

Influence of Politics on the News Media and Media's Influence on Politics

Buike Oparaugo

Former Lecturer, Mass Communication Department,
The Polytechnic of Sokoto State, Sokoto, Nigeria
Correspondence address: buikeoparago@gmail.com

Abstract

The press/media has had a long and seemingly unending relationship with politics leading to various communication scholars to describe this relationship as 'polimedia', 'a tug of war', 'a symbiotic relationship', 'marriage de raison', 'a tango of give and take', 'trust and distrust, love and hate', 'uneasy exchange and reliance', etc. Majority of newspaper contents in Nigeria and around the world are on politics as it is the most selling news. Thus, this paper seeks to find out through observations and literatures, the relationship between the press and politics by determining how they both influence each other. The researcher reviewed existing literatures for the study since the subject is theoretical based. These literatures were works already published on the relationship between the press and politics. This study is anchored on the Politics-Media-Politics Principle model. The researcher concluded that there exist a significant relationship between the press and politics. The researcher also found out that the press has as much influence on politics as politics on the press. On the influence of the media on politics, the media have been the predominant source of political information for citizens in a democratic society. On the influence of politics on the media, politicians, even governments can manipulate the coverage of information to achieve their political and economic goals through diverting audience attention. The researcher recommended that the press should also endeavour to give an unbiased report about politics no matter which politician or political actor is involved.

Keywords: *Press, Media, News, Politics.*

I. Introduction

The media are medium of dissemination of information to mass audience through different sources. These sources are used by political propagandist to achieve a goal for personal benefit. The media have been involved in every significant social change since they came into existence; be it intellectual, political, industrial and revolutions in tastes, aspiration and values. The development of Nigerian politics is interwoven with that of the press. The early press, notably Townsend's Iwe Irohin fun awon ati Egba Yoruba, the Nigerian first newspaper was used as a political propaganda tool to fight the colonial administration in Lagos during the struggle for independence. Media are platforms through which communication of information are passed from one person (sender) to another (receiver(s)). The media can stimulate citizen engagement in politics such as participation in elections and campaigns, voter registration, political party membership. There are four major types of media, namely; traditional media, print media, electronic media and social media.

Over the years, the mass media have been used to sell political beliefs and ideologies to the masses and this has proved very successful. The communication of political information is an important process in the political system, and the mass media play a central role in this activity. The mass media does this through what is known as 'political news' by providing the electorates with information regarding candidates, political parties and voting. The media also helps the masses (audience) understand the past, present and future events.

In this era of digitization, De Zúñiga and Chen (2019) observed that digital media have become an integral part of individual citizens' political lives as a growing number of people around the world use digital media technologies for information and communication. It has become common for the news media to insert itself into the political process rather than to just observe it. News media are thought to be central to democracy. Ideally, they provide a crucial link between the public and the elected representatives. News coverage influences which issues the public view as important and shapes aggregate opinion on how the issues should be handled. News institutions have long been closely connected with politics. In nineteenth-century states with representative political systems, parties typically controlled the press. A newspaper either directly served as the voice of a party or relied for economic survival on the legal advertising and government printing contracts of local, state, and federal governments when the right party took power (Schudson, 2002).

II. Statement of the Problem

The mass media has it as a responsibility to inform the audience of the happenings within and far away from their surroundings. These happenings, whether good or bad, must be reported by the news media no matter who is involved. However, the media/press in Nigeria and the world have been accused of selection and omission when it comes to news contents. Media and communication scholars have blamed this development on media ownership. Media organizations, as observed, have been largely influenced by politics and politicians and have also influenced politics in return through pattern of media coverage of politics and elections. This paper therefore, seeks to find out through observations and literatures, the relationship between the press and politics by determining how they both influence each other.

III. Objectives of the Study

The study seeks to find out among other things, the following objectives:

1. To find out if a significant relationship exists between the press and politics.
2. To determine the influence of politics on the press.
3. To ascertain the influence of the press on politics.

a. Meaning of News

News is a mass media report on a recent/current happening, or unfolding event which is of interest to a large number of people. According to Kammath (2008) news is any event, idea or opinion that is timely, that interests or affects a large number of people in a community and that is capable of being understood by them. Mencher (2002) posit that news is information that helps people to solve their problems intelligently. He further argued that news is an action or statement so important or unusual that it is worth sharing with others. No news interests all people. News however, has no geographic boundaries. News is not only something bad, negative or shocking; it can also be good and positive. Talk about a community lacking social amenities and then finally getting it. Talk about a woman giving birth to twin after 20year of no issue in her marriage. In sports a country attempting to host a sport tournament comes as news to the citizens of that country as well as qualification of a team for a tournament. But all there will not become news without being reported in the media. The foregoing is supported by Dominick (2002, p.327) when he took the position that ‘‘ before anything becomes news, however it must be reported’’.

