

Towards A Marxist Analysis of Media Bias in Nigeria: A Theoretical and Empirical Bases For An Alternative Narrative.

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Abstract

The centrality of the media to politics has spawned several attempts to explain the factor(s) that account for how it interfaces with politics. The paper contends that most of the attempts to explain media bias in Nigeria derive epistemologically from the rational empiricist approach to knowledge. And this means the explanations given are bound to inhere in the weaknesses generally ascribed to the rational empiricist approach, in addition to any weaknesses that may attend a specific scholar's use of this approach. On the basis of the theoretical and empirical inadequacy of media bias narratives epistemologically grounded in the rational empiricist approach appraised, the paper explores the possibility of an alternative narrative of media bias (Marxist) in Nigeria. Secondary data comprising thesis, dissertations, journal articles, textbooks, amongst others were interrogated to

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advance arguments. Essentially, the kernel of the alternative narrative being canvassed is Marxist, meaning that the paper makes a case for the relevance of Marxist analysis of media in Nigeria since it allows, amongst others, for class, the mode of production and other consequential variables surrounding the media to be factored in accounting for media bias in Nigeria. In conclusion the paper suggests intense rigor in media-politics analysis as well as increased attempt to bring research up-to-date with the dynamic mosaic of the Nigerian society.

Key Words: Media Bias, Narrative, Marxist, Rational, Empiricism

Introduction

One of the significant developments in the 21st century is the pervasive influence of the media in all spheres of society. The ascendancy of the media in the political realm is loudly attested to by the invention of catch phrases to denote similar or different conceptions of the relationship between the media and politics. Zaller (1999:1) used the concept of media politics, which he likens to party politics, judicial politics, legislative politics and bureaucratic politics, to denote “a system of politics in which individual politicians seek to gain office, and to conduct politics while in office, through communication that reaches citizens through the mass media.”

The phrase mediatization of politics was used by Mazzoleni and Schulz (cited in Kutseva, 2011) to describe the growing significance of the media. According to them, Mediatization entails that “instead of serving as *mediators* between political institutions and citizens, the media is increasingly becoming key player in the political arena; indeed, it is impossible to imagine modern politics without the existence and influence of the media” (emphasis in original). Together with other terms like videocracy, electronic democracy and media democracy, these terms reflect the increasing dependency of political action on the media (Mazzoleni and Schulz cited in Kutseva, 2011). If political action is increasingly dependent on the media, then the character of the

media and its content, neutral or biased (and if it is so in which direction or whose interest) in so far as this character and content conditions and determines the content of political action, whether functional or dysfunctional, deserves close scrutiny.

Understandably there have been studies (Hydle 1973, Omu 1978, Igomu 2005, Yusha'u 2009, Ibrahim 2006, Adamu 1994, Adebayo and Agbaje 2010, amongst others) of varying levels of depths and rigor in Nigeria to account for the behavior of the media. While, as would be shown in subsequent subsections, these works have indeed shed some light on some aspects and levels of media bias in Nigeria, there are dimensions of media bias that have either not been sufficiently addressed or have even suffered neglect. It is these dimensions, which, the piece argues, are adequately accommodated within the Marxist approach to political phenomena, which this contribution attempts to address. Essentially, therefore, this piece demonstrates the inadequacy of extant explanations of media bias in Nigeria and accordingly shows the likely directions an alternative narrative-the Marxist-could face. In specific terms, the paper addresses these questions: what weaknesses can be pin pointed in extant explanations of media bias in Nigeria? On what grounds can we argue for an alternative narrative? If there is an alternative narrative (the Marxist), what likely directions it could take? Secondary data comprising of books, dissertations, thesis, and journal articles were engaged using discourse analysis to confront these questions. The paper has been structured into introduction, conceptual issues, inadequacy of extant narratives, the epistemological basis of the Marxist alternative, the Marxist alternative and conclusion.

Conceptual Issues: The Media, Media Bias, and Epistemology

This refers to the means of communication such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines that reach and influence people widely. The influence of the media often has a political impact on society (Bealay 1999: 254). For Heywood (1997:202) the media comprises the institutions of society that deal with the production

and distribution of all forms of knowledge, information and entertainment. He further explains that what makes the media mass is that it directs attention to a large and undifferentiated audience by employing advanced technology. However, the media in this paper encompasses only the print and broadcast media like newspapers, television and radio.

