



MASS MEDIA AND DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN NASARAWA STATE: A STUDY OF NASARAWA BROADCASTING SERVICE (1999-2006)

Osude Bala Osumanyi

Isa Mustapha Agwai I Polytechnic, Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria. Nasarawa State Polytechnic Lafia.

E-mail: osudegiztech@gmail.com; 08036445282

Cite this article:

Osude B.O. (2022), Mass Media and Democratic Stability in Nasarawa State: A Study of Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (1999-2006). African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research 5(2), 65-88. DOI: 10.52589/AJSSHR-LQKR42LZ.

Manuscript History

Received: 28 April 2022

Accepted: 21 May 2022

Published: 5 June 2022

Copyright © 2022 The Author(s).

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0), which permits anyone to share, use, reproduce and redistribute in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

ABSTRACT: *The research investigated the relationship between the mass media and democratic stability in Nasarawa State using Nasarawa Broadcasting Service as a case in point. The research thus examined the impact of the mass media on democratic stability in Nasarawa State. Methodologically, survey research design was adopted where the study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data collections. Under the primary sources of data collection, the study utilized both questionnaires and oral interviews while the secondary sources of data was the review of textbooks, periodicals, internet sources, monographs and other unpublished materials relevant to the study. The study was anchored on social responsibility theory as a framework of analysis. The findings of the study revealed that the role of mass media in the stability of democracy in Nasarawa State has not been as desired arising largely as a result of the constraints to it. It is evident from the study that so many factors and forces have militated against its operations such as inadequate budgeting allocation or poor funding, victimization of journalists, poor remuneration, serious censorship of NBS programme by the government, bias nature of station, inadequate professionals and many others problems. The study therefore on the basis of the above recommends amongst other things required funding that will address the operational challenges of the Nasarawa Broadcasting Service for effective promotion of democracy.*

KEYWORDS: Mass Media, Democracy and Democratic Stability.



INTRODUCTION

The beauty of democracy is the degree of liberty people enjoy in expressing themselves freely whether speaking, writing or publishing. These factors are considered as natural right in any democratic dispensation. Thus, democracy permits the availability of options as well as the freedom of the people to make their choices. There is no doubt that democracy empowers the mass media of communication and conversely, they also in turn help in the stability of democracy. In most democratic societies like USA, Britain and Germany, the media is referred to as the “fourth Estate of the Realm”, thus, considered as important as the executive, legislative and judicial arms of government. It is considered also as society’s watch-dog. (Afinkeleye, 1985). Bello (2002:5) perceives it as an arbiter of taste and fashion, a detector of trends, critical investigator, a guardian and crusader of public interest.

Egbon (2002:19-36) had earlier observed that generally speaking, the role of the media is to educate, inform and entertain the masses; it does so by remaining objective and impartial in a status quo mode. Musa (2003) too buttressed this fact further that the mass media, among other things, plays a vital role in the collection, dissemination and promotion of ideas through social mobilization, enlightening the people on their rights, duties and obligations to the society which however forms the basis for political stability.

Noma (2000:253), had earlier succinctly put it that “the ability of the mass media to increase the knowledge level of its audiences is a visible mark of its triumph for only an enlightened mass media and an unchained one, unchains it audiences through increased information output. Increased knowledge is increased power, thus an empowered mass media is equipped to empower its audiences. It follows therefore that a gagged press operates among a grossly ignorant populace, fed occasionally with unwholesome information that only selfishly serves the interest of the existing political system and machinery”.

There is a symbiotic relationship that exists between the media and democratic stability. Thus, it takes only an enlightened government to build an enlightened mass media system. Because Egbon (2001:10) had earlier said that, “the media possess the power to work within a political system or work against it, the media system can lubricate and ease the economic wheels of a country or bring them to a grinding halt. So also, the media can be used to maintain social equilibrium, facilitate change or seek radical alternatives. This is an awful power the media can wield. It is therefore imperative for those that govern to understand these capabilities and learn to harness the positive values for purposeful and useful goals of their public.

Just as it is argued, the mass media could be an important agent of national cohesion and progress because they mould public opinions, influence government policies and decisions (Political Bureau Report Abuja, 1997). Pope John Paul II in 1992 warned Africans that “it is important to affirm that the sovereignty of each country should be safeguarded by proper use of the means of communication; for they can become instruments of ideological pressures” (Rasheed, 1995:15). One can therefore say that an effective mass communication network is an important vehicle for the promotion of political stability in a given political system like Nigeria. Where it is abuse or manipulated, the polity could face serious crisis of destruction and, or, collapse, for it can mar the society it services. It can put government up and can pull, government down; it can protect or harm the government it serves. It can cause war without participating in it, and it can also bring peace, harmony and concord” (Rasheed 1995:13).



This view brings to the fore the relationship between the mass media and democratic stability in our society.

In all therefore, in a democratic government where the role of the three arms of government (executive, legislative and the judiciary) are clearly defined, the media has even a greater role of ensuring that each of the arms of the government is given an equal coverage. To make democracy operational, the media is expected to also serve as purveyor of views, opinions and debate of the political actors and report same to the electorates (Daniel, 2000).

The media usually referred to as the fourth estate of the realm has a vital role to play not only in relation to information dissemination, but also in nation building (Jibo, 1996:12). Jibo (1996) identifies the work of the press as being that of integration and mobilization of the people for development.

The mass media in a plural society as ours is seen as a national unifier, aggregating and articulating the interests of the people, giving them leadership, enlightening them and pleading their cause with the government in order to bring about democratic stability. It is also believed that the success and failure of any democratic process is largely dependent on the role of the mass media. This explains why societies attach much importance to the coverage of democratic processes by the media.

An unbiased and responsible media system can contribute positively to the sustenance of democratic governance; likewise a biased and irresponsible media could contribute to the failure of democracy.

Commenting on the relationship between the mass media and political reportage, Lang and Lang (1959) opines that “the media force attention to certain issues, they build images of political figures; they are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals should think about, know about, having feeling about”. The purpose of this, is to bring about democratic stability.

The media in every civilized society occupy a very important and powerful position with the capacity to easily influence the opinion of the masses towards participating in every democratic process. Literatures abound that the media is a conscience of the people where divergent views are expressed in order to serve as a check against autocratic and totalitarian rule in favour of democratic government. Access to the media by the people can actually help in the stability of democratic process, where people are denied this access can cause severe danger to the democratic stability. To this end, democracy empowers the mass so also do the media help in the sustenance of democracy.

Statement of the Problem

This research investigates the problems of the media and democratic stability with emphasis on Nasarawa Broadcasting Service. One of the basic features of democracy is the periodic conduct of elections. Regular elections enable the people to choose those who will represent them and vote out those who are not representing their interests. This task cannot be achieved without the media, which is expected to be on impartial umpire. This is because the media force attention to certain issues, they build up images of political figures, and are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals should think about, knows about, having feeling about and above all balanced reportage. The success or failure of any democratic



process is largely dependent on the role of the mass media. This explains why societies attached much premium to the coverage of electoral processes by the media. While it is true that an unbiased and responsible media hold the key to democratic stability, an irresponsible media has the potential of undermining democratic stability.

