

**EVALUATION OF THE TELEVISION MEDIUM AS A
CHANNEL FOR CAMPAIGN AGAINST VOTE BUYING
DURING ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA**

OJO, Lucky Idowu, Ph.D

Department of Mass Communication
Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi.

AFAM, P. Anikwe

Department of Mass Communication
Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi.

MUSTAPHA, O. Asekhamhe

Department of Mass Communication
Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi.

Abstract

This paper examines the role of television in the campaign against vote buying during elections in Nigeria. The objective is to determine how the television medium has performed in its enlightenment against vote buying in the Nigerian electoral process. The study adopted the survey design, while the questionnaire was used to gather data for the study. The Social Responsibility Theory provided a framework for the analysis. Findings of the study show that television, through enlightenment campaigns, has performed well in its statutory duty of sensitizing the electorates on the danger of vote buying during elections. Findings equally indicate that corruption, compromise of professional and ethical standards as well as, ownership influence; pose a hindrance to the effectiveness of television as an enlightenment campaign platform against vote buying during elections. The study recommends amongst others that, the Independent National Electoral

Commission, INEC, should use television regularly to fight against vote buying in order to improve on the Nigerian electoral process.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Electorate, Politics, Television, Vote Buying

INTRODUCTION

In many nations across the globe, election is the accepted process through which individuals are chosen to represent a people or community in various organs of government. Election is as a result, one of the cardinal features of democracy, which however, is constantly assaulted through the phenomenon of vote buying. In addition to these factors, concern for vote- buying during elections has assumed a worrisome dimension in Nigeria.

Scholars have given a variety of interpretations to vote buying. Ologbenla and Waziri (2012), Ovwasa (2013) and Matenga (2016) argue that the act of vote buying is an economic exchange, a contract or perhaps an action in which the voter sells his or her vote to the highest bidder. Here, vote buying is seen as a situation where candidates buy and sell vote as they buy and sell apples, shoes or television sets. In this connection, parties and candidates buy votes by offering particularistic material benefits to voters.

Egbo and Uche defined vote buying as:

any form of financial, material or promissory inducement or reward by a candidate, political party, agent or supporter to influence a voter to cast his or her vote in favour of a given candidate or even abstain from doing so in order to enhance the chances of a particular contestant to win an election (Egbo and Uche, 2012, p.26).

From the above analysis, vote buying can be seen as an inducement offered to electorate in an election situation with a view to

garnering more votes, or an act of exchanging one's vote for material gains.

According to Nkwede & Abah, (2019, p.1), "in the democratization process in Nigeria, vote-buying seems to have taken the centre stage. The electorate trade their vote for certain outcomes that are important to them". Bratton, (2008), cited in Nkwede & Abah (2019, p.1) opine that one in five Nigerians has experienced an offer for their vote. The rewards offered by Nigerian politicians include money, commodities such as food like rice, bread, salt, onion, groundnut oil and trinkets in the form of umbrellas, bags and other valuables. Olaito (2018) avers that election period in Nigeria can be compared to a season of give and take with lots of commercial activities in the red light street.

While harping on money politics and voting behaviour of an average voter in Nigeria, Adamu and Ibrahim (2016), noted that although vote buying has become ubiquitous in recent elections in Nigeria, its history predates the return to democracy in May, 1999. There have been allegations of vote buying in the electoral history of Nigeria. It was rife during the Social Democratic Party presidential primary in Jos in 1992. In fact, vote buying was part of the reason adduced by Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida for annulling the June 12, 1993 presidential poll which was hailed as the freest and fairest election in Nigeria's history.

In line with the Social responsibility, Development- media and Democratic - participant theories, the media have an influential role to play in sensitizing and conscientizing all critical stakeholders to the menacing issue of vote buying using appropriate media strategies. In the opinion of Ochonogor (2016,p.71), communication is central to any attempt at inducing change in any society as it provides information that will enable people to understand and appreciate the need to participate in development initiatives. The mass media (radio,

television, newspaper and magazine) are vested with the duties of educating, informing and enlightening the people in order to keep them abreast with the happenings in the society.

The pre-independent press was particularly acknowledged to have contributed significantly in raising the political consciousness of the Nigerian people and was in the vanguard of the struggle that led to the attainment of independence from the British Colonial Masters on October 1st 1960 (Ochonogor, 2008). Onu (2007) had earlier posited that the Nigerian press had stood on its own in time past as vibrant social institution. He added that the press was very instrumental in the fight for independence and the entrenchment of a democratic government in Nigeria.