Epistemology

According to Mastin (2008) epistemology is the study of the nature and scope of knowledge and justified belief. It analyzes the nature of knowledge and how it relates to similar notions such as truth, belief and justification. It also deals with the means of production of knowledge, as well as skepticism about different knowledge claims. It is essentially about issues having to do with the creation and dissemination of knowledge in particular areas of inquiry. Epistemology asks questions like: "What is knowledge?", "How is knowledge acquired?", "What do people know?", "What are the necessary and sufficient conditions of knowledge?", "What is its structure, and what are its limits?", "What makes justified beliefs justified?." For the sake of this paper, two schools of epistemology have been identified namely the rational empiricist and the Marxist. The paper basically attempts to interrogate the predominantly rational empiricist account of media bias rendered in Nigeria, and argues, on the basis of the flip sides of the rational empiricist accounts appraised, as well as what the paper argues are the strength of the Marxist school, for an alternative narrative-the Marxist.

Media Bias

According to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), media bias is favoritism to a particular social or political group. In Nigeria, (ASNE, 2017) mostly mass media bias is explained with reference to the geopolitical zone, ethnic, religious group, political party and the interest of the proprietors (James and Ahmed 2017). In this paper, attempt has been made to interrogate whether these levels of bias tell the whole, or even the main, story of media bias in Nigeria.

Insufficiency of Extant Narratives

Within the literature attempts to account for media bias in Nigeria have tended to emphasize the variables of ethnicity, geopolitical zone, religious affiliation, political party affiliation and proximity to regimes federal or state. In some situations, the ethnic, geopolitical and religious are collapsed into each other and the media accused of being biased in favour of a single bloc, for instance the “North”(Kukah 1991, Okidu 2011 and Ibrahim 2006). Thus the discussion in this section interrogates these narratives both on substantive and methodological grounds. In other words, conclusions as well as methodologies employed in arriving at the conclusions are scrutinized to show the extent and limit of their tenability.

Adamu (1994) showed how a power tussle within the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) eventually ethnicised the hitherto Nigerian press largely dominated by Nnamdi Azikwe. Two contestants, Ernest Ikoli (Ijaw) and Samuel Akinsanya (Ijebu Yoruba) vied for a vacant seat on the Lagos Legislative Council. Zik, some Ijebus and the majority of the Ibos supported Samuel Akinsanya while Ernest Ikoli was supported by Awolowo (an Ijebu) and a majority of the dominant Lagos Yoruba. Ernest Ikoli won and Zik together with his supporters abandoned the NYM and alleged tribal discrimination. The spillover of that contest for the Press was a series of bitter recriminations on the pages of *The Pilot* and *Daily Service* edited by Ernest Ikoli.

Adamu (1994) agreed with Nnoli's position that it is possible that the feud was fueled by Zik's perception of a threat to his ownership and control of the national press from the Ikoli-edited *Daily Service*. Awolowo's support of Ernest Ikoli over Samuel Akinsanya (a fellow Ijebu) was calculated to reduce the preponderant influence of Azikwe in Lagos politics. Linked to the fact stressed by Omu (1978) that to the then nationalist politicians a viable newspaper was a necessary part of any campaign strategy, it can be argued that what eventually played out as a regional and ethnic contest was essentially a power struggle.

While admitting that the labels *Ngbati Press*, *Ikenga Press*, *Arewa Press* and *Minority press* are not water-tight descriptions, Adebanwi (2009) still justifies his choice of *New Nigerian* to represent the *Arewa Press*, *TELL* to represent *The Ngati Press* and *Guardian* to represent *The Minority Press* on the grounds that the attempt to so categorize Nigerian newspapers “....reflect the reality in the polity, where the newspapers are seen as defenders and reflections of particular ethno-religious formations.” The second justification for his choice is that in crises situations the newspapers readily become avenues for crystallizing and advancing the position of opposing interests. The second justification may be tenable, but for the first, there is the question of the deliberate obfuscation of the real interest of groups to perpetuate the manipulation that the newspapers are capable of. In fact what entities “are seen” to be, might be worlds away from what they are in actuality (Usman 1987). That newspapers are seen to be divided along geopolitical lines does not therefore constitute enough grounds for accepting their appearance.

