

INVESTIGATING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEWS MEDIA TRUST AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE AMONG NIGERIAN YOUTHS

Perpetua Chinonye Umeaku¹, Kamaldin Abdulsalam Babatunde²

Abstract

As Africa's most populous country and one of the most influential countries on the continent, Nigeria unarguably has continued to struggle to make some progress in strengthening its democracy since it returned two decades ago. The media as the fourth estate has important functions to play in strengthening democracy and sustaining good political systems by galvanizing people's interest through civic education and participation in governance. However, the media's role in African society as societal watchdog and development partners seem to be problematic because of issues of commercialization, competition, and political economy of the media. As the media tries to perform its role amidst these hindrances, what becomes rife is journalist downplaying journalistic ethos and principles that can affect public confidence in the media. Drawing on media credibility research and amidst the argument that confidence in the media is a moderating factor in people's media use and political behaviour, we surveyed 160 Nigerian youths to investigate the relationship between news media trust and participatory governance. Running a Pearson correlation analysis, we found a negative relationship between the two constructs despite youths' high exposure to the media. However, television still enjoys the highest level of trust among the types of media. The results highlight the need for media organisations to repackage and keep up with their guards against influences that may erode their integrity.

Keywords: Africa, credibility, journalistic ethos, news media trust, Nigeria, participatory governance, youths.

Introduction

Unarguably, Nigeria has continued, for the past two decades, to make some progress in strengthening its democracy. In doing this, there are certain social institutions that must come to the fore. Scholars have acknowledged the centrality of the role of the media. As the fourth estate, the media has important functions to play in strengthening democracy and sustaining good political systems by galvanizing people's interest through civic education and participation in governance (Mustapha & Mustapha, 2017; Ozohu-Suleiman & Dahiru, 2017). As source of information, the media plays an important role of consolidating democracy and remains a potential institution capable of shaping future democratic developments of a country.

As the fourth estate and societal custodians, the media are expected to shield the public from the 'powerful' and the 'mighty' in the society. However, performing this important function seems to be problematic because of the issue of commercialization, competition, and political economy of the media. As the media tries to perform its role amidst these hindrances, the downplay of journalistic ethics and principles becomes rife, and this can affect public confidence in the media. From this angle, it was found that journalists are perceived as having compromised on their values (Coleman, Morrison, & Anthony, 2012).

In democratic societies, one way the media tries to ensure a well-informed citizenry is by providing in-depth analysis of events and investigative reporting. Thus, by consistently influencing people's perception about their governments and their functionaries, they are expected to have critical views about happenings around them. This effort, no doubt, builds media credibility which Choi, Yang and Chang (2009) believe is a key ingredient of the media in a democratic society. However, today's media especially in a growing democracy is invariably challenged. The media's inclination for dishonesty and superficiality of content seem to affect the public's notion of the media as a watchdog and conduit between governors and the governed. This has cast doubt on the news media's capability to contribute to democratic life (Coleman et al, 2012). Therefore, the public's perceptions and evaluation of the media and its perceived influence on people's behaviours have come to determine the public's level of reliance on the media as vehicles for authentic information especially on politics and governance (Mustapha & Wok, 2015). This perception thus makes trust in the news media an important variable to reckon in this study since it influences citizens' participatory level (Fletcher & Park, 2017).

Communication researchers have interrogated trust in the media at different levels and dimensions with serious practical and theoretical significance (Kohring & Matthes, 2007), and they considered media usage a stronger predictor of political behaviour (Bakker & de Vresse, 2011). For example, media trust is considered a crucial variable in media effect research: especially in the face of the perceived declining of audience trust in the mainstream media (Kioussis, 2000; Tsfati & Cappella, 2005). This falling of trust, Eni and Rosenberg (2018) argue, is partly due to changes in the media and communication sector as well as the general decline of trust in institutions and politicians. In addition, studies have investigated audience media use and level of trust in the media as well as the relationship between media exposure and trust in politicians, government and state institutions. (Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019; Avery, 2009; Eni & Rosenberg, 2018; Moy & Scheufele, 2000). However, although studies abound on media content and audience trust in the news media, there is a dearth of study on the relationship between trust in the news media and participatory governance - a concept central to current democratic thinking. Therefore, this study gears towards expanding the existing research on media trust by incorporating the participatory governance concept; thus, in this study, we intend to: (1) - explore the degree (strength) and the direction (positive or negative) of relationship between the two constructs, and (2) identify the most credible media among the respondents.

Conceptual Clarification of Trust

Trust, as a concept can be defined in many ways such as: trust in itself, between human, and between human and other things. For example, Kohring & Matthes (2007) asserted that trust can be reduced to the process of selecting the message to report, the source of the message, and/or the narrator. Rosanvallon (2008: 4) referred to trust as 'an institutional economizer' that eliminates any quest for authentication. In communication research, scholars have examined the issue of news media trust in which concepts have evolved in steps with changes in technology, thus, making proper conceptualizations difficult (Fisher, 2018). Delhey and Newton (2013) argued that trust is central to all human society and essential at both interpersonal and societal level. Trust, therefore, is considered an important basis for social order and a foundation for social cohesion. Coleman (2012: 36) contends that 'trust is the foundation of the social relationship that we call citizenship'. This implies that a well-informed citizenry is central to a well-functioning democracy. Therefore, for citizens to engage in civic life or participate in practices of governance in the country, they must have access to reliable and shared information about the public institutions' activities and events in their environment. This shared information will enable them to make informed decisions and form opinions and thoughts as to how they can contribute and make positive change in their community. This important information has always been made available only by the news media

(Fisher, 2018). The implication of this is that that one can only rely on another for support and adjudge information received from that person as credible, if some level of trust exists in that relationship.