Hodgson (2000, p.9) posits that events covering a wide range of descriptions involving people, animals and things, some marvelous, some mundane, become news only through their existence being made know. An event which no one knows about-a secret marriage of a famous person, for instance Flavour, 2face Idibia- cannot be news it becomes so only when it is disclosed to the public, maybe many years afterwards. However, all stories written for publication whether news features or any other are referred to as ‘copy’.

b. Theoretical Perspective

The study is anchored on the Politics-Media-Politics Principle model. This model was developed by Gadi Wolfsfeld in 2013. According to him, two claims are central to the PMP principle. The first claim is that the role of the media in politics is a cycle and in this cycle, there are variations in the political environment which lead to variations in media conduct. This in turn, lead to further variations in the political environment. The second claim is that the media can play a lead role in political processes because of their ability to transform political realities into news stories that can at times have a significant impact on political outcomes. The first claim is taken from political context theories by arguing that any understanding of the role of the media must always start by considering the surrounding political environment (Wolfsfeld, 2013). The second claim is rooted in what has been termed the news distortion approach. Editorial preferences transform the political world in ways that serve journalists’ professional interests (Wolfsfeld, 2013). The second assertion also points to the fact that these transformations can sometimes have significant influences on the political process (Wolfsfeld, 2013).

A related set of research talks about the ways in which the news media generally employ a “strategic frame” to cover politics (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; 1996; De Vreese & Semetko, 2002; Hallin, 1992; Hollihan, 2010). According to Wolfsfeld, (2013) one of the most important works in this tradition was carried out by Cappella and Jamieson (1996, 1997) who wrote, among other things, about the degree to which news reports focused on winners and losers and tended to use the language of war, games, and competition. They argued that this emphasis led journalists to devote less attention to substantive issues, especially in election campaigns. Cappella and Jamieson further claimed that this emphasis led to a higher level of political cynicism among the general public. Norris (2000) vehemently opposed this view and provided evidence that, with some exceptions, those people who consumed the most news were actually the ones who exhibited the greatest level of trust and political participation.

c. The Concept of Politics

Politics defined as that which concerns the state can include: activities that either involve, or in some ways directly affect, the institutions of the state; individuals who are directly involved in the institutions of the state or the business of governance; and places in which these activities and people are present.

Politics refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance organized control over a human community, particularly a state. According to Obasi (1999) politics is striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state.

Politics is the process through which individual and collective decisions are made. It is the activity in which goals are agreed and pursued through policies designed to achieve these goals (Vuskane, 2009). It is a characteristic of most social systems: family, community, region, state and international community. Politics is the process which resolves these conflicts. Politics touches everybody on any level to a more or lesser extent.

According to Ponton and Gill (1982, p.6) politics is the way in which we understand and order our social affairs, and acquire greater control over the situation.

Tuibeo (1998, p.1) defined politics as the strategy for maintaining cooperation among people with different needs and ideals in life, or for resolving the conflict within the group, whether this is a family, a tribe, a village or a nation-state.

Hence, politics is:

- bilateral (or two-party) meetings between two different political parties to field a common candidate in elections
- multilateral meetings (between multiple groups) organised under the auspices of the United Nations to discuss issues such as climate change or nuclear non-proliferation
- the day-to-day activities of the African Union, ECOWAS, on issues affecting Africa
- debates and votes in the National Assembly on government policy or proposed legislation
- or citizens voting in the general elections to choose their next government.

d. Meaning and History of the Media/Press in Nigeria

Mass media means technology that is intended to reach a mass audience. It is the primary means of communication used to reach the vast majority of the general public. The most common platforms for mass media are newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. The general public typically relies on the mass media to provide information regarding political issues, social issues, entertainment, and news in pop culture.

Mass media is communication that is to a large group, or groups, of people in a short time. This can be written, spoken or broadcast communication. Some of the most popular forms of mass media are newspapers, magazines, radio, advertisements, social media, television, Internet, and films/movies. Mass communication refers to the technology that is used to communicate to a large group, or groups of people in a short time frame (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2004, p. 22).