To compound the problem, what was presented as data was a mish-mash of features, opinion articles and editorials without any attempt at systematization. Again, a magazine was chosen alongside newspapers without any attempt to rationalize the choice. With this, it is possible to carry out spin in even an academic article, for one can conveniently cite publications that support whatever conclusion one aims to reach, in the absence of a pre-specified acceptable systematic guideline for the drawing of data. Adebanwi (2009) also failed to state his sampling technique. Passages from the purposively selected newspapers are copiously quoted to buttress arguments. The consequence is, without any rigor, Adebanwi reached two conclusions. Firstly, that the portrayal of OPC in the press has consequence for Nigerian democracy, and secondly, that there was a bias in the representation of Odua People’s Congress by the *New Nigerian*. Even if these conclusions might appear true, the methodological weaknesses identified reduce their scientific tenability.

Omebije’s (2012) study, premised on the view that there

exists a northern and southern press, with *Daily Trust* chosen to represent the former, and *Daily Sun* to represent the latter examined “how the different axis of the press have influenced the coverage of its activities.” His finding was that “although *Trust* and *Sun* widely condemned the violence and called for a quick resolution of the Boko Haram crisis, their geographical and ideological affiliation of Arewa press and Lagos-Ibadan press took a better part of them, as evident in the manner in which they frame reports relating to Boko Haram.” Essentially, Omebije’s (2012) position on the reportage of Boko Haram by *Daily Trust* and *Daily Sun* is that the two newspapers reported on Boko Haram as mouthpieces of the North and South, constructs that were neither clarified nor the yardstick for categorizing any press as northern or southern specified.

Yusha'u (2009) developed what he called regional parallelism in his doctoral thesis on the coverage of corruption by the southern and northern press. Regional parallelism, according to Yusha'u (2009: 263), “refers to the influence of regional considerations in the practice of journalism. It is rooted in the historical realities of a given country.” The characteristics of this phenomenon include: (1) It is determined by location (2) It is supported by the elites (3) It is promoted by political and business interests (4) It is made obvious by the economic imbalance in media ownership (5) It is surrounded by the complexities that characterised the society (6) It is not absolute. While all these variables shed light on the forces that influence regional parallelism, the import of these variables underscored the role of elites, its promotion by political and business interests and the complexity of the society which renders regional parallelism, into none absoluteness. Simply put, owing to the role of the political and business interests of elites and the complex nature of the Nigerian society, regional parallelism is not absolute; it is not at all situations that it can be dogmatically asserted that Nigerian newspapers are split along regions lines.

Corroborating Yushau's (2009: 264) position, Adebayo and Agbaje (2010) argue that the preeminent factor that influences the

quality of press reportage is ownership. While Yushau's (2009: 265) position on the intertwinement of regional and elite factors in determining media reportage in Nigeria is that "the elite effectively utilize the media either to promote their interest, their region, their personal interest or even manipulate public opinion to their advantage," Adebayo and Agbaje's (2010) contention is that "**It is as an instrument in the hands of the ruling class** that lead to ones understands of the role of the Nigerian media. Whatever ethnic colouration they reflect, is a function of the use to which they are put by their owners and which them serve as mirrors of intra-ruling class competition, that tends to be exercised in ethnic terms (emphasis ours)." These assertions signify that there is no iron-cast determinism about the nature of media reportage of national issues in Nigeria. The variables usually held to account for the nature of press reportage, geopolitical zone and ethnicity for instance, have been subordinated to the interests of their elites owners. On the basis of this, the mere fact of been geographically located either in the Northern or Southern part of Nigeria does not warrant, on the basis of the two scholarly positions articulated above, for the media in Nigeria to be termed regional or ethnic without qualifications that specify within what limits any media is biased or favour any group

In fact Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013) showed how, in the gladiatorial contest between Chief Lamidi Adedibu and Senator Rashid Ladoja, *The Nation* and *Nigerian Tribune* Newspapers were partisan each supporting a different faction in the conflict. Interestingly, the crisis was intra-party and it even led to the factionalization of the PDP in Oyo state. It was also intra-regional (in Ibadan, Oyo State, the South West Geopolitical Zone). The import of this is that while there might an iota of truth in the claim of Mohammed Haruna (Kukah 1991), that there is no newspaper that does not support sectional or group interest in the country, the situation does not lend itself to easy and convenient generalizations.