The concept of trust has been met with growing research interest in the field of social science; thus, making trust a key concept for a functioning modern society (Kohring & Matthes, 2007; Hardin, 2002). In researching news media trust, scholars have almost always used trust and credibility interchangeably. On this basis, news media trust has always been studied along the line of media credibility with different research approaches such as: examining source credibility – trust in the information provider (Blöbaum, 2014; Fisher, 2016; Kioussis, 2001); examining credibility across media – comparing radio, television, and newspaper trust (Kioussis, 2001; Shaw, 1973); and examining credibility using factor analysis to identify its dimensions (Gaziano & McGrath, 1986; Kohring & Matthes, 2007; Prochazka & Schweiger, 2018; Yale, Jensen, Carcioppolo, Sun, and Liu, 2015). The researches in news media trust are eminently done on the background of scholars' growing concern about the rapid falling of news media trust in many countries. This is so because the media is not playing its assigned rightful role to the society as a watchdog, and thus, the right of becoming an informed democratic citizen is eroded – a potent sign of creating a political apathy (Coleman, 2012; Fisher, 2016; Fletcher & Park, 2017).

Political Economy and Commercialization of the News Media

Research examining the role of the mass media in citizen's political participation is extensive and multidimensional. The consensus among political communication scholars and media professionals is that participatory politics among the youth is at its lowest ebb, and that media effect on (non)participatory politics has become an interested area of investigation in this era of media convergence (Bakker & de Vresse, 2011; Mustapha, Omar & Atoloye, 2019). Therefore, the changing nature of media and its technologies as well as the changing media landscape marked by sectionalism and political economy often times precipitate controversies as to the way and manner the media create information and engage the citizens. Again, the perceived trust worthiness of political office holders as represented in the media have continued to raise questions as to its consequences on citizens' political and civic education.

Moreover, communication scholars are concerned about the commercialisation of media and its influence on news media trust because of the financial relationship with the media; though its effect is pervasive (Chyi & Lee, 2018; Yu, 2017). News commercialisation, which grew out of object salience, a brainchild of agenda setting, is a way of presenting information as news to the public in a manner that its presentation affects the public to perceive it as news item. The effect of news commercialization as we have it today is the suppression of the voices of the less powerful and the opportunity for self-censorship which foretells problems for professional standards and principles. The consequence is the erosion of news media credibility (Omenugha & Oji, 2008). Media credibility is crucial for it enhances the reception, acceptance and authentication of the news media. In fact, to pursue media credibility is not only an ideal goal of the profession of journalism but it is also central to the survival of the industry and other societal institutions as well (Blach-Orsten & Burkal, 2020; Blöbaum, 2014). Therefore, people's perception of the truthfulness of news media tend to set a direction on effect of the media on people's behaviour – participation in governance. Along this line, Coleman (2012) posits that people do not disbelieve the news they consume, rather they are afraid of its long-term harmful effect on their political confidence, as the media presents the reality of events differently.

The media is known to bridge the gap between the reality and public perception of events and governmental activities. This means that what the media presents about government and its

activities is what people tend to know and form their actions on. However, the faithfulness of the media in delivering this needed information is eroded (Severin & Tankard, 2010); because instead of building democratic strongholds, the media is seen to be supporting political apathy (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000). On the other hand, the digital media has been argued to disrupt public consensus known for democracy and good governance, even though it allows citizens to produce, consume and redistribute content freely (Avery, 2009).

Theoretical Background of Participatory Governance

On the theoretical plane, participation has been regarded as integral to the concept of governance itself. An idea that is as old as democracy and central to contemporary thinking within the political discipline. Chhotray and Stoker (2009) argued that participation has theoretical roots in liberalism, pluralism, populism, and radicalism in which conceptualization differs in the different democratic ideologies. It is further noted that despite the distinctive emphases, there are common political objectives each espouses. These include ensuring proper functioning of democracy through government accountability and fair representation, deepening democracy through direct participation, reduction of distance between the elites and the majority, empowerment (through the realisation of individual freedom and the fulfilment of the human agency), and the contestation of domination (variously through electoral competition, community-based action and conscientisation). Therefore, Participatory governance focuses on deepening democratic engagement through the participation of citizens in the processes of governance within the state or local community. The idea is that citizens should play more direct roles in public decision-making or at least engage more deeply with political issues.

There is a growing body of literature on participatory and collaborative governance. For example, Gustafson and Hertting (2016) observed that knowledge about citizen's motives is essential for understanding the quality and nature of participatory governance and its potential contribution to the overall political and administrative system. They identified three types of motives among participants. These motives are; (1) common good motives, which is concerned with developing the participants constituency as well as contributing knowledge; (2) self-interest motives, which is a participant's desire to improve self's political effectiveness and to encourage nepotism, and (3) professional competence motives, which is largely apolitical and is based on professionalism. All these motives, which are considered important to participatory governance, are areas of investigation in participants.

Youths and Participatory Governance in Context

In 2019, Nigerian government passed a ground-breaking bill of not too young to contest for election. This bill reduces the presidential age limit to 35 from 40 and for governorship positions to 30 from 35. With this, the young people leapt at the bill and showed their interest in governance and political affairs of the country. The springing up of political fora and youth's political initiatives geared towards encouraging greater youth participation and garnering support from older citizens is crystal clear. As this clamour for a young Nigerian leader began to gain momentum, political analysts have asked whether the young people are capable, well informed, and ready to take on the leadership mantle of the country. Despite this, advocates of youth participation in governance continue to gather steam for support which in 2015 resulted in a greater participation of youths in governance, an indication of investing in a government, which is facilitated by the media and other institutions (Dunu, 2006).

