

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Good governance has been an issue of major concern which has dominated discussions and agitations among scholars, international organisations and people of all sorts over the ages. It, however, gained popularity after the end of the Cold War in 1990, such that the World Bank included it as one of the conditionalities for lending to developing nations. This is essentially because it fosters foreign investment, trade, aid, regional and global cooperation and impacts positively on social, economic and political development<sup>1</sup>. This is more so because citizens' security, welfare, standard of living, health and development are inextricably linked to the quality and effectiveness of governance. Conversely, bad governance has brought on its trails conflicts, insecurity and underdevelopment all of which filled the human race with elicited with trepidation and worries.

International organizations like the United Nations, African Union and civil society groups have developed extraordinary interest in good governance worldwide in view of the extreme consequences of bad governance like poverty, political and economic instability in many developing countries, especially on the African continent. A recent report on Africa's wealthy states that only five African countries namely South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco and Kenya, out of 52 possess 50 per cent of the continent's wealth, implying that a greater population of the continent is in abject poverty. South African citizens have the highest combined wealth of \$651 billion followed by Egypt with \$307 billion as well as the highest number of billionaires on the continent where Nigerian's individual wealth is put at \$228 billion<sup>2</sup>.

The report puts total private wealth in Africa at \$2.1 trillion, in the hands of 136,000 high net worth individuals, in a continent of 1.398 billion population, and poverty rate (at \$1.8)

of 2.9 percent in 2021. Yet, Egypt has the highest number of private billionaires - seven, South Africa, five, Nigeria, four, Morocco, three and Tanzania and Angola, one each. High net worth people refer to the number of Africans having \$1 million in cash and assets and there are indications that the list might be on the rise. Egypt's Gross Domestic Product is currently put at \$396.3, South Africa \$301.9 billion and Nigeria \$429.4<sup>2</sup>.

Poverty level around the world is very high as about 1.2 billion people is living below poverty line of \$1.9 per day, about half of which (593 million) are children; and 579 million of the entire figures is from Sub-Saharan Africa. Indicators used in determining the poverty level are standard of living- cooking fuel, electricity, access to drinking water. Others are education- years of schooling and school attendance, as well as health, with particular reference to nutrition and child mortality<sup>2</sup>. In Nigeria, over 133 million people, out of the estimated 200 million population are living in multi-dimensional poverty, 86 million of which are from the North while 47 million people are from the Southern part of the country. The poor Nigerians have no access to potable water; they cook with dung, charcoal and wood<sup>3</sup>.

In view of the nexus between standards of living and good governance, the United Nations Development Programme, (UNDP), posits that good governance means promoting rule of law, transparency, equity, effectiveness/efficiency, accountability and strategic vision in the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority<sup>2</sup>. The World Governance Indicators Project, (WGIP), averred that good governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised; it includes how governments are selected, replaced, government's capacity to formulate and implement policies, provide public services and earn the respect of citizens, institutions that determine economic and social infractions<sup>2</sup>. Good governance is a critical means of providing sustainable development, reducing poverty and promoting peace, equality and social justice, therefore,

good governance is seen as the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development<sup>4</sup>.

Conversely, poor governance is a driver of conflict and poverty as certain economic and political conditions make a country prone to a circle of strife and civil war from which it is difficult to escape<sup>4</sup>. Another research declared that the entire world, except Ethiopia and Nigeria, is likely to enjoy peace due poor governance. Ethiopia is considered susceptible because of insecurity, ideology, socio-economic, religious and ethnic conflicts and the manner of state response to these matters. Nigeria, on the other hand, is suffering from religious extremism waged through terrorist acts perpetrated by Boko Haram whose philosophy prohibits acquisition of western education, especially for women and is bent to turn the country to an Islamic state. However, pressure groups, development partners, political parties, mainstream media and citizen journalists have been at the vanguard of making efforts to bring about good governance through discussion, debates and other interventions by reporting and interrogating government's inadequacies and failures<sup>5</sup>.

In the course of time, the mass media as vehicle of mass communication occupies a special place in contemporary human life, as has been described as the oxygen of democracy and governance. It performs such fundamental roles of education, information, entertainment, serving as agents of mobilisation and surveillance to the society. It also plays a major role in promoting and securing democracy and global development such as has been established that the quality of democracy and quality of journalism are entwined<sup>5</sup>. Besides, the media stimulates understanding of their respective country's system of government, its justice system, the political process as well economic, social and cultural organisations and institutions in relation to other countries. It has also been established that the media performs such functions as surveillance of the environment, correlations of parts thereof in responding to the environment and transmitting cultural heritage.

Respecting information, the media is relied upon as the fulcrum in the provision of information about events and conditions in the society, indicating relations with power, facilitating innovation adaptation and progress<sup>6</sup>.

As regards its correlation duties, the media provides explanation, comments and analyses on the meaning of events, government's policies and programmes, rule of law and social justice, and in the process, promotes good governance. It also provides support for established authorities, serving as agents of socialisation, coordination of activities and ensuring consensus building and setting order of priorities. The media guarantees continuity by expressing and reinforcing dominant culture, recognising subcultures and new cultural development<sup>7</sup>.

In the area of entertainment, the media provides amusement, diversion from hectic lifestyle and offers means of relaxation, serving as sense makers, navigators, forum leaders and public explainers. In a democracy, the media serves as democracy agents for education and mobilisation by soliciting support for causes either during political campaigns, candidate selection, and monitoring performance in the areas of economic policies, work, values and sometimes religion<sup>7</sup>.

More importantly, the mass media serves as the conscience of a nation, and through its reports, analyses, editorials, cartoons and critiques, it shapes public perception, public opinion, dialogue and it is responsible for holding the government and organisations accountable to the people. The media sustains the public sphere and monitors provision of dividends of democracy, development, national mobilization and ensuring global best practices. Through the media, individuals across the globe are constantly exposed to information, ideas, news, advertisements, messages and ideologies from different media sources in the course of their daily activities. It has also been established that the media

monitors governance, protects interest and rights of citizens and advocating for issues and causes that would engender growth and development within the society where it operates<sup>7</sup>.

The media's vital roles were underscored when it is described as the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man and improving him as a rational, oral and social being. Reinforcing the vital roles of the media in the emancipation of humanity and deepening democracy, shaping agenda for public discourse and in moulding public opinion, a one-time president of the United States said, "to the press alone, chequered as it is with abuse, the world is indebted for all its triumphs which have been gained by reason of humanity over error and oppression"<sup>8</sup>.

From the pages of history, the media is reputed for its sterling role in the independence struggle of many countries of the world thereby promoting democratic values. For instance, the American press was part of the struggle for the country's independence from Britain in 1776, just as the Latin American counterpart was at the forefront of the fight against Spanish domination and Nigerian journalists were at the vanguard of the battle that ended British colonialism in Nigeria and consequent independence in 1960. Even after independence, the media became the incubator of democratic structure, mediator and translator between the public and political rulers, ensuring transparency and accountability, thereby promoting good governance<sup>9</sup>.

Whether through radio, television, cable and satellite broadcasts, the Internet, social networks, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, journals, books, cinemas, etc., individually and collectively, they serve the divergent needs of various audiences and societies across the globe, who have specific information preferences, ranging from ideologies, entertainment, advertisement, sports, news, films, plays, serials, music, dance, politics or

religion. Newspapers and magazines readers seek guidance therefrom to understand their political, social, cultural and socio-economic issues.

Furthermore, the media serves as source of social integration through effective newsgathering, investigation and writing that promotes cultural identity, diversities, tolerance, and technology diffusion in the contemporary society<sup>9</sup>. Each medium is powerful in its own right in serving its readers and has gone through several stages of development due to pressure and competition from newer communication technology. To ensure development, positive change and growth across all segments of the world, whether this development takes the forms of social, economic, political, cultural or human, it has become imperative for the media to interrogate, evaluate and analyse the system, policies, programmes and budgets to ensure their ability to deliver good governance, accountability and transparency in achieving development goals<sup>10</sup>.

Article 19 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "everyone has the right to freedom to hold opinion without interference and seek, receive and impart opinion through any media frontiers<sup>11</sup>." Researchers posit that this formed the basis for the freedom of the press contained in the constitutions of many countries, and in particular, Section 39 (1) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended). It guarantees freedom of expression, to hold and disseminate information in order to impact ideas. Subsection 2, provides constitutional guarantees to own, establish and operate a media house, radio, television or newspapers for the purpose of dissemination of information, ideas and opinion. Section 22 of the same Constitution gave the media the mandate to serve as the watchdog of the modern Nigeria. Coming after the legislature, executive and the judiciary, it is the fourth estate of the realm which reports, criticizes and analyses government policies, programmes, those of individuals and corporate organizations whose

actions could have negative or positive impact on human lives, the environment and development<sup>11</sup>.

Section 22 of the Constitution mentioned earlier stated that: “The press, radio television and ... the mass media shall at all times, be free to uphold the ... accountability of the government to the people.” Similarly, Section 15 (5) of the same Constitution stated that one of the responsibilities of government is to “abolish corrupt practices and abuse of power.”<sup>4</sup> When combined with provisions of Chapter 2 of the Constitution which identifies the welfare and security of the people as the essence of government, it becomes very clear that the media has a constitutional obligation to constructively criticise and hold government accountable thereby promoting rule of law, openness and transparency, competence and capacity which are some parameters for measuring good governance<sup>12</sup>.

Political commentators and philosophers have debated the role of journalism in democracy, positing that the extent of citizens’ participation in democracy is spurred by news gathering and reporting. The importance of the media in this regard led many scholars to emerge with the mediatisation media logic and the theory of the public sphere which has been described as an effort to understand the role of the media in the political and democratic process. By doing so, the media provides space to discussion and debate on issues, acquisition of information and knowledge which are essential elements of democratic participation<sup>13</sup>.

With over 187 radio stations, 109 television and hundreds of daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and 20,100 blogs in Nigeria, the media, through news reporting, analysis and investigative reports, plays a critical role in the pursuit of good governance, accountability and social justice<sup>14</sup>. It has been averred that the quality of engagement by the media with the society is a critical ingredient from the health of any democracy. To achieve this,

investigative journalism is sacrosanct as it goes beyond what the politician or industries want published to what they may want to conceal. However, it has been observed that the media landscape has witnessed a measure of changes at the turn of the century, with the advent of citizen journalism, which refers to the participation of citizens in news dissemination<sup>14</sup>.

Citizen journalism has also been described as “public, democratic or guerrilla journalism.” It is the participation or engagement of members of the public, who are non-journalists in news gathering and reporting. It has been referred to as collection, dissemination and analysis of news and information by the untrained members of the public especially through the internet. Citizen journalism is participatory or collaborative journalism or street journalism where members of the public who possess Internet-enabled phones do participate in gathering and disseminating news and information. They are untrained and most times unpaid amateur journalists who report events because they happened to be at the scene of such occurrences<sup>15</sup>. Another researcher posits that this semi-professional or interloper journalism, though filling a void in the society, is currently gaining grounds and has some influence on mainstream journalism practice, especially in this digital age. They report such activities as accidents, infractions or core areas like medicine, engineering or even aviation as well as other events that violate societal norms, morality and law<sup>16</sup>.

Investigative journalism, on its part, goes beyond routine reporting. It is the media’s scientific approach or detailed research into illegal or untoward activities which are otherwise concealed from public glare by government, individuals or organisations<sup>17</sup>. Unlike other media reports, the subject matter is an exclusive initiative and original to the investigative reporter and it must be of great importance to the general public, and a

subject others want to keep in the wraps. Investigative journalism has also been described as:

the reporting, through one's own initiative and work product, matters of importance to readers, reviewers or listeners. In many cases, the subject of the reporting which comes under scrutiny are such that organisations and individuals want to remain undisclosed.<sup>18</sup>

Underscoring the importance of investigative journalism in promoting good governance, it was stated in the BBC's reportage of the Watergate Scandal that there is no more important contribution that journalists can make to the society than strong, publicly-spirited investigative journalism<sup>19</sup>. Advocating the same role for investigative journalism, a former American President, in one of his speeches said:

There are in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon evil, evil men, whether politician or businessman, every evil practice, whether political or social life. I hail the benefactor, every writer or speaker, every man who on the platform, in book, magazine or in newspaper, with merciless severity, makes such attacks, provided always that he in turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful<sup>20</sup>.

Investigative journalism practices come from a hunch, a lead or hypothesis which is further subjected to under-cover inquiries to ascertain their veracity through participant or non-participant observation, sourcing and scrutinising of relevant documents or sometimes through clinical examination of materials like toxins or industrial pollution. Information so gathered, usually through covert or subterranean operations can be classified as unsolicited news. Investigative journalism differs from routine journalism for the essential fact that besides being of public interest, it relies heavily on extensive research and the follow-up of information. In the process on carrying out such duties, the investigative journalist sniffs

out wrongs, points accusing fingers at reprehensible actors, and reports in a way to bring about change. It also looks beyond the criminals and beams searchlight on the system which permits them<sup>20</sup>.

Investigative journalism often involves exposing corruption to the public, which often comes in the forms of scandals, acts that violate societal laws, norms and morals in order to elicit changes. Hence, the subject matter of investigative journalism usually centres on reporting elements of bad governance - corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, disregard for rule of law, corner cutting, child trafficking, abuse of office, counterfeiting, product adulteration to endangering the lives of the populace and other forms of criminality by individuals, governments or organisations.

Other subject matters that are of interest to investigative journalism include non-compliance with rule of law and global best practices, embezzlement, kick-backs, nepotism in public and private services, political patronages, electoral frauds like vote-buying, bribery and contract inflation, examination malpractices, sex or cash for marks and even unacceptable labour and environmental pollution practices<sup>20</sup>.

Corruption has been said to be very rife in Nigeria, permeating all levels and arms of government, as well as legislature, executive and judiciary, leading to loss of faith in government, making it imperative for exposition through investigation of criminality, corruption, embezzlement and bad governance. Nigeria is ranked 149 in Transparency International's annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for 2020 years, and equally low ebb occupied by Nigeria in the ease of doing business attest to the rabidity of corruption in Nigeria. To Transparency International, this is very worrisome because of the bearing the negative impact of corruption on business, growth, economic development, foreign direct investment and good governance<sup>21</sup>.

It has also been posited that investigative journalism has spread rapidly around the world in the past decade in assisting to hold corrupt leaders accountable, document human rights violations, and expose systemic abuses in developing and transitioning countries<sup>21</sup>. It also promotes public accountability, targeting crimes and corruption, promoting rule of law. This is coming despite arduous laws, legal and physical attacks, unsupportive media owners, a lack of qualified trainers and other obstacles; the practice has found a huge footing even in countries that are largely repressive.

For instance, it was reported that over \$380 billion have either been stolen or wasted by government officials since Nigeria's independence in 1960<sup>22</sup>. Similarly, it has been asserted that some 55 Nigerians stole the sum of N1.35 trillion between 2006 and 2013. The same report also declared that as a great proportion of Nigeria's crude oil running into \$7billion is stolen annually, just as civil servants defraud the Federal Government of N700 billion yearly, using such tricks as ghost workers and inflation of pay rolls all over the country. In one particular instance, the name of two infants, one month and five months olds respectively, were on the Lagos State Government pay roll where over N82million was allegedly lost monthly<sup>23</sup>.

Still in the public sector, the health, power and education sub-sectors have witnessed massive underdevelopment or abandonment of contracts/projects in recent times. Many health facilities are in decrepit condition even as infant mortality rate is reaching for the ceiling due to lack of medicine for the treatment of preventable diseases. The collapse of the power sector under President Olusegun Obasanjo despite the alleged investment of humongous sum of \$16billion reportedly invested in it is still a source of concern till today especially when on few visible power infrastructure sighted<sup>24</sup>. In May 2020, there were allegations that parts of the \$800million stolen by the late Head of State, General Sani

Abacha, have been re-looted. More recently, former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair posited that if Nigeria could fix its power sector problem where it has pumped billions of dollars and get its leadership issues right, it would take a leap from developing nation to developed nation within a decade. Little wonder that development experts have described corruption as the greatest enemy of development. Corrupt practices, which retard national development, have become subjects of investigative reports<sup>25</sup>.

While some countries have established anti-graft agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC) set up via the EFCC Act of 2004, and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission, (ICPC), set up via the ICPC Act 2003, besides the activities of the Nigeria Police Force, it has also become imperative to put such agencies on the watch because, like many human institutions, they are not immune to abuse and political interference<sup>26</sup>.

Bad governance has also been manifested in the administration of justice. For instance, former Governor of Gombe State, Nigeria, Senator Danjuma Goje was accused of mismanaging N25billion state funds by the EFCC and was undergoing trial before Justice Babatunde Quadiri of the Jos Federal High Court for almost eight years. He was, however, re-elected to the Nigerian Senate and displayed interest in Senate Presidency which favoured him because the ruling party the APC zoned the position to the North-East of the country. But when the case came up for emergency hearing in 2015, EFCC Counsel, announced EFCC's withdrawal from the case, to be taken over by the office of the Attorney General of the Federation and the case died prematurely. He remains a serving Senator making laws for the country.

Another senator having pending criminal cases against her at various Nigerian courts is the former Minister of Aviation, Chief Stella Oduah, who was sacked by the Goodluck

Jonathan administration in 2014. She is standing trial before Justice Inyang Ekwo of Abuja Federal High Court for diverting N5bn aviation terminal funds by the EFCC. The case is pending. Ironically, these individuals are still holding top positions in the Nigerian government<sup>25</sup>.

In 2019, the appointment of a former governor of Bayelsa State, Timipreye Sylva, who was earlier arraigned before Justice E. S. Chukwu of Federal High Court Abuja on a 50-count charge of fraud and money laundering by the EFCC to the tune of N2.5 billion, and prosecuted by Festus Keyamo, SAN; as well as Sen. Godswill Akpabio, a former governor of Akwa Ibom State, who is having a petition bordering on N108 billion fraud hanging on him at the EFCC as ministers in the President Muhammadu Buhari's government and cleared by the Senate and security agencies for such exalted appointments, without recourse to the moral burden hanging on them attracted a groundswell of opposition<sup>26</sup>.

Similarly, disregard for constitutional provision respecting national character principle, nepotism in government appointments, lack of separation of powers and incompetence on the part of government have been very common with the government of President Buhari. It has been established that over 15 heads of security agencies like the Nigerian Army, Directorate of State Services, Nigeria Police Force, and National Intelligence Agency in Nigeria are from one section of the country and they belong to the same faith. It is averred that defiance of the separation of power principle, the Nigeria government in 2016, the Directorate of State Services, (DSS), in a nocturnal sting operation broke into the homes of many judges in Nigeria, arrested some of them on allegations of corruption instead of allowing the National Judicial Service Commission (NJSC) to perform its duties. The action culminated in the sack of the then Chief Judge of the Federation, Justice Walter Onoghen, even though some other judges so arrested were discharged of any crime<sup>27</sup>.

As a way of promoting acceptable ethical standards and exposing criminality, the media has also played vital roles. Decades ago, the government-owned national television, Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), on its Sunday Magazine programme, *Newsline* would be remembered for breaking and investigating the story of “Miracle Baby,” wherein a 65-year-old woman, Alhaja Wuraola Abayomi, was the *dramatis personae*. The story was such that in 1994, a lady, Mrs. Folashade Adeyemi was delivered of a set of twins at Oluwaseyifunmi Clinic and Maternity Home in Ojota, Lagos, but was informed by the birth attendant, Mrs. Esther Kobara, that the babies died. However, in March 1995, Alhaja Abayomi, later to be referred to as Mama, held a lavish naming ceremony after her supposed record-breaking conception through biological process and consequent post-menopausal delivery. Upon sighting Mama’s celebration on the NTA, Mrs. Adeyemi recognised her as one of the visitors in the said clinic, though without a pregnancy. Then she raised the alarm that attracted the attention of the NTA correspondent, Abike Dabiri, who had reported the naming ceremony to follow-up the entire story.

The reportage caught the attention of the police and medical experts who developed more than passive interest in the novel delivery said to be a material for the Guinness Book of World Record. Through painstaking and persistent report running for about eight years, Dabiri followed the consequent various clinical, gynaecological and maternity tests carried out by medical experts and police on both mother and child. Not only were the results so baffling, it put all Nigerians besides themselves as scientific evidence tendered on national television indicated that Mama was neither pregnant nor gave birth to the child. Rather, the maternity test indicated that the baby was delivered by Mrs. Adeyemi and that the child was actually stolen and sold to Mama. The award-winning report laid a foundation for consequent prosecution of Mama and her conspirators in the clinic and became

Dabiri's launch pad to the national stage as she was elected to the House of Representatives in 2003 where she served till 2015<sup>28</sup>.

In another instance, sex-for-grade practices in some African universities posed a huge threat to academic integrity in such institutions. In a 2018 report of the BBC investigative journalist, Kikky Mordi is a reference point. The report detailed cases of four professors of University of Lagos and that of Ghana who were caught on video demanding for sex from undercover reporters in exchange for admission into the universities<sup>17</sup>. Before then, there were few confirmed cases of sex-for-grades in the universities, but besides that of Prof. Richard Akindele of the Obafemi Awolowo University who was sentenced to six years imprisonment in 2018, the BBC report, through its "African Eye" Initiative caught on camera Dr. Boniface Igheneghu, of the Faculty of Arts, a pastor with the Foursquare Gospel Church in his office with the supposed 17-years old admission seeker and later in a "Cold Room" at the University of Lagos Staff Club. The other accused person was Dr. Paul Kwame Butaktor of the College of Education, University of Ghana. Despite video evidence, both lecturers have denied the allegation, even as the university authorities have placed them on suspension as investigation is underway<sup>29</sup>.

At the international level, one of the most historical cases of investigative journalism in upholding the law and public morality in the United States of America was the expose by the *Washington Post* of the political espionage referred to as the Watergate Scandal of 1972-1974. In the report, two journalists of the *Washington Post*, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward investigated how aides of the then sitting Republican President, Richard Nixon, bugged the headquarters of the Democratic Party. The expose culminated in the arrest and prosecution of four of President Nixon's aides, and groundswell of disapproval forced Nixon's resignation just before Congress could commence impeachment proceedings

against him<sup>30</sup>. More recently, global attention has been accorded investigative journalism by the International Consortium for Investigative Journalism, which produced the Panama Papers in 2016, the Paradise Papers in 2017 and the Pandora Papers in 2021. The three collaborative investigative works drew global attention via leaked documents sleaze and offshore investments by politicians and business men in various secret locations in many parts of the world<sup>30</sup>.

In view of the impact of citizens and investigative reports on good governance and national development, many organisations are now at the vanguard of promoting investigative journalism practices, by either instituting awards for it or sponsoring investigative stories in the print and electronic media in Nigeria and abroad. Global and regional networks of investigative journalists, with the support of donors and technology now collaborate on stories involving international crime, unaccountable businesses, environmental degradation, safety and health problems, and other hard-to-report issues<sup>30</sup>.

Since 2010, the duo of Diamond Awards for Media Excellence (DAME) and the Nigerian Media Merit Awards (NMMA), have instituted awards for the best investigative works in the print and electronic categories, and the awards come with cash rewards. While the NMMA has the Alex Ibru Prize for Investigative Reporter of the Year Award, the DAME has Investigative Reporter of the Year Award. Similarly, other organisations like the Cable Network News, (CNN), the Wole Soyinka Centre for Investigative Journalism, (WCIJ), founded by veteran investigative journalist, Dapo Olorunyomi and the International Centre for Investigative Journalism (ICIJ) have either instituted awards for this cause or sponsored investigations into some national or global issues.

The emergence of blogs and online newspapers have added a new dimension into the advocacy for good governance<sup>30</sup>. For instance, *TheCable Newspapers* published by Simon

Kolawole, *The Eagleline* by Dotun Oladipo and *Premium Times* run by veteran journalist, by Dapo Olorunyomi, Fisayo Soyombo of the Foundation for Investigative Journalism (FIJ) are also leading lights in investigative journalism in Nigeria. In particular, *The Cable Newspaper* Journalism Foundation, a not-for-profit organisation deploys journalism as a tool for good governance and development. It carries out investigative reporting of government policies, programmes to monitor implementation of fact-check official claims. In concert with donor agencies, its practices development journalism, solution journalism, policy advocacy as well as training and mentoring of budding journalists. It recently organised a colloquium titled: The Vital Link Between Investigative Journalism and Peoples-led Demand for Good Governance<sup>30</sup>.

Besides these is *Sahara Reporters* and a few other online newspapers are also making impact in this regard in the area of investigative journalism, just as just as many print and electronic media houses have set up Investigations Desks in their media houses to draw attention to this vital role of investigative journalism in good governance. Similarly, the Freedom of Information Act enacted in Nigeria in 2011 was aimed at strengthening good governance by making public records easily available and accessible to the people. It might be necessary to examine to what extent this has been utilised for that purpose<sup>30</sup>.

The legislature is one prominent arm of government. In Nigeria, the National Assembly is the highest legislative arm of government whose duties are defined in Chapter one of the Nigerian Constitution in conformity with the country's presidential system of government, critical for good governance. The Nigerian National Assembly is a bicameral legislature consisting both of the Senate which has 109 members and the House of Representatives with 360 members, representing the various Federal Constituencies in the country. They make laws and perform other oversight functions. The Senate in particular handles the job of conformation of president's nomination of senior diplomats, members of the federal

cabinet, federal judicial appointments, members of INEC and service Chiefs in the Army, Police, Nigerian Air Force, The Navy, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, Nigerian Immigration Service, Nigeria Customs Service and many more. Other duties include impeachment trails, serving as checks and balances against the executive and judicial arms of government and their agencies. It operates with 63 standing committees like Appropriation, the Army and others headed by chairmen who report to the Senate<sup>11</sup>. These functions are replicated at the state level. Oyo State, on its part is made up of 33 local government areas and 32 members of the legislature who provides both legislative and oversight functions to the executive and judicial arms of government. But not much has been heard about its disposition to good governance, fight against corruption and promotion of rule of law. Rather, its abrasive action against some media houses reportage of corrupt practices of its officials culminated in the destruction of Fresh FM, owned by musician, Yinka Ayefele, hence the choice of the state for this study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The role of the press as forth estate of the realm is gradually becoming a cliché in modern time especially in Oyo State where there are high expectations from the government for provision of good governance. The watchdog role of the press in making govt over the years accountable to the people of the state is now fading away as a result of social vices including but not limited to brown envelope syndrome, news commercialization, little or no regards for press freedom among others which have culminated in the emergence of citizen journalism. This serves as alternative to mainstream media in the provision of news information, education and mobilization. Paramount function of citizen journalism is to expose the inadequacies of government through revealing of information concerning fraudulent practices, embezzlement of government fund, nepotism, electoral fraud and investigative journalism.

In Oyo State in particular, people have been clamouring for good governance over time right from the days of Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the premier of the Western Region. This is because there has not been any major development despite the presence of many mainstream media houses. The perception is that the mainstream media houses, radio, television and newspapers may have been compromised such as they failed to perform their watchdog duties and promote good governance.

Hence, good governance, which is manifested in the exposition of corruption, promotes the law, development, inclusiveness and participation in governance, transparency and accountability has eluded the people because of the connivance between mainstream media and the government in Oyo State. Therefore, this study investigated patterns and impacts of investigative and citizen journalism in relation to good governance especially since the hope of the people have been dashed by the lacklustre attitude of mainstream media.

### **1.3. Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the study was to examine citizen and investigative journalism practices as correlates of good governance in Oyo State, Nigeria. The specific objectives were to:

- i. identify the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Oyo State.
- ii. ascertain the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State.
- iii. identify the influence of citizen journalism practices influence good governance Oyo State.

- iv. ascertain the extent to which investigative journalism practices influence good governance in Oyo State.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What are the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Oyo State?
- ii. What are the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State?
- iii. What is the influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State?
- iv. What is the influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State?

#### **1.5 Hypotheses**

Ho1: Citizen Journalism practices do not significantly influence Good Government in Nigeria

Ho2: Investigative journalism practices do not significantly influence good government in Nigeria

Ho3: Citizen and investigate journalism practices do not significantly influence good government in Nigeria

#### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

This research will form a barometer to measure and explain the level of influence citizen and investigative journalism practices have on good governance. The work is significant to journalists in that it seeks to reveal how citizen and investigative journalism practices in Nigeria are promoting good governance, justice and rule of law or otherwise. Where the

level is low, it would also assist in eliciting media houses' attitudinal changes towards investigative journalism to ensure allocation of more pages and prominence in their newspapers.

Similarly, it is of great importance to policy-makers, governments and development partners for the singular fact that citizen and investigative reports expose corruption, promote rule of law, development and good governance. It can also engender legislative responses like the enactment of relevant laws to prohibit sharp practices and modification of existing laws.

It is also significant to journalists since the findings will serve as a roadmap guiding citizen and investigative journalism practices. The finding of this research will be a resource material to scholars, researchers and Mass Communication students, especially on the impact of citizen and investigative journalism to national development.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The title of this research is citizen and investigative journalism as correlates of Good Governance in Nigeria. The population comprises lawmakers at the Oyo State House of Assembly, and journalists in Oyo State. Similarly, some citizen journalism reports on some social media platforms in relation to promoting good governance in Oyo State were examined.

### **1.8 Limitation of Study**

The research sample at the Oyo State House of Assembly was limited in size due to the number of respondents (20) out of the 32-questionnaire administered. However, this

seeming limitation was compensated for by the 100 journalists in Oyo State as well as analyses of 24 citizen journalism reports on the social media.

### 1.9 Operational Definitions of Terms

**Citizen Journalism** means accidental journalism. It refers to the gathering, analyzing and publishing information by untrained journalists who utilize information and communication technological devices, by virtue of the fact that he was at the scene of the event when it occurred.

**Corruption** - This is the act of demanding for or taking of money or anything of value in exchange for services; misuse of public funds or granting contracts after financial inducement. Corruption hampers development.

**Depersonalisation** is the principle in objective reporting where journalists are expected to be unbiased and must not overtly express their views or beliefs in their reports.

**Development Journalism** - This refers to the genre of journalism that promotes human development, with specific attention to quality of life, viewed in the areas of material and maternal and infant health, public health, education, sanitation, water and general inequality.

**Good Governance** - This refers to the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country whereby the needs of the people (security, safety, rule of law, inclusiveness and responsiveness) are met. It includes how governments are selected, replaced, government's capacity to formulate and implement policies, provide public services and earn the respect of citizens.

**Investigative Journalism** – This refers to discreet news gathering practices seeking information on activities of individuals, government and organizations on unethical, illegal or other actions the actors will ordinarily want to conceal from the public. These include

underground investigative journalism, data-driven reports, medical/laboratory-based reports and overt practices.

**Journalism** is the art or science of gathering, editing, analyzing, investigating and disseminating usually news and current events based on facts and supported by proof or evidence. It is a profession. It is based from the French word jour- (daily), derived from the Latin word diurnal or daily, hence a record of daily news reports.

**KGBization-** Derived from the Russian secret police, KGB, this refers to the process of utilizing secret police like the State Security Services (SSS) in Nigeria to hound investigative journalists whose publications are deemed hostile to the state.

**Line Editors-** These refer to heads of sections in the newsroom who specialize on particular areas or beats of reporting like Education, Health, Politics, Crime etc. Such heads are referred to as education editor, health editor or crime editor.

### **Mainstream journalism**

This refers to regular journalism as practised in the various traditional media houses, like the radio, television, newspapers and magazines. They are also referred to as legacy media.

**Newspaper** - A newspaper is a printed material that records and reports news particular in local areas, chronicling important events like community or governmental activities and have a journalistic reputation of accuracy and in-depth news at all levels.

**Solution Journalism** Solution journalism is evidence-based reporting which highlights success in management of public funds, challenges and problems to promote effective citizenship.

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## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

- 2.1 Conceptual Review
- 2.2 Theoretical Review
- 2.3 Empirical Review
- 2.4 Conceptual Model
- 2.5 Summary of Literature Reviewed

#### 2.1 Conceptual Review

##### 2.1.1 Concept of Good Governance

From the dawn of democracy, the nature and purpose of governance have been a subject of great concern to scholars because of its centrality to global development. The universal crave for good governance has been predicated on its immense advantages and implications as against the negative consequences of bad governance<sup>1</sup>. The word good is an adjective which describes anything or entity that is suitable, acceptable or desirable within set parameter. By its etymology, the term governance has its roots in the Greek verb *kupernein*, (an infinite verb), or *kybenaō*, meaning “steering, guiding or manoeuvring a ship or a land-based vehicle.” Plato was reputed to be the first person to use that word governance as a metaphor for “governing men” or “the governing of people<sup>2</sup>.” In academic and political discourses, governance is the task of carrying out governmental activities or assignment in conformity with the social contract which emanated from the general will or the people’s consent to ensure the safety of the citizens, balance various interests and ensure their social-economic wellbeing<sup>2</sup>. Good government therefore, refers to acceptable government and desirable leadership.

Governance is described as the system by which “power is exercised in the management of a country’s political, economic and social resources for development purposes<sup>3</sup>. It is the acquisition of political power for the purpose of controlling economic power for development and about using a nation’s wealth for development. Governance has also been defined as the art of exercising authority, or control in a political system through policy formulation and implementation. Similarly, governance is defined as the exercise of authority and control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development. Governance also refers to all aspects of the way a country is governed, its economic policies and regulatory frameworks<sup>4</sup>. It can be inferred from the definition that governance has to do with the totality of government’s action and activities directed towards realising effective economic policies.

Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. It includes how governments are selected, replaced, government’s capacity to formulate and implement policies, provide public services and earn the respect of citizens, institutions that determine economic and social infractions<sup>5</sup>. It has been posited that governance refers to delivery of political goods to the citizenry and the higher the quality of such delivery of political goods the higher the level of governance. Governance has been divided along geographical lines namely global governance, national governance, local governance and corporate governance. Governments exist basically to tax payers and inhabitants of the country in order to provide such items as good road network, safety and national security. It has been averred that as component of human security, government must prevent cross-border invasion and loss of territory, deter domestic threats to national leaders and the social structure, prevents crimes, and failure to provide such fundamental political goods indicate loss of monopoly of violence and encourage the rise of non-state actors, anarchy and insurgency. Governance also promotes rule of law,

political participation, economic opportunities and human development. It ensures free, fair and open participation in the electoral process, right to compete for office, respect and support political institutions, tolerates dissenting opinions and respects human right and civil liberties<sup>6</sup>.

In many parts of the world, countries have various instruments utilised by governments to attain their vital missions, visions and core values. The most prominent part of these instruments is the Constitution, otherwise referred to as the grand norm conceived in accordance with the country's peculiar history, tradition and cultural values. Such Constitution stipulates the institutions and their framework, the country's choice of government- unitary or federal system, parliamentary or federal system of government, its political system, its ideologies and the nature and scope of the entire polity. For instance, the Nigerian Constitution stipulates the number of political parties, the tenure of elected public officers, freedom of choice of party membership and freedom of expression<sup>7</sup>.

The Constitution also defines the arms of government - legislature, executive and judiciary- and their respective roles; the tiers of government recognised, perhaps as it is in Nigeria, federal, state and local government and the relationship between them, respecting their powers- be it exclusive, concurrent or residual legislative lists. In Nigeria, for instance, only the federal government can legislate on the police, army and foreign affairs of the country, unlike the United States of America which decentralised its policing system by allowing county police, state police and federal police. Also itemised unequivocally in the country is the sharing formula of revenue accruable to the federation account<sup>8</sup>.

The Nigerian Constitution also defines its criminal justice system, comprising the law enforcement institutions like the Police, Courts, Prisons, Immigration Services and

Department of State Services. Other contents of the Constitution are the nature of its army- the Air Force, Navy and the intelligence agencies like the National Intelligence Agency used in the protection of the country against foreign aggression and safeguarding its territorial integrity<sup>9</sup>.

Therefore, Good governance implies “a high level of organizational effectiveness in relation to policy formulation and the policies actually pursued, especially in the conduct of economic policy and its contribution to growth, stability and public welfare.” Good governance consists of openness and participation, accountability, effective coherence, efficiency (proportionality) and greater sensitivity to the immediate context that is promised by subsidiary<sup>8</sup>.