Arguably, this may have prompted Adesoji (2006) cited in Ochonogor (2008); to posit that despite the dictatorial tendencies of the military government, the Nigerian mass media particularly the television medium was able to see that democracy is entrenched. To a very great extent, it is not wrong to infer that television was a strong force in the quest to exit the military government. Ochonogor (2008) also stated that television plays significant role in championing any social and political course. The basic responsibilities of television as a mass medium according to him include information, education and entertainment functions. Through this functions, television helps to define issues and provide the people with a common term of reference so that public attention can be focused on the political process. Okoro (1995, p.225), posited that "as an audio- visual channel that disseminate contemporary ideas and refine traditional practices and values, television assists in reshaping conflicting societal norms" He added that television is recognized as a powerful agents of socialization capable of instituting a high level of enlightenment and sensitization needed to transform a nation's social and political orientation.

Obvious from the above is the fact that television as a medium of communication plays a key role in the day - to - day smooth and

effective running of the society. By this, the mass media in Nigeria particularly television is expected to serve as a link between government and the governed. For instance, Sunday Politics and Politics Today on Channels Television anchored by Seun Okinbaloye on daily and weekly basis usually highlight and analyze political issues as they concern Nigerian politics. The same thing is done on African Independent Television (AIT) by Ijeoma Osamor, on the programme "Democracy Today". The presenters of these programmes always strive to carry all interested viewers and other members of the society, irrespective of age, sex, tribe, belief, gender, socio-political affiliation and leanings along in the course of presenting their programmes. Through this way, the public is enlightened on burning issues of national importance and their understanding of critical issues of great importance is made easier.

According to Ochongor and Ukeagbu (2010), enlightenment campaigns through television channel are veritable strategies of getting the people involved in the fight against electoral malpractices. They added that enlightenment campaigns have been known to be effective in the mobilization of people against electoral manipulations such as vote buying. Corroborating the above, McKee (1992) in Ochongor and Ukeagbu (2010, 164), posited that "through enlightenment campaigns on television and other mass media, the issues at stake are always well analyzed and understood, resulting to desired mass action. And the end result is always an accelerated process of diffusion".

Obviously, political enlightenment campaign via television reawakens the individuals to their civic responsibilities. Since human beings possess hidden potentials and physical abilities, enlightenment campaigns, persuasion, mobilization and sensitization will gear them towards discovering these qualities. This is always better achieved through the television medium because it possesses audio-visual qualities. This perhaps prompted Okunna (1999) to aver that television

is one of the most communicative forces in the history of civilization because of its audio - visual qualities.

Politics and electioneering are some of the important pillars of democracy. Indeed, they are necessary conditions for democracy because they provide the medium for the expression of the core principles and purposes of democracy such as the sovereignty of the citizens, freedom, choice and accountability of political leaders. To serve these purposes of democracy, election must be free and fair. The notion of free and fair election according to Kehinde (2001) is expressed in several conditions including absence of manipulation, violence and fraud as well as impartial election management by authorities such as Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, and effective participation by the electorates at all stages of the electoral process. Elections have a very central role to play in politics. If the essence of elections must be realized, the election must be devoid of irregularities that usually put a big question mark on the credibility of the entire electioneering process. If at any point in the process of electioneering, there is a question of credibility, it will amount to subverting the will of the people which might trigger off violence and chaos.

According to Jega (2014), the electioneering process in Nigeria suffered a long period of electoral malpractices ranging from rigging, ballot stuffing, ballot snatching and ultimately vote buying. All these anomalies usually characterize a manipulation of the electoral process with impunity. Vote buying during elections in Nigeria was confirmed by late President Yaradua in 2009 when he sincerely stated that the process that brought him into government was marred by gross irregularities which he will not want to see in future elections. Hence, he set in motion, machineries of electoral reforms before his demise. One major effect of the menace of vote buying is the declaration of Nigeria as the capital of corruption and the head quarter of poverty in the world. Through vote buying, the electorates are given peanuts and their future, and that of their children mortgaged.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In politics, elections have a central role to play. If the essence of elections must be realized, the election must be devoid of irregularities. In recent times, vote buying has become the face of Nigerian elections as reflected in the off-season elections conducted in Edo, Anambra, Ekiti and Ondo states (Nwangwu, 2018). From the records during the Edo, Ekiti and Ondo elections, both the People Democratic Party and All Progressive Congress were all accused of vote buying at one point or the other. This cast doubts on the credibility of the electoral process. In an effort to nip this electoral malpractice in the bud, different media, particularly television, have been deployed as channel to forestall the continuity of this political malfeasance. The worry of this study therefore, is how far the television medium has fared as a medium in the campaign to curtail or eliminate this hydra - headed 'monster' of vote buying before and during elections in Nigeria. Based on the aforesaid, this study seeks to examine the role of television medium in the campaign against vote - buying during Nigerian elections.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The broad objective of this study is to evaluate the television medium as a potent channel in the campaign against vote buying in Nigeria. The specific objectives include:

1. Determine the role of the television medium in the campaign against vote buying in Nigeria elections.
2. Examine the effectiveness of television in carrying out enlightenment campaign against vote buying during elections in Nigeria.
3. Ascertain the challenges faced by the Nigerian press particularly that of television in its campaign against vote buying in Nigeria.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Below are some of the questions this study seeks to explore:

1. What has been the role of the television medium in the campaign against vote buying during elections in Nigeria?
2. Has the television medium been effective in the enlightenment campaign against vote buying during elections in Nigeria?
3. What are the challenges faced by the Nigerian press particularly that of television in its campaign against vote buying in Nigeria?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the years, the human race has witnessed significant political changes and upheavals in countries around the world, especially in developing nations like Nigeria where political governance is undergoing difficult experimental stages and where the role of the press in the political process faced tremendous obstacles. The ordinary citizens and other stakeholders are updated regularly through media based knowledge for comparative assessment of politics, policies and the economy. To achieve sustainable democratic governance, the citizens of the country must possess the knowledge, skills and awareness to understand the basic principles of the democratic process; including exercising their franchise during elections so as to elect political candidates of their choice to various offices (Nwankwo 1992; Diamond, 2004; McCombs and Reynolds, 2009; Grabber, 2010) are consistent in their argument that.

Apparently, the mass media are saddled with the responsibility to sensitize citizens to the basic rules, principles and practices of democratic values by making the electorates understand what is required of them before, during and after elections, and also to constantly evaluate government actions and policies vis -a- vis the citizenry. This is with a view to ensuring that everybody irrespective of age, sex, location, political or ethnic affiliation is carried along.

Based on the above assertions, Okoro (2013, p.547) posits "television has the responsibility of conveying the values of political tolerance, trust in democratic governance, respect for the rule of law, and active engagement in electioneering campaigns". Chikelu (2000) noted that since one of the nagging problems confronting Nigeria is that of national unity and tribal coherence, the Federal Government should ensure that its development agenda and policies adequately allow for mobilization of information resources for equal access and distribution.

Studies on the inter relation between media and development have engaged the interest of communication scholars and researchers. For instance, both McQuail (2005) and Melkote (1991) concurred with the theoretical models on media effects, which conceptualized the impact of the media as direct and powerful on individual attitudes as well as on the interdependent nature of a society. On this note, Okoro (2013) noted that together with political development is the concept of citizens' motivation which forms the basis for national integration and ethnic unification in a developing nation. Indeed, the usefulness of television as a potent channel in sensitizing the public against any political manipulation can never be over-stressed. Also its usage to motivate citizens is a strategic and necessary approach in a modern society because motivation is considered a prerequisite for citizens' political interest and engagement and it demonstrates support for a meaningful political direction.

Okoro (2010) noted that television as a channel of the media can be effectively utilized to encourage active political citizenship and promote healthy debate and critical analysis of political governance. In light of the above, it can be argued that the press is not only indispensable in a political process, integration and national togetherness, but it has also become inseparable from political

sensitization and campaign strategies especially in the present information driven societies.

The mass media are key to the running of the society. They refer to all the avenues through which information can be passed from one person to numerous, scattered and heterogeneous audience. According to Nwosu (1996) cited in Afamuefuna (2007), mass media are technical communication concepts which refer to the devices employed by anyone involved in a mass mediated communication situation for moving message across distance or time. Thus, the mass media are the major modern means of communication simultaneously and sometime instantaneously with a large scattered heterogeneous and anonymously audience. Because the mass media are the only source of news for most individuals, the presence of democratic or special bias in the media may have profound effect. Public dependence on the media also gives them the power to set political or democratic agenda and determine which issue will be subjected to public debate through the mass media. The citizens are educated on their right and privileges so as to participate meaningfully in the democratic process (Mile, 2009).