However, youth participation is not limited to involvement in politicking but being able to influence and engage in actions and decisions that impact on the lives of young people (Abdullahi,

2018). This implies that youth political participation is not just voting but participation in youth representative bodies and forming active organizations to advance their interest and those of the community which ultimately ensures sustainability of governance. Political activists, scientists and groups quite agree that young people's participation in local governance can produce tangible benefits that include expanding political cognition, gathering political supports, and preparing the younger citizens for future responsibilities thereby making positive difference in people's lives (Abdullahi, 2018). However, the Nigerian political leaders and the so-called elites have been continuously blamed for poor governance and continued political woes. Norris (2017) aptly captured this point that there is a general lack of commitment on democratic norms, among some of these leaders that even strong democratic societies risk backsliding into less democratic form of governance. This seeming disinterest in governance is partly blamed on citizen's distrust in the media. And the citizens must trust the news media for it to function effectively, even as trust shapes the audience's image of the political system (Ursin, 2000).

Perceived Media Trust and Political Education

The media especially broadcast exist to serve the information needs of the citizenry. Editors, communicators, anchor men, and newsmen as a whole work on the principle that the public in a political situation is entitled to all the facts on which it can make its own decision. The policies and aims of government are made known through the media and are examined exhaustively by opposition and the general public through the same media. Besides mediating between political actors and audience knowledge about politics and governance, the media integrates the society, bringing like minds together and allowing people to form opinion and common understanding about issues of national concern. Mustapha and Mustapha (2017) posit that with the free flow of information and provision of avenues for rational debate, the media help in establishing civic culture and assist in citizen's political socialisation. Therefore, as an agent of political education, the media is important in producing people's civic knowledge, competence and positive dispositions towards politics and politicking.

Given that citizens are expected to be aware of policies and events that are likely to affect them, political democracies have over the years, relied upon informed consent of citizens. However, this effort is with hindrances. Along the lines of informed citizens, Coleman (2012) identified three major barriers: first, it is hard for one to know what is needed to be known; second is that people are confronted with so many sources of information to choose from with abundant content that are less civically nourishing. Lastly, it is somewhat difficult for people to trust what they are being told in the media. Coleman further argued that the problem of news media trust emanated from people's quest for authoritative knowledge of media content to proof the authenticity of the news, hence, the need to rely on trusted media.

Moreover, audience trust in the news media is not only limited to news consumption and media influence but also a major factor contributing to citizens' trust in democracy (Tsfati & Ariery, 2014). As news media is considered a mirror that reflect the real activities of the society and the world (Fletcher & Park, 2017); the media should uphold people's trust in this regard. Tsfati and Cohen (2005) noted that trust in democracy usually implies that the electorates are well and fairly informed and possessed accurate picture of the issues at hand via the media. However, absence of trust in the conduit of political information might imply absence of trust in the fairness of collective decision making.

Several studies have examined the dimensions of media trust and found causal relationship between media trust and trust in political institutions with effects of strengthening democracy

(Avery, 2009; Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Lee, 2010). In a study that focuses on audience trust in the news media as a whole, Lee's (2010) findings indicated that political ideology and partisanship have limited effects on trust in the government. Also examining the relationships between predictors of media trust, the researcher posits that consumers' evaluation of the economy as well as their cynical personalities directly affect their evaluation of the government, which then predicts their attitudes towards the news media. Again, in a study that explored the relationship between perceived credibility and consumption of news from the online newspapers among Nigerian students in Malaysia, Mustapha and Wok (2015) found differential perceptions of three Nigerian online newspapers in terms of story depth, fairness, accuracy and trustworthiness. The study revealed that perceived credibility of each online newspaper relates to reading the newspapers the most among the respondents.

To explore the associations between news media trust and other factors, Tsfaty and Ariely (2014) conducted a correlation statistics to analyse data from 44 countries. The study showed that political interest was positively and significantly associated with trust in media, with women trusting media significantly more than men, even though the co-efficient of age was insignificant. However, the study reported insignificant relationship between political affiliation or ideology and trust in the media in most of the countries studied.

Material and Method

This study investigated the relationship between the constructs of media trust and participatory governance. A cross-sectional design of a survey method was used for data gathering. The data were gathered from Nigerian youths who attended a four-day camp organized by ECWA Church, a Christian mission board at Eiyenkorin town, Ilorin, Kwara State. The camp was organized for youths from different parts of the north central states in Nigeria. The population of the attendees which is four hundred youths was accessed from the camp's record.

Using simple random sampling technique, one hundred and sixty (160) copies of self-administered questionnaire were distributed of which only 139 copies were valid and used for the sample size. This sample size is regarded as valid for correlation study (Algina & Olejnik, 2010; Bartlett II, Kotrlik, and Higgins, 2001; Israel, 1992). Alongside the two constructs- participatory governance and media trust- measurement, this study also used a single item variable to gather data on both level of exposure to media and the medium that is considered more credible among the respondents.