Good Governance means striving for rule of law, transparency, equity, effectiveness/efficiency, accountability and strategic vision in the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority.” Six core components of good governance, namely accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government’s effectiveness and, regulatory equality, rule of law and control over corruption have been identified<sup>9</sup>. Another study however, classified 12 principles of democratic governance namely participation, representation and fair conduct of elections, responsiveness, efficiency and effectiveness, openness and transparency, rule of law, ethical conduct, competence and capacity, innovation and openness to change, sustainability and long-term orientation, sound financial management, human rights, cultural diversity and social cohesion and accountability<sup>10</sup>. A study conducted on capacities of local governments in Serbia averred that good governance has 126 indicators divided into five different areas, namely accountability, transparency and participation, equality, predictability, efficiency and effectiveness and anti-corruption. The study examined what methods used by local

government to manage risks in the budget process, allocation of funds for training of personnel to drive good governance at the local government level.

It has also been established that good governance consists of efficient public service, reliable judicial system and an administration accountable to the people. Hence, Good governance is a critical means of providing sustainable development, reducing poverty and promoting peace, equality and social justice<sup>11</sup>.

Good governance gained popularity after the end of the Cold War in 1990, such that the World Bank included it as one of the conditionality for lending to developing nations. Though researchers have said that good governance is rare in Africa, except in countries like Botswana, Mauritius, Senegal and Ghana, it reduces poverty level. Poverty level is measured in two ways - the income approach based on the number of people living below global poverty standards of \$1.25 per day and the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) - namely health, education and standard of living. Regarding education, such indices as whether children of five years old are in school, or have access to education; number of out of school children are important, just as access to primary health<sup>12</sup>.

There is a universal crave for good governance because of immense advantages over bad governance. Good governance promotes credibility of African government at the international stage; it stimulates Foreign Direct Investment even as it is critical for sustainable and equitable development and stability. As a result of good governance, as seen in a few African countries, there has been significant reduction in mortality of under-five children, reduction in mortality associated with malaria, as emergence of a few mega cities like Lagos and Luanda. The continent has recorded marginal technological revolution and private sector experts are making huge contributions to national economies, and there is prospect for economic growth<sup>13</sup>.

However, Africa is gradually rescinding into the past with challenges posed by massive borrowing, population growth, state fragility, poverty, climate change, conflict, poor leadership, unemployment, under-employment, low capacity and low productivity. Also, poor governance has been averred as driver of conflicts, extreme fundamentalism like the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Boko Haram in ungoverned and governed spaces in Nigeria and East Africa which has claimed over 110, 000 lives since 2009, and instability in the Central African Republic, especially South Sudan which is gradually descending into chaos. The current issue is the re-emergence of military rule in Niger, Mali, Guinea Bissau and Sudan. Bad governance also fuels cycle of human deprivation, hunger and famine, causing exposure to crime, mental health issues associated with poverty, inadequate housing, health traps, especially since 70 per cent of many African countries (except Ethiopia with 85 per cent) eke a living from agriculture<sup>14</sup>.

### **2.1.2 Capacity and Competence**

These indices of good governance refer to the productive energies of the people in government, institutional structure and processes and adoption of best practices in the governance of a country or corporate organisation. It refers to the combination of the competences of the people, institutions of the country geared to produce or solve problems; the entire ability of government machinery to effectively combine resources to formulate and implement policies, promote peoples' welfare for sustainable development. In other word, this indicates that the people elected or appointed into government must be competent and possess the capacity for the roles and responsibilities defined for such office.

Besides the competence of elected government officials, individuals appointed to various institutions to exercise state power to run institutions and regulate social and economic

relations through legal provisions, facilitate formulation and appraisal of policies, programmes and projects and run institutions that awards penalties and rewards for deserving citizens must be competent and possess requisite qualifications and moral authority for such duties.

### **2.1.3 Corruption**

Corruption is a major index of bad governance. It comes in the form of supply versus demand corruption, grand versus petty corruption, conventional versus unconventional corruption and public versus private corruption. Other forms of corruption are bribery parading in influence, patronage, nepotism and cronyism, gombeenism and parochialism, electoral fraud, embezzlement and kickbacks. Transparency International, this is very worrisome because of the bearing the negative impact of corruption on business, growth, economic development, foreign direct investment and good governance.

It has been reported that over \$380 billion have either been stolen or wasted by government officials since Nigeria's independence in 1960<sup>22</sup>. Some 55 Nigerians stole the sum of N1.35 trillion between 2006 and 2013. The same report also declared that as a great proportion of Nigeria's crude oil running into \$7billion is stolen annually, just as civil servants defraud the Federal Government of N700 billion yearly, using such tricks as ghost workers and inflation of pay rolls all over the country. In one particular instance, the name of two infants, one month and five months olds respectively, were on the Lagos State Government pay roll where over N82million was allegedly lost monthly.

In May 2020, there were allegations that parts of the \$800million stolen by the late Head of State, General Sani Abacha, have been re-looted. More recently, former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair posited that if Nigeria could fix its power sector problem where it has pumped billions of dollars and get its leadership issues right, it would take a leap from

developing nation to developed nation within a decade. Little wonder that development experts have described corruption as the greatest enemy of development. Corrupt practices, which retard national development, have become subjects of investigative reports<sup>25</sup>.

While some countries have established anti-graft agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC) set up via the EFCC Act of 2004, and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission, (ICPC), set up via the ICPC Act 2003, besides the activities of the Nigeria Police Force, it has also become imperative to put such agencies on the watch because, like many human institutions, they are not immune to abuse and political interference<sup>26</sup>.

In Oyo State, the government established the Oyo State Anti-Corruption Agency (OYACA) to fight corruption and members of the public were asked to submit petitions on cases bordering on corruption practices in government agencies, ministries and departments. The agency is headed by Justice Eni Esan with office at Quarters 473, Fajimi Street, Agodi G.R.A, Ibadan received about 20 petitions. In the last four years, only four suspects with the Oyo State Road Maintenance Agency (OYSROMA), over a N4.8billion fraud paid to the three private companies – for projects which the companies never delivered.

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Ibadan Zonal Command, has re-arrested an ex-cybercrime convict, Adeniran Tijesunimi, and 54 others for alleged internet fraud and related criminal activities. They were sentenced to seven months imprisonment by the Justice Uche Agomoh of the Federal High Court in Ibadan, Oyo State, on February 15, 2022. Another suspect, the Oyo Accountant-General, the state Accountant-General, Mr. Garaf Bello, was arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), over an alleged N9 billion fraud.

#### **2.1. 4 Transparency and Accountability**

Transparency is central to good governance. This trait refers to openness of government institutions such that trust is engendered between the ruler and the ruled. Such openness to the degree at which outsiders can monitor insider regarding the purpose for which such institutions are set up enables people to have clear idea about government's action. That manner, government can be accountable to the citizens for its policies. This also defines as openness in the manner official businesses are carried out in such manner as substantive and procedural information are available to and generally understandable to the people, groups and the society at large. It has been averred, however, that this is subject to reasonable limits of protecting security and privacy<sup>12</sup>.

Akin to this is accountability which means responsibility, 'answerability', blameworthiness, liability and account-giving in governance. Some features of accountability are definition of goals, powers and functions of institutions and resources allocated to them, planning, directing, supervision and control of activities and operators, recording of activities and audit by independent body.

Accountability goes beyond a situation where public servants are called to account for their action while in service but include while outside such service especially in the area of policy formulation, implementation and efficient management of resources including finances and budgets. Citizens are briefed regularly on state of nation's economy, fiscal operations and even political activities with absolute sincerity. Accountability is a way of measuring performance which contributes to better governance, improves service delivery economic growth and development. Accountability enhances understanding of decisions made and carried out.

### **2.1.5 Responsiveness**

Responsiveness refers to government's sensitivity to citizen's needs in advancing peace, formulating, implementing and evaluating policies for development greater engagement of the citizens. It means responding effectively and efficiently to people's needs, meeting increasing public demand, engaging and empowering the people and addressing declining public trust. A government is seen to be responsive when its institutions' processes respond to the peoples' grievances, needs and aspirations within reasonable time frame. Such responses are very essential during security and safety incidences like banditry or terrorists' attacks, disaster mitigation and prevention. Usually, such occurrences are exposed by the media with the view to gain government attention and immediate action<sup>13</sup>.

### **2.1.6 Participation**

As a feature of good governance, participation speaks to the active involvement of ordinary citizens in the democratic process, political debates, election, decision making and governance. Participation is an indication of inclusiveness and it ensures that political decisions are in conformity with the needs of the people on matters affecting them. It has also been posited that civic participation and election, freedom of expression, political freedom and assembly and freedom of the press are key elements of participatory democracy because participation of the people gives legitimacy to democracy especially in the area of debates, party formation and voting. Voter education or other enlightenment about government's economic and social programmes are carried out through the media to gather people's assent or dissent on such issues. Citizen's political participation is vital because the quality of representative democracy diminishes when fewer people participate in the political process<sup>13</sup>.

It has been averred that ECOWAS member states by virtue of the Harare Declaration of 1991 must work assiduously and with renewed vigour in such areas as democracy, democratic process and institutions in consonance with national circumstances, with rule of law, fundamental human rights, equal rights and opportunities for citizens irrespective of race, colour, creed and political beliefs. Some researchers posit that while political parties are necessary for good governance, they are not sufficient because no society thrives where autocratic government derives its power from ethnically, racially or religiously divided membership motivated by divide and rule tactics<sup>14</sup>.

Existing studies have added, however, that participation in governance including standing for election, voting, involvement in campaign, wearing of party badges, of which costs time, money, energy and other resources is, affected by such push factors as poverty, societal regulations, poor governance, long years of military rule, monetisation of electoral process, The level of political participation is also dependent on other factors including trust in the process of electing potential leader, economic and education levels of the people, gender and religion as well as the nature of political process in the country. Of equal importance in the engagement of the electorate and potential aspirants by the government and awareness created during the electoral process. Where the people are not educated on the process, they resort to apathy and loss of interest in the process. This is more so because political participation is an activity, voluntary and it is related to government and politics<sup>15</sup>.

### **2.1.7 Rule of Law**

Rule of law in every country is a strategic foundation of good governance, and it refers to the enforcement of legal frameworks without partiality and it must be enshrined in every section of the society. It also means conformity and obedience of court orders, judgements,

laws and legal principles without arbitrariness, favouritism and disregard for rule of law. It also refers to application of the law irrespective of who is involved at all times. Rule of law has also been described as “the bedrock of our democracy is the rule of law and that means we have to have an independent judiciary, judges who can make decisions independent of the political winds that are blowing”.

Again, the media plays a vital role in this regard by displaying vigilance towards rule of law, dispensation of justice and judicial integrity through investigative journalism. Article 33, Subsection 1, of the ECOWAS Protocol wants member states to recognize that the rule of law involves not only the promulgation of good laws that are in conformity with the provisions on human rights, but also a good judicial system, a good system of administration, and good management of the state apparatus<sup>14</sup>.

A study posits that Nigeria’s poor response to murderous mass violence which has been exhibited through appeasement and state incapacity to ensure rule of law was responsible for insecurity in the country. By virtue of anti-terrorism, counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency, the country is now mired in chronic mass violence, kidnapping and murder. Tracing the causes, the researcher referred to the murder by the Nigeria Police of an Islamic cleric, Muhammed Yusuf and some of his followers in July 2009, instead of prosecuting them before a court of competent jurisdiction culminated in the emergence of what is now known as Boko Haram, along with its mass killings and kidnap of the people. Quoting the White Paper on the Gaji Galtimari Report from a committee set up by the Goodluck Jonathan administration in 2011, he said “Nigeria’s Criminal Justice System has failed under the strain, with security force abuses not being investigated and those responsible for Boko Haram attacks not being prosecuted,” – a situation which he said is inestimably worse, not better over decade later<sup>15</sup>.

### **2.1.8 Effectiveness and Efficiency**

Effectiveness and efficiency as traits of good governance refer to situations where government institutions and politicians produce results that meet citizens' needs. It also refers to a situation where government does what it is supposed to do in the provision of services and whether government's actions match the procedure. Government's effectiveness and efficiency, however, are determined by such characteristics as political characteristics, population, gender, revenue available to it and diversity. However, some of the major causes of poor and very ineffective governance are hidden bias of politicians, lack of actionability, and comparability as well as transparency.

Other areas where government's efficiency is of vital concern is sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment from negative consequences of such exploration. The issue of national security and protection of lives and property effectively also come under this subhead, especially when the lives of the citizens and investors are under threat. It is important to state, however, that effective and efficient governance is critical for countries' economic and social growth which must be pursued by such government and their agents<sup>15</sup>.

### **2.1.9 Equity and Inclusiveness**

Equity and inclusion in governance refers to involvement of all groups or wide range of the people in the process of governance, how decisions are made and why, whose voices matter. Such inclusion cuts across professions, sex, race, ethnicity, people with disabilities and religion. Citizen's political equality and equity in the form of political participation is very vital in every society.

A survey using regional indicators of effective governance indicate that Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest score in government effectiveness in the world, topping regions like South Asia, Middle East and North Africa, East Asia and Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean. The study states that Sub-Saharan Africa is still replete with political violence and political hardening, an indicator used to measure government violence, arrests, bans, curfews and state of emergency all of which reached their heights in 2013. About half of African countries still suffer electoral violence<sup>15</sup>.

It has also been posited that post-independence African leaders, military and civilians, are “leaders without shame,” whose poor governance was responsible for the backwardness of the continent. It avers:

“Africa is sick and tired of being ruled mostly by narrow-minded, egotistical, selfish and twisted brains of individuals who find it only fashionable to rob their own brothers and sisters with impunity, with pride, without mercy only to feed Swiss people and other foreigners with investments...Africa is sick and tired of being ruled by over 90 per cent of her leaders whose priority in life is conspicuous lavish lifestyle, tragically rooted in the mentality that my gold bathtub has more gold than yours...<sup>16</sup>”

From the above, he has provided a classical analysis of the disposition of the African leaders who put personal interests ahead of the national interest and well-being of their people, thereby stunting the growth and development of the continent. Indicating why they are part of the problem and not the solution, he concluded:

“Something is definitely wrong with a leader ... who is so comfortable in his gold bathtub, dozens of private cars bought with money he has embezzled, when his people are daily dying of starvation, malnutrition and kwashiorkor due to his demented mentality of piling up his country’s money in foreign countries... It does not take a course in logic for anyone

to understand that the primary cause of our problem today is that so many dead brains are ruling us.<sup>16</sup>”

The assertion could be justified when we look at the quality and qualifications of African leaders and their style of governance. Many African leaders either rigged their way into office, through election fraud and thuggery, or through military coup d’etat. Though election is hallmark of democracy where citizens vote for candidates of their choice based on his qualifications and programmes in free and fair election in a representative democracy, in some cases, votes don’t count in Africa. Those who are given the mandate through election are hardly allowed to get their due to rigging, electoral violence, vote buying, vote manipulation and other electoral malpractices<sup>17</sup>.

Four key elements of contemporary electoral process have been identified- organised political parties with different ideologies, existence of candidates who represent such parties’ ideologies, election conducted via secret ballot and free and fair polls which guarantee integrity of such election and legitimacy of the candidate and being elected. However, it was argued that many elections in Africa are marred by electoral fraud, rigging thereby eroding the legitimacy of such government. Electoral fraud is therefore termed as crime against humanity because it denies the popular party and deserving candidate the chance to implement their programmes that attracted the votes in the first place<sup>18</sup>.

A critical example was in 2011 presidential election in Nigeria where about nine, including youth corps members persons were killed in Bauchi State in violent attacks. Election violence was so rife in Nigeria such that about 70 people were killed, according to figures released by the National Human Rights Commission<sup>19</sup>.

Other African countries like Kenya and Ivory Coast suffered similar election violence. In 2007, violence erupted in Kenya following the declaration of the incumbent, President Mwai Kibaki as the winner of the election. Supporters of the opposition party candidate, Raila Odinga, of the Orange Movement Party, said the election was rigged. Though international observers confirmed cases of election manipulations, the national returning officer declared Odinga winner despite acknowledging that he was not aware who the winner of the election was. The post-election violence led to the detention and incineration of 50 unarmed men, women and children in a church. The protest culminated in the intervention of the U.N. which brokered a peace power-sharing deal that climaxed in the establishment of the office of Prime Minister occupied by Odinga with Kibaki as President.

Similarly, in 2010, Cote d'Ivoire was engulfed by a post-election violence when the former President, Laurent Gbagbo, failed to transfer power to the winner of the presidential election, Alassane Ouattara. But the latter, having scored the highest number of votes declared himself president-elect, leading supporters of both leaders into a fierce riot and consequent death of many Ivoirians. It took the intervention of French troops to stop the carnage as they arrested Gbagbo and transferred him to the International Criminal Court, (ICC) at The Hague<sup>20</sup>.

More recently, repressive and autocratic governance and disregard for basic component of good governance, rule of law and popular will by many African leaders and their sit-tight mentality at the expense of the constitution have created no little instability in their respective countries. For instance, the current President of Cameroon, Paul Biya has been in office since November 6, 1982 when he succeeded President Ahmadu Ahidjo. Now 89 years old, Biya, Africa's oldest president has been in power for cumulatively for 45 years, having been named Prime Minister in 1975. Other African presidents like Teodoro

Obiang of Equatorial Guinea was in office for over 30 years, claiming to enjoy the support of their people, though they preside over campaigns and elections that are marred by brutalities, intimidation and detention of their opponents<sup>21</sup>.

Many of these nations have almost assumed the nature of monarchies where sons succeed their fathers as president in supposed democratic states like Togo, Congo and Chad. In Togo, Faure Gnassingbe succeeded his father, Gnassingbe Eyadema, following his death in 2005 after ruling the country for 38 years. Sequel to the assassination of his father, President Laurent Kabila in 2001, Joseph Kabila took over office Congo DR and governed for 18 years. The latest of such is Chad, following the assassination of the country's President, Idris Deby, in April 2021 coup, terminating his 30 years grip on power, he was replaced by his 37 years old son, Mahamat Deby. Though this practice has been roundly condemned by many African leaders for being undemocratic, such criticisms have failed to hold water due to respect for the sovereignty of individual members of the African Union<sup>19</sup>.

Another consequence of bad governance in Africa is overthrow presidents of three countries, Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea, by the military in the last two years. Besides systemic corruption, insecurity that lasted for eight years, the manipulation of the 2020 parliamentary election in favour of the president's candidate culminated in the August 2020 coup/resignation of President Ibrahim Keita of Mali, dissolution of the National Assembly and Constitutional Courts. Similarly, Guinean President Alpha Konde's move to secure third term in office via a constitutional referendum led to political crises that claimed hundreds of lives in 2021. By September of that year, the military ousted the president, and set up a transitional government. The sack of Burkina Faso President, Koch Kabore, in a coup, the 17th coup in the country since 2015 was due to discontent in

the military about government's failure to adequately respond to insecurity in the country, especially with the activities of Al-Qaeda and ISWAP which have claimed about 2000 people and forced over 1,500, 000 out of their homes<sup>20</sup>.

### **2. 1. 10 Citizen Journalism**

Citizen journalism was first mentioned in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but it has grown more popular and its acceptability has grown exponentially over the years in all parts of the world. A study stated that citizen journalism has become a platform which not only promotes citizen's participation in the political process but has also an alternative platform for news dissemination and for the common man to lend his voice to governance. Citizen journalism places media power on the ordinary people, promotes transparency and accountability in governance as well as serving as alternative information source that enhances conduct of credible elections through election monitoring, reportage of electoral fraud, violence and vote buying.

A scholars defined citizen journalism as the “act of a citizen or a group of citizens who play an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information with the view to provide an independent, reliable, accurate, relevant information that democracy requires<sup>21</sup>.”

Citizen journalists are described as individuals not considered to be trained reporters, who gather, produce, disseminate and exchange a wide variety of news and information ranging from current topics to community interest to individual issues. By this definition, this category of journalists has become participants in news gathering, reporting, though untrained and unpaid, without necessarily adhering to any standard rule of media profession, and lacking sufficient time and technical abilities or knowledge to produce a comprehensive story<sup>22</sup>.

Another researcher asserted that Citizen Journalism is a hyper-local media operation which is geographically based, community-oriented, original news reporting organization indigenous to the web and intended to fill perceived gaps in coverage of an issue or region to promote civic engagement<sup>32</sup>. The work refers to citizen journalists as amateur reporters who perform random acts of journalism, by writing and reporting news, content, opinion and information centered around making events through temporary stream of information. Citizen journalists seek to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information usually about scandals and accidents.

Citizen journalists have also been described as accidental reporters those who “gather, process, research, report, analyze and publish news and information most often utilizing variety of technologies made possible by the internet<sup>23</sup>.” The study also draws a line of difference between accidental journalists, advocacy journalists and citizen journalists, stating that the fact that an individual uses a cell phone to take pictures of events and upload it on Facebook or other platforms does not make him a citizen journalist. Besides, a study describes them as accidental journalists as people who are caught unexpectedly in the middle of an event, take photos or videos and upload them into the social media or major news platforms. Those are I-Reporters. It also describes advocacy journalists as practitioners of a genre of journalism which adopts a stance to speak for a social, political, business or religious purpose. It is intentionally transparent and bias, though not the same with propaganda group.

It has been averred that citizen journalism is practiced largely by people with no news media organization ties but who have taken advantage of low cost of social computing and information communication technology to publish their own story and content. It is popular in rural areas of Nigeria where mainstream media is incapable of responding to their multifarious needs, thereby bridging the information gap. It is the act of reporting

rural people by the people, thereby conferring greater power and control on the reporters and control on the journalists and empowering the people<sup>24</sup>.

A study posits that the exponential growth in ICT has become a catalyst in engendering democracy and development in Africa. According to the study, while there were traditional, conventional modern ICT over time, the latter has become a facilitator information and communication policies. Since then, the explosion of new technologies like the internet, worldwide web (WWW) and mobile telephones has further fueled the citizen journalism practices. While mainstream media grapples with operational problems like technical efficiency, inaccessibility of transmission channels and energy supply, internet today enhance business and information dissemination. Hence, tele-density and internet penetration in Africa, Nigeria alone accounting for over 203.5 million subscriptions, signaled limitless opportunities for citizen journalism<sup>25</sup>.

As early as 2003, the Nigerian media landscape has changed tremendously with the emergence of citizen journalists who utilize inexpensive, easy to use technological gadgets for news reporting. They set up online platforms like blogs, websites and twitter account for this purpose. In 2003, The Village Square was set up by a 22 years old unemployed Nigerian, Seun Osewa, in Lagos, while others like Nairaland, named after the Nigerian currency came up on stream followed by African.net, Naija Community and Naija.com for the ordinary people to criticize government policies, share ideas and ventilate their frustrations<sup>26</sup>.

This genre of journalism has become popular due to liberalization and privatization of the media industry with the multiplicity of media organisations which present opportunity to grow business. The plurality of media platforms provides more opportunities citizens' participation in journalism. This is more so because news sources became diverse such

that conventional journalism would rely on citizen journalism for some of its news items. By so doing, issues and communities that have suffered neglect over time now have a place in the mainstream media as they community over conflict, advocacy over objectivity, politics and interpretation of fact-based reporting. There are two types of citizen journalism:

#### **2.1.11 Institutional Citizen Journalism**

Institutional Citizen Journalism has an organizational structure and it is usually registered which serves as a form of restraints and control to its activities. This genre of citizen journalism is such that media organisations become part of the cyber-community for the benefit of user-generated content. It has become so popular such that media institutions buy into it and injects professional instincts into it. The BBC has been known to have encouraged their reporters to delve into this area in order to lesser the control and attachment in order to enable them to engage members of the public in less professional environment. Some examples of include blogs, opinions and analysis. One example of this is the OhmyNews.com, a South Korean online newspaper which has more than 37,000 registered contributors and it is currently expanding into publishing in English and Japanese markets. The Guardian.co.uk is Britain's second most popular website to which readers contribute over 647,798 messages between 1999 and 2005<sup>26</sup>.

#### **2.1.12 Non-institutional Citizen Journalism**

This form of journalism is extra-institutional in nature, which is highly individuated by places more emphasis on the individual journalist. It revolves around private individuals, without organizational framework and constraints and lends self largely to social networks or the online community, even as it is self-regulated. It thrives on volunteering and with regards to its content, it relies on volunteering, hence cannot exercise moral or ethical

control. Issues emanating from this are media objectivity, credibility, fairness and accuracy of report which are the fulcrum of the mainstream media. Nigeria has hundreds of such blogs managed by individuals with or without journalism backgrounds and have been making either positive or negative impact on democracy<sup>26</sup>.

Citizen journalism has also been classified under semi-independent and fully independent categories. They allow for comments on news reports, conducts votes and polls on issues or candidates, and also carry out such activities as crowd sources, where individuals are asked to assist in investigating some stories by handling its bits and pieces. Some have also taken the forms of group Facebook accounts or LinkedIn for news websites, incorporate news around the world, especially on global issues like fate of Twitter and the world in the face of climate change.

Citizen Journalism also promotes audience participation through news stories on personal blogs, photos and video footage captured with personal mobile phone cameras or local news written local residents in communities. Independent news and information websites which reports such issues as politics, corruption and consumer issues also fall under this classification.

### **2.1.13 Investigative Journalism**

Journalism has etymology in the French word *jour*, meaning day, derived from the Latin word *diurnal*. The earliest journalistic report dated back to 59 BCE with the production of the work *Acta Diurna*, a daily news report. Hence, Journalism has been defined as the deliberate and conscious efforts to gather information, collating and analysing data for the purpose of informing, educating and entertaining the people with the view to helping them to make informed decisions<sup>27</sup>. A journalist is a professional who reports accounts of actual events or trends in a mass medium in a language of expression that conforms to the norms,

taste, decency, accuracy, fairness, adequacy, safety as well as the requirements of law and security demanded by the community where she or he operates. The word professional refers to an individual who is armed with the educational capacity and /or requisite training, ethical standards and years of experience demanded by his job, and does that to promote public interest since public rights to know is a vital democratic principle. The media is the fourth estate of the realm, coming after the legislature, executive and the judiciary. Journalists are engaged in a very regular, systematic, and conspicuous gathering, editing and dissemination of news, and their efforts are continuous even as their contributions are made with some predictability and purpose, certainly not simply accidental.

Though various definitions and descriptions of investigative journalism have been advanced, it is a media practice that is said to be difficult to define, having been compared a work of art that is better observed and described. Investigative journalism focuses on critical interrogation and assessment of development projects and the efficiency of control by relevant authorities. It examines public complaints of mis-governance and probes corruption allegations both of which may militate against development. It is viewed as “watchdog reporting” or “accountability reporting, muckraking journalism, advocacy journalism, public service journalism, development journalism, expose journalism or journalism of outrage<sup>28</sup>.”

But it has also been posited that an acceptable definition of investigative journalism should include such key elements as “sustained news coverage of moral and legal transgressions of persons in positions of power and that requires more time and resources than regular news reporting.” The subject matter can better be understood by isolating such key words as “sustained, systematic, often long-term nature of investigative work,” which describes investigative journalism. It has also been opined by scholars that investigative journalism

dives into moral and legal transgressions or wrongdoings made by persons in positions of power - political and or economic spheres of society- but insisting that such probe must be carried out by a trained individual or set of individual professionals trained in the art of media reporting that adhered to professional ethical standards<sup>28</sup>.

Investigative journalism has also been described as “the reporting, through one’s own initiative and work product, matters of importance which some organisations wish to keep secret. The three basic elements are that the investigation be the work of the reporter, not a report of an investigation made by someone else; that the subject of the story is involves something of reasonable importance to the reader or viewer; and that others are attempting to hide these matters from the public. The definition above identifies that the subject matter being investigated is of the journalist’s initiative, perhaps as emanating from editorial meeting; it must be of importance to the nation of society and it is such that the principal actors want such activity under wraps<sup>28</sup>.

Similarly, an investigative reporting seeks to gather facts which someone wants suppressed. It seeks not just the obvious informants who will be uncontroversial or economical with the truth, but the less obvious who know about disturbing secrets and are angry or disturbed enough to divulge them. By the same token, a researcher describes investigative journalism, which he labelled the craft as the systematic, in-depth and original research and reporting, often involving the unearthing of secrets, heavy use of public records and computer-assisted reporting, with a focus on social justice and accountability<sup>29</sup>.

The investigative journalist is a man or woman whose profession is to discover the truth and to identify lapses from it in whatever media may be available. The act of doing this generally is called investigative journalism and it is distinct from apparently similar work

done by police, lawyers, auditors and regulatory bodies in that it is not limited to target, not legally founded and closely connected to publicity

Investigative journalism is also a practice whereby journalists investigate, expose unethical, immoral and illegal behaviour by individuals, businesses and governments agencies, can be complicated, time consuming and expensive. – requires teams of journalists, months of research, interviews, sometimes repeated interviews, with numerous people, long distance travel, computers to analyse, public records data bases, or use of the company's legal staff to secure documents under free of information laws<sup>30</sup>.

In many cases, the subject of reporting which comes under scrutiny is such that organisation or some individuals wants to conceal from members of the public. Also, investigative journalism has been defined as a form of journalism where the reporter goes beyond the surface, to dig in-depth to probe a single story that may uncover, review government policies or of corporate houses to uncover corruption or draw attention to social, economic, political or cultural anomalies. Investigative journalism involves exposing to the public matters that are concealed – either deliberately by someone in a position of power, or accidentally, behind a chaotic mass of facts and circumstances that obscure understanding. It requires using both secret and open sources and documents. Some have also remarked that an investigative journalist is a man or woman whose profession is to discover the truth and to identify lapses from it and publish same in any available media. The act of doing this generally is called investigative journalism<sup>31</sup>.

Sometimes referred to as precision or scientific journalism, investigative journalism has also been described as the adoption of scientific approach of research methods by the media, print or electronic, into illegal or untoward activities, which are otherwise are concealed from public glare by government, individuals or organisations. It is scientific

because of the utilization of social scientific research or investigative methods like research design, searching and data accumulation, hypothesis as well as clinical and laboratory procedures to probe into cases and report to the public investigative journalism utilizes some research questions which could be descriptive, explanatory, comparison of relation, and comparative explanatory. The most basic investigative questions are often descriptive in nature, and seek to describe the occurrences of certain phenomena and how these occurrences vary between cases. Other methods are direct observations, interviews, examination of public records and documents, social science techniques like survey, content and analysis. Unlike works of previous journalists, the subject matter or initiative is exclusive or original to the investigator and it must be of great importance and a subject others want to keep in the wraps<sup>32</sup>.

Investigative journalism goes beyond routine reporting daily occurrences; rather it tries to uncover the most painful, sometimes bleeding sores, glaring contradictions that have high societal value. This genre of journalism represents attempts to probe the truth of any matter that is otherwise hidden because its non-disclosure serves the interest of some individuals or groups. For that reason, the manner of reporting is dispassionately confidential. Investigative journalism uncovers abuse, infringement on laws, establishments, norms or morality, with the purpose of giving publicity to concealed or unlawful activities either in connection with businesses, organized crime, governance, political or financial activities but must be reported in public interest. Another purpose is to bring such failures to the fore, with the intention to galvanise lawyers, policemen and government to take proper action. Such reports are also beneficial because they perform integrative and cognitive functions, serve psychological relaxation and hygiene as well as serving the purpose of orientation and ideological connection<sup>33</sup>.

By implication therefore, investigative reporting which is based on digging, scrutinizing of records, documents and files that unearth significant information about matters of public importance through the use of non-routine information gathering methods. Investigative reporters set out to find a deeper reality, to answer questions that may never have been raised before, or at least have never been answered satisfactorily. Reporting of such depth requires that the journalist looks at situations from all possible angles, through his eyes, as well as those of others. It requires walking all around the subject both literally and figuratively, searching for the one perspective that shows it best. Whereas most day-to-day reporting involves investigation true investigative stories require extraordinary expenditure of time and energy<sup>34</sup>.

Two elements that define investigative reports are: significant material of public interest that someone tries to conceal, and findings that are the reporter's own work, not leaked material. This refers to news material that is ordinarily inaccessible, out of public view and difficult to obtain. Investigative journalism is thorough, incisive reporting, requiring the investigative attitude, curiosity and pungent nose for news, a lot of hard work, research and legwork, expensive, painstaking and time consuming. The time is spent on gathering documents, conducting interviews and digesting previously published materials, thereby making the report more comprehensive and undeniable. A study asserts that Investigative journalism as a way whereby the journalists seek to protect public interest by uncovering and publicising the whole truth about any issue in any sphere of life. According to the study, the investigative journalist is systematic and painstaking in gathering and verifying information from official and non-official sources as well as online and offline sources. Such issues of public interest that is of great importance to the people like pollution of host communities by oil companies after exploration, or corrupt activities of government

officials, fraud by non-governmental organizations, insider abuse or trading, government secrets and so on fall within this<sup>35</sup>.

The investigative reporter must examine what has been described as the “Hive Fives” of writing style of investigative report- news, context, scope, edge (where it is leading) and impact of such report. Such qualities as resourcefulness, persistence, scepticism on sources, knowledge of the issue, reliability of sources and readiness to persuade them to talk and documentation of findings on social, economic or political issues being investigated have been identified as a must for the investigative reporter. Equally important is the style of writing the report- whether chronological narrative- telling it as it unfolds in step-by-step time order, or topical narrative, as a story wrapped around an issue like fraud in the judiciary presented as a topical issue<sup>36</sup>.

Put together, these definitions and descriptions mentioned above have something in common - that investigative journalism requires skills, tenacity and dedication to go the extra mile digging for the facts, a striking balance and adopting most of the times verifiable methods. Investigative journalism is broader than regular news reportage, rather because it follows a set of strategies in getting such information, photographs, videos and even classified documents, it is called a craft, and can take years to master. Many stories that win top awards for investigative journalism attest to the high standards of research, diligence, meticulous news gathering and reporting that the profession aspires to: in-depth inquiries that painstakingly track looted public funds, abuse of power, environmental degradation, health scandals, and more. It is sometimes called enterprise, in-depth, or project reporting but most of the time investigative journalism. The experts identify such fundamentals as the imperatives for the investigative journalists to develop human resources, contact people, talk to them, be sceptical when information are presented to him,

knowing that things are not what they seem, especially fantastic reports to be true. Also important is the need to consult multiple credible sources, familiarise with scientific research methods and tools communicate and work with professionals.

#### **2.1.14 Evolution of Investigative Journalism**

Investigative Journalism has been part and parcel of American journalism in the 17th century and has evolved through the years because of its importance. In 1690, Benjamin Harris published *Public Occurrences*, in the United States, a radical colonial newspaper which exposed human rights violations of French prisoners of war and alleged sex scandals involving the king of France and the wife of his son. The newspaper was shut down by the British colonial authorities four days after it debuted, making the newspapers first edition the last<sup>37</sup>.

England also played a major role in the emergence of investigative journalism, and one of the earliest contributors was William Cobbett, of whom it was averred “if one of the features of investigative journalism is the fearless uncovering of the facts unpalatable to the powerful, then Cobbett is a distinguished precursor”. Cobbett was reputed to have founded publication like the *Porcupine’s Gazette* and Cobbett’s *Weekly Political Register*-publications used to exposed and condemn corruption, misuse of public funds and unjust laws, low wages and absentee clergy<sup>38</sup>.

In an extensive review of 30 years of investigative journalism in Britain from the 1960s, it was asserted that the climate was favourable during the period, though the tabloids overtook the broadsheets in the employment of investigative journalism techniques. Newspapers like *The Sun*, *News of the World*, *Private Eye* and *World in Action* have continued to dominate the British media space with investigative reports. In 1995 alone, British television industry carried out 300 discreet television programmes which could be

classified investigative reports, and such programmes include: BBC Inside Story, BBC Public Eye, ITV Big Story, ITV Network First, C4 The Cutting Edge, ITV First Tuesday, BBC 40 Minutes and C4 Street Legal. Some of the investigative reports, according to Burgh include: ITV The Cook Report, C4 Countryside Undercover, BBC Talking Liberties, ITV Disguises, C\$ Undercover Britain, BBC Private Investigations and BBC Rough Justice<sup>37</sup>.