From a meticulous study of the editorials of *Vanguard* and *The Guardian* newspapers for the whole of 2006, in which a total of 142 samples, 71 for each newspaper were chosen, Ezerikevwe

(2013) found that, by manifest content, the editorials of the press highlighted the evils and the reasons why the masses should not support former president Olusegun Obasabjo's tenure elongation programme. Out of the 142 issues content analyzed, fifty (50) of them, representing approximately 35%, treated the power elongation bid of the former president and criticized his attempt to continue in office after 8 years. It should be remarked here for the sake of emphasis that an editorial, represents the official position of a newspaper, and a whole year is enough a time for a newspaper's overall orientation to crystallize.

Furthermore, the editorials were analyzed in time of national upheaval which is ideal for deciphering the objectivity or partisanship of a newspaper; as Pate (2002) cited in Omebije (2012) remarked:

Nothing defines the character of the media establishment more sharply than any crisis that pitches nation against nation or one section of the society against another. In times of conflict the responsibility of the media is magnified ten folds by society demand for more news information and analysis, and therefore its increased capacity to inform debate and shape public opinion. Every opinion written or spoken by the media is a potential machete, bullet or bomb in the mind and hands of victims and perpetrators

Thus far the way the variables of ethnicity, geopolitical zone, political party, proximity to a regime and the interest of politicians that condition media bias in Nigeria has been examined. It is obvious that while some level of bias along the lines of the variables identified does obtain in some instances, the notion that the media in Nigeria is mostly or absolutely geopolitical and or ethnoregional, what is called the geopolitics of information thesis or regional parallelism, can not be sustained always. From the discussion so far, it is legitimate to ask whether there can be an alternative narrative? Can media bias in Nigeria be accounted for

in another way, a way that may perhaps, in addition to compensating for the weaknesses pointed above, prove more theoretically tidy? Might the Marxist theory offer an alternative narrative, that though not conclusively addressing the source of media bias in Nigeria, offer yet another narrative that may be richer in explanatory power by virtue of its subordination of the plethora of factors that come to bear on press bias in Nigeria to one preeminent impulse? Before turning to this task, the theoretical and empirical basis for the alternative narrative necessitated by the weaknesses of extant ones being proposed can then be further clarified.

Epistemological Basis of the Marxist Alternative

All the works so far interrogated have advanced explanations of press bias in Nigeria from the rational empiricist approach to knowledge. In the main, these works have done either one, or a combination of the two explanatory approaches. On the one hand is the explanation of press bias is with reference to newspaper data, directly content-analysed and supported by a theoretical framework (e.g. Ojebuyi and Ekennia 2013), and on the other, the explanations are theoretical, drawing as they do from the works of others (for instance Adamu 1994). In the former type of explanation, what was essentially done was to categorize news entries observed over a period of time and the patterns observed as basis for adducing bias along the lines of geopolitical zone, ethnicity, government (Ezerikevwe 2013), etc while in the latter case arguments as to the direction of press bias were woven logically from the works of others; hence the two types of explanation come under the rationalist empiricist school of epistemology. But even in the theory of knowledge, that is epistemology, there are weaknesses in the rational empiricist approach which necessitate an alternative theory of knowledge. This means that even at its best, any explanation for any political phenomena within this approach is limited by these general weaknesses; in addition to specific weaknesses that may attend any use of this approach as has been demonstrated above. It is this

issues which this piece calls the theoretical and empirical bases that necessitate an alternative narrative.

Since the inadequacy and critique of rational empiricism constitutes one of the grounds for adumbrating the Marxist theory of knowledge, as well as one of the necessitating ground for the alternative narrative being canvassed for here, a little more light on this critique is due here as outlined; according to Haris (1979), which hold that theory and concept precede investigation. This means that *a priori* ideas of the nature of phenomena existing in the real world precede and influence our investigation. For instance, our concept and theory of what it means to be neutral or objective comes before and imposes methodological parameters for our inquiry. Specifically in respect to this topic, our concept and theory of what it means to be biased sets the tone of inquiries into the nature and or direction of the bias. When bias is conceived, illustrated and argued, the reference is mostly to groups like ethnic groups, geopolitical zones or even religious groups (Kukah 1991).