Participatory Governance

The construct of participatory governance (PAGOV) was operationalised as citizen involvement in political life either through voting or other means, based on a liberal democratic meaning (Chhotray and Stoker, 2009). Using the four strands of participatory governance drawn from Speer (2012), it was measured with four items on five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree) to (5=strongly agree). The scale items include: "participatory governance is the only way to increase government legitimacy"; "participatory governance is likely to be a better way to aggregate preferences of government policies"; "participatory governance is the only way for the powerless to influence decisions"; and "participatory governance is likely to be a flexible way of collective decision making". The four items were multiplied by two forming eight items. Four items measured positive view, and another four items measured negative view. This is purposively done to understand the respondents' belief patterns on participatory governance being negative or positive.

News Media Trust

Trust in the news was measured by adapting Jian, Bisantz, Drury, and Llinas (1998) trust measurement across three conditions: general trust, trust between people, and trust between human and automated systems. This adaptation of trust measurement in this way makes the concept to cut-across/ cover the three areas of research: media source, and message, in news media trust or credibility (Fisher, 2016). In this study, News Media Trust (NMT) was operationalised as the feelings of reliability, trustworthiness, and confidence in the news media. Since trust is a multi-dimensional concept, and, since the concepts of trust and distrust are similar (Jian et al, 1998), trust was measured with eight (8) items. These items gave us two factors: the first factor, suspicion of news media intent, action, and output which was measured with three items on seven-point Likert scale type (1= very untrue, 7= very true), and the second factor, confidence in the news media which was measured with five items on seven-point Likert scale type (1= very untrue, 7= very true).

Results and Discussion

Descriptive Statistics

Demographic variables of this study are the gender, age, and education level. The study was targeted at Nigerian youths who are expected to be active participants in good governance in Nigeria. This study was conducted among Nigerian youth male and female [male=71 (51.1%), female=68 (48.9%)]; aged 17 to 39 years old (M=25.40, SD= 5.26). Though there is no general consensus on youth age range, the United Nations put the age between 15 and 24 (UN, online). A study in Britain shows that the British people believe youths' age ends at 35 (Alleyne 2019). Thus, we adopt age 17 to 39 in this study as youths' age.

The respondents' level of exposure to different news media was (M=2.56, SD=1.12) and among the news media the respondents were highly exposed to is the TV (30.2%) trailed by online media (26.6%), while radio and newspaper are almost of equal percentage (20.9 and 21.6) respectively.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis of principal component with varimax rotation was conducted to understand how the items form the construct and its dimensionality. All the eight items surpassed the value threshold of (.3) and thus three components are extracted. The three components explain 54% of the variance with KMO of (.606) significant at (.000). Table 1 detailed the items that form the three components.

The revealed 3 components imply the pattern of respondents' belief on participatory governance in Nigeria. The first component shows that the respondents are indifferent to present democracy. Put differently, the respondents have a negative pattern of belief in participatory governance in Nigeria. And this finding corroborates with D'Alessio and Allen's (2000) study that the media is creating political apathy. The three indicators that formed the first components are the first three of the four negative questions that form the items of participatory governance; the fourth item formed the third component together with other two items of the positive question, and the remaining two formed the second component. To further investigate this assumed implication, we ran a reliability test and an inter-item correlation analysis.

Table 1. Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
*Pagov6	.787		
Pagov8	.746		
Pagov7	.723		
Pagov1		.783	
Pagov3		.741	
Pagov2			.698
Pagov4			.650
Pagov5			-.491

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

*Pagov – Participatory Governance

To ensure that the construct is valid and fit to be used for further studies on participatory governance, reliability of the three dimensions was conducted only on one dimension – the first component – was found fit with a Cronbach alpha (.675) which is almost (.70).

For internal consistency of the items, inter-item correlation was conducted. Out of the eight items that form the three factors, only component one which has three items (see Table 2) is also found fit without violation of multicollinearity.

Table 2. Inter-item Correlation Matrix^a

Items	Pagov6	Pagov8	Pagov7
Pagov6	1		
Pagov8	.466**	1	.
Pagov7	.363**	.397**	1

News Media Trust

News media items were factor analyzed using a principal component analysis with varimax rotation to reduce the items into one or two variables and to understand the dimensionality of the construct. The KMO is (.77) significant at (.001). Table 3 shows that the construct has two dimensions: the first component has five indicators which measures confidence in news media, and the second has three indicators which measures suspicion of news media intent, action, and outputs. This analysis implies that the construct is multidimensional and that the indicators are formative. Each of the components explains (38%) and (17%) of the variance respectively totaling (55%) of the variance explained. Thus, the eight items are used to measure news media trust construct.

Table 3. Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
*NMT4	.741	
NMT6	.718	
NMT1	.707	
NMT8	.670	
NMT2	.523	
NMT3		.858
NMT5		.822
NMT7		.624

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization
 *NMT – News Media Trust

We ran inter-item correlation to see that there is no violation of multi collinearity to ensure the data fitness to run other statistics test. All the items are correlated and found fit for other test. The results in Table 4 show the inter-item correlation of the constructs.

Table 4. Inter-item correlation matrix^a

Items	NMT1	NMT2	NMT3	NMT4	NMT5	NMT6	NMT7	NMT8
NMT1	1							
NMT2	.407**	1						
NMT3	.247**	.232**	1					
NMT4	.446**	.214*	.122	1				
NMT5	.297**	.271**	.589**	.203*	1			
NMT6	.337**	.396**	.111	.353**	.140	1		
NMT7	.332**	.233*	.385**	.218*	.368**	.219**	1	
NMT8	.416**	.199*	.252**	.436**	.227**	.335**	.241**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
 * . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The result of the reliability of news media trust constructs eight items is (.764) which indicates a good internal consistency of the items. The internal consistency of the items is supported in Table 4 above which shows the level of significance of inter-item correlation of the items. For the two dimensions, the reliability test for both was run and found the two dimensions to be reliable meeting the threshold of (.70). Although the participatory governance is below the threshold yet meets the acceptable minimal level according to some scholars (Nunnally, 1967; 1978). Thus, the results in Table 5 imply that the constructs are fit and can be used for further investigation.