Investigative journalism practices have many facets. They are usually unsolicited reports. Investigative journalism goes beyond conventional reporting, but effectively complies with the test of the five 'Ws' and 'H,' that identify causes and explores depth to sometimes engender absorbing the human interest content. Hence, the investigative journalist, after getting his lead from, maybe a source or whistle blower, forms a conjecture which is further operationalized as he applies probing or even scientific information gathering strategies. Such practices include under-cover operations, (participant observation), to ascertain veracity of such information or utilises non-participant observation, interviewing of critical actors. Others are sourcing: scrutinising and analysing documents and data. Financial data are of great importance in this regard, especially when cases of fraud or other financial stories are involved. In the case of environmental pollution by an oil company or others who discharge toxic waste into communities, samples of wastes are taken for laboratory examination to identify their chemical content and ascertain if they are lethal or their possible dangers to the environment, aquatic lives and humans. Clinical report of victims who suffer as a result of exposure to such wastes is usually helpful, and death certificates of residents when lives are lost as a result of exposure to pollution in such communities<sup>38</sup>. The various forms of investigative journalism practices include:

### 2.1.15 Covert or Undercover Journalism

Undercover journalism or dangerous liaison involves a situation where an investigative reporter enters an investigation area with deception, enmesh himself in the setting, sometimes incognito, in order to obtain first-hand information that can buttress or refute an allegation under investigation<sup>39</sup>. Adopting participant observation methods, this investigative journalism practice is geared towards planning and conducting an investigative process with people whose life and meaningful action are under study, after which the investigative journalist will step back with understanding of the subject from familiar interaction and do his report. He records his experiences sometimes with the aid of covert electronic gadgets like wrist watch, pen or camera carried on themselves and information so gathered becomes evidence to support an irrefutable report. Also of importance is the fact that it has been argued that the presence of the observer in the sample often leads to some faking in the behaviour of members in the particular setting, especially if his cover is blown off or they suspect the presence of an investigative journalist in their midst. German investigative reporter, Gunter Uballaf, is popular for this method, having utilised it in a number of award winning investigative reports<sup>39</sup>.

Nigerian media often utilize this investigative journalism practice as well. For instance, in 2005, following allegations that patients at the Federal Neuropsychiatric Hospital, Aro, in Abeokuta, Ogun State, were deprived basic medical consumables and attention and were subjected to inhuman treatment despite huge budgetary allocations, a reporter of *The Sun*, Josy Idam, was deployed as an undercover investigator to the hospital, albeit accompanied from a distance by a female photo journalist, Oyindamola Onime. He commenced by feigning lunacy and acting berserk on a nearby street, in Lantoro, dressed in boxers and utilizing a motorcycle tire as necklace. This attracted sympathisers and consequently

public health officers rushed to the scene. He was picked in a van and soon became a 'patient' at the psychiatric hospital and was soon sedated.

The photo-journalist claimed to be his relation and provided fake bio-data of the patient and an anti-psychotropic injection should be administered on him before further tests would be carried out, on the assumption that he must have smoked cannabis sativa. But he was prevailed upon and a clinical test indicated that only nicotine was found in his blood stream. He was discharged the following day, but that was sufficient to arm the duo with first-hand report on the hygienic condition of the wards, treatment patterns, categories of inmates, disposition of doctors, feeding modules, bills payment which formed the nucleus of the investigative report<sup>17</sup>. While the legality of this approach has been an issue, its proponents have anchored their argument on what they call ethical legitimacy<sup>40</sup>.

#### **2.1.16 Overt Investigative Journalism**

This investigative procedure refers to a practice where the journalist probes into an incident from the side line, without participating in, or being involved in the process and yet chronicles his observations for publication. It is a form of surveillance which includes carefully carried out interviews of the people involved, listening to the participants who may include medical doctors, patients, victims and others with the sole objective to obtain vital information for publication<sup>41</sup>. Observation procedures have their advantages and disadvantages. For one thing, they held to watch and describe behaviour as they occur in a natural setting, and first-hand information are obtained. That way, actions are seen in reality and the process documented. Observation helps the journalist to obtain information in situation-based behaviours, albeit this type of information cannot be obtained through other procedure<sup>18</sup>. However, one of the disadvantages of these methods of investigation is that some behaviours cannot be seen through observation. Other challenges are those

associated with organising information collected through observation in a very meaningful manner. Observation as method of investigation is also time consuming and expensive in monetary terms, especially when a large number of people like a community is being observed. These factors often limit the size of the sample.

An investigative journalist utilizing any of these strategies is required make a list of relevant aspects of the situation or case being investigated or observed, as this checklist or rating scale would be useful as the investigation progresses. The rating scale helps to further indicate the degree to which attributes are present, and makes observations more systematic. Some researchers have also warned that the investigative journalist must avoid interfering with the setting of the observation and learn to ignore the certain findings especially when the sample or population being studied may have observed his presence, until they overcome such influence and return to their natural habit<sup>41</sup>.

#### **2.1.17 Laboratory Based Journalism**

Laboratory or clinical investigative reporting practice is a science-based practice where the investigative reporter relies on medical reports and laboratory test to validate his report<sup>16</sup>. Sometimes, he obtains samples for laboratory analysis even as he peruses medical reports, breakthroughs. It is also known as clinical journalism. Health information data from the hospitals and even the National Centre for Disease Control, (NCDC), mortuaries, the Ministry of Health in the various states of Nigeria, the World Health Organisations are very vital in this instance. In the wake of the outbreak of COVID-19, the global data community made their websites available to investigative journalists to enable them access and publish global developments in cases, spread, fatalities, preventive and containment measures on pandemic. The websites of institutions like the Johns Hopkins University Centre for Systems Science Engineering and countries' integrated medical bases formed

data sources. In reporting the COVID-19 pandemic where cases of under-counting or inflations of figures were suspected, investigative journalists have obtained unofficial figures from mortuary attendants, ambulance drivers and grave digger to refute official figures. In Nigeria, an investigative reporter of *The Guardian*, Emmanuel Akinwotu who had doubted the 26 official fatality figures of the pandemic in Kano State in March, 2020, interviewed five grave diggers and not only discovered 400 unreported deaths in two straight weeks, but also concealed casualties among infected gravediggers themselves<sup>52</sup>. Similarly, in April 2020, a Somalian freelance reporter, Abdalle Mumin interviewed ambulance drivers in Mogadishu to check the city's low death COVID-19 death figures only to found that the drivers were transporting four times the usual fatalities in two straight weeks. In the United States, two medical data reporters at *ProPublica* in their desire to get around inadequate official pandemic data in Detroit unearthed rarely used data tool that archives Detroit's emergency service calls and found a dead person observe category, indicating 150 deaths at home in 10 days during the pandemic, compared to 40 deaths in previous years. In Lima Peru, journalists with IGL-Reporters discovered 300 per cent increase in the rate crematoria were incinerating bodies, with handwritten registers for crematoria companies awarded the contract by health authorities in confirmed COVID-19 deaths<sup>42</sup>.

Laboratory reports enable investigative journalists to provide scientific basis for the level of industrial pollution impact on host communities in their reportage. A case in point was when a community in Lagos State complained of the damaging consequences of noxious industrial waste discharged from a steel company on their health and environment. After attempts to ensure the company addressed the issue hit the walls, the community brought the incident to the attention of *The Punch* Newspaper, and one of its Correspondents, Toyosi Ogunseye, who holds a university degree in Bio-Chemistry, was assigned to

investigate the allegations. She persuaded her employers to fund the cost of testing the industrial waste in a laboratory. Also taken for laboratory analysis were blood, urine and drinking water of the community residents<sup>18</sup>. The report showed the presence of lead sediments in their drinking water and bodies, even as some of the residents displayed symptoms of cancer, asthma and other diseases. The investigative report was presented in three-parts, linking the environmental pollution with the diseases suffered by the community to the company. The report formed the basis for Lagos State Government order for immediate closure of the company, but not before ordering it to pay adequate compensation to the community. The company was also ordered to carry out periodic environmental impact assessment of its industrial waste, and ensure treatment of such before disposing them off as condition for re-opening it<sup>43</sup>.

#### **2.1.18 Data-Based Investigative Journalism**

Data-driven investigative journalism practice is journalism's response to 'datafication' of society today. Data-driven reporting is an on-going (r)evolution in many parts of the world<sup>16</sup>. It is a process where the investigative reporter obtains, sometimes purchases vital documents and data for publication. Such data often come from whistle-blower or other insiders are verifiable data and documents which are analysed by the journalist for publication. They include bank statements, file documents from banks, tax receipts and records, corporate reports, financial filings, data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), police case files which are perused and their contents converted to a news story and published. Some of these could also include video or audio evidence, medical case files which are analysed and published as expose. An adjunct to this is what has been described as computational journalism, which involves the application of software and technologies to the activities of journalism. A study showed that it draws from the fields of computer science, the social sciences, and media and communications<sup>44</sup>.

Some major benefits of data-based investigative reports are the enhanced use of computing this type of investigative reporting is related in particular to three factors: larger government data sets becoming more widely available; the increasingly sophisticated and ubiquitous nature of software; and the developing digital economy. The use of the computer to appreciate such documents has provided new foundations for original investigative journalism and increase the scope for new forms of interaction with readers, and to attract and retain readers online.

Others are internal information placed on the bulletin boards of companies or government institutions or invoices. Yet others could come in the form of computer-mediated communication, intercepted emails, short message services, and many more. In the heat of the COVID-19 period, Apps that broadcast and archive audio feeds from police and emergency medical services like 911, radio traffic from the police, actuarial tables on insurance claims, satellite imagery services which locate burial trenches and unclaimed remains are sources of investigative reports. The International Monetary Funds, (IMF) has produced a number of data on the impact of the pandemic on global economy, job losses and summary of financial actions and supports to various member countries of the world.

The Panama Papers, an investigative report by a consortium of 400 journalists in Africa and other parts of the world containing secrete investments of prominent political leaders, businessmen and obtained a couple years ago come under this classification. However, it has been argued that investigative reporting techniques could only be employed when it is highly expedient, especially when life of the journalist is not endangered or the extreme case when the news subject is not forthcoming with information. The issue of privacy of the individuals involved is often weighed against public interest with the latter often said to having overriding priority<sup>46</sup>.

## 2.2. Theoretical Review

Three theories - Agenda Setting, Technology Determinism and Spiral of Silence underpinned this study.

### 2.2.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory was espoused by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L Shaw in the study of the 1968 American presidential election, as published in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* in its 1972 edition. It underscores to the role that mass media can play in influencing the setting of certain image on public mind. They stated that: “In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and position...the mass media may well determine the important issues that is, the media may set the “agenda” of the campaign<sup>47</sup>.”

The theory enunciates the ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics, persons or topics on the public agenda. By this, news or topics which might be political, economic, social or otherwise that are given regular, prominent and detailed attention by media practitioners dominate discourse. Such is achieved by the quantity of media space or time devoted to such issues in the print, electronic or the new media, as well as their frequency of such reports. Other elements of agenda-setting include the headline size, pictures and layout in the newspapers or magazines, films, graphics or timing on radio and television. By their sustained discussion on the issue which may cover various dimensions of such over a period of time, the media ensures that the issue was on the lips of all and sundry until the desired objective is achieved.

Agenda-setting theory which has its origin in Walter Lippmann's 1922 book, *The Opinion*, began with the chapter titled: "The World Outside and the Picture in our Minds," but did not gain much prominence until 1968 when McCombs and Shaw put it to empirical test. The theory speaks to the very powerful influence of the media's ability to tell what issues are important according to the prominence given to them. Several decades after, the theory has continued to be improved upon by other researchers and its relevance has not been assailed.

Two basic assumptions underlie most researches on Agenda-Setting theory are:

- (1) The press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it;
- (2) Media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues<sup>48</sup>.

On the assumption that the media filter and shape reality, that is evidently true in some cases because the media often portray what appeal to their fancy and interest in their reportage. For instance, McCombs and Shaw once argued that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues during election campaign - and there lies the relevance of this theory. It has been noted that the strengths of this theory include the fact that it focuses attention on audience interaction with the media, empirically demonstrates links between media exposure, audience motivation to seek orientation and audience perception of public issues, and integrates a number of similar ideas, including priming, story positioning and story vividness. Its weaknesses are its roots in mass society, is too situationally specific to news and political campaigns, and direction of agenda setting effect is questioned by some.

### 2.2.2 Technological Determinism Theory

Technological Determinism is a reductionism theory which has its foundation in the writings of Marshall McLuhan, a professor of English at the University of Toronto in Canada. It is a theory that seeks to establish a causal connection between technology and civilisation, makes efforts to explain who or what might wield dominating influence over human affairs, and also suggests that technology and nothing else determines the social structure. The term “technological determinism” refers to an approach that illustrates how educational technology is deployed is influenced not only by the user but also by the technology itself. It indicates that technology is inherently connected to the learning process.

The theory indicates that though “the medium is the message”, media message cannot be fully differentiated from the technology through which it is disseminated, that technology influences human thought and behaviour. According to the theory media logics have a significant impact on all areas of social interaction in modern culture, and the social media platforms which emerged at the turn of the last century have derived their growth from technology, bringing people together. It also facilitates information dissemination, production, political and economic activities. The theory indicates that much as the information being disseminated is important, the medium through which it is disseminated is very crucial to the society. He underscored the long-term unanticipated consequences - positive or negative - of any technological innovation on the social structure<sup>49</sup>.

No doubt society’s development has been greatly influenced by the use of technology; the communication sector is not isolated from this as the technology has played and it is still playing a significant impact in information dissemination, assimilation and utilisations. The theory indicates that while the manner information are being disseminated to the

audience is very vital, the nature and capability of the media is connected shapes the society. In so far as certain technological innovations like the internet, internet-enabled phones and the worldwide web, have given rise to the practice and spread of citizen journalism, this theory is very relevant to the study. McLaughan examination of history and impact of technology on information dissemination led him into the conclusion that technology plays a determining factor in communication. Though technological determinists agree that technology affects and shapes society, they did not ignore the need for progressive adaptation to new technological advancements. This however, does not isolate the negative repercussion of technological growth and its improper utilisation. McLaughan believes, however, that the continual growth of technology has a major effect on the psyche of humans with a propensity for a future shock.

Negroponte takes an idealistic look at the impact of technology on communication, examining the characteristics of the digitisation process, namely decentralisation, globalisation, harmonization and strengthening, which he said is unstoppable. However, social determinism maintains that the social environment dictates and determines technical advancement. But Castells kicks against the notion that the society must adapt to ICT thereby rejecting the theory of one-sided technological determination<sup>49</sup>.

### **Relevance of the Theory**

For some time now, social media is awash with information dissemination as some bloggers, journalists and non-journalists alike benefit from these technologies with reliance in ICT. It serves as medium for political discussion, debates and electioneering campaigns such that even legacy media some time relies on it as source of information. The relevance of this theory could be seen in the daily reportage of activities around the world. The flood that ravaged many parts of the globe in 2022, which affected over 20

countries with about 5.9 million people affected in East and Central Africa. Were largely captured by citizen reporters. Over 1, 132 people were killed on the continent, while the effect of the flood was captured largely on internet enabled phones. Besides, governance has benefitted from this as I-Reporters and citizen journalists utilises their phones for reporting activities and sometimes even disseminating information that promotes good governance.

### **2. 2.3 Spiral of Silence Theory**

This theory, which belongs to the group of conditionally powerful media theory, is a departure the Hypodermic Needle or Magic Bullet Theory. It captures the tendency by individuals and groups to suppress private opinions, under pressure for fear of isolation. The theory emanated from various studies and surveys conducted by the German Communication scholar, Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann at about 1979 and 1980. She x-rayed media output and sampled journalists on various issues relating government and politics of West Germany; and came to the conclusion that “to a large extent, it is the media which creates opinion.” According to her, ideas, occurrences and persons exist in public awareness practically only if there are given adequate publicity by the mass media, and only in the shapes that the media attributes to them. That implies that the majority of the public perceive issues and persons as the media see them. Since the society rewards conformity, and punishes deviance, the fear of isolation constrains people to conform to shared judgement- as midwifed by the mass media<sup>50</sup>.

In this way the theory holds that the mass media, especially television, is responsible for spiral of silence. Television encourages those whose opinions are gaining ground to make more noise, while those whose opinions are losing ground to fall silent for fear of isolation and ridicule. According to her, three characteristics of the news media that produce this

scarcity of perspective are ubiquity, that the mass media are everywhere, as sources of information; cumulation, the fact that various news media tend to repeat news and perspectives across different media themselves and over time; the third being the issue of consonance, with reference to the values held by news people influence the content of their produce. Some of the expressive terms that have emanated from the discussion and exposition of the theory are: double opinion climate, silent majority, pluralistic ignorance, bandwagon effect and snob effect. In his critique on this theory, Elihu Katz made the following observations stating that individual have opinions, fear of isolation, mass media constitute the major reference for information about the distribution of opinion and thus the climate of support/ or non-support. The media tend to distort the distribution of opinion in the society, observing that they may not be supported some individuals may lose confidence and withdraw from public debate into self-inflicted spiral, they may not change their mind and the society is impoverished in the process.

Some of the strengths of the theory are it has macro and micro level explanation, dynamic, accounts for shifts in public opinion, especially during campaigns, raises important questions concerning the role and responsibility of news media. Its weakness has overly pessimistic view of media influence and average people, ignores other simpler explanation of silencing and it discounts power of community to counteract the silencing effect<sup>59</sup>.

These theories are very relevant because the more the media through Citizen and Investigative reports repeatedly put good governance on the agenda to underscore its saliency, the more it will sink into the consciousness of the government officials. That way, government officials are held accountable to the people through investigative reports and the governed would benefit from judicious use of public funds as against corrupt enrichment of themselves. This would attract the attention of law enforcement agencies

thereby deterring those who might deviate from principle of good governance. The fear of such arrest and certainty of imprisonment will help in checkmating corruption, injustice and deviation from the tenets of good governance. When government officials are persuaded on the values of good governance in the form of justice, transparency, accountability, observance of rule of law growth and development they might adopt such values. Besides, technology determinism has immensurable impact on citizen journalism practices, since everyone with minimal education can utilise internet enabled phones to expose societal ills that would elicit good governance.

Even in face of this positivism, the spiral of silence which points to the tendency for some government officials or political leaders to keep mum and refrain from taking any action against corrupt leaders. That way, they insulate the society against change for national development. Iloh, once said that the Nigerian government has adopted the silence option instead of responding to investigative reports like exposure of criminality with appropriate law enforcement action. They exhibit a form of indifference and silence designed to wear the media out, or responded with indignation by blackmailing the media, as agents of the opposition or chose to repeatedly ignore such reports, irrespective of their potential benefits with the motive that the media would be worn out in no time<sup>60</sup>.

Similarly, former Legal Adviser of the All Progressives Congress, (APC), Bemire averred that the Nigerian political class of conspiracy of silence over the parlous security situation in the country, positing that the security situation in Nigeria has become wholly intractable. To him, what started as an isolated case of insurgency in some parts of Borno State has become a national malaise rapidly expanding and threatening the fragile fabric of Nigeria, and the human losses at present have befuddled our capacity to take records and there is

hardly an accurate account of people already consumed by the violence of the men of the gun.

He posited that thousands of lives have been snuffed out by Boko Haram bombs and guns in the North-eastern parts of the country, and suddenly, the North-West has caught the fever of banditry, now named terrorism which is operating in a most deadly fashion, taking territories, collecting tax from Nigerian citizens, leaving behind sorrow, tears and blood everywhere the unscrupulous young agents of death have chosen to carry out their nefarious businesses. Katsina State, the home state of the President, has not been spared the horrors of banditry, killing and kidnapping. The volumes of death, maiming and rape of women by violent herders have left the whole of the North Central states of Niger, Nasarawa and Benue a wide expanse of gnashing teeth and fearsome living. The macabre of death enacted by the orgy of violence by bandits in Niger State has divided the state under two sovereignties as the victims of banditry and Boko Haram campaigns have submitted to the regime of the men of the underworld in order to purchase their peace. Boko Haram now levies and collects taxes from the hapless citizens whose fate is better procured by self-help rather than the constitutional protection that the government ought to guarantee. Bandits have made Zamfara a deadly zone and the allures of gold that the government allowed to be exploited illegally has become a source of destruction and wanton loss of life and property. Kaduna State, Nigeria's home of military institutions under Governor Nasir El-Rufai has become a theatre of war<sup>61</sup>.

Instead of the government of the then President Muhammadu Buhari to rise to the situation in consonance with its primary responsibility, it complains that the violent and dangerous herders who graze animals openly and kill the farm owners were foreign Fulani herders, yet failed to enforce the criminal laws against these foreigners. This has given credence to the accusation that the Buhari government is pro-Fulani and is only trying to

eliminate other tribes to create a huge territorial home for Fulani invaders across Africa. The long silence, Banire posited from the President and his occasional warnings to bandits and Boko Haram elements paint the picture of a eunuch who only gives verbal expressions to his potency to impress women. The latest of such attacks was the bombing of the Abuja-Kaduna rail line by terrorists who killed eight people and kidnapped about 100 others. Like before the government only issued warning to its ineffective security agencies. The worst aspect of silence is the average demented Nigerian politician who carries on campaigning for power grab in 2023 as if the whole security crisis in the nation is a tea party. They have been campaigning from one local government to another uttering their insane promises and wild projections. They keep quiet whenever the horrors being perpetrated by Fulani herders are being discussed. They maintain a tied tongue anytime their opinions would conflict with the sentiments of the Presidency. Their people are daily subjected to bloodshed and devastations and yet the Nigerian politician is insouciant in his reckless ambition to govern a burning entity. They are keeping quiet, except for a few whose conscience would not allow them to give further inordinate protection to party loyalty and collective insanity<sup>61</sup>.

The senator representing Kogi West Senatorial District lamented the security situation in the country, expressed genuine emotions by bursting out in tears calling on his comrades on the floor of the Senate to rise up in defence of the land. Ali Ndume, a senator from the North-East on a number of occasions had condemned the conspiracy of government and the elite in what is otherwise a consuming conflagration that is herding us towards Somalia, Liberia and Rwanda. Instead of the various political gladiators coming together to find a solution to the challenge of this vanishing country, they are busy strategising over election into an office that is appearing to be a mirage. The elite in Nigeria, the civil

society inclusive, have given all manner of justification in defence of Buhari's government, from the sensible to the ridiculous<sup>62</sup>.

## **2.1 Review of Empirical Studies**

### **2.3.1 Media and Good governance in Nigeria**

Historical records show that Nigeria put the best foot forward in the early parts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with people's massive participation in the electoral process and the country's gradual political evolution. The formation of such political parties as the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), by Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) by Herbert Macaulay and the National Youths Movement, by Stanley Orogun, galvanized the people for massive participation in the electoral process. They were later joined by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who established the Action Group<sup>61</sup>.

Though they were united in the bid for independence from British rule, Nigeria's founding fathers have failed to unify the country, hence its division along regional, ethnic and religious lines. Northern and Southern agitators were not united on time frame for the independence, especially the North indicated no preparedness, but the latter opted for 1957 following a motion for independence moved at the parliament by Anthony Enahoro. But Northern region only expressed readiness in 1959, fearing that incorporating Nigeria into a unitary state would make the North ultimately politically and culturally dominated by the South, since the region lacked qualified and educated people to hold political offices that would be let by the Europeans.

Another element of disunity was manifested in the 1954, 1956 and 1959 elections, where mistrust led to the introduction of tribal and regional politics into the country's political consciousness. Hence, the Action Group with Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the South-West,

the National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as leader and the Northern Peoples' Congress, NPC, led by Sir. Ahmadu Bello. The political parties dominated the legislatures in their respective regions. This development brought disunity, more so as smaller ethnic groups besides Igbo, Hausa Fulani and Yoruba, expressed fear of domination by the major groups. The second reason was that conservative leaders and elements in the North were apprehensive that Southern dominated would prevent Northerners from governing themselves with the use of Islamic law, otherwise known as Sharia<sup>62</sup>.

Besides the aforementioned fact, the emerging political leaders after independence were viewed by the working class as new 'bourgeoisie class,' hence the latter did not trust the former who were perceived not to be interested in the prosperity and development of the nation. The failure of the leaders to restructure and transform the inherited colonial institutions was also believed to have dealt devastating blow on the unity and consciousness of Nigeria.

Unlike the position of American founding fathers like George Washington, who at the country's independence in July 1776, warned the U.S. against having alliances with Europe, but to be committed to repositioning America to take its rightful place in the world stage, Nigeria's founding fathers hastily joined the United Nations after independence, essentially to associate with the 'Big Boys', spending the resources which would have been ploughed into development to compete in the international arena. The founding fathers failed to carry out post-independence unification of Nigeria country, build its national consciousness, political, economic and military bases before attempting to be a big player on the international scene. It was not surprising therefore, that shortly after the central government under Tafawa Balewa and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe took effective control of Nigeria post-independence, the central government abandoned the

regional structure of the country grating more powers and responsibility to itself at the expense of the regions<sup>63</sup>. Hence, good governance has been elusive in Nigeria, leading to insecurity, public safety issue and general lack of unity.

This development, coupled with cases of political unrest in the South-West and sidelining of some sections in the country gave birth to the Aguiyi Ironsi coup, which toppled the Azikiwe-Balewa government. This too, was short-lived as some young Nigerian soldiers led by Major Kaduna Ezeugo embarked on a reprisal which led to the murder of several Nigerian leaders, a coup which culminated in the Nigerian Civil War that consumed over 3,000,000.

A study once averred that the establishment of the media in Nigeria was informed by political, religious, business or profit motives. This proprietorial interest heavily affects the editorial policies and slant of media houses drawn along commercial/business models of profiteering, and when it is political, control of the polity becomes the focal point<sup>63</sup>. It posited by and large they have been committed through the years to advancing democracy and good governance. Decades after, the Nigerian political space has been characterised by bad poor governance, hence manifestations of such indices as vote-buying to win election, poor socio-economic performance, human rights abuse, widespread of poverty, insecurity and lack of trust in the political system. This is attributed to the activities of political gladiators and party who muffle the system, stifling political space by discouraging participation in the process of electing leaders and even standing for elections. In the course of time, imposition of candidates and monetisation of the electoral process become a regular phenomenon thereby.

Researchers have identified the media as the oxygen of democracy, hence Nigeria's political evolution has been linked to the political education and engagements carried out

by the media. Following the colonisation of Lagos in 1860 and decades before merger of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914 to form the country Nigeria, many newspapers were established in the country mostly to fight for Nigeria's independence from Britain. The print media was championed by the missionaries from the Presbyterian Church upon their arrival in Calabar. Among them was Reverend Henry Townsend who later moved to Abeokuta and set up a printing press in 1754, to be followed by the establishment in 1759 of "*Iwe Iroyin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba*" a bi-monthly vernacular newspaper which sold for 120 cowries, (equivalent of a penny). The purpose of the publication was to get the people to read and beget the habit of seeking information by reading<sup>64</sup>.

The chief printer of the publication was one James Ede and the main content of the paper were news reports on church activities, movements of religious dignitaries' ordination and several other issues. As time passed by, Townsend increased the scope of the paper's content to include stories and events about Abeokuta, produces and traded items like cocoa statistics, cotton and from 1860 it commenced carrying adverts. Published in both English and Yoruba Languages, it became popular among literate people in the area and its print run increased to 3,000. The newspaper was however, cautioned by Church Missionary Service in 1963 over some of its contents found to be critical of colonial government.

The newspaper, however, suffered a calamity in 1767 when Townsend's printing press was consumed by an inferno set by the Egba people in a cultural and political clash which took place among the British and the Egba people which culminated in the expulsion of the British priest from Egba land. This singular event commenced the gradual decline of

the newspaper and its consequent demise. A media historian noted that *Iwe Irohin* fulfilled its mission and etched its name in gold in the annals of Nigeria's media history<sup>65</sup>.

During the lifetime of *Iwe Irohin* was the establishment of other newspapers like the *Anglo African* in 1763 by Robert Campbell, followed by The Lagos Times set up by Richard Blaise in 1880, with Andrew Thomas as Editor. Others were *The Gold Coast Colony Advertiser, Observer* and *Lagos Weekly Record, The Nigeria Chronicle* by Kumolu Johnson came on stream in 1908. These were followed by *The Nigeria Times* and the *African Times Review* established by Sapara Williams and Duse Mohammed Alli in 1910 and 1912 respectively. Consequent upon the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914 by Lord Lugard, J.B. Davies and William Labor set up the Nigeria Pioneer and The Aurora newspapers respectively. Aurora was based in Onitsha in current Anambra State. In 1915, Lagos Weekly Record was set up by Horatio Jackson and edited by his son, John Payne Jackson<sup>65</sup>.

The second key owners of the media were foreigners who migrated to Nigeria during the colonial days. These foreigners were mostly Sierra Leonians and Liberians who were earlier exposed to western education before Nigerians. This group of newspapers were then followed by newspapers like the *Lagos Daily News* in 1925, bought by John Payne Jackson and Akilade Caucrick in 1927; *The Daily Times* was established in 1925 by Sir Adeyemo Alakija and debuted on January 1, 1926 as a four-page newspaper with Sir Ernest Ikoli as pioneer editor. *The London Daily Mirror* would later buy into the paper in 1947. *The West African Pilot*, published Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe came on stream in 1937 and the number increased phenomenally such that by 1937 no fewer than 51 newspapers had been established in Nigeria, signifying the emergence of the first indigenous industrial enterprise. Most of "these newspapers" were founded by men in all sorts and conditions of

distress, people who according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo, (himself a member of the second generation of pioneers of the press) who were regarded as the “flotsam and jetsam” of the growing community of Nigeria’s intelligentsia<sup>65</sup>. Chief Awolowo set up the *Nigerian Tribune* in 1949. These newspapers were at the vanguard of political and economic enlightenment especially in the battle for independence by their founders who are political leaders.

Through the years, many Nigerian journalists and media investors have established a number of newspapers. For instance, in 1973, Mr. Wale Aboderin and Chief Sam Amuka Pemu, a former editor of *The Sunday Times* set up *The Sunday Punch*, with the latter as the editor. This was followed with the emergence of *The Punch*, the daily newspaper in 1976, but in 1984, Uncle Sam, as he is fondly called, established the Vanguard Newspaper. Earlier in 1980, business mogul, Chief MKO Abiola had set up the National Concord Newspaper while in 1983, Alhaji Ahmed Joda and others established The Democrat Newspaper in Kaduna, the same year the trio of Ray Ekpu, Dan Agbese and Dele Giwa established *The Newswatch* magazine in 1983. In 1985, *Lagos News* and *The Guardian* were set up by Chief Lateef Jakande and Chief Michael Ibru respectively. Today the Nigerian media landscape is crowded with scores of newspapers like *The Sun*, *New Telegraph*, both established in 2003 and 2013 by Chief Orji Uzor Kalu, former governor of Abia State, while *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* are located in Abuja<sup>66</sup>.

Similarly, the history of the electronic media in Nigeria is inextricably connected to its socio-political relationship with the British colonial government which informed the need to communicate to its colonies. That informed the establishment of the rebroadcast programmes of the British Broadcasting Corporation in English-speaking colonies for the enjoyment of Her Majesty the Queen’s employees in the West African coast, including

Nigeria. Udeaja in Ganiyu said this idea commenced in 1932 when the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) launched the world's first short waves scheduled programme service to develop sound political culture and economic links between Britain and the English-speaking countries<sup>66</sup>. With the commencement of service called the Diffusion of Broadcasting System, (DBS), in 1935, it turned out to be the ears and eyes of the BBC and the British government. Its content was an "admixture of selected BBC materials and some colonial government programmes" designed to meet the needs of greater parts of Nigeria. It developed into Radio Distribution Service (RDS). This is often referred to as the foundation of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria. The first radio station in Nigeria was established in Ibadan in 1939, the next was in Kano in 1944. In time, the establishment of the Nigerian Broadcasting Service was suggested in 1951 with the approval of the Nigerian Legislative Council, with the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Act of 1956 and it took off in 1957 with the following functions:

- (1) To provide, as a public service, independent and impartial broadcasting services by means of wireless telegraphy and by television for general reception within Nigeria;
- (2) To provide services for general reception in countries and places outside Nigeria;
- (3) To ensure that the services which it provides, when considered as a whole, reflect the unity of Nigeria as a federation, and at the same time give adequate expression to the culture, characteristic, affairs and opinions of the people of each region or part of the federation.

Regional broadcasting followed suit in 1959 when the Western Nigeria established the Western Nigeria Radio-Vision Service and commissioned the Western Nigerian Television in Ibadan. The Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Service and the Broadcasting Corporation on Northern Nigeria followed in 1960. The regional broadcasting institutions

were established to feather the nest of the owner regions which provided the funds for their operations<sup>67</sup>. Hence their programming was “exclusively customised to reflect, serve, and propagate the political aspirations of the regional governments.” Just as it is assumed researchers posited that regional stations must and actually saw regional government’s programmes, activities and policies as their own and this actually reflected in their programming.

At Nigeria’s independence in 1960, there was high level of optimism respecting good governance, especially with the end of colonialism when Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa emerged as Prime Minister. The hopes were high that democratic governance would bring about country’s development as a result of some positive indicators like abundant human and natural resources, competent bureaucracy, favourable growth rate and a population of one of Africa’s educated elites. However, citizen’s experience over the decades have shown a mixed grill of expectations and dashed hopes as development in some critical sectors of the national economy, government effectiveness has raised questions about the indivisibility and insolubility of Nigeria as a nation under God<sup>67</sup>.

For instance, after independence, emerging leaders retained practically all aspect of British institutions, values, political and legal system of government, without rebuilding indigenous institutions destroyed by the colonialists. The leaders not only embraced and defended foreign values, but help to sustain foreign legacies, including multiparty system in the country. The modern political culture in Nigeria excluded traditional rulers, council of elders and village assemblies. Consequently, the leaders utilised the opportunity to deepen division in the country by promoting tribal politics at the expense of national unity. Hence political parties like the NCNC, Action Group, Midwest Democratic Front, Igala Union, Democratic Party of Nigeria and Cameroon. All these worked against the transformation of the country.

About six years after independence, poor governance and party rivalry caused Nigeria the first military coup in 1966, led by Major General Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi, which truncated the Tafawa Balewa administration, and became a precursor of the Nigerian Civil War. The war which lasted from 1967-1970 claimed over three million lives and impoverished many parts of the country. It was followed by the regime of General Yakubu Gowon, who was in turn overthrown in 1975, by General Murtala Mohammed who was short lived in 1976, paving the way for General Olusegun Obasanjo who ruled and held the 1979 election.

After the 1979 election which produced Alhaji Shehu Shagari as president, another coup led by General Muhammadu Buhari struck in 1983, and yet another coup in 1984 led by Ibrahim Babangida. Though democracy was temporarily installed in 1991 in the form of diarchy, and with the election on June 12, 1993 of Chief MKO Abiola, he was never sworn in. Rather his death and that of General Sani Abacha paved the way for General Abdusalam Abubakar. Six of the military regimes were headed by Head of State of Northern extraction. Abubakar set up the National Electoral Commission, revalidated the 1979 Constitution and supervised the conduct of the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999<sup>68</sup>.

A study averred while good governance is a blessing to any country that practices it, there has been no good governance in Nigeria in the past 50 years. Rather there has been lack of commitment by successive government as Nigeria is corrupt, managed by corrupt leaders who use state funds as instrument for accumulation of capital rather than for the betterment of the citizenry. For instance, the Sani Abacha government was not only dictatorial, but his government reeked in massive corrupt, embezzlement and fraud. Transparency International said Abacha must have stashed away over \$5 billion from 1993 till 1998 when he died. Various sums of money like \$750 million, \$1.5 billion, \$149 million from Jersey Island, UK, \$500 million from Switzerland and another \$458 in 2004

and 2005, \$1 billion in 2012, \$227 million in 2014, \$380 million in 2015 and \$48 million in 2020<sup>69</sup>.

Democracy is abused and good governance becomes an illusion, according to a study, adding that corruption is an abuse of office, and aspect of bad governance which is rampant in all levels of government thereby inhibiting basic health and education services as well as infrastructures. The country's development has been stunted by bad governance, gross mismanagement of resources, pervasive corruption, lack of accountability, low-capacity utilisation, weak production structures, mass poverty low rate of economic growth and near collapse of the country's infrastructure<sup>70</sup>.

