

**NORMATIVE SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTS
IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF *THE GUARDIAN*
NEWSPAPER**

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ABSTRACT

The study aims at interrogating the self-perceptions of journalists in Nigeria. The study is an attempt to answer some questions as: what contributions have journalists made to the democratization of Nigeria from 1960 to date? What role(s) did the media play during and after the transition to democracy? To what extent have the activities of politicians and the business class affected the media's social responsibility? What are the self-perceptions of journalists working in Nigeria's *The Guardian* newspaper? The studies on normative theories of the press, Journalism Culture, and the perceived influences on journalism practice in a democracy were adapted to answer the afore-listed questions. The works on how elite continuity and transitology models affect the perceptions of journalists in new democracies were also used to answer the questions posed. Since the field of research of the preceding works is the West, the Nigerian experience points to issues that were not addressed in the prior studies because of the latter's unique socio-political, historical, economic and ethno-religious structures. The data were collected and analyzed according to the Qualitative paradigm, using in-depth semi-structured individual interviews with journalists working at *The Guardian* newspaper. The findings suggest that the journalists have made positive contributions to Nigeria's democratization. The journalists that support this thesis claim that the self-perceptions of their role have changed from an adversarial position to a democratically-defined social responsibility role. This is because journalists ensure that government policies are implemented and the issues that affect the masses are reported. The findings show that in spite of the shift to democratization some challenges have remained, for example the journalists' lives are not safe; they collect bribes which are popularly called brown envelopes in Nigeria, write biased stories, and hold partisan relationships with the politicians and entrepreneurial elites and so on. The study acknowledges that democratization is in a continuum and that (the stakeholders or) civil society, journalists, the state and the

entrepreneurial elites must contribute to deepen Nigeria's democracy. The study suggests a self-perception theory that uses individual structures and institutions of a country to guide the stakeholders to play roles that will deepen democracy.

KEY WORDS: DEMOCRATIZATION, NEW DEMOCRACY, TRANSITOLOGY, ELITE CONTINUITY, NORMATIVE ROLES.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- ANC** – African National Congress
- AU** – African Union
- FOI Act** – Freedom of Information Act
- EU** – European Union
- FRCN** – Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
- NTA** – Nigerian Television Authority
- NUJ** – National Union of Journalists
- ICT** – Information and Communication Technology
- INEC** – Independent National Electoral Commission
- SABC** – South African Broadcasting Corporation
- USSR** – Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

During the twentieth century, the ferment within the economic, political, social, technological, and religious spheres in countries throughout Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa led to the “third wave” (that began from mid 1980s to 1990s) of transitions from non-democratic governments to democracies (Roberts 1990: vii; Huntington 1990: xiii; Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer 2006; Blankson 2007). Huntington’s notion of the “third wave” of democratization or “new democracy” is used to describe countries that transitioned during or after Huntington’s “third wave” (Beizen 2003:2). Research conducted in emerging democracies around the globe, has shown that the independence of the media in these new democracies (Wasserman & de Beer 2005; de Smaele 2006; Akinrinade 2006; Wasserman 2010; Ojeka & Phillip 2011; Hadland 2012) is often threatened by political and economic elites because they hold the power to give licenses, revoke licenses, advertorials, punish journalists that publish information that will question their persona or policies (Sparks 2006; 2011; Belin 2002; Curran 2005; Voltmer 2006; Blankson & Murphy 2007; Alfaro 2006).

Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer (2006:229) using four new democracies - Bulgaria, Hungary, Chile and Uruguay as case studies – established that normative values, as they have been developed in established democracies, do not always find expression in journalistic practice in new democracies. This means that the normative values developed in established democracies must be adapted to work in the new democracy. This is owing to the fact that they have different histories and institutional structures. Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer’s conclusion is that regardless of the ‘historical and institutional’ differences among these countries, the media in new democracies have been instrumental in their citizens’ political awareness and active political involvement (ibid 2006:229, 241-242). Since democracy in new democracies is in continuum, the media’s role is to ensure that the rights and freedoms of the people are upheld, to make sure that their socioeconomic and political conditions are improved (Arat 2003:1-4). According to Arat,

Civil rights include freedom from slavery and servitude, torture and inhuman punishment, and arbitrary arrests and imprisonment; freedom of speech, faith, opinion, and expression; right to life, security, justice, ownership and assembly. Political rights, the right to vote and nominate for public office; right to form or join political parties. Social and economic rights, include the right to education, work, food, clothing, housing and medical care. (Arat 2003:3)

This chapter presents the background to the study, a statement of the problem, significance of the study, and an overview of the theoretical perspectives, the goal and objectives of the study, the methods, procedures, and techniques used. This introduction justifies the research and provides a structure for the study. The study focuses on the question: what are the role perceptions of journalists in Nigeria's *The Guardian* newspaper? In the process of answering the question, the study interrogates the contributions journalists have made to the democratization of Nigeria from 1960 to date. The role the media has played during and after each transition to democracy within this time frame (that is the role of the media during Huntington's waves of democratization) is also addressed. The study examines how the journalists perform their roles on the one hand and the influence politicians and the business class has on the social responsibility of the media on the other hand. Before the research background will be discussed, the history of the Nigerian media and her democratic development is outlined from the colonial times to the post-colonial times (during both military rule and democracy).

The historical overview of media and political development (background to the study) is useful because it unveils how liberal democracy has been domesticated in Nigeria and how this has affected the self-perceptions of journalists in particular and the running of the media in general. The study questions the core assumptions of liberal democracy and the extent to which it has been adapted in Nigeria, given that meaning making is determined by the cultural, religious and national identities of a people (Castells 2010: iii). Nyamnjoh criticizes the liberal democracy for ignoring 'the social realities of African citizens' multiple identities and their cultural orientation to communal values' (Nyamnjoh 2005:1-80). Liberal democracy will become relevant when it is domesticated to acknowledge the histories, cultures and sociologies of African societies' (ibid 2005:27) for greater relevance. Identity is important in the development of social change and in the Nigerian case, political change from authoritarianism to democracy. Identity shapes the

meaning making of a particular culture, ethnic or religious grouping, and nation. When ethnicity, religion, skin color, or any other physical quality are used in the service of power, the media, civil society and the people become weak, partisan and polarized.

1.1 Research Background: A brief History of the Nigerian Press: 18th – 21st Century

The British (missionaries and colonialists) pioneered the first mass-circulated publications in Africa (Eribo 2002: x; Nyamnjoh 2005:40). Newspaper publications were the conduit for relaying information from the colonies to the colonial administrators. The newspapers were used to teach the locals about the western culture; how to read and write in the language of the colonizers, in the case of Nigeria, the English language. The media in Nigeria grew from the end of the 19th century through to the 20th century (Bourgault 1995). Within this period, the press developed in the eastern, western and northern regions that were merged to form Nigeria in 1914 (Best 1996:10-28, 66-68; Oyediran & Agbaje 1999:3). Best (1996) says that the vernacular newspapers (that is, *Iwe Irohin* and *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*) initially were meant to promote politics of the colonial masters and the Christian religion.

These two vernacular news titles *Iwe Irohin* and *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* stand out, since they were published in two of the widely spoken languages in Nigeria (*Yoruba* in the south and *Hausa* in the north). The location of news titles in the south and north is crucial in Nigeria's history since most of the politicking happened in either of these geo-political zones. Even in the 21st Century, the ownership and the editorial focus of these newspapers is determined by Nigerians from these zones. In fact, some of the news titles have been accused of allowing their ethno-religious affinities to determine the direction of reportage (see section 2.3 in Chapter two for details). *Iwe Irohin* was owned by Anglican Christian missionaries, and the vision was to teach new Christians the doctrines of the faith and to teach the locals literacy skills in English. But *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* was owned by the British colonialists whose vision was to use the newspaper to support their policies. Although they differed in ownership, both *Iwe Irohin* and *Gaskiya ta fi*

Kwabo had the same aims: to publish news and feature articles, to educate the locals on the colonial policies, and to promote literacy.

With the support of the Anglican mission that was based in Abeokuta (in the present day Ogun State, south western Nigeria), Henry Townsend began the publication *Iwe Irohin* in 1859 in Yoruba, a language spoken in that part of Nigeria. *Iwe Irohin* which was first printed in Yoruba and later in English Language was used to promote literacy and Christian ethics (Best 1996:10-28, 66-68; Oyediran & Agbaje 1999:3). Fasan (2013) in a paper presented on the 29th of August 2013 in the Humanities Faculty at Rhodes University argues that the publication created an identity political consciousness in the Yoruba speakers. Identity politics according to the Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy ‘covers a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups’. When people of a particular religion, race, class, gender, ethnicity, ideology, sexual orientation among others have been politically marginalized, the self- interest and society interest shifts the movement away from the traditional broad-based party politics to exclusive political alliances. Fasan believes that:

Identity politics is therefore at the heart of newspaper culture in Nigeria: it speaks to the way and manner of genre formation in news media and the way news media convene their audience. Apart from the profit motive, Nigerian newspapers are set up as part of the apparatus for the capture of state power; to champion and defend ethnic interests in an increasingly ethnically-polarized polity. (Fasan 2013)

Iwe Irohin set the pace for other newspaper production in the southern part of Nigeria. The newspaper folded up in 1971 because it was involved in the local politics of the *Egba* people resident in Abeokuta.

In 1939, L. C. Giles and Mallam Abubakar Imam pioneered the publication of *Gakiya ta fi Kwabo* but it was owned by the northern colonial administrators (Best 1996: 44-62). In the

1950's, Imam and other northern elites withdrew their support for the colonial administration. The editorial focus carried the voice of dissent towards the colonial policies.

Other newspapers that were launched before Nigeria's independence include *The Lagos Daily News*, *Lagos News*, *Daily Times*, *Daily Service*, *Comet*, *West African Pilot*, *Eastern Nigerian Guardian*, *Southern Nigerian Defender*, *Gakiya ta fi Kwabo*, *Nigerian Citizen*, *Nigerian Tribune* (Bourgault 1995:154-156; Best 1996:16-25). These newspapers were owned by Nigerian nationalists, political parties, and politicians namely; Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe to mention a few (Olayiwola 1991:35). The newspapers had a common vision – to unite the interests of different regions (the east, west and north) and to mobilize support for Nigeria's independence. However, they have been criticized for gagging the press, holding partisan relationship with politicians and businesspeople of the same ethnic or religious group as the publishers and editors (ibid 1991:36-38). In this study, it will be assessed if this is a factor in the role perceptions of journalists in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Nigerian state, at present, works according to the elemental definition of democracy (Akinrinade 2006; Nigeria 2003; Edozie 2009). An elemental democracy is one that holds periodic and inclusive free and fair elections; the elected representatives have effective power to govern; basic civil liberties, for example, freedom of speech, assembly and association; additional political, economic and social features associated with industrial democracy. Adherents of the elemental school argue that as long as a country has at least two or more of the aforementioned qualities, it can be regarded as a democracy (Storm 2008:226). The result of the long transition from military rule (that began in 1985 and lasted till 1999) was the establishment of a new democratic government since 1999 to date (Oyediran & Agbaje 1999).

Countries that qualify as new democracies are those that transitioned from authoritarian regimes to democracy during Huntington's third wave in the late 19th century to the early 20th century (Huntington 1990). Nigeria has since transitioned thrice from one Presidency to another (Ojeka

& Phillip 2011). The present Presidency is the longest democratic era since independence that has not been interrupted by military rule. Although, freedom indices from Freedomhouse.org (2011), and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and the results from the 'Democracy Index' presented in Ojeka and Philips's (2011) study, criticizes Nigeria's democracy as authoritarian and the media as only partly free. The political dispensation is authoritarian because the bureaucrats are corrupt and human rights are violated with impunity, among other vices. On the other hand, civil society and majority of the people do not benefit from the dividends of democracy. The media being the strongest agent of civil society does not always have accurate or complete access to information from the government, especially information that is detrimental to the personality and policies of the government. Even when such information is available, journalists are forced to use pseudonyms or publish such information in the alternative media to avoid persecution. CPJ's webpage (<http://www.cpj.org/africa/nigeria/>) substantiates the claim that in Nigeria, murderers of journalists go unpunished, journalists are physically assaulted for playing their roles, and alternative news organizations like *Sahara Reporters*, *Premium Times* are criticized by the government for inciting mutiny within the military and undermining government's efforts to curb terrorism in the northern parts of Nigeria. The webpage has many other examples of attacks journalists are susceptible to, majority of which comes from the government.

A critique on Nigeria's democracy has questioned the capacity of the country to offer the dividends of democracy to her citizens as enshrined in the Constitution (Democracy Index 2012). In spite of the fact that the Nigerian 1999 constitution (Law 2011) and the Freedom of Information Act (Maikasuwa 2011) support the rights of journalists to freely debate issues, and to access information that was initially labeled as classified, journalists in both the pilot study and follow up interviews that were conducted in January and August 2012 indicated that freedom of expression and access to information (either from classified sources or through whistleblowers) is scarce because authoritarian legacies continue to influence the relationship between media and government. In one pilot interview with the respondent I refer to as R05, R05 opined that "Nigeria has celebrated 51 years of independence, but for at least 34 years, the country was ruled by the military, which means that many of us (journalists) and government representatives still

have a military mentality”. R05 explained that Nigeria’s democracy is just deepening and so must be given a chance to grow. This raises the question of how the past continues to influence the journalists’ normative self-perceptions and roles in Nigeria’s democracy.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in the attempt to answer the question of whether the respondents (working with *The Guardian* newspaper) think that their role perceptions have been impacted upon by democracy for the past 13 years. As Huntington observes,

If the election of top decision makers is the essence of democracy, then the critical point in the process of democratization is the replacement of a government that was not chosen in a free, open, and fair election. The overall process of democratization before and after election, however, is usually complex and prolonged. It involves bringing about the end of the non-democratic regime, the inauguration of the democratic regime and then the consolidation of the democratic system. (Huntington 1990:9)

Huntington’s position on democratization has been criticized by Edozie (2009) and Nyamnjoh (2005). The authors observe that Huntington used the western (Northern American and European) individualistic standards to judge new democracies, and as such the new democracies have been disqualified as illiberal because they do not emphasize the needs of individuals or minorities but the common good of the community, the spirits and the elders (Kasoma 1996). Edozie for one argues that the best benchmark for measuring new democracies is the elemental one. The elemental definition of democracy is open-ended because it outlines the basic requirements a country needs to meet the criteria of a democracy (Storm 2008). More so, history records that before colonialism, several African communities like the *Kikuyu* of East Africa, the *Tiv* and *Igbo* in present day Nigeria, had elements of democracy in their traditional institutions (Chazan 1994:62). In these communities, the presence and influence of adults were sought to decide on issues generally or to settle disputes. Statutory representation was administered by

‘youths, traders, artisans, religious leaders, and heads of kin groups had their own delegates in ruling councils’. Chazan points out that as decisions were taken and as judgments were given, the human relationships and the interests of the majority were always put before that of the individual. The ethical standard had the power to put checks and balances for the rulers; a common practice in the old *Yoruba* state in present day Nigeria (ibid 1994:62-63).

This study seeks to understand whether the respondents (working with *The Guardian* newspaper) think that their role perceptions have been impacted upon by democracy for the past 13 years. *The Guardian* newspaper was established during Nigeria’s ‘Second Republic’ from 1979-1983 (Akinrinade 2006:281; Ibelema 2002:173-174). The relative freedom and autonomy the media enjoyed during this period motivated Alex Ibru, the first publisher of *The Guardian* newspaper, to launch the news title in 1983 (Olayiwola 1991:38). *The Guardian* newspaper is printed in English, circulated nationally and claims to be independent and non-partisan (Ikpe 2000; ibid 2002; Folayan 2004: 9-10). It has been run for sixteen years under different military governments and for fourteen years since the country’s return to democracy on May 29th, 1999 (Nigeria 2003; Ismail 2011). This newspaper has been chosen for the study because it has been described as ‘an elitist newspaper’ (Okigbo 1990:8) and as ‘Nigeria's most respected newspaper’ (Brooks 1988). If the claims about the newspaper are true, then it can be assumed that the title appeals to policy makers and opinion leaders (Bates 1975). This means that the images and projects of the political and moneyed class are constantly reported in the newspaper. The questions that have been asked in this sub-section will reveal the degree to which democracy has been accepted and practiced. The answers will also show how the political transition to democracy has impacted on the role perceptions of journalists.

1.4 Goals and Objectives of the Study

This study will examine how journalists working at *The Guardian* perceive their normative roles in Nigeria’s democracy. If the shift from an authoritarian model to democratic governance requires drastic new role orientations (Voltmer 2006: xvii), then this study seeks to understand how the journalists believe their self-perceptions and their occupational cultures (Hanitzsch

2007:268) have affected their journalistic practices from 1999 to date (Ojeka & Phillip 2011; Akinrinade 2006). The study seeks to find out if the shift from authoritarianism to democracy has affected journalists' role perceptions. In other words, it is an attempt at finding out if the political transition had an influence on the way journalists think about themselves. This study will be located within the literature on:

- a) Transitology and elite continuity in new democracies.
- b) Normative media theory as it relates to the roles of journalists working in a democracy.
- c) Constituents or categories of influences on journalism.

Christians, McQuail, Nordenstreng, Glasser and White's (2009) work on normative theories of the press will be used as the main theoretical framework, while Hanitzsch work on self-perceptions and occupational cultures of journalism and Sparks' (2006, 2008, and 2011) work on transitology and elite continuity theories will support the main theory. Although these scholars write from different historical and geopolitical contexts, their works have common themes. They share the perception that certain processes are developing universally and influencing journalism (Hanitzsch 2007:367). These processes include globalization, democratization, the growth of Information Communication Technologies (ICT), increasing market orientations, media convergence, self-regulation, pluralism, and increased diversity (Christians et al. 2009:115-116).

Christians et al.'s (2009) four normative roles of the media explain the roles that journalists can be expected to play in a democracy. In their work, journalists play a *monitorial role* when they perceive themselves as the watchdogs, the neutral links between the government, policy makers and the public (ibid 2009:139-157). Journalists play a *facilitative role* when they actively take part in making decisions in public domains (ibid 2009:158-173), thus supporting civil society and democracy. The media and journalists fit into a *radical role* model when they strive towards greater equality and freedom in democratic societies (ibid 2009:179-195). Journalists play the *collaborative role* when they align with the government or corporate interests for their mutual advantage (ibid 2009:196-218). Christian et al.'s (2009) model was used to guide the selection

and interpretation of relevant data and help the researcher to suggest explanations on the role(s) journalists say they play in Nigeria's democracy.

Besides delineating the roles of journalists, the study draws on Thomas Hanitzsch's (2007) theoretical framework to understand their normative self-perceptions. Hanitzsch has proposed categories that can be used to systematically analyse and comparatively define the important elements of 'Journalism Culture' (2007:367-371; worldsofjournalism.org) in various countries. In his work, Journalism Culture is described as the way journalists 'think and act' (ibid 2007:369). Journalism Culture can be articulated from three levels of analysis: the cognitive, the evaluative and the performative levels (ibid 2007:369). This study seeks to understand Journalism Culture from the 'evaluative level' because the role perceptions of journalists are shaped within this continuum. Within this continuum, 'institutional roles and ethical ideologies' (ibid 2007:371-379) are constituents that will be used to show if journalists in Nigeria perceive their roles as monitorial, facilitative, radical or collaborative (Christians et al. 2009).

The theories of transitology and elite continuity will help the researcher to understand why and how the journalists' roles and self-perceptions have been formed in new democracies. Transitologists argue that 'universalistic sets of assumptions, concepts and hypotheses' can serve as the guide (and be applied) to understand the change from an autocratic to a democratic era (Schmitter & Karl 1994:173). Sparks argues that transitology deals with the shift from a dictatorial regime to the 'western-style of democracy'. The elite continuity or social continuity theory explains why politicians and business people from a former regime retain their financial and political power in a new political era (Sparks 2008:7-10). The elite continuity theory explains why the institutions (media, business elites, state and others) maintain power in democracy as they did in the non-democratic regime (Sparks 2009:195-214). Power relations are sustained because political revolutions do not always herald social revolutions. This study adapts these theories circumspectly taking cognizance of the critiques on them (see section 2.1 in Chapter two for details on the transitology and elite continuity theories).

The primary goal of this research is to identify and analyse the journalists' stated role perception first, within Christians et al.'s (2009) study. These normative positions will be used as the standard for defining what role the journalists say they perform. Secondly, Hanitzsch's (2007) models are used to understand why journalists perceive their roles as they do. The research analyses themes chosen from interview transcripts to explore how their normative role(s) find expression in their journalistic practice.