Table 5. Reliability Test

Constructs	No of Items	Cronbach’s Alpha
Pagov	3	.675
NMT1	5	.726
NMT2	3	.705

Since the main thrust of this study is to find out whether there are any significant relationships between media trust and participatory governance, series of correlational analyses

were conducted to this effect. Pearson correlation coefficient analysis between participatory governance and confidence in the news media was run to understand the relationships.

To understand the relationship between the two variables, two tailed correlation coefficient was run. Preliminary analyses were performed to be sure that there is no violation of the assumptions of normality test, linearity, and homoscedasticity. The result in Table 6 shows that there is no relationship between the two variables ($r = -.008$, $n = 139$, $p > .005$). The implication is that contrary to democratic thinking that media has a role on encouraging participatory governance and that youth participation in governance should be engendered by the media, result shows that the youths do not have confidence in the news media and thus it cannot motivate them to participate in governance.

Table 6. Relationship between participatory governance and Confidence in News Media

Variable	N	R	P
Participatory Governance	139	-.008	.924
Confidence in news media	139		

Also, a 2-tailed correlation analysis was performed to investigate the relationship between participatory governance and suspicion of news media content. Table 7 shows the result of the analysis. The Pearson correlation reveals an insignificant negative relationship between the two variables ($r = -.093$, $n = 139$, $p > .005$).

The negative correlation between confidence in the news media, suspicion of media content, and participatory governance is a true reflection of the youths' perception of participatory governance in Nigeria, the media, and the practitioners. Nigerian politics symbolizes survival of the fittest where money, thuggery, and god-fatherism are the order of the game; regardless of your educational level, skills, or experiences. People were used to seeing vote counting as formality in the old Nigerian democracy, though they got rid of that practice since the 2015 election. The media enterprises are owned by politicians and the content is dictated to the practitioners who withhold information or intentionally downplay certain information which leads to "factual inexactitude" (Dunu 2013: 191). This finding confirms a previous study in Nigeria which showed that exposure to political humour in the media was a negative predictor of political knowledge among youths (Mustapha, et al, 2019).

The negative insignificance of trust in the news media among the youth could also be attributed to the nature of the unlimited freedom of speech enjoyed, especially in the so called democratic system, by the citizens and which allows people to freely say what they want and get away with it; since there is no deterrent punitive measure to curb its prevalence. So, this made the youth not to have trust in the three dimensions of credibility: the source, the message, and invariably the media (Fisher, 2016; Kioussis, 2001). For example, many of the political parties in Nigeria have some strong members who are media moguls and conglomerate; their ideology and political affiliations is reflected in and influence the media content. The youth perception of the level of the undue political influence may be the cause of lack of trust in the news media. Some scholars have found that perceptions of undue political influences on media strongly correlated with lower level of news media trust (Kalogeropoulos, Suiter, Udriş, & Eisenegger, 2019). For example, in the last presidential election, many conflicting information flooded the media based on which party controls the media. This positioned the citizens in a state of media trust dilemma.

This made the youth suspicious of the media content because they are quite sure it is structured after the ideology of the owners.

Table 7. Relationship between participatory governance and Suspicion of news media content

Variable	N	R	P
Participatory Governance	139	-.093	.276
Suspicion of media content	139		

This study shows that the media does not motivate youth participation in governance, however Table 8 below indicates that 82% of the youths described their level of exposure to the media between moderate and high. Despite this level of exposure, they still do not trust the media. This means that the youths are not exposed to media for political motivation but for other issues. This may support some scholars’ findings that there is lower correlation between media trust and media exposure (Tsfati & Cappella, 2005); in other words, high exposure to media does not necessarily translate to trust in the news media. This high level of youth exposure may be responsible for the lack of trust in news media content and lack of trust in the political system of the country and, thus, this subsequently caused their political apathy (Camaj, 2014). The negative relationship between the variables reflects lack of trust in the news media, and these findings also support Swift’s (2016) findings that in America, people’s trust in news media sinks to a new low level.

Table 8. Level of Exposure to Media

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Low Exposure	24	17.3
Medium Exposure	69	49.6
High Exposure	45	32.4
Total	138	99.3

Now, the question that begs answer is: which of the media gained high exposure and trust among the youths despite the negative correlation. To answer the first part of the question, the respondents were asked to indicate the media they are exposed to frequently. Frequency analysis of media exposure in Table 9 below shows that television takes the lead with the highest frequency of exposure; online media takes the second position while newspaper and radio occupy the third and fourth places respectively. These findings show that television is still the most exposed to among the media.