It argued that corruption, grand corruption, petty corruption and political corruption, in Nigeria has not only dominated discussions by has both internal and foreign consequences, weakening the country's economy, social and political structures. The study captured it succinctly in a lecture, stating that: Corruption has become so pervasive that no sector is immune; not churches, public sector or private sector, schools, colleges or universities. The pervasiveness of the odium is such that many discerning minds have opined that if Nigeria did not stop corruption, corruption is most likely to stop Nigeria. Nigeria's notoriety in term of corrupt practices is such that the notion of the ugly Nigerian looms very large in the international landscape as the country continues to draw a large profile in the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index<sup>71</sup>.

Impact of corruption in Nigeria has been noted in the forms of retrogression of the economy, infrastructural decay and even the health and educational sectors. Funds earmarked for sustainable development of the country and empower the people continued to be looted, hence services are not adequately provided for the people even as medicines become very scarce in the hospitals. In the process, there is growing poverty, despair and

loss of confidence in democracy. For instance, though energy is vital for economic development and growth, because of its critical role in the manufacturing of goods and service delivery, Nigerian economy is currently on the reverse because of the poor energy supply. Whereas Nigeria generates 12,522, it is currently able to distribute less than 5,000 megawatts to its population of over 200 million. Whereas Ghana generates 5,300 for a population of 31.7 million and South Africa generates 58,095 megawatts for its 60 million population. Lack of power supply has almost crippled the Nigerian economy, leading to the closure of scores of industries, many of which have relocated to either Ghana or South Africa, with its attendant job losses to Nigeria. Investment in the power sector, like the \$16 billion released to revamp the sector was misappropriated during the tenure of President Olusegun Obasanjo and no one has been jailed for this. Shortly after that, the Nigerian government privatised the energy sector, yet the situation continues to degenerate<sup>72</sup>.

Impact of corruption on the education sector has been very huge, especially since funds allocated to the sector are either inadequate or embezzled or both. The development had led to decay in school infrastructures, over-crowded public schools, including universities where basic amenities are missing. Following the reports of the Needs Assessment of public universities in Nigeria, Prof. Mahmood Yakubu-led Committee listed the challenges facing public universities as greed and instability of the governing councils. He mentioned over-crowding in hostels, lecture rooms, dilapidated infrastructures, inadequate, undertrained and overworked teaching staff and collapse of academic structures.

Consequent upon this, the Nigerian elite send their children to top rated universities in Europe and America where enormous funds are spent on them. The cost of sending these children for education abroad was so huge that as at 2012, parents spent over \$160 billion

on about 74,000 Nigerians students. A Punch editorial comment said that the amount was more than the entire Nigeria's annual budget on education<sup>73</sup>.

Besides the above, another set of drawbacks in the sector are poor work tools and ill-treatment of teachers. Teachers' welfare, professional development, incentives, teaching facilities, improved monitoring system have not been given attention. The entire situation discourages teachers, that it has been stated that "the future of the Nigerian child and the society at large can only be secured if the welfare of teachers is given top priority by government and other concerned authorities<sup>72</sup>". Ironically when university teacher draw attention to this, the government merely reached an agreement with them but hardly ever keep any such. Hence the Nigerian university education system suffers a great deal from industrial actions through the years due to protracted strikes.

Hence as at dawn of democratic rule in May 1999 when Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn in, Nigeria had a suffocating debt burden of \$28 billion owed to the Paris Club and London Club of creditors, with about \$3.9 billion foreign reserves. At the national level, Nigerians were totally disillusioned just was its alienated at the international level like a pariah state. The country's Gross Domestic Product which stood at \$1,281 in 1980 plummeted to \$270 in 1999, making Nigeria the 25<sup>th</sup> poorest country in the world. Despite the \$30 billion debt cancellation secured by Obasanjo in 2006, today Nigeria's external debt, under President Muhammadu Buhari has risen to over \$35 billion, even as the National Assembly has given approval for fresh loan<sup>73</sup>.

In the area of participation in the political process since the Fourth Republic in 1999, Oyima averred that the figure has been comparatively low. Whereas the country boasts of 200, 962, 417 population as at 2019, the about 84 million, representing 42 per cent registered for the elections as voters. Of this figure, 15 million 191, 847 voted for

Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC). As regards the six elections conducted since 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo won with 18, 738, 154 votes, and 24,456,140 for his re-election in 2003. In 2011, Goodluck Jonathan won the election with 22,495,187, and Muhammadu Buhari won with 15,424, 921 votes<sup>74</sup>.

Access to quality education and health, vital indices of good governance were at low ebb, as government paid more attention to increase in enrolment number than the quality of education as Nigeria now has a total of 170 universities. Of these figures 43 of them owned by the Federal Government, 48 and 79 by state governments and private individuals respectively. However, a number of Nigerian students are out of school. While it has been posited that 16 per cent (110 million) of Nigerians live below poverty level in 2015, the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics said in 2020 that 40 per cent or 83 million Nigerians live in poverty. Similarly, a UNICEF survey in 2018, showed that 13.2 Nigerian children, the highest in the world are out of school, but in 2021, Education Minister of State put the figure at 10,193,918, as the nation's education system is characterised by high illiteracy level, infrastructural decay and deficits<sup>75</sup>.

Corruption is one of the vestiges of bad governance and the media has a critical obligation to curb corruption by promoting good governance through reporting corrupt government official to ensure a deterrent. Corruption has its root word in the Latin word "corruptus" which simply means to break or destroy. Literally therefore, corruption means to break away or depart from morality, ethics and civic virtues.

Montesquieu states that corruption is a dysfunctional process by which a good political order is perverted in an evil one and a monarch into despotism. Jean Jaquel Rosseau refers to it as necessary consequence of the struggle for power. Corruption is the process of diverting public funds into private pockets thereby undermining efficiency of government

and endangering democracy, eroding social and moral fabrics of a nation. It destroys governmental structure and capacity<sup>76</sup>.

Corruption has also been described as ‘the abuse of entrusted power for private gain, and as an anti-social behavior conferring improper benefits contrary to moral or legal norms which undermines authorities’ power to improve the living condition of the people. Corruption is the process of securing wealth or power through illegal means for private benefit at public expense. Nye described corruption as deviation from the formal duties of public role because of private one, regarding personal, family, private clique, pecuniary exercise of certain types of private influence. It includes bribery, (use of reward to pervert the judgement of a person in position of trust); nepotism (appointment of persons of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private uses). Other variants of corruption are monetary corruption, misuse of public property, funds, embezzlement, bureaucratic corruption, influence peddling, patronage- assigning government position to political supports and nepotism. It is manifested in the favour of close family or ethnic groups, status or pecuniary gains. Corruption has been categorized as-grand corruption, petty corruption and political corruption<sup>77</sup>.

A study posits that corruption breeds nepotism and inefficiency, corruption leads to possible distortion of information, corruption can tarnish the image of a country, corruption makes public policies ineffective and corruption upset ethnic balance, and exacerbates problem of national integration in developing countries. Corruption also reduces private investment, discourages honest efforts and valuable economic activities, corruption affects investments, economic growth and government expenditure choices, Corruption is politically destabilizing, as it leads to social revolution and military takeover, corruption causes and promotes large scale crime and fraud, Corruption destroys ethical

and democratic values, Corruption destroys the legitimacy of a government, corruption promotes wide spread poverty and large scale unemployment. Corruption makes economic planning difficult if not impossible, Corruption creates unfair, unjust and inequitable environment in which the Rule of Law is undermined<sup>78</sup>.

Corruption is measured using such modus as official statistics, perception surveys and experience-based surveys. A manual based on contextual country-based measurement methods to ensure attainment of sustainable development goals calls on states to “substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all forms” The manual states that contextual and country-based measures are far more precise than indirect and composite approaches.

Direct measures are evidence-based information through statistics and standardised procedures. This procedure measure actual occurrences rather than perception of corruption. This includes official data like reported cases of corruption, conviction figures, electoral scrutiny finding and experience-based surveys. Indirect methods include combination of perception-based and experience-based questions on the prevalence of bribery referred to as Global Corruption Barometer. Among this is the composite index like judicial independence, freedom of the press which is Index of Public Integrity (IPI), which hopes to give objective and comprehensive control of the state of control of corruption in over 100 countries<sup>79</sup>.

The index is based on evaluating a set of six components – judicial independence, trade openness, budgetary transparency, e-citizenship, freedom of the press that helps to clarify institutional framework that inspires public integrity. Other measures are expenditure tracking surveys, focus groups involving dialogue among ordinary people. Delphil methods- researchers’ opinion and that of experts, interview of police officers, journalists,

judges, anti-corruption NGOs, statistical analysis of actual cases of corruption, proxy approach (like number of corruption cases brought to court and conviction secured), auditing of government and corporations' accounts, internet and social media-based measured where people are asked to relate their experiences. For instance, the I PAID A BRIBE, an internet platform introduced in India produced 177, 384 cases of corruption in 1,073 cities in India in 2019. The site is a statistics-based treasure trove which provided extensive report on everyday corruption for researchers and the public<sup>80</sup>.

The ubiquitous nature of corruption in contemporary African countries has been identified as the cause of the continent's development, indeed one of the most intimidating enemies of good governance, which dates back to several decades of its history. A study by some researchers who had worked closely in Africa once cried about the frightening level of corruption on the continent stated:

“...in Africa, Corruption flourishes as luxuriantly as the bush and the weeds which it so much resembles, taking the goodness from the soil and suffocating the growth of the plants, which have been carefully and expensively bred and tended. The forces ranged against it are negligible<sup>81</sup>.”

Corruption in Nigeria, it is very endemic and dates back to the colonial era such that in 1952, the Emir of Gwandu moved a motion at the Northern Nigeria House of Chiefs, averring that “native authorities should take every step to trace and punish offenders with strict impartiality and educate public against bribery and corruption.” One of the reasons the military overtook the democratic government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1993 was pervasive corruption. The emerging Head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari government consequently carried out mass arrest, investigation and prosecution of all indicted government officials.

It declared war against indiscipline, via a decree, and carried out mass arrest of politicians, culminating the detention of 773 persons, including the ousted president and his deputy, ministers, and governors. A Special Military Tribunal was set up, to investigate all the detainees and 517 persons, including the president, his deputy and Ondo State Governor Chief Adekunle Ajasin were set free. However, not less than 15 governors Chief Sam Mbakwe, Ambrose Ali, Adamu Attah, Chief Bisi Onabanjo and Aper Aku were sentenced to 21 years in prison each. The government also carried out mass purge of corrupt officials from the Nigerian civil service<sup>82</sup>.

A study identified other major fraud cases in Nigeria since 1999 to include the N16 billion embezzlement of police funds by the then Inspector-General of Police, Tafa Balogun, who was arrested by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission, (EFCC), tried and sentenced by court while the fund was recovered into public coffers; the N300 million fraud by the Minister of Health, which led to her sack, the arrest and sentencing to 10 years in prison by the Supreme Court of former governor of Plateau State, Joshua Dariye over N2 billion fraud, the N2 billion pension fraud by Abdurasheed Maina for which he bagged eight years imprisonment in 2021. Also in 2022, a former Managing Director, Federal Mortgage Bank, Gimba Yau Kumo, declared wanted for N32 billion fraud. Kumo, a former son-in-law to the President General Muhammadu Buhari, according to ICPC, was declared along with Tarry Rufus and Bola Ogunsola over alleged misappropriation and dispersion of national housing fund<sup>82</sup>.

At the dawn of the Buhari administration in 2015, it was stated that over 55 politically-exposed persons looted the sum of N1.3 trillion from 2006-2013. This included the \$2.1 billion weapons procurement funds heist, which led to the arrest and prosecution of the former National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd). A breakdown of the figures shows that 15 ex-governors embezzled allegedly N148

billion, four ex-ministers stole N7 billion, five ex-legislators N8.3 billion, seven public officials at the federal level embezzled N6.9 billion and their counterparts at state level looted N7.2 billion while 11 bank officials and businessmen stole N524 billion and N6.5 billion respectively<sup>25</sup>. More recently, Nigeria's Accountant-General was arrested over an N80 billion fraud and has been charged to court, just as Rivers State Accountant General has been declared wanted by the EFCC over alleged N435 billion frauds in the state<sup>83</sup>.

Hence Obasanjo described Nigeria as a cesspool of corruption, stating:

“The endemic corruption in the social fabric of Nigeria perpetuated by past leaders (and that) there is massive corruption in the Airways, corruption in NEPA, there is massive corruption everywhere... Corruption has totally destroyed the Nigerian social fabric and infrastructure<sup>83</sup>.”

As a way of stemming the tide of corruption, the Kayode Esho panel was set up and some of its recommendations were reformation of the judiciary, establishment of institution that will help fight corruption as well as special courts. Hence, the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) was set up and within six months into office, Obasanjo sent the bill on the prohibition and punishment of corruption and other related offences in 1999 and the bill was passed into law in 2000.

From 2007 till 2021, good governance has remained in top demand in Nigeria, especially after the 2007 election was believed to have been less than average. Hence, the Umaru Yar'Adua government constituted the Election Reforms Committee under the Chairmanship of Justice Lawal Uwais, a retired Justice of the Nigerian Supreme Court. The Commission's 297-page report identified “weak democratic institutions, negative political culture, weak constitution/legal framework and lack of independence and capacity of the electoral management bodies,” as major problems. It recommended the

stoppage of the current practice where the President appoints the chairman of the electoral umpire and its commissioners, though with the confirmation of the Senate, and advocated transfer of the appointment to the National Judicial Council, to stave political interference and ensure INEC's independence.

Uwais also recommended the need to sanitise the electoral system and process, judicial reforms, appointment of more judges to handle various cases and reduce workload on existing ones, promote judicial integrity, eliminate bribery, corruption and nepotism and computerise the courts. Others are the need to establish commissions to deal with electoral offences, constituency delimitation and political parties' registration and regulation, financial autonomy for INEC as parameters for free, fair and credible elections<sup>84</sup>.

In the area of governance, the Muhammadu Buhari's government has been accused of nepotism and running a clannish government where largely members of his faith or northern Hausa-Fulani are appointed to top government positions, especially in the security sector.

“But there are three other areas where President Buhari has come out more glaringly than most of us thought we knew about him. One is nepotistic deployment bordering on clannishness and inability to bring discipline to bear on errant members of his nepotistic court. This has grave consequences on performance of his government to the detriment of the nation.

“It would appear that national interest was being sacrificed on the altar of nepotistic interest. What does one make of a case like that of Abdurashheed Maina, (Director indicted and later sentenced to eight years in prison in a N2billion pension fraud, but was reabsorbed into government before the bubble busted): collusion, condonation, ineptitude, incompetence, dereliction of responsibility or kinship and friendship on the part of those who should have taken visible and deterrent disciplinary action? How many similar cases are buried, ignored or covered up, and not yet in the glare of the media and the public?

“The second is his poor understanding of the dynamics of internal politics. This has led to, wittingly or unwittingly, making the nation more divided, and inequality has widened and become more pronounced. It also has effect on general national security<sup>85</sup>.”

It also posited that Federal Character principle which ought to guide Nigeria for the emergence of quality leadership has been bastardised, ignorance, incompetence, ethnicity, nepotism, bigotry, sectionalism, regionalism, religion and class currently very rife in the country are impediments to good governance. To buttress the clannishness in the government of President Buhari, a stud indicated that his appointments have been skewed to benefit the North. For instance, the Group Managing Director in Mele Kyari, from Borno State, other top directors of NNPC are: Umar Ajiya (Chief Finance Officer/Finance and Accounts), Yusuf Usman (Chief Operating Officer), Farouk Garba Sa'id (Chief Operating Officer, Corporate Services), Mustapha Yakubu (Chief Operating Officer, Refining and Petrochemicals), Hadiza Coomassie (Corporate Secretary/Legal Adviser to the Corporation), Omar Ibrahim (Group General Manager, International Energy Relations), Kallamu Abdullahi (GGM Renewable Energy), Ibrahim Birma (GGM Governance Risk and Compliance), Bala Wunti (GGM NAPIMS), Inuwa Waya (MD NNPC Shipping), Musa Lawan (MD Pipelines And Product Marketing), Mansur Sambo (MD Nigeria Petroleum Development Company), Lawal Sade (MD Duke Oil/NNPC Trading Company). Others are Malami Shehu (MD Port Harcourt Refining Company), Muhammed Abah (MD Warri Refining and Petrochemical Company), Abdulkadir Ahmed (MD Nigeria Gas Marketing Company), Salihu Jamari (MD Nigeria Gas and Power Investment Company Limited), Mohammed Zango (MD NNPC Medical Services), Sarki Auwalu (Director, Department of Petroleum Resources). The report said that only three top positions in the NNPC were allotted to the entire Southern Nigeria, thereby making a locker of the federal character principle and the Federal Character Commission. More

worrisome is the fact that the National Assembly, especially the Senate which performs oversight duties on NNPC<sup>86</sup>.

Similarly pattern is reflected at the Nigerian Petroleum Development Company Ltd (NPDC), thus: Managing Director: Ali Mohammad Zarah, from Borno State, Executive Director, Engineering and Technical Services: Sarafah A. Ibrahim, from Kwara State, Executive Director, Support Services: Hamza A. Umar, Jigawa, Executive Director, Finance and Accounts: Ismail Mohammad Mijinyawa, Kano State, General Manager, Exploration and Development: Tunde Ighorodaro Ehizoje, Edo State, Executive Director, Asset Management: Ismail U. Mohammed, state not given, General Manager, Planning & Commercial: Adeyinka O. Adeyomo, state of origin not given, General Manager, Supply Chain Management: Mohammad Mai-Anguwa, Adamawa State<sup>86</sup>.

The study warned that if Nigeria fails to fundamentals of nation building, like justice, equity, common ideals, popular education, shared values, respect, equality, elect leaders on the basis of competence, virtues against recycling politicians without commiserate courage the nation will not make progress. Warning that many of the presidential aspirants should be in jail if ICPC and EFCC have done thorough job, he wants Nigerians to learn from past events in choosing its next president<sup>87</sup>.

A study posited that Chapter two of the Nigerian Constitution clearly spelt out what good governance means when it says that the government of Nigeria shall be a democracy and security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. Once the government cannot guarantee the security and welfare of the people, in fact, the Constitution said that the government, both at state and federal levels, shall be constituted in such a way as to give everybody a sense of belonging. That means that a democratic government is impossible as far as Chapter 2 is concerned with lopsided

appointments. Appointments must reflect federal character principles. And federal character in this regard refers not only to geographical zones alone or regional representation, but must include representation of youths, women and people with disability<sup>88</sup>.

The study posits that it must be an inclusive and humane government, counting every life as sacred and of huge value. A humane government would not diminish human life by playing on figures during riots or crimes involving some fatalities. Or like one Vice Chancellor who was once asked by journalists, 'how many people were killed on your campus? He said 'only four<sup>89</sup>.'

Whereas the judiciary is designed to uphold rule of law and dispense justice as bastion of democracy, it has been argued that the Nigerian courts are killing accountability by normalizing corruption and abuse of power. Citing several cases of miscarriage of justice, bribery of judges, and abuse of judicial process not only in the lower courts, but to the level of the Nigerian Supreme Court and the National Judicial Council, he stated that Nigeria is facing the consequences because:

“No one wants to invest in a country in which judges lack the capacity for indignation over credible charges of judicial corruption. This is why Nigerian bleeds investments and even those who end up investing in Nigeria don't choose it as the place for resolving their disputes. They think Nigerian judges are bought and sold on the open market and the Supreme Court is unwilling to face this down. Rather, it emits high tolerance for corrupting jurisprudence and jurisprudence of corruption which is as unfair to honest judges as it is damaging to hardworking lawyers<sup>90</sup>.”

Dissecting the role of African media in good governance, Media Foundation for West Africa posits that a vibrant, professional and critical media can make immense contribution to addressing governance, development and environmental challenges facing

the continent and indeed the entire world. Such issues as poor public service delivery, inequitable distribution of public resources, high level of corruption, mismanagement of natural resources and associated environmental problems. The foundation stated that media in West Africa is more independent and professional, and contribute to democracy and development in the region, arguing however, that these can be given greater impetus by promotion of media professionalism and sustainability, investigative journalism and promotion of development reporting around the Sustainable Development Goals<sup>91</sup>.

Nigerian government's responsiveness to the November 2022 flood has also been a reference point in governance. The massive flood which ravaged the entire world, made a mess of projections, preparedness and responses, putting, according to the UN, over 1.2 billion people in major cities, town and villages at risk. Over 3,219,780 persons were affected in Nigeria; 601 of them lost their lives; 1,427,370 persons were displaced, 2,776 persons injured 181,600 houses partially damaged, while 123,807 were completely destroyed and about 392,399 swept off, with predictable threat to food security. These States are Abia, Adamawa, Anambra, Bayelsa, Ekiti, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Nassarawa, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, Osun, Ekiti, Rivers, Edo, Delta, Bauchi, and FCT. The remaining States comprising of Akwa Ibom, Cross Rivers, Kwara, Zamfara, Katsina, Kebbi, Borno and Gombe are on-going. Our officers are already on ground in Gombe, Katsina, Zamfara and Borno<sup>92</sup>.

At this period, the federal government, through the National Emergency Management Agency and the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management, which distributed relief materials like According to a media report, the items distributed were I, 400 bags of 10 kg rice, 400 bags of 10kg maize, 300 bags of 10kg garri, 50 kegs vegetable

oil, 200 cartons of tin tomato, 200 cartons of Indomie, 200 bundles of roofing sheets, 200 bags of cement, 40 bags of 3"nails and 50 packets of zinc nails.

Considering the devastating impacts of the flood in Bayelsa State, additional relief materials were approved for delivery to the state. This time around, road transportation had become difficult due to the heavy flooding of the East West Road linking to the state. Therefore, assistance of the Nigerian Air Force was obtained in the airlifting of relief items from Benin Airport to Port Harcourt International Airport and subsequent use of helicopters to move the items to the Helipad in Yenagoa, the state capital<sup>94</sup>.

The airlifting of the relief materials commenced on Tuesday 25th October 2022 and is continuing. So far, the additional relief items delivered are: I. 1,000 pieces of mosquito nets; II. 600 cartons of bath soap; 2,500 pieces of guinea brocade; 1,000 pieces of children's wear; 1,000 pieces women's wear; 1,000 pieces of men's wear 8,000 pieces of nylon mats.

Earlier before the flood, empowerment was carried out through a workshop which recorded over 150 participants from members of the National Assembly, federal ministries, departments and agencies, UN Agencies, state Emergency Management Agencies (SEMAs), Local and International NGOs, Red Cross, Academia, CBOs, media, Armed Forces, para-military organizations, dam managers and River Basin Authorities. At the end of the workshop, a communiqué with far-reaching recommendations was issued to the public.

The Nigerian government recently commenced partnership with the World Bank, towards conducting a post-disaster rapid impact assessment using the Global Rapid post-disaster Damage Estimation (GRADE). But a rejig of the National Flood Emergency Preparedness and Response Plan was strongly recommended to ensure that state governments serve as

first responders during emergencies of this nature, as critical stakeholders, while organizations like the NDDC and North-East Development Agency (NEDA), also perform their relevant roles in the national disasters. Since it is on record that various states of the federation have been receiving ecology funds in the last 20 years, and these funds have either been embezzled or misappropriated, especially since a former governor was convicted for the diversion of these funds<sup>94</sup>.

The outbreak of Coronavirus in 2019 jolted the entire world and ranked as the worse calamity since the turn of the century. A total of 659 million people were infected, culminating in the death of 6.68 million people. Europe recorded 242, 399,065 with 1,978,288; Asia recorded 205,159,813 infections, with 1.5 million deaths, while the United States recorded 100 million cases, leading to 1.1 million fatalities. The United Kingdom recorded 24.1million cases and 213,000 deaths. Nigeria documented 266,000 cases and 3,155 deaths, with Lagos State having the highest figure of 104,508 cases and 771 deaths. The least was Kogi State suffered five cases and two deaths<sup>96</sup>.

Notable among the consequences of the virus were closure of businesses, industries and institutions in order to prevent the community spread. However, it provided one of the many opportunities for governments across the world to display good governance by responding to the need of the people. The World Health Organisation (WHO), under the leadership of its Director-General, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, government of various countries and top health experts and institutions were at the vanguard of research, prevention and control and other responses required curtailing the spread.

Such efforts include WHO's collaborations with national disease control bodies, universities and research institutions to identify variants of COVID like Alpha, Omicron and Delta. National bodies like the National Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) in

Nigeria and its counterparts in various countries provided COVID-19 protocols, guidelines, resources and galvanized experts who commenced research into provision of vaccines to control the spread. It made it mandatory to take the first, second and where possible the booster vaccines while providing enlightenment on preventing measures. Many countries were also shut down and air travels were put on hold for many months especially at the epicenters of the spread<sup>97</sup>.

Nigeria set up the Presidential Committee on Corona Virus, which provided daily briefing, made available ambulances to evacuate infected people to isolation centres around the country, where they were tested, quarantined and treated. In the United States, however, disbelief by the President Donald Trump and his claim of conspiracy fueled the heavy fatalities recorded in the country. Following the election of Joe Biden in 2020, however, U.S. had a vista of hope as the new President said “Let science lead,” with Dr. Anthony Fauci, of the U.S. National Institute of Allergy and Infection of the driver’s seat<sup>96</sup>.

Other disasters that have attracted government’s responsiveness are climate change, flood, hurricane and wildfires around the world. There had been Hurricane Katrina, Hurricane Olivia and the California, USA wildfire in December 2022. In Nigeria too, over 300 people died in the outbreak of Cholera in 31 states of Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Ekiti, Gombe, Imo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kwara, Lagos, Nasarawa, Niger, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe and Zamfara. Over 11,000 people were affected and a breakdown by states shows in the reporting month, nine states reported 4,153 suspected cases – Borno (2626), Yobe (718), Gombe (317), Zamfara (212), Bauchi (119), Jigawa (95), Sokoto (47), Katsina (16) and Adamawa (3)<sup>97</sup>.

Sequel upon the flood which ravaged the entire world in October 2022, but besides previous efforts, especially by individual countries, the UN Climate Change Conference COP 27, was held in Egypt where world leaders, economic and political, moved to deliver on their promises on the environment to ensure global best practices in their industrial and human activities in order to protect the planet and prevent environmental disasters.

Similarly, it affords the opportunity to rebuild capacity of key government institutions handling disaster and meteorological issues, educate youths, develop and adapt resilient community strategies and develop innovative measures vital for the survival of humanity and prevent global climate catastrophe. Deriving from the impact of the greenhouse effect and its attendant global warming and ensuring climate justice, an essential component of this is the need to adopt renewable green energy, limit or eliminate fossil fuel and hydrocarbons without hurting the industries<sup>07</sup>.

A recent report indicated 62 per cent of investigative work by *The Cable* Newspaper on activities in the country impacted positively on good governance, provoking reactions and responses from the government either at the state or national levels. The online newspaper not only set up an investigative desk, but hired tens of investigative journalists who carried out high-impact investigative reports within two years, commencing from 2020-2022. They exposed such clandestine activities as illegal mining, cases of corruption in the judiciary and even among law enforcement agencies. At least 12 of the 20 investigative reports sampled for this work, representing 60 per cent, got positive responses from the government and other relevant agencies. The reports revealed that Cholera which incurred more fatalities around Nigeria more than COVID-19 and flood receive little or no attention from the government, just like cases of exploitation of workers by Chinese at quarries in Ogun State. The massive waste of N60 billion allocated to Federal Government's special public works scheme where 1000 workers were supposedly engaged by the Ministry of

Labour and Productivity under President Muhammadu Buhari in each of the 774 local governments of the country was one of such. It revealed that thousands of people received payment for doing nothing, yet no one was made to account for the funds and works done<sup>98</sup>.

The same thing was applicable to a story titled “Falling Apart” where squalid infrastructural state of higher institutions in Nigeria has received little or no attention, despite the existence of TETFUND and government’s promise to accede to the demands of the Academic Staff Union of Universities, which informed the over nine months’ strike in 2021. This however, underscored government’s tendency to keep mute in the face of investigative report in a form of spiral of silence.

### **2.3.1 Investigative Journalism Practices and Good Governance in Nigeria**

A number of media houses in Nigeria do publish lots of investigative reports and put some emphasis on investigative journalism, it is argued that media houses need to do more than giving vents to government press releases<sup>55</sup>. Nigerian media history is incomplete without reference to the pioneering roles of *Newswatch* with its epic investigation into several top-level crimes in the country in shortly after its establishment by the trio of Dele Giwa, Ray Ekpu and Dan Agbese in 1985. Besides top investigative stories the magazine broke, it handled the Gloria Okon scandal in 1986 which led to the assassination via a letter bomb of its pioneer Managing Director, Mr. Giwa on October 19 of that year at age 39. In recent times, investigative journalism practice in Africa and Nigeria has gained more currency as some media houses appreciate its role in national development and improving the readership of their newspapers. By doing so, journalism has been seen as a strong institution because of the relationship that has been established between investigative

journalism and democracy with particular reference to holding people and government accountable<sup>99</sup>.

For instance, in 1999, *The News Magazine* exposed the fake certificate of the then Speaker of the House of Representatives. Hon. Salisu Buhari. Though he denied initially and even threatened a N400 million lawsuit, Buhari acquiesced and lost the position and consequently returned to school to acquire a university degree. Other media houses like *The Sun* and *The Nation* have been at the forefront of investigative journalism in Nigeria, with the former employing in 2004, a staff for this purpose. The newspaper, according to the *Saturday Sun* Editor then, Mr. Steve Nwosu, identified cases of human rights abuse and sundry shocking practices and assigned to a reporter. On June 4, 2006, one of those reporters blew the lead off the killing of Ann Uzor by Reverend King of the Christ Pentecostal Assembly, Lagos and the setting ablaze of four other church members. Reverend King was later arrested and convicted for murder to die by hanging by a magistrate court, a court of appeal and the decision was upheld by the Nigerian Supreme Court<sup>99</sup>.

The decrepit state of the medical sector captured the fancy on *The Punch* Newspapers in Nigeria in 2010, hence the story, "LUTH's Ransome-Kuti Children's Centre: Cauldron where two babies die weekly." The story written by a graduate of Bio-Chemistry at the University of Lagos, Toyosi Ogunseye, drew the ire of the Federal Government to the medical facility and some equipment were provided. Within a short time, the story earned *The Punch's* reporter the *Cable News Network* African Journalists Awards in Sandton, South Africa, and later clinched the MSD Health and Medical Award. The reporter has since won over 25 other awards for investigative journalism, setting the stage for her to become the Editor of *Sunday Punch*, the youngest editor so far in Nigeria<sup>100</sup>.

A Newswatch reporter investigated the monthly miracle programme, Atmosphere of Miracles, conducted by the Loveworld Church, at the National Stadium, in Surulere Lagos and aired on national television by Pastor Chris Oyakhilome. The in-depth report contained surreptitious interviews the reporter conducted with supposed beneficiaries of the miracles, most of who revealed its fakery, stating that they were hired and paid to feign divine healing, even as the church reportedly failed to pay them agreed sum. The expose culminated in the Nigerian government's ban of the programme<sup>100</sup>.

Many journalists in most African countries now look for trained intellectual who are "filters, transmitters, organizers, interpreters of good news" using empirical and sustainable news gathering methods. Consequently, newspaper houses as well as the electronic and online platforms now devote a desk to investigative journalism, providing full staff complement and support and this has yielded some results in the forms landmark exclusive stories which have altered the people's attitude and government's action. Some newspapers like the *New Telegraph*, *The Sun*, *The Nation*, and *National Mirror* before its demise and *The Punch* come tops in the establishment of the Investigations Desk headed by a line editor. They regularly assign special stories worth investigating in all parts of the country<sup>101</sup>.

Also, in recognition of the vital role of investigative journalism, Premium Times Foundation, an online platform which is devoted to investigative journalism was set up in Nigeria to promote "advocacy, accountability, and transparency" in governance. It headhunts the best of investigative journalists for this purpose and had published landmark stories in recent times. And as parts of measures to ensure capacity building in investigative journalism, the Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR) was established by

Mr. Dayo Ayetan, an experienced widely travelled journalist and editor and has since trained over 200 journalists in the craft of investigative journalism<sup>61</sup>.

In May 2017, at least 15 journalists participated in the second phase of its programmes titled Open Contracting Reporting Project, (OCRCP), in partnership with Public and Private Development Centre (PPDC). The programme was funded by the MacArthur Foundation. Recently too, ICIR announced its concentration on training budding journalists, final year Mass Communication students in the universities and polytechnics to develop their passion for and commitment to investigative journalism. Justifying the programme, ICIR observed that the grants provided by McArthur Foundation for the training of journalists in investigative journalism field work will help “in strengthening Nigerian-led anti-corruption efforts in the area of data driven reporting and reduce “petty” corruption<sup>102</sup>.

In the same direction, an international agency recently made funds available for six print media organisations for investigative works in primary health, tax fraud, budget implementation at various levels of government, transparency in contract awards and execution and sundry areas, an expression of developed countries’ commitment to promoting democracy and good governance by leveraging on the benefits of globalization. Many Nigerian editors, as transformational leaders committed to sound ethical practices and competitive edge in media practices have latched on availability of funds for investigative journalism to promote the practice in the country. They often initiate investigative stories, assign to reporters and provide editorial guidance that would enable the crystallization of such stores. This is evidence of direct positive relationship between foreign donor supports to investigative journalism as a means of reporting vital socio-political issues of corruption, education, economy in Nigeria. Hence, in the course of such investigative reports when the media ask tough questions and dig beyond claims and

counter-claims of competing factions in governance, they help build democracy, good governance and national development<sup>103</sup>.

But it has been argued that the support given to investigative journalism in developing countries was not without a motive, rather it was designed to ensure government's proper utilisation of donor funds for the development of the countries. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation declared that about \$9 million has been disbursed into funding to advance accountability and anti-corruption efforts in Nigeria. As part of its anti-corruption efforts and in order to ensure good governance, the Nigerian government on June 28, 2011 enacted the Freedom of Information Act, which guaranteed the media and members of the public access to information upon request which was sponsored by Media Rights Agenda in concert with other civil society groups<sup>106</sup>.

In particular, Section 11 of the Act says: "The right of any person to access or request information, whether or not contained in any written form which is in custody or possession of any public official, agency or institution, however described, is established." Section 13 of the Act empowers individual or group to institute legal action in court to mandate government ministries, department or agency to comply with such request and make the information available. Correspondingly, the Nigerian government introduced in 2016 the Whistle-blower Policy, empowering all Nigerians in possession of information about corrupt officials and politically-exposed persons to provide such information to law enforcement agencies without jeopardising the confidentiality of the information and their safety. In addition, the whistle-blower is entitled to 10 per cent of any such fund recovered. Accordingly, this paid off when in 2017 as the security agencies were given a hint about the concealment of the sum of \$4 3million, 27,800 pounds sterling and N23.8million in Ikoyi Flats in Osborne by the then Director-General of National Intelligence Agency,

(NIA), Ambassador Ayo Oke. The incident cost the security chief his job while the sum was forfeited to the government<sup>107</sup>.

The Nigerian oil sector has also been accused of being a cesspool of corruption and oil theft as about 400,000 barrels of oil are stolen daily. In 14 months prior to March 2022, about \$3.27 billion worth of oil was lost to vandalism and theft. Besides the report of theft of over 120 trucks of refined fuel diverted daily through the borders, a Nigerian television station, Africa Independent Television reported in 2021 the theft of 48 million barrels of oil, worth \$2.5 billion at the dawn of the Buhari administration in 2015.

Quoting a US-based whistle blower, Jackson Odeh, the television alleged that the millions of barrels of Nigeria's Bonny Light grade were sold off by some government officials, including a top manager of the NNPC into China, through a Mexican oil and gas company, Samano SAD CV. The television station displayed correspondences and photographs documenting meetings of some of the government officials, including later Secretary to the then Government of the Federation, Late Malam Abba Kyari who were party to the illegal sale. The medium could not ascertain whether the government's moves to recover or sell the oil were met with any positive results as NNPC refused to respond to their investigation<sup>108</sup>.