The Nigerian media had in the past as argued by Orhbevere (2003:14) did not show enough commitment to professional ethics and practices thereby contributing to democratic instability among the first republic and beyond. Since then, the public has continued to view the media as agent of democratic instability. This is manifested in the inability of most candidates in elections particularly during campaigns to have access to the media. The extent to which the media are able to resist the pressure in favour of fairness and justice is crucial to the determination of reaction to election results and the consequences to democratic stability.

Despite the aforementioned relationship between the mass media and democratic stability, it is observed in some quarters that Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) has not done enough to bringing about stable democratic governance in Nasarawa State because of unprofessional practice. Research has shown that government media is being biased in favour of the ruling party in power to the disadvantage of the opposition parties. It is also on record that government have sought to manage governance and the media in such a way that alternative viewpoints are denied the opposition parties. Furthermore, the control of the media by the government is so pervasive to the extent that the editorial content and coverage of the democratic activities like campaigns, amongst others were designed to favour the party in power to the detriment of the opposition parties, this study is set out to evaluate the relationship that exist between the mass media and democratic practice in Nasarawa State using Nasarawa Broadcasting Service as a case in point and whether or not it has by its practice help to sustain democratic governance in Nasarawa State.

Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to examine the interface between the media and democratic stability with emphasis on Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS). Other objective includes;

- (i) To examine the role of the media in bringing about democratic stability.
- (ii) To examine the contribution of Nasarawa Broadcasting Service to democratic stability in Nasarawa State.
- (iii) Another objective of the research is to determine the major problems confronting NBS in an effort to enthrone democratic governance in Nasarawa State.
- (iv) The research is also aimed at investigating how ownership of the mass media particularly NBS could affect its performance.

Research Questions

The possible research question to be raised here are:

- (1) What is the role of the media in bringing about democratic stability?
- (2) What are the contributions of NBS to democratic stability in Nasarawa State?



- (3) What are the factors that militate against NBS in the enthronement of democratic governance in Nasarawa State?
- (4) Does the ownership and control of NBS directly impact on its performance and by extension, the survival of democracy?

Conceptual Clarification

(i) **Mass Media:** Like other concepts, different people hold different perspective about what constitute mass media. Some people unfortunately, feel that the mass media are synonymous with mass communication; they are not. There is, however, a strong correlation between the two arising from the fact that there is no way any of the two can be discussed without the other. Our ability to take home what constitute mass media is dependent on our understanding of key words from it. The word “mass”, according to Chiaka’an and Santas (2007:2) is used to describe something which involves very large number of people”. Mass also means collection of so many people (Keane 1991).

Media refers to organs, vehicles of communication including press, radio, television, film, exhibition, visual and printed, materials, sponsored books and spoken words (Jika and Ali 2002:2).

Media on the other hand, is the plural term for medium which stands for a channel that is used to transfer information from the source to the receiver and from the receiver back to the sender (Chiaka’an and Santas, 2007:2). Thus media here simply refers to channels of transmitting or delivery messages.

Commenting on what constitutes the mass media, Bittner (1980:10) states;

for mass communication to exist, we need an intermediate transmission of information, a mass medium such as newspapers, magazines, film, radio, television, books or a combination of these. The politician who delivered a major address without the aid of the mass media would be forfeiting his chance to reach thousands or even millions of persons not physically present.

Mass communication cannot take place without the mass media. The presence of the mass media, in essence, is what makes mass communication to be mass communication. Reinforcing this position, Dominick (1999:25) wrote that;

in the broadest sense of the world, a medium is the channel through which a message travels from the source (medium is singular, ‘media’ is plural). Thus in our discussion, we have pointed to sound and light waves as media of communication. When we talk about mass communication, we also need channels to carry the message. Mass media use these channels to carry the message.

Mass media is an instrument that helps in the passage of information from one person to the other. It helps to facilitate mass communication.

The mass media are agents of mass communication. Sambe (2005:34) also affirming this position posits that mass media are agents or structures within the mass communication process.



The mass media are so called due to their ability to transmit information, ideas or messages, to a relatively large, heterogeneous, anonymous audience with simultaneity. This ability with singularly bestowed on the mass media the responsibility of ensuring that their society does not only remain in existence but also develop and preserve to develop (Chiaka'an and Santas, 2007:3).

To this end, an inefficient mass media cannot raise its shoulder high when it has a negligible audience. No wonder that Frankly (1993) defined mass media as "appealing to majority of people as distinct from more selective media". Mass media therefore has information responsibility to reach a target population in the society. Mass media continues to ask the question "who depends on me for what information? And "on whom, inturn do I depend? (Desmond 1990).

This mass media here simply refers to channels of transmitting or delivering messages. In the same manner, Elegbede in a paper titled "Mass Media and National Security" (1987:20) wrote to say that "the mass media would consist of all organizations, individuals or groups that are engaged in the business of gathering, as well as disseminating information and ideas for public consumption. The readership can be reached through the following media. Press, picture, broadcasting state and literature and film. Lade (1987) confirmed this view when he argued that mass media are purveyor of information.

Iwokwagh (2002:78) perceived mass media operationally from a dual perspectives: first, as technological artifacts, and second as social institutions. At the first level of conception, the media refer to the various systems of modern communication that make information consumption possible. These will include newspapers, magazines, books (printed media) and television, radio, film or cinema (electronic media). At the second level of conception, the media refers to those highly structured or organised social systems, with well defined authority relationships, and are responsible for gathering, processing, packaging and dissemination of information or message for public consumption. The advantage of such dual conception of the mass media is that it presents a near total are.

Akande (1987) in his paper "the mass media and the Nigeria Public Services sees mass media as all forms of communication, from face-to-face, through folk plays, dramas, exhibits, pictures, printed materials, films etc. Besides, mass media can encompass all forms of communication that are used with a purpose in mind, whether to change attitudes and behaviour patterns or to transfer knowledge in order to improve oneself, one's community and society. This is why MacBride (1980:1) argued that "the mass media-press, radio and television- do have the capacity not only to reflect but also to shape opinion and to play a part in forming attitudes". Liman (2008:30) ventilates this position as follows:

The mass media have come to be seen as projectors and protectors of national images or prestige, defenders of national interest, custodians of culture and values, watchdogs of the society and the bulwark of the citizens against all forms of oppression.

Early research information showed that the potential might of the mass media in influencing human behaviour cannot be over-emphasized. The media in this regard wields absolute power to direct and shape the behaviours of her audience. The media has the capacity to injecting values, ideas and information directly into each individual in a passive and atomized audience, thereby producing a direct and unmediated effect (Mcquail, 1987).



The Concept of Democracy

So many has been written about democracy that is really not of much use for us to start a process of seeking definitions. The quibbling among scholars has taken enough time, energy and space (Kukah, 1999:1). Tarnande (2003) further stressed this point, that conceptual bafflement has bedeviled many attempts to define the democracy. Aggarwala (1983:257) laments that “there is no concepts which is so flagrantly used (and misused), abused, as well as paraded under all sorts of interests and guises as democracy”. In addition, Jega (2007:22) posits that “democracy is something much talked about, greatly aspired and strenuously struggled for. It is a set objective pursued with apparent vigour but not yet attained. It is an aspiration dearly cherished by many but far from being realized. Democracy has turned out to be a sort of mirage”.