1.5 Methods, Procedures and Techniques

The methodology chosen to explore the afore-listed research goals is a qualitative research design that is rooted in the phenomenological tradition (Babbie & Mouton 2001:270-273; Mouton 2001:137-142; Babbie 2007:20-28). Phenomenology thrives when an experience or condition is explained by research participants. The research participants may come to the experience as individuals or as a group. And the job of the phenomenologist is to investigate the effects and perceptions of the experience or condition. The qualitative paradigm focuses on understanding people as they make sense of the world around them (Stake 1995:37-38; Deacon et al 1999:6-9; Babbie & Mouton 2001:28-30; Denzin & Lincoln 2005:3-4; Creswell et al 2007:252-255). This methodology is proper for the study because the researcher seeks to understand the journalists' personal reflections on their identities and roles as they engage in their work within the Nigerian democracy (Mouton 2001:138-142). These roles will first be examined as they emerge from the interview transcripts. Secondly, the relevant normative themes found in the transcripts will be used to delineate how their self-perceptions affect the practice of journalism. Qualitative content analysis (Zhang & Wildemuth 2009) of relevant themes was done to explore how the stated role perceptions of journalists find expression in their reportage. The data was analyzed according to the theoretical frameworks of Christians et al. (2009), Hanitzsch (2007), Sparks (2008, 2010, 2011).

In order to generate data from the journalists working at *The Guardian*, in-depth (semi-structured) individual interviews (Deacon et al 1999:289-290) were used. In both inductive and deductive analysis, the data is first prepared, then organized and analysed (Elo & Kyngäs

2008:109-112; Kracauer 1952:641-642). After reading through and making sense of the data, the researcher inductively analyses the data by describing the specific themes before they are joined into a general statement. The theories discussed in Chapter three guided the deductive analysis of data from general themes to more specific ones. The researcher worked through a broad spectrum of responses from top to bottom in order to establish a specific conclusion. The study takes into cognizance the fact that the hypothesis may not be completely proven if the premise is wrong.

The total sample frame was sixteen journalists that volunteered in both pilot and follow-up interviews conducted in January and August 2012 respectively. A sample frame is the entire sampling units in the population, or the specific number of respondents sampled in a research (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1996:179-181). This sample was obtained via snowball sampling. Snowball technique is a method where the researcher depends on respondents to refer her or him to other respondents (Vogt 1999). This method was suitable because the researcher had no prior social contact with the respondents. Thus, there was a need to be guided to those who could give expert opinions on the research questions. Respondents who granted the interviews were male and female within senior and junior cadres at *The Guardian* newspaper. During the pilot interviews, respondents were asked among other questions to describe their roles in Nigeria's democracy. The results show that journalists believe they contribute significantly to the growth of democracy because they meet the information needs of citizens within the different strata of society. The main study's interview used model questions from Hanitzsch's World of Journalism Project (www.worldsofjournalism.org) as a guide to understand how journalists see their normative self-perceptions and roles in the Nigerian democracy. This main study is built on the results from the pilot study in order to explain in details, the self-perceived roles of journalists according to the normative frameworks in the literature.

1.6 Structure of the Study

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one gives the general introduction to the thesis. Chapter two discusses the basic assumptions and debates from available literature on the role of

the media, politics and the economy in new democracies. The literature provides details of how the media institutions in Nigeria and in Ghana, South Africa, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Uruguay to mention a few, run either as newly transitioned democracies or as developing democratic societies. It also presents the theoretical framework that will guide the interpretation of data. Chapter three presents a qualitative research methodology as the overarching method used to collect and interpret data. This chapter justifies why phenomenology and the qualitative model are right for the study. It justifies why this method is superior to others in dealing with the research question, given that the aim of using the qualitative methodological approach is because the researcher seeks to understand and show the common sense articulations of journalists' self-perceptions of themselves and their roles, as they work with *The Guardian* newspaper. Chapter four presents the data, discussion, analyses and interpretation of the findings. Chapter five offers the overall conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.7 Thesis Outline

This introductory chapter gave the structure and the justification for this study. It introduced the general background to the study by providing a panoramic vista of earlier works. Then, it stated the goals and objectives of the study and why it was worth pursuing them. The chapter indicates that the study used qualitative research methods. The next chapter presents a review of relevant literature for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will first examine the power the political actors (that is, the businesspeople, civil society, and the state) give media organizations in the African context and in new democracies. Secondly, the factors that shape the role perceptions of journalists in new democracies and how these affect their civic obligations to the public will also be examined. This is because the roles the media play (both formal and informal) are worthy of media scholars' attention (Hydén & Leslie 2002:1-2, 25). Thirdly, the chapter will examine how journalists interpret and apply democratic principles to their work; how their activities can promote or hinder the growth of democracy. The activities of the powerful actors or elites (Higley & Burton 1989:17), the state and economic realities that are both exogenous and indigenous have been found (Bunce 1995:123) to either restrain or promote the transition to and the consolidation of a new democracy. The transitology and elite continuity models and the normative theories of the media will guide the theoretical framework of this study. Transitology describes the shift from a dictatorial regime to the 'western-style of democracy' (Sparks 2008:7-24; 2011a:1-40). The elite continuity or social continuity theory explains why politicians and business people from a former regime retain their financial and political power in a new political era (Sparks 2008:7-10).

Transitologists argue that 'universalistic sets of assumptions, concepts and hypotheses' can serve as the guide (and be applied) to understand the change from an autocratic to a democratic era (Schmitter & Karl 1994:173). They further advise that a conceptual 'stretching' of the theory is important if it must be applied to societies outside of Southern Europe and Latin America (ibid 1994:174). In comparative politics, conceptual stretching happens when the meanings of concepts are applied to different political contexts (Sartori 1970:1034). Sartori (1970:1033-1052) and Collier and Mahon (1993:845-855) support this claim but admit that conceptual stretching must be context-specific, because it is difficult to make broad comparisons, given that 'political

science and social reality is heterogeneous, applying a category in a given context requires detailed knowledge of the context and categories can easily be misapplied'. (Collier & Mahon 1993:846). Transitology occurs within a specific period known as a 'wave of democratization'. According to Huntington,

A wave of democratization is a group of transitions from a non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period. A wave usually involves liberalization or partial democratization in political systems that do not become fully democratic. (Huntington 1990:15)

Transitology has the following traits

- (1) An aim to create a universal theory of democratization in different social contexts; (2) the conviction that democratization is one-way and gradual process of several phases; (3) an emphasis that the single crucial factor for democratic transition is a decision of the political elites and not structural features; and (4) the normative belief of neoliberal nature, that the consolidation of the institute of democratic elections and other reforms of its own accord establish effectively functioning states. (Jankauskas & Gudzinskas 2007:181)

The transitology model (Sartori 1970; Sparks 2008; 2011a) and the elite continuity model (Sparks 2009; 2011b) have been adapted to understand the development of the media organizations in new democracies. Other scholars that have described from different perspectives the importance of the media in new democracies are Geddes (1999:117), Carothers (2002:5-8), Voltmer & Schmitt-Beck (2006:228-242), Sparks (2008:7-24), Petsins (2010:301-319) and Sparks (2011a:1-40). The ideal roles of journalists and the influences on journalism that complement the transitology and elite continuity models have been prescribed by Christians,

Glasser, Theodore, McQuail and White (2009). Other relevant studies done on the influences on journalism practice by Hanitzsch (2007) and Hanitzsch et al. (2010; 2011) will be applied to this study. The studies were conducted during the third wave (mid 1980s to 1990s) (Huntington 1990). This was a period when one-party democracies, right-wing authoritarian regimes, weak Liberalized regimes, personalist rule, military dictatorships, the Soviet Union and Communist regimes evolved into constitutional democracies in sub-Saharan Africa (Wiseman 1996:15-102), East and South Asia, Middle Eastern countries, Eastern, Central and Western Europe, former Soviet Union and in Southern America (Huntington 1990:21-26; Carothers 2002:5-20). The transitions that happened as a result of different causes, in different degrees and paces, ushered in more liberalized regimes and more democracies than in any time (Geddes 1999:115).

At least 20 years have gone by since the third wave of democratization and because of this fact some scholars have argued that the transitology paradigm has outlived its relevance theoretically and methodologically. The transitology paradigm has been criticized because transitions do not always follow the chronology of opening, break-through and consolidation (Carothers 2002:6-20). For Schmitter and Karl (1994:175), consolidation is the process of stabilizing a well-functioning democracy, or deepening a democratic process. In reality, the movement from dictatorial rule to democracy can and does follow a convoluted pattern of regression, stagnation, instability, and vulnerability before consolidation takes place. Of the 100 countries Carothers analysed, 20 are reported to be making democratic progress but greater majorities have not deepened their democracy beyond the initial stage. After reviewing 163 authoritarian regimes in 94 countries, Geddes explains that the transitions are dissimilar, complex, and lack methodological depth. As such, transitology theory can be used to describe political events but not to explain them. One country's experience cannot be generalized and the generalizations that have been given cannot 'accommodate all the real world differences' (Geddes 1999:117).

Accordingly, Carothers argues that most of the transitional countries are neither dictatorial nor democratic because they have entered the political gray zone. Countries in a political gray zone have attributes of democracy like multi-parties, regular periodic elections and democratic constitutions, but a fair representation of the citizens' interests is lacking. Also, political

participation does not go beyond voting, and the citizens' confidence in state institutions and state policies are poor, among other factors. Democracy thrives when: (a) the state is coherent and functioning, (b) the political elites are accountable to the citizens and committed towards consolidating democracy, (c) the level of economic and social development of a country is high and (d) the political pluralism is not muffled (Carothers 2002:16). As a result of the limitations of the transitology paradigm, scholars have been advised to compliment transitology theory with other frameworks for understanding political cultures, more so that 'many countries that policy makers and aid practitioners persist in calling "transitional" are not in transition to democracy' (Carothers 2002:6). Other critiques on the transitology paradigm have been done by Holzer (2006:1-16); Wolff (2008:1-23); Shen & Chan (2010:31-52) and Petsins (2010:301-319). With these critiques in mind, this study will apply the transitology theory to discuss Nigeria's movement towards or away from democracy from 1960 to date. The discussion will be centered on the role of the state and how it affects the pace and degree of attempts to consolidate democracy (Jankauskas & Gudzinskas 2007:182, 194-197). It will also focus on how the socially and economically powerful elite and civil society's activities affect the media in a specific context.

The elite continuity theory explains why the institutions (media, business elites, state and others) maintain power in democracy as they did in the non-democratic regime (Sparks 2009:195-214). Power relations are sustained because political revolutions do not always herald social revolutions. When a political revolution is underway

There is considerable continuity in both institutions and personnel between the old regime and the new. Institutions like the civil service, the army, and the broadcasters do not change' (ibid 2009:196).

Even when change or 'elite renewal' occurs, the entrepreneurs and politicians share affiliations with the old regime either as cronies or relatives, as obtainable in Nigeria, Russia, China, South Africa (SA) among many others. In the defunct Soviet Union, elite continuity, especially in the state apparatus (both at local and regional levels) was sustained (White and Kryshtanovskaya

1998:125-146). The determinants of a stable democracy have shifted from social structure i.e. economy, religion, bureaucracy, private enterprise and public administration, culture and religion to the actions of the political determinants, that is, the powerful actors or elites (Higley & Burton 1989:17).

In post-Communist Estonia, the political elite successfully adopted democracy, but maintained their leadership positions (Steen & Ruus 2002:223-248). This trend was the norm in almost all post-Communist countries since there was a lack of oppositional counter-elites to take over those positions. After the transition, those that had intellectual skills among the old elite converted such to political and social capital, while those that did not wish to remain in politics converted their political capital to economic assets and social status, thus leading to elite continuity. Post-apartheid South Africa recorded a political power shift from the white minority rule to the black majority democracy, but, white economic and sociological dominance remains intact (Sparks 2005:47). The continuous dependence of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) on advertising revenue from the majority of the wealthy audience members that are white and the continuous operational control of the press by the same racial group is problematic (Sparks 2009:207-214). The economic challenges the public broadcaster and other media outlets face make them to renege on their commitment to promote programs that target the poor and disadvantaged in SA. The entrepreneurial continuity is telling about the fact that the media in SA have not been able to bolster up major changes in the government as is evident in other democracies that transitioned in the third wave (Sparks 2011b:5-19). However, the alternative or community media do make available information that the citizens can use to exert formal control over the state '(through elections) and informal control (through public opinion)' (Carpentier 2007:152).

In the next subsection, the transitology and elite continuity models are adapted for examining media and political developments in Nigeria. Like the other democracies of the third wave, the political ideology of the country's fifty three years since independence oscillated from one military dictatorship to another before democracy was accepted (Huntington 1990; Arat 2003; Diamond 1994; Akinrinade 2006; Edozie 2009). The experiences of the countries that

transitioned in the third wave provide the backdrop for this study pointing to the similarities and differences of the normative roles of journalists in Nigeria. The impacts of the institutional and social continuities in the media after Nigeria's transition to democracy are discussed. This is done with the knowledge that the pattern of democratization of any polity and the marketization or privatization of the media does not follow the same pattern in different societies (Sparks 2008:16-17; Carothers 2002:5-8; Edozie 2009:7). The transitology and elite continuity framework are applied to understand the past experiences of journalists in Nigeria since independence. The models will help readers understand the journalists' perception of their roles and their civic duties or contributions to the political development in Nigeria. To do this systematically, the chapter is divided into three sections.

Section one describes concepts like new democracy, the waves of democratization, media development in the third wave of democratization and how they apply to the context of this study. Section two presents the key issues in the development of the Nigerian media and journalists' contributions to democracy within two periods: the post-colonial or the military era (1960 to 1998) and the democratic or post-military era (1999 to date). This is done bearing in mind Edozie's critique that Huntington's application of the waves of democratization in post-colonial Africa is Afro-pessimistic. She argues that,

Normative political science's explanation of democratization in Africa suggests that African political elites lack the values and ideals required to effectively establish and operate a Liberal democracy. Such a notion comes to a misleading conclusion that democracies in Africa are not democracies at all. (Edozie 2009:6)

Edozie argues that it is normal for African democracies to go through 'the cyclical, second-try, interrupted ... patterns' of politics because this contributed to the democratic development in Africa (ibid 2009:4-8). In other words, 'democracy is in a continuous 'state of becoming' (Diamond 1999:4) and it is open to improvement or deterioration. The speed and depth of democratic development are dependent on how new democracies prioritize 'the political and

economic rights and needs of their societies' (ibid 2009: xxii-xiv). Arat (1991:4) supports Edozie's thesis that the degree of democratization is dependent on the ability of a political system to recognize and enforce socioeconomic, civil and political rights of citizens. Section three gives explanations on the normative role prescriptions of journalists working in a democracy; the influences on journalism and how it applies to new democracies, Nigeria inclusive.

Section One

2.2 Media Development in Third Wave Democracies: 1980s – 1990s

According to Huntington (1990), political institutions in the modern world developed in three waves of democratization (ibid 1990:15-26). The first wave of democratization that had its roots in the French and America Revolutions occurred from 1828 to 1926. The second wave of democratization started at the beginning of the Second World War in 1943 and ended in 1962. The 1950s and 1960s, was the time many countries in sub-Saharan Africa had their first liberation or independence from their colonizers. During the third wave of democratization (mid 1970s to the 1990s), most of sub-Saharan Africa gained a second liberation from failed political systems, undemocratic regimes, corrupt regimes and failed economic policies (Roberts 1990; Butts & Metz 1996:1; Legum 1990:80, 75; Hydén & Okigbo 2002:42; Nyamnjoh 2005:53). The regimes became unpopular in the 80s and 90s because the elite were guilty of serving few ethnic or other interest groupings where a minority dominated the majority of the populace. Democracy was promoted on the continent by the African initiative centres that promote pluralistic political systems (Huntington 1990:80).

The transition to democracy affects other facets of the society (Diamond 1994:8), including the media; the shift calls for radical new role orientations for the media practitioners in particular and the society at large (Vltmer 2006: xvii). In the first instance, the media institutions' perspectives must change from serving the government's interest to upholding their autonomy,

providing democratic education (i.e. enlightening the public about government's policies, the people's rights, privileges and responsibilities). The transition to democracy 'provides a unique opportunity for deepening both *theoretical* and *empirical* understandings of the functioning of democratic institutions in different cultural and political contexts' (Votmer 2006:1). The different democracies and media practices in the third wave began to proliferate after the 1970s (Storm 2008:217; Collier & Levitsky 1997:430-432; Sparks 2008:7; Edozie 2009:6-8).

The concept of democracy that is applied in this study is the 'elemental or minimalist' one (Storm 2008). The adherents of the elemental definition of democracy, Collier and Levitsky, argue that a society is democratic so long as it has the following collectively acceptable qualities: periodic and inclusive – free and fair elections; elected representatives that have effective power to govern; basic civil liberties, for example, freedom of speech, assembly and association; additional political, economic and social features associated with industrial democracy. A country can be regarded as a democracy when it has at least two or more of the aforementioned qualities (Storm 2008:226). The other necessary precondition for a vibrant democracy is the joint effort of the state and the electorate (Democracy Index 2011). The state on one hand must provide the basic needs of the people, while the electorate exercise their suffrage, perform their civic duties as well as call politicians to account for their performance. The elemental definition is relevant since history and socio-political peculiarities determine how different countries transition to and develop their democracies (Diamond 1994:1). Some of the peculiarities, the 'beliefs, values and attitudes ...' are shaped by '...life experiences, education and the social class' of the people.

The elemental theory does not rank any conceptual benchmark of democracy over others (Storm 2008:228). The elemental theory holds that any state that possesses more of these elements should be considered to have a higher degree of democracy while countries that have few of these elements are considered to operate according to a lower degree of democracy. Storm's work on elemental democracy points to other positions on democratization, new democracy, and transitology held by Huntington (1990:7-8, 11-12, 35), Collier and Levitsky (1997), Merkel (2004), Gleditsch and Ward (2006), Shin (2006:1-2, 8) Doorenspleet and Kopecký (2008). The

authors share the consensus that democratic elections must be validated by a majority of the citizens and one or more teams of experienced and unbiased international electoral monitoring bodies as open, honest, free and fair. The elections must be competitive and the suffrage must be inclusive – a situation where both the young and aged are allowed to vote (Doorenspleet & Kopecký 2008:698; Diamond 1999; Shin 2006:8). The elected governments that are ‘... inefficient, corrupt, short-sighted, irresponsible, dominated by special interests, and incapable of adopting policies demanded by public good’ are undesirable but not undemocratic. A political dispensation becomes undemocratic when a ‘non-democratically chosen group’ exercises more power over an elected government (Huntington 1990:10). Democracy is the only political system that has doubled in both the number and capacity (Diamond 2002:25-26) and received overwhelming mass approval throughout the world (Inglehart 2003:53). This global appeal of democracy has been acknowledged by the Islamic Middle East, Confucian East Asia and in the former Soviet Union (although many of them are yet to accept democracy as the norm) (Dalton & Ong 2006; Gibson et al. 1992; Park & Shin 2005; Dew Research Center 2003; Tessler 2002). In Nigeria, a majority or near majorities of the adult population agree that democracy is preferred to other political systems (Shin 2006).

The elemental position applies to Nigeria because the democracy from 1960 to date is not yet consolidated or mature. Irrespective of this fact, Nigeria can be categorised as a democracy because the process to maturity is underway. Furthermore, the appeal and growth of democracy from a global perspective is periodically analysed by organizations like the Economist Intelligence Unit’s Index of Democracy, Centre for Journalists Protection and Freedom House, among others. A statistical presentation of Freedom House shows that in the past twenty three years (1989-2011), the number of electoral democracies in the world appreciated from 69 countries to one hundred and seventeen countries (Electoral Democracies 2012). Freedom Houses’ report from 1972 to 2011 reveals that the level of democratic freedom from the global scale grew from forty four free countries in 1972, to eighty seven free countries in 2011 (Freedom Status 2012). To gain and maintain relevance, a democracy needs other freedoms like freedom of organization and freedom of expression (Diamond 2002:21-22). Freedom allows for the proliferation of alternative media sources and other civil institutions that will strive to make

sure that the government policies are in favour of the majority of the citizens. A pluralistic, diverse and independent media can be realized when the media, politicians, civil society and the public work together (de Smaele 2006:42-45). For the media to remain free and to be able to serve public interest, it must be autonomous of the political institution (state), resist all pressure(s) from financial elite as well as other forms of control.

This study will analyse media and democracy in Nigeria against the background of the experiences of other countries. Key assumptions in this regard are:

- 1) Democracy has been demanded for and accepted as the ideal system of governance;
- 2) The values and the norms of democracy as a political system and a political process may differ in degree and context and to some extent in its form;
- 3) The level of democratic orientation will affect media performance;
- 4) The depth of media pluralism and diversity will in turn affect the understanding of the civil right and political rights within a society.

The indicators used by the political and economic analysis of the Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy show that the developments of their media organizations in the third wave have similar trends with Nigeria (Democracy Index 2011:3-7). These similarities will be explored, bearing in mind Colin Sparks' warning that media institutions have national outlook, thus making it difficult to: (a) establish the legitimacy of chosen examples, (b) limit the scope of comparison so that national issues are given the needed attention, (c) choose correct indicators that can be used to make the comparison (Sparks 2006:6-7, 8-12). The post-Communist media in Poland became more pluralistic after transitioning to democracy in 1990. Nevertheless, the government continues to control the media (Sparks 2006:1, 6). Sparks posits that during the transition, the media disseminated elitist information and held partisan relationship with different political parties, and by extension, the state (Sparks 2008:13). The media in Spain willingly

collaborated with the government after their transition to democracy on November 20th 1975 (Barrera & Zugasti 2006:23-25, 40). The media supported the government's agenda to promote reconciliation, democratic participation and national unity in a state that had gone through civil war. One group that was left out of the collaboration were 'violent extremist or extremist groups' (ibid 2006:38).