Table 9. Media Exposure

Media	Frequency	Percentage
Radio	29	20.9
Television	42	30.2
Newspaper	30	21.6
Online media	37	26.6
No media	1	.7
Total	139	100.0

To understand which of the media is considered to be the most credible, the second part of the question allowed respondents to indicate which media they trust most. We expect to see the media trust to follow the same trend of exposure, but Figure 1 below shows otherwise except for

television. The television, in terms of exposure, still maintains the lead as the most credible media with the highest frequency of 60 (43.2%) which is more than two folds of the trust enjoyed by online media and radio which are almost on equal frequency and percentage (29= 20.9% and 28= 20.1%), thus occupying second and third position respectively. Newspaper frequency is 18 with 12.9%; while magazine frequency is just four with 2.9%. The finding has many implications for Nigerian media in general despite the negative correlation. Television specifically as a news media still enjoys the public trust compared to other media. This finding is similar to many scholars' findings such as: leadership of television as the most credible medium (Fisher, 2016); television credibility is high and it is preferred to other media (Gaziano & McGrath, 1986); Li and Zhang's (2018) study found that TV has the highest loading compared to radio and newspaper. The high trust in and exposure to television as found in this study support Fletcher and Park's (2017:11) results that trust in news media is "linked to news source preference". Generally, electronic media are perceived to be more credible than print media. Lack of trust in the print media reflects in reality the decline in readership/circulation of both newspaper and magazine in Nigeria, and this has forced the print media enterprises to be looking for workable business model (on-going paper, Aliagan and Babatunde).

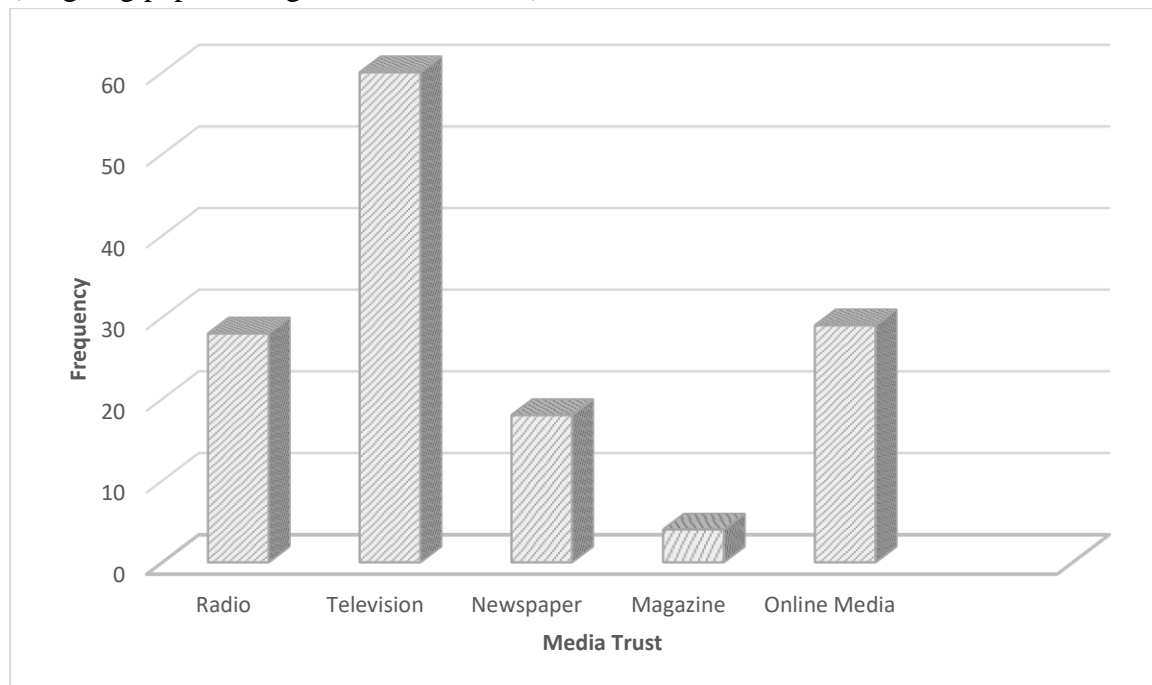


Figure 1 Rate of Media Trust

This finding that television is the most credible medium contradicts as well as supports findings from similar studies that investigated media credibility. For example, it contradicts Kohring's (2004) study which showed that radio credibility preceded television when media use is controlled, while it supports other scholars' studies which showed that television credibility preceded other media (Kioussis, 2001; Newhagen & Nass, 1989; Shaw, 1973; Tavousi, Mohammadi, Sadighi, Rostami, & Haeri Mehrizi, 2019).

Conclusion

We started off the research with the intention to explore the relationships between the news media trust and youth participation in governance; to investigate the most credible media. We gathered the data in a Christian youth camp. Based on liberal democrat notion that citizens'

participation in political events is essential for people's attitudes and behaviours towards politics (Chhotray and Stoker, 2009), and for citizens to participate in politics, they must access reliable information from the media (Coleman, 2012), we used the four strands of participatory governance in literature (Speer, 2012), and Jian et al's (1998) trust measurement to explore the correlation between the two constructs. We found that Nigerian youth are exposed highly to television and online media; perceived television as the most credible media and lacked trust in the news media; thus, trust in the news media has a negative correlation with participatory governance.

This study is not without some limitations. The data were collected from a small sample of youths gathered for a religious purpose and whose interest may not even lie in politics and, thus, may affect the external validity of the study. Demographic characteristics of the respondents were not explored and these, no doubt, could positively affect their perception of media credibility and politics.

Nevertheless, introducing participatory governance concept in media credibility study is novel and is paramount to understand and to sustain a vibrant democracy based on trust and void of deceit. Thus, the news media should uphold the watchdog role in the society responsibly by motivating, educating and influencing nationals to actively engage in politics and contribute to the governance of the nation. This cannot be achieved if the news media is perceived untrustworthy. Therefore, news outlets need to repackage in order to remain credible sources of information that will motivate youths to engage in politics and be part of governance in order to consolidate and sustain democratic values in society.