What the above portrays is that in democracy, the policies and decisions of government are at the instances of the will and opinion of the people. That is, the will and opinion of the majority of the people supersedes that of minority or groups. Tsegyu and Dogara (2016, p.76) noted that in the content of Nigeria, instead of the minority to have their ways in the process of governance, a few cabals have hijacked the state of affairs in the state.

Vote Buying: Origin, Causes, Implications and Solution

Several factors contribute to the rise in vote buying. One of them is the desperation of politicians who want to win elections at all costs. Politicians engage in vote buying because of the promise of

enormous power and wealth they hope to gain once they enter government. Another factor is the high incidence of poverty in Nigeria. Nigeria has the largest extreme poverty population in the world as at June, 2020 with nearly 50% of its estimated 200 million populations living below the poverty line. Poverty is particularly acute in rural areas, making many people susceptible to selling their votes for immediate gratification (Atoyebi and Aworinde, 2018).

The consequences of vote buying are numerous. In the first instance, it unduly raises the cost of elections, thereby shutting out contestant with little finances and promoting political corruption. Secondly, it compromises the credibility, legitimacy and integrity of elections. It discourages good people from contesting in electoral politics and causes citizens to lose faith in state institutions. Vote buying equally has the tendency to perpetuate bad governance (Dada, 2016).

Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC) frowns at the ugly incidents of vote buying and has vowed to cancel votes from polling units or wards where vote buying is perpetrated. Civil society groups have advocated for the arrest and prosecution of those engaging in vote trading. Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in a bid to fight vote trading have developed a strategic collaborative framework with INEC for effective monitoring of political parties campaign funds in other to minimize electoral fraud including vote buying.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored on the Social responsibility theory and the Political Economy Approach. The Social responsibility theory which had its beginning from the Hutchins' Commission of 1947 on the commission of freedom of the press has one of its basic postulations that freedom carries a concomitant obligation. In it, the

press is to be responsible to the society by carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication (Ojobor, 2002. p.11). The theory emphasizes the need for an Independent press that scrutinizes other social institutions and provides objective and accurate news reports. The most innovative feature of social responsibility theory was the call for media to be responsible for fostering productive and creative great communities. The media are responsible to the society no doubt in its functions of reporting news. Here, it carries not just news as it is a truthful and objective representation of the society. McQuail (2005) makes a clarion call on the mass media to be guided by the principles of fairness, balance and objectivity which are the foundational principles of media Practice.

The social responsibility theory was used for this study because the theory advocates that freedom is tied to responsibility. Its use in this study is to assess how the media have carried out their social responsibility with a view to carrying out enlightenment campaigns against vote buying in Nigeria. The media are among the agents of socialization. This is because they bring about the right social change needed to impact the world positively (Eribo, 2017). Apparently, the television medium has played and is still playing significant role in the enlightenment campaign against vote buying. Arguably, the drastic reduction in the incidence of vote buying during the September 19, 2020 gubernatorial election in Edo State may be a testimony that the sensitization campaign of the television medium against vote buying during elections is making the needed impact in our society, thereby, justifying the use of social responsibility theory of the media in this study.

Some notable proponents of the Political Economy Approach are Marx (1848), Ake (1981), Aja (1998) and Chikendu (2002). This approach is pigeonholed on dialectical materialism. According to Marx, the theory of dialectical materialism places primacy on material

or economic conditions of society. It is premised on the belief that man is dominantly motivated by economic needs. Ake (1981), in Nkswede & Abah (2019) observes that postcolonial states were endowed with highly developed power. But with denial of access to wealth by the colonial masters and poor development of the forces of production to secure economic base for existence, the indigenous middle-class turns to the state to utilize the highly statist economics for its aggrandizement. State power contemporaneously becomes a high state, and an object of deadly struggle that must be captured through hook or crook means since controlling the state tantamount to controlling political and economic power. For this reason, Chikendu (2002), cited in Nkswede & Abah (2019) opined that it is not surprising therefore, that political competition which is undertaken in order to gain control of state power should generate great heat and bitterness and promote extra-constitutional behaviour in the form of electoral malpractices.