After the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in 1991, the Russian government relinquished control over the media so that the media ownership became pluralistic (de Smaele 2006). The new ruling power took advantage of this pluralism to procure the news titles that were used to amplify their personal interests (de Smaele 2006). The media was used by the politicians because the former depended on the latter for (state) subsidies or (corporate) sponsorship, operation licenses, printing houses, transmitters, satellites among other things that stunt the growth of democracy and information dissemination (ibid 2006:54). Russian journalists cooperated with the new government for 'normative considerations' since information was scarce (de Smaele 2006:52), while the media organizations that refused to cooperate were ostracized (Sparks 2006:48) or resorted to bribery to get information (de Smaele 2006:53).

From the experiences of new democracies in East-Central Europe (Bulgaria and Hungary, former communist states) and in Southern America, (Chile and Uruguay, former authoritarian regimes), Voltmer and Schmitt-Beck (2006) establish that the normative values as they have been developed in established democracies do not always find expression in journalistic practice of new democracies because of discrepancies in their history, culture and institutional structures (Sparks 2006:228-229). The elite continuity has also been observed in Brazil where 'the same companies, same families, same senior editors ran the media before, during and after the military dictatorship' (Sparks 2011:19-20). This relationship the media has with the state and the political elite determines its audience, orientation and ownership (ibid 2011:12). According to Sparks, certain characteristics that are synonymous to new democracies (Nigeria inclusive) are elite continuity in the civil service, broadcast media, 'both in their social position and in terms of their internal structure', weak democratization, stifled critical media and adversarial reporting (Sparks 2006:229-230; 241-242; Sparks 2008:10). Having established that the issues the media

organizations in the third wave democracies face are similar, it becomes imperative to interrogate Nigeria's democracy and media development to understand the similarities or differences if any.

Section Two

2.3 Democratization and Media Development in Nigeria (1960 to date)

Before 1960, British colonial rule in Nigeria (1895-1960) and local military governments after independence on the 1st of October 1960 (Ogbondah 1992:1-18) influenced the development of politics and the press. Ogbondah, with support from Ojo (2007:245-550), claim that the press laws enacted by both regimes stifled freedom of the press, and retarded political and economic development. Nigeria's first attempt (1960-1966) and subsequent attempts (1979-1983; August to November 1993) (Akinrinade 2006:284) at democracy suffered reversals because the socio-economic, ethno-religious and political unrest made it impossible for the different governments to grant the citizens their civil, social and economic rights (Ibeanu 2000:45; Arat 2003:9; Ikwuchukwu 2006: 381-390; Igwe 2010:116-122). These problems motivated the military's intervention, (although the same problems like corruption repeatedly escalated under their watch), until the regime and its policies became unpopular and another more repressive regime took over (Butts & Metz 1996:5-10). From 1960 to 1998, several attempts to establish democracy in Nigeria (Crowder 1987:7; Ojeka and Phillip 2011:1) were sabotaged by seven successful military coups d'état (Butts & Metz 1996:3; Roberts 1990). In 1966, the nation's first attempt at democracy ended after six years and the next twenty nine years were military regimes (Butts & Metz 1996:3). The frequency of military coups in Nigeria and the struggle to set up democracy left many of the citizens traumatized politically, economically and otherwise (Butts and Metz 1996: v). The focus in this section is the democratization and the development of the media in Nigeria during the First Republic (1960-1966); the Second Republic (1979-1983); the Third Republic (August 1993 - November 1993) and the Fourth Republic (1999 - to date) (See Appendix I for details of the different democratic eras).

The British colonial power handed authority to the first indigenous government in 1960 (Olayiwola 1991:36). The media titles' ownership was released to the government, political parties, regional powers or private individuals. The ownership and editorial focus of the newspapers changed from fighting the colonialists to tackling the issues that came up during the First Republic. In the 1960s, many journalists in Nigeria had different opportunities to be trained both at home and abroad by multilateral and bilateral aid organizations, foundations and non-profit groups like the International Press Institute, The British Council, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the United States Information Agency (Bourgault 1995:172). Since the sociological and anthropological realities show how the nation-states have dissimilar cultural, historical, political, economic, and religious realities (Nyamnjoh 2005), local journalists read the 'libertarian journalistic principles' imparted to them by these training institutions - like the need for the media to be the 'Fourth Estate' - as contrary to a prior understanding of their roles as stakeholders in nation building (Best 1996 44-58, 62). The project of establishing democracy experienced failure because the civil society in Africa is weak, and the notions of ethnicity and belonging have impacted on the peoples' identity which ultimately clashes with their self-perceptions and their roles in a democracy (Nyamnjoh 2005:26, 28-39).

The ideals of Liberal democracy must be adapted circumspectly to solve the political problems (Nyamnjoh 2005) in non-Western countries. One attempt that has been made to adapt the liberal ideals has birthed the notion of "development journalism". Development journalism, in a sense, has bridged the gap between African notions of "nation building" and Western notions of a "free and unfettered press" (Bourgault 1995:173). Bourgault believes that the politicians of the 60s, 70s and 80s did not allow freedom of expression in the media because the press culture they inherited from the colonialists was never free. The politicians were sceptical of a free press because they feared the individualistic ideals would thwart their 'nationalistic' efforts at uniting the disparate ethnic groups or retard the growth of the economy and institutions. The military rulers that overthrew the first democracy also used legal machinery like the laws of sedition and libel to deter journalists from probing into their affairs. Other bureaucratic measures like licenses and taxes were put in place to control the media, while the issues that concerned the government were censored (ibid 1995:177-178).

During the First Republic (1960-1966), journalism was marred by verbal clashes between government-owned media and regional media, overt partisanship, ethnic, sectional and religious differences (Olayiwola 1991:35; Oyeleye 2004; Akinwale 2010:56). The same issues were reported differently by the Southern regional media and the Northern regional media, the political parties and government media. This led to an inter-ethnic strife that aided the first coup which ended the First Republic (Dudley 1973:106-109; Ikpe 2000: 146-149, 152-156; Legum 1990:76).

The Second Republic (1979-1983) opened the way for more private media organizations (both print and electronic) including *The Guardian* newspaper (Akinrinade 2006). When the military junta seized power in 1983, they liberalized the polity and privatized the economy in a bid to win the support of the people. The authoritarian tendencies of the regime did not allow such initiatives to mature since the restrictions that were used to gag the press (the state media and censorship) made the media weak, partisan and ethnocentric (Akinwale 2010:55). The journalists were accused of reporting press conferences they never attended, or publishing press releases that were never issued and some were pay rolled by politicians among other issues. Like in the First Republic, media titles that were owned by the government and political parties were to blame. Similar trends have been reported in the third wave democracies mentioned earlier. Since the ownership patterns of a majority of the press were maintained, this contributed to the return of the military junta in December 1983 (Olayiwola 1991).

Prior to the Third Republic (August-November 1993), General Ibrahim Babangida used every power available to him to intimidate, arrest, and proscribe media outfits that spoke against his policies or his failure to hand over power to a democratic government (Ojo 2007:545-547). Newspaper vendors were arrested and copies of their newspapers were confiscated by Babangida's thugs. The climax of the oppression the media personnel or media organizations suffered was witnessed in July 1993 when seventeen newspapers and magazines and one broadcasting outlet were closed down in a single day based on the allegation that they were a threat to national security. This heavy handedness forced many of the journalists to go

underground, adopting a 'guerrilla' style of journalism when sourcing, publishing and distributing their publications (Dare 1998).

During the Third Republic, several calls from the local civil society and external institutions (like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and United Nations (UN) as well as the United States of America (USA) for a democratic Nigeria were again ignored or frustrated (Butts & Metz 1996:5-10). General Babangida annulled the election that was considered the freest in the history of the country. The following year (June 12 1994) M.K.O Abiola, winner of the 1993 elections, pronounced himself head of State. This action cost him his freedom because he was arrested and charged for treason. In spite of the harsh conditions, civil activist continued to condemn the junta for suspending *Habeas Corpus*, for proscribing many media titles and for dismissing civilians within the government.

Civil society activists, the opposition parties and the media's efforts to see Nigeria return to democracy from 1985-1998 were met with arrests, incarcerations, and deaths (Olukotun 2002a:317-342; Olukotun 2004:9). Often, journalists were charged to court sometimes with family members and those that escaped went on exile for offences like sedition or treason (Olukotun 2004:16-17, 27). According to Agbaje, the privately owned print media were the most vocal in criticizing the junta's policies and corrupt practices. The press was the most persecuted during the transition compared to the experience the broadcast media had since it was owned, funded and controlled by the Federal Military Government (Agbaje 1999:106-139). In fact, it has been argued that the journalists working for the local broadcast media stations like the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigerian (FRCN), especially those reporting from the Northern belt of the country, supported the regime because the Heads of the junta were from that zone. The result of the broadcast media's bias towards the military regime made the former lose credibility. The print media owners and journalists that were from the Southern part of the country maintained a secular orientation and approach towards democratization. The divide and rule tactics of the state deepened ethno-religious intolerance between the Northern media and the Southern media (Oyediran & Agbaje 1999:3-4; Agbaje

1999:109-113). The ethno-regional and religious rivalry that existed suggests that the print media fought the hardest for the democratization of Nigeria.

The approach the majority of the print media took to delegitimize the military junta and its policies was adversarial or radical as Christians et al. (2009) put it. To keep the ferment against the junta alive, the Press took to 'underground or guerrilla' style of reporting, while the radio became a 'pirate media' transmitting from outside Nigeria (Olukotun 2002a). The rise and popularity of the indigenous protest media in Nigeria back date to pre-colonial times (Olukotun 2002b:196-197). The colonial economies and politics as well as the Christian and Islamic religious beliefs that were introduced in Nigeria affected the indigenous worldviews of the people. For example, with the dawn of the radio and television, native media practitioners moved from critiquing kings of small communities to critiquing leaders all over the nation (Chazan 1994:62-63, 65-89).

Although the adversarial position of the press helped weaken the authoritarian regime, certain news titles suffered persecution in the process, amongst which are *Tell* magazine, *Tempo* magazine, *The News* and *Radio Kudirat*, *The Guardian*, *The Punch* and *The Concord* newspapers (ibid 2002a:317, 340). Both judicial and extrajudicial means were used to intimidate and to rid the media organizations of their powers. Extra judicial means like the act of printing 'fake and subtly pro-government publications', as well as threats to withdrawing advert rates and the hike of publishing costs crippled the economic base of the press (Agbaje 1999:123-126). In order to avoid arrest, some of the journalists used informal venues as newsroom and printing press, while ambulances, water trucks and private vans were used to distribute newspapers. This was done to avoid confiscation of the publications and arrest of the journalists. As the strongest oppositional voice, their duties ranged from supplying scarce information to the public domain and responding to the voices and aspirations of the marginalized, among others (Olukotun 2004:44). This was necessary in order to tell the world what was happening in Nigeria and in a sense make Nigerians know that the world had not forgotten them (ibid 2002a:337-338). Although, the transition timetable was changed three times, the press held on to the hope of installing a democratic Nigerian society (Oyediran & Agbaje 1999:16-21).

The Liberalization of the broadcast media (one of the requirements for the transition) happened prior to the advent of democracy. The IMF and the World Bank threatened to and did withdraw their financial support and insisted democracy and press freedom were the necessary pre-conditions for their continued support (Butts & Metz 1996:10). The military junta yielded because the nation was suspended from the Commonwealth, and the U.S. contemplated staging an oil boycott. General Babangida's successor, General Abacha, preserved and used the repressive policies of his predecessors against the media. The death of Sani Abacha in June 1998 gave way for the interim President, General Abdulsalam Abubakar. His promise to restore democratic rule within one year came to pass when he conducted elections in May 1999 (Olukotun 2002:32-42; Olukotun & Seteolu 2001:30). Journalists latched onto the promise and held several meetings in preparation for the transition (Olukotun 2002:37). Journalists were charged by Tunji Oseni to use their autonomy to make sure that the interim regime hands power over to a democratically elected government (ibid 2002:37). Olukotun argues that the media, during the transition and election periods, kept the electorate informed, uncovered abuses, helped refine policy, and sustained the discourse of development after the elections were over (ibid 2002:33). Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 was successful because the cold war ended and the Berlin Wall collapsed (Nyamnjoh 2005:207-215; Bourgault 1995:206). After the elections were conducted, Olusegun Obasanjo emerged President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and was sworn in on the 29th of May 1999.

The specific contributions newspapers like *The Guardian* and the *Tribune* newspapers as well as *Tell* magazine made during the transition period (1998-1999) have been documented by Olukotun & Seteolu (2001:33-34). For example, in their editorial commentary on August 19th 1998, *The Guardian* newspaper recommended that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of Nigeria put in place measures that will discourage rigging and other electoral malpractices. *The Guardian* and the other media organizations played the 'watchdog' role, watching for and exposing the corrupt practices of politicians (Olukotun & Seteolu 2001:33-34). This culture of investigative journalism has been sustained in the Fourth Republic (1999 to date), because two politicians, Salisu Buhari (former speaker of the House of Representatives) pleaded guilty for certificate forgery and resigned in July 22nd, 1999, while

Chuba Okadibo (a former Senate President) was impeached on August 8th, 2000 for misappropriation of funds (ibid 2001:35-38). *The Guardian* newspaper has been noted to have steadily contributed to the democratization process since 1983 (Ojo 2007:546; Olukotun 2000:33-37) as enshrined in their editorial duties (Hydén & Okigbo 2002:48).

The longest democratic dispensation in Nigeria is the Fourth Republic from 1999 to date (Akinrinade 2006:284; Nyewurisa & Nweke 2012:1-11). In fact, Nigeria's transition to this democracy evolved in the 'cyclical pattern' (Huntington 1990:41-42; Edozie 2009:5), oscillating from a democratic model to an authoritarian one, with the military reclaiming the political space through coups d'état (ibid 1990:110). When elections are conducted within an authoritarian political regime, they are rigged and human rights and dignity are abused. Here, the judiciaries are appointed by the state, while most of the media are owned and controlled by the state or entrepreneurs who are allied with the ruling elite. These are the characteristics of a despotic regime and Huntington warns that some of the characteristics like election fraud and abuses of human right and dignity are obtainable in democratic societies (ibid 1990:27-28).

Having helped Nigeria to gain her second independence, the adversarial media's role (1999 to date) changed from being monitorial to facilitative and sometimes collaborative. Again, some of the major news media that contributed to this cause are *The Vanguard*, and state owned dailies like the *Daily Times* and *New Nigeria* (print), *African Independent Television* (AIT) and *Minaj* television stations and *Ray Power* Radio (Olukotun & SSeteolu 2001:30-34). Between 1998 and 1999 (the final lap of the transition programme), the journalists played watchdog or monitorial role as they diligently covered and reported on all the events. The monitorial role they played led to exposés on the electoral malpractices in the run-up to the State Assembly and gubernatorial elections in Kastina and Abia States. They carried out investigations that exposed politicians like the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Salisu Buhari, Lagos State governor, Bola Tinubu, Senate Presidents, Evans Enwerem and Chuba Okadibo, for forging academic records and false age declaration in their bio-data. Most of the politicians were shamed and prosecuted. This paved way for the development of the new democracy. In the first term of the Fourth Republic (1999-2003), the media, especially the press, was rated as the most resilient and daring

segment of the civil society that influenced policy makers as seen in the previous study of Olukoyun (2004:71-84).

Hydén and Okigbo's critical view is that in the first few years after Nigeria's return to democracy (post 1999), the media were partisan and parochial and did not know how to make valuable inputs to the democratization process (Hydén & Okigbo 2002:50). Another in-depth analysis of the level of freedom Nigerian media organizations worked in from 1999 to 2010 posits that there has been a reversal of roles (Akinwale 2010:47). Instead of the media, the Fourth Estate monitoring the three arms of government, the Executive, the Judiciary, and the Legislature, the state is seen to be suppressing the media. The importance of a free press in Nigeria's democracy cannot be overstated given the history of political and media repression. As put by Tettey (2008), the Nigerian media and her practitioners have worked in one of the most animated environments in Africa. One of the ways the country can get by this history is for scholars to continue to debate on these issues in both academic and public spaces till the state takes decisive steps to make sure that democratization and a free media are installed.

In spite of these achievements, the Nigerian media titles have been accused of corruption and for promoting ethno-religious bias (Olukoyun 2004:82-87; Ezeanyanwu 2009:86-87). The accusation has lingered and in a sense dented the media's claim for accountability, professionalism and transparency so much so that the media reportage tends towards a North-South divides as Jibo and Okoosi-Simbine (2003) puts it. This is the phenomenon where politicians from the South Western Nigeria receive favorable reportage, while those from the North are shamed and demonized (ibid 2003:180-181, 183-194). For example, while the media led the investigation that made Buhari (from the North and former Speaker of the House of Representatives) and Enwerem (from the South East and former President of the Senate) to resign from their public service during the first term of democratization in the Fourth Republic, (1999-2003), most of the dailies kept mum over Tinubu's (former governor of Lagos state) case (a South Westerner).

The Nigerian civil society (media inclusive) has been criticized for not preparing enough to engage the new democratic institutions and their challenges (Aiyede 2003:1-27). In fact, the democracy began its growth from a weak civil society with ‘issues of state-building largely unfronted and unresolved’ (ibid 2003:14). The ways to avoid polarizing the society along ethnic and religious divides is for journalists to be neutral and to avoid being partisan or overtly adversarial when presenting issues to a media audience (Ezeanyanwu 2007:69-70). In other words, adherence to the ‘fairness doctrine’ where both sides of a story are sought before going to press should be the watchword. Nigerian journalists must desist from bribe taking or playing the ethnic card, otherwise there will be continuous cases of silences or skewed stories (Jibo & Okoosi-Simbine 2003). Another way to facilitate this is for the public broadcaster to serve as the platform where interactions take place between the government and civil society (Milligan & Mytton 2009:491-503). All through the democratization process in Nigeria before and after 1999, the roles played by the journalists in terms of normative categories of Christians et al. (2009) have been radical, monitorial, facilitative, and or collaborative roles, while journalism is guided by the institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies (Hanitzsch 2007) that also play a role in shaping the journalism culture of the media. These will be delineated shortly.

Section Three

2.4 Normative Theories and Elements that Influence Media Practice in Democratic Societies

In this section, the media’s role in the democratization process of Nigeria will be examined in terms of normative theories. Normative ethics to a great extent have been developed in the North. Two of the studies on the subject have been done by Christians et al. (2009) and Hanitzsch (2007). Normative ethics differ from one society to another (Hanitzsch 2007:378-383), and within the last 20 years of Africa’s journey to democratization, attempts have been made to develop African ethics by Shutte (1993); Kasoma (1996); Metz (2007); Fourie (2008); Banda (2009) among many others. In recent times, both the African Union’s (AU) Charter on

Democracy, Elections and Governance and the Charter of the Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration support the need for a consolidated democracy and shared values in the work place (AU 2007; 2011). Normative theories are applicable, for the study seeks to show how Nigerian journalists' self-perception of their roles fit into or contradict the Western and Universal normative theories. Normative theory in this study is defined as what ought to be the case, or what people ought to think or do (Wedgwood 2008:1, 21-23).

Christians et al. states that questions like 'who owns the media?', 'why do they run the way they do?' (ibid 2009:114-120), and others like what are the ideal self-perceptions and roles of journalists? Do the perceptions and role conform to local or global structures? (Joseph 2008:575-582) have been the themes for debates since the early 1800s. The literature shows that these debates have reoccurred because for a long time the experiences of the Western media have been generalized as the norm; at the same time, the precise socio-cultural realities of the media in non-western societies have either not been recognized or have been de-emphasized (Joseph 2008). Christians et al.'s work describes the normative roles of journalists in a democracy to be monitorial, facilitative, radical and collaborative (Christians et al. 2009:125). These benchmarks are useful for explaining both the common and difficult issues media personnel and organizations in Nigeria deal with while doing their work. A role in this study is defined as the occupational tasks and purposes that are known, regulated and practiced by journalists over time within an institution's structure, according to their main activities, needs and values (ibid 2009:119). Christians et al. acknowledge that these roles can be understood from two paradigms; the normative paradigm which pertains to what the media are meant to do, and the empirical paradigm that deals with what the media does. The apparent differences in historical, economic, religious, educational and political institutions within nations have inspired scholars like Joseph and Christians et al. to develop theories within the empirical domain or to answer the question, 'what is the media actually doing?', rather than concentrating only on the normative domain that deals with the issue 'what the media ought to do'. This study is grounded in both the normative and the empirical perspective for understanding and doing journalism. These two dimensions are used to decide if journalists' self-perceptions and role orientations are empirical or normative – and the implication for democratization.