Democracy is essentially a contested concept which does not land itself to any universally accepted definition due to the ideological, cultural and historical contextualization that underpins it.

Tarnande (2003) opines that this accounts for why adherents of diversity of political philosophies and ideologies all insist on being labelled “democratic” because democracy is associated with the “good”.

But for the purpose of clarity and to give this research work a better comprehension and acceptability, some definitions are going to be used. Therefore, in our attempt to define democracy, it may be necessary to situate the etymology of the concept with a historical context.

Democracy is a form of government that has its historical roots in the ancient Greek city-state of Athens to reform, organize and manage its political community (Polis) about two thousand five hundred years ago (Dunn, 1993). In fact, democracy is a combination of two Greek words, “Demos” (means people) and “Kratia” (means rule), which translate into “rule by the people”.

The “direct” democracy obtainable in the Greek city – state was possible due largely to their small size both in terms of population and spatial geographical territory (“Historical Guide, 2006). This is why in its classical formulation, democracy means broad-based active participation of all those defined as citizens in the conduct of their public affairs in the polis (state).

However, the emergence of the modern nation-state with extensive population and expensive geographical territories has necessitated the institutionalization of “indirect” democracy and representative government. Democracy has thus become a form of government where representatives of the people are elected during periodic elections based on the so-called equal and universal franchise.

In this context, Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as “government of the people for the people and by the people” (Gabriel, 2008:14). Democracy in this regard is perceived as government of the people which is based on representation by the representative who are supposed to be responsible and accountable to the people. Accordingly, most definitions of democracy at the present time take cognizance of the representative nature of modern democracy. Thus Black (1979:388) has defined democracy as “that form of government in



which the sovereign power resides in and is exercised by the whole body of free citizens directly or indirectly through a system of representation as distinguished from a monarchy, aristocracy and oligarchy”.

The definition given by Professor L.M. Lipset (1994) is particularly illuminating in that it sufficiently highlights the fundamental features of the representative democracy that is now in vogue in the world:

A political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing from contenders of political officers.

Essentially, democracy is founded on the popular will of the people and that is expressed at periodic elections. Thus, “the primary criterion for democracy is therefore an equitable and open competition for votes between and among political parties without government manipulation, harassment or restrictions of opposition parties”. (Chika’an 1998:39). Democracy is a system of choice by the electorate who constitutes the political sovereign.

For Jega (2007:14), reviewing the historical origin of democracy is much easier than attempting to provide a more precise definition of democracy. He opined that democracy evolved and spread worldwide, attempts to conceptualize and theorize it have become too amorphous and is precise with the result that democracy and its meaning have become heavily contested and over flogged. Not only are there numerous, often contradictory definitions of the concept, it also seems to mean different to different people.

“If there is any consensus on what democracy means, it is perhaps in relation to the understanding that it is not personal rule and that it is different from authoritarian dictatorial rule. It can be said also that democracy is based on some form of participation and/or representation. It is assumed that in a democratic political system, government derived legitimacy from the people. Government also exercise authority laws called the constitution. Citizens have equal political rights to vote and be voted for” (Jega, 2007).

This is direct in contrast to the view of some leading western scholars who define democracy as either “the rule of politicians” (Schumpeter, 1950) or as “polyarchy” (Dahl, 1971), to emphasize its real manifestations rather than its ideal conceptualization. Others, such as Michael’s “iron laws of Oligarchy” or Mosca’s the ruling class have theorized on the elitist character of modern democracy. Indeed, all these scholars view democracy as government of the few in the society.

But democracy connotes or places greater emphasis on personal liberty, popular sovereignty and with entrenched checks and balances to eliminate/reduce arbitrariness and abuse of power. Guttermann (1987) is of the view that democratic virtue is the ability to deliberate and hence to participate in conscious social reproduction. To her, this is the key to a democratic and rational discourse and should be devoid of repression and discrimination. Democracy guarantees rights that are natural, most especially the right to freedom of speech or press. It also entails rule by the majority with respect and due consideration of the interest and rights of the minority (Raymond, 1978). Gabriel (2008: 15) put this to mean “it is a political system under which all the most significant groups in the population in the political process and have



access to effective government decisions, i.e. the allocation of scarce resources through the instrumentality of the state.

Democratic Stability

Research on democratic stability in the developing countries, currently experiencing the “third wave”, is problematic for a number of reasons. Such as; “political tradition are not yet developed, party systems are fragile and electoral formulas are changed, and in addition, one cannot always separate personal influence of exceptional political leaders from their institutionally capabilities” (Pugaciauskas, 1999).

Another analytical challenge is from the fact that democratic stability could be confused with regime stability. However, the term democratic stability is referred to as “regime stability” as the former carried considerable normative change. Rather than define the essence of democratic stability, some authors have confirmed themselves to presenting the criteria of democratic instability; cancellation of constitutionally required democratic elections, usurpation of government powers, usually through fraudulent elections, unconstitutional impeachments etc. (Fugaciauskas, 1999).

This section seeks to conceptualize democratic stability and possibly those credentials that qualify democracy as stable one. The concept of democratic stability is synonymous with legitimacy especially if legitimacy is conceived as the belief in the moral rights of a regime to govern. Therefore, the ingredients of these moral rights that a regime enjoys are inherent in the concept of democratic stability (Ogundiya, 2010:234). According to Osaghae (1995) “the premise of democratic stability is that what sustains government and ensures stability is voluntary support or consent of the citizens rather than reliance on coercion”. Diamond (1999) put it that “it is by now a central tenet of empirical theory that stable democracy also requires a belief in the legitimacy of democracy.” These democratic ingredients of stability have been well summarized by Diamond et al. (1987 in Osaghae, 1995) thus:

“All governments rest on some kind of mixture of coercion and consent, but democracies are unique in the degree to which their stability depends on the consent of a majority of those governed. Almost as a given theories of democracy stress that democratic stability requires a widespread belief among both elites and masses that the democratic regime is morally entitled to rule.”

In the same vein, Mishler and Rose (2001) maintained that a defining feature of democratic regime is that they depend for their survival and effective functioning on the public’s willing acquiescence and support. Democratic stability, therefore, pre-supposes “that people have at any given time, the government which they chose and that being rational beings, they are almost likely to support a government which represents and pursues their interests (Osaghae, 1995). A government which represents and pursue responsible and accountable to the people. Responsiveness and accountability enhance peoples’ affection and support for the system. This further enhances the growth and development of democratic culture, which is a sinequa non for democratic survival. In essence, a developed democratic culture is a sinequa non for democratic stability (Ogundiya, 2010). Here, Linz and Stephen’s (in Umar, 2002) demonstrated phrase that stable democracy depends on average citizens accepting it as “the only game in town” is critically instructive.



Almond and Verba (1963) and Lipset (1994) for example clearly admitted that cultural variables, especially legitimacy can be critical for the survival of democratic regimes once they are established. Lipset (1994) in his more recent work stated that “political stability in democratic systems cannot rely on force. The alternative to force is legitimacy...”.