However for Marxists, levels of bias like the ones presented above are termed secondary contradictions (Nnoli 1980). The issue of the media being biased in favour of a definite category called class is hardly considered. Because of this, there are aspects of media bias that this epistemological concentration on a particular theory of knowledge reduces both in the diversity of intellectual explanation and practical possibilities and options inherent in the Marxist alternative.

The Marxist Alternative

While primarily and essentially Marxist analysis of social phenomena in general is anchored on dialectical and historical materialism, other theoretical tools derivable from these two foundations include class, mode of production, socio-economic formation, and ideology. *Describing* (as opposed to exhaustively demonstrating) whether and how these theoretical tools relate to mass media analysis forms the concerns of this sub-section. According to Marx:

The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it. (Marx 1964:78)

Simply put, the classes who own the means of production also control institutions like education, mass media, etc that produce and disseminate ideas. Based on the above quoted passage, the following hypothetical questions can be raised to guide this attempt to suggest what has been omitted in media bias discourse in Nigeria. Of course the questions raised, and the attempt made to address them, also constitute the pointers to the likely direction in which the Marxist alternative narrative could take.

1. What social, political, and economic arrangements characterize the society in which the media are being analyzed?
2. Who owns, controls, and operates the media?
3. What roles do the various media play in the society where the media are being analyzed? And what are the functions of the various popular art forms carried by the media?
4. What ideas, values, notions, concepts, beliefs, and so on are spread by the media, and what ideas, values, and so on are neglected by the media? And why?
5. How are writers, artists, actors, and other creative people affected by the patterns of ownership and control of the media? (www.mattsmediaresearch.com/pdfs)

As we proceed to make some observations on these questions, it is important to state that the responses are only pointers, since each of the questions can form not just topics for papers but even theses and dissertations. Thus, presented here as

table 1, are concise responses to these hypothetical questions of the variables that affect the behaviour of the media in Nigeria:

Table 1: A Marxist Outline of Hypothetical Questions To Guide Media Analysis

S/N	Question	Response/Pointers
1.	What social, political, and economic arrangements characterize the society in which the media are being analyzed?	Western liberal democracy together with capitalism (Ake, 1979), as well as all the paraphernalia of governance that makes these alter ego systems work. Invariably, the social arrangements, such as education, mass media, amongst others, derive their bearing from the rampant influence of the economic structure.
2.	Who owns, controls, and operates the media?	The state and bourgeoisie on the one hand and the petty bourgeoisie on the other (Oso n.d., Okwuchukwu 2014, James 2015). While the former (state and bourgeoisie) mostly owns and controls (through agencies like Nigeria Broadcasting Commission NBC, Nigerian Press Council N PC), the latter operates the media as journalists.
3.	What roles do the various media play in the society where the media are being analyzed? And what are the functions of the various popular art forms carried by the media?	Hunting dogs for politicians e.g. the 2015 General Elections; Entertainment, promoting consumption via advertisement , etc While the entertainment which is the forte of artists appears innocuous, in actuality the alliance between these artists and multinational corporations like Glo lubricates the wheel of the capitalist system and encourages consumption.
4.	What ideas, values, notions, concepts, beliefs, and so on are spread by the media, and what ideas, values, and so on are neglected by the media? Why?	Bourgeois Heroism, individualism , consumerism (Caudwell, 1971). Ideas and values that are sourced from “news sources” and “newsmakers” (Okwuchukwu 2014) and agents of spreading culture like artists, authors , traditional ruler and clergy. On the other hand the ideas, values, notions, concepts, and beliefs that have been omitted are ideas associated with the Marxist model of society namely alienation, exploitation, revolution, etc.

5	How are writers, artists, actors, and other creative people affected by the patterns of ownership and control of the media?	Ownership Pattern: Public and private; while public ownership dominates the broadcast segment, private ownership dominates the print sector (Muazu 2009, Gambo and Hassan 2007). He who pays the piper dictates the tune. The state and the bourgeoisie as the paymasters of "writers, artists and other creative people" exact obedience from these people.
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Source: Compiled by the Authors, April 4th 2017.