A study averred that Investigative Journalism served in setting the record straight during the 2020 EndSARS protests in Nigeria, especially when government denied the use of lethal ammunition at the Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos and eventual death of some youths. The study revealed that a pellet of ammunition picked on the scene by a CNN reporter bore the inscription "Made in Belarus, 2015." Upon investigation at a Belarusian company, CNN discovered that the Nigeria government imported that calibre of ammunition from there between 2015 and 2017<sup>58</sup>.

At a period in 2022 when Nigeria daily oil output plummeted from 2.2 million barrel per day to less than one million, oil theft was still reached a high pitch despite the existence on the country's security agencies. The situation only improved when President Muhammadu Buhari rewarded a multi-billion Naira oil pipeline security to the company of former militant commander and leader of the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta, Government Ekpemupolo (Tompolo), who discovered 58 points where Nigeria's oil was stolen<sup>59</sup>.

Similarly, a recent report from the office of Auditor-General of the Federation stated that 17,877 million barrels of crude oil valued at \$1.02 billion were exported from Nigeria between 2016 and 2020, without proper documentation. The report which was based on pre-shipment instruction monitoring part of Audit review of the Annual Pre-shipment Agents, also indicted the office of the Accountant General of Federation for making N73 billion payments to service providers for monitoring and inspection of oil and gas exports without appropriation and budget in violation of the Section 80 (4) of the 1999 Constitution as altered<sup>59</sup>.

The Nigerian media has also exposed glaring injustices and deviation from rule of law in the country, especially giving coverage to the nocturnal attacks on the homes of Supreme Court judges without warrants, and consequent sack of some of the judges, surreptitiously done by the Buhari government to pave the way for the emergence of judges of its preference. Some of the judges who challenged the invasion of their houses were later exonerated of criminal charges by the courts.

A study stated that Nigerian media has a major role to play in ensuring good governance, accountability, transparency, patriotism through their reports. It stated that these could

only be achieved when they uphold the sanctity of the truth, fairness to all aspirants for various offices and by upholding provisions of the constitution<sup>65</sup>.

### **2. 3. 2 Investigative Journalism and Good Governance- Global Perspective**

Essentially, three African countries, Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya are said to have the most vibrant media on the continent. They are followed by Ghana and Uganda. Investigative journalism has also taken a solid root on other African countries as these genres of journalists have carried out landmark investigations in their respective countries in order to keep Africa on the path of growth. One of the most prominent Africa investigative journalists was Mozambican Carlos Cardoso who has exposed several corrupt practices in his media reports. He was, however, killed in November, 2000 allegedly, on the orders of the eldest son of the Mozambican President, Joaquim Chissano, after his newspaper published the disappearance of \$14million from the state bank BCM, prior to its privatisation of the bank in 1996<sup>65</sup>.

Investigative journalism has taken roots in South Africa and like in other Africa countries it has been largely been influenced by political, economic and technological factors<sup>61</sup>. The “Muldergate” scandal is one of the most popular cases investigated by Rand Daily Mail, now a defunct in the 1970s. The expose revealed the diversion of over 64 million Rand of public funds into the purchase of newspapers and other media in both South Africa and other countries. Two newspapers, *The Mail and Guardian* established in 1985 by a team of sacked journalists turned out to be South Africa’s top anti-corruption crusaders with their publications<sup>66</sup>.

The South Africa media also displayed high commitment to Investigative Journalism with the exposure of corruption in the high places respecting the arms scandal cases in 2001 and 2001, The Sunday Times, South African’s largest newspaper carried out a

comprehensive investigation spanning several months by three reporters revealed that the governing ANC Chief Whip and Chairman, Joint Standing Committee on Defence, Tony Yegeni was involved in a kickback payment from a South African Arms Procurement deal, running into 60 billion Rand. The emphatic expose of the scandal earned the newspaper the inaugural Mondi Paper Newspaper Award. A major boost for investigative journalism in South Africa is the promulgation of two laws- The Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) and the Protected Disclosure Act<sup>67</sup>.

In Uganda, the media ecosystem has witnessed a measure of investigative activities geared towards good governance. Some of the recent works carried out include “The Eye Have it”, which exposed a conspiracy and fraud in the Uganda House of Assembly to the tune of \$2.7million COVID-19 funds. Suspects in the case are the Speaker of the House, the Minister of Finance and the Deputy Speaker who allegedly shared the money among themselves. Another of such work was “Stealing from the Sick”, an investigative work jointly carried out with the BBC which exposed how medical practitioners stole and diverted life-saving drugs designed to be issued freely to patients in public hospitals to private hospitals for a fee. Still in the same Uganda, the African Institute for Investigative Journalism also carried out in 2022, an investigative report titled “Dark World of Drugs,” which chronicled how police agents were pilfering cocaine and heroin for sale in the black market<sup>68</sup>.

A study stated that the media in Ghana has been promoting good governance in many areas, especially local governance through community radio by their innovation and strategic programming. In his research work, he reported that Frequency (FM) Modulated Stations, especially Royal FM, serve as mobilizers for participation in governance and holding the government accountable to the people. The stations perform their watchdog

duties through investigative reporting on cases of corruption in the District Assemblies and its impact on development process.

In 2015, a Ghanaian journalist, Anas Aremayaw Anas, leading a group of other journalists published an earth-shaking expose on widespread high-level corruption in the Ghanaian judiciary. He secretly recorded unsuspecting 34 high court judges, magistrates adjudicating on serious cases like murder, robbery and their accomplices' collecting bribes. The recording was produced into a film titled: "Ghana in the Eyes of God" and was watched by a record-breaking crowd of 6,500 people at the Accra International Conference Centre on September 23, 2015. The report led to the suspension of 34 judges and magistrates, some of whom were even arraigned in courts - a case of judges in the dock. In another instance, Aremayaw also investigated Chinese girls trafficking ring in Ghana, where such girls were shipped into the country and used as prostitutes to service Chinese illegal gold operators and other interested individuals. The report was also produced into a film titled: Ghana's Sex Mafia. He was also at the vanguard of the investigative journalists who exposed in 2018 massive corruption in Ghanaian Football Association involving scores of referees. The story led to the resignation of the GFA board members. These and many more propelled Tom Burgis, an investigative journalist with *The Financial Times* to write that investigative journalism is flourishing in Africa <sup>69</sup>.

Accurate reporting of the COVID-19-related deaths provided opportunity for investigative journalism in many parts of the world. British epidemiologist and contributor to Oxford COVID-19 Evidence Service, Dr. Carl Heneghan, reported that excess deaths, total mortality above the norm for defined period, offer investigators opportunities over other data points and sources. This was because death is a fact and corpses can be counted. This

became more foreboding because of disparity between government figures and the facts from the streets<sup>70</sup>.

In Russia, Peru, Canada and some parts of the United States, journalists have adopted investigative journalism methods to expose government sources' penchant for under-reporting fatalities, thereby drawing attention to the magnitude of the pandemic. By so doing, they close the gap. For instance, investigative journalists rely on proxy sources like obtaining leaks on confidential local government data who compute COVID-19 related fatalities before sending such to state and federal authorities where they are often suppressed. Such figures obtained formed the basis for the *New York Times* report of corona virus deaths in Mexico City in April. The figures obtained by the *New York Times* through such covert methods, especially from several sources familiar with details of confidential counts indicated that the federal government suppressed the numbers by about 300 per cent – a report that infuriated the city mayor, Claudia Sheinbaum. About a week after the *New York Times* report, Sky News followed up with another painstaking investigation into “dozens” of hospitals and funeral houses corroborated by local sources, in Mexico City. They discovered true death toll in the same country was even higher than the report by the previous media house. Journalists in Mexico got his figures by focusing of so-called low-count areas in the cities and districts, and sometimes by going from door to door when it is safe to do so, relying also figures from funeral homes and casket dealers. In a particular case, they compared demand for caskets and sundry burial service in the month of March and April 2019 with that of 2020 to form their report<sup>65</sup>.

In Russia, the *New York Times* sought the services of a demographer who discovered 1,700 suspected COVI-19 deaths outside government's figures. The newspaper obtained fatality figures from medical document received from local medical facilities and

juxtaposed this with official government figures to make its report. Besides data provided in internationally recognised medical certificate of causes of death, independent figures are obtained from burial homes and private crematorium in Peru. Gustavo Gorriti reported that the media in Peru scored a bull eye upon discovery that local authorities hired private crematorium to embark on house-to-house collection of deaths classified as COVID-19 related for quick incineration. During the collection of the corpses, true causes of deaths were recorded in the handwriting of the medical staff during the activities, but two journalists embedded themselves among the medical personnel and took mental record of the activities and figures<sup>71</sup>.

Besides perusing the spiking cases of this pandemic which as at July 15, 2020, seven months on, stood at over 13 million, with 570,000 fatalities, with US and Brazil being epicentres, investigative journalists also look at for the existence or lack of robust resume of containment measures, social distancing, testing capabilities of governments, adequacy of testing in various countries and isolation centres. Investigative attention is also being paid to educating the public on information from the researchers and scientific community about the transmissibility of the virus, research into the debilitating its effects and medical breakthrough being recorded in the discovery, clinical and human trials of the vaccine against the virus. For instance, by mid- July, Elena Smolyarchuk of the Russian Centre for Clinical Research on Medication, announced that Russia has completed human trials of COVID-19 vaccines, with result proving efficacy of the vaccine and the patients were discharged on July 20. It was the result of the two clinical trials of the virus developed by the Gumaleya National Research Centre for Epidemiology and Microbiology<sup>72</sup>.

One of the most historical cases of investigative journalism in upholding the law and public morality in the United States of America was the expose by the Washington Post of

the political espionage called the Watergate Scandal of 1972-1974. In the report, two journalists of the Washington Post, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward investigated how aides of the sitting Republican President, Richard Nixon, bugged the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters at Watergate, recording all their conversation and strategic plan shortly before the US elections. The Republican Party aides, who were former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Bureau of Investigations (CIA) agents on the payroll of President Nixon's Re-election Committee not only ran a massive political campaign of spying and sabotage on behalf of Nixon's re-election efforts, they also burgled the headquarters of the Democrats, in order to give Nixon an unfair advantage. Though the White House had initially denied the Washington Post report, describing it as misleading, five burglars, including a former CIA agent, James McCord were arrested in possession of burglary tools, cameras and films, tear gas guns and sophisticated electronic gadgets, but as part of a systematic cover-up, Nixon's Chief of Staff was said to have directed the Attorney-General to back-off the burglary investigation. With unrivalled consistency and tenacity, the Washington Post investigative journalists followed up the story, revealed Watergate tapes, including Nixon's telephone conversation with the dramatis personae, relying immensely classified information from FBI source. The burglars and Nixon's former Attorney-General were charged to court, three pleaded guilty and were convicted and sentenced to terms in prison. Though Nixon was re-elected, his government capitulated in 1974, having been indicted on three articles of impeachment - abuse of presidential powers, obstruction of justice and hindrance of impeachment process- were adopted against him by a Congressional Committee. He became the first US president to resign from office<sup>73</sup>.

Another landmark expose of investigative journalism was the Panama Papers, a collaborative investigative reporting where journalists worked on the same story in

different countries, exposing local practice of any abuse of public trust in 2017. This replaced the “old model” of a highly competitive or exclusive single newsroom environment, a spotlight team of sorts, to new model of multiple newsrooms (and countries) sharing information to expose wrongdoing on a global scale. In the report, an International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, numbering about 400 including African journalists broke a massive tax evasion ring, the first time a global transnational investigation now known as the Panama Papers in 2015. The story unearthed 40 years of data from a little-known powerful law firm in Panama, Mossak Fonseca in 35 locations where over 140 offshore investments and secret assets, bank accounts of billionaires, politicians, public officials, sports stars, drug smugglers, including 12 current and former world leaders and fraudsters in over 200 countries in 21 offshore jurisdictions including Nevada, Hong Kong and British Islands. Also involved were more than 500 banks and their subsidiaries, including HSBC, UBS and Societe Generale Bank created about 15,000 offshore companies for their customers. It was reported that African Network for Investigative Reporting (ANCIR), otherwise referred to by their *doubleoffshore.org*, which participated in the investigation revealed that 70 per cent of Nigeria’s deep water oil rigs were incorporated in tax havens! To give credibility to the report, about 11.5 million data, dating back 40 years containing details of 214, 000 offshore entries, emails, financial spread sheets, passports, corporate recordings were analysed by the investigative reporters<sup>74</sup>.

Collaborative investigative journalism has its benefits, enabling participants to draw from broader and greater knowledge base in their respective countries, as more people are involved in the planning and writing, thereby making it more comprehensive in the scope, diversity and increasing accuracy more than want a single-author report. Having been written by more than one author, it also affords each contributor to read the draft, examine

supporting documents and evidence, and make comments, remarks, objections and suggestions for improved copy. It promotes synergy, as investigative process yields better results, and facilitates exhaustive treatment of the subject matter. It also improves communication among colleagues, bonding, sharing of responsibilities and frustrations and improved team spirit<sup>75</sup>.

In Europe, investigative journalism has been identified and embraced for its roles in national development. For instance, a comparative study of investigative journalism in nine countries in the Central and Eastern European region (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia), indicated that it is stronger in countries that have had more stable and richer media markets (notably Estonia, Poland, and the Czech Republic). In Indonesia, the media have given massive support to anti-corruption war, such that from 2009 to 2015, its reportage of corruption cases involving civil servants, politicians and political parties rose from “549 cases with 831 in 2009 to 2321 with 3109 in 2015 only.” Investigative journalism is also said to be robust and healthy Canada despite a general dwindling financial fortunes of some media house which have either closed down or reduced staff significantly. This has further been affected by movement from print to online platforms and comparative fall in advert revenue<sup>69</sup>.

Similarly, in 2017, the horrendous human rights abuse and genocide leading to the massacre of 10 Rohemian Muslims in Mymmiar was investigated and reported by two Reuters’ correspondents. The investigative report revealed that the Rohingya Muslims, men and boys in Rahknine State were not only killed by seven soldiers, but over 100,000 relations of the victims were forced to migrate to Bangladesh. However, the genocide attracted international condemnations culminating in the conviction and sentencing of the

seven soldiers in the law court. True to a postulation, investigative journalism brings about change and corrupt individuals are stopped or jailed and international best practices are sustained, it is however hazardous even as it is perceived to be witch-hunt. In this regard, the two *Reuters* investigative journalists, Wao Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo who dug into and reported the Rohemian massacre were arrested and detained for 500 days by the Myanmar government from December 17, 2017 for alleged espionage. They regained their freedom on May 7, 2019<sup>76</sup>.

In another instance, media exposition of abuse of public trust like the case of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church by the Boston Globe investigation formed the basis for an award winning film<sup>71</sup>. Still in the United States, the media have been utilising the instrument of investigative journalism to advance life-changing causes, bringing powerful men to justice while getting reprieve for victims. For the entire 2018, the media in the United States investigated several sexual crimes, devoting thousands of pages and media time to it. The *Herald of Miami* did series of investigative reports on the child rapist and sex trafficker, Jeffrey Epstein, an American Financial expert enabled more victims to find their voice. It helped advocates who stood with the victims leading to the “Me Too Movement.” Consequently, Epstein was convicted of sex offences and imprisoned at the Metropolitan Correctional Centre, in New York where he died in August 2019<sup>72</sup>. As evidence of impact of investigative journalism and the fact that every investment in it counts, it is on record that in the United States, a prominent investigative reporter with *The News & Observer* in Raleigh, Pat Stith, North Carolina carried out over 300 investigative reports between 1966 and 2008. Of these, 149 triggered substantive changes, 110 generated deliberations and further investigations and 49 had special impacts such as sack or resignation. His reports were said to have engendered 31 new laws in North Carolina<sup>77</sup>.

However, his success was not without a price. Some of the victims were four investigative journalists working with Al Jazeera, the international news channel based in Qatar, namely Peter Grete, and Austrian; Mohammed Fahmy, a Canadian, and two Egyptians Beher Mohamed and Mohamed Hussein. While the first three were arrested by Egyptian security forces at their Marriot Hotel, in Cairo the location of their remote transmission, for a breach of security in 2013, Hussein was arrested on December 20, 2016 for breaching the Egyptian security penal code. The first three were charged to court and sentenced to three years and three and half years imprisonment, part of which they served before they got a presidential pardon. However, Hussein was not so lucky as he has since been incarcerated for over 1000 days<sup>78</sup>.

Similarly, one of the members of the Ghanaian investigative journalism team, who investigated match fixing fraud, Ahmed Husein was shot dead on January 17, 2019. Of similar interest was the murder on July 13, 2019 in the Somalian city of Kismayo of journalist Hodan Nelaye, by al-Shabab terrorist group<sup>79</sup>. Besides Dele Giwa of Nigeria, a number of investigative journalists have been arrested, detained or killed allegedly by successive governments. Notable among these were the correspondent of *The News* in Kaduna, Mr. Bagauda Kalto was bombed in Hamdala Hotel in 1996. Also, Mr. Bayo Ohu, the news editor of *The Guardian* was killed and his laptop destroyed in his house at Iyana Ipaja in Lagos, according to his wife, Dupe, while investigating a scandal involving a former Comptroller-General of Customs, who was later arrested with 16 exotic vehicles<sup>75</sup>.

Also on October 2, 2018, a Saudi journalist and popular critic of the Saudi government, Jamal Khashoggi, was kidnapped, tortured and killed, his body dismembered at the Saudi Consulate in Turkey, allegedly on the orders of a Saudi Crown Prince who has failed to take responsibility for the crime raising global condemnations<sup>76</sup>. However, this has not

successfully led to the dearth of investigative journalism or snuffed out the flame of investigative journalism. So prevalent is the passion for investigative journalism that its practitioners have formed various associations worldwide. They include African Network for Investigative Reporting, (ANGR), African Investigative Publishing Collective, (Ghana and Netherlands), 100 Reporters (USA) and many more Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN). They organise periodic workshops in all parts of the world to enable journalists sharpen their skill in the trade and teach them how to avoid inherent dangers. Similarly, lots of foundations offer scholarships to promote investigative journalism. For instance, GIJN provides awards, data, emergency aid, fund raising, investigative journalism guides and legal defence to journalists around the world. They also provide fellowship like the Nieman Fellowship for investigative journalists with at least five years' experience to study in Harvard University for at least 12 weeks with grants totalling \$65,000. Also available is John S. K. Knight Journalism Fellowship at the Stanford University where candidates will have access to \$85,000 stipend to cover books, tuition, and housing for a one- year course<sup>77</sup>.

The Punch Nigeria Limited is one of Nigerians newspapers that has been doing well in investigative journalism. It was registered in 1970 as publishers of newspapers, magazines and periodicals by the duo of Chief Wole Aboderin, an accountant, and Chief Sam Amuka Pemu, a former editor of the *Sunday Times*. But its first weekly edition *The Sunday Punch* hit the newsstand on March 18, 1973 with Mr. Ajibade Fashina-Thomas as the editor. On November 1, 1976, the newspaper went daily, having Mr. Dayo Wright as its pioneer editor. In terms of content, The Punch is packaged with a populist appeal and had apolitical approach to news reporting on avalanche of events covering business, politics, education, human interest stories and several others. In the dusk of the Second Republic, political development brought to birth a conflict between two founders of the paper,

compelling Aboderin and Pemu, to go separate ways. In the process, Pemu established the *Vanguard Newspaper*, while *The Punch* remained, but not after obtaining the support of Chief MKO Abiola, shortly after the latter left the National Party of Nigeria<sup>78</sup>.

Regarded then as “B” Class newspaper, *The Punch* takes the practice of journalism and newspapering seriously and it is one of the newspapers that have transcended the general run of newspaper whether people are buying or not. It takes newspaper as a serious business venture, serving as a business and advocacy tool. Since it was repackaged in 1980 it became a household name in the country and internationally, even at it has continued to be innovative in content and design. It is a fantastic newspaper, very serious about journalism, thorough in its news gathering, writing and editing such that whereas a newspaper can be respected, loved or feared, it has chosen rather to be feared and, in the process, earned patronage of many people. It is the only newspaper in Nigeria that does not accept unsold copies, insisting that distributors and vendors purchase only what they can sell to the readers<sup>80</sup>.

Nonetheless, *The Punch* has not gone without its fair share of the travails common in the industry. In May 1990, after a botched coup against the military government in Nigeria, the newspaper was closed down for about a month and its Deputy Editor, Mr. Chris Mammah was detained for 54 days. That was hardly the last of such as three years later, in 1993, the General Ibrahim Babangida government, utilising the instrumentality of Decree 48 of 1993 banned all publications on *The Punch* stable following the newspaper’s reportage of the crisis caused by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election. While the proscription order was repealed on November 17 the same year, the newspaper came under the hammer again in July 1994, and all its titles, including the recently revived *Top Life* were banned and the then Editor of *The Punch*, Mr. Bola Bolawole was held in

detention for three days. The government also rebuffed ensuing court order to re-open the newspaper and pay N25 million and N100, 000 damages to the company and editor respectively. The proscription continued until it was reversed by General Babangida during a National Day broadcast in 1995, but even at that, the newspaper remained resolute in its commitment to democracy and this was restated by its Chairman, Board of Directors, Chief Ajibola Ogunsola in 1996 that the “company would continue to emphasize the emergence of free democratic Nigeria with equal opportunity for all its citizens and all the constituent ethnic groups.” During this period in the nation’s political history, the newspaper was starved of government patronage in terms of adverts and copy purchase, but it survived on its copy sales<sup>81</sup>.

Today, it has become a strong brand which has become a market leader. *The Punch* maintains a strong editorial policy of being apolitical in line with the management style of its owner, who employed professionals to manage the paper without any interference. *Punch*’s managers and staff are some of the best paid in the industry and they enjoy job satisfaction and free from political interference. Though it has children of Chief Aboderin on its board of directors, its day-to-day management is in the hands of tested journalists. As part of its commitment to investigative journalism, according to one of its former editors, the management has made it mandatory for different desks like Education, Crime, Business, Maritime, Politics to provide one investigative report monthly which forms the basis for assessing each reporter. For this reason, *The Punch* newspaper has recorded great exploits, winning the Newspaper of the Year Award of the Nigeria Media Merit Award and the Diamond Award for Media Excellence on many occasions in the past 10 years<sup>82</sup>.

*The Sun* newspaper was established in 2003 as a populist newspaper, largely as a tabloid by Chief Orji Uzor Kalu with head office in Apapa area of Lagos State. Its pioneer

Managing Director was Mr. Mike Awoyinfa, with Dimgba Igwe as deputy. Both journalists utilised their professional and personal friendship from their days as editors in the National Concord Newspapers to launch The Sun into the path of investigative journalism with particular preference for crime reporting and entertainment. It was guided by such credos as “nothing sells like sex, and when it bleeds it sells,” hence the dedication of the newspaper’s Page 3 to racy dressed girls. Its vision is to be a dominant media content provider and entertainment company in Nigeria and Africa through the pursuit of excellence and delivering innovative and quality media and entertainment<sup>83</sup>.

Similarly, its mission is to practice journalism in the classical newspaper tradition of presenting the news and features in an exciting style with impact, objectivity and appeal that generate returns to all stakeholders, the society, the investors and the practitioners. Its core values are teamwork, respect, innovation, integrity and professionalism.

In the area of investigative reports, the newspaper paraded such undercover reporters like Emmanuel Meya, Ikenna Emewu and Tessy Ngom, some of who won local and international awards, like the CNN African Reporter of the Year for their reports.

The newspaper is published by Media Trust Limited, with its corporate office at Mafemi Crescent, Utako, Abuja. It was established in ... and its current Editor-in-Chief is Naziru Mikailu. It has three titles, Daily Trust, Saturday Trust and the Sunday Trust on its stable, while it covers such issues as the economy, politics, sports and other aspects of journalism. Without ignoring events from the southern part of the country, it gives effective coverage to issues in the north along with those of national significance.

Not only has the *Daily Trust* Newspapers been practicing investigative journalism, it has also been training journalists on investigative/multimedia journalism. Recently, Daily Trust Foundation in conjunction with Mac-Arthur Foundation trained their staff and other journalists from other media houses laying more emphasis on female journalists.

Recently, its Foundation gathered 40 journalists in the South-South and South-East Nigeria on a three-day training. The theme was Regional Investigative Multimedia Journalism Training which drew journalists from Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Calabar, Edo and Akwa Ibom states. Others are from Anambra, Rivers, Delta, Imo and Enugu.

They were trained on rudiments of multimedia journalism like mobile journalism, story selection, ethics of journalism, investigative journalism, human angle, writing for online, video and audio editing, social media optimization, media ethics and guidelines, audio-visual production, photography and editorial process and practical sessions. It was stated that there was need for a continuous training of journalists in Nigeria stating that as they need to keep improving on their capacity through modern training in multimedia.<sup>83</sup>

The ownership pattern of the media often has an influence on investigative journalism. For instance, in Nigeria where the major media houses are owned by politicians cum businessmen but are managed by journalists, however, most of the newspapers are divided into various sections- education, politics, economy, judiciary, agriculture, sports, banking et cetera all of which are critical for national and global development.

While such proprietor of *The Sun* and *New Telegraph* newspapers is Orji Uzor Kalu and that of *The Nation*, Television and Radio Continental is Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the newspapers are said to be fairly partisan, pandering to the political interest of their owners<sup>44</sup>. However, some of their editors may enjoy free hand in the management of the media houses and often initiate investigative reports which were consequently executed by their reporters. *The Nation*, Radio Continental and Television wing have published a number of award-winning investigative reports. The daily running of the media houses, identification of stories deserving investigation, assigning them to appropriate reporters,

funding of such investigation, editing the stories for publication are determined by the editor<sup>84</sup>.

The newspapers have devoted pages to politics, governance and political education respecting various elections, the capacity and capabilities candidates vying for positions to meet the needs of the nation at various times. The issue of national unity and concern over security feature regularly in the newspapers where government's failure to address the issue of security it brought to bear in the form of analysis and editorial opinions.

State-owned media houses like the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), Voice of Nigeria (VOA), News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, (FRCN) are not very popular for carrying out investigative journalism, but they enlighten the listener respecting their political obligations before and during elections in the country. Usually in consonance with the timetable of the Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC), the media promotes participations in government especially urging the electorate to register for election, vote and ensure their votes count by waiting the end of the elections where votes are counted.

Though such programmes like *NTA Newslines* aired every Sunday have consistently featured investigative stories for about 30 years. Other programmes featured on the NTA are the Parliament- reportage of legislative activities from the National Assembly and discuss session in the form of Night Life where government officials are held to give account of their stewardship. They, however, not seen to be neutral of the political interest of their employers- the government- by so doing sacrificing public interest for government's interest. These have left them with the wrath of the listeners who query their objectivity and abandoned then for independent media houses which meet the needs of the people<sup>85</sup>.

In some instances, government also exerts much power on the media houses by co-opting their managers into governance through appointments or buying most of the influential journalists. The current Special Adviser to the President on Media, Mr. Femi Adeshina, until his appointment was the Managing Director of *The Sun* Newspapers. This development had earlier occurred in Nigeria in 1994 when the publisher of *The Guardian* Newspaper, Sir. Alex Ibru was appointed a cabinet member of the Sani Abacha government in a veiled attempt to muzzle the newspaper's objectivity. To assert its editorial independence during the period, *The Guardian* Newspapers editors published an editorial in 1994, stating that the appointment of their publisher would not in any way influence the stance and content of the newspaper in its reportage of government activities. Chief Ibru was later shot in Lagos by Sergeant Habilla Barnabas, otherwise known as Sergeant Rogers, an agent of the government of late despotic ruler, General Sani Abacha<sup>86</sup>.

In Ghana, the state continues to own and manage the largest circulating newspaper in the country, *The Graphics* along with other two companies. Besides, it owns the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation which operates its network of government's radio and television stations in the country. They promote good governance, however, insulated from government control of its editorial decision-making process and professional output. Such protection from interference and editorial independence was enshrined in the Ghanaian Constitution, empowering the National Media Commission and not the government to appoint the management and the chief executive officers of the state-owned media organisation. With regard to performance of their watchdog duties, irrespective of their ownership structure, the Ghanaian media have carried out various campaigns against corruption, injustice, lack of accountability, environmental safety. However, in terms of media performance of their duties, to a large extent, the private media in Ghana have also been at the vanguard of fearless activities, especially where the state-owned media houses

have failed to assert their constitutionally guaranteed independence. The performance of the media, however, is said to have been endangered by a litany of factors such as influence of proprietors, political and economic interference, corruption of journalists and weak professional norms<sup>87</sup>.

Another country outside Nigeria where state media have reported slanted reports to favour the state government in reflection of its management style is Kenya. In Kenya, for example, Transparency International in Freedom House Report asserted that the state-controlled Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was dominant outside major urban centres, and its coverage tends to favour the government. In Zimbabwe too, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation controls all domestic and TV stations and is unashamedly in favour of the ruling party, ZANU-PF, and ignoring the opposition party. Some media reports have it that ZANU-PF supporters normally developed a jingle frequently played on state television and radio in favour of President Mugabe shortly before the 2013 elections. Such media houses have drawn the ire of the public for being manifestly vulnerable to pressures from politicians and in lack of professionalism. Similarly in Kenya, Peter Kimani, a journalist and author, asserted that the country's media houses have come under government attacks and closure for publishing or wanting to publish news items considered to be unpalatable to government<sup>88</sup>.

For instance, in March 2006, *The Standards*, one of the three leading Kenyan newspapers was raided by secret state agents who carted away equipment and burnt down the day's newspaper. The agents also shut down the transmission station, KTN, on the allegation that it was about to publish a distasteful report about the president. Justifying the action, a report has been quoted as saying that "if you rattle a snake, you must be prepared to be bitten<sup>89</sup>." Notable editors of *The Nation* and *The Standards*, Dennis Galava and Chaata Nwita caught the ire of the government in 2014 and 2016 as they were sacked for writing

materials that were offensive to the government of Uhuru Kenyatta in Nairobi. Galava's editorial: "Mr. President, Get your Acts Together this Year" published in the Nation was what precipitated his sack. On the flip side, after studying the media coverage of the 2007 and 2013 elections, Kimani once wrote about the rise and fall of the media in Kenya, asserting that the media capitulated under pressure from inside and outside. The report alluded to crises informed by ethnic and political divisions where the newsrooms of many media organisations were divided along party lines, and some supported President Nwai Kibaki, who belongs to the Kikuyu ethnic group leaving others to favour the opposition leader, Raila Odinga of the Luo ethnic group. This media partisanship and penetration of the newsrooms of the three of the leading six newspapers, *The Nation*, *The Standards* and *The Star* made the Kenyan media the cynosure of all eyes in a fierce political battle.

In Australia, researchers have asserted that the greatest problems were structural and regulatory issues where politicians failed to play the role of the honest broker between market force and public interest. In Europe, researches have shown that the media have suffered political and economic interference because they are powerful national actors, otherwise referred to as media colonialists. In the same vein, media practice in such countries, especially Italy and Romania have been described as "impure journalism," a situation where media managers make money from the economic sector besides publishing but use the media for its political gain. Expectedly, the practice of investigative journalism is constrained.

In countries like Italy and Romania and Latvia, these mechanisms have affected or undermined the practice of investigative journalism as media probe into corrupt practice of politicians who are both media owners are connected to media managers is dead on arrival. In most cases under this milieu, therefore, in countries in Europe, instead of the practice of Investigative Journalism, the norm is "pseudo investigative journalism" because behind

the veneer of investigative media practice is the fact that journalists serve the interest of their publishers<sup>55</sup>. Instead of promoting the culture of legality, democracy or uncover hidden truth in European countries, such media houses investigate stories not for publication but have information which will enable their publishers or managers to fight political or economic opponents<sup>70</sup>.

Studies have showed that during his tenure as Italian Prime Minister, Servio Berlusconi amassed enormous wealth and political power such that he dominated the Italian media. Owing to the overbearing influence of media managers on media content and reporting, students in Mexico had taken to the streets a number of times to register their displeasure over partisanship of media managers, especially in respect of two television stations, calling for wider reforms on their content to accommodate views of the public<sup>90</sup>. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, audiences have been consistently exposed to the Lorenzo Enquiry into the collaborative relationship between News Co-corporation and top British politicians and the Metropolitan Police. In Australia, there have been near violent debate for stringent media managers' leadership style to enable broad-based media environment and media ownership pluralism. Media managers' leadership is vital for the discharge of media duties and ensuring media independence and objectivity. Such leadership can be transactional or transformational and when the leadership style is transformational, it promotes objectivity of reportage, thereby enabling the media house to serve public interest, as against profit or political interest.

A study conducted in 18 countries in Eastern and central Europe indicates that management bestows control and has great impact on media objectivity. In another study on the roles of media management in creating and delivering news content, media leadership style plays major roles. Where the media practitioners are given free hands, they tend to be more professional and objective in their delivery, and in perfuming their

duties of shaping the society and reducing excesses of those in leadership. That way, the media will be able to hold government accountable as they discharge the duties of monitoring governance<sup>71</sup>.

Media and cultural scholars have therefore, argued that this management pattern is an abuse of the communicative process which is gradually eroding the basic purposes of communication which has been interchange of human experience, ideals and cultures. To them, democracy is endangered when media leadership is concentrated in the hands of politicians because this will muffle media's ability to serve watchdog duties and erode citizen ability to receive and transmit information required for educated decision. They stated that multiplicity of voices and opinions that shape public policy and engender debate, promotes cultural diversity and dissent are critical for democratic development. The scholars, therefore, advocated for diversified or pluralistic media leadership pattern which they assert is very critical for enhancing the capacity of the media to carry out unbiased, creative and vital functions in public life. Such a democratic leadership arrangement for communicative power, will widen media leadership structure, they argued, make for wider, representative and inclusive voices and reduce cases of abuse. To them, the more uncensored media organisations we have the more improvement in media quality and content since media practitioners will not be perturbed by the risk of market failure and the need to put shareholders' interests above other considerations<sup>72</sup>.

For investigative journalists to be successful in this practice, some media researchers have argued that professional training in identifying, collating and interpreting data and facts and readiness of development questions are efficacious in determining overall accuracy of replies and indeed partners to sponsor them as critical success factors. They noted that the journalist must ask unanticipated questions in investigative journalism interviews because

these lead to unanticipated outcome. To them, while such questions result in observation differences in the verbal and physical appearance of the interviewee as such manipulative the report<sup>73</sup>.

A major component of governance is the legislature. The Nigerian 1999 Constitution vests the legislature, executive and judiciary with various powers to promote good governance. In particular, the legislature at all levels is empowers to make laws and performs other duties to strengthen democracy, good governance and development<sup>74</sup>.

The National Assembly is the highest legislative arm of government whose duties are defined in Chapter one of the Nigerian Constitution in conformity with the country's presidential system of government. The various 36 states of Nigeria also have their state assemblies. The legislature has a unique position in the Nigerian Constitution and characterizes democracy as a microcosm of the people duly elected from the various constituencies in every country to represent every section of the country through adult suffrage. Other two arms function according to laws enacted by the legislature. While entire executive arm, except the president and Vice President are elected, all the ministers and head of agencies, including security agencies and the judiciary are appointed public officials.

The Nigerian National Assembly is a bicameral legislature consisting both of the Senate which has 109 members and the House of Representatives with 360 members, representing the various Federal Constituencies in the country. While each state is represented by three senators and one representing the Federal Capital Territory, at least two local governments make up a Federal Constituency represented by a member. Each member is elected for a term of four years and can continue to serve as long as they are reelected<sup>75</sup>.

The legislature is headed by the President of the Senate as chairman of joint sitting, while the Speaker of the House leads the House of Representatives. They are assisted by other principal officers and discharge their core legislative, oversight and representative duties through standing committees constituted based on the educational, professional and work experience of the members<sup>76</sup>.

The Nigerian Senate, otherwise referred to as the Red Chamber or Upper Chamber, it is the highest legislative body in the country, making laws, performing oversight and representatives' functions. It is headed by the President of the Senate, Ahmad Lawan, assisted by Deputy, Ovie Omo-Agege, along with eight principal officers. Among the duties of the Nigerian Senate is the conformation of president's nomination of senior diplomats, members of the federal cabinet, federal judicial appointments, members of INEC and service Chiefs in the Army, Police, Nigerian Air Force, The Navy, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, Nigerian Immigration Service, Nigeria Customs Service and many more. Other duties include impeachment trails, serving as checks and balances against the executive and judicial arms of government and their agencies. It operates with 63 standing committees like Appropriation, the Army and others headed by chairmen who report to the Senate<sup>77</sup>.