Seligson (2000) declared that there is an inextricable connection between levels of support and tolerance and democratic stability. He opined that “in situations of low support and low tolerance, democracy is clearly at risk and democratic breakdown seems to be the most likely ultimate outcome”. Lipset (1959) opined that the belief in the rightness of the political arrangement or what he refers to as legitimacy which is a function of the cognitive, effective and evaluative orientations of the citizens. This as is put by Ogundiya (2010) can also be influenced by the nature of politics, quality of governance, leadership performance and the character and nature of the relationship among the contending elites. Regimes characterized by higher level of democratic legitimacy are more likely, according to Fails (2008), “to complete the process of democratization”. This process as described by Diamond (1999) as “democratic depending”, reflecting continuous ability of democratic institutions to improve political participation, to become more open and vigorous and enhance accountability. The underlying assumption here as argued by Ogundiya (2010) is that how average citizens perceived democracy has an important impact on its stability.

Other writers also argue that the choice of institutional model is essential and important to democratic stability. Pugaciauskas (1999) argues that “the choice of institutional model matters- and matters, first and foremost, from the viewpoint of democratic stability”. Bernhard et al. (2001) also relate the survival of democracies to economic performance and institutional design. This is to mean that there is a connection between a stable economic and democratic stability.

From this, however, the role of culture, institutional model and the level of economic wellbeing of a state, the nature and character of elite and ethnicity could affect democratic stability.

In this work, it is argue that a stable democracy is one that has demonstrated considerable staying power, a capacity to endure without great or frequent changes in pattern. Democratic stability posits also the degree to which democracy has endured in the face of hindered challenges. By and large, this work advocate that democratic stability is seen as a step towards democratic consolidation with some considerable variables such as enhanced economic development, developed democratic culture, stable party system, political tolerance, accountable and responsive government, strong institutional model and the maturity in the nature and character of elite.

Social Responsibility Theory

An American initiative in the late forties brought forth the social responsibility theory. According to Hasan (2013:170), “realizing that the market had failed to fulfil the promise that press freedom would reveal the truth, ‘the Commission on freedom of the press’ provided a model in which the media had certain obligations to society. These obligations were expressed in the words information, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. Siebert (1956) in Hassan (2013) writes that the goal of the social responsibility system is that media as a whole



is pluralized, indicating a reflection of the diversity of society as well as access to various points of view.

As opposed to the libertarian theory, the social responsibility principle is to provide an entrance to difference mass media to minority groups. The journalist is accountable to his audience as well as to the government, (Hasan, 2013).

The social responsibility theory is extension of the libertarian theory in that the press recognizes that it has a responsibility to society to carry out its essential functions.

The social responsibility theory ascribes basically the same six functions to the press as the libertarian theory:

- (a) Providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs.
- (b) Instructing and informing the public to make it capable of self government.
- (c) Protecting the rights of the individuals against the government through its watch-dog function.
- (d) Maintaining the economic equilibrium of the system by bringing together buyer, seller and advertiser together.
- (e) Providing entertainment
- (f) Remaining independent of outside pressures by maintaining its over economic self-sufficiently

The central principles of this theory uphold conflict resolution through discussion; there is high regard for public opinion, consumer action and professional ethics and jealous guard over private, rights and important social interests.

The social responsibility theory is based on the assumption that media serve essential functions in society. Therefore, it should accept and fulfil certain obligations to the society. These obligations are to be met by setting high professional standards in communication of information, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. In accepting and discharging these obligations, the media should be self-regulatory within the framework of law and established institutions. In the public interest, the media should underplay that news which might lead to crimes violence, social and political tension or cause offence to ethnic or religious minorities. The media should be pluralist in nature, should be reflect the diversity of their society and allow access to various points of view, including the right to reply.

From the foregoing, social responsibility theory of the media has it that the media is divinely empowered to educate, entertain, mobilize, sensitise the populace in order to ensure stable – political system. Access to media by the people should be an issue of priority the media should ensure that the fundamental rights of citizen are sincerely guarantees and not only that but protected. The chief mandate of the press under democracy is to ensure that all the features of democratic system are adhered to by the government and citizens alike so as to ensure table polity.



Furthermore, the theory is fundamentally anchored on self-regulation by the media. It is believed that under this theory, the media is free to carry out its responsibility as stipulated but is expected to be regulated by responsible conscience. A responsible conscience in this regard should guide and prevent the media from embarking on obnoxious practices that will put the society on the track of under-democratic tendencies. Mass media should by this theory know what is good and bad for the society. This theory appears to be too inclined to Unitarianism, which holds that the media actions should be capable of making many people in society to be happy. This, unequivocally and unambiguously explains the importance of this theory to this research.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS), popularly called “the solid station” is one media outfit of government of Nasarawa State that is established to enlighten and educate the mass people of Nasarawa State and beyond.

By the edict that established this media house on 1st January 1997, has this to say as her mandates; documentary, educational, entertainment, commercial, advertising, special programmes and news (Edict, 1997: 1). The media station, run radio and television services concurrently.

The major findings of the work revealed that there is significant relationship between the mass media and democratic stability in Nasarawa state.

From the findings, it was gathered that the mass media plays a vital role in the political stability of any society. It is evident that the mass media particularly Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) has helped in the provision of factual information to the public about the activities of government so that the people can make their own inputs and judgments about issues of public interest.

It is also revealed from the finding that the mass media like NBS has been evolved in building a culture of peace and cohesion among people of the state through so many of her activities and she also try in several occasions to stimulate debate that can foster unity among diverse ethnic groups in the state, such as showcasing diverse culture of ethnic groups that make up the state and engage different individuals in discussions that can foster peace.

It is also worth knowing that the mass media has played an important role in the political development and stability in the state because for instance, the state government is relying on her media outfit particularly to bring people together and educating them about the policies and programmes of government. In addition to that, investigations revealed that the mass media like NBS to be precise is always alive to its inalienable responsibility of ejecting into the society those things that ensure love and mutual understanding among the people.

It is also quite revealing from the findings that the mass media is playing amplifying roles in the society by informing and entertaining the people about happenings in and around them. NBS in particular and to so many is seen as the society’s mirror that reflects the government to the governed and vice versa.



From the findings, it is indicated that the mass media has been playing very important mediating roles by making sure that government remain responsible to the people and at the same time holding government accountable to the people of the state. NBS for instance, has help to guarantee space for people to air out their views and at the same manner helped in the propagation of ideas and promotions of policies and programmes of government. The station (NBS) as it is known by so many in the state has not relaxed in her responsibility to sensitize and educate people concerning any new happening around the state or beyond.

Also from the findings, it is argued that the media like NBS has helped to mobilize people in the society in support of government policies and providing a level playing ground for other institutions in the state to strive.

It is further revealed that the station (NBS) is awash with information about candidates vying for positions of political power. It is worth knowing that what the voters in the state get to know about candidates is based largely on the media coverage which is what the station (NBS) is doing. Part of this coverage among others is the throwing up of names of contestants to the public and ensuring adequate information dissemination concerning those candidates.

It is also evident from the findings that the media as the fourth estate of the realm remain the guardian of the peoples' rights, liberty and freedom and acting against wrong deeds in the state, such as corruption, crime and drug addiction. NBS as the media outfit of the state is always involved in the campaign against drug abuse, corruption, prostitution, crime and child abuse. This station has severally led campaigns against these societal menaces.