2.4.1 The Monitorial Role

The monitorial roles of journalists are (ibid 2009:139-147):

- To systematically receive and sieve information, separate facts from opinions, credibly analyse and make knowledgeable assessments of financial, parliamentary, educational, judicial, political, religious, social or sporting activities, warn the public of impending natural or human disasters for example, hurricanes, heavy rains, avalanche and so on with the aim of disseminating the information to a prospective audience.
- To be accountable to audiences, clients and sources by maintaining neutral or independent relationships with their owners, regulators and or financiers
- To serve as the advocates and critics of government, policy makers and the public; the Fourth Estate, the middle man between the government and the society, providing the platform for dialogue and accountability
- To sound the alarm when social injustice(s) are perpetuated against society and if need be, to go undercover to get hold of information that is lacking in the public sphere and to publish it.

Generally, the journalism practiced in Nigeria between 1999 to date, is done according to the tenets of this normative role. This has been the case because democracy respects and promotes the constitutional rights of the journalists like freedom of expression and freedom to hold opinion.

2.4.2 The Facilitative Role

The facilitative duties of journalists are (ibid 2009:126, 159-173):

- To create platforms where members of the public can debate on issue(s) enough till a consensual position is reached. Here, moral reasoning takes the place of political supremacy, so that a strong sense of citizenship and a culture of deliberation are developed. The comprehensive and vibrant negotiations (that is not centered around the media, the government, the entrepreneurial elites or between influential nations) help the people to understand and accept their diverse civic, professional, cultural orientations and social differences.
- To examine the creative process by which people produce and support forms of life and society in time and space and the systems that adds meaning and value to their lives. For example, by acquiring knowledge of an indigenous language(s) or the religious beliefs and practices in a given society, the journalist is equipped with the requisite knowledge to take part in public discussions that is likely to make the state act in a desired manner.

This facilitative role is plays out from time to time in Nigeria. For instance, in Nigeria, ‘Hanu daya’ is a radio programme where the state broadcaster facilitated dialogue between the government and the public from 2002 to 2007 (Milligan & Mytton 2009:495-501). The aim of the programme was to understand the ‘worries, concerns, hopes, and aspirations’ of the people residing in Jigawa State (ibid 2009:496). The programme brought to the fore the ordinary people’s views on the government performance, service delivery and the government’s responses. This gave the media the opportunity to prove to their citizens how open and accountable they are (ibid 2009:497).

2.4.3 The Radical Role

Radical journalists aim to (ibid 2009:126-127, 179-181):

- Expose all forms of corruption and inequality in any society, especially societies that have experienced some form of authoritarianism, negotiating for nothing short of absolute change to a democracy.
- Delegitimize authoritarian government, to popularize oppositional parties and to transfer ‘social power from the privileged that are typically few to the underprivileged that are typically many’. This ensures that human rights and total equality among the citizens are upheld be it in the educational, financial and information sectors. Radical journalists offer alternatives to the marginalized or dissenters since the dominant ‘politico-economic class and cultural principles’ are served by the mainstream media. Women and girls that (qualify as the marginalized) represent three fifths of the world’s poorest people. Most times they

... Suffer economic crises, corruption and they lack of information vital to their well-being. ... for instance in relation to education, maternal health, HIV/AIDS, land rights, food security, agricultural methods, access to social programmes, loan opportunities and income-generating activities, among others. (UNESCO 2014)

The information available to these women and other unconventional group like ‘feminists, ecologists, ethnic and radical minorities’ enlighten them about their rights ‘by helping expose cases of their violation, and by raising awareness ... both of such rights and how to seek assistance to ensure their protection’ (UNESCO 2014).

In practice, the radical and the facilitative roles share similarities: first, they adhere to the belief that power belongs to the people by giving them a platform to voice out their desires, needs and to take part in the democratic process. Secondly, both roles depend on niche communities that are based on geographic location or interests (Christians et al. 2009:193). In spite of these similarities, there exist clear theoretical differences between the two. One clear distinction between these roles is the fact that journalists working in the radical paradigm are overtly biased

towards the issue(s), individual(s) or ideas they support, whereas the facilitative role encourages pluralism of socio-cultural ideologies (ibid 2009:179). In liberal democratic settings, adherents of radical journalism never give room for negotiation or compromise; they champion a cause that is avowed to that of the government or establishment (ibid 2009:190). The space where adherents of this model articulate their views and that of their victims' is called the 'alternative media' (Atton 2002; 2007), or the 'community media' (Howley 2005). As discussed in section 2.3 of this chapter, most of the journalism done in Nigeria from mid 1980s through to the late 1990s was pro-democracy and adverse towards the military junta and could therefore be considered 'radical'.

2.4.4 The Collaborative Role

Collaboration is contra the Libertarian tenets of professionalism or of a free and autonomous media, typically taking the form of the monitorial role as described above (Christians et al. 2009:196). This is because journalists working within this paradigm see themselves as partners with the government. Collaboration becomes necessary and is legitimated in nations that are developing their socio-political and economic structures (ibid 2009:127). For example, the Spanish media willingly collaborated with the government after their transition to democracy on November 20th 1975 (Barrera & Zugasti 2006:23-25, 40). In this context, the perceived benefit of collaboration for the state was the furtherance of reconciliation, democratic participation and national unity. It has been observed that advertisers, civil society activists, and governments either '... local, regional, national and transnational' (ibid 2009:197) do sometimes ask to partner with the media. The issues that necessitate collaboration are terrorist insurgency, war, criminal activities and the likes. The conditions for collaboration are either requested from the media, demanded from the media, or the media decides to 'accede passively or unwittingly, reluctantly or wholeheartedly' (ibid 2009:197). The level of understanding between the media, organs of government and the state leads to voluntary collaboration. The level of collaboration the state requires from the media is usually justified normatively as valuable, for the mutual interest of the state and the media, and the majority of the citizens. From Held's (1995) study, three main

conditions for collaboration with the state, civil society, or advertisers among other centers of power are ‘compliance, acquiescence, or acceptance’ (1995:160-162 cited in *ibid* 2009:198-202).

Collaboration is achieved through compliance when elements of coercion, apathy or tradition are applied. First, collaboration is achieved through coercion when the media complies with a law or a form of overt control. Secondly, collaboration is based on apathy when the media either ignorantly ratify or uncritically accede to the powerful elites’ recommendations. Thirdly, the media collaborates according to tradition because a history or a status quo is in place that needs to be sustained. Journalists collaborate through acquiescence either because of the advantages the media stand to gain from the partnership or because failure to collaborate may spell grave consequences. Journalists accept to collaborate before they are forced to do so, for pragmatic reasons, but when concession to partnership is because of benefits, the partnership results in instrumentalization of the media. Journalists accept to work together with the state or powerful people when mutual gains are judged as correct, and their motives as proper. Journalists cooperate on normative grounds when they consider all that needs to be known about an issue and the result(s) of the alliance as right; when they confirm the ends and the means of collaboration as apt. Since the insurgency of the ‘*Boko Haram*’ sect in Nigeria, *The Guardian* newspaper, among other news media, work closely with the government as other concerned international bodies to expose the groups’ agenda and activities (Nwabueze 2013).

It is difficult to understand how journalists practice any of the media roles outside their geopolitical, socioeconomic or cultural and history-specific contexts (Christians et al. 2009:152-189). The analysis of interviewee’s responses (see Chapter four) will show the role orientation(s) journalists in *The Guardian* newspaper follow. The analysis will show if the self-perceptions and role orientations of journalists are normative or empirical. In fact, the analysis will carefully look for instances where the journalists play more than one role while reporting on one story and depending on what the writer(s) intend to achieve (Christians et al. 2009:217). The four normative roles proposed by Christians et al. are supported by the theoretical perspectives of Hanitzsch (2007) and Hanitzsch et al. (2010; 2011). Hanitzsch’s work supports the notion that journalism theory is becoming a universal concept that can be understood using common

denominators like the institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies; political factors, procedural influences, organizational influences, economic influences, professional level and reference groups. The study will analyse, circumspectly, the responses of journalists in *The Guardian* newspaper using Hanitzsch's benchmarks. The analysis will determine the extent to which journalists adhere to or diverge from the universal influences.

2.5 The Universal Concept of Journalism Culture: Applying the theory

The concept of an 'international journalism' is probable, first because of innovations like globalization of communication and the convergence of the information technologies; secondly, because of the similarities in journalists' attitudes, beliefs and practices like truth, honesty, freedom, self-esteem of journalists and respect for privacy and for sources; ability to separate public interest from personal interest and to publish information that is complete, important and relevant (Hanitzsch 2007: 368-369, 378-383). But since the nation-states around the world work within different social structures that influence how journalists perceive their roles and are positioned in relation to the political class and powerful elites, the applicability of these universal values becomes problematic. Hanitzsch's essential categories are argued to be useful for understanding the diverse media organizations found in different countries (ibid 2007:367-377; worldsofjournalism.org).

The categories, institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies that further divide into seven major dimensions: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism, and idealism can be used to understand journalists' normative leanings. Each of the seven dimensions has two idealistic extremes that either takes after the traditions of advocacy journalism (*active*) or the neutral-objective journalism (*passive or neutral*) (see appendix II for details). Both extreme loci are impractical in real life situations. What is apparent in most newsroom cultures is that journalists locate themselves somewhere in-between the poles, neither too active nor too passive. Journalism culture in this study is defined as the ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, play and how this role affect their lives and the community (ibid 2007:369-270). Journalism culture is expressed in three basic lines

of thought and action: the *cognitive level*, the *evaluative level* and the *performative level*. The data that will be analysed in Chapter five will be done from the evaluative level, because the study looks at the ‘professional worldviews of journalists, the role perceptions and their occupational ideologies like “objective journalism”, “investigative journalism” (ibid 2007:369). The analysis done according to these paradigms will demonstrate what journalists are doing, the reality (empirical) or point to what they ought to do, the ideal (normative). This will show if Josephi’s claim that the gap between theory and practice is widening is true (2008:580).

2.5.1. The Institutional roles

Within the purview of the institutional roles, both the normative and the empirical practice of journalism in society can be delineated (Hanitzsch et al. 2011:275-276). Institutional roles are the ‘professional role perceptions, news functions or media roles’ which work according to *interventionism*, *power distance* and *market orientations* (Hanitzsch 2007:372-375). In the *interventionism dimension*, journalists work according to well-defined principles that exist in a continuum such as gatekeepers of society – passive (low), or advocates for the marginalized – intervention (high). The gatekeepers adhere to ethnocentric, Anglo-American values of professionalism, objectivity, neutrality, impartiality, fairness, detachment among other values, while the advocates are ‘socially committed, assertive and motivated’ journalists who support particular interest group(s) in society; for example, political parties, ethnic minorities, and the likes whose interests have been neglected (ibid 2011:275).

The dimension of *power distance* shows the bipolar positions journalists take (the adversary (high) or loyal (low)) in their relationship with the entrepreneurial and political elites of the society (ibid 2007:373-374). When adversary orientation is high, journalists see themselves as the Fourth Estate, whose job is to counter the powerful elites or other institutional structures. But journalists on the loyal (low) continuum support the government or other groups they share affiliation with, treating all information obtained from them as authoritative, credible, and trustworthy. As part of their commitment, journalists who subscribe to the royal low continuum censor information perceived to be offensive to the government or their financiers before going to press, serving as propaganda machinery of the influential class.

When journalists work according to the high extreme of *market orientation*, the motive is to increase their capital base, and so the media publish what is in popular demand and not what the audience ought to know, thereby treating the latter as *consumers* (Hanitzsch 2007:374-375). On the reverse side, where market orientation is low, the people's needs are prioritized so that the information published helps the *citizens* to join in the governance of their respective societies.

2.5.2 Epistemologies

Epistemologies are linked to role perceptions because they influence the journalistic culture in two dimensions, *objectivism* and *empiricism* (Hanitzsch et al. 2011:276). What is important in epistemology is the extent to which media reportage can be objective, and truthful, and how the truth claims are justified (Anderson & Baym 2004:603) and why audiences believe media messages to be true or factual (ibid 2007:376-377). Adherents of the correspondence high continuum of *objectivism* aim to merely state reality and not to create or change it; giving precedence to the values of accuracy and precision; and differentiating between facts and statements in news production. While enthusiasts of extreme subjectivism deny the existence of a truth out there, they avow that news is created from the biases of the writer(s) that have been carefully selected and need interpretation (ibid 2011:276). When truth claims lean towards the high continuum of *empiricism*, journalists accept observation, measurement, evidence, and experience as the only means through which truth can be justified. The justification for truth that leans towards the analytical low divide uses reason, ideas, values, opinions and analyses.

2.5.3 Ethical Ideologies

This element of journalism culture is concerned with the way journalists respond to ethical dilemmas using the *relativism* or *idealism* model (Hanitzsch et al. 2011:276). *Relativism* shows the extent to which journalists lean towards universal ethical philosophies. Journalists that tend towards the contextual pole (high) reject the possibility of having universal rules; rather, ethical decisions are based on the situation and context they find themselves in (ibid 2011:276). Advocates of the negative universal continuum assent to and make use of moral rules that are

universal. *Idealism* refers to consequences that ensue as journalists respond to ethical dilemmas. When the orientation of journalists is inclined towards the high idealistic scale, they make sure that the means through which they get information is right (ibid 2011:276). The goal is more important for journalists who are less idealistic ‘for they admit that harm will sometimes be necessary to produce a greater public good’.

Other social forces which shape the practice of journalism in newsrooms from seventeen countries (Hanitzsch et al. 2010) and give a representative picture of journalism culture in eighteen countries (ibid 2011) are used for understanding the journalists’ perception of themselves and their roles in Nigeria. This is done to find out the variables that can be adopted to understand journalism across the world (Golding 1977:292-293). The lists of influences on journalists’ practice were grouped into six conceptually and empirically distinct domains, and they are: *organizational forces*, *professional predisposition*, *procedural influences*, *political factors*, *economic imperatives* and *reference groups* (ibid 2010:14-18).

The *political factors* that influence journalism are government officials, politicians and media regulators; business people like entrepreneurs, industrialists, trade union leaders, and industrial lobbyists ‘... represent business interests in the arena of economic policy-making. Representing, advocating and imposing the interests of business and trade are political acts with political implications’ (ibid 2010:14-15). The status and power of the aforementioned to make decisions affect the way journalists do their work and the perception of their roles. When the main goal is profit-making, a media organization’s spending expenditure, the needs of advertisers and the audience(s) among other needs brings to bear the *economic influences* at each stage of production (ibid 2010:15). *Organizational influences* are apparatuses within the newsroom that influence the way decision and management routines are taken; and they work from two purviews, the newsroom, as in supervisors and senior editors, and the media organization – the management and owners of the medium or media.

The *Procedural influences* on journalism stem from the challenges journalists face while they work; that is, time, pressing news deadlines; space, the lack of news materials; or the changing

nature of the routines of journalism like new information technology and the convergence of media organs. The policies, laws, and customs of the profession in general and newsroom culture in particular (that is, the good and acceptable ways of understanding and doing journalism) inform the *professional level* of journalists' performances. They define what journalism is and how it ought to be practiced (ibid 2010:16). The diversified source of influence that cuts across the professional level (colleagues in other media, competing news organizations, and the audiences) that influences and implicates the journalists' own private life (friends, acquaintances, and family) are the *reference groups*, (ibid 2010:16). They are groups that appreciate the journalists' work the most. The normative roles of journalists (Christians et al. 2009), the normative self-perceptions (Hanitzsch 2007) and the sources of influences that affect the journalists work, and simultaneously too (Hanitzsch et al. 2010; 2011), will help to explain what shapes the practice of journalism in *The Guardian* newspaper and the development of democracy in Nigeria. Hanitzsch's and Hanitzsch et al.'s categorizations like Christians et al.'s normative role categories will be used as the themes for analysing on journalism culture and media influences in *The Guardian* newspaper.

2.6 Conclusion

The notions of transitology and social or elite continuities were used as the telescope to look at the developments in the media and the democratization of Nigeria and other countries. It was noted that in most of Nigeria's media, the direction and scope of news is determined by those that have economic and political power, even after authoritarian regimes have been replaced with a democracy. In Nigeria, although democratization and media pluralism has been achieved, diversity and the Anglo American styled press are yet to be achieved. Although democracy has been reinstated, the media, with support from other civil society institutions, must work hard to attain the highest level of democratization (Storm 2008) where the 'electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture' are in consonance with democratic ideals (Democracy Index 2007:8; 2011:28).

In this chapter, the relevant literatures that could be applied to understand the roles journalists play in the democratization process in Nigeria were highlighted. The applicable normative theories for interpreting journalists' perceptions of their roles in a growing democracy were examined. This, in a sense, began to answer the question 'what is the role of the media in a democratic society?' Rethinking the role of the media is neither a new concept nor is it synonymous to Nigeria. These questions have been interrogated by Blankson (2007), who argues that capitalist undertones of the Libertarian theory, the effects of globalization and capital have affected the roles of Ghanaian journalists in particular and African Journalists in general.

The new democracies in Africa have received accolades for teaching their citizens the principles of democracy, their constitutional rights and providing a platform from which unpopular political discourse(s) can be ventilated (Blankson 2007:21-22). In spite of these commendable exploits, challenges and constraints (from within and outside the media) are not uncommon for practitioners and media institutions. The common one is that media independence and freedom is determined to some extent by the state that claims the media should assist in nation building and not get involved in critical journalism. The government stifles free press through the 'incessant use of criminal libel and sedition laws in ways that contradict the goals of democratic governance and the constitutional provision of freedom' (ibid 2007:23).

During the authoritarian regimes and in this fledging democratic dispensation, the weakness of the rule of law makes media practitioners vulnerable to threats, raids, attacks, and harassment from government and the mercenaries who feel the information that is published does not portray them in a positive or in a neutral light (ibid 2007:25). In Nigeria for example, licensing of media outlets is the preserve of government, and sometimes aspiring media organizations are denied license, while the licenses of established organizations can either be suspended or revoked without any authentic justification. It was noted that the media have a share of the blame because they lack professionalism and as a result are caught up in adversarial politics (disrespecting public officials) and abuse of professional ethics (accepting or demanding for bribes). This malbehaviour questions their integrity and capacity to hold the power elites accountable to the societies.

The media is the most vocal among other civil liberty organizations in any society. They are charged with the responsibility of providing quality and balanced information that will meet the needs of the majority of the people of their society. The media needs to compel public and private officials to give reports of their stewardship to the citizens. If the Nigerian media are able to fulfil these roles; the nation's democracy will improve; citizens will willingly debate about issues that concern them; they will form or seek membership in political parties; they will exercise their franchise, and in the end, a formidable civil society, democratic state and a pluralized and diversified media will be built.

From the theories discussed, the similarities in newsrooms across the globe have exposed the nuances in the ethical ideologies and the level of democratization the different countries have attained. Attempts to unthinkingly universalize journalists' experiences are naive. This is why the experience of Nigerian journalists (for over twenty years) in this chapter, and in the analysis and discussion chapter, is a contribution to the global scholarly debate on journalism.

It is important to employ normative concepts like the monitorial, radical, facilitative, collaborative roles; institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies; political factors, economic influences, organizational influences, procedural influences, professional level and reference groups, because certain phenomena have made national journalism to gain relevance in the global arena. Such occurrences, at least in sub Saharan Africa, date back to pre-modern and pre-colonial times (such as the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, contacts with Islamic and Christian missionaries, European colonialism and its legacies). In the 21st century, globalization and new communication technologies have revolutionized journalism. The theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter are used to interpret the interviewee's responses in Chapter five.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study follows a qualitative approach and is rooted in the phenomenological tradition (Babbie & Mouton 2001:270-273; Mouton 2001:137-142; Babbie 2007:20-28). The goal of researchers working within the phenomenological tradition is to understand how human beings build, develop, and change their everyday “commonsense” perception of their worlds (Babbie & Mouton 2001:28-33). The philosophical background is used to guide the presentation and the analysis of data (see Chapter four). Phenomenology is appropriate because the researcher seeks to know how journalists make their understandings of their everyday work; a position supported by Creswell, Hanson, Morales and Plano (2007a:241-242; 252-255). The research focus is the observable occurrences the respondents experienced and how they experienced it.

A snowball sampling technique was used to get through to the respondents. Snowball technique is a method where the researcher depends on respondents to refer her or him to other respondents (Vogt 1999). The dependence on the referrals of one facilitator to other journalists to generate the sample frame was necessary because the researcher did not know them before that time, a notion supported by Deacon, Golding, Pickering, & Murdock (1999:53). The snowball method is useful because this study is ‘explorative, qualitative and descriptive’ in nature (Hendricks, Blanken and Adriaans 1992). The sample frame of the pilot study was fourteen, while those that participated in the main study interview were twelve. A sample frame is the entire sampling units in the population, or the specific number of respondents sampled in a research (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1996:179-181). A sampling unit is a single member of sampling population, while the research population is the total people resident in a particular place at a particular time (ibid 1996:181). In this study, data were generated by in-depth semi-structured individual interviews.