References

- Abdullahi, M. 2018. Youth Political Participation and Decision Making. Retrieved from <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/youth-political-participation-and-decision-making.html> [Accessed 03 February 2018]
- Adegbola, O. & Gearhart, S. 2019. Examining the Relationship Between Media Use and Political Engagement: A Comparative Study Among the United States, Kenya, and Nigeria. *International Journal of Communication* 13 (2019): 1231–1251.
- Algina, J. & Olejnik, S. 2003. Sample Size Tables for Correlation Analysis with Applications in Partial Correlation and Multiple Regression Analysis. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 38(3): 309-323.
- Aliagan, I. Z, and Babatunde, K.A (on-going paper). Culturally-locked Nigerian newspapers on creative destruction approaches
- Alleyne, R. 2019, Wednesday 18. Middle Age Begins at 35 and Ends at 58. The Telegraph. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/news/7458147/Middle-age-begins-at-35-and-ends-at-58.html> [Accessed 20 March 2020]
- Avery, J.M. 2009. Videomalaise or Virtuous Circle? The Influence of the News Media on Political Trust. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(4): 410 -433 [doi:10.1177/1940161209336224](https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161209336224)

- Bakker, T. P. & de Vreese, C. H. 2011. Good News for the Future? Young People, Internet Use, and Political Participation. *Communication Research*, 38(4): 451–470.
- Bartlett II, J.E., Kotrlik, J.W., and Higgins, C. C. 2001. Organizational Research: Determining Appropriate Sample Size in Survey Research. *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal*, 19 (1): 43-50.
- Black-Orsten, M. & Burkal, R. 2014. Credibility and the Media as a Political Institution. *Nordicom Review* 35 (2014), Special Issue: 67 -79.
- Blöbaum, B. 2014. Trust and Journalism in a Digital Environment: Working Paper. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Oxford, UK: Oxford University. Retrieved from https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:1db59385-cdf4-4c00-8373-a940629922a1/download_file?file_format=pdf&safe_filename=Trust%2Band%2BJournalism%2Bin%2Ba%2BDigital%2BEnvironment&type_of_work=Working+paper [Accessed 15 April 2020]
- Camaj, L. 2014. Media Use and Political Trust in an Emerging Democracy: Setting the Institutional Trust Agenda in Kosovo. *International Journal of Communication*, 8 (2014): 187-209.
- Chhotray, V. & Stoker, G. 2009. *Governance Theory and Practice, A Cross-Disciplinary Approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Choi, J., Yang, M., & Chang, J. J. C. 2009. Elaboration of the Hostile Media Phenomenon: The Roles of Involvement, Media Skepticism, Congruency of Perceived Media Influence, and Perceived Opinion Climate. *Communication Research*, 36 (1): 54–75.
- Chyi, H. I., & Lee, A. M. 2018. Commercialization of Technology News: Quantity and Quality Dimensions. *Journalism Practice*, 12(5): 585-604.
- Coleman, S. 2012. Believing the News: From Sinking Trust to Atrophied Efficacy. *European Journal of Communication*, 27(1): 35– 45.
- Coleman, S., Morrison, D. E., & Anthony, S. 2012. A Constructivist Study of Trust in the News. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1): 37-53.
- D'Alessio, D., & Allen, M. 2000. Media Bias in Presidential Elections: A Meta-analysis. *Journal of Communication*, 50(4): 133-156.
- Dunu, E. N., & Onwuama, C. N. 2006. *Understanding Library Services to Exceptional Persons: An Introduction*. Owerri: Whyte and Whyte Publications.
- Eni, G., & Rosenberg, L. T. 2018. Trust in the Age of Social Media: Populist Politicians Seem More Authentic. *Social Media+ Society*, 4(1):1-11 [p.2056305118764430](https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764430)
- Fisher, C. 2018. What is Meant by ‘Trust’ in News Media?. In: Otto K. Kohler A. (eds) *Trust in Media and Journalism*, pp.19 –38. Wiesbaden: Springer VS

- Fisher, C. 2016. The Trouble with 'Trust' in News Media. *Communication Research and Practice*, 2(4):451-465
- Fletcher, R. and Park, S. 2017. The Impact of Trust in the News Media on Online News Consumption and Participation. *Digital Journalism*, 5(10):1281-1299.
- Gaziano, C., & McGrath, K. 1986. Measuring the Concept of Credibility. *Journalism Quarterly*, 63(3): 451-462.
- Gustafson, P. and Hertting, N., 2017. Understanding Participatory Governance: An Analysis of Participants' Motives for Participation. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 47(5): 538-549.
- Hardin, R. 2002. *Trust and Trustworthiness*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Isreal, G. D. 1992. Determining Sample Size. Fact Sheet PEOD-6, A Series of the Program Evaluation and Organizational Development, Florida Cooperative Extension Service, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida. Retrieve from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/58812033/sample_size1.pdf [Accessed 27 November 2019]
- Jian, J. Y., Bisantz, A. M., & Drury, C. G. 2000. Foundations for an Empirically Determined Scale of Trust in Automated Systems. *International Journal of Cognitive Ergonomics*, 4(1): 53-71.
- Kalogeropoulos, A., Suiter, J., Udriș, L., & Eisenegger, M. 2019. News Media Trust and News Consumption: Factors Related to Trust in News in 35 Countries. *International Journal of Communication*, 13 (22): 3672 –3693.
- Kiousis, S. 2001. Public Trust or Mistrust? Perceptions of Media Credibility in the Information Age. *Mass Communication & Society*, 4(4): 381 – 403.
- Kohring, M. & Matthes, J. 2007. Trust in News Media Development and Validation of a Multidimensional Scale. *Communication Research*, 34 (2): 231 – 252.
- Lee, T. 2010. Why They Don't Trust the Media: An Examination of Factors Predicting Trust. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 54 (1): 8 – 21.
- Li, X and Zhang, G. 2018. Perceived Credibility of Chinese Social Media: Toward an Integrated Approach. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 30 (1): 79 -101.
- Moy, P., & Scheufele, D. A. 2000. Media Effects on Political and Social Trust. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(4): 744–759.
- Mustapha, L. K & Wok, S. 2015. Perceived Credibility and Consumption of Homeland News among Diasporic Nigerians in Malaysia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 23 (2): 127 – 142.