Another finding also indicates that NBS is a viable tool for the promotion and enthronelement of democratic values or culture in Nasarawa state. In doing this, the station has helped in several ways to sustain peace and mutual understanding among diverse ethnic groups in the state.

The survey data clearly show that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the station (NBS) is on the right track in the discharge of her duties. This is evident from the findings that Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) is involved on several occasions in setting agenda of peace for the state, such as organizing discussion concerning violence free elections, thuggery and urging politicians to actually play games of politics according to the rules.

In a related development, it was discovered that the station (NBS) provide to all persons, groups and individuals access to the varieties of programmes aired out. From this however, the station (NBS) is not in any way bringing political instability in the state because she ensure gradual integration of the people in the state and beyond.

Also affirming this view, one of the interviewee, Hon. Innocent Lagi; a one-time house member posited that the NBS is only to him a fastest agent of political socialization in any modern society. He further stated that the mass media lead and the other follows. Another respondent Hon. Musa Agyo submitted that "any society that resists the influence of the mass media is but actually stepping toward anarchy". To him, no one can stop the level of media influence on any society particularly the democratic one.



Concurring to this, Hon. Musa Agyo said that the station should take adequate steps in educating her staff on the need to accommodate the principles of fairness and equity in the course of discharging their duties. He advanced that the purpose for the advice is to ensure strict adherence to democratic principles.

The purpose of the media which Hon. Innocent Lagi believes NBS is actually doing is to do their job as journalists in ways that will help overcome people's sense of powerlessness and alienation. NBS has educated citizens about issues and current events so they can make civic decisions engage in civic dialogue and action and generally exercise their responsibilities in a democracy.

In another sense of it, the argument that the mass media play a role in democratization process has been advanced by so many scholars in political science and in communication science. For instance, the responses gathered revealed that the free access and exchange of information is indispensable to the notion of democracy. The very nature of democracy suggests that a free and open channel is necessary to foster critical practices found in democratic societies. According to this argument, the mass media in a stable democracy are the principal institutions from which members of the public can better understand their society. Ideally, the media contribute to the public sphere by providing citizens with information about their world by fostering debate about various issues and by encouraging informed decisions to be made about available courses of action. The media are also a site of contestation in which diverse positions are advanced, significant opinions are heard, interests and inner-workings are exposed and input is received. These all contribute to public debate which are essential attribute of a stable democracy.

It is also observed that the media are also expected to provide a monitoring function that can bring about democratic stability. It was reported in some quarters that without the freedom of communication mass media provide, the foundation of democratic rule is undermined. The mass media is seen as the "connective tissue of democracy". Hon. O.O. Osuza noted that "the conduct of democratic (or undemocratic) politics...depends more and more on media. He also claims that "a free press is needed everywhere, no less in developing countries than in advanced and industrial society".

The mass media remain a factor to be reckoned with in any democratic setting. It remains a bridge and unifier by which the process of democracy is sustained and realized. Barr. Akaaka Gabriel offers considerably that what become components of a liberal democracy are freedoms of association, information and communication. This interconnected ideal is but cornerstones of democracy. Therefore, freedom of expression constitutes one of the essential foundations of democracy; it then affords individual the means of discovering and forming an opinion of the ideas of democratic governance. NBS as an institution should rise up to this functions in order to help in the sustenance of democracy in Nasarawa state. She is to engendering empathy and mobilizing people for social change. Democratic stability is anchored on the ability of the mass media to create political awareness, monitor governance and ensure accountability on the side of government all the times.

NBS as a mouthpiece of government should advocate on transparency and ensure political tolerance for the opposition parties. Because without transparency and accountability, political tolerance, democratic stability is of no use. It is generally believed that these are the bases and parameters for democratic stability.



The media like NBS should be seen to advance the legitimatization of government in power. That is, she is to make sure that government come to power through a legitimate means and must secure considerable support of the citizenry. This of course is the basic ingredient of democratic stability (that is legitimacy) which the media suppose to advocate and uphold.

The media house like NBS should develop capacity and capability to ensure a viable economic system that can guarantee the sustenance of the democratic process. It is of great relevance that the level of economic development and democratic stability are mutually supporting. In this note, democratic stability is a product of strong economy base. In addition, the economy bases of society plays a greater role on the social and political system of that given society hence, democratic stability is a reflection of how stable economic system is.

The media house like NBS should be supportive of viability and reliability of the state institutions by ensuring that these institutions work smoothly for the survival of the democratic order. The state institutions like legislature, executive, judiciary and other agencies of government are suppose to work hand in hand to maintain the survival of political system. The media in this respect should be able to bring them together and ensure they are focused in the discharge of their duties. Surface to mention here too that the media has a role to play and can contribute meaningfully to the survival of democracy by ensuring that government remain accountable and responsive to the people, for they are the key factors or parameters for democratic stability in any society.

The mass media should also provide a level playing ground for other sisters' institutions to strive, particularly the civil society organizations. It should be noted that they (civil society organizations) has a critical role to play in the success of any democratic dispensation or experiment thus, they can help to galvanize support for democratic system. It is a duty on the side of the media to package their activities in the manner that will bring political cohesion in the society.

From the findings also, it is further viewed that the journalists of the station are found to be partisan in the discharge of their duties. There is also a general consensus on the part of the respondents that there are elements of partisanship in the reports of the NBS journalists. It is also attested that the attitude of the station's journalists has reduced or discouraged the yearning and aspirations of the people of the state.

NBS journalists are found to get involved in the collections of gratifications from government officials in order to air out funny news against opposition parties. They engage in 'cooking' stories that are detrimental to the peace and stability of the democratic process. The survey also revealed that other problems that hindered the station and her staff from carrying out their responsibilities effectively is that the station is engulfed with a lot of problems such as harsh economic, political and social environment, intimidation and harassment of journalists by the management.

Democracy in Nasarawa state as captured in the responses presented by some respondents is in danger just like in a wider society like Nigeria. The station just like any media outfit out there cannot perform her role positively due to the following factors such as poor funding, remuneration, unfriendly legal environment, and outright sanction by the government, poor professionalism and undue ownership manipulations. These factors as advanced are usually a



threat to the performance of the station and which by extension could genuinely hindered smooth democratic governance not only in the state but Nigeria as a whole.

Other discouraging factors which has remained a tradition to every media house particularly those under the control of government is severe censorship of news items by the authority concerned. For instance, the government owned media houses are premised on not biting the fingers that feed them. This as survey revealed are part of the problems the station and her journalists encounter in the process of discharging their duties. The statement further stressed to mean that the mass media's "watchdog role is compromised and substituted with the docile, friendly and humane dog role, even in the face of wrong doings by the fingers". This problem is not only peculiar to Nasarawa state but Nigeria in general.

In a related development one of the interviewees Hon. Alayi Oseyi, a one-time house member also argued that "what the mass media in our society knows best is to publish negative news that can cause tension among people in the society". To him, their performance is below acceptable standard. Also concurring to this argument was Hon. Sidi Bako Mohammed who submitted that the mass media in Nasarawa State and Nigeria in general is a reflection of our society, therefore, to him, people should not expect anything good from it. A one-time councilor Hon. O.O. Osuza responded by saying that to him "the mass media like Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) is actually a shadow of itself. He stated that it is not pro-active in the course of discharging her duties. To him "the media that is anti-people and cannot get involve in proper investigative journalism is not worth living and in the same vein unreadable".