3.2 Research Design and Procedure

3.2.1 Qualitative Research: Basic Assumptions and Concepts

The adherents of qualitative research argue that ‘... observation, open-ended interviews and group discussions’ can be used to obtain qualitative data (Deacon et al. 1999:8). That is, studies on human articulation and social action should not be interpreted using only numerical values, but the ‘complexity and creativity’ of these processes should be described or presented as the participant put it. Given that non-positivistic studies can be ‘highly speculative and do not give certainty’, researchers subscribing to this tradition still make sense of the world without counting (Berger 2011:4-5). The non-positivists seek to ‘preserve the form and content of human behavior and to analyse its qualities; they do not subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations’ (Lindolf 1995:21). The qualitative paradigm focuses on understanding people as they make sense of the world around them (Stake 1995:37-38; Lindolf 1995:5; Deacon et al. 1999:6-9; Denzin & Lincoln 2005:3-4). It follows that the qualitative researcher’s focus is the people and the obligation is to understand ‘the social world’ from the participants’ perspective.

The phenomenologist is concerned with what Alfred Schutz calls ‘the world of everyday life or the world of working’, a theory Schutz developed to substitute the positivistic paradigm that gained currency in the 1950s and the 1960’s in the 20th Century (Schutz 1974: xii-xxiv, 3-20). The alternative this theoretical perspective offers is one where a ‘systematic description of the commonsense world as social reality’ is possible. It has been argued that the unquestioned, taken-for-granted or self-evident social life or action of people can be known through face-to-face interactions. Phenomenology was developed by Herbert Blumer. Blumer (1954) states that the actions of people, the social interactions they keep and the way they interpret issues inform what becomes meaningful to them. Blumer’s first thesis is that what one individual considers meaningful may not be meaningful to others, since people in society hold different values and belief systems. Secondly, meaning is learnt from the social interactions individuals have over time that they ultimately consciously and unconsciously consider as normal; meaning is contextually specific. Thirdly, meaning is not static; it can be adapted differently at different

times. To understand the meaning(s) people give to issues and what motivates actions and sustains the interactions within society, the social scientist must keep up a close relationship with the respondents. And when data is collected from the field, the meanings, reasons and intentions of respondents are accommodated. From these assertions, what phenomenologist's seek in human experience are commonsense concepts, reality, actions, interactions, and insights on how these occur in society.

Another try at developing symbolic interactionism beyond the realm of 'theory' to the realm of 'practice' has been made by Lonnie Athens (2010:87). The theoretical assumption of 'naturalistic inquirers' is that phenomena must be observed as it evolves within the natural form (Blumer 1979: xxiv-xxv). Naturalistic inquirers or researchers start and keep close relationships with their study participants in order to get a sense of what is meaningful to them (ibid 2010:88). A naturalistic research thrives

On patient, careful and imaginative life study, not quick shortcuts or technical instruments. While its progress remains slow and tedious, it has the virtue of remaining in close and continuing relations with the natural social world. (Blumer 1954:10)

As a result of the synthesis between phenomenology and the qualitative paradigm, the proponents recommend that researchers focus on gaining an insider perspective of reality, understanding the meanings of actions and interactions that occur in society and describing the attitudes and behaviour of people within their natural settings (Babbie & Mouton 2001:270-273). When research participants are studied in their "natural" setting, this reduces obstructions in their "normal course of events", and reduces the chances of distorted result(s) (ibid 2001:271). This helps the qualitative inquirer to understand the respondents' 'actions, decisions, behavior, practices, rituals from their perspective' (ibid 2001:271). The qualitative inquirer can describe the actions in greater details, in their own words, within given contexts, using their personal beliefs and history as support (ibid 2001:271-272). The decision to keep the respondents' own words is in a bid to preserve meanings as they are perceived.

These research assumptions are useful guides in this study because the researcher seeks to understand the principles that guide personal self-perceptions of journalists in *The Guardian* newspaper. The self-perceptions of the respondents will be examined to see if they conform to or deviate from the normative categories of Christians et al. (2009) presented in Chapter three. These responses are assessed so as to decide if the perceptions were inherited from the earlier autocratic regimes (colonial and military) or if they are the result of working in a new democracy.

3.2.2 The Research Process

While writing on naturalistic inquiry, a model associated with phenomenology, Blumer supports the idea that it develops in two phases: the stage of “exploration” and the stage of “inspection” (Blumer 1979:39-47). A naturalistic investigation ‘strives to remain true to the nature of the phenomena under study or scrutiny’ (Matza 1969:5). The inquiry remains true to the issue or people in their natural ongoing environment where they live and work (Schatzman & Strauss 1973:5). After developing the naturalistic inquiry further, Athens adds a third phase called the stage of “confirmation” (Athens 2010:95-98). During the exploration stage, a researcher gets immersed in the literature that speaks to the research question(s) to describe the research problem (ibid 2010:95). The exploration and inspection stage was done when deciding on the literature, theoretical framework and during in-depth interviews. This gives the researcher the empirically sound foundation for defining the problem and selecting the preliminary ideas to use later in the investigation. Another task of the researcher during the exploration stage is to describe the problem from data collected. The techniques that must be used are those that are less intrusive on the research problem.

After reading and re-reading data, the inspection stage, the researcher develops ‘well-defined and well-developed concepts’ from the first ideas or key words of the study (ibid 2010:95-97). This is done in Chapter four (data presentation stage) where inspection is done systematically and progressively until different themes from the data collected fit within the categories defined (Creswell et al. 2007:241-242). In Chapter four, the researcher first presented the data as a

summary of the responses. Next, the paraphrased responses were matched with the themes derived from the theoretical framework (that is, the normative theories and the influences on journalism practice) as theorized by Christians et al., Hanitzsch, Hanitzsch et al., the transitology and elite continuity theorists. In the next phase of the inspection stage (see Chapter five), the researcher sought after where the categories converged or where they differed from the main theories.

At the confirmation stage, the job of the researcher is to test and review the results gained by formulating propositions that will show if the results answer the research problem. Any research work can be improved upon when data is 're-inspected' and 're-examined', this helps the researcher to see things that were not seen or omitted (Babbie & Mouton 2001:98). This will be done in Chapter four, there the researcher will show if the research questions were answered or not. These roles are examined as they emerge from the interview transcripts to see how the role-perceptions fit into the normative categories drawn up in Chapter three.

Creswell et al. (2007) approves Polkinghorne's (1989) recommendation that the number of individuals to be interviewed to gain a variegated experience is between 5 and 25 persons. In the pilot and main study interviews, a total of 16 people volunteered to give information on their current or past activities (Lindolf 1995:5). Lindolf supports the theorization that people must be interviewed to:

- a) Grasp the nature of social interaction and action,
- b) Know what they mean in a given context,
- c) Know how people in those communities understand them.

The researcher does not mean to take a position on how right or wrong the respondents' claims are since the study seeks to understand the self-perceptions of the latter. The tendency is for researchers to gain a significant level of social intimacy (Bryman 1984:78-79) or familiarity with the research respondents (Deacon et al. 1999:6; Mouton 2001:138-142), the researcher must try

to present the respondents' opinions as matter-of-factly. And when interpretations are made, it will be done according to the theoretical framework. This helps the researcher to assume a level of 'social distance' as the 'meanings and forms' are inferred (Lindolf 1995).

3.2.3 Sampling Procedure: Sample Selection and Sample Size

The research participants in the study were purposively selected using a snowball sampling technique. Since this study is qualitative, the focus is on 'intensive insights' instead of 'extensive perspectives' (Deacon et al. 1999:42-43). The research focuses more on 'comparatively small samples which are generated more informally and organically than those most typically used in quantitative research' (ibid 1999:43). The insights gained are used to 'illustrate' or to point to the bigger socio-cultural picture of practices in a society and the organization(s). In the case of this study, the socio-cultural picture that the study seeks to paint through the sample of journalists is how the self-perceptions of journalistic roles in Nigeria have evolved through the autocratic regimes and how they are developing in the current democratic dispensation. The formula for justifying the size of a research population, the '... theoretical and empirical requirements of the study and other external considerations (like the time and resources available to the researcher)' (ibid 1999:43) influenced the sample choice and size.

3.2.4 The Interview

Interviews, according to DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree

are among the most familiar strategies for collecting qualitative data. ... While all interviews are used to get to know the interviewee better, the purpose of that knowing varies according to the research question and the disciplinary perspective of the researcher. ... The purpose of the qualitative research interview is to contribute to a body of knowledge that

is conceptual and theoretical and is based on the meanings that life experiences hold for the interviewees. (ibid 2006:314)

The research instrument used to generate data from the journalists working at *The Guardian* newspaper is the in-depth (semi-structured) individual interview (Deacon et al 1999:289-290). An interview ‘... is a conversation between a *researcher* (someone who wishes to gain information about a subject) and an *informant* (someone who presumably has information of interest on the subject)’ (Berger 2011:135). ‘The in-depth interview is meant to be a personal and intimate meeting in which open, direct, verbal questions are used to elicit detailed narratives and stories’ (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006:316).

As reported by DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, the main research question can serve as the first question of the interview schedule, and the total number of questions are between 5 to 10, with each session lasting between 30 minutes and several hours (ibid 2006:315-316). The interview sessions allow the researcher to gain insights into the past activities of the respondents and allow the latter to knowledgeably verbalize their ‘... ideas, their thoughts, their opinions, their attitudes, and what motivates them’ (Berger 2011:138). It has been proven that digressions during interview sessions can open the interviewee’s interests and knowledge to the researcher. When the interview sessions no longer generate new data, a stage known as the ‘saturation point’, then the interactions must end (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006:318). An audio recorder is the best instrument for data collection when conducting face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews. This data should be secured in a safe place and destroyed ‘... after transcription or once analysis is complete’ (ibid 2006:318).

It was imperative to conduct interviews for this study because the researcher needed to understand: the contributions journalists have made to the democratization of Nigeria from 1960 to date; the role Nigerian media played during and after the transition to democracy; the extent to which the activities of the politicians and business class have affected the media’s social responsibility and the normative roles and self-perceptions of journalists in Nigeria’s burgeoning democracy, using the case of *The Guardian* newspaper. The interviews (the pilot study and the

main study interviews) were conducted in *The Guardian's* head office located at number 103/109, Rutam House Oshodi-Isolo, in Lagos, Nigeria. The pilot study began on Monday 23rd lasting through to Wednesday 25th of January, 2012. During this preliminary study, 14 male and female journalists within senior and junior cadres in *The Guardian* newspaper were interviewed. The main study's interviews were done in July, from Monday July 23rd to Thursday July 27th 2012, in the same venue. In order to make sure the responses are consistent, the researcher set out in July to get the opinions of the same 14 journalists that were interviewed in January, but 4 respondents could not take part. The 10 journalists who were available and two other new volunteers (making a total of 12) that volunteered to join in were interviewed during the main study. During the interviews, the researcher had between three to five respondents, while each interview session lasted at least 30 to 45 minutes. The researcher applied DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree's position to use a personal digital audio recorder to document the interactions with the journalists. During both interview sessions, after the 14th and 12th respondent gave their experiences, the researcher felt the data collection had reached the saturation point.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical decisions must percolate through the entire research process beginning from the formulation of research questions, sampling procedure, accessing data, seeking the consent of research participants, writing up analysis and findings, presenting the findings to readers or when the findings are published (Ali & Kelly 2004:116). The ethical considerations are made in a tripartite 'continuum: before research, during the research, and when disseminating research findings' (Harte 2001). The entire art of knowledge production is an ethical endeavour that needs to be handled responsibly, so that when the study is completed, the trust for and integrity of the researcher(s) is not compromised. The study must not hinder other intending researchers from entering the society or cause harm to the participants or people where the research takes place.

Harte (2001) argues that scholars must justify from the very beginning of a research process if the benefits of the study outweigh the risks or vice versa. After the research is done, the ethical decisions taken must show the professional integrity of the researcher. A researcher can look to

the 'ethical committees based in institutions such as universities and hospitals, and professional guidelines on research ethics' to evaluate the potency and feasibility of a research proposal (ibid 2004:126).

From the beginning of this research it was the responsibility of the researcher to make sure the dignity and the rights of the respondents were prioritized, as guided by Rhodes University's ethical standard's Policy. According to the stipulations in the University's ethical committee on the use of human subjects, the supervisor for this research project, Professor Herman Wasserman wrote the management of *The Guardian* newspaper to seek consent for the researcher to engage her employees in the study. The aims of the study were stated in the consent letter that sought formal permission from the management of *The Guardian* newspaper. The respondents also verbally consented to be part of the study and the researcher promised them anonymity in return.

The researcher adhered to ethical considerations, first, by seeking consent of the management of *The Guardian* newspaper to interview their employees on the research topic. It was when consent has been granted that the researcher did the pilot study and the main study interview. Secondly, the researcher ensured confidentiality of the interview transcripts and research participants during interview sessions by using a personal computer, digital recorder and notepad to document interviews in the visitors' lounge. Thirdly, the office spaces of senior journalists or the newsroom were only used when the journalists when the visitors lounge was not convenient. Fourthly, the respondents skipped the questions that made them uncomfortable and were interviewed when it was convenient given the nature of their job.

In considering the question of access to a research population, gaining access to the research participants is not the main goal; the goal must be to understand them (Harte 2001). As the knowledge is sought, the researcher must avoid becoming too familiar with the participants – what Burgess (1989) refers to as 'going native'. As mentioned earlier, that was the reason why the researcher maintained a formal relationship with the respondents during and after the interviews. During the preliminary interview phase, the researcher developed a relationship with

the research participants. Consequently, most of them willingly responded to questions asked during the main study's interviews.

After transcribing the data, the researcher found some sensitive statements. For example, a number of the interviewees claimed that since they were journalists or adults during the military regime, the draconian media laws that are yet to be repealed hang as swords of Damocles over their heads. Even after 13 years of democracy, journalists say they were sometimes afraid to even pursue or develop stories beyond the obvious especially if state officials are involved because this leads to dead ends (see details in Chapter four). It can be recalled that Nigeria's journey to democracy after 1960 (presented in Chapters two and three) was long and complicated as a result of the frequent backsliding to military regimes. Nigeria's media history is marred with instances where journalists were dehumanized by long jail terms, forced exile, seizure of publications, closure of printing houses, and withdrawal of licenses among other vices the junta used. Journalists had to endure these for exposing corruption and other malpractices especially of the junta and their cohorts. This is typical of new democracies, given that the aim of the shift is to end the autocratic regime and to replace it with a democracy, and thereafter, consolidation. The unpredictable (uneven, messy, violent and lengthy) nature of the Arab Spring (The Economist 2013) is an example is one reason why the transitology model is limited. With the history of many reversals from democracy to military regimes, Nigerian journalists do not think freedom is on the uptake. To end the chances of any future repercussion for participating in the research the researcher used pseudonyms to substitute for their real names. Research participants' identities during the analysis stage were anonymized using codes like R01, R02 ... R14 (meaning respondent one, two ... fourteen), to safeguard future access for other intending scholars. In a similar vein, the decision of respondents who did not wish to take part in the main study interview was honored.

While checks and balances were carried out, it does not overrule the fact that participants are susceptible to harm. The researcher cannot estimate the level of reaction the research may gather. In essence, 'the central ethical issue for much of social and cultural research is how the rights of participants (and researchers) are to be balanced against the potential benefits to society' (Ali &

Kelly 2004:126). In view of these realities, the researcher has an obligation to decrease harm to the respondent(s) both during the study and when the study is completed (Ali & Kelly 2004:119-120). To make sure the privacy and confidentiality of research participants are not compromised, the data collected was stored in a safe place where only the researcher had access to it. After the thesis has been examined, the researcher intends to destroy hand-written and audio notes among other things, to protect the identities of the respondents.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

Researchers within the interpretivist tradition defend their research as objective (although not in the sense of value-free) because they work with the respondents, foregrounding the understanding of the latter's commonsense perceptions of meaning and interpreting the reality with an insider perspective (Babbie & Mouton 2001:33). Since the researcher is the main instrument for data collection and analysis, the former is obligated to stay as unbiased as possible, to build the confidence of the respondents and to keep a good relationship with them throughout the research process (ibid 2001:274). Hence, the measures the researcher used to legitimate claims for objectivity, reliability, validity and to get as much information as possible are as follows: first, the journalists that were interviewed during the pilot interview were selected using the snowball sampling technique. During the interview sessions, respondents were asked among other questions to explain their self-perception and to describe their roles in and contributions to Nigeria's new democracy. The results (see details in Chapter four) show that journalists believed they contribute to the growth of democracy because the citizens that occupy different strata within the Nigerian society are informed.

3.5 Data Analysis Procedure

The researcher used the interview transcript, the words, phrases, sentences or themes for the analyses in Chapter four. Having located the key themes in interview transcripts, the next logical step was to tease out the patterns, themes, classifications and categories used by the informants to get a sense of how they think and how they make sense of the world (Babbie & Mouton

2001:146; Elo & Kyngäs 2008:109-112; Kracauer 1952:641-642). Using the deductive processes, the data are first prepared, organized and analysed (Elo & Kyngäs 2008:110; Mayring 2000:3-6; Zhang & Wildemuth 2009:309). After making sense of the data, the researcher deductively analysed them in consonance with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter two. These theories of journalism guided the analysis of data from general themes to more specific ones. Although other approaches for doing content analysis are available like the 'directed, conventional or summative' (Hsieh & Shannon 2005), this study used the deductive approach. In Mayring's view,

Deductive category application works with prior formulated, theoretical derived aspects of analysis, bringing them in connection with the text. ... Then main idea here is to give explicit definitions, examples and coding rules for each deductive category, determining exactly under what circumstances a text passage can be coded with a category. (Mayring 2000:4-5)

Berger (2011) believes these classifications and categories (codes) depend on the data. But specific procedures must be followed to reach the best codes (ibid 2011:146-148). Creswell et al. support the thesis that phenomenologists describe the shared experiences of their research participants (2007:252). The data presented is a description of the essence of the participants' experience; 'what makes up the nature of lived experience' (ibid 2000:253) either as individuals or as a group. In the analysis stage (Creswell et al. 2007:254) the inquirer interprets the experiences of the respondents. This was done by sorting information (data) systematically according to the theoretical framework in sections 2.4 and 2.5 in Chapter two.

The framework analysis was done first to see where Nigerian journalists' perceptions differ or correlate with the normative theories of journalists working in a democracy as found in the literature discussed in the previous chapter. Subsequently, new categories were identified to contribute to the experiences of journalists in this particular African setting to the more general normative theories as derived from the literature. The responses of the journalists that displayed

similarities with the normative roles found in the literature were presented accordingly. The categories where responses were not applicable, like 'relativism: contextual pole high' (Hanitzsch 2007) was not explained in the analysis, while the new categories were presented separately in section 4.6 in Chapter four. They were not applicable because no single response from the researcher matched the normative role. The challenges journalists face when working that are not mentioned in the theoretical framework are 'terrorist insurgency', 'low remuneration', 'ill health' and 'the home front'. Some of the journalists said that the activities of *Boko Haram* sect (see page 47 and endnotes xvi) have posed a serious challenge to their journalistic duties. Many journalists and media do not want to take sides with the government or the majority of the people who have suffered in the hands of the terrorist group. This is because doing so can provoke the terrorists to attack them individually or as an organization. Some female journalists admitted that they have to work extra hard to develop their career because they are responsible for taking their children to school and caring for the family.

The categorizations of the framework (that also serve as the themes) were then descriptively analysed. Other responses of the journalists can be linked to the monitorial role, facilitative role, radical role, collaborative role, institutional roles, ethical ideologies, epistemologies, professional level, reference groups, economic factors, organizational influences, procedural influences and political factors (these themes are delineated in Chapter two, pages 42-52). These responses were deductively analysed according to the themes. Throughout the interpretation or discussion stage, a narrative style was used to present the findings.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

The scope of the study was limited first because the respondents were sought from one news media. Thus, the study provides a basis for future comparative work, where more than one news media are the case studies. The second limitation is because it was not possible to combine interviews with focus group discussions, because of the traffic congestion or tailback that are synonymous with Lagos. The research participants did not want to be caught up in traffic for hours since they had to schedule the interview within their work hours. Also, since it has been alleged that Nigerian journalists are loyal to politicians or other influential persons, the

researcher thought that grouping them together was going to skew their responses. A third factor that limits the study is the fact that the researcher did not combine individual interviews with participant observation. Although it is the most natural and most challenging qualitative data collection method, participant observation can complement the interview method because it ‘connects the researcher to the most basic of human experiences, discovering through immersion and participation the how’s and the whys of human behaviour in a particular context’ (Sage ND). This allows for a more diversified data collection methodology and makes up for the limitations of the interview in future research endeavour. Fourthly, in hindsight the researcher acknowledges that purposive sampling should have been used to strategically select the respondents because snowball sampling method only brings together journalists that have direct contact with each other. This could skew the data given the limited size of the sample being one newspaper. For example if purposive sampling was used, the researcher would have had the opportunity to interview say political reporters for more nuanced responses since the study sought to understand the self-perceptions of journalists in a growing democracy.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter first presented the whole research process (the methodology, methods, sampling procedure, ethical considerations and a brief introduction to the data collection and analysis procedure). The methodology that was chosen was the qualitative research as supported by the phenomenological tradition. The method used for data collection was the in-depth semi-structured individual interview, and the data were to be analysed using the deductive process (see details in Chapter four).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the role perceptions of journalists in *The Guardian* newspaper in their own words and from their perspective. This is in line with the phenomenological tradition (see section 3.1), which states that researchers can systematically describe ‘the commonsense world as social reality’ (Schutz 1974: xii-xxiv, 3-20). To be succinct, the phenomenologist claims that the unquestioned, taken for granted or self-evident social life or action of people can be known through face-to-face interactions such as focus group discussions and interviews. The study uses the theoretical framework analysis method to present and analyse data. To do a theoretical framework analysis, the summary of the interviewee’s responses are first presented. The summaries are necessary because they help to organize the data before they are fitted into the relevant framework. The next step, the theoretical framework analysis, opens up the past and emerging issues in the context of the research. The context here includes the normative roles, economic, political, cultural, social, environmental and organizational factors that influence journalism practice and the self-perceptions of journalists’ roles in Nigeria’s burgeoning democracy. The theoretical framework analysis will be done using the narrative style of presentation. The narrative writer tells a story with a reason, placing emphasis on what the respondents said, what they meant by the statements made, and what the researcher perceived is the meaning of the statements made.