The relevance of this approach to this study is that the struggle to win and control state power and use same for personal economic advantage of the politicians lies at the root of all electoral frauds including vote-buying in Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

Survey research design was adopted for the purpose of this study. The research instrument used for data collection was questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire were self administered by the researchers in order to have the opportunity of explaining to the respondents what is required of them vis -a - vis the questionnaire items. This helped to increase the response and facilitated a return rate of 396 (99%) of the questionnaire by the respondents. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed in Iyekhe quarter, in Auchi, Jattu,

Iyamho and Afowa in Uzairue, and Aviele, all in Etsako West Local Government Area of Edo State.

The population of the study was 127,238 persons, made up of duly registered voters in Etsako West Local Government Area, Edo State for the 2019 general elections. (Independent National Electoral Commission office, Auchi, 2019.)

A sample size of 400 respondents was selected from the research population using Taro Yamane Sample size calculating formula. The formula is:

Where:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (0.05)^2}$$

Where

n = Sample Size

N = Population

0.05 = allowable error

$$= \frac{127,238}{1 + 127,238 \times (0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{127,238}{127,239 \times 0.0025}$$

$$n = \frac{127,239}{318.097}$$

$$n = \underline{400}$$

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Table 1: What are the Roles of Television during Electioneering Campaign?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Information	90	25%
Education	66	20%
Entertainment	90	25%
All of the above	150	30%
Total	396	100% (N = 396)

Table 2: Have the media especially television adequately performing their duties?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	300	89%
No	70	9%
Not Sure	26	2%
Total		100% (N = 396)

Table 3: What is the Degree of Effectiveness of Television in Carrying Out Campaign against Vote Buying?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Agreed	100	25%
Strongly Agreed	150	35%
Strongly Disagreed	66	18%
Disagreed	80	22%
Total	396	100% (N = 396)

Table 4: Will You Say the Nigerian Journalists Are Faced with Challenges Hindering Them from Carrying out their Professional and Expected Responsibilities?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	300	81%
No	96	19%
Total	300	100% (N=396)

Table 5 : What will you say these challenges are?

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	90	25%
Ownership influence	66	20%
Compromise of standards	90	25%
All of the above	150	30%
Total	396	100% (N = 396)

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From the findings, it was seen that the mass media particularly television are saddled with the responsibilities of informing, educating, entertaining as well as sensitizing the electorates in Nigeria. This was reflected on table 2 where 300 respondents representing 89% of the respondents indicated the mass media particularly television do carry out the functions and roles of information, entertainment and education during electioneering campaigns. This is in line with Onu

(2007), who posited that in the era of globalization, the mass media are vested with the responsibility of integrating and reflecting opinion on a global scale, devoid of frontier, transmission of cultural heritage and support for social progress more than ever before. The mass media are expected to carry out these functions through enlightenment campaign.

In addition, findings showed that the television medium has been very effective in carrying out their role of sensitizing the public against vote buying. This is reflected in the findings on Table 3 where 150 respondents representing 35% of the respondents indicated the mass media particularly television have adequately carried out their roles. With the above, it becomes clear that the media particularly television as social crusaders and watchdog of the society have done a lot with regard to campaigning against vote buying.

The study revealed that the mass media are faced with serious challenges in their quest to campaign or eradicate vote buying in Nigeria. What is largely responsible for this is corruption, compromise of standard and ownership influence. This is contained in tables 5 & 6 where all the respondents affirmed this. This is in line with the position of Onu (2007) that no fewer than 70-80% of the media organizations in Nigeria are owned by the government while the remaining ones are owned by friends of the government who still benefit from the corridors of power.

With the picture painted above, television as a mass medium through its enlightenment and sensitization campaign has always been in the forefront to eradicate or reduce the ugly incidence of vote buying before and during elections in Nigeria

CONCLUSIONS

From the findings of this study, it is clear that the mass media exist to inform, educate, and sensitize the public during electioneering process. These roles make the media an important democratic institution. If the democratic tenets of the nation must be sustained, the

media must continually and aggressively carry out these their professionally and constitutionally assigned roles. With regard to carrying out campaigns against vote buying, the mass media especially television have performed well in their campaign against vote buying but other factors such as poverty and greediness on the part of the electorates have made the scourge of vote buying during elections in Nigeria to continue unabated.

The study recommends the following:

1. Television as a mass medium should take advantage of its audio - visual quality to fight the ugly incidence of vote buying before and during elections with a view to improving the Nigerian electoral process.
2. The mass media should remain committed to the fight against vote buying during elections in Nigeria. This will help eradicate vote buying in the country.