The Nigerian House of Representatives, referred to as the Green Chamber is presided over by the Speaker, who is assisted by a Deputy Speaker. Besides the above, there are eight principal officers like the Majority Leader, Deputy Majority Leader, Minority Leader, Deputy Minority Leader, the Chief Whip, Deputy Chief Whip, Minority Leader and the Deputy Minority Leader. The current Speaker of the 9<sup>th</sup> House, is Hon. Femi Gbajabamila, from Lagos State<sup>78</sup>.

Through its core duties of legislation, representation and oversight functions over government's ministries, agencies and parastatals, the House has been described as a stabilizing force for promoting democratic ideas, national ethics, good governance, resolution of industrial disputes between the Federal Government, state government and trade unions.

Hence, head of the 2019 elections, the media set the agenda through voter education to ensure active participation in the election process. The media carried out voter awareness before elections, they helped to reduce political apathy among electorate by stressing the need for adults to register, collect their voter's card and participate in the election<sup>79</sup>.

The media also serve as vehicle for political parties' campaign, ensured stakeholders' compliance with Electoral Act; support government election empire, the INEC in the discharge of its duties and advocating free, fair and credible election. All infractions like election violence and complicity of security agencies were reported and they formed a great component of report by election monitors, both local and international.

Owing the fact that the frequencies at which a particular issue, be it corruption, violation of rule of law and human rights are reported and analysed; and the volume of media space in the print, electronic and online platforms devoted to such issue, (thereby setting the agenda around them in the mind of the people, development partners and government), depending on the support or disposition of the media owners, to that same extent such issues will ingratiate in their minds and be given requisite legislative or judicial attention for change. It is for this reason that this theory is very vital for the study of investigative journalism practices in Nigeria<sup>80</sup>.

The legislature at both state and national levels has various standing committees and other measure to gauge public opinion and respond to media reports as it affects good governance. In the Lagos State House of Assembly, there is the Public Affairs Section which collates media reports and address them to the leadership of the House for deliberation, either through relevant committees or the lawmaker representing the constituency where the issue occurred. Such issues like security, industrial action, pollution or fraud are brought on the floor of the House under issue of urgent discussion and addressed. The various government agencies are directed to handle such through a motion and where it affects a standing committee, it is mandated to handle it and report to the house within a stipulated period<sup>80</sup>.

The American legislature is bicameral in nature and by virtue of Section 8, Article 1 of the U.S. Constitution, it comprises both the Senate and the House of Representatives. While the Senate has 100 elected members, two representing each state, the House of Representatives, referred to as the lower chamber comprises of 437 members. The American National Assembly, otherwise referred to as Congress performs about 18 functions which were broadly captured under Expressed Powers, Implied Powers and Investigative powers. Under expressed powers, the U.S. National Assembly performs such functions specifically itemised in the Article 1 of the US Constitution, which include war powers, creation of courts, impeachment and removal of president, vice president and appointed government officials as well as approving foreign relations. While the US Senate has a Senate Leader, during voting the Vice President presides over the Senate<sup>81</sup>.

Besides legislative powers, the congress performs non-legislative duties that are designed to enable the country run better. These include electoral powers and ability to fill vacancy that may arise in the office of vice president by nominating a candidate. The Congress also proposes constitutional amendment which must be supported by 2/3 of majority, removes

presidents, vice president and other federal officers, and approve U.S. treaties with other nations. The US congress has the power to remove such government officers through impeachment which must originate from the House of Representatives for unethical conduct, bribery, misdemeanor, crimes or treason.

Specifically, the Congress carries out law making and oversight functions. It oversees federal budgeting and its implementation for public good. It reviews and restricts annual budget and expenditures to ensure compliance with the nation's fiscal policy and entire Appropriation Act. The legislature ensures that the ministries, departments and agencies implement budgets and execute projects as enacted in the Act of Parliament. Though the president is the Commander in Chief, the American Congress can also raise the Army, the Navy for the defence of the country, that is, it can declare war. The Congress approves borrowing, presidential appointments.

Through its standing committees, the US Congress institutes public hearing on issues like healthcare, consumer safety and crime which may occur in any parts of the country. The investigate allegations against elected or appointed federal government officials and agencies, gather information for lawmaking and review effectiveness of existing laws. It has the powers to establish citizens and naturalization law, bankruptcy, power to call the National Guard and authority to govern District of Colombia and government property. The legislative branch of government is considered by most scholars as the most powerful arm of government in providing checks and balances and promoting good governance. The current Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives is Nancy Pelosi <sup>82</sup>.

It has been stated that though all the three arms of government enjoy separation of powers, a subsisting major issue in many democratic politics is legislative and executive rancor in many countries. In Nigeria, he stated that the executive arm not only exercise unnecessary

influence on but often determines the leadership of the legislature and influences the decision of the parliament. Between 1999 and 2007, the Nigerian Senate had five Senate Presidents some of whom spent less than five months in office. Evan Ewerem (1999), Chuba Okadigbo (1999-2000), Ayim Pius Ayim (2000- 2003), Adolphus Wabara (2003-2005) Ken Nnamani (2005-2007), David Mark (2007-2015). The frequent leadership turnover which occurred despite the fact that the ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party, (PDP), had 67 senators out of 109, and 225 out of 360 members of House of Representatives, with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as president<sup>82</sup>.

The National Assembly experienced a commotion and acrimony in 2015 when it elected Senator Bukola Saraki and Aminu Tambuwal as Senate president and Speaker of the House of Representatives respectively against the choice of the leadership of the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC). Saraki and Tambuwal's resolve to function as an independent legislature earned them the wrath of the ruling party throughout their four-year tenure. On August 7, 2018, some armed hooded operatives of the Nigerian secret service, the Department of State Security, (DSS), under the leadership of Maama Daura besieged the National Assembly as part of a plot to remove its leadership which was constituted in a manner at variance with the party's leadership. The invasion described as a violation of the legislature culminated in the sack of Daura by the Acting President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo<sup>83</sup>.

However, some Nigerian lawmakers have been accused of demanding for and accepting bribe from the executive and some prominent Nigerians to influence decisions in their favour. In 2021, Justice Angela Ataluka sentenced a former federal lawmaker from Kano and former Chairman, Adhoc Committee on Fuel Subsidy, Farouk Lawan to seven years in prison for receiving the sum of \$500,000 from oil magnate, Femi Otedola. A court of appeal has confirmed the conviction on the crime committed in 2012.

The Nigerian National Assembly is far from being objective and acting in conformity with extant laws in the discharge of its duties. On some occasions, especially in the 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly, it had violated its own laws and conventions by approving requests or ratifying appointments of the Executives in defiance of the laws of the land. The screening by the Senate of the executive's appointees into the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) Board in December, 2022 was one. The exercise was presided over by the Acting Chairman of the Committee, Senator Amos Bulus, who stood in for the substantive Chairman, Senator Peter Nwaoboshi, who was convicted in July for money laundering<sup>83</sup>.

During the screening, members of the committee resolved that the President should replace Charles Ogunmola as Executive Director (Projects). The resolve of the panel was informed by the position of the three senators representing Ondo State. The senators, Nicholas Tofowomo (PDP Ondo South), Ayo Akinyelure (PDP Ondo Central) and Ajayi Boroffice (APC Ondo North) unanimously opposed Ogunmola's confirmation. Ondo State Governor, Rotimi Akeredolu also wrote in the same manner.

They wanted Governor Akeredolu to liaise with the paramount ruler of Ugbo Kingdom, in the oil-rich Ilaje community of the state, Oba Frederick Akinruntan, to present an indigene from the area to President Buhari for appointment. According to them, Ogunmola, who is an indigene of Owo town in Ondo North Senatorial District, is not qualified to hold the position based on the provisions of Section 12(1) of the NDDC Act, which says that "a person selected to represent a state on the NDDC governing board shall be an indigene of the oil producing area of the State<sup>83</sup>."

Senator Seriake Dickson in particular said while the NDDC Board was being re-constituted for efficient and effective performance of the commission as far as development of Niger Delta is concerned, the extant laws of the commission should not be

violated in anyway, especially since some of the nominees already screened and recommended for confirmation by the Senate Committee on Niger Delta Affairs, were not from oil producing areas which are clear violations of relevant provisions of the NDDC Act. Curious enough, despite provision of the Act, the memoranda of understanding and the Petroleum Industry Act, 2021, Section C18, the Senate under Dr. Ahmad Lawan confirmed Onochie and Ogunmola, who are not from oil producing area, for appointment into the NDDC board.

During the colonial rule, the regional headquarters of the old Western Nigeria, which played a major role in the regional politics and decolonization of Nigeria was located in Ibadan, the capital of the current Oyo State. In 1968, Lagos State was carved out of the region, followed in like manner by the excise of Ondo and Ogun states in 1976, and much later Ekiti State. The Western Nigeria Parliament was located at Agodi, in Ibadan, following its inauguration in 1952, with Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the pioneer premier until 1959.

The parliament played a major role in good governance, and was instrumental to the various monumental developmental infrastructural projects in the region. First was the establishment of the first television station in Nigeria and West Africa in 1959, first University in Nigeria, the Cocoa House and making cocoa the mainstay of the region's economy. The current Oyo State House of Assembly comprises of 32 lawmakers, elected from the 33 local governments in the state has Hon. Debo Ogundoyin as the Speaker. The parliament is utilizing the old floor established in 1952. Besides, the state has the highest number of local governments in the entire South, second only to Kano State with 44 council areas<sup>84</sup>.

In its contribution to media development in Nigeria, the state boasts of over 30 radio and television stations as well as newspapers, providing vibrant journalism. It has over 150 journalists across both private and public ownership. During the colonial era, Chief Awolowo established the Nigerian Tribune in 1949 to serve as the mouthpiece of his populist welfare programme, and that of his party the Action Group. The media house is today the longest surviving newspaper in Nigeria and it played a major role in the engagement of the colonial leaders and fight for Nigeria's independence, nationalism and through federalism.

The Parliament plays such constitutional duties as enactment of laws, repealing and amendment of others and oversight of the Executive arm. The Peoples Democratic Party won the majority in the current Oyo State Assembly with 26 representatives out of 32. However, the Legislature has been encumbered with the issues of noncompliance with legislative summons by heads of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA), partisanship on the part of the legislature and, their rubber stamp disposition, making themselves as appendages of the Executive.

It has been argued that while investigative journalism thrives on public rights to know and in conformity with its duties to hold government accountable, thereby promoting good governance, media practice is encumbered by many constraints. They include clash between investigative journalism and national security, socio-political ecology and policy constraints. Others are funding of journalism training, financial weakness of media houses, ethical biases on the part of journalist, poor record keeping, cultural and traditional constraints and culture of secrecy and unwillingness to divulge secrets. Political interference, limitations by technology, repressive laws are other factors militating against media practice and investigative journalism in Nigeria<sup>84</sup>.

Despite the return to civil rule on May, 1999 in Nigeria, the statute books are still replete with laws which inhibit media practice, and by doing so investigative journalism. Top among these antiquated laws in Nigeria are Official Secret Act of 1962, which ensures that all government information are classified as “top secret” which is often indicated on their files, thereby making it officially almost impossible for journalists to access them. Besides this is the law on sedition. As contained in Section 50 (1) of the Criminal Code which is applicable to southern states, a seditious publication is a publication having a seditious intention, and Section 50 (2) defines seditious intention as an intention to “bring in hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against the person of the Head of the Federal Government, the Governor of a State, or the Government or Constitution of Nigeria or a State as by law established or against the administration of justice in Nigeria or, (b). To excite Nigerians to attempt to power the alteration, after wise than by lawfully means, or any other matter in Nigeria as by law established, or (c). To raise discontentment or disaffection among the inhabitants of Nigeria, or (d). To promote feelings or ill-will and hostility between different classes of the population of Nigeria<sup>85</sup>.

It is also of key interest that some components of the law include seditious conspiracy, seditious libel and seditious speech. It also stipulates who may be convicted for sedition.<sup>99</sup>There is also Decree 4, of 1984 under which two journalists, Nduka Irabor and Tunde Thompson of *The Guardian* Newspaper were sent to jail under the then military ruler, Ibrahim Babangida. The decree outlawed and indeed identified as criminal any report that ridicules any officer of the military government. Also in the nation’s statute books are the Offensive Publications (Proscription) Decree 35 1993, on the basis of which the military government closed down six media houses. This was followed by the closure in 1993 of 17 newspapers, magazine and one radio station in July 1993. Of similar deterrent is the issue of strategic libel and seditious suits under which a number of

newspaper houses have been charged. The likes of Ndah Isaiah, Editor of Leadership were charged in 2007 by the Umaru Yar'Adua government, while in 2014, a member of editorial board of The Sun Newspaper, Ebere Wabara was charged with sedition over a publication against Theodore Orji, the then governor of Abia State<sup>86</sup>.

Despite the passage of the Freedom of Information Act, extra-legal actions by the police and the military include arbitrary arrest of journalists, the invasion by the military of *The Daily Trust* in 2019 over publication of its planned attack on Boko Haram in the North-East was one. More recently in 2017, Publisher of the *Premium Times*, Dapo Olorunyomi and other journalists were arrested and his office was raised allegedly on the orders of the Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Tukur Buratai over the medium's failure to retract a story written on the Army chief. Earlier in 2003, three journalists of the Insider Weekly Magazine, Osa Director, Chucks Owundinjo and Janet Mba Afolabi were arrested, while in 2006, Mike Aruleba of the *AIT* and Rotimi Durojaye of the *Daily Independent* were arrested by security agencies for querying the age of one of the presidential jets. Also, some editorial staff of *The Nation* Newspaper, Yusuff Ali, Yomi Odunuga, Lawal Ogienagbon and Dapo Onifade were detained in 2011 over the newspaper's front-page report on "Obasanjo's Secret Letter to Jonathan Stirs Anger: Ex-President Seeks Sack of PTFDF Chiefs, Four others<sup>87</sup>."

In view of the fact that investigative journalism exposes corruption, oppression, exploitation, criminal justice outrages, healthcare fraud, pay off and waste of government funds, how sustainable is investigative journalism against the background that media oligarchs, most policy-makers many of whom are beneficiaries of the corrupt system?

In the broadcast industry in Nigeria, private print media houses in Nigeria must obtain their operating license from the Nigerian Media Council, (NMC); the electronic media

secure theirs from the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). This gives government the power to control the organization as they can withdraw their licenses after any publication, they deemed offensive or injurious. For the radio stations, the NBC awards frequencies from which they broadcast- FM, usually for private station and SW, (Short Waves), Medium Wave, (MW), AM and FM (Frequency Modulated) band for government-owned stations. They also allocate Ultra High Frequency to private television stations which government owned media houses broadcast on both UHF and VHF, until the era of Data Satellite Television. By virtue of the NBC Act, 1992 as amended, political parties are precluded from establishing broadcast media; just as foreign ownership is restricted. By 1996, NBC had granted 114 operation licences, while by 2017; the figure leaped to 402 licenses. However, by March the same years, NBC reported revoked licenses of 54 broadcast stations<sup>88</sup>.

Though private media houses tend to be very assertive and independent, they often come heavily under government hammer. A case in point was during the second term of the Olusegun Obasanjo government, when he ensured that DAAR Communication, owners of AIT and Ray Power FM, was closed down for airing an air crash in Ogun State in which some top government officials, local and foreign lost their lives<sup>88</sup>. Also, Channels Television was shut in 2008 for broadcasting a report considered to be offensive respecting the health status of then President Umaru Yar'Adua then on his deathbed. In 2009, NBC shut down Adaba 88.9FM FM in Akure and on April 17, 2015; the same period AIT was barred from coverage of activities of the then president-elect Mr. Muhammadu Buhari over "security issues", just like *Punch* Correspondent, Olalekan Adetayo was expelled from the Presidential Villa, Abuja in 2017. The then Chief Security Officer of President Buhari hinged his action on a report titled "Fresh anxiety in Aso Rock

over Buhari's poor health and he "Seat of power's event centres going into extinction" written by Adetayo<sup>89</sup>.

More recently, DAAR Communication suffered a repeated fate on June 9, 2019 when the NBC suspended its license over another report considered to have violated provisions of the National Broadcasting Code. National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Director-General hinged the suspension the outfit's failure to follow a two-year warning over the content of its programme Political Platform and *Kakaaki*. The NBC accused the radio and television stations of "embarking on use of inflammatory, divisive, inciting broadcasts, and media propaganda against the government and the NBC for performing its statutory functions of regulating the broadcast industry in Nigeria<sup>90</sup>."

Since then, the NBC Code was unilaterally reviewed by the Ministry of Information and Culture, which in the process, drew the anger of the owners of radio and television owners. While the dust was yet to settle, in August 2020, NBC imposed a N5million fine on Nigeria Info 90.3FM for the interview it granted a former Deputy Director of the Central Bank of Nigeria, (CBN), Dr. Obadiah Milafia Obadia's comments on the "Southern Kaduna Crisis", over his claim that a governor was a Boko Haram sponsor. NBC said that the claims were unverified, inciting and could encourage or incite to crime and lead to public disorder. The Commission reiterated that broadcasters hold licenses in trust for the people, and therefore, no broadcast station should be used, to promote personal or sectional interests at the expense of the people. The Commission stated that Nigeria Info 99.3FM, violated of the following sections of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code: No broadcast shall encourage or incite to crime, lead to public disorder or hate, be repugnant to public feelings or contain offensive reference to any person or organization, alive or

dead or generally be disrespectful to human dignity; Broadcasting shall promote human dignity, therefore, hate speech is prohibited<sup>91</sup>.

Akin to this is the operation of the secret service agents in the form of the DSS or police in Nigeria or what has been referred to in Russia as “KGB-isation,” used against the press until the commencement of “de-KGB-isation. In Europe, the European Journal of Communication reported that some countries want to ensure the media is silenced. Independent Journalists Association has compiled 39 cases of direct pressure and verbal attacks. In the United States, President Donald Trump in 2017, described media as “enemy of the people and purveyor of fake news.”

Similarly, on November, 2018, President Trump exhibited a displeasure for the Cable Network News (CNN), by barring its Correspondent, Jim Accosta, from reporting the White House, describing the medium as fake news. The action was reversed by a US court, but Trump repeated the same action on February 2019, barring four US journalists from covering his dinner with North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, in Hanoi, Vietnam <sup>92</sup>. In Nigeria, Femi Adeshina, the Special Adviser to President Buhari on Media and Publicity in 2019, “unleashed torrents of abuse and threats” on Punch’s State Correspondent, John Ameh over the reportage of President Buhari’s action after the Presidential Election Appeal Panel upheld his election, titled “Tribunal: Buhari retracts, confesses he was under pressure” asking “What was that rubbish you people wrote on Saturday?” It is on record that about 109 journalists were attacked between 2010 and 2015 even as others like bloggers, radio and TV stations and activists have been targeted since 2015 worldwide. At least 36 attacks on journalists were recorded between January and July 2019 alone, 30 of the attacks happening during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

In 2021, a total of 45 journalists were slayed in all parts of the world, a solemn symptom of the sustained hazards of practising journalism and confirmation of the challenge of journalists' safety. Of this figure, 40 were male and five were female. A total of 28 were killed due to their investigative work, while three were eliminated during coverage of conflict, two lost their lives reporting civil unrests, and one journalist met his death in the course of covering assignment. Eleven cases are still under investigation<sup>93</sup>.

The International Press Institute (IPI) research information said Asia and the Pacific were the deadliest region for journalists in 2021, with 18 killings, most of which occurred in India (6) and Afghanistan (6). Ten killings of journalists were recorded in the Americas, which led the list in 2020. Seven journalists were killed in Mexico, one in Colombia, one in Guatemala, and one in Haiti. Six journalists were killed in Europe: two in Azerbaijan, one in Georgia, one in Turkey, one in the Netherlands (listed as Under Investigation), and one in Greece. Two journalists were killed in the MENA region, both in Yemen, while nine journalists were killed in Sub-Saharan Africa, most of whom in the Democratic Republic of Congo (3), followed by Burkina Faso and Somalia (both 2). IPI said the high death toll demands that the authorities should end impunity for these crimes and ensure the protection of journalists, who must be able to do their work freely and safely. The Death Watch reveals that killings of journalists have occurred in almost every part of the world, confirming that journalist safety is a global problem that is not confined to particular regions<sup>94</sup>.

These attacks and harassment include arbitrary arrests and detention, physical attacks and even deaths. In 2018, at least 45 radio and TV stations were sanctioned by the authorities on unfounded allegations of breaching some codes of conduct. Ironically, in the United States, a country that enjoys media pluralism with several newspapers, radio and television

stations, the Federal Communication Commission, (FCC), has commenced finalising work on its mandatory review of media ownership laws, where current laws prohibit single company from owning TV stations reached 39 per cent of the US television households. The move was designed to expand national ownership cap earlier set up to promote localism and diversity or eliminate it. It has only been reviewed thrice since 1941- in 1985, 1996 and 2004.

Similarly, some African countries like Ghana have outlawed any efforts to censor the media or stifle press freedom. A Ghanaian Communication researcher, for instance, asserted that Article 16 of the Constitution of Ghana makes unambiguous provision against press censorship, government interference, control and harassment of journalists. Article 162 (2) stipulates that “there shall be no (media) censorship in Ghana,” even as Section 4, of Article 162 stipulates that: “editors of newspapers and other institutions of the mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by government not shall be penalised or harassed for their editorial opinions and views or the content of their publication<sup>95</sup>.”

Researchers have argued that the effective mass media devoid of legal restrictions and ethical and economic constraints are vital sustainable democracy in Nigeria and indeed the entire world. This is anchored on the fact that it provides good atmosphere for growth and development since it provides crucial information and educative material along with its watchdog duties which promotes good governance and eliminate ignorance which precipitates conflicts. They asserted that the media, like Caesar’s wife, should be above board by avoiding unethical practices which might compromise their objectivity, but ensure commitment to investigative journalism as vehicle for “Checking abuses of power, revealing corporate misdeeds and exposing government and individual faulty action” thereby promoting national and global development. To them, every fund invested in

investigative journalism is worth millions as it engenders development and good governance<sup>96</sup>.

The media play a vital role in good governance by promoting, inclusiveness and participation in government, ensuring transparency and accountability in governance, ensuring compliance with rule of law for the overall development and growth. It has been stated that the fight against corruption which is fastidious and broad-based is only possible through the commitment of everyone, especially the media which serves as medium of information and education. Through whistle blowing those in possession of information pass it to the media who check the facts and publish accordingly thereby exposing the perpetrators<sup>97</sup>. The exposures of various crimes mentioned earlier attest to this.

Investigative journalism has helped to strengthen the criminal justice system in Nigeria and the entire world thereby ensuring that government officials' actions are entirely consistent international best practices. For instance, Mohammed reported that the tangible effects of investigative journalism on good governance were seen in the leadership change at the Nigerian National Assembly between 1999 and 2005. The first Speaker of the House of Representatives, Salisu Buhari was sack over certificate forgery, just like another Speaker, Patricia Ete, was relived of her job due to furniture allowance scandal. Similarly, Senator Chuba Okadigbo, Dimeji Bankole were also removed in similar circumstances while Farouk Lawan was sentenced to seven years in prison over extortion of \$300,000 from businessman, Mr. Femi Otedola.

For instance, the tainted judges and referees' investigations in Ghana led to sanitisation of the Ghanaian judiciary and reformation of the country's football federation. Similarly, in Nigeria, the recent sex-for-grade scandal investigated by the BBC was what was required to revisit Bill on Sexual Harassment in the Nigerian higher institutions rested in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate, raising the penalty to 10 years imprisonment and a fine of N5 million. This way, a

legal framework is laid for the protection of girls in the Nigerian higher institutions and in the same process safeguarding academic integrity<sup>98</sup>.

In the United States, investigative journalism has culminated in various reforms. For example, between 1966 and 2008, Pat Stith, a reporter with The News & Observer in Raleigh, North Carolina published about 300 investigative stories. One hundred and forty-nine of these culminated in major changes, 110 engendered discussions and more investigations, while 49 had personal consequences in forms of sack or resignations and generated 31 new laws in North Carolina. However, in many parts of the world, especially in Africa, it has been asserted that journalists, mostly reporters are underpaid and they are dejected such that some of them resign to their fate or make career change<sup>99</sup>. Hence, as it has been asserted, a free press is not a privilege, but an organic necessity in a great society, because without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting, the government cannot govern effectively. This is because government cannot adequately keep itself informed about the peoples' thoughts and the entire country's action and wants. And that forms the need for free press in every country<sup>100</sup>.

### **2.3.3 Citizen Journalism and Good Governance**

One of earliest mention of citizen journalism was the report by Abraham Zapruder, a Russian American clothing manufacturer, who witnessed and accidentally captured the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, while filming Kennedy's presidential limousine and motorcade. Zapruder, an admirer of the president who considered himself a Democrat, had planned to film the president's visit to Dallas, with his 8 mm Bell and Howell Zoomantic Movie Director Series and captured the fatal attack on the president's head. The report was not only useful for the Dallas Daily News,

but also for police investigation into the assassination of the first Roman Catholic President of the United States who was mauled after spending 1000 days in office <sup>111</sup>.

The media and communication landscapes have changed in the last two decades in such a way as to encourage more citizen participation in dissemination of news as against domination by the traditional media. This has been largely fueled by the globalization of democracy, deregulation of the media landscape, commercialization of state media as part of government privatization programmes and rapid emergence and adoption of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Indeed, citizen journalism which in particular plays a role in crisis reporting has been fueled by the advent of “networked public sphere, as a result of the digitally networked technologies like the internet and mobile phones. Citizen journalism has engendered “two shifts in communication technology, the first being a move from hub-and-spoke architecture with multi-directional connections among all nodes in the networked information environment.” The second is the practical removal of communication cost as an obstacle to speaking across international boundaries. By this, it means that communication is now relatively cheap due to the introduction of networked technologies which allow people to spread information almost instantly.

Scholars have never been unanimous on how they conceptually and empirically defined citizen journalism, but they agree that they are active agents of democratic change. Though the field is a new phenomenon which is still developing, it came to be prominent from the 20th century due to the failure of mainstream journalists to effectively represent and respond to the changing nature of public communication to meet their community’s information needs. Traditional media have also been criticized for what has been described as lack of democratic representability and its failure to encourage the participation of more

and diverse opinions. These changes have assisted to create new spaces for novel actors – traditional and upstarts to form this field of journalism<sup>112</sup>.

Citizen journalism was also borne out of the distrust or fear for the mainstream media which possess Olympian view of the audience by merely recognizing some personalities whom they validate and report. Some scholars have argued that the media has fallen short of public expectation in the discharge of their duties in the democratic process. For instance, while many media houses, especially the broadcast ones hitherto devoted air time, talk shows and space to community and public service reports, these sections have in recent times been commercialized, taking the form of commercial news and priced out of the reach of the common people. The combined effect of these is citizen journalism which is a localized form of reporting<sup>113</sup>.

The advent of citizen journalism has increased peoples' political awareness since online platforms where common people can turn to contribute to national discourse. This eroded the exclusion by the mainstream journalism which has been blamed for what has been described as democratic deficit like low citizen participation, cynicism and lack of trust in political leaders and poor civic engagement. People now have access to more information about governance, social and even economic matters through the social media. This development provided options to the populace especially since the mainstream media has become captive instrument of the powerful social class and elite who enjoy publicity on the radio, newspapers and television to the detriment of the poor in the society, and in Nigeria's Machiavellian leadership recruitment system with its resultant skewed reports, including election results tainted with various electoral malpractices<sup>114</sup>.

However, it has been stated that citizen journalism could be driven by ideology, being explicitly designed to deepen democracy; it could be technology driven even as it has been

propelled by economic and financial objectives of its practitioners who are determined to earn money from it in the long run. Besides, the ease of operation, communication objectives and limited access to mainstream media has been identified as other factors<sup>115</sup>.

For instance, in the 1980s and 1990s Nigeria, a number of newspapers like the Daily Sketch and the National Concord devoted some pages community news where local issues like infrastructural deficit, lack of power supply, marriages, chieftaincy and other cultural activities and festival were reported. But with the passage of time, these pages have been replaced by elitist national issues which to the detriment of the sub-national and communities. Hence, Citizen Journalism fills this vacuum by its focus which contributes to the development of the society; media practice and create more suitable foundation for knowledge, especially with the use of social media platforms and mobile telephone which facilitate people's ability to share their knowledge publicly<sup>116</sup>.

A study averred that citizen journalism has been utilised for creating political awareness in many parts of the world. For instance, in the 2007 Australian election, it played a major role as such websites as JohnQuigg.com, YouDecides2007, TimBlair.net and news.com and became platforms for political discussion, debates, deliberation and coverage of the election. So involved were citizen journalists that veteran Australian blogger, Dan Gilluro criticised anomalies in the election when Australian state-owned media were less critical of the polls' outcome. A similar incident occurred in the Zimbabwean election in 2013 when citizen journalists like Babu Jukwa and Amai Tawn engaged the electorate to vote out the sitting president from office<sup>117</sup>.

Research stated that citizen journalism has played a huge role in providing facts which formed the basis for discrediting information from government officials. It cited video report of the racism-induced killing of a Black American, George Floyd, in Minneapolis,

Minnesota, posted online by 17-year eyewitness passerby, Darnella Frazer, in 2020 provided evidence which not only became useful in the prosecution and conviction of Minneapolis policeman, Derek Chauvin for murder but culminated in the Black Lives Matter protests in many countries around the world<sup>118</sup>.

Mobile phones represent 90 per cent of telephone lines in Africa and with increasing market penetration and introduction of 3G technology and now 5G, there are chances for exponential increase with possible signal of potential interest in the surge of Citizen Journalism. The pervasive presence of mobile phones and availability of ready audience of phone users give them access to social platforms like WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook and blogs which have become global information dissemination platforms.

Smartphones, voice and text messages have played major roles in political campaigns and participation especially by candidates canvassing for votes. Banda stated that though electoral campaign and victory of Barack Obama in 2007 may have been influenced by other factors other than the use of his Blackberry, it is on record that the phone facilitated his access to huge population of potential voters. In the 2019 elections in Nigeria, a number of candidates solicited votes from prospective voters using inexpensive short messages, while younger population were reached through LinkedIn and Facebook. A study states that there are 33 million active social media users in Nigeria with WhatsApp as the most popular, besides Facebook, You Tube and Instagram and with 151.3 million Internet subscribers have become platform for participating in democracy, engaging the political class and holding them accountable to the people<sup>119</sup>.

Besides the aforementioned factors, a study in South Africa East, (Kenya and Uganda) West Africa, (Nigeria and Ghana) as well as the Maghreb (Algeria) examined the factors responsible for this, namely its context, technological basis, uptake by conventional media,

financial viability and democratic value. The study defined citizen journalism in the context of globalization of democratization and a rapidly deregulated, over-commercialised media landscape, as well as novel adoption of ICT.

Citizen journalism played a huge role in political discussions, mass mobilization and pro-democracy protests in Nigeria in the last one decade. Through the social media, individuals and groups mobilized massively for the Occupy Nigeria protest against fuel price hike in 2012. Massively supported by non-governmental organisations and opposition politicians, the nationwide compelled the government of Goodluck Jonathna to revert to N65 per litre. Citizen Journalism impacted on good governance and citizen's participation in governance and promoting rule of law and human rights. A case in point was the role of video and photo reports uploaded by citizens during the EndSARS protest over police brutality, harassment and extortion in 2019. Citizens, armed with their Digital Assistants (internet enabled phones), reported not only police and Army brutality during the period by casualty figures played down by the government. The nationwide protests, though led to the destruction of several police stations and correctional centres, culminated in setting up of investigative bodies on police activities, compensation for victims of police brutality, scrapping of SARS, and Police Reforms<sup>120</sup>.

Citizen journalism has also contributed to good governance with the capture in a video of the gruesome killing of the African American, George Floyd in May, 2020 at Minneapolis, by a 44-year-old white police officer, Derek Chauvin and three other policemen from Indianapolis Department. He was convicted and sentenced to 21 years in prison. The video taken by then 17 years old Darnella Frazier, was not only used as evidence before the trial judge, Justice Peter A. Cahill, but sparked global outrage against racism, and culminated in the rebirth of the 2014 #BlackLivesMatter campaign, following the murder of Michael Brown in Missouri and Eric Garner in New York. The consequent anger

climaxed with the conviction of Chauvin and global campaign for equality of all races, and in particular review of police brutality and racial actions against blacks in employment and other benefits around the world<sup>37</sup>. Frazier, now 20, later got the Pulitzer award and the sum of \$50,000 for the courageous video which stressed the role of citizens in journalists' quest for the truth.

Citizen journalism has also served as vehicle for rural development in many parts of the world. It has been used to draw attention to poor living condition of rural dwellers, who though enjoyed greater social homogeneity are cut off modernity and infrastructural development. Reports on their infrastructural deficit have led to the establishment or repair of their schools, hospitals and roads.

During the Arab Spring which started on December 18, 2010, where citizens revolted dramatically against government in North Africa and some parts of the Middle East. It has been averred that leveraging on internet and social media, protesters disseminated their displeasure over corruption, despotic and authoritarian rule in Libya, Egypt and Tunisia. The protests culminated in the overthrow of Muamar Gaddafi's rule in Libya, Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak and Ben Ali of Tunisia. The protests also engendered economic and social rights for citizens of Oman, Morocco, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia<sup>121</sup>.

Citizen journalism has been found to be very pervasive on the African continent, especially the institutional citizen journalism platforms by trained journalist and non-governmental organisations. However, a study described the increasing visibility and participation of ordinary people in news gathering and reporting as demotic turn in the industry, which blurs the boundaries between conventional journalism and citizen's journalism. The study states that citizens' journalism is however, beneficial since even in

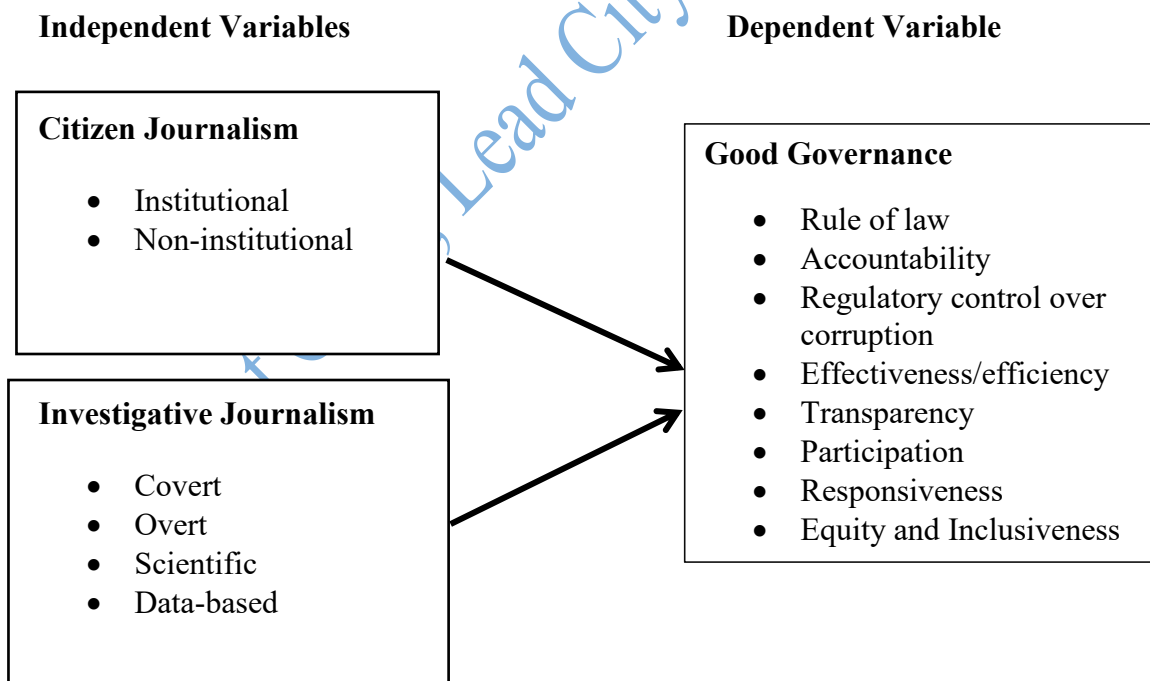
war zones, local inhabitants and soldiers share on blogs first-hand information which might not be reported to the outside world by the traditional media.