The framework analysis will show how Nigerian journalists’ perception of their roles corresponds to or deviate from the four normative role perceptions of Christians et al. (2009). The responses were analysed according to the four role categorizations of journalism in democratic societies, namely, the monitorial role, the facilitative role, the radical role, and the collaborative role (see sections 2.4.1-2.4.2). The nuanced categorizations by Hanitzsch (2007) namely, the institutional role, epistemologies, ethical ideologies (see sections 2.5.1-2.5.3); and

the variables of Hanitzsch et al.'s (2010; 2011) study, namely the organizational forces, professional predisposition, procedural influences, political factors, economic imperatives and reference groups (see section 2.5.3) are used to understand what influences the roles the journalist claim to play in Nigeria's democracy. Another framework analysis of the roles journalists play is done using the transitology and elite continuity models (see section 2.1). In sections 4.3 through to section 4.5, the similar responses that are deductively presented according to the theoretical framework in a sense build a chain of the events that answer the research questions in section 3.2.4. The framework is also used for the descriptive analysis where the recurrent themes from the data are determined. After a theoretical analysis, the researcher argues that the normative roles, the self-perceptions of journalists and the factors that influence journalism in *The Guardian* newspapers are more empirical than normative. The assertions of transitology and elite continuity theorists apply to Nigeria.

This chapter is divided into five main sections: 4.1 is the introduction, 4.2 summarizes the journalist' responses, 4.3 is a framework analysis of journalists normative role perceptions in a democracy, 4.4 is another framework analysis of the influences on journalism practice in a democracy, 4.5 gives a descriptive analysis of the themes and the new categories that emerged in the study, 4.6 is the conclusion.

4.2 The Summaries

4.2.1 The Pilot Study Interviews (January 2012)

Q1. In response to the questions about the professional cultures or identities of journalists working in *The Guardian* newspaper, most of the journalists claimed that the newspaper operate according to the liberal-conservative paradigm. The professional culture of the newspaper encourages the reporters to be the eyes, ears, and mouthpiece of the people; the Fourth Estate of the other three arms of government. The motto of the newspaper, 'Conscience nurtured by Truth' inspires the journalists to be credible, straightforward, and truthful; to always uphold justice, equity and fairness both as a shield and rear guard. And when necessary, justice must be granted

to the oppressed, the oppressor and the society. The publisher and editors of newspaper support journalists to be free and independent but to be accountable to the constitution, the principles of the job and their consciences. The newspaper prioritizes the interests of the nation, but gives the ordinary people a voice.

Most of the respondents thought that *The Guardian* newspaper is an elitist newspaper and over the years, it has gained a reputation as the darling of the intellectuals. Its elitism is balanced by columns such as the *Metro* section which handles issues that concerns the common people. As the flagship of journalism in Nigeria, the news stories, editorial and opinion articles are non-partisan, non-sensational, not emotive nor sentimental, truthful, unbiased, exact, accurate, objective and balanced since the parties involved are consulted before going to press. The journalistic culture promoted by the media outfit makes the journalists to write stories that are not frivolous, speculative, abusive or vulgar. Rather, journalists write stories that are verifiable, steadfast, temperate, and well researched. The news articles that are published are often directed to the policy makers so that they can make decisions in favour of the majority of society. The newspaper has a social responsibility or obligation to report news (facts, critical analysis), to hold opinions and expose corruption, and when the journalists err, they apologize by publishing the errors, making corrections and retractions.

Q2. When the journalists were asked: ‘To what extent have the institutional philosophies of the news title developed or deteriorated since Nigeria’s return to democracy in 1999?’ some of them responded by saying that the ideals of journalists have changed because of political and economic developments, while others argue that the institutional ideologies of *The Guardian* have not changed because most of the readers use the news stories as the standard for truth. That is, the readers only believe a story is true when they read it from *The Guardian* newspaper.

In terms of political reportage, majority of the journalists explained that the transition from a military regime to a democratic administration has made the press’ ideology to shift from antagonizing government to supporting it. The militancy and revolutionary ideology of the media has been replaced with freedom of expression and independence of media organizations from

government. The passing of the Freedom of Information Bill (FOI Bill) into law in 2011 guarantees that citizens can ask for information from the state, and the latter can only withhold information if it will jeopardize national interest. Since the return to democracy, the media have done ample investigative reporting that enabled the judiciary to punish those that were charged as corrupt (Evan Enwerem, Salisu Buhari, Bola Tinubu, Olabode George, and James Ibori as major examples). In the new democratic dispensation, the level of free speech is reflected in the volume of information that is published daily. The freedom journalists now enjoy is because government officials go through legal processes when they have been denigrated by journalists or media organization. Other arms of government, like the Legislature, are partakers of the freedom since they often intervene in support of the people whenever the government goes against their promises or obligations. These responses show that transition to democracy has taken place, and as a result, Nigeria's democracy is developing.

On the other hand, the financial challenges and the rising cost of media production makes the media to prioritize profit making in order to stay in business. For example, obituaries were not advertised in the newspaper when it first began publishing, but the poor financial state changed this and now they are announcing obituaries. The standards have dropped but not to a state of comatose. The moral standards of journalists have dropped and specific journalists are known for writing biased stories, because they have accepted rewards and gratification popularly known as the 'brown envelop'. For this reason, it can be argued that economic forces and organizational influences have influenced the development of the institutions' philosophies.

Q3., 5. & 6. The responses to the enquiry on the impact of Nigeria's return to democracy, the place of multi-media, and the survival strategy of *The Guardian* newspaper 1999-2010 in the press were:

Nigerian democracy is authoritarian and as a result, the media is not totally free. Journalists have been killed even after the return to democracy. This notion is supported by the Committee for Protection of Journalists 2012 (www.cpj.org). The motives of some of the killings have been confirmed while others have not. Meanwhile, the journalists that are alive work under constant

fear. Still, some said Nigeria's democracy is a military government wearing a garb of democracy.

The other perspective to the question showed that the media in the current democracy have been more vocal than at any other time in the history of Nigeria. The journalists argued that the government is irresponsible, but not authoritarian. Since, Nigeria's political orientation is a civilian one, the draconian laws like the Decrees 85 of 1992, 35 and 43 of 1993, albeit, not repealed, remain void since the Constitution overrides. The democracy is not yet stable but burgeoning, and since Nigeria's current democracy is just thirteen years old, it should not be expected to leapfrog to the Western standard. Even after 200 years, America's democracy is still not perfect.

ICT and the internet have revolutionized media practice by creating pathways. For example journalists can reach their sources and editors through emails. Emails, online publications and blogs have a wide reach, immediacy, feedback – with just clicks millions can access information from different parts of the globe. The use of the internet to send stories saves time and eliminates the risk of travelling for field reporters. The benefits of multimedia are many but it is cumbersome because many roles are now rolled up in one, with the reporter working as an editor, photographer, and production manager and so on.

Q 7. One perspective of the research participants' answer to the question 'what are the major threats to the independence of the newspaper?' is that since its inception thirty years ago, journalists enjoy independence as they work externally from the publisher and the powerful elites and internally from editors. Editors only give advice on how a particular news story should be positioned, or what to focus on but not on what to publish. In spite of the claim for autonomy, sometimes pressures and influences from outside the media organization come up for journalists to publish or not to publish a particular story, but the management has consistently ensured that the influences are not overwhelming. The standard the newspaper adopted to resolve this reality is known as objectivity. With objectivity, all the opinions of every stakeholder to a story are reported in the newspaper.

One of the opponents to the former perspective said that:

Apart from the fact that people (i.e. journalists) are bribed to do certain things, people are very afraid for their life, life is very cheap these days, it takes just a bullet and you are gone for life, you know, and nobody wants to die for being honest, so that kind of threat makes people to bend to suit whatever party is involved. ... The greatest threat is the assassinations and all; people have died on this job because they were bent on exposing some things that will affect some highly placed people. ... Greed and fear have taken over the whole profession as far as am concerned, everything is either watered down or it is not said at all or it is not reported fairly, both sides are not heard. (January 2012:R11)

Q4. & 8. What aspect of the Nigerian media Law and ethics suffice daily in your practice? How does the currency of the Nigerian media policy affect the corporate philosophies and editorial philosophies of the news title generally?

Majority of the respondents said they were ignorant of the Nigerian media policies. Those that acknowledged they knew said the lack of currency of the 'National Policy on Information' has made self-censorship a norm. Journalists censor themselves not to write a story that exposes corruption if doing so will expose them to harm. The colonial and authoritarian relic in the media laws have rendered them obsolete in the current democracy, therefore, a review is necessary. In a bid to protect themselves, the journalists often invoke the Constitution, the supreme law that guarantees free speech and freedom to hold opinion. It claimed that the precautions journalists take and the support the constitution offers have limited the record of litigation for defamation, libel and so on against the newspaper.

Q9. How do you determine your news sources; is sourcing guided by some criteria? The elitist audience of the newspaper is the main motivation why the intelligentsia's opinions are mostly published. The views of audience members that have economic and social capital and the

ordinary citizens are also represented. The newspaper does professional business reporting. Here the value of stocks and the activities of the stock market are made available to the readers. Other expert opinions on politics, health and so on are also sought. To be succinct,

The Guardian newspaper usually gives a platform to knowledgeable people; we consider the Chinese proverb which says “if a man knows the way, let him lead the way”. The newspaper prides in being elitist, other segments or columns are welcome but first and foremost we have an elitist audience, the intellectuals, University Professors, the diplomats, so that is the reason why if you notice we go to experts, government ... But the newspaper creates a balance though, the metro section/city file that deals with the issues that concern the ordinary citizens. (January 2012:R07)

4.2.2 The Main study’s Interviews (July 2012)

Q1. In response to the questions ‘what is the current position journalists occupy in the newsroom and what is the best way to describe their current employment, the journalists claimed that they occupied both junior and senior cadres and the perceptions of their employment statuses were listed as: health, business, features, political, citizen, science and technology reporting. Others were production editors, features editor, news editor with either a permanent employment status or licensed to freelance.

Q2. On the questions ‘Do you usually work on a specific “beat” or subject area such as politics or sports, or do you usually cover different topics and subjects, more like a general assignment?, journalists admitted to having specific beats (for example, health, fashion and style, politics, economy, entertainment and so on). They all admitted that irrespective of their specialized beat, they also wrote on other issues other than their assigned beat.

Q3. The following paragraphs are the responses of research participants on the normative ideal job description of journalists in Nigeria. The normative duties of journalists or news media is to

enlighten, inform, educate, set the agenda, entertain the public, defend the masses, to hold the state, (the influential, rich, powerful) accountable to the people, to serve as a watchdog of society. Journalists also analyse social phenomena like economics, politics, health, and so on. They are mediators between the political and economic class, and the rest of the society. Journalists make the government known and advise the public on issues that concern them. Journalists must hold the three arms of government (the executive, judiciary and the legislature) accountable. They give a voice to those who have been disadvantaged in society, e.g. women, children and the poor. They uphold the truth and make sure that nothing offensive to the public or owners of the newspaper is published, e.g. inciting stories that will turn one ethnic or religious group against another.

The job description of a journalist is a fluid one, depending on what the editor wants at a particular point in time. A journalist scouts for and writes news stories, feature stories, and analytical reports. The journalist is an avid reader that must think critically on news items before they are published. The journalist reads through and edits personal copies, rewriting them when necessary. Journalists engage in at least 70% of the production of the copies, which involves planning the pages, the pictures and words. Editors inspire junior colleagues to become great reporters.

Q4. The following were listed as hindrances to performing their normative roles or the reasons why they write mediocre pieces – poor remuneration, possible expenses required for developing a story and other demands from editors that do not afford journalists the time to follow up on events. The constant tail backs typical of Lagos roads, poor weather conditions like torrential rains, the home front, especially for the female respondents are hindrances to professionalism. Other hindrances are inadequate insurance policy, and threats from the terrorist group, *Boko Haram* sect which have made the journalists to refrain from reporting stories that put their lives or that of their family members at risk. Generally, other issues like deadlines, ill health, faulty hardware or software, and poor internet connectivity etcetera can pose as a challenge. The size of the population and religious diversity are also deterrents to wide coverage.

Q5. There was a consensus in the responses of the research participants that education, information and serving as the watch dog of society are the three most important normative roles. When they were asked why they held such opinions, one respondent said that

Education is the most important role, because when educating the society, we are inadvertently providing them with information and alerting them of dangers. The Western world has progressed because her citizens have been educated through the media. The Western media plays the education role especially during the election campaigns. (July 2012:R01)

Another respondent who held that the watchdog role was the most important role gave an analogy thus:

But you know if the owner of the dog does not feed the dog well and the dog sees a thief who has plenty of bones, meaty bones at that, the dog will keep quiet wisely so it can partake of the meal, but if the dog is well fed, his appetite is satiated it will bark (that is perform the watch dog role) and alert its owner of any intruder. (July 2012:R03)

Yet another respondent said his impression of serving as the watchdog is because:

These roles have formed the character of journalists over the years, it's been what they do, that is the structure I met on ground, and that is what should be upheld. (July 2012:R09)

Others believed that both code of ethics and years of practice or experience, feedback from readers have helped them to know that these are the most important roles. 'Every other role the journalist plays can be subsumed into these three roles' (July 2012:R07).

Q6. There was no consensus on the most important normative role. Others claimed the roles complement each other, they are interlinked, interwoven or interconnected, none is more important than the other. Others said the most important job of the journalist is to be the voice of the voiceless especially because the marginalized in society who do not have a voice must be helped to get better living conditions. Others believed information is the most important role,

because informed minds are easy to govern, and information helps the people to know what is happening around them. There was no consensus about the most important role, the perceptions were varied with entertainment, information, agenda setting, education, critical or investigative reporting, representing the marginalized in society, doing analysis and so on.

Q7. When the respondents were asked to talk about ‘the factors or events that have influenced journalism significantly in Nigeria’ the responses were divided between those who said democracy has given them confidence and freedom to hold opinions, versus those who claimed democracy did not change anything, because journalists are still afraid to publish sensitive news stories. The proponents submitted that they have not experienced any obstacle while doing their jobs, which is a plus for democracy. The opponents averred that democracy has done little or nothing because they still work with limited information from government, most times the information they get is incorrect, speculation or blatantly untrue. Given these claims, there is enough evidence from literature and from respondents that suggests that the working conditions of Nigeria’s journalists have improved significantly. The success journalists have recorded comes from the most recent democratic experience 1999 to date as argued in Chapter two. The more democratic Constitution provides journalists and citizens alike with their rights and privileges. As such, the landmark progress within the burgeoning democracy is encouraging. One respondent puts it

Journalism has flourished in this democracy, because when any government official or powerful person feels defamed by a journalist, the right thing to do is to go through a legal process sue the journalist and the organization in order to seek redress rather than the jack boot approach used during the military regime. During the military regime even when the truth was published a journalist could be jailed or roped because the assumption is some people are above the law. It’s a different ball game all together in a democracy, yes the man may feel injured, might want to use his powers, but there are checks and balances; the Legislature for instance. (January 2012:R09)

Also,

Although we (Nigerians) may not have achieved the level of press freedom we would love to have but I think Nigeria is better off, and I can attest to the fact that since Nigeria's return to democracy media titles report with some appreciable level of freedom. Politically I don't think there is any threat, *The Guardian* has become better, with all sense of modesty; it is still the flagship of the Nigerian media. (January:R13)

The summaries of both the pilot and main study interviews present the respondents' contributions on; the democratization process in Nigeria, the extent to which activities of politicians and the moneyed class influences journalism and democratization, the factors that shape the role perceptions and self-perceptions of the journalists, and how the journalists interpreted and applied democratic principles to their work. Under the next subtopic, the responses are analysed according to the theoretical framework. The analysis will show, what respondents meant when they made certain statements, the people they were referring to, the similarity or difference in their perception of say Christians et al.'s four normative roles of the media in a democracy and the inferences the researcher draws from their answers.

4.3 Framework Analysis: The Journalists' Normative Role Perceptions

4.3.1 The Monitorial Role

The researcher summarized the responses of journalists that fit into Christians et al.'s monitorial roles thus:

To scout for and write news articles and feature stories that enlightens, informs and educates readers. To serve as the watchdog of the society; set the agenda and entertain the public; to read through and edit personal copies; to make sure that influential, rich, and powerful people that make promises fulfilled them and to make them accountable to the majority of the people. To do research, analyse and write on social phenomena like economics, politics, health, and so on. One of the respondents said

Three months ago Medical doctors in Lagos state went on strike and I was detailed to monitor the issue, it was my duty to understand the feud between the doctors and government and to help alleviate the plight of the patients. ... (July 2012:R01)

4.3.2 The Facilitative Role

The researcher believes the respondents meant they perform the facilitative role when they:

Defend the masses when mediating between the political and economic class, and the rest of the society; educate the people about the government policies and to advise them accordingly. The facilitative role compels journalists to decide on how to report on issues even when there is pressure to favour certain persuasions or influential people (July 2012:R07). It is thus inferred that the journalists perform the facilitative role by

... being the voice of the voiceless I am currently following up a case where a man made claims that Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) (a government institution) rented his house and had not paid the due rent. Many other journalists did not think the story was worth their time, but when I got to know I took it up (July 2012:R08)

4.3.3 The Radical Role

It can be argued that journalists perform the radical role of media because they give a voice to, and strongly support those who are disadvantaged in the society e.g. women, children and the poor. Whenever there is an injustice against the common person one respondent insists that no stone is left unturned in restoring the dignity of the oppressed. According to Respondent 05

... The media has become more critical than we were say two three years ago, because we believe the government hasn't done much... there is a lot of corruption, the social and economic infrastructure have deteriorated,

unemployment is at its zenith, the country is faced with a lot of security problems seemingly insurmountable by the government. (July 2012:R05)

4.3.4 The Collaborative Role

There is one response that is inferred by the researcher to be the result of journalists' collaboration through acquiescence. In this case, the journalists collaborated because failure to do so had negative consequences on them. This type of collaboration occurs when interests of the politicians or the business class are prioritized so that the journalists do not report on sensitive issues, especially if it is against their interests.

In this democracy there is a constant pressure on the media from the politicians who want their stuff out there irrespective of the fact that they have not built structures to give the media a free hand to operate. They know that the media is the most powerful organ, so they mount pressure on the media. Objectivity in a media brand is not the textbook objectivity we learn in school, because it's a human being that runs the media not an angel fallen from heaven. So objectivity is defined to the extent that the owners of the media, the gatekeepers, editor, understand it. ... Yes there will always be influences, because this is an institution, and people want to get these institutions to do things in their favor, its natural. ... So yes there influences and pressure to tilt and publish some stories over others, there will always be such things but the flip side of it is have we been able to manage such challenges. (January 2012:R07)

The four normative roles describe how the respondents perceived their roles in relation to Christians et al.'s theorization. The next subsection analyses the responses of the journalists and describes what causes journalists to conduct themselves in a certain manner; that is, the factors that shape their self-perceptions, occupational cultures and the influences on journalism practice. The categories, institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies (Hanitzsch 2007) will be

used to explain the level of power political actors (such as business people, civil society and the state) give media organizations. The categories of Hanitzsch et al. (2010; 2011) will also help to explain the extent to which the activities of the political actors affect the media's social responsibility.