REFERENCES

- Adamu, A. and Ibrahim, S. (2016). Money Politics an Analysis of Voting Behaviour in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospect for Free and Fair Elections. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, 3 (3): Pages 89-99.
- Adebanji, D. (2013). Politics in the 4th Republic. In Pate, U. (Ed). *Introduction to conflict reporting in Nigeria*.
- Afamuefuna, C. A and Azubuike, F. (2010). Democracy and good governance in Nigeria. The place of the mass media. *International journal of communication* pp 253-264

- Aja, A. A. (1998). *Fundamental of modern political economy, International Economic Relations, Changing with the Times*. Owerri: Data Globe Nigeria.
- Ake, C. (1981). *A political economy of Africa*. New York: Longman Group Ltd.
- Alemoh, T. C. (2009). Journalism training work place. Influence and the quest for professionalism. In Wilson, D. (Ed). *Communication for social change and development* Uyo: B S M Resource Nigerian limited.
- Asadu, B. (2008). The mass media in contemporary democracy. In *Journal of art and social sciences* 1 and 2
- Asadu, B. And Azubuike, E. (2010). The mass media for political communication in the 21st century. In Ude, A (Ed). *Media and politics* Enugu: new generation Books.
- Atoyebi, O. and Aworinde, T. (2018). Fayemi wins as APC, PDP woo voters with cash. Available at: <http://punchng.com/fayemi-wins-as-apc-pdp-woo-voters-with-cash/> (Accessed 28 September 2020).
- Bryman, C. (2007). The Nigeria press and political reporting. The need for professionalism retrieved from www. Wikipedoa. Com.
- Chuchil, P. (2014). *The Role of the mass media in modern politics*. Enugu: Bestpress Design.
- Chikendu, P. M. (2002). Causes of electoral malpractices in nigeria. In Onyeka Reducing malpractices in our electoral processes. Enugu: CRC Publishing.

- Ciboh R (2015). News agenda and the subject of politics in Newspaper reporting of the fourth republic. In mangut, J. an waum, T (Eds). *The press and literature in the fourth republic* Makurdi: Aboki publishers.
- Dada, P. (2016). Vote Buying Allegations Trail Ondo Election, Available at:><http://www.punch.g.com/vote-buying-allegations-trail-ondo-election/>>(Accessed 28 September 2020)
- Diamond, A. (2004). Designing effective campaigns. In Rice, P. & Diamond, A. (eds) *Public communication campaigns*. Thousand oaks. CA: Sage
- Egbo, O and Uche, C. (2012). Security Votes in Nigeria: Disguising Stealing from the Public Purse, *African Affairs*, 111 (445): 597-614.
- Eribo, M. and Fashanu, F. (2014). *Sociology of Mass Communication*. Aim Printers: Auchi.
- Ezonbi, B. and Jonah. C.E. (2013). Democracy, good governance and human rights issues in Nigeria since 1999: some reflections in Modibo A.S. and Adodu A.Y (Eds). *Democracy and development in Africa*.
- Grabber, O. (2010). *Mass media in the new millennium: structure, function, issues and ethics*. (3rd ed). Iowa: Hunt publishing company.
- Iwokwagh, N.S. (2011). *Mass media and the challenges of sustainable democracy in Nigeria* Makurdi: Selfers Academic press.

- Jega, A. (2014). Politicians must abide by electoral guidelines, being an address delivered at a stakeholders meeting with leaders of political parties in the wake of 2015 elections. Retrived from www.google.com
- Kehinde, I. (2001). Electoral manipulation in Nigeria: a case of serious concern. Retrieved from www.ijournal.com
- Matenga, G. (2016). Cash for votes: political legitimacy in Nigeria. Open democracy, 11th October, retrieved from <http://www.opendemocracy.net/gram-matenga/cash-for-votes-political-legitimacy-in-nigeria>.
- Marx, K. and Fredrick, E. (1848). *Manifesto of the communist party*. China: Foreign Languages Printing House
- McCombs, M.E. and Reynolds, L, (2009). The agenda setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly* 36 (summer). 176-187.
- McKee, J. (1992). *The Mass Media and Cultural Development in Africa*. Zaria: Amathos Publishers.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's theories of Mass Communication (5th ed)* London: Sage Publication.
- McQuail. D. (2005) *Mass communication theories (5th ed)*. London: Sage publishers.
- Meckote, R.K. (1991). *Communication for development in third world: Theory and Practice*. Newbury Pork: Sage Publications.
- Nkwede, J.O. & Abah, E.O. (2019). Elections and vote buying in Nigeria: An albatross to democratization process. *In IOSR*

Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol 24. Issue 8 Ser 1 (August. 2019) 56-62. ISSN 2279 – 0837, P-ISSN:2279-0845.

