria affect your perception about Nigerians?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes	▬	34.0	17
No	▬	44.0	22

		Percentage	Responses
Not Sure	▬	22.0	11
	Total responses:		**50**

Do you think Nigerians are fairly represented in the global media?

		Percentage	**Responses**
Yes	▌	4.0	2
No	▬▬	54.0	27
Not sure	▬▬	42.0	21
	Total responses:		**50**

Do you consider Nigerian diplomacy with the west satisfactory?

		Percentage	**Responses**
Yes	▪	8.0	4
No	▬	30.0	15
Not sure	▬▬	62.0	31
	Total responses:		**50**

In your own assessment how can you describe Nigerians following what you
have read or heard about them from the global news media? (You can tick as
many as possible)

		Percentage	**Responses**
Well behaved	▪	5.4	7
Crime minded	▪	11.6	15
Corrupt	▬	17.1	22
Hardworking	▬	17.8	23
Hostile	▪	9.3	12
Good people	▪	13.2	17
Friendly	▪	11.6	15
Other	▪	14.0	18

APPENDIX C

The Interview Schedule

1. **Do you own or have access to a radio set or television set? (refer to Q.5)**
- Do you listen to global news?
- Why?

2. **How do you feel about Nigerian News in the global Media?**
- What sort(s) of news about Nigeria do you often hear in the global news media?
- Which aspects are mostly ignored or highlighted?
- Do you have any concern about it?

3. **Do you think Nigeria is often misrepresented in the global news media**
- Do you think it is a problem? Why?
- What effects?

4. **Which forces within and outside Nigeria do you think determine or are responsible for the selection and packaging of global news that goes out of Nigeria?**
- Why?
- How do these forces operate or influence global media contents?
- Do you have any fear of western imperialism through the global media?

5. **Do you think Nigerian mass media depend on foreign media for news coverage?**
- Why?

6. **Do you believe the influx of western media products in Nigeria in recent decades has increased crime rate and moral decadence?**
- To what extent? Why?

7. **What kinds of impact do you think the global media news media are making on Nigeria?**
- Discuss the positives/negatives
- Does it affect you in any way?
- Any effect on Nigeria socio-cultural, political and economic sectors?
- General effects on Nigerian development

8. **Do you think the global news media have any effects on Nigeria International relations with other nations of the globe?**
- How?
- In your own judgment how can you describe Nigeria diplomatic relation with the west?

9. **Do you feel the global media are democratic in Nigeria ownership, access and participation in the global media?**
- How?

10. **Are you optimistic or pessimistic about media globalization?**
- Why?

11. **Just to end, can you suggest any way(s) to address the influence of global news media on Nigeria and other developing nations?**

The Interview Schedule for Media Professionals

My name is Joy Oluoma Ezeji Mbagwu. I am a research student at Staffordshire University, United Kingdom. I am carrying out a research on the impact of the global news media on Nigeria, and thought it would be a good idea to interview you, as a media professional.

I would like to ask you some questions about Nigerian mass media as well as the global media industries, and would like to know what you think about the impact of the global news media on Nigeria. The interview should take about 10 minutes. Are you available to respond to some questions at this time?

1. **How long have you worked in media industry?**

2. **Which media industries have you worked for?**

3. **Where are you from originally?**

4. **What is your experience working in Nigerian media industry?**

5. **What do you think about the global media industries?**

6. **Do Nigerian news media (e.g. IBC, FRCN) depend on the global news media like CNN or BBC for local and international news coverage?**

7. **If yes, why do they depend on foreign media for news coverage?**

8. **Who decides what should be reported in Nigerian news?**

9. **How do Nigerian media industries get international news, films and programmes? (i.e. from which source)**

10. **What is your view about the way Nigeria is represented in the global media, like CNN or BBC?**

13. **What obstacles do Nigerian mass media often encounter in their coverage of both international and local news?**

14. **What kind of impact do you think the global news media such as CNN is making on Nigeria?**