4.4 Framework Analysis: The Self-Perceptions of Journalists and the Influences on Journalism Practice

4.4.1 Institutional Roles

In the *interventionism dimension*, journalists work according to the neutral low and the adversary high continuums. According to the neutral low dichotomy, journalists are passive, gatekeepers that adhere to ethnocentric or Anglo-American values of professionalism, objectivity, and fairness, just to mention few. Journalists working according to interventionism on the adversary high continuum perform strong advocacy, support interest groups, political parties, ethnic minorities, the marginalized and so on. *Power distance* works as adversary high when media is considered to be the Fourth Estate, counters government or other institutional structures. One of the respondents alluded to this assumption by saying that

The role of the journalist is to serve as the society's watchdog, looking at the ills in society and publicizing them, in order to correct the ills, drawing government and organizations' attention to any bad thing happening in the society. (July 2012:R10)

While those on the loyal low continuum support government, censor information injurious to government, owners or financiers. When the *market orientation* is high, journalists are profit-oriented, champion popular journalism and treat the audience as consumers. Whereas when market orientation is low, journalists see the audience as citizens, prioritize the people's needs,

and supply information that fosters active participation in governance. This is what one respondent meant by saying

It is proper for people to know what is happening around them, whether good or bad, when the government is bringing up new policies it is good for the people to know so they can make informed contribution or criticism. (July 2012:R10)

4.4.1.1 Interventionism: Neutral ‘low’

The researcher noted in the summaries that some of the journalists believed the motto of the newspaper, ‘Conscience nurtured by Truth’ inform their sense of credibility, straightforwardness, truthfulness, non-partisanship, non-sensationalism, unbiased, unemotional, and non-sentimental. The news stories are always exact, accurate, and balanced since the parties involved are consulted before going to press. The stories are not frivolous; they are verifiable, steadfast, temperate, not speculative, not abusive nor vulgar. Even when pressure from outside the media tries to influence journalists to kill or downplay a story, the management makes sure that the influences are not overwhelming. The standard the newspaper adopts to resolve this reality is known as objectivity. With objectivity, all the opinions of the stakeholders are reported in the story. It is thus argued that this list of persuasions reckons with Hanitzsch’s theorization.

4.4.1.2 Interventionism: Adversary ‘high’

The journalists perceived themselves as the voice of the disadvantaged in society like the disabled, the children and the poor. They also made claims of upholding justice, equity and fairness. And when necessary, grant justice to the oppressed, the oppressor and the society.

4.4.1.3 Power distance: Adversary ‘high’

The professional culture of the newspaper, for over 30 years, encourages the reporters to be the eyes, ears, and mouthpiece of the people, the watchdog of the other three arms of government

(the executive, judiciary and the legislature). Journalists are allowed to operate independent of the internal forces (editors and other journalists) and external (publisher, powerful elites) influences. These claims resonate with Hanitzsch's concept of power distance (adversary high).

4.4.1.4 Power distance: Loyal 'low'

The constant reference to having elitist sources and readership is a sign that journalists work according to the loyal low continuum of power distance. This is also obvious when majority of the respondents argue that the press' ideology has shifted from antagonizing government to supporting or prioritizing the interests of the nation. Although they capture the voices of the ordinary people, some of the journalists said that they sometime succumb to pressure from exogenous powers to publish or not to publish a story or stories, especially those that will expose corruption. The journalists' ignorance of the media laws and ethics and the lack of currency of media policies have made self-censorship a norm.

4.4.1.5 Market Orientation: High

The economic challenges, such as the rising cost of media production, have made the media to devise other means of survival. One method the newspaper adopted to earn more money was to publish obituaries, meanwhile in the past this was not allowed. This is an indication that the media's market orientation is high.

4.4.1.6 Market Orientation: Low

Some journalists maintained that they practice a people-centred journalism because, the *Metro* section of the newspaper direct the concerns of the common people to those that have the power to solve them, that is the policy makers. The journalists said that they enjoy freedom because government officials now go through legal processes to indict the journalist or media instead of using some of the extra-judicial means discussed in Chapter two. Journalists noted that since the return to democracy, the media have done so much for investigative reporting that enabled the judiciary to punish those that were charged as corrupt (Evan Enwerem, Olabode George, James

Ibora as major examples). Journalists maintained that level of free speech they enjoy is evident in the volume of information that is published daily.

4.4.2 Epistemologies

Epistemologies situate the personal world view and the occupational ideologies of journalists in the objectivism high versus subjectivity low continuum, and in the empiricism high and empiricism low continuum. When objectivity is high journalists, merely state reality as it is, giving precedence to accuracy and precision. When the subjectivity is low, absolute truth is non-existent; the news is selective, requires interpretation and carries the biases of writers. When Empiricism is high, truth is justified through observation, measurement, experience and evidence, whereas when empiricism is low, truth is justified through reason, ideas, values, opinions and analyses.

4.4.2.1 Objectivism ‘high’

The journalists’ claims that the newspaper does not publish emotive, defamatory, offensive, inciting nor sentimental stories; but truthful, unbiased, exact, accurate, objective and balanced stories is interpreted in this chapter to mean an adherence to objectivism.

4.4.2.2 Subjectivism ‘low’

Some of the journalists said that the moral standards of journalism has dropped; as such, the newspaper sometimes carry biased stories, especially when rewards and gratification, popularly known as the ‘brown envelop’ have been accepted. According to Hanitzsch when these trends are noticeable this means the journalists are working according to the subjectivism low continuum.

4.4.2.3 Empiricism ‘high’

The journalists’ assertion that the news reports in the current democracy are thoroughly researched shows that they work within the empiricism continuum. Here respondents said that their news and opinion pieces are written after observing and measuring different sides to a story. Sometimes the experience they have acquired on the job and evidence gathered say on a crime scene helps them to write genuine stories.

4.4.2.4 Empiricism ‘low’

When the journalists’ work is guided by reason, ideas, values, opinions and analyses it is said that they work according to the low continuum of empiricism. Most of the journalists repeatedly invoked the motto of the newspaper, ‘Conscience nurtured by Truth’ as the guiding principle to journalism. One of them explained, ‘conscience is an open wound, only the truth can cure it’. They argued that the newspaper places premium on the truth value because the readers have used this overtime to evaluate the authenticity of their publication. The news and opinion pieces they write have also been guided by reason, ideas, opinions of other people and analyses say from the financial institutions.

4.4.3 Ethical Ideologies

The ethical ideologies divide into the relativism high and relativism low and the idealism high and idealism low. When relativism is universally low, journalists accept and make use of universal moral rules; whereas the media that subscribes to idealism high orientation claim that their sources of information are legitimate. The goal for publishing information is intended is most important than the means through which the information is gotten when idealism is low.

4.4.3.1 Relativism: Universal low

Majority of the journalists said that their newspaper works according to both local universally accepted codes of ethics. This claim resonates with the relativism low constituent.

4.4.3.2 Idealism: high

Some of the respondents claim that their news reports have always been rated as credible by readers and policy makers. The assertion that the newspaper is a legitimate brand shows they accept the idealism high theory.

4.4.3.3 Idealism: low

The respondents who said that the moral standards of journalists have dropped resulting in obscuring the truth showed they subscribe to the idealism low theory.

4.4.4 Political Factors

Two opposing views on the development of democracy and its impact on the Nigerian press emerged from both the pilot and main study's interviews. One position believed that Nigeria's democracy is authoritarian, 'a military regime wearing a garb of democracy'; the result is a media that is not totally free. The proponents of this view claim that some of the journalists' deaths have been politically motivated after the return to democracy. Meanwhile journalists that are alive work under constant fear. Democracy has not achieved much because journalists sometimes work with incorrect, speculative or blatantly untrue information from government and other power elites

The opponents of the former position held that the government is irresponsible, but it is not authoritarian since journalists have more confidence and freedom to hold opinions. The available literature reviewed in Chapter two shows that journalism is flourishing in the democratic era

(post 1999- date) compared to what was obtainable during the military era (1966-1976, 1979-1998). A 13 year old burgeoning democracy cannot leapfrog to the Western or Liberal standard of democracy. Even after 200 years, America's democracy is still not perfect to satisfy every US citizen. For instance, many US citizens do not agree with the flexible immigration laws of the USA.

4.4.5 Economic Factors

Majority of journalists interviewed said that economic factors like poor pay, inadequate insurance cover, and the cost of developing a story are responsible for the mediocre pieces that journalists write. The journalists lamented that they often desire to delve deeper into issues but knowing that their editors will not support such a venture makes them they merely gloss over the issues.

... Sometimes I wish I am removed from writing and editing aspect of my job, I don't know if that is going contrary in the sense you mean, what I mean is that is that I will prefer more time on the field, so I can investigate intensely and write more informed pieces. At least I should be able to spend at least one month on the field, but right now I don't have that luxury of that time, it's the reason why many people in other parts of the world go freelance because they want more time to do things in details, ... journalists from other parts of the world sometimes spend about six months investigating, and they don't have this pressure I experience. ...
(July 2012:R07)

In *The Guardian* newspaper, the average journalist earns between ₦960, 000 – ₦1, 200,000 or (\$5,820 – \$7,272) per annum. In *The Punch* newspaper the average salary is at least ₦1, 800,000 or (\$10,908) per annum, while in *The Nation* and majority of the other privately owned national daily newspapers journalists earn at least ₦ 840,000 or (\$5,090) per annum. Now when the total salary per annum is compared with the cost of living that is rent, immediate family's upkeep, and dependants' needs it is obvious that the take home pay cannot sustain the journalist hence the latter does other things to earn money which ultimately removes his or her attention from the

primary assignment thereby limiting the output. This is because in a typical Nigerian setting the person that earns money does not spend it alone, some or most of it will be shared among members of the immediate or extended family. Rent alone for a decent accommodation in Lagos mainland is between ₦ 150, 000 and ₦ 300, 000 or (\$909 - \$1,818) while in Lagos Island rent costs between ₦ 400,000 – ₦ 1,000,000 (\$5,454 - \$6,060). Whichever place the journalists reside in, the salary alone will not sustain the journalist, the family or the dependants.

4.4.6 Organizational Influences

The submission of a number of respondents was that the direction of news is usually largely the preserve of the editors. Such that editors invest more time and resources to producing pieces that will yield profit to the organization instead of just developing story for the sake of it.

Everything editorial wise or policy wise is left in the hands of the editors. But as a business ... the focus of the newspaper is how to increase profit. ... *The Guardian* is not populist it owes no obligation to business concern or political group. So we are strictly a policy paper, and in that regard, the last word has to come from the leadership either from the presidency or from the state house. ... This ... does not affect the editorial independence of the paper, but we have to hold the leadership in high esteem. (January 2012:R06)

4.4.7 Professional Level

The interviews revealed that the working experience and personal preferences of journalists was responsible for their position either in the junior and senior cadres, (reporters, production editors, features editor, news editor) as permanent employees or freelancers. The respondents said although the job description of a journalist is fluid, depending on what the editor wanted at a given time; their personal preferences and experience was the motivation for doing general journalism or for specializing in specific beats; for example, politics, economy, human sexual

and reproductive health, fashion and style, entertainment among others. Editors shared the consensus that their role involved inspiring junior colleagues become great reporters.

Many of the journalist claimed that ICT and the Internet have revolutionized media practice by creating pathways for them to reach their sources and editors via e-mails. The e-mails, online publications and blogs have a quality of immediacy, feedback and wider reach; with just a click, millions can access information from different parts of the globe. The multimedia, although cumbersome rolls up many responsibilities together, with the reporter working as editor, photographer, and production manager among others. A high level of professionalism allows the journalists to engage in at least 70% of the production of the copies, planning the pages, the pictures and words to strike a balance. Certain concerns were raised as the possible hindrances to professionalism namely, bad weather, poor road network, and traffic congestion otherwise known as tail backs within Lagos State. When bad roads are prevalent in a society, Ogboru (2014:6) argues that this is a sign of corruption. According to Ogboru (2010) corruption is

The circumvention of rules and laws for the purpose of obtaining some advantage, privilege or gain to oneself or another person, and to the detriment and/disadvantage of either the state or other individuals or both.

Corruption is said to undermine national, social and economic development, and for the journalists in *The Guardian* it is their contribution to national development that is threatened. A tail back makes the movement of goods and people within Lagos Metropolis difficult, so that employees use it as an excuse to come late to work (Asiyanbola, Osoba & Adewal 2012:490). Tail backs in turn increases the road traffic injuries and pollution. One significant and most recent incident of flooding in Lagos happened in July, 2011 (Simon, Inyang & Nelson 2011, 7, 10). The water level that could immerse an object as high as 3 feet or 5 feet shut down all activities in the state and made the government officials to warn residents to remain indoors. These factors indeed can pose as hindrances to journalist's doing their work effectively.

The analysis in this sub section was done according to the categories of Hanitzsch's (2007) study and Hanitzsch et al.'s (2010; 2011) study. The analysis proves Hanitzsch's assertion that there is

a thin line between some of the categories as some of the responses extended beyond one category. For example, the interventionism neutral, objectivity high and empiricism low constituents (Hanitzsch 2007) provided similar explanation for the journalists' self-perceptions. The high market orientation (Hanitzsch 2007) and the economic factors (Hanitzsch et al. 2010; 2011) offered similar justification for cost of developing news, the process of newspaper production, and the journalists' remuneration among other issues. While subjectivism low and idealism low explains why the journalists' moral standards have deteriorated. The transitology and elite continuity theories are used in the subsequent sections to state or explain why the political factors that affect the Nigerian media.

4.5 Framework Analysis: The Transitology and Elite Continuity Models

The responses of the journalists confirmed the claim that in a new democracy, the shift from dictatorship affects the role perceptions of journalists. The shift also affects the contributions of the journalists to the evolving democracy either positively or negatively. The elite continuity model on the other hand shows how activities of the democratic government help to sustain the status quo of the old regime. The status quo makes sure that the new government and the institutions, the media inclusive, work according to and support the legacies of the old regime. The responses of journalists that show these two realities are presented below.

4.5.1 Transitology

The respondents concurred with the two positions of the transitology theory. While the proponents say transitology has brought positive change to the polity, the opponents believe transitology has done little. In this study, the proponents averred that the ideology of journalism in *The Guardian* newspaper has shifted from antagonism of government policy to support for government policy. The journalists now see themselves as partners in the democracy project, a notion that is synonymous with development journalism discussed in Chapter two. There has also been a shift from revolutionary militancy to freedom from government control, freedom of information and freedom to hold opinion. As a result, the media is more vocal than in any

political dispensation in Nigeria. Most people who are aggrieved by the media follow legal procedures before the latter is convicted and or prosecuted. The shift can cause journalists to work according to the normative roles of Christians et al. (2009) namely the monitorial, facilitative, radical and collaborative roles.

The opponents challenge these perceptions because, according to the stipulations of the Fourth Estate, and the radical role, journalists must not support the state but to continuously challenge its excesses as well as that of their wealthy allies. So, according to this theory, the standard of journalism has dropped. Consequently, journalists have stopped engaging in investigative reporting and are now writing biased stories. Journalists no longer follow up stories appropriately and conclusively either because they lack the time and the funds to do so or because the editors will not allow them to remain on the story. They also lack access to information and as such have to rely on information that is incorrect, speculative or blatantly untrue. On the whole, the researcher points to the position of transitologists and elite continuity proponents (see section 2.1) and elemental democracy theorists (see section 2.2) to argue that Nigeria's democracy and media hold great promises for the future.

4.5.2 Elite Continuity

The researcher infer that the long-time relationship between elite groups such as the 'state bureaucracy, state enterprises and banks, private business, leaders of political parties and movements, intellectuals, the judicial system and municipalities' (Steen 1997:95) is the basis of the respondents' argument that the interests of the government are a priority, although the interests of the ordinary people and civil society are also reported. Elite continuity is observed in *The Guardian* newspaper because some of the respondents especially in the senior cadres have been working there for over thirty years. In accordance with Steen's (1997) study, since there has not been any need for skilled journalists, a complete change is yet to occur in the newsroom.

Akinrinade (2009) also noted that the political domain is occupied by former military rulers, and the state is yet to repeal the repressive military media laws, making the journalists to become

wary of the political elites. Although, ‘former elites that adopt democratic attitudes may be an important resource for democracy ... they may create a special problem of legitimacy’ (Steen & Ruus 2002:223). That is, they may not accept the new governing law or regime. Further afield, the theoretical framework for the normative roles, self-perceptions and influences on journalism and the transitology and elite continuity could not be used to analyse some of the perceptions of journalists. Therefore, the journalists’ perceptions on terrorist insurgency, the home front, and population size are presented under the sub topic ‘new categories’.

4.6 New Categories

4.6.1 Terrorist Insurgency

According to Christians et al., terrorist insurgency usually calls for collaboration between the state and the media. This collaboration is done in order to apprehend the culprits. Some of the respondents claimed that they work with the government as prescribed by the collaborative role. On the contrary, others said that in a bid to avoid the wrath of the *Boko Haram*, they have to resort to self-censorship. That is they will not cover or write any report on the activities of this terrorist militant group for fear of reprisal attacks on them, their organization, friends or family. *Boko Haram* an Islamic Jihadist *Takfiri* militant and terrorist organization based in the North East of Nigeria, North Cameroon and Niger Republic was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 (Ibeh 2013; Burstin 2013; Agbambu, Bwala, Ibrahim & Usigbe 2013 & *France24* 2011). The mission of the terrorist group is to institute a “pure” Islamic state ruled by Sharia law, putting a stop to what it deems “Westernization”. In their bid to do this they have attacked and killed Christians in government establishments, churches, schools (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). Men of the force like the police, military personnel, and western tourists Western tourists have that suffered in the hands of these terrorists because the latter usually have them kidnapped, tortured or assassinated.

4.6.2 The Home front

The female respondents' claimed that attending to the educational needs of their children and catering for the whole family poses as a challenge to their upward movement in the profession. This point was not captured in Hanitzsch et al.'s theorization on professional level. Allanana (2013:115-144) asserts that in Nigeria where women constitute half of the population they mostly combine their secular paid work with their roles as 'mothers, producers, managers, community developers/organizers etc'. She also believes that since Nigeria is a patriarchal society, the

... Society sets the parameters for women's structurally unequal position in families and markets by condoning gender-differential terms in inheritance rights and legal adulthood, by... sanctioning differential wages for equal or comparable work. (ibid 2013:116)

In order to overcome this challenge Women Liberation Movements have suggested that there ought to be division of labour in the home otherwise the career equality or equity for men and women will not be possible (Asiyanbola 2005:1-21).

As long as women are burdened with the responsibility of a household and children while they pursue a career, they can never devote enough time and energy to occupational demands to compete with men who can and who are encouraged to devote their entire time and energy to pursuing careers. (ibid 2005:8)

4.6.3 Population size

Some of the journalists claimed that the size of Nigeria's population makes it impossible to cover the many events that happen concurrently. This factor was not considered in any of the theoretical frameworks applied to this study.

We are living a country where we have chains of events happening at the same time, within the last three months we have the Dana crash, the subsidy bribe scandal, Jos sectorial crisis and many others ... the Nigerian

journalists are overwhelmed by events and it makes it difficult to follow up issues to a logical conclusion. (July 2012:R02)

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter argues that after thirteen years of democracy, the Nigerian media has achieved a lot in the areas of freedom of expression and information. Although, the concerns and frustrations of journalists have not been completely handled, elemental democracy theory adherents and transitologists argue that this is a normal process when a democracy is burgeoning. Hence, there is still room for the improvement of the democratization process and in the area of freedom of expression. Although there is a significant political shift, the currency of issues like extrajudicial assault and intimidation of journalists, brown envelopes, biased reportage, self-censorship among others, reveals that some of the old political structures and media cultures have been retained. Nevertheless, The Freedom of Information Act (FOI Act), the wide reach of the Social Media and other online news media platforms have reduced government censorship and boosted freedom of expression. This gives the journalists the impetus to make the government accountable to the people and civil society. A critical analysis of the FOI Act reveals that the law is not a magic wand that compels government to divulge information to journalists, also the Act becomes impotent when government officials deny journalists information on the bases that such information ‘may be injurious to the conduct of international affairs and the defense of the Federal Republic of Nigeria’ (Akpodiete 2012). Another limiting factor of the FOI Act is because some draconian laws have not been repealed in Nigeria like

... The Official Secrets Act, Evidence Act, the Public Complaints Commission Act, the Statistics Act and the Criminal Code; all aimed at suppressing the free flow of information. All these laws may affect the effectiveness of the Act in the long run as some mischievous public officers can use these aspects of the Acts for their selfish purposes just like what happened in the United Kingdom Parliament in 2009.

From the analysis, the role perceptions of journalists are mostly normative while the factors that influence their reportage are basically empirical. Josephi's argument that the gap between the norm and practice is widening applies in this research. For example most journalists admitted that economic factors have caused them to publish a story, kill a story, or change a story. This attitude is meant to either promote their personal ambitions or so they can remain in sync with their financiers.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study. The summary is done chapter by chapter. The conclusion highlights the key issues in the findings of the research, while the recommendations given are based on the findings and their implications to the journalists, civil society, elites and the entire people of Nigeria.