- Nwakwo, P. E. (1992). *Broadcast media role in the fight against electoral malpractices*. Unpublished B.Sc. project, Enugu State University of Science and Technology.
- Nwangwu, B. C. (2018). The menace of vote buying. In *Punch newspaper, July, 13. P.47*
- Obilade, A. O (1999). Press freedom, human rights and advocacy in emerging African civil society. In Uche, L. U (Ed.) *Mass communication, Democracy and Civil Society in Africa*. Lagos: Smagh and company.
- Obotette, B. E. (2000). Mass Communication for National Development in Nigeria. retrieved from www.media.edu.com/eud.co.
- Ochonogor, C. I. (2008). Mass media ethics and sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. in Omu, F.I and Oboh, G.E (Eds). *Mass Media in Nigeria Democracy*. Ibadan; Stirling Horden.
- Ochonogor, C. I. (2008). Mass Media ethics and the sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria. In Omu, F.I. and Oboh, G.E. (Eds). *Mass Media in Nigeria Democracy*. Ibadan: Stirling. Horden.
- Ochonogor, C. I. and Ukaegbu, E. C. (2010). Communicating with Rural Dwellers or political elections in Nigeria. In Nwosu, G. B. and Uduodo, A. (Eds). *Political Communication and Nigerian Democracy. A Book of Reading Port* Harcourt: Amethyst and Colkugues.

- Ojobo, F. (2002). The structure of media ownership and political reporting. In the *Nigerian Journal of Communication* (Vol. V.) Nigeria, ACCE and Prime Target Ltd.
- Okei-Odumakin, Y. (2018). Vote-Buying: A Threat to Nigerian Democracy. Vanguard Newspaper,
- Okoro, E. (1995). The Mass Media and Nigerian Democracy. Retrieved from www.google.com.
- Okoro, E. (2013). The Media, Development Communication and Governance in Nigeria: The press for national integration. In *International Journal for Academic Research in Business and Social Science vol.3 (11)*.
- Okoro, E. A. (2010). Communication, Civic Society and Democratization in Africa: Perspective on Political development. In M Bayo, Richardh T., Chuka, O. and Bala, A. M. (Eds). *Communication in an era of Global Conflict: Principles and Strategies for the 21st Century*. Africa U.S.A. Lanhaw, M. J.
- Okunna, C. S. (2002). A quick look at development communication. In Okunna, C.S. (Ed). *Teaching Mass Communication: A multi-Dimensional Approach*. Enugu: New Generation Books
- Olaito, Y. (2018). Nigerian politicians, electorate and vote-buying. The cable. July 16. Retrieved from <http://www.thocaple.ng/nigerian-politicians-electorate-vote-buying>.
- Ologbenla, D. and Waziri, B.A. (2012). Money-bag politics, rent-seeking and flawed elections I Nigeria. A theoretical statement.

Department of sociology, *faculty of social sciences, University of Lagos Journal of Public Administration and Governance* 2(1), 31-56.

- Oloja, P. (2018). The Nigerian Mass media and the 2015 elections. Retrieved from www.mediademocracy.org.ng
- Onu, G. (2015). Participatory Communication as the Halmark of Good Governance in Nigeria: Lesson from fuel subsidy Removal Protests. *In Journal of Arts, Management and Science Technology, Unizik Vol. 67p.177*
- Osuala, J. (1995). The Mass Media and rural reportage in Nigeria. Retrieved from www.ireport.media.com. 5th March 2019.
- Ovwasa, O.L. (2013). Money politics and vote buying in Nigeria: The bane of good governance. *Afro-Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(3), 1-19.
- Ramswanby, S. (2007). *Political theory, ideas and concepts*. Delhi: Macmillan Ltd.
- Tsegyu, S. and Dogara, O. J. (2015). An appraisal of mass media role in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. *In African Research Review, an International Multidisciplinary Journal* vol. 10 (1)
- Ugande, B. G. (2010). *Mass media in Nigeria democracy*. Makurdi: Aboki publishers.
- Umehukwu, I. (2004). Communicating with rural dwellers for national development. *World Bank Report (2009)*.