In the same manner, many of the interviewees posit that the stability of democracy in Nasarawa State is in danger considering the roles the Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) plays. Generally, they argued that the station (NBS) is fond of being anti-democratic and lack the needed capability to carry people along. Specifically, Hon, Kwarra said the mass media cannot bring about enduring democracy because it is operating under a draconian laws and harsh economic environment.

In a brief summation of the above findings, one could conclude that there are inherent factors militating against NBS in her struggle to enthrone democratic governance in Nasarawa state.

Furthermore, from the findings, it was indicated that ownership and control of the mass media directly impact on its performance and by extension the survival of democracy in Nasarawa state.

For instance, there was an overwhelming response from the respondents in respect to the granting of independence to Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS). The purpose for this kind of response is that this could enable the station to perform without strict influence or control by the government. It was argued that because of the excessive control exhibited by the government, opposition parties find it very difficult to have access to the station (NBS) thereby using other media houses in the state and neighbouring states to report their activities to the public.

The calls by the majority respondents that NBS should be given independence in order to function very well is a signal that state government is over-monitoring her activities. The station according to investigation is not always free to carry out her duties because government checks her affairs and make sure that opposing views or programmes are not



aired out in the station. It is also observed that views from the opposition parties that may be in form of correction on the activities of government are totally rejected for them to be aired out to the public.

One of the interviewee in the person of Hon. Omaki Owa said that Nasarawa Broadcasting Service should be granted independence in order to enable the station (NBS) discharge her duties without fear or favour. Consequent upon that, Hon. Musa Agyo submitted that NBS (station) can only achieve her desired objectives only if she is granted independence. To him, that will reduce the minimal level of cases of victimization of journalists working there by the government. Hon. Agede Edward Auta also noted that NBS (station) can only serve the people of Nasarawa state and beyond right, only if she is accorded the needed freedom; if not, the station would be lured into serving the interest that be. This position is in line with the fact offered by Hon (Mrs.) Mary Enwagulu; that if NBS (station) is not granted independence, it means the people of Nasarawa state will continue to listen to programmes that can only serve the interest of the government best. She advanced that the need for the call for independence for the station is to ensure that she (the station) should not be excessively being controlled by the forces of the state and also to stop the danger of the station falling into the hands of a group of wealthy individuals who could use it to promote their commercial, sectional or political interests that may be at variance with her objectives.

Another respondent Alhaji Abdullahi Usman suggested that opposition parties can only have access to the station (NBS) only when there is total reduction in the level of influence of government on the management of the station (NBS); if not, the opposition parties cannot have a smooth ride. The media is expected to be independent of government if it is to serve and protect the interest of the public. The Nigerian experience has not been complimentary as government's efforts to suppress popular opinions has led most administrations to adopt stringent measures that are directed at not only taming the media but controlling their editorial policies (Tyodzua, 2010:95).

One other interviewee, Hon. Osana Inarigu opines that the media plays a vital role in facilitating free, fair and credible elections in any society. Therefore, it should be given every supports. Concurring to that view, Barr. Akaaka Gabriel appealed that journalists and the media outfits should be alive to their traditional role of checking anti-democratic tendencies for the success of any polls. He further express concern over what is called "worrying tendencies" of some media practitioners which it identified as: willful inaccuracy and misinformation, sensationalism, inadequate media space for marginalized groups, airing rather than preventing or moderating incitement and hate remarks, as well as partisanship due to proprietarily interests. In view of the foregoing however, Mr. Alkali Allu advocated that media houses particularly that of government should avoid any form of commercialization of political news; to him it is prohibited by section 5.2.12 of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code, 4th edition, 2006". He further stated that when political news are commercialized, it will be hard for the poor or masses to have access to the media which by implication could deny them equal participation under democratic rule.

Under democratic governance the mass media is supposed to be free from any form of checks but the case with Nasarawa state is totally different because the point is that it is believed that since the station is a government institution, it would be out of place for the station to work against the interest of its pay master. By implication, government controls virtually every bit



of programmes in the station and is also seen to be censoring every or doctoring every activities taking place in the station.

Investigation also revealed that government exerts so much influence on the performance of the station by dictating to the populace what is supposed to be aired out. It regulates the affairs of the station as a means to keep the opposition parties in check by antagonizing and giving them all kinds of funny names. Government in her usually kind of attitude uses the station to launch negative campaign against any perceived enemies as against normal democratic practice. This is why it is always difficult for government to genuinely yield to the demand of granting freedom or independence to particularly the station that is being owned and controlled by it, for instance, NBS. It is also on account that Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) as a station lack general acceptability (that is to say, not everybody in the state listen to her programmes, because it is believed that it lacks reliability and credibility). It could also be said that she lack efficient and up-right pedigree of performance because her programmes are in sham.

Research also revealed that the station (NBS) does not give a level playing ground for other political parties to air out their views. This means that the party in power exerts so much control on the station so that it does not guarantee other parties access to it. Consequent upon this, the opposition parties uses other media houses in the state different from NBS like NTA, Precious FM and other media stations outside the state to report their activities to the public.

Furthermore, the research findings revealed that victimization and harassment of NBS journalists by the management or government is a common phenomenon. It will be recalled that the most common of this arrogance was when the General Manager (GM) of the station was vehemently fired for airing out the views of the opposition party sometime back. The case was that precisely 2007, the General Manager (GM) was sacked as a result of airing out the campaign programmes of an opposition candidate then in the person of Barr. Solomon Ewuga.

Government times without number do victimize and deals decisively with any staff found to be romancing with opposition candidates. An empirical example was a case of a popular and renounced journalist Captain Shammah who was sacked on the basis of his alleged romance with opposition parties. There are several of these cases to mention but a few.

It is also a known fact based on the research findings that the station has failed in balancing the views of diverse political groups or interests in the state because investigation reveals that most of the items or activities of the station are anti-people and so sectional. It is also evident that the station cannot package the views of people in the rural areas. The station is far from the dreams and aspiration of the people in the state. She only airs what government want, not those things that could expose the weakness of government.

Another finding revealed that what the station is doing is totally alien to the dreams and aspiration of the people of the state. This is because it is believed that the station has diffused from her mandate hence advancing the interest of one particular ethnic group against the majority of the people that make up the state. In addition to that, empirical evidences indicate that what you hear and get from the station is mostly about Hausa culture and tradition; you hardly could hear anything about the culture and traditions of the original indigenes of the state.



By the analysis given above it could be said that the survival of democracy largely marred not in Nasarawa state largely depend on mass media. This is in the sense that in a democracy, “the airwave belongs to and is about the people. It is believed that free-speech is the condition of responsible decisions in a democracy, a necessity not a luxury or a magnanimous concession” (Liman, 2008).

The mass media provides the avenues for expression of public opinion; that is, the moulding of opinion on pressing public issues. This is why its role is viewed from the political viewpoint as a forum for “socio-political comment”, this fact is the core-value of the democratic governance (Jega, 2003).