A Little More Light on the Hypothetical Questions and Responses/Pointers

With respect to the first question, which centres on the political, economic and social arrangement characterizing the society in which the media is being analyzed, the answer, based on Ake's (1979) critique of the theory of political development, is liberal democracy and its accompanying economic correlate, capitalism. In harmony with the Marxist base-superstructure approach of comprehending phenomena, the social arrangement, embedding the media amongst other arrangements, derive its character from the economic base. Thus, the media as an important component of the social arrangement is better understood with reference to the economic structure as well as the patterns of power contestations that are also adequately comprehended only with reference to the economic base.

Aside these Marxist theoretical basis being expounded, even otherwise non-Marxist explanations end up indirectly providing evidence that the economic impulse which Marxist give pre-eminent in the explanation of media behaviour, must indeed be reckoned with in explaining mass media in Nigeria. For instance, Yusha'u (2009) argues that regional parallelism in Nigeria is anchored by six (6) factors amongst which are: support by the elites, promoted by political and business interests, and that it is made obvious by the economic imbalance in media ownership. Based on these, to paraphrase Yusha'u (2009) would be to argue that elites, the economy and the political and business interest of

elites' condition regional bias on the part of the press in Nigeria. In Marxist lingo, these factors can be subsumed under the mode of production and class as explanatory variables for the press in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Oso (1991: 47) cites Golding and Elliot who have this to say on how economic imperatives affect the character of the structures of political communication: "The search for new and larger readerships draws the press away from a strident factionalism and toward a more central band of opinion, in which a mix of apparent neutrality and entertainment makes a paper attractive as much as influential." But Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013:113) contend that "...the profit-driven terrain where the media corporations operate tends to compel journalists to **aid their financial supporters**, thereby making reports to be driven progressively by free market rather than the truth (emphasis mine)." So, even when Oso (1991) reduces being political for the media to opposition to the colonial government in the turbulent context of colonial Nigeria, and proceeds on that basis to define as apolitical the *Daily Times* established in 1926 for the simple reason that it assumes a non-adversarial posture to the colonial government, it can be contended, in line with Marxist political economy, that the owners of capital are not without a political interest or affiliation. Simply put, in refusing to publish anything critical of the colonial government, the owners of capital in the *Daily Times* (Oso 1991 uses the word capitalization to label the infusion of business capital in the media industry) have shown where their allegiance lies.

For how the ownership pattern affects operators of the mass media in Nigeria, it is worth bearing in mind that "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx and Engles 1886: 3) Simply put, all the gamut of functions that the state performs in society fosters and furthers the interest of the bourgeoisie though these may be carried out in the name of the state. This means that whether it is the state setting guidelines and enforcing these through its apparatus of coercion, as happened in the case of the infamous decree 4 of 1983 (Adeyemi 1995), or the political

leaders commandeering state resources and partnering with the mass media to bankroll campaigns as obtained under Dasukigate, ownership exerts influence on the direction in which the mass media shows bias.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Bearing in mind the indisputable significance of the mass media to Nigeria, addressing its character, as well as the function, whether biased or unbiased, that it discharges as a consequence of that character, has not only been addressed with a variety of theoretical tools just as there are variety of explanations, but theoretical and methodological tools that allow one to comprehend the dynamic mosaic that is the Nigerian society had to employ. This much has to be done in view of some of the weaknesses in extant narratives shown in the preceding discussion. As has also been argued in the paper, the predominantly ethno-regional narratives faulted have also indirectly provided evidence that mass media bias in Nigeria can be adequately comprehended using theoretical tools furnished by the Marxist approach to phenomena. The following suggestions are therefore put forward to enhance comprehensive understanding of the mass media in Nigeria.

- 1) Intellectuals must endeavour in their researches to choose theoretical and methodological tools that adequately capture and explain the diversity of Nigeria.
- 2) Also, even when the Marxist alternative being proposed is not followed, researchers must endeavour to be thorough in whatever theoretical and methodological tools employed. This much is required since the conclusions influence other people's opinion and also provides launch pads for further research.
- 3) Intellectuals are also called upon to ensure that their researches not only mirror the character of the Nigerian society, but the change in the alliances between the motley groups must not be lost site of. This means Nigerian researchers must be wary of not only the diversity of the country but the dynamism of this diversity and seek to reflect this in their research.

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