[Mass media](#) are tools for the transfer of information, concepts, and ideas to both general and specific audiences. They are important tools in advancing political goals.

The concept was first addressed during the [Progressive Era](#) of the 1920s, as a response to new opportunities for elites to reach large audiences via the mass media of the time: [newspapers](#), radio, and film (Hirst, 2018). But in the 1920s, [mass media](#) referred not just to the number of people such communication reached, but rather to the uniform consumption and anonymity of the audiences. Uniformity and anonymity are characteristics which no longer fit the way people seek out, consume, and manipulate information into their daily lives. Those new media are called "alternative media" or "mass self-communication."

A German scientist Johann Gutenberg is adjudged to have invented the modern printing when he printed the first Bible in 1450. At the earliest stage of the newspaper and magazine, there were no distinctions between the two. They were not separated from one another (Eze, 2006). However, according to Baran (1999, p.9) by the mid-18th century, the printing press had become one of the engines driving the industrial revolution. Print was responsible for building and disseminating bodies of knowledge, leading to scientific and technological development.

The early press, notably Reverend Henry Townsend's Iwe Irohin fun awon ati Egba Yoruba, the first Nigerian newspaper was used as a political progranda tool to fight the colonial administration in Lagos

during the struggle for Independence. Iwe Irohin was so effective that the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in England found it necessary to caution Townsend over his “excesses” in 1963.

Newspapers continued to be founded in the country, some of which are: The Nigerian Pioneer (1914); The African Messenger (1921); The West African Pilot (1937); Gaskiya Tafi Kwobo, etc. According to Ani (2008), Gaskiya Tafi Kwobo started in Kaduna State and was later followed by other periodicals published in Fulani, Tiv, Kanuri and other languages of the region. Nwosu (2014) observed that African Messenger was a milestone achieved in the newspaper industry in Nigeria.

At the dawn of Independence in 1960, the Nigerian Press continued with her business of selling meaning but this time, along heavy political line. The Zik’s chain of newspapers was used to oil the political wheel of his political machine just the way the Action Group chain of newspapers was to used push for the political interest of western Nigeria. The West African Pilot consolidated the press as an organ of political competition.

Radio started in Nigeria with the introduction of the Radio Distribution in the year 1933 in Lagos by the British colonial government under the Department of Post and Telegraphs (P&T). The Radio Distribution system, (RDS) was a reception base for the British Broadcasting Corporation and a relay station, through wire systems with loudspeakers at the listening end. In 1935, the Radio Distribution System was changed to Radio Diffusion System with the aim of spreading the efforts of the Britain and her allies during the Second World War through the BBC.

The television like its counterpart, the radio, could not be said to have been invented by any one individual. It was rather the result of several efforts of different curious minds. As early as 1873, inventors developed a theory and began experiments on a device that would produce sight beyond human capacity. The device was called television.

The global history of television shows that this mass medium came into existence in the 1920s, although its beginnings were discernible in the nineteenth century. Television developed from the ideas of film, theater and radio. Television is not the willful creation of man. The emergence of television in Nigeria followed the same pattern as that of radio. It may be interesting to know that while it was the federal government that started the first radio broadcasting in the nation, it was the regional governments that first ventured into television broadcasting. October 31st 1959 marked the threshold of television broadcasting in Nigeria.

Some of the factors that developed the press in Nigeria, according to Obeagu (2018), are missionary factor, colonial factor, freed slave movement, religious factor, socio-economic factor and political factor. The press has also contributed to the development of the country. It helps in nation building as well as encourages cultural consciousness. The press also helped in bringing civilization to the people.

IV. Interface between the Press and Politics

The relationship between politics and the media has come to be known as *polimedia* after Nwosu (2013) described is as such. Political and communication scholars agree that there is a strong relationship between media of communication and politics (Okoye and Oparaugo, 2019). Politics cannot be done without the media/press. Nwosu further added that the interface of mass media and politics when he stated that the two concepts are so interwoven in modern society that you can hardly examine or practice one without a good knowledge of the other.

The use of newspapers to accomplish political ends had roots in America going as far back as the 1730s, but the press gained its reputation for tremendous political efficacy during the American Revolution. The relationship between journalists and politicians is characterized by mutual dependence. The journalist depends on the politicians to gather (the most interesting) news while the politicians depend on the journalists to market themselves to the electorates and citizens.