The media is to set an agenda for discussion and serve as a social mobiliser in order to bring about genuine consensus among people and at the long run ensure smooth democratic governance in the state and beyond. It is also a known fact as revealed by some respondents that the media generally suffers a huge array of poverty and disabilities, the elements of which include the political and business interests of its owners or proprietors, the extent of limitation of patronage, cultural preferences, values of the target or readership or audience, the work conditions and salaries of journalists affect performance of the media in its relationship with the democratic process. This statement confirmed the problem faced by Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) in her struggle to bring about democratic governance.

Going by these analyses, the media is expected to be independent of government if it is to serve and protect the interest of the public. The Nigerian experience has not been complimentary as government efforts to suppress popular opinion have led most administrations to adopt stringent measures that are directed at not only taming the media but controlling their editorial policies. These controls are carried out at two different levels. These are at the level of government ownership and remote control of the other media through financial inducements. By these actions, it is believed that we cannot achieve stable democratic governance.

CONCLUSION

It is the responsibility of the mass media to provide adequate, meaningful and relevant information for the citizens to participate effectively in the democratic process. Communication and information are central elements in the exercise of full and effective citizenship. Thus creation of the concept of the fourth estate based on this premise. It has continued to inform the discussion of the role of the mass media in society; the media as the central organ of the public sphere. In this context, the issue of empowering the media towards fulfilling its role is an exercise in revitalizing the public domain and democracy itself.

The saying that, the mass media have an important role to play in democracy is no doubt, however, a critical examination of the development of the mass media in Nigeria in general and Nasarawa State in particular has shown that their present role which at best can be described as not too impressive, particularly in democracy is as a result of so many factors such as their evolution, ownership, funding, politics and training of staff. These as revealed by the study are some of the major threats against Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS).



The NBS as a viable state owned media outfit should be up and alive to its inalienable responsibility as the fourth estate of the realm, the guardian of the people's rights, liberty and freedom. The submission of this work is that since the government and the governed have appreciate the role of the media house like NBS to the state, there is the need to reassess its roles and relevance to the society.

It is also observed in the study that NBS recognized the diversity of interests, geography and culture in the state by reporting in "multi-polar and balanced ways". That is ensuring that all the segments of the society are adequately represented in all discussions, programmes and agenda of government. As opines by Hon. Adamu Mu'azu that "NBS should be able to instill in the citizens the spirit of oneness and try to promote those issues that can bring people together and not those that can divide them". In this sense, NBS should not take position that will endanger the people and create a peaceful forum for resolving issues.

The main concern or challenge of the study is how to ensure democratic stability by the media as its related to NBS. It is therefore concluded that this have to involves the questions of ownership, control of and access to the station by all social and political groups and interest in the society. The station should be able to fulfill its original mandate in providing the forum for all to contribute to the pool of information which will in a way bring about democratic stability.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are suggested recommendations in this work arising from the conclusion drawn.

Nasarawa State Government like any other state as a matter of urgency should increase the funding for this media outfit so as to enable her get modern equipment and embark on the proper training of her staff for efficiency.

There is also an urgent need to enact laws by both the State and National Assemblies that would check the excessive governmental interference in the activities of the media. The law should guarantee the media the right of editorial independence, and it should criminalize arbitrary detention and other forms of extra-legal actions against the media. The enactment of these laws will further strengthen the constitutional protection for the media and further deepen democracy.

Other sources of generating revenue to the station should be harnessed. For example charges should be paid for the coverage and airing of special programmes on the station. The purpose is to open new ways through which the station will be financially buoyant and independent.

Also, the station should develop programmes that would actually project the cultures and values of the people that make up the state and beyond. This will ensure ethnic and religious cohesion and understanding that is required that is required for promoting stability. Journalists should be re-oriented towards a new understanding of "news values" to aid professionalism. This way, it is not everything that come to them that are supposed to be aired, those issues that are capable of overheating the policy should be discarded.



Government should also consider the hazardous nature of their (journalists) jobs and find a means of giving them good incentives. They should not be sanctioned by government or any authority in the course of carrying out their responsibilities.

Paid journalism should be discouraged by all means possible by all the stakeholders so as to ensure that the station is fair to all interest in the state and beyond.

It is further recommended that the station (NBS) should galvanize to harmonize all the divergent interest in the state so as to ensure sustainable democracy in the state and Nigeria in general. It is therefore the responsibility of the mass media to provide adequate, meaningful and relevant information for the citizens to participate effectively in the democratic process so as to ensure for a stable polity.

REFERENCES

- Adegboruwa, E. (2003). Electorate; Eliminating disenfranchisement, Daily Times April 9, P.23-24.
- Akande, J.O. (1987): "The Mass Media and the Nigeria Public Service".
- Akinfole, R. (1985). Fourth State of the Realm or Fourth Estate of the Wreck: Imperative of Social Responsibility of the press. University of Lagos Press, Lagos.
- Almond, G.A. and Verba, S. (1963). The civil culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Sage, Newbury Park, CA.
- Appadorai, A. (1968). The Substance of Politics, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Ayo, E.J. (1988). Development Planning in Nigeria, Ibadan: University Press Limited.
- Ayobulu J. (2003). Beyond the Election Daily Time Wednesday, April 16, Pp.11.
- Baran, S.J. and Davis, D.K. (2000). Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, ferment, and future (2nd edition), Belmont, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Bello, L.D. (2002). "Economic Role of Mass Media in Nation Building" in Jika A. Ali, M.B. Mass Media and National Development (Eds.) Manuwar Books International, Phc612 karkasara Babbangiji Behind Aminu Kano Teaching Hospital, Kano, Pp.5.
- Bernhard, M. (2001). Economic Performance, Institutional Intermediation and Democratic Survival. J. Polit. 63(3).
- Bittner, J.R. (1980). Mass Communication: An Introduction (5th Ed.); New Prentice Hall Inc. Jersey.
- Black, H. (1979). Black's Law Dictionary, 5th ed., St Paul Minn, West Publishing Co.
- Burn, K. (2007). Press under the military: The IBB years in Oso L. & Pate U. (ed.) mass media and society in Nigeria, malthouse press limited, 43 Onitema Street, Off Stadium Hotel Road, Surulere, Lagos.
- Chiaka'an, J.G. and Santas, T. (2007). "Mass Media and Sustainable Development: Nigeria in Focus." A Paper Presented at the International Conference on Arts and Culture, Organized by International Research and Development Institute, University of Abuja, Nigeria.
- Clark, G.K. & Wood, D.M. (1978). Policy making in the third world, in John W. & Sons (Eds.) Power and Policy in the Third World.
- Dahl, R. (1970). Modern Political Analysis Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall.
- Dahl, R. (1971). Polyarchy: Participant and opposition. Yale University Press, New Haven.