- Mustapha, L.K & Mustapha, M. L. 2017. Media and Youths' Political Engagement during the 2015 Nigerian General Election, *Estudos em Comunicacao (Communication Studies)*, 24: 177–195
- Mustapha. L.K, Omar, B. & Atoloye, S.A. 2019. Influence of Satirical Media Content on Orientation to Politics among Nigerian Youths. *SEARCH Journal of Media and Communication Research*, 11 (2): 91 – 110.
- Newhagen, J., & Nass, C. 1989. Differential Criteria for Evaluating Credibility of Newspapers and TV News. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66(2): 277-284.
- Norris, P. 2017. Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks. *Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP 17 – 012* Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard University.
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/164c/ce8aee574f9004e3fc4f31b42ce7ee7722e9.pdf> [Accessed 18 March 2020]
- Nunnally, J. C. 1967. *Psychometric Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Nunnally, J. C. 1978. *Psychometric Theory*. (Second Edition) New York: McGraw-Hill
- Omenugha, K.A. & Oji, M. 2008. News Commercialisation, Ethics and Objectivity in Journalism Practice in Nigeria: Strange Bedfellows? *Estudos em Comunicacao*, 3:13-28.
- Ozohu-Suleiman, Y. & Dahiru, J. M. 2017. A Survey of Public Trust in Mass Media as Democratic Building Institution in Nigeria. *KIU Journal of Humanities*, 2 (2A): 97 – 104.
- Prochazka, F., & Schweiger, W. 2019. How to Measure Generalized Trust in News Media? An Adaptation and Test of Scales. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 13(1): 26-42.
- Rosanvallon, P., 2008. *Counter-democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Severin, W. J., & Tankard, J. W. J. 2010. *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (5th edition). New York: Longman.
- Shaw, E. F. 1973. Media Credibility: Taking the Measure of a Measure. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 50(2): 306–311.
- Swift, A. 2016. September, 14. Americans' Trust in Mass Media Sinks to New Low. Retrieved from <https://news.gallup.com/poll/195542/americans-trust-mass-media-sinks-new-low.aspx> [Accessed 08 2020]
- Tahvilzadeh, N. 2015. Understanding Participatory Governance Arrangements in Urban Politics: Idealist and Cynical Perspectives on the Politics of Citizen Dialogues in Göteborg, Sweden. *Urban Research & Practice*, 8(2): 238-254.
- Tavousi, M., Mohammadi, S., Sadighi, J., Rostami, R., & Haeri Mehrizi, A. A. 2019. Trust in Mass Media and Virtual Social Networks Health Information: A Population Study. *Payesh (Health Monitor)*, 18(3): 231-240.

- Thorson, K. & Edgerly, S. 2017. Civic Engagement through Media. *The International Encyclopaedia of Media Effect*, pp 1 – 12 Wiley Online Library <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0168>
- Tsfati, Y. & Cappella J. N. 2005. Why Do People Watch News They Do Not Trust? The Need for Cognition as a Moderator in the Association Between News Media Skepticism and Exposure. *Media Psychology*, 7(3): 251–271.
- Tsfati, Y. & Ariely, G. 2014. Individual and Contextual Correlates of Trust in Media Across 44 Countries. *Communication Research*, 41(6): 760-782.
- United Nation (no date). Shaping Our Future: Who are the Youth? Retrieved from: <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/youth-0/index.html> [Accessed 21 April 2020]
- Ursin, L. H. 2017. *Quality of Government Sustains News Media Trust: A Cross-Country Comparative Study on The Effect of Quality of Government and Media Systems on News Media Trust in Europe* (Master's thesis, The University of Bergen). http://bora.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956/16413/SAMPOL650_Kandidatnr_100_V2017_v2.pdf?sequence=1 [Accessed 13 April 2020]
- Yale, R. N., Jensen, J. D., Carcioppolo, N., Sun, Y., & Liu, M. 2015. Examining First-and Second-order Factor Structures for News Credibility. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 9(3): 152-169.
- Yu, S. S., 2018. The Commercialization of Journalism: Ethnic Media, News Production, and Business Strategies in the Digital Era. *Journalism Studies*, 19(16): 2433-2450.

¹ Corresponding Author, Kwara State University, Malete Faculty of Information & Communication Technology, Department of Mass Communication. Email: perpetua.trust@gmail.com, perpetua.umeaku@kwasu.edu.ng, Tel: 08037209201

² Kwara State University, Malete Faculty of Information & Communication Technology, Department of Mass Communication, E-mail: babsalam7@gmail.com, babsalam701@gmail.com, Tel: 08033571967