However, there are ethical concerns over citizen journalism practices around the world. Since citizens' journalists possess no education in Mass Communication, their activities not governed by the Nigerian Press Organisation's Press Code, such as social responsibility, public interest, editorial independence, accuracy and fairness, respect for privacy, privilege and non-disclosure, decency in dress, choice of language, use of photographs and videos, and non-identification of children and minors by name or photographs, reporting sexual acts and sexual acts and avoiding horrid scenes, and avoiding discriminatory or pejorative remarks about people and ethnic groups and religion. Citizen journalists have not benefited from the structured Mass Communication/Journalism education enunciated by the National University Commission (NUC) and the National Board of Technical Education (NBTE), in the area of competences in general knowledge and intellectual ability, critical thinking, reporting and writing across various media platforms, knowledge of media history, media law and roles to the society, among other contents of the curriculum which would enable them to meet the middle and high-level manpower communication requirements in Nigeria<sup>122</sup>.

Reference has been made to the negative impact of citizen's journalism is the lack of objectivity and professional code in their reportage. Whereas the Nigerian media code forbids mainstream journalists from publishing photographs of underage children, nude and gory pictures, citizen journalists possess no such restraints. In recent times in Nigeria, citizen journalists and bloggers feasted on the sex video of the Chrisland School teenage girl in faraway Dubai thereby offending the sensibility of readers without batting an eyelid about the future of the children<sup>37</sup>.

Citizen journalism has become synonymous with the spread of fake and obscene news, which are often lifted by the mainstream media, thereby impacting negatively on media objectivity and credibility. More recently was a video of a young lady who confessed to have had sex with a dog for the sum of N1.5 million. Though the report triggered government action as the Lagos State government and the police intervened to effect the arrest and treatment of the lady, a blog published the news of her death. Police further investigation and interrogation of the publisher revealed that the blogger claimed did not verify or fact-check the information before publication but merely lifted it from another platform without acknowledging the source (plagiarism). The Police in response to the publication averred that false publication and subversion of investigations, especially criminal investigations are criminal offences.

## 2.4 Conceptual Model



**Fig 2.2: Conceptual Model for the study**

**Source: The Researcher, 2023.**

The conceptual model above establishes the nexus between the variables – Citizen and Investigative journalism practices and good governance - which are independent and dependent variables respectively. It illustrates the influence Citizen and Investigative journalism exact on promotion of rule of law, accountability, transparency, effectiveness and efficiency and control over corruption which are features good governance. This is manifested in the reports generated by citizen journalists, some of which form the fulcrum of stories investigated by mainstream media to promote good governance. A visionary editor provides pages for promotion of political, social and economic stories like budget implementation, project execution and compliance with rule of law, set milestones and deadline as to when the story is submitted for editing and publication.

## **2.5. Summary of Reviewed Literature**

From the literature so reviewed, it could be safely averred that good governance is essential for development and growth, especially when carried out in consonance with its various indices - rule of law, accessibility, accountability, equity and inclusiveness, responsiveness, participation, effectiveness and efficiency. However, it would a mirage where the media which serve as the watchdog fails to perform their oversight functions. It is this regard that the investigative and citizen journalism practices as against mere media reportage of government activities play a vital role. The revolutionary impacts of these genres of reporting as observed from their roles in the resignation of President Richard Nixon of the United States in 1974, their transformative roles in eliciting the promulgation of new laws and amendment of existing ones attest to their huge relevance in good governance<sup>123</sup>.

In Nigeria, investigative journalism promoted good governance in that it led to the sack of the Speaker of House of Representatives, Salisu Buhari, removal of another Speaker,

Patricia Etteh and also exposed several cases of corruption. It has also goaded members of the National Assembly to take their oversight and legislative duties more seriously as media reports enabled to address certain issues as a matter of national importance. Indeed, by the salient national or global issues they investigate either corruption or lack of transparency in government, media organizations hold the government accountable to the people, and put them on their toes to deliver dividends of democracy. They x-ray various arms of government, the legislature, executive and judiciary to ascertain their level of conformity with the Constitution and highlight any deviation<sup>105</sup>. Similarly, citizen journalism has elicited response on the part of government to the needs of the people, especially in the provision of social amenities. In Oyo State, citizen journalism exposed the deplorable state of many roads and drainages, eliciting government consequent responses in the forms of drainage construction and road rehabilitation. In Ogun State, following the outrage that greeted a Facebook publication in 2021 that students of Kizito Secondary School wrote their West African School Certificate Examination of bare floor, the state government was goaded to supply furniture to the pupils following day<sup>124</sup>.

At the national level, the week-long 2020 EndSARS protests in Nigeria which was largely promoted through citizen journalism culminated in six policy intervention by the Federal Government, namely building trust and legitimacy in the Nigeria police, leadership, accountability and oversight, technology, digital media, community policing and crisis reduction, officers training and education, and funding, officers' welfare, wellness and safety<sup>125</sup>.

From various countries, it has been revealed that the media promotes rule of law, transparency by exposing corruption for which many culprits were brought to justice thereby making such criminality unattractive. In some cases, like in the US investigative reports have elicited the enactment of news laws and amendment of several others.

The success so recorded in Africa, Europe, Asia and the United States of America in the area of investigative journalism as contained in the reviewed literatures bears eloquent testimony to the vital role of investigative journalism practices in promoting good governance: checking financial abuse, sustaining best practices and equity<sup>126</sup>. For instance, the “Ghana in the Eyes of God” investigative report in Ghana on 35 corrupt judges, not only led to the indictment of 12 of them but also a reorganization of the Ghanaian judiciary. Similarly, the investigative report of the pedophilia priest in the *Boston Globe* not only ensured justice for the victims as the clergyman was sentenced to terms in prison, but it was produced into an award-winning film<sup>127</sup>. Contrary to isolated cases of investigative journalism practices in one newsroom, one of the literature so reviewed added another dimension to the practices with the establishment of International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, where 140 journalists dug into the Panama Papers<sup>128</sup>.

However, to achieve good governance in Nigeria, it has become necessary to revitalize the country’s unity, by ensuring that all Nigerians rededicate and recommit themselves to rebuilding a prosperous country instead of promotion of sectional interests. With the current enormous crises- faulty political structure, unhealthy religious, ethnic rivalry and egregious insecurity only good governance can rescue the country from the precipice of disintegration. Other measures are injection of transformational leadership within the polity, promoting competence and capacity, creating adequate opportunities for Nigeria’s socio-economic growth, ensure rule of law, minimize emphasis on ethnicity and religion while the citizens play their constitutional roles in ensuring good governance.

However, ethical considerations and competence are major Achilles heel of citizen journalism and this has become a major concern to mainstream journalists and government. Their propensity to spread rumours, create and spread apprehension and threaten the

security of the nation has gained global attention, as attention is now focused on education and regulation of this genre of journalism. Besides, the passiveness of requisite arm (s) or agency of government to respond to investigative or citizen's journalism report on the grounds of party loyalty is another drawback to good governance

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## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

Descriptive research design was adopted for the study. Contents of selected online publications were carried out at the first phase upon which the second phase of descriptive survey was based to make further clarifications on the focus of the study. The research design adopted for the study was considered appropriate and very important to explore the problem as identified in this study.

#### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The population of this study included 32 members of the Oyo State House of Assembly and 100 journalists in Oyo State. The number of lawmakers was obtained from the Clerk of the Oyo State House of Assembly, while that of the journalists was obtained from the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), Oyo State Chapter. The population also included citizen reports that were available on *Facebook* accounts of *Mesiogo* and *Omo Ajorosun* and *Whatsapp* news stories.

#### **3.3 Sampling Technique and Sample**

The sampling technique adopted for this work was purposive sampling where the respondents were divided into subgroups in accordance with their gender, academic qualification and years of experience in the media house and in the Oyo State House of Assembly. This made it easy to sample each sub-population independently. The sample was 100 journalists in Oyo State and 20 lawmakers in the Oyo State House of Assembly.

### **3.4 Description of the Research Instrument**

The research instrument for this study was self-constructed questionnaire. The questionnaire was named: Citizens and Investigative Journalism Practices and Good Governance (CIJPGG). It was divided into three sections as follows – Section A, B and C

**Section A:** This contained three items on the respondents' demographic data, namely sex, qualification and years of experience.

**Section B:** It contained nine items which centred around patterns of citizen journalism practices on a five-point Likert rating scale.

**Section C:** This contained nine items on patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State.

**Section D:** It contained eight items most of which centred around relationship between investigative journalism practices and good governance on five-point Likert rating scale.

**Section E:** This contained eight items on the relationship between citizen journalism practices and good governance. The structured questions also included a five-point Likert rating scale of measuring responses. They are: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Strongly Disagree (SD), Agree (A) Not Sure (NS). This research instrument took cognisance of the characteristics of the representation of the population and also helped in the interpretation of the variables in the study.

### **3.5 Validation of Research Instrument**

In order to test the validity of the instrument, the researcher's supervisor and other lecturers perused the instrument, compared it with the variables and testing the content consistency. The research instrument was tested using face-validity and appropriate corrections were effected. Thereafter, a clean and correct instrument was produced.

### 3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument

The instrument was administered on 20 lawmakers of the Ogun State House of Assembly, and their responses were tested using Cronbach's Alpha Test. The table below show the results got from the testing of the scales of citizen and investigative journalism and good governance respectively:

Table 3:1

#### Reliability Statistics of the Instrument

No	Section in the Instrument	No of items	Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient Value
1	Section B Pattern of citizen journalism practices	9	0.715
2	Section C Patterns of investigative journalism	9	0.827
3	Section D: Influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance	8	0.902
4	Section E: Influence of investigative journalism on good governance	8	0.895

The reliability of the research instrument was tested by the internal consistency using Cronbach's Alpha test. This was to see if multiple questions were reliable, after which adjustments were made in order for the variables to be measured accurately.

### **3.7 Data Collection Procedure**

A total of 100 copies of questionnaire were sent out to journalists in Oyo State and 20 to lawmakers in the Oyo State House of Assembly, with a covering letter explaining briefly the researcher's identity, the purpose of the survey, and the importance of their participation. The letter also assured the respondents of confidentiality of information so provided. Only 20 copies of the questionnaire were returned by the lawmakers in the Oyo State House of Assembly, why a total of 98 copies of questionnaires distributed to journalists were returned.

A Research Assistant who was adequately trained assisted the researcher in the administration of the instruments and collection of the data at the Oyo State House of Assembly and members of the Nigerian Union of Journalists in the state were enlisted.

### **3.8 Method of Data Analysis**

Content analysis of social media and online platforms reports on issues investigative and citizen journalism was also carried out. Besides, the data collected for the study were quantified and analyzed using descriptive statistics to validate the qualitative reports. The descriptive method was used in this analysis to ensure better understanding and interpretation of data collected.

## Chapter Four

### Results and Discussion of Findings

This chapter presents the result of the analysis of collected data. Descriptive, regression and multiple regression statistics were both employed in the analysis of data while appropriate discussion was done on the findings. Therefore, this chapter is presented under the following sub-headings:

#### 4.1 Presentation of Demographic Information of Respondents

**Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents (N=118)**

Demographic Statement	Study Sample				
		Members of the Nigerian Union of Journalists		Members of the Oyo State House of Assembly	
Characteristics	Information	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sex	Male	67	55.8	25	100
	Female	51	44.2	0	0.0
Academic Qualification	NCE/OND	17	14.2	0	0.0
	HND/BA/BSC	43	35.8	13	52.0
	MSC/MBA/MA	56	46.7	10	40.0
	Ph.D	4	3.3	2	8.0
How long have you been in this Oyo State Assembly?	Less than 4 years	23	19.2	15	60.0
	About 8 years	12	10.0	9	36.0
	Above 8 years	85	70.8	1	4.0

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

Table 4.1 revealed the demographic information of the respondents of this study which consists of members of the Nigerian Union of Journalists and members of the Oyo State House of Assembly. The table therefore shows that 67 (55.8%) of the respondents from the Nigerian Union of Journalists were male and the remaining 53 (44.2%) respondents from the same category are female, while the selected respondents from the members of the Oyo State House of Assembly are all male with 25 (100.0%). This implies that majority of the respondents of this study are male with no female respondents whatsoever from the Oyo State House of Assembly.

The table also revealed the academic qualification distribution of the respondents in both categories. Majority of the respondents from Nigerian Union of Journalists has acquired HND/BA/BSc as seen from the Table 4.1 above with 43 (35.8%) from the total respondents and also in the category of Oyo State House of Assembly 20 (62.0%), followed by those that have acquired MSc/MBA/MA with 56 (46.7%) of the respondents from Nigerian Union of Journalists and 10 (40.0%) of the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly. Furthermore, those having NCE/OND academic qualification are 17 (14.2%) of the total respondents from Nigerian Union of Journalists and none from Oyo State House of Assembly possess this educational qualification. The least of the respondents are those with PhD with four (3.3%) of the total respondent from Nigerian Union of Journalists and just two (8.0%) of the respondents from the Oyo State House of Assembly.

Finally, with regard to respondents' years of work experience in the organisation, it was revealed that 23 (19.2%) of the total respondents from the Nigerian Union of Journalists and 15 (60.0%) of the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly has worked in the organisation less than four years, 12 (10.0%) of the total respondents from the Nigerian Union of Journalists and nine (36.0%) of the respondents from Oyo State House of

Assembly has worked for about eight years while 85 (70.8%) of the total respondents from the Nigerian Union of Journalists and just one (4.0%) respondent from Oyo State House of Assembly has more than eight years of work experience. Hence most of the respondents of this study have more than eight years work experience.

*Do Not Copy, Lead City University, Nigeria*

## 4.2 Presentation of Data

### Research Question One: Citizen journalism reports in Oyo State

**Table 4.2a To find out answer to research question one and analysis of citizen journalism Practices in Oyo State from some selected social media platforms and government's response to the reports.**

S/N	Date	Medium	Citizen Reporter	News Report/Video	Impact/Response
1.	30/6 / 20	Facebook	CR.001	Video report of horrible flood at Old Ife Road, Oyo State, showing over 50 vehicles submerged. He called on the Oyo State governor, Seyi Makinde to step in to address the issue, rescue trapped individuals and vehicles, and ensure proper drainage and bridges.	Oyo State government stepped in the following day, as Governor Makinde visited the scene. He directed the Ministries of Works and Environment came to the rescue of the people.  Contract for the channelization of the area was awarded.
2.	30/6/2020	Facebook	CR002	Video report of a six-hour rain leading to massive flood at Olodo, on Iwo Road which killed 12 people and destroyed hundreds of properties.	Governor Makinde also visited the scene, ordered provision of relief materials and ordered the construction of drainages in the affected area.
3	25/11/2021	Facebook	CR003	Parents hired thugs to beat up teachers at Jericho High School, Ibadan.	

4	12/2/2021	WhatsApp	CR:004	Causes of Shasha market mayhem at in Ibadan, the Oyo state capital.	Video doused tension regarding what was thought to be ethnic battle and state governors reacted by visiting to douse ethnic tension
5	12/7/ 2021	WhatsApp	CR:004	Traffic gridlock after Apete/Awotan Bridge	Oyo State government responded by expanding the road and work is almost completed
6	15/5/2020	WhatsApp	CR:005	Photo of Oyo-Iseyin Rd in terrible state; journey takes three hours	Oyo State government awarded contract and dualised the road.
7	15/7, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:006	Streets in Akobo, Ibadan, impassable after flood	Governor Makinde ordered immediate clearing of drains to ensure free flow on flood and commenced awareness campaign
8	6/2/22	WhatsApp	CR:007	Video of hijack of bullion van in Ibadan	Commissioner of Police moved to the scene, began investigation and arrested six persons, later.
9	15/3/22	WhatsApp	CR:008	Inspector Dele Reuben, filmed harassing motorist over tinted glass permit in Lagos.	On March 20, Reuben arrested, tried and dismissed at FHQ, Abuja on IGP's directive
10	25/5/22	Facebook	CR:009	Video of ritualists copped off head, arms of buried corpse at Idi Arere. Scores of neighbours	Police visited the scene and commenced investigation

				stormed scene	
11	19/6/2022	Facebook	CR:010	Video of Church armed ushers with gun to prevent attack on during Sunday service.	Couldn't ascertained action.
	11/12/22	Facebook	CR:011	Video of family of six die after eating contaminated Anny Brand Sardines	Police visited the scene and corpses taken to mortuary for post mortem
12	26/4/23	Facebook	CR:012	MICRA driver shows a video of a woman, Kudirat Morufu kidnapped and hypnotised brought to Agidigbo Radio, in Ibadan.	Agidigbo Radio took over the matter, aired it to assist in locating her relations
13	May 14, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:013	Video of Deborah Emmanuel, of Sokoto College of Education lynched for alleged blasphemy	Police commenced investigation, yet to arrest suspect three months after
14	18/6/22	WhatsApp	CR:014	Video of piles of voters' card discovered in politician's backyard	On June 20, INEC Commissioner, Festus Okoye, responded case being investigated
15	18/7/22	Facebook	CR:015	Pupils of St. Kizito's Senior Secondary School, Ogun Waterside, write exam on bare floor	On July 19, Ogun State Government supplied furniture to school
16	21/7/22	WhatsApp	CR:016	Video of Police Inspector, Richard Gele, justifying extortion of travellers on Abuja Road	Suspect arrested and dismissed at FHQ, Abuja
17	August 2,	Facebook	CR:017	Video of Police Constable Okoi Liyomo, caught on viral video flogging motorist with	Arrested, detained at FHQ, Abuja and

	2022-			cutlass in Cross Rivers State.	dismissed from service
18	August 3, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:018	Video of Police Corporal Opeyemi Kadiri, caught on video for unlawfully searching motorist's phone in Lagos	Suspect arrested and dismissed on August 12 by the Nigeria Police Force after orderly room trial
19	August 24, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:019	Video of vehicle with revolving number plate, flip side bearing FGN	FRSC, in a press statement by ACG Adebisi Kazeem, responded that Corp Marshall has directed full investigation
20	August 28, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:020	Woman, Amarachi Okechi of Umueghu Amaegbuato village in Bende Local Government Abia State, held hostage, flogged accused of witchcraft faces lynching.	On August 29, the video was sighted by the Abia State Governor's wife, Mrs. Nkechilkpeazu, the Minority Leader in the State House of Assembly, Chijioke Chukwu, and the local government chairman. She rescued her; taken to hospital for treatment and Police Commissioner commenced investigation.
21	Sept 4	WhatsApp	CR:021	Bridge collapses in Congo DR during ribbon-cutting ceremony	Raised issue about quality of works certified for commissioning by engineers around Africa
22	Sept 22, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:022	Video of bleeding Female Police Inspector, Teju Moses, sitting on the floor in police	IGP Baba Ahmed ordered her arrest, she was arraigned in court. She pleaded not

				uniform, after being allegedly assaulted by Professor Zainab Dunke Abiola	remanded but granted bail by court in Abuja. Prof Abiola has sued IGP for character defamation
23	Oct 20, 2022	Facebook	CR:023	Dr. Fred EkpaAyokhai, an associate professor with the Department of History and International Studies, Federal University of Lafia, his daughter, Emmanuela EkpaAyokhai, son Bob-Praise, others were caught on video, stripping and assaulting female student, Blessing Mathias, for snatching his daughter's boyfriend	The lecturer and son were arrested by the police in Lafia, Nasarawa State and charged to court, and remanded in prison custody.  Justice Solomon Ayenajeh sentenced him to six months in prison, while children were to spend same period on probation because of their ages.
24	Nov 1, 2022	WhatsApp	CR:024	Video showed a Police woman, Inspector Olorunsogo Bamidele, accusing her DCO Ajayi Martins of Ode Omu Division of in Osun State of assaulting her. She displayed bruises and contusions.	On sighting the viral video, IGP, Usman Alkali, in Abuja ordered the CP Osun State to investigate the case and report to him

Source: Field Survey, 2022.

Table 4.2.1a revealed that 24 reports on citizen journalism in Oyo State were reviewed. The medium through which these citizen journalism reports were disseminated were Facebook and WhatsApp. Tables 4.2.1 reveals that using Facebook, Blogs and WhatsApp, citizen reported some issues in Oyo State. The 12 cases, representing 100 per cent in Oyo State attracted government action leading to road repairs and arrests. The other 12 reported cases occurred outside Oyo and they attracted government reaction. The table further reveals that the respondents from the Oyo State House of assembly agreed to the presence and effectiveness of the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria.

**Research Question Two:** What are the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Oyo State?

**Table 4.2b: Patterns of citizen journalism practices in Oyo Presentation of Data**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD
1.	Citizen Journalism exists in Oyo State	84 (57.9)	47 (32.4)	10 (6.9)	0 (0)	4 (2.8)	4.57	4.85
2.	Citizen Journalism is highly practised in Oyo State	60 (41.4)	62 (42.8)	15 (10.3)	0 (0)	8 (5.5)	3.86	3.00
3.	Institutional Citizen Journalism (by Individuals with registered company) is practiced in Oyo State	21 (14.5)	78 (53.8)	30 (20.7)	8 (5.5)	8 (5.5)	2.34	1.98
4.	Non-Institutional citizen Journalism (by individuals, non-Journalism) is practiced in Oyo State	47 (32.4)	65 (44.8)	24(16.6)	8(5.5)	1 (0.7)	2.97	2.88
5.	Citizen Journalism practices spread unverified information, threaten security	67 (46.9)	40(28.0)	27(18.9)	7 (4.8)	4 (2.8)	3.90	3.04

6. Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Nigeria	63 (43.4)	44 (30.3)	21 (14.5)	4 (2.8)	13 (9.0)	3.03	3.23
7. Citizens Journalism practices elicit government response in Oyo State	46 (31.7)	64 (44.1)	16(11.0)	4 (2.8)	15(10.3)	3.16	3.21
8. Citizen Journalism practices elicit government response in Oyo State	40 (27.6)	55 (37.9)	23(15.9)	6 (4.1)	21(14.5)	2.40	2.32
9. Citizen Journalism practices promote good governance in Oyo State	81 (55.9)	43 (29.7)	7 (4.8)	5 (3.4)	9 (6.2)	5.74	2.12

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022      **Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A =Agree, D =Disagree, SD =Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2 revealed the patterns of citizen journalism practices that exist in Nigeria with average mean of 3.07. The average mean asserted that majority of the respondents has a positive response to the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria. The mean scores are tending towards the positive side of the five-point scale which is 3.07, this implies that the respondents agreed to the presence and effectiveness of the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria.

Furthermore, items on the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria such as “Citizen journalism exists in Oyo State”, “Citizen journalism is highly practiced in Oyo State”, “Institutional Citizen journalism (by individuals with registered company) is practiced in Oyo State”, “Non-institutional citizen journalism (by individuals, Non-journalism) is practiced in Oyo State”, “Citizen journalism practices spread unverified information threaten security”, “Citizens journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Nigeria”, “Citizens journalism practices in Nigeria precipitate enactment of new laws”, “Citizens journalism practices elicit government response in Oyo State” and

“Citizen journalism practices promote good governance in Oyo State” have mean scores of 4.57, 3.86, 2.34, 2.97, 3.90, 3.03, 3.16, 2.40, and 5.74 respectively. Each mean scores assert that the respondents agreed strongly with the items except the items that have mean scores of 2.34 and 2.40 which the respondents slightly agreed to. This therefore implies that, Citizen Journalism practices patterns are recognised and working effectively in Nigeria.

Furthermore, items on the patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria such as “Citizen journalism exists in Oyo State”, “Citizen journalism is highly practiced in Oyo State”, “Institutional Citizen journalism (by individuals with registered company) is practiced in Oyo State”, “Non-institutional citizen journalism (by individuals, Non-journalism) is practiced in Oyo State”, “Citizen journalism practices spread unverified information threaten security”, “Citizens journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Nigeria”, “Citizens journalism practices in Nigeria precipitate enactment of new laws”, “Citizens journalism practices elicit government response in Oyo State”. This therefore implies that, Citizen Journalism practices patterns are recognised and working effectively in Oyo State.

**Research Question Three:** What are the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State?

**Table 4.2.2a: Pattern of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State; Response of some selected respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Covert Investigative Journalism Practices exist in Oyo State	15 (60.0)	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3.60	2.35	
2.	Overt investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State	10 (40.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	2.60	2.40	
3.	Data-based Investigative Journalism is practiced in Oyo State	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	15 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	2.13	<b>2.91</b>
4.	Scientific Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State	5 (20.0)	15 (60.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.65	1.96	
5.	Existing laws inhibits investigative journalism	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	15 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	2.17	
6.	Investigative journalism practices enrich legislations in Oyo State	10 (40.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3.50	2.23	
7.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	2.17	
8.	Citizen journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	2.34	
9.	Investigative journalism practices promote good governance in Oyo State	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	3.00	2.30	

**Average mean score = 2.91**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.2a revealed the various patterns of investigative journalism practices in Nigeria the average mean score of 2.91. The average mean score asserts that it was agreed by majority of the respondents that the various patterns of investigative journalism practices listed exists and functions in Oyo State. This implies that the listed patterns of investigative journalism practices are fully functioning and effective in Oyo State.

Furthermore, items listed in the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Nigeria such as: “Covert Investigative Journalism Practices exist in Oyo State”, “Overt Investigation Journalism is practiced in Oyo State”, “Data-Based Investigation Journalism Practices is practised in Oyo State”, “Scientific Investigative Journalism is practiced in Oyo State”, “Existing laws inhibit Investigation Journalism Practices”, “Investigation Journalism Practices enrich legislation in Oyo State”, “Investigation Journalism Practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State”, “Citizen Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws”, “Investigation Journalism Practices promote good governance in Oyo State” with the mean scores of 3.60, 2.60, 2.60, 2.65, 2.60, 3.50, 2.60, 2.60, 3.00 respectively. The resulting mean scores showed that majority of the respondents from the Oyo State House of Assembly agreed to the existence of the listed patterns of investigation journalism practices in Oyo State, while 1.60 mean score represents those that strongly believe that covert investigation journalism practices exist in Oyo State.

**Table 4.2.2b: Pattern of Investigative Journalism Practices in Oyo State; Response from some selected journalists.**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Covert Investigative Journalism Practices exist in Oyo State	59 (49.2)	39 (32.5)	2 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	20 (16.7)	3.03	3.42	
2.	Overt investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State	49 (40.8)	50 (41.7)	1 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	20 (16.7)	3.10	3.39	
3.	Data-based Investigative Journalism is practiced in Oyo State	31 (25.8)	54 (45.0)	19 (15.8)	2 (1.7)	14 (11.7)	3.28	3.21	<b>3.11</b>
4.	Scientific Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State	38 (31.7)	52 (43.3)	22 (18.3)	2 (1.7)	6 (5.0)	3.05	3.01	
5.	Existing laws inhibits investigative journalism	48 (40.0)	36 (30.0)	19 (15.8)	8 (6.7)	9 (7.5)	3.12	3.22	
6.	Investigative journalism practices enrich legislations in Oyo State	34 (28.3)	51 (42.5)	16 (13.3)	2 (1.7)	17 (14.2)	3.31	3.30	
7.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State	50 (41.7)	51 (42.5)	5 (4.2)	4 (3.3)	10 (8.3)	3.94	3.16	
8.	Citizen journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws	46 (38.3)	50 (41.7)	4 (3.3)	4 (3.3)	16 (13.3)	3.12	3.32	
9.	Investigative journalism practices promote good governance in Oyo State	49 (40.8)	49 (40.8)	5 (4.2)	0 (0.0)	17 (14.2)	3.06	3.32	

**Average mean score = 3.11**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.2b revealed the various Patterns of Investigative Journalism Practices in Nigeria the average mean score of 3.11. The average mean score asserts that it was agreed by majority of the respondents that the various patterns of investigative journalism practices listed exists and functions in Nigeria. This implies that the listed patterns of investigative journalism practices are fully functioning and effective in Nigeria.

Furthermore, items listed in the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Nigeria such as: “Covert Investigative Journalism Practices exist in Oyo State”, “Overt Investigation Journalism is practiced in Oyo State”, “Data-Based Investigation Journalism Practices is practised in Oyo State”, “Scientific Investigative Journalism is practiced in Oyo State”, “Existing laws inhibits Investigation Journalism Practices”, “Investigation Journalism Practices enrich legislation in Oyo State”, “Investigation Journalism Practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State”, “Citizen Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws”, “Investigation Journalism Practices promote good governance in Oyo State” with the mean scores of 3.03, 3.10, 3.28, 3.05, 3.12, 3.31, 3.94, 3.12 and 3.06 respectively. The resulting mean scores showed that majority of the respondents from the Oyo State House of Assembly agreed with the existence of the listed patterns of Investigation Journalism Practices in Oyo State.

**Research Question Three:** What influence does citizen journalism practices have on Good Governance in Oyo State?

**Table 4.2.3a: Influence of Citizen Journalism Practices on Good Governance in Oyo State; Response of some members Oyo State House of Assembly**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo Assembly	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.20	2.76	
2.	Citizen journalism practices promote participation in electoral process	0 (0.0)	15 (60.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.40	2.50	
3.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	3.00	2.91	
4.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	3.20	2.63	<b>2.92</b>
5.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo Assembly	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	3.40	2.38	
6.	Citizen journalism practices promote participation in electoral process	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	3.00	2.83	
7.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	15 (60.0)	3.80	2.63	
8.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.20	2.76	

**Average mean score = 2.92**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.3a revealed the influence citizen journalism practices have on good governance with the mean score of 2.92 which depicts that there is a positive influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance.

Furthermore, table 4.2.3a showed a minimally high level of influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance. This can be ascertained by the mean 2.92 which shows a little bit closer to the decision rule of 3.0 for a 5-point scale.

Table 4.2.3a above further revealed the influence citizen journalism practices has on good governance with the mean score of 2.92 which depicts that there is a minimally high level of relationship between citizen journalism practices and good governance.

Also, majority of the respondent strongly believe the existence of a relationship between citizen journalism and good governance in Nigeria. This therefore means that citizen journalism is one of the determining factors of good governance. There cannot be good governance without mentioning citizen journalism.

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**Table 4.2.3b: Influence of Citizen Journalism Practices on Good Governance in Oyo State; Response of selected journalists in Oyo State.**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State	67 (55.8)	34 (28.3)	6 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	13 (10.8)	3.82	2.25	
2.	Citizen journalism practices promote participation in electoral process in Oyo State	57 (47.5)	27 (22.5)	13 (10.8)	4 (3.3)	19 (15.8)	3.18	2.46	
3.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government in Oyo State	43 (35.8)	37 (30.8)	17 (14.2)	2 (1.7)	21 (17.5)	3.34	2.43	
4.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law in Oyo State	39 (32.5)	40 (33.3)	22 (18.3)	0 (0.0)	19 (15.8)	3.33	2.36	<b>3.00</b>
5.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State	34 (28.3)	43 (35.8)	20 (16.7)	0 (0.0)	23 (19.2)	3.46	2.41	
6.	Citizen journalism practices promote participation in electoral process in Oyo State	52 (43.3)	51 (42.5)	4 (3.3)	2 (1.7)	11 (9.2)	3.91	2.17	
7.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government Oyo State	49 (40.8)	47 (39.2)	9 (7.5)	2 (1.7)	13 (10.8)	3.03	2.24	
8.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law in Oyo State	59 (49.2)	39 (32.5)	7 (5.8)	2 (1.7)	13 (10.8)	3.93	2.26	
<b>Average mean score = 3.00</b>									

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.3b revealed the influence citizen journalism practices have on good governance, with the mean score of 3.00 which depicts that there is a positive influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance.

Furthermore, table 4.2.3b showed a low level of influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance, this can be ascertained by the mean 3.00 which shows a high score on the 5-point scale.

Table 4.2.3b above further revealed the influence citizen journalism practices has on good governance with the mean score of 3.00 which depicts that there is high level of relationship between citizen journalism practices and good governance.

Also, majority of the respondent strongly believe that there exists a relationship between citizen journalism and good governance in Nigeria. This therefore, means that citizen journalism is one of the determining factors of good governance. There cannot be a good governance without mentioning citizen journalism.

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**Research Question Four:** What influence does investigative journalism practices have on good governance in Oyo State?

**Table 4.2.4a: Influence of Investigative Journalism Practices on Good Governance in Oyo State; Response of Some selected respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Investigative Journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people in Oyo State	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	3.00	1.83	
2.	Investigative Journalism practices set agenda for discussion at Oyo State	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	3.00	0.91	
3.	Investigative Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws	15 (60.0)	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1.60	0.82	3.26
4.	Investigative Journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State	5 (20.0)	15 (60.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.00	0.65	
5.	Investigative Journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	15 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	1.50	
6.	Investigative Journalism practices promote inclusive governance in Oyo State	10 (40.0)	10 (40.0)	5 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1.80	1.76	
7.	Investigative Journalism practices promote transparency in governance in Oyo State	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	2.60	2.38	
8.	Investigative Journalism practices promote rule of law in Oyo State	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	15 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.40	2.82	

**Average mean score = 3.26**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.4a revealed that majority of the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly agreed with the items contained in the influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance. The items include: “Investigative Journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people” with a mean score of 3.26, “Investigative Journalism practices set agenda for discussion in Oyo State” with the mean score of 3.26, “Investigative Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws” with mean score 1.60, and “Investigative Journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo Assembly” with mean score of 2.00, “Investigative Journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State” with mean score 2.60, “Investigative Journalism practices promote inclusive governance” with mean score 1.80, “Investigative Journalism practices promote transparency in governance” with mean score 2.60 and “Investigative Journalism practices promote rule of laws in Oyo state” with mean score 2.40.

Furthermore, table 4.2.4a showed a slightly high level of influence of Investigative Journalism practices has on good governance, these can be seen from the average mean score of 3.26 which is on the low side on 5-point scale.

Also, the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly believe that there exists a relationship between Investigative Journalism practices and good governance in Oyo State. This therefore means that investigative journalism practices have a cause-and-effect relationship with good governance, meaning that good governance is determined by investigative journalism practices in Oyo State.

**Table 4.2.5b: Influence of Investigative Journalism Practices on Good Governance in Oyo State; Response of some selected journalists in Oyo State.**

S/N	Statement	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	NS (%)	Mean	SD	AM
1.	Investigative Journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people in Oyo State	65 (54.2)	39 (32.5)	3 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	13 (10.8)	1.81	2.23	
2.	Investigative Journalism practices set agenda for discussion at Oyo State	35 (29.2)	50 (41.7)	8 (6.7)	2 (1.7)	25 (20.8)	2.43	2.46	
3.	Investigative Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws	42 (35.0)	36 (30.0)	11 (9.2)	2 (1.7)	29 (24.2)	2.50	2.57	3.10
4.	Investigative Journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State	33 (27.5)	55 (45.8)	6 (5.0)	2 (1.7)	24 (20.0)	2.41	2.43	
5.	Investigative Journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State	33 (27.5)	47 (39.2)	17 (14.2)	1 (0.8)	22 (18.3)	2.43	2.39	
6.	Investigative Journalism practices promote inclusive governance	49 (40.8)	43 (35.8)	8 (6.7)	2 (1.7)	18 (15.0)	2.14	2.37	
7.	Investigative Journalism practices promote transparency in governance	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (20.0)	10 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	2.00	2.18	
8.	Investigative Journalism practices promote rule of laws in Oyo State	5 (20.0)	5 (20.0)	15 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2.23	2.36	

**Average mean score = 3.10**

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

**Key:** SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, NS = Not Sure, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation; AM = Average Mean

Table 4.2.5b above revealed that majority of the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly agreed with the items contained in the influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance, the items include; “Investigative Journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people” with a mean score of 2.81, “Investigative Journalism practices set agenda for discussion in Oyo State” with the mean score of 2.43, “Investigative Journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws” with mean score 2.50, and “Investigative Journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo Assembly” with a mean score of 2.41, “Investigative Journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State” with a mean score 2.43, “Investigative Journalism practices promote inclusive governance” with a mean score 2.14, “Investigative Journalism practices promote transparency in governance” with a mean score 2.00 and “Investigative Journalism practices promote rule of laws in Oyo State” with a mean score 2.23.