- Daniel, A.O. Democratization and the development of the Nigeria economy; in Bullion CBS vol.24, No.1.
- Desmond, W.E. (1990). *People, Communication and Organizations*, Financial Time-Prentice Hall, London.
- Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism: Political Trust in Argentina and Mexico*. Russel Sage Foundation, New York.
- Dominick, J. (1999). *The Dynamics of Mass Communication*. McGraw Hill Companies, New York.
- Dunn, J. (Ed.) (1993). *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey. 508BC to 1993* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dunn, W.N. (1981). *Pulbi Policy Analysis: An Introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Edict on the Establishment of Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (1997). Nasarawa State Government printer, Lafia.
- Egbon, M. (2002). "How well have the Nigeria mass media served the public: Issues of ethics", A lead paper presented at the Media Stakeholders Meetings, Organized by the Nigeria Guild of Editors at Airport Hotel, Ikeja-Lagos.
- Emri, O.F. (2003). "Democracy, rule of law and the judiciary in Maduabuchi D. (Eds.), *Philosophy and politics: Discourse on values, politics and power in Africa*, Malthouse Press Limited, Lagos.
- Fails, M.D. (2008). *Changing mass attitudes and democratic deepening*. Political Research Quarterly, Retrieved from:
- Folarin, A.B. (1998): "On the Nature and Types of Propaganda", Seminar Paper, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan.
- Frankly, J. (1993). *Dictionary of Marketing and Communication; International Textbook Company*, Bucks.
- Friedrich, C. (1975). "Political Decision-making, Public Policy and Planning" Uveges J. Jr.Ed, *the dimension of public administration*: Boston: Holbrooks Press Inc.
- Gabriel, N. (2008). *The Role of Education in Promoting a Democratic Society in Nigeria*. Aboki Publishers, Makurdi.
- Gunther, R. Diamandouros, P.N. &Puhle, H. (1995). *In the politics of democratic consolidation: Southern Europe in comparative perspective* (ed.) Baltimore: John Hopkins Up.
- Guttman, A. (1987). *The Greater future of Nigeria: A cultural perspective*, Lantern Books Ltd. Ikeja.
- <http://preqsagepub.com10.117/1065912908327603bostedathttp://onlinesagepub.com>
- Ikelegbe, A.O. (1996). *Public Policy Making and Analysis*; Benin: Uni. Publishing Ltd.
- Iwokwagh, N.S. (2002): "The mass media and mass mobilization in democracy: The Nigeria experience" in ... (ed.) *African Journal of Economy and society* vol.4 No.1.
- Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria: Critical Essays*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan.
- Jika, A. and Ali, M.B. (2002). *Mass Media and National Development* (Eds.) ManuwarBooks International, PHC 612 Karkasara Babbangiji Behind Aminu Kano Teaching Hospital Kano, Pp.5.
- Jones, C. (1977). *An Introduction to the study of public policy*, Duxbury Press.
- Keane, J. (1991). *Civil Society and the state. New European Perspective*, Verso, London.
- Kukah, M.H. (1999). *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*. Spectrum Books Ltd., Ibadan.



- Kunczick, M. (1988). *Concept of Journalism: North and South*. Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, BON.
- Lade, B. (1987): "Mass media and National Security". A paper presented at National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, Plateau State.
- Liman, A.N. (2008): *Mass media and world politics, International Communication in the Global village*". Daily Graphics, Nig.Ltd.
- Liman, A.N. (2008): *Mass media and world politics, International Communication in the global village*". Daily Graphics, Nig. Ltd.
- Lindblom, C. (1968). *The Policy Making Process*. New Jersey.
- Linz, J.J. (1975). "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes". *Handbook of Political Science* vol.3 Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Lipset, S.M. (1959). Some social Prerequisites for Democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.*; 53.
- Lipset, S.M. (1994). *The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited*. *Am. Social. Rev.*, 59.
- MacBride, S. (1980): *Many voice one world*. The UNESCO Press, Paris.
- Mcquail, D. (1987). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction* (3rd Edition) Sage Publications, London.
- Mishler, W. and Rose, R. (2001). *Political Support for Incomplete Democracies: Realist versus Idealist Theories and Measures*. *Int. Polit. Sci. Rev.*22(4).
- Mkandawire, O. (2002). "Adjustment, Political Conditionality and Democratization in Africa", in Chole, E. & J. Ibrahim (Eds.)
- Musa, Y. (2003). "The Media and Participatory Communication in Nigerian Politics" in Kuaneshi (ed.) *Politics and Political Power Relations in Nigeria*. Proceedings of the National Conference by the Institute for Development, ABU, Zaria.
- Nasarawa State Government Edict (1997). *On the establishment of Nasarawa Broadcasting Service (NBS) Lafia*.
- Noma, O. (2000). *Democracy and the empowered mass media: Managing information in Clinton-Lewinsky Affairs and "Buharigate in OyinOgunba* (ed) *the empowerment of the civil society in a democracy*, Ile-Ife: Anchor Print Ltd.
- Obikeze, O.S. & Obi, E.A. (2004). *Public Administration in Nigeria: A Developmental Approach*, Bookpoint Ltd., Onitsha.
- Osaghae, E.E. (1995). *A moral politics and Democratic Instability in Africa: A Theoretical Exploration*. *Nordic J. Afric. Studies*, vol.4(1).
- Pugaciauskas, V. (1999). *Semi-presidential institutional models and democratic stability: Comparative analysis of Lithuan and Poland*. Retrieved from <http://www.tspmi.vu.it/files/eidpud/stvobi-pdf> (Accessed date: January 25, 2019).
- Rasheed, A. (1995). "The Nigerian media and the shaping of a Nigerian National Ideology" Paper presented at NDA Kaduna.
- Raymond, W.J. (1978). *Dictionary of Politics*, London: Brunswick publishing Co.
- Reich, R.B. (1994). "Policy making in a democracy", in Lane, F.S. ed., *Current issues in public administration*. New York st.
- Rivers, W.L. et al., (1980). *Responsibility in mass communication* (3rd edition), New York, Harper Row Publishers.
- Rozumlowicy, B. (2007) *Democratic change: A theoretical perspective*". In *Media Reform*. (Eds.) Morroe E.P. Rozumilowicz, B. and Stefam G. Verhuls London: Rutledge.
- Sambe, J.A. (2005): *Introduction to Mass Communication Practice in Nigeria*. Spectrum Books Ltd., Ibadan.
- Schramm, W. (1963): *Four theories of the press*. University of Illinois press, Urbana.



- Schumpeter, J. (1950). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Harper and Row, New York.
- Scumitter, P.C. and Karl, T.L. (1993). "What democracy is... and is not" the global resurgency of democracy. (ed.) Larry Diamond and Marc F.P. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Vp.
- Seligson, M.A. (2000). Toward a model of democratic stability: Political culture in Central America. *Estudiosinterdisciplinarios America Latinayel Caribe* (July-December), 11(2).
- Siebert, S.S., Peterson, T. &Scrhamm, W. (1956): *Four theories of the press*, University of Illinois Press. Urbans/Chicago.
- Tarnande, T. (2003). "Poverty and democracy in Nigeria: Interface and Consequences", in Kwanashe M. (Ed) *Politics and Political Power Relations in Nigeria. Proceedings of the National Conference by the Institute for Development Research*, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Tyozua, A. (2010). *The media and electoral politics in Nigeria*, AT-Mishads Publishers, Makurdi.
- Umar, M.Z. (2002). *Problems and Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*. In Attahiru, M.J. (ed.), *Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria*. Centre of Democratic Research and Training (CDRT), Kano.
- Waldt, G.V.D (2001). "Public Policy and Policy Analysis", in Van Niekerk, G.V.D. Waldt & A. Tower, *Governance, Politics and Policy in South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.