However, some scholars like Ciboh (2016) have argued that the relationship between journalists and political sources has been characterized by a tug of war between reporters and officials where top politicians have the upper hand in the coproduction of news through their ability to provide critical information subsidies that most news media rely on. The dynamic of the journalist–source relationship has, however, mostly been analyzed in stable high-income democracies.

The relationship between journalists and politicians can be described as a symbiotic relationship. Some scholars have referred to this relationship as a “marriage de raison” (Van Aelst and Aalberg, 2011) or a “tango of give and take” (Brants, de Vreese, Möller and van Praag, 2010) that is characterized by “trust and distrust, love and hate” (Van Aelst and Aalberg, 2011). There is no doubt that both sides depend on each other. Journalists serve as a public “watchdog” that observes the political elite, informs, and also entertains the public. Politicians, by contrast, answer to the demands of the electorate by explaining their strategies and plans with the help of news media (Matthes, Maurer and Arendt, 2019).

In political journalism, this dependency between reporters and political actors is institutionalized in a delicately negotiated relationship (Berkowitz, 2009), an “uneasy exchange and reliance” between politicians and journalists (Davis, 2009). Politicians need journalists for publicity, journalists need politicians for information. The result has been described as ‘co-production’ of news (Cook, 1998). The dynamics of the relationship has been characterized as a ‘tug of war’ (Gans, 1979). Sources try to manage journalists and the news they produce, while journalists simultaneously try to manage their sources to get the information that they want (Ciboh, 2016).

Politicians and political actors often reach out to the citizenry via various media platforms during and after periods of electioneering campaigns/elections and as well make use of media outlets to advocate for socio-economic policies/programmes for good governance (Okoye and Oparaugo, 2019).

V. Influence of Politics on the Press

The mass media are expected to make the political system more “transparent”, by helping people participate in political decisions, understanding the operations of government, etc. But unfortunately, in practice, especially in third world countries, the media simulate transparency but don’t serve the political values that motivate the “transparency”. In many cases, the media have been accused of hiding important information from the masses and the case of political transparency appears impossible without mass media coverage. Politicians, even governments can manipulate the coverage of information to achieve their political and economic goals through diverting audience attention.

In the struggle for governmental and political influence of the media, many political communications are not presented directly by public officials, candidates, or their supporters, but are filtered to the public by the communications media-newspapers, magazines, broadcasters-in the form of news and analysis that may reflect the biases of the media. Journalism by newsprint or by air selects, magnifies, deemphasizes, or dramatizes a host of random acts and places them in particular relationship and perspective, with

intended and unintended political effects. Some of these acts are consciously initiated by political actors for their own benefit, and are transmitted to the unsuspecting public as objective news or analysis.

The press plays an institutional role by filling the party system's gaps. One of the reasons for this is that party politics requires communication with the electorates, and newspapers and other products of the printing press were the most significant means available technologically in this period.

The link between ownership of news organizations and the character of news coverage is not easy to determine and it grows more difficult by the day as public and commercial systems of ownership mix and blend and intersect in a growing variety of ways (Noam, 1991). Journalists operate within constraints among them the constraint of having to write "accurately" about objectively real occurrences in the world, whoever planned them and however they came to the media's notice. The reality-constructing practices of the powerful will fail (in the long run) if they ride roughshod over the world "out there" (Schudson, 2002). Among government sources, routine government sources matter most. That is, most news comes to the news media through scheduled, government-initiated events such as press releases, public speeches, public legislative hearings or deliberations, press conferences, and background briefings for the press (Schudson, 2002).

Politicians, not only in Nigeria, but all over the world have a degree on the content of the news media. Ownership influence is a big factor here, hence the saying 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune'. In Nigeria for instance, when a chieftain of the All Progressives Congress (APC) Bola Ahmed Tinubu was accused of money laundering and images on social media showed bullion vans entering his house in Bourdilon, Ikoyi, Lagos, his newspaper The Nation, avoided the news. Other newspapers in Nigeria reported the news. Also, when Orji Uzor Kalu was jailed and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) moved to confiscate his properties, the Sun newspaper which is owned by Orji Uzor Kalu, avoided the news of his jail only to come out by disassociating themselves from his case.