Furthermore, table 4.5 showed a slightly low level of influence of investigative journalism practices has on good governance, these can be seen from the average mean score of 3.10 which is on the low side on 5-point scale.

Also, the respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly believe that there exists a relationship between Investigative Journalism practices and good governance in Nigeria. This therefore means that investigative journalism practices have a cause-and-effect relationship with good governance, meaning that good governance is determined by investigative journalism practices in Oyo State.

### 4.3 Hypotheses Testing and Interpretation

The hypotheses for this study were tested using regression and multiple regression analyses. The result was to attest to the influence of the dependent variables – investigative and citizen journalism on the independent - good governance.

**Hypotheses One:** Citizen Journalism practices do not significantly influence Good Government in Oyo State.

**Table 4.6: Citizen Journalism Practices influence on Good Governance in Oyo State.**

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate		
1	.599 <sup>a</sup>	.359	.354	7.44526		
a. Predictors: (Constant), Citizen Journalism Practices						
Coefficients						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	
1	(Constant)	1.940	1.904		1.019	.310
	Citizen Journalism Practices	.896	.100	.599	8.947	.000

**a. Dependent Variable: Good Governance**

**R = .599, R Square = 0.359, F = 80.040, P = .000.**

Table 4.6 revealed that citizen journalism practices ( $\beta = 0.599$ ,  $P < .05$ ) was found to statistically and significantly influence good governance. Conclusively, citizen journalism practices do significantly influence good governance in Oyo State. Therefore, the null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

**Hypotheses Two:** Investigative Journalism practices do not significantly influence Good Government in Oyo State.

**Table 4.7: Investigative Journalism Practices' influence on Good Governance in Oyo State.**

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate		
1	.632 <sup>a</sup>	.400	.396	6.85072		

Coefficients						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	5.179	1.444		3.588	.000
	Investigative Journalism Practices	.671	.069	.632	9.763	.000

**b. Dependent Variable: Good Governance**

**R = .632 R Square = 0.400, F = 95.311, P = .000.**

Table 4.7 revealed that investigative journalism practices ( $\beta = 0.671$ ,  $P < .05$ ) was found to statistically and significantly influence good governance. Conclusively, investigative journalism practices do significantly influence good governance in Oyo State. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected.

**Hypotheses Three:** Citizen and investigate journalism practices do not significantly influence good government in Oyo State

**Table 4.8 Influence of citizen and investigative journalism practices on good governance**

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate		
1	.644 <sup>a</sup>	.415	.407	6.78947		
Predictors: (Constant), citizen journalism, investigative journalism						
Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	
1	(Constant)	3.313	1.737		1.908	.058
	Investigative Journalism Practices	.499	.113	.471	4.409	.000
	Citizen Journalism Practices	.288	.152	.202	1.895	.040

**Dependent Variable: Organizational Performance**

**R = .644 R Square = 0.415, F = 50.315, P = .000.**

Table 4.8 showed that  $F = 50.315$ ,  $p < .05$  which is less than 0.05 level of significance suggested that overall, the regression model statistically significantly predicted the outcome variable – good governance. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that Investigative journalism practices ( $\beta = 0.499$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ), citizen journalism practices ( $\beta = 0.288$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ) independently influence good governance significantly. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected.

**4.4 Discussion of Findings**

This section discussed the major findings of this study in relation to past studies. The discussion followed the research questions on which sources of influence between citizen and investigative journalism and good governance were established through past empirical

studies. Each of the research questions and three hypotheses were based on determining the influence they had on good governance in Oyo State. The study also determined whether all the two dependent variables (i.e., citizen and investigative journalism practices) had any significant effect on the independent variable (i.e., good governance) in Oyo State. The findings of the study are discussed as follows:

With regard to research question one, this study identified citizen journalism practices in Oyo State. The average mean for citizen journalism practices identified in Oyo State was 3.07 indicating that citizen journalism exists in Oyo State. This is owing to the fact that the average mean for identification of citizen journalism practices which scored 3.07 is higher than 3.0, the decision rule on a scale of 5.

Furthermore, it was discovered from the results that majority of the respondents affirmed to the fact that citizen journalism exists, and it is highly practised in Oyo State. It is also strongly believed that Institutional Citizen Journalism (by individuals with registered company) is practiced and majority of the total respondents also agree while some respondents and a few disagreed. This therefore means that Institutional Citizen Journalism is practiced in Oyo State. It was revealed from the results that non-institutional citizen journalism (by individuals, non-journalists) is likewise practiced in Oyo State and this was confirmed from the results; as respondents strongly agreed, and respondents agreed while on the other hand some do not agree to this fact. The results further revealed that citizen journalism has its cons in the sense that it spreads unverified information which in turn triggers some negative reactions such as threatens to national security and others. However, citizen journalism practices in Oyo State have been found to promote amendment of existing laws and good governance in Oyo State.

Finally, Citizen Journalism has impacted a lot on the lives of Oyo State people and that many people are now citizen reporters and have the right to publish their reports without

running to a media house. The study further indicated that in Oyo State, a considerable amount of people are now actively participating in citizen journalism by developing different websites and blogs to disseminate information. These findings are in line with a study which stated that citizen journalism could be driven by ideology, being explicitly designed to deepen democracy; it could be technology-driven even as it has been propelled by economic and financial objectives of its practitioners who are determined to earn money from it in the long run. Besides, the ease of operation, communication objectives and limited access to mainstream media have been identified as other factors<sup>1</sup>.

The second question which this study provides answer to is the patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State. The average mean for the patterns of investigative journalism practices identified in Oyo State is 2.91, indicating that majority of the respondents believed that various patterns of investigative journalism practices listed exist and function in Oyo State. This is owing to the fact that the average mean for patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State which scored 2.91 though lesser than 3.0, the decision rule on a scale of 5. These findings is supported with a study which stated that a number of media houses in Nigeria do publish lots of investigative reports and put some emphasis on investigative journalism It is argued, however, that media houses need to do more than giving vents to government press releases<sup>2</sup>.

The third research question that this study provided answer to is the influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State - Response of some selected respondents from Oyo State House of Assembly. The average mean for the influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State is 2.92, indicating a minimally high level of influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance. This can be ascertained by the mean 2.92 which shows a little bit closer to the decision rule of 3.0 for a 5-point scale.

Also, findings on this same question from journalists in Oyo State revealed the influence citizen journalism practices have on good governance with the mean score of 3.00, which depicts that there is high level of relationship between citizen journalism practices and good governance. Findings from this question can be supported by stating that a study averred that citizen journalism has been utilised for creating political awareness in many parts of the world. For instance, in the 2007 Australian election, it played a major role as such websites as JohnQuigg.com, YouDecides2007, TimBlair.net and news.com and became platforms for political discussion, debates, deliberation and coverage of the election. So involved were citizen journalists that veteran Australian blogger, Dan Gilluro criticised anomalies in the election when Australian state-owned media were less critical of the polls' outcome. A similar incident occurred in the Zimbabwean election in 2013 when citizen journalists like Babu Jukwa and Amai Tawn engaged the electorate to vote out the sitting president from office<sup>3</sup>.

The fourth question that this research answers is the influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State. The average mean for the influence of investigative journalism on good governance is 3.10, indicating a high level of influence on good governance in Oyo State this is owing to the fact that the average mean which scored 3.10 is higher than the decision rule of 3.0. Additionally, findings from the State House of Assembly also scored 3.20, indicating that investigative journalism has influence on good governance in Oyo State.

Furthermore, both Covert and Overt investigative journalism are practiced in Oyo State, with most of the respondents attesting to that fact. Also, Data-based, and Scientific investigative journalism practices are not left behind as they are both practised in Oyo State as well. More so, it was revealed from the results that existing government laws and policies pose as a stumbling block to investigative journalism in Oyo State as they inhibit

their practices thereby causing great limitations to the practices. It was concluded also that gives a great support and enriches legislation process in Oyo State. Also, investigative journalism practices are found to expose corrupt practices of those in various offices of power across the nation. It was finally revealed from the result that investigative journalism triggers the enactment of new laws which in return makes good governance to be feasible as there are checks for those in political offices across the nation.

From 24 reports gleaned from social media platforms and blogs, Facebook (Omo Ajosun and Mesiogo), Blog and WhatsApp, citizen reported some issues in Oyo State, it could be inferred that citizen journalism is practiced and it has remarkable impact on good governance. This therefore conforms with previous studies<sup>1</sup>. As seen from Tables 4.2.1, 12 cases of citizen journalism report in Oyo State attracted government response (and responsiveness is one of the indices of good governance), leading to road repairs, construction of bridges and arrests of criminals.

For instance, following the publication of the terrible state of Oyo-Iseyin Road which complicated the motorists journey culminated in government attention and consequent expansion of the road. Similarly, the video indicating where suspected ritualists copped off head, arms of buried corpse at Idi Arere, led to the intervention of the police authorities who investigated the case.

Also, it was also shown from the results how investigative journalism practices influenced good governance. Investigative journalism practices likewise make government officials accountable, set agenda for discussion at states assembly, and promote participation in electoral process, transparency in government and rule of law. This is owing to the fact that 3.26 (the average mean) is above the decision rule for 5-point scale which is 3.0.

Evidence abounds to the fact that investigative and citizens journalism have impacted on good governance, leading to arrest and prosecution of corrupt officials, responsiveness on the part of government and accountability. For instance, in Nigeria, investigative journalism promoted good governance in that in 1999, it led to the sack of the Speaker of House of Representatives, Salisu Buhari over forgery of certificate, and the removal of another Speaker, Patricia Etteh much later over several cases of corruption. A member of House of Representatives, Farouk Lawal, was also sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 2021 when Business Mogul, Femi Otedola, played a tape of the receipt of \$500,000 bribe from him<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, the recent sex-for-grade scandal investigated by the BBC culminated in the amendment of the Bill on Sexual Harassment in the Nigerian higher institutions rested in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate, raising the penalty to 10 years imprisonment and a fine of N5 million<sup>5</sup>.

In Ghana in 2015, the investigative report, "Ghana in the Eyes of God" revealed the country's judicial bribery scandal, involving 34 judges and magistrates caught on camera receiving bribes. The report led to the suspension of 12 judges and reorganization of the Ghanaian judiciary<sup>6</sup>. In another instance, following the 2018, investigative report by popular Ghanaian investigative reporter, Anas Ayew, on cases of corruption in Ghana Football Federation, titled "Number 12," the GFF was reorganised in 2019 and former Greater Accra FA Chairman, Nii Doku and Mr. Kofa Manu were charged for abuse of position contrary to Article 25 (1) of the GFA Code of Ethics<sup>7</sup>.

In the United States, investigative journalism has culminated in various reforms. For example, between 1966 and 2008, Pat Stith, a reporter with *The News & Observer* in Raleigh, North Carolina published about 300 investigative stories. One hundred and forty-nine of these culminated in major changes, 110 engendered discussions and more investigations, while 49 had personal consequences in forms of sack or resignations and

generated 31 new laws in North Carolina. The report of pedophilia priest in the *Boston Globe* not only ensured justice for the victims as the clergyman was sentenced to terms in prison, but the investigative report was produced into an award-winning film.

As regards citizen journalism, the report by a Russian American clothing manufacturer, Abraham Zapruder, who witnessed and accidentally captured the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, while filming Kennedy's presidential limousine and motorcade is instructive. It not only formed the foundation for mainstream media's report of the gruesome murder, but also serve as information of evidential importance in identifying and prosecuting the criminal. Further evidence of the contribution of citizen journalism to good governance was the video record of the gruesome killing of the African American, George Floyd in May, 2020 at Minneapolis, by a 44-year-old white police officer, Derek Chauvin and three other policemen from Indianapolis Department. Besides serving as vital evidence in the prosecution and conviction by the trial judge, Justice Peter A. Cahill, Dereck who bagged 21 years in prison, the video accidentally taken by then 17 years old Darnella Frazier also sparked global outrage against racism, and culminated in the rebirth of the 2014 *#BlackLivesMatter* campaign, following the murder of Michael Brown in Missouri and Eric Garner in New York<sup>8</sup>. The consequent global campaign for equality of all races, and in particular review of police brutality and racial actions against blacks in employment and other benefits around the world. Frazier, now 20, later got the Pulitzer award and the sum of \$50,000 for the courageous video which stressed the role of citizens in journalists' quest for the truth<sup>9</sup>.

Furthermore, it was revealed that hypothesis one is rejected. It was statistically revealed in this study that citizen journalism practices significantly influence good governance. Access to information is the highest means of acquiring knowledge and measuring events

in any political or economic system. The role of social media is important due to its ability to change the governance process as it provides an avenue for more citizens' participation through awareness of everyday government business. In essence, the emergence and applicability of such mediums in passing public information to citizens has further impacted communities, institutions, and governments worldwide. The information about state political systems and political activities has been brought to the citizens hearing through social media platforms. Social media tools have the momentum to foster societal roles and increasing citizen participation in democratic processes information plays an important role in the governance process as it helps in improving good governance through ensuring accountability, openness, transparency and responsiveness as government's actions and decisions are influenced and monitored by citizens through social media.

The impact of social media would help curb corrupt practices and improve the democratic system of government; it has more mechanisms for promoting governance that will be brought closer to the public. Social media which propel citizen journalism helps strengthen transparency in the electoral process as information about events are transmitted easily from and within different communities before it could be tempered with usually in the third world nations. Citizen journalism has helped in security and safety as information are easily transmitted through different platforms in order to put people on the alerts.

In the contemporary society, information sharing plays vital roles as it enables one to predict, correct and engage with others in all sphere of life. Both the social and legacy media have become strong tools for information dissemination, generating awareness and interactions among youths, regarded as netizens, as it serves as their major meeting and discussing issues on whether to agree or disagree on particular social or political issues

without physical interaction. It has also promoted consensus and consent building in governance and made possible through social media as it widely and commonly means of interaction among the youthful population of any country. The meteoric rise in the use of social media has facilitated a new participatory digital sphere that allows communication where users can dialogue, interact and collaborate to the creation of content shaping the flow of communication for political, social and economic purposes<sup>10</sup>.

Also, it was asserted that the emergence of social media and its accessibility through phones has continuously increased and enhanced participatory governance among the youths. Through these phones, individual citizens have access to influence and give their opinion through their respective social media platforms in which their aggregated opinions lead to consensus on the matter. The role of social media has impacts on both developed and developing countries, however, their impact is very much needed in the developing country due to several reasons which include political apathy, poor leadership, and poor governance. That is why social media should get penetration potential in African to help in promoting inclusive and participatory governance.

In view of the impact of Information Communication Technology (ICT), on citizen journalism, social media will help speed up the level of information dissemination which on the other side will facilitate openness, transparency, and accountability in governance as well as the diffusion of information between civil societies, various arms and ministries, departments, and agencies of government.

Such information dissemination can restrain and guide the behavior of politicians due to negative consequences of such reports. It is also posited that the impacts of the burgeoning diffusion of information transfers in Africa have helped in the reduction of corrupt practices on the part of those in the political and bureaucratic public positions. Among the

role of citizen journalism is that it has served as a watchdog within the government itself and among political parties without even talking of the citizens. Citizen journalism over time has become the mirror and medium which reflects the issues happening in society. Because of the independent nature of investigative journalists, they are insulated from the censorship and influence of the powerful elements in the society, hence can expose corrupt practices and foster consensus building and inclusive governance. However, the advent of citizen journalism has brought not just a seismic shock but a corrosive impact on mainstream media. It has been argued that accentuated by the social media and ICT, citizen journalism, if not controlled will spell death to the legacy media.

Hypothesis two centered on the influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance in Nigeria. The null hypotheses were also rejected. Findings have it that investigative journalism practices have a significant effect on good governance. This finding affirms that whether it is the traditional or new media, investigative journalism impacts on governance. For instance, with the development witnessed in post-modern period in the media environment, social media is now referred to as the fifth estate of the realm; the first four being the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and the mainstream media. The fifth estate is a concept used to recognize the emerging socio-political significance of the social media in the modern world as a powerful tool for communication, sensitization, and awareness-creation, contributing immensely to shaping the nature of governance in society'. Perhaps, more than any other institution, the media stood out as the major contributor to the struggle for the return to civil rule. The stories of victims and perpetrators bad governance are told through the media. Whatever contributions institutions such as the faith communities, individuals, political parties, and groups have made may not have made huge impacts if the media had not highlighted these contributions during the struggles. Victims of excesses of the state agents had received

succour after the media exposed such. It could be safely concluded therefore that investigative reporting plays a major role in good governance. In fact, the mass media in Nigeria played a critical role in ousting the military from power.

Hypothesis three tested the combined influence of citizen and investigative journalism practices on good governance. The study revealed that there is a joint influence of citizen and investigative journalism practices on good governance. This implied that the null hypothesis was also rejected. Relative influence of the three independent variables on the dependent variable expressed as beta weights, viz: investigative journalism practices and investigative journalism practices. Citizen journalism practices has p value = 0.040 while Investigative Journalism practices has p value = 0.000 meaning that Investigative journalism practices influences good governance more than Citizen Journalism practices. This implies that Investigative journalism practices are more effective in achieving good governance more than citizen journalism practices.

Though investigative and citizen journalism have strong influence on good governance, it can be safely argued from both literature reviewed and this study that governments, especially in Africa, have failed to meticulously adhere to tenets of good governance. Such indices of good governance like transparency and accountability, inclusiveness and participation in governance and electoral process, as well as adherence to rule of law are rarely followed. And even when the media put this on the agenda through investigative and citizen journalism practices, government pick and choose what corrections to make. Sometimes, they even resort to silence, ignoring such media reports. For instance, it still beats the imagination of many development experts and advocates of good governance that just 11 African leaders have collectively ruled for 347 years. Notorious among these are Teodoro Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea (43 years), Paul Biya of Cameroons (42 years),

Dennis Nguesso of Congo (38 years), Isias Afwerki of Eritrea (30 years), Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (37years), Paul Kagame of Rwanda (23 years).

Others are Alhassan Outtara of Ivory Coast (13 years), Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo (38 years), his son Faure Eyadema of Togo (18 years), Omar Bongo of Gabon (42 years) and his son Ali Bongo of Gabon (14 year)<sup>9</sup>. It has been argued that these actions amount coup against the political process and the collective consequences of self-perpetuation were misrule, war, poor governance and civilian coups which have provoked military coups in some parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in former French colonies in recent times. Countries like Mali, Niger have fallen to military juntas and which defied the pleas of near impotent African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

This manipulation of electoral process and all forms of frauds have given rise to loss of trust in the process and the governments, democratic institutions and low participation in the elections in many countries. In Nigeria for instance, though about 93 million adults registered in the last elections, less than 20 million, (representing less than 20 per cent) actually came out to perform their civic responsibility on election day. Other consequences of bad governance include dwindling confidence in the judiciary, hitherto regarded as the last hope of the common man, and loss of confidence in the law enforcement agencies.

This non-compliance with tenets of good governance, nonetheless hardly deters the media from its unalloyed commitment to its duties of championing the cause of good governance, educating and informing the people and governments and promoting social justice around the world<sup>11</sup>.

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## Chapter Five

### Conclusion

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

The study examined the correlations between investigative and citizens journalism practices and good governance in Nigeria. It identified such investigative practices like covert, overt, data-based and laboratory or clinical types of investigative reports. Similarly, it identified institutional and non-institutional citizen journalism and studied them in relation to such indices of good governance as responsiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, rule of law, equity and inclusiveness, accountability, accessibility and transparency in governance.

The study employed descriptive survey research design and sampled 100 journalists based in Oyo State and 20 out of the 32 lawmakers in the Oyo State House of Assembly responded. The main instrument for data collection was structured questionnaires. Data analysis involved was both descriptive and inferential statistics such as percentage distribution and standard deviation. Data of citizen journalism reports especially from such social media platforms like *Omo Ajorosun* and *Mesiogo* were also analysed.

The study showed that both investigative and citizens journalism not only exist in Nigeria but they make strong impact on Good Governance as showed in the mean score of 3.26 and 3.27 among Oyo State lawmakers and journalists respectively. They corroborate the findings from social media platforms, especially *Mesiogo* and *Ajorosun* that citizen journalism promotes good governance.

## 5.2 Conclusion

From the study, it is concluded that institutional and non-institutional citizen journalism are practised by citizens in Oyo State as it was affirmed by journalists and members of Oyo State House of Assembly.

The study also ascertained minimal existence of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State, as the average mean for patterns scored 2.91 which is lesser than 3.0, the decision rule on a scale of 5.

It is also affirmed that citizen journalism practices correlate with good governance in Oyo State as the average mean for the influence of citizen Journalism Practices on Good Governance in Oyo State is 2.92, indicating a minimally high level of influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance, this can be ascertained by the mean 2.92 which shows a little bit closer to the decision rule of 3.0 for a 5-point scale.

The study also ascertained that investigative journalism practices correlate with good governance in Oyo State, as shown by the average mean for the influence of investigative journalism on good governance is 3.10, indicating a high level of influence on good governance. Additionally, findings from the State House of Assembly also scored 3.20, indicating that investigative journalism has high influence on good governance in Oyo State.

The entire 24 citizen journalism reports from the social media also attracted the reaction of the government and its agencies, culminating in infrastructural development, arrest of criminal elements in the society and reduction in ranks or dismissal of erring policemen.

The study indicated that institutional and non-institutional citizen journalism practices exist in Oyo State, as shown from the analysis that the fact that the average mean for

identification of citizen journalism practices which scored 3.07 is higher than 3.0, the decision rule on a scale of 5.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

1. Since citizen journalism practices exist in Oyo State, it is recommended that government and political stakeholders take cognisance of citizen journalism reports.
2. In view of the minimal existence of investigative journalism in Oyo State, media organisations and stakeholders should train journalists on the need of and importance of investigative journalism as it has a key role to play in the society. Media houses should deploy more personnel, funds, and media space to publication of investigative reports, and pay investigative journalists remunerations proportional to risks associated with their jobs, and obtain life insurance policy for them.
3. In view of the positive impact of citizens journalism on good governance and significance of the latter to sustainable national and global growth and development, government should show more interest in good governance so as to reduce maladministration, while media scholars formulate periodic training for developing mechanism for fact-checking of news to eliminate fake news and erosion of confidence in mainstream media.
4. Having established the correlation between investigative journalism and good governance, it is hereby recommended that government and political stakeholders should ensure quick and effective legislative and executive responses to investigative reports in order to promote good governance.

#### **5.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

The study revealed that investigative and citizen journalism are very critical in the promotion of good governance. They are therefore, of immense benefits to policy makers as these genres of journalism strengthen good governance and spur sound policy formulation and legislation.

This study reaffirmed the three theories on which it is premised and exposed the strength of Agenda Setting, Technology Determinism and Spiral of Silence theories with regard to the relationship among investigative and citizen journalism and good governance.

The empirical study adds to the pool of studies, showing that investigative journalism and citizen journalism practices independently influence good governance in Oyo State, thereby closing the gap between citizen and investigative journalism and good governance.

The instruments developed and adopted as well as the content analysis gave dual validation to this study, thereby making verifiable significant contributions to knowledge. The study also gave clarifications to such concepts as citizen journalism and its types, investigative journalism and its genres, good governance and its indices.

The conceptual model developed by the researcher also gave credence to the nexus between investigative and citizen journalism and good governance, hence this study would serve as very useful reference work in academic research and governance.

#### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies**

Further studies could be conducted on effects of fake news and hate speech both of whom emanate from citizen journalism and how they affect good governance.

The tendency for relevant governments and their agencies to be unresponsive to investigative reports and scholarly researches should also be studied to unravel the causes and offer suggestions.

The issues of education, anonymity, originality and dateline of citizen journalists and credibility of their reports should be of interest to other scholars.

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## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire

Department of Mass Communication & Media Technology,  
Faculty of Communication & Information Science,  
Lead City University, Ibadana, Oyo State

#### Dear Respondent

I am a PhD candidate of Mass Communication at the Lead City University, Ibadana, Oyo State, carrying out research on citizen and investigative journalism practices and good governance in Nigeria, as part of requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Mass Communication and Media Technology.

Kindly provide response to the questions below and be assured that the information provided here is for academic purposes and your responses would be accorded the full confidentiality required. Thank you.

Oluwumi Adebisi ADEGOROYE,

#### Section A. Respondent's Bio-Data

1. Sex: Male ( ) Female ( )
2. Academic Qualification: SSCE ( ) NCE/OND ( )  
HND/BA/BSC ( ) MSC/MBA/MA ( ) Ph.D ( )
3. How long have you been in the Oyo State House of Assembly? Less than 4 years  
( ) Less than 8 years ( ) Above 8 years ( )

**SECTION B Patterns of citizen journalism practices in Nigeria**

Please identify your level of agreement with the following statements on citizen journalism practices in Oyo State.

**Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD)**

	<b>Citizens Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Citizen journalism exists in Oyo State					
2.	Citizen journalism is highly practised in Oyo State					
3.	Institutional Citizen journalism practiced in Oyo State					
4.	Non-institutional citizen journalism practiced in Oyo State					
5.	Citizen journalism practices spread unverified information, threaten security					
6.	Citizen journalists need to be trained in media practice					
7.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State					
8.	Citizen journalism practices in Nigeria precipitate enactment of new laws					
9.	Citizen journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State					

### Section C- Patterns of investigative journalism practices in Nigeria

Please identify your level of agreement with the following statements on investigative journalism practices at the Oyo State House of Assembly.

**Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD) NOT**

	<b>Investigative Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Covert Investigative journalism practices exist in Oyo State					
2.	Overt Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
3.	Data-based Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
4.	Scientific Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
5.	Existing laws inhibits investigative journalism In Oyo State					
6.	Investigative journalists need to be protected through insurance schemes					
7.	Investigative journalism practices enrich legislations in Oyo State					
8.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State					
9.	Investigative journalism practices promote good governance in Oyo State					

**SECTION D: Influence of citizen journalism on good governance**

Please show your level of agreement with influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance.

**Strongly Agree (SA)      Agree (A)      Disagree (D)      Strongly Disagree (SD)**

	<b>Citizens Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Citizen journalism makes government officials accountable to the people in Oyo State					
2.	Citizen journalism practices in Nigeria set agenda for discussion at Oyo State House of Assembly					
3.	Citizen journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws					
4.	Citizen journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State					
5.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State					
6.	Citizen journalism practices promotes participation in electoral process					
7.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government in Oyo State					
8.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law					

**SECTION E: Investigative journalism practices have on good governance**

Please show your level of agreement within fluence of investigative journalism practices on good governance.

**Strongly Agree (SA)      Agree (A)      Disagree (D)      Strongly Disagree (SD)**

	<b>Investigative Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Investigative journalism makes government officials accountable to the people					
2.	Investigative journalism practices in Nigeria set agenda for discussion at Oyo State Assembly					
3.	Investigative journalism practices in Nigeria precipitate enactment of new laws					
4.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State					
5.	Investigative journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State					
6.	Investigative journalism practices promote inclusive governance					
7.	Investigative journalism practices promote transparency in governance					
8.	Investigative journalism practices promote rule of laws in Oyo State					

Department of Mass Communication & Media Technology,  
Faculty of Communication & Information Science,  
Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State

**Sir/ Ma**

I am a PhD candidate of Mass Communication at the Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State, carrying out research on citizen and investigative journalism practices and good governance in Nigeria, as part of requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Mass Communication and Media Technology.

Kindly provide response to the questions below and be assured that the information provided here is for academic purposes and your responses would be accorded the full confidentiality required. Thank you.

Oluwumi Adebisi ADEGOROYE,

**Section A. Respondent's Bio-Data**

1. Sex:            Male (  ) Female (  )
2. Academic Qualification: SSCE (  ) NCE/OND (  )  
HND/BA/BSC (  ) MSC/MBA/MA (  ) Ph.D (  )
3. How long have you been a journalist? Less than 4 years (  ) Less than 8 years (  )  
Above 8 years (  )

**SECTION B-**

**Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD) Not Sure (NS)**

	<b>Citizens Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Citizen journalism exists in Oyo State					
2.	Citizen journalism is highly practised in Oyo State					
3.	Institutional Citizen journalism (by individuals with registered company) is practiced in Oyo State					
4.	Non-institutional citizen journalism (by individuals, non-journalists) is practiced in Oyo State					
5.	Citizen journalism practices spread unverified information, threaten security					
6.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws					
7.	Citizen journalism practices precipitate enactment of new laws					
8.	Citizen journalism practices elicit government response in Oyo State					
9.	Citizen journalism practices promote good governance					

**Section C- Patterns of investigative journalism practices in Oyo State.**

Please identify your level of agreement with the following statements on investigative journalism practices at the Oyo State.

**Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD) Not Sure (NS)**

	<b>Investigative Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Covert Investigative journalism practices exist in Oyo State					
2.	Overt Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
3.	Data-based Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
4.	Scientific Investigative journalism is practiced in Oyo State					
5.	Existing laws inhibit investigative journalism					
6.	Investigative journalism practices enrich legislations in Oyo State					
7.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo State					
8.	Citizen journalism practices in Nigeria precipitate enactment of new laws					
9.	Investigative journalism practices promote good governance Oyo State					

**Section C- Influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State.**

Please show your level of agreement with influence of citizen journalism practices on good governance.

**Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD) Not Sure (NS)**

	<b>Citizens Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Citizen journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people in Oyo State					
2.	Citizen journalism practices set agenda for discussion at Oyo Assembly					
3.	Citizen journalism practices precipitate enactment of new laws in Oyo State					
4.	Citizen journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo Assembly					
5.	Citizen journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo Assembly					
6.	Citizen journalism practices promote participation in electoral process					
7.	Citizen journalism practices promote transparency in government in Oyo State					
8.	Citizen journalism practices promote rule of law in Oyo State					

**SECTION E:** Influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance in Oyo State

Please show your level of agreement with influence of investigative journalism practices on good governance.

**Strongly Agree (SA)      Agree (A)      Disagree (D)      Strongly Disagree (SD)**

	<b>Investigative Journalism</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>NS</b>
1.	Investigative journalism practices make government officials accountable to the people					
2.	Investigative journalism practices set agenda for discussion at Oyo State					
4.	Investigative journalism practices in Oyo State precipitate enactment of new laws					
5.	Investigative journalism practices expose corrupt practices in Oyo Assembly					
6.	Investigative journalism practices promote amendment of existing laws in Oyo State					
7	Investigative journalism practices promote inclusive governance					
8	Investigative journalism practices promote transparency in governance					
9	Investigative journalism practices promote rule of laws in Oyo State					

## Bio-data

### A. Personal Data

Name: Adebisi Oluwumi, ADEGOROYE CPO  
Address: 45, Maba Road, Ibafo, Ogun State  
Email: [biyi.fire@gmail.com](mailto:biyi.fire@gmail.com)  
Phone No: +2348033024007  
Date of Birth: 24, April 1966  
Place of Birth: Ode Irele, Ondo State  
Nationality: Nigerian  
Next of Kin: Mrs. Clara N. Adegoroje,  
45, Maba Road, Ibafo, Ogun State  
Tel: 08030566641

### B. Educational Background with Dates

1. Lead City University, Ibadan. PhD, Mass Communication In-View
2. Lead City University, Ibadan. MSc, Mass Communication 2018 – 2020
3. Lagos State University, Ojo Master's Degree,  
International Relations and Strategic Studies 2009 / 2011
4. Lagos State University, BSc (Conversion) 2022- 2024
5. Yaba College of Technology, Lagos  
Publishing (HND) 1999 – 2001
6. Nigerian Institute of Journalism, Lagos 1992
7. United Grammar School, Ode Irele 1979 – 1984
8. Methodist Primary School, Ode Irele 1971 – 1977

## C. Work Experience

**Assistant Editor, New Telegraph**

2014 – to date

### **Duties:**

- Editing News and Politics Pages in The Sunday Telegraph
- Assisting the Sunday Editor
- Conducting High Profile Interviews
- Writing News Analysis and Features
- Editing opinions pages
- Editing Faith Pages

### **Previous Employments**

- General Manager, KTS Security Ltd, Ikeja – for Six months 2013 – 2014
- Overseeing daily running of a private security company
- Recruitment, Administration and Finance

Global Media Mirror

2011 – 2013

Position held: Regional Managing Editor  
(South- West and South- South)

### **Duties:**

- Managing N500m publishing investment
- Ensuring daily production of the newspaper
- Performing business development function and marketing
- Administrative and HR duties over 60 staff
- Co- ordinating editorial functions in 10 states
- Editing news and features stories.

### ▪ **Deputy Editor, Sunday Mirror**

**2010 – 2011**

#### **Duties:**

- Assisting the Editor in performing Editorial and Administrative duties respecting
- Co- ordinating Line Editors and Correspondents in the paper
- Editing pages, gate- keeping and quality control of copies

### ▪ **Head of Investigation Desk**

**2011**

#### **Duties:**

- Leading team on Investigative Desk
- Investigating high profile stories for the Daily, Saturday and Sunday titles.

- **Fidelity Bank Nigeria Plc.** **2008 – 2009**  
**Regional Security Officer**  
**Lagos Mainland & South-West**

**Duties:**

- Site Security and Safety for New Bank Branch Location
- Conducting vulnerability assessment
- Guard force management at all branches
- Public law enforcement liaison
- Ensuring Safety of 24 branches from robbery and environmental disasters
- Protocol functions for VIPs of the bank
- Safety and security education of bank staff
- HR functions/ training of security personnel.

- **Financial Standard, Lagos** **2007 – 2008**  
**Post Held: Associate Editor**

**Duties:**

- Coordinating Political and Security Pages
- Conducting high profile interviews
- Assisting Editor on specific duties

- **The Sun Publishing Ltd** **2003 – 2006**  
**Post Held: News Editor, Saturday Sun.**

**Duties:**

- Editing news and making them publishable
- Investigative Reporting
- Performing other duties assigned by the Editor

- **Daily Times Nig. Plc.** **1998 – 2003**  
**Position Held: Editor, Crime and Investigations**

**Duties:**

- Reporting and editing crime stories
- Writing and investigating stories
- Writing special reports
- Reporting NDLEA, EFCC, UNODC, and INCB,
- Reporting police and private security organizations

- **Reporter, 1992, Chief Correspondent 1997 Daily Times**

**Duties:**

- Reporting Police and Judiciary
- Correspondent, Lagos State Governor's Office 1993 – 1996
- Correspondent, Benue State 1996
- Regional Chief Correspondent, North West 1997 – 1998

**E. Membership of Academic Professional Bodies**

Nil

**F. Publication**

**1. Thesis**

1. Challenges in Consumerism in Nigeria (OND) 1990
2. Media Law and Journalism Practice in Nigeria (HND) 2001
3. Litigation as Conflict Resolution Strategy- Nigeria/ Cameroon (PGD) 2008
4. Managing African Boarder Disputes - Ethiopia and Eritrea as case studies  
(MIRSS) 2012
5. Influence of Media Ownership on Investigate Journalism Practices  
(MSc Project) 2020
6. Citizen and Investigate Journalism Practices as Correlates of Good Governance  
(PhD Thesis) 2023

**2. Contribution to Books:**

- i. **Adegoroye & W. Busari, 2023, *Citizen Journalism as a Threat to Mainstream Journalism in Nigeria, Seminar Proceedings. ISSN 27917655***
- ii. **Adegoroye, 2019, Role of Development Communication in National Development BCOS (Alaga FM and Ajilete FM stations) as Case Studies.**

**Referees**

Professor Tunde Akanni,  
Lagos State University, Ojo,  
Lagos.

Dr. Yemi Oginni,  
Head of Department, Mass Communication,  
Lead City University, Ibadan  
Oyo State

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**Signature**

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**Date**

*Do Not Copy, Lead City University, Nigeria*

### **The University Compliance Certification**

This is to certify that this thesis by Adebisi Oluwumi ADEGOROYE, with Matriculation Number LCU/PG/000449 in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Faculty of Communication and Information Science, Lead City University, Ibadan, is in full compliance with the approved format and style.

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Signature

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Date

*Do Not Copy, Lead City University, Nigeria*