VI. Media Influence on Politics and Democracy

The media have been the predominant source of political information for citizens in a democratic society. Researchers have found out that it influences people's opinions and voting patterns during elections. The media can be used to market a bad product as well as can be used to de-market a good product. During electioneering campaigns, politicians and political parties who are perceived to be corrupt use the media to market their candidates, while also using the media to de-market a political party/candidate who is perceived to have integrity.

There is extensive debate about the extent to which the mass media influences politics. Some theorists aver that the British media facilitate democracy by permitting a wide variety of views to be expressed. Some are of the opinion that the media are anti-democratic because of their power to manipulate the way people think about politics. Others seek to find out the meaning of media content. They do this by analyzing interaction between media messages and the culture of specific audiences. Media critics have accused the mass media of trivializing politics. Different television channels and newspapers have to compete for a limited number of viewers and readers, thus the tendency to make the news more attractive by treating it as entertainment rather than as a serious business.

Since the return of the country to democratic rule, the mass media has continued to play active roles in nurturing the new born democracy. In Greek language, the word "democracy" has a remote origin from the word demokratia (demos – the people, plus kratia (from kartos) – sway, authority) meaning the rule

by the people. The impression this conveys is that it is a form of government where the people directly takes decisions by themselves without representation as we presently have today in most states of the world (Ezonbi & Jonah, 2013).

Judging from the concept of media, media appeared to be the strongest tool ever used for fighting and winning democracy in Nigeria (Okoye, 2018). The media represent an essential and integral part of democratic process in any political community. The media, throughout the history of Nigeria have always been in the forefront of the struggle to establish democracy in the country. Lending credence to this assertion, Obilade (1999, p.235), opined that the “press in Africa constitutes an active force in the realization of the goal of the evolution of sustainable democracy in the continent of Africa. Throughout the turbulent years of military dictatorship in Nigeria, the media obviously became the last hope of the man on the street (Okoye, 2018, p.38).

VII. Role of the Media in the Society

Ideally, the media should fulfill the political role by “disseminating the full range of political opinions, enabling the public to make political choices and enter the national life.” In democratic societies, for instance, the media is a communication channel which ensures the exchange of opinions both in power and general public, governments and political parties don’t put direct pressure on the media (depending on the country). In liberal democratic countries it informs the public and acts as a watchdog of the government.

In democratic societies, the role of the journalist is to inform the public debate so that the audience can make educated choices while the role of politicians is to represent those who elected them into offices and ensure that the existing problems which they were elected to solve are solved. In such a political system, the journalist acts on behalf of the audience to ensure that politicians do their job. The journalist explores and covers the issues that most concern their readers and listeners. In doing so they should include a diversity of voices and political opinions in order to offer the richest and most complete coverage possible.

The press primary duty is to report adequately the activities of government as highly represented by its officials and agencies to the masses. In other words the press should offer the people the opportunity to participate in government by bringing the government closer to the people, mobilizing them on government policies and programmes and presenting their needs to the government (Aniugbo, 2016). The reporter must understand the aspirations and goals of those in authority in order to present government operation in a suitable context that will interest the public. For instance, in reporting civil service operation as part of government establishment, the reporter must acquaint himself with the history and politics involved in civil service.

VIII. Methodology

The researcher reviewed existing literatures for the study since the subject is theoretical based. These literatures were works already published on the relationship between the press and politics.

IX. Conclusion

The press and politics are not strange bed fellows. In fact, they are like a married couple who often have misunderstanding but still cannot separate nor divorce nor live without each other. After examining various literatures on the subject matter, the researcher concluded that there exist a significant relationship between the press and politics. The researcher also found out that the press has as much

influence on politics as politics on the press. The press/media need politics in the same way politics need the press. Just like the popular saying 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune'; media ownership pattern goes a long way in influencing contents of the news media. Even in democratic settings, the press/media appears not to be totally free in developing nations as politicians in power are always willing to sanction media houses reporting negative stories against the sitting government. News media content as well helps in shaping the political culture of a nation or people. Therefore, the perceptions of politicians can be made or marred by the media depending on the type of coverage or framing given to political news.

X. Recommendations

Having concluded the study, the researcher made the following recommendations:

- The press needs to be totally free from all forms of political control to help consolidate democracy both in the western world and in developing world like Africa, Asia and South America.
- The press should also endeavour to give an unbiased report about politics no matter which politician or political actor is involved.
- Journalists should adhere to strict journalistic principles while covering elections and politics in Nigeria.

References

- Aniugbo, C.C. (2016). *The citadel of news writing and reporting*. Enugu: Blesses Obaino
- Ani, G.E. (2008). *Newspaper and magazine production in the print media*. Enugu: Glanic Ventures.
- Baran, S.J. (1999). *Introduction to mass communication: Media literacy and culture*. California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Berkowitz, D. A. (2009). Reporters and their sources. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (eds). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, (pp. 102-15). New York: Routledge.
- Brants, K, De Vreese, C., Möller, J. & van Praag, P. (2010). The real spiral of cynicism? Symbiosis and mistrust between politicians and journalists. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15 (1): 25–40. doi:10.1177/1940161209351005.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1996). News frames, political cynicism, and media cynicism. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 546, 71–84.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ciboh, R. (2016). Journalists and political sources in Nigeria: Between information subsidies and political pressures. *The International Journal of Press and Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216681164>
- Cook, T. E. (1998). *Governing with the news: The news media as a political institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davis, A. (2009). Journalist-source relations, mediated reflexivity and the politics of politics. *Journalism Studies*, 10 (February): 204–19.
- De Vreese, C. H., & Semetko, H. A. (2002). Cynical and engaged strategic campaign coverage, public opinion, and mobilization in a referendum. *Communication Research*, 29(6), 615–641.
- De Zúñiga, H. & Chen, H.T. (2019). Digital media and politics: effects of the great information and communication divides. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 63(3), 365-373
- Dominick, J.R. (2002). *The Dynamics of Mass Communication: Media in the Digital Age*. New York: McGraw Hill.

- Ezonbi, B. & Jonah, C. E. (2013). Democracy, good governance and human rights issues in Nigeria since 1999: Some reflections. In A.S. Modibo & A.Y. Adadu (eds). *Democracy and development in Africa*.
- Eze, C.C. (2006). *Elements of features and article writing*. Enugu: Providence Press.
- Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Hallin, D. C. (1992). Sound bite news: Television coverage of elections, 1968– 1988. *Journal of Communication*, 42(2), 5–24
- Hirst, K.K. (2018). Understanding mass media and mass communication. <https://www.thoughtco.com/mass-media-and-communication-4177301>
- Hodgson, F.W. (2000). *Modern Newspaper Practice: A Primer on the press*.
- Hollihan, T. A. (2010). *Uncivil wars: Political campaigns in a media age*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Kamath, M.V. (2008). *Professional Journalism*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Matthes, J., Maurer, P. & Arendt, F. (2019). Consequences of politicians' perceptions of the news media: A hostile phenomenon. *Journalism Studies*, 20(3), 345-363
- Mencher, M. (2002). *Basic News Writing*. New Delhi: Universal Book Stall.
- Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nwosu, I. (2014). *Mass media and the Nigerian society*. Enugu: Cecta Books.
- Obasi, I. N. (1999) *Research Methodology in Political Science*. Enugu: Academic Publishing Company.
- Obeagu, O.M. (2018). *Issues in mass media and Nigerian society* (2nd ed). Enugu: Enizol Ventures.
- 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 & Company Ltd.
- Okoye, J.I. (2018). *Evolving issues in mass media, democracy & governance in a globalized world*. Enugu: Enizol Ventures.
- Okoye, J.I. & Oparaugo, B. (2019). *An introductory text on political communication*. Enugu: Enizol Ventures.
- Pavlik, J. & McIntosh, S. (2004). *Converging media : an introduction to mass communication*. Boston: Pearson Allyn and Bacon.
- Ponton, B. & Gill, P. (1982, p.6). *Politics: Introduction*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Schudson, M. (2002). The news media as political institutions. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 5:249-269 (Volume publication date June 2002) <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.111201.115816>
- Tuibeo, A.G. (1998, p.1). *Politics and Governance: A Critical Introduction*. Makati: Grandwater Publication.
- Van Aelst, P. & Aalberg, T. (2011). Between trust and suspicion: A comparative study of the relationship between politicians and political journalists in Belgium, Norway and Sweden. *Javnost – The Public*, 18 (4): 73–88. doi:10.1080/13183222.2011.11009068.
- Vuskane, L. (2009). *The role of the mass media in influencing political process*. Munich: GRIN Verlag, <https://www.grin.com/document/159845>
- Wolfesfeld, G. (2013). The politics-media-politics principle: Towards a more comprehensive approach to political communication. Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (August 29th–September 1), Chicago, Illinois.