5.2 Summary

This study investigated the self-perceptions of Nigerian journalists and the factors that influence their work with focus on *The Guardian* newspaper. Chapter one established that the legacies of the colonial and military regimes that have been retained affect the way journalists see themselves and practice their roles. The chapter also argues that Nigeria's democracy is authoritarian and the media is only partly free. The significance of the study, research questions, goals and objectives, methodology and methods, and the limitation of the study were briefly presented. In Chapter two, a review of related literature examined concepts like media development in third wave democracies around the world from the 1980s to the 1990s as well as the concepts of democratization, transitology, elite continuity and media development in Nigeria from 1960 to date. Normative theories, self-perception theories and elements that influence media practice in democratic societies formed the theoretical framework. It is highlighted in the literature that the shift from military rule to democracy has helped journalists to exercise the freedom of expression compared to the military era where journalists had to go underground to survive the harsh treatment that was being meted out to them. The chapter also acknowledged that in most of Nigeria's media, the direction and scope of news are determined by those that have economic and political power, even after the authoritarian regimes have been replaced with a democracy. Chapter three explained how phenomenology, the main methodology and

qualitative research method of in-depth semi-structured interview is used for data collection and analysis. The chapter justifies the use of snowball sampling technique, the number of journalists that make up the sample frame, the data collection method, which is the in-depth semi-structured individual interview. The chapter also justifies the synergy between phenomenology and the qualitative paradigm, the framework data analysis method and ethical considerations. In chapter four, the framework data analysis method was used as supported by the phenomenological tradition. The data was then analysed deductively. The interpretation of results showed that the issues, concerns and frustrations of journalists have not changed much since the return to democracy in 1999. The chapter uses the responses of journalists to argue that the gap between norms and practice is widening. The respondents also claim that in reality, the transitology and elite continuity theories apply to their experiences as journalists working in a post-colonial, post military era. The chapter also presents a different perspective to the notions of terrorist insurgency, home front and economic factors. Lastly, chapter five, presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

5.3 Conclusion

This study on journalists' self-perception and their roles in the Nigerian media contributes to the body of knowledge on the freedom of the press and normative theory for understanding journalists' perception within Africa and beyond. The study argues that when the law makers addresses the restrictions within the FOI Act and the media is diversified, then editorial independence will be achieved. This will put to an end self-censorship, extra judicial prosecution and murder of journalists, and make available needed information. The study suggests a new theory called 'journalists' perception theory of the press'. This theory evinces that the individual legal framework, the political economy and other social institutions should be the benchmark for understanding the role perceptions of journalists of a particular nation.

5.4 Recommendations

The foregoing section of this chapter deals with conclusion based on the findings. This section makes key recommendations on the self-perceptions of journalists in Nigeria. Based on the findings, this study strongly recommends that the negative perceptions of Nigerian journalists can be overcome with the following actions:

1. The colonial and authoritarian media laws like the Official Secrets Act, Evidence Act, Public Complaints Commission Act, Statistics Act, and the Criminal Code, that indirectly constrain the mass media and journalists should be formally repealed. This will enable them to be fair and free from the fear of being killed or dragged to court maliciously because of the authoritarian laws and system of governance.
2. Journalists can perform their role effectively if the National Mass Communication Policy of 1990 is rewritten. The journalists will work effectively if the media laws are amended to conform to the present democratic tenets.
3. The Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) should effectively promote and defend the rights of journalists from the excesses of the government and the business class. This will promote the perception of high ethical values and serve as the support base for journalists.
4. The salaries of journalists should be upgraded and the proposed life insurance for Nigerian journalists should be made mandatory to give the journalists a sense of social security on the job.
5. Journalist should be trained to use the latest ICTs. This reduces the risk of travelling from one part of the country to another and will help the media to reach sources and publish their stories via electronic means.

6. The NUJ should put in place proper mechanisms to check unethical journalistic practices. This will help to mitigate the negatively perceived roles of journalists among themselves and among the public.
7. Journalist should watch against ethno-religious bias in their reportage.
8. Nigerian media should make policies that will help women in the paid workplace to advance in their career, given that their gendered roles can be a limitation to their progress.

5.5 Areas for Future Research

This study is about the perceptions of journalists' roles and factors that influence journalism practice in Nigeria, using the case of *The Guardian* newspaper. Thus, the conclusions drawn must not be taken as definitive but as a spring board for further research. First, future research may investigate the perceived roles of journalists in the mainstream media (that is the television, radio, and the print) and the alternative media like the online media and alternative journalism. Second, the journalists' perceptions and the perception of the masses on the Nigerian journalism can be studied side by side. Third, the perceptions and expectations of the government on what role the journalists should play can be investigated to help the former to enact more media-friendly laws. Lastly, the proposed media perception theory of the press should be investigated to prove or dispel the hypothesis that the legal, political, economic and social framework of a particular society affects the perceived roles of journalists in it.

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ENDNOTES

¹In this study, liberal democracy is a form of government in which representative democracy operates under the principles of Liberalism, here the rights of minorities, especially the individual are protected.

¹ This is only possible when 'two or more items appear "similar enough", that is, neither identical nor utterly different' A major drawback of the comparative expansion of the discipline is, then, that it has been conducive to indefiniteness, to un-delimited and largely undefined conceptualizations. We do need, ultimately, "universal" categories-concepts which are applicable to any time and place. But nothing is gained if our universals turn out to be "no difference" categories leading to pseudo-equivalences. And even though we need universals, they must be empirical universals, that is, categories which somehow are amenable, in spite of their all-embracing very abstract nature, to empirical testing (Sartori 1970:1035).

¹ Consolidology as Schmitter & Karl put it, deals with several actors, behaviours, processes, values and resources (ibid 1994:175). The political actors involved in the consolidation of democracy do not change, however, 'they deal with different problems, make different calculations and hopefully behave in different ways'. The consolidologist must shift from thinking in terms of a particularly exciting form of "political causality," in which unpredictable and often courageous individuals take singular risks and make unprecedented choices, and adjust to analysing a much more settled form of "bounded rationality" that is both conditioned by capitalist class relations, longstanding cultural and ethnic cleavages, persistent status conflicts and international antagonisms, and staffed by increasingly professional politicians filling more predictable and less risky roles. From the heady excitement and under determination of the transition from autocracy, he or she must adjust to the prosaic routine and over determination of consolidated democracy (ibid 1994:176).

¹ Transitology can be used as an approach for conceptualizing and theorizing democratization if the 21st century policy makers and scholars rewrite the teleological universal model of transition to one that is more realistic and context specific. A realistic and context specific paradigm will redirect the focus of transitology to show how the activities of the social and economic elites try to sabotage state building efforts in new democracies (Jankaukas & Gudzinskas 2007:182, 194-197).

¹ Elite persons are specialized by institutions and interests and linked to each other in a complex way (Keller 1972). The functional needs of the state explain how old elites may remain in power positions even after regime change (Steen 1997:96). Steen argues further that certain functions must be continued after a regime change because the permanence of bureaucracy is intrinsic to any model society. The business elites and academic elites are formally more removed from political decision making but are expected to play an important role in defining the political agenda and influencing the political process, especially when lack of institutional traditions opens up for informal inter-elite cooperation (ibid 1997:93). In Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, leaders in the different elite groups (ibid 1997:95) are:

- State bureaucracy (political and administrative leaders);
- State enterprises and banks (leaders of state owned activities);
- Private business (leaders of larger firms, companies and banks);
- Leaders of political and pressure group movements;
- Intellectuals (leaders in higher education, mass media and culture);
- The judicial system (judges and prominent lawyers);
- Municipalities (local political and administrative leaders).

National elites can be defined as top position-holders in the largest or most resource rich political, governmental, economic, military, professional, communications, and cultural organizations and movements in a society (Higley & Burton 1989:17). A dis-unified national elite, which is the most common type, produces a series of unstable regimes that tend to oscillate between authoritarian and democratic forms over varying intervals. A consensually unified national elite, which is historically much rarer, produces a stable regime that may evolve into a modern democracy, as in Sweden, or Britain, or the United States, if economic and other facilitative conditions permit. Scholars who focus on the variability of national elites generally distinguish three basic types: (1) the "pluralistic" or

"consensually unified" type that exists in most Western societies today and that existed in a few of them in earlier times; (2) the "totalitarian" or "ideologically unified" type in nation states organized along communist, fascist, or theocratic lines; and (3) the "divided" or "dis-unified" elite of many past and contemporary nation-states (Higley & Burton 1989:17-19).

¹ Steen and Ruus (2002:226-227) argue that elite continuity can take various forms, some of the main ways the elite change their position from one regime to another have been identified as:

1. Horizontal Continuity: The old political elites take over important positions in politics, occupying power positions, but within new institutional settings, preserving their political status.
2. Status Continuity: The former political actors move out of politics but retain their social status by attaining prominent positions in business, private media and other new sectors.
3. Vertical Continuity: The former sub-elites move into new positions in politics, administration and economy.
4. Elite Change: This is the opposite of elite continuity and it occurs where there is a political revolution. The old elites give up political power in order to preserve their influence in say the media, or in the economy.

¹ The political system consists of the regime, that is, the political institutions both input (political parties, interest groups, mass media) and output (legislature, executive, bureaucracies, courts); the specific incumbents of those institutions and the nation. (Diamond 1994:8)

¹ A wave also usually involves liberalization or partial democratization in political systems that do not become fully democratic. ... Each wave affected a relatively small number of countries, and during each wave, some regime transition occurred in a non-democratic-direction. In addition, not all democratic transitions occurred during democratic waves. ... Each of the first two waves of democratization was followed by a reverse wave in which some but not all of the countries that previously made the transition to democracy reverted back to nondemocratic rule. (Huntington 1990:15-16)

¹ On the following decades, other countries gradually expanded their suffrage, reduced plural voting, introduced the secret ballot, and established the responsibility of prime ministers and cabinets to parliaments. ... The first reverse wave or the shift away from democracy began in 1922 and lasted till 1942. When this happened, the new nations reverted to authoritarian rule or other new mass-based, more brutal and pervasive forms of totalitarianism. ... The regime changes reflected the rise of communist, fascist, and militaristic ideologies. (Huntington 1990:16-18)

¹ ... The beginning of the end of Western colonial rule produced a number of new states. In many no real effort was made to introduce democratic institutions. ... In a few new states – India, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Israel – democratic institutions were sustained for a decade or more, and in 1960 Africa's largest state, Nigeria, began life as a democracy. The second reverse wave that began in 1958 and lasted till 1975 recorded political developments and regime transitions becoming authoritarian. Although, Nigeria started out as a democracy in 1960, it succumbed to a military coup in 1966. Thirty three other African countries that became independent between 1956 and 1970 became authoritarian with independence or very shortly after independence. ... In one sense, the democratization waves and the reverse suggest a two-step-forward, one-step-backward pattern. To date, each reverse wave has eliminated some but not all of the transitions to democracy of the previous democratization wave. (Huntington 1990:18-20, 25)

¹ In Africa and in the Middle East movement to democracy in the 1980s was limited. Nigeria shifted back from military rule to a democratically elected government in 1979 but this in turn was overthrown by a military coup at the beginning of 1984 (Huntington 1990:24). Nigeria had to go through another 14 years of military rule before democracy was established in 1999 (Akinrinade 2006:284). And for 14 years, Nigeria has experienced an evolving, un-interrupted democracy.

¹ A writ employed to bring a person before a court, most frequently to ensure that the person's imprisonment or detention is not illegal.

¹ Huntington uses the term “authoritarian” to refer to all non-democratic systems such as ‘one-party systems, totalitarian systems, personal dictatorships, military regimes’ (ibid 1990:13). In a typical authoritarian regime, opposition parties and critical voices are prohibited; the political representatives are dictators, corrupt, inefficient, unaccountable and most times, democratic philosophies exist on paper because they are never implemented (Democracy Index 2011:30).

¹ Jigawa State is one of thirty six states that constitute the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is situated in the north-western part of the country (Milligan & Mytton 2009:496).

¹ *Boko Haram* as a group and an ideology have since registered their agenda as ‘anti-Western education’, albeit, they have unleashed terror on Christians and other non-Muslims, business establishments like gas stations and financial institutions like banks (Adenrele 2012:21-26).

¹ Blumer (1954:10) maintained that naturalistic research depends “on patient, careful and imaginative life study, not quick shortcuts or technical instruments. While its progress remains slow and tedious, it has the virtue of remaining in close and continuing relations with the natural social world.” According to Blumer (1979”xxiv, v), a study follows the naturalistic method when:

Many, indeed, most modes of study of human group life do not study that life as it is going on naturally. Instead, they deal with some kind of contrived, imported, or constructed representation of that area of happening. This can be very clearly seen in the case of the laboratory experiment which is arranged to reproduce some form of behavior from real life but is not that real life. The difference is also evident in the study of simulated behavior as against real behavior. The difference is also to be noted in the case of studies which focus on the *products* of what happens in place of observing the course of happenings that give rise to the products. Also, conventional studies which start with a constructed model of what is to be studied and which make contact with the actual world through deductions from the model differ from naturalistic study. Also, a difference is to be noted in the case of studies which seek to reconstruct a picture of what happened and then proceed to study that reconstruction. Also, a clear difference exists between naturalistic study and such studies, such as survey research, which aim to provide an idea of how people might act as opposed to how they have acted or are acting. A little reflection should make clear that, to an overwhelming extent, current studies are not “naturalistic” in the sense of focusing inquiry and observation on the actual flow of human group life.

¹ The information gathering technique that is used must be one that respects the natural integrity of the problem given the practical realities involved in actually studying it. (Athens 2010:95)

¹ The narrative essay writer must make sure that the message of the essay has been conveyed effectively. The reader of the essay must see how the experiences of the respondents connect with the meaning they make out of the questions they are asked. The reader must also be able to understand the conclusions made.

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APPENDIX I

Figure 1: Regime changes in Nigeria: 1960-2011 (Akinrinade 2006:284)

Period	Head of State	Type of Government	How regime ended
1960-1966	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Parliamentary democracy	Military Coup
January to July 1966	JTU Aguiyi-Ironsi	Military government	Military coup
1966-1975	Yakubu Gowon	Military government	Military coup
1975-1976	Murtala Muhammad	Military government	Failed military coup / assassination of head of state
1976-1979	Olusegun Obasanjo	Military government	Civilian elections
1979-1983	Shehu Shagari	Presidential democracy	Military coup
1983-1985	Mohammadu Buhari	Military government	Military Coup
1985-1993	Ibrahim Babangida	Military government	Forced resignation / mass uprising after annulled election
August – November 1993	Ernest Shonekan	Interim/caretaker government	Military Coup
1993-1998	Sani Abacha	Military government	Death
1998-1999	Abdulsalami Abubakar	Military government	Civilian elections
1999-2007	Olusegun Obasanjo	Presidential democracy	Civilian elections
2007-2010	Umaru Musa Yaradua	Presidential democracy	Death
2009-2010	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	Acting President	Civilian elections
May 2011-date	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	Presidential democracy	

APPENDIX II

Figure 2: The Constituents and Principal Dimensions of Journalism Culture (Hanitzsch 2007:371).

Institutional Roles			Epistemologies		Ethical Ideologies	
Interventionism	Power Distance	Market Orientation	Objectivism	Empiricism	Relativism	Idealism
Intervention (+)	Adversarial (+)	Consumers (+)	Correspondence(+)	Empirical (+)	Contextual (+)	Means (+)
Passive (-)	Loyal (-)	Citizens (-)	Subjectivity (-)	Analytical (-)	Universal (-)	Outcome (-)

Appendix III

Pilot study

1. What are the professional cultures or identities of journalists in the guardian newspaper?
2. To what extent have the institutional philosophies of the news title developed or deteriorated since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999?
3. It has been argued that the Nigerian democracy is new, if this true how has this affected the practice of journalism? If no skip to next question.
4. What aspect of the Nigerian media Law and ethics suffice daily in your practice?
5. Is it true that multimedia and democracy have changed the news contents and self-perceptions of journalists?
6. How has *The Guardian* newspaper fared through the three transitions of democracy from 1999-2010 especially because studies and freedom indices discredit Nigerian democracy as authoritarian?
7. What are the major threats to the Guardian's independence, because it has been argued that the political and the moneyed class are capable of influencing your reportage?
8. How does the currency of the Nigerian media policy affect the corporate philosophies and editorial philosophies of the news title generally?
9. How do you determine your news sources, is sourcing guided by some criteria?

Individual Responses: January

R01: I do not attend National Union of Journalists' (NUJ) meetings so there is no way I will understand the national philosophies and policies but am aware that the global values for the practice of journalism are adhered to by Nigerian journalists.

Generally our philosophy in the Guardian is to feed the political class, the government, and others in society with what concerns them. We do not concentrate on one class because we have columns dedicated to politics, economics, opinion or metro sections etcetera.

R02: Although the newspaper has helped to checkmate the politicians and corrupt government officials, journalists seeking for information from the Ministries are referred to the Presidency, and on getting there you are told the Official Secret Act prohibits access, or you are told that security and defense is no-go-area, and I ask how is it a no-go-area to seek for information? Journalists are on the field at their own risk ... we have journalists who have been killed and no one is saying anything yet.

A lot happens in the corridors of power, even when there is access to such information we cannot publish it, because of the likelihood that the government will use the judiciary or other means to refute the publication. Also the FOI Bill has only been implemented at the national level but the state levels are yet to do so for it to be fully operational based on my findings. And we claim we have a Federal system, but in the real sense it is more of a central system because power lies at the center.

The adverts the news title attracts are from corporate organizations and multinational companies. This is because they have confidence in the paper, a reputation that has been built over the years. The Guardian is a liberal newspaper whose independence is not under threat. Whether you like it or not you will have a reason to identify with them, because they give both the privileged and non-privileged the opportunity to air their views.

R03: So far I cannot remember one single incident when government has tried to stifle freedom of expression in *The Guardian* newspaper.

R04: *The Guardian* has always been a responsible newspaper, we don't swift to passions. A lot of people read the Guardian believe what they read that is why we are careful how we cast our stories.

R05: Journalists working for *The Guardian* newspaper very conservative and use logic and reason to think through issues and not emotions, sentiments. We are both establishment and non-establishment. *The Guardian* still aligns itself to the establishment because we say the interest of the nation is a priority.

The Guardian is not a mass circulation paper, so our interest is not in how much paper is sold, but that the paper gets to the hands of those who matter. Those who decide the state of the society, opinion molders ... the people who take decisions that concerns businesses, human beings, politicians and the society. Those are the caliber of people the Guardian wants to get to. This has been the guiding principle since the paper launched its first publication in 1983.

Talking about editorial independence I think *The Guardian* is one place where you don't even see the publisher. For all the 25 years I worked here and served as editor for ten years till the publisher died in November 20th 2011, I never met him. ... We spoke only four times and the reasons were strictly work related ... I never met him one on one I am telling you the truth. He even confessed to me (over the phone) saying he only saw me when I was interviewed on CNN, and that before he could have a full grasp of me the footage faded out. For me that is a fundamental point about editorial independence. He only calls say when there was a bad newsprint, but never to tell the editors what to publish or what not to publish, even as Minister for Internal Affairs (during the military regime).

So the advent of democracy has affected us positively, never negatively. We have been sued many times, we are always in court but nobody has come to say publish this and not that.

R06: *The Guardian* newspaper prides as the flagship of the Nigerian print media. It is an intellectual paper that seeks to address the elite, the policy makers, but the newspaper has soft

pedaled to include the voices of the community, sectorial and religious voices and indeed majority of Nigerians.

Talking about ideology, anyone who wants to work or write for *The Guardian* has to first develop herself or himself, understand the culture of the newsroom and the people and work within the frames of that culture. The intellectual depth of journalists has not declined, instead it has matured. *The Guardian* determines its readership based on the circulation figures from the vendors returns.

The Nigeria's democratic culture is evolving, the democracy is growing, and nothing is static in life, the same way the society is growing, trying to measure up to the international standards of a society, ... a remarkable feature that affects me personally as a practicing journalist is the social media. It has changed the concept of face of the traditional mainstream journalism, which is also affecting the democracy you really can't gag, or suppress information.

Some journalists do not adhere to the ethics of the profession because they are not trained journalists.

Everything editorial wise, policy wise is left in the hands of the editors. But as a business ... the bottom line is how to increase profit. Our newsroom house style emphasizes how leadership is reported. In the course of my time on the job I have seen this at play, it's not as if we censor stories, but in *The Guardian* we take offence of brash reportage of leadership, presidency and governor's office are held in high esteem. *The Guardian* is not populist it owes no obligation to business concern or political group. So we are strictly a policy paper, and in that regard, the last word has to come from that leadership either from the presidency or from the state house. That is how we are modeled here, it's not as if we are being censored, and it doesn't affect the editorial independence of the paper, but we hold the leadership in high esteem.

R07: Overall the standards of journalism in Nigeria have dropped, there is no gainsaying standards have dropped, in spite of that some people are still holding theirs.

The Nigerian democratic dispensation far as am concerned is nothing but a military dispensation that carries the grab of democracy. You saw how long it took for the FOI Bill to be legitimated. You still see the impunity with which information is withheld. Some draconian laws which still

exist side by side with the FOI law that can potentially stifle the media preventing it from playing its statutory role. But the other big question in this democracy is the constant pressures on the media from the politicians who want their stuff out there irrespective of the fact that they have not built structures to give the media a free hand to operate. They know that the media is the most powerful organ, so they mount pressure on the media.

Objectivity in a media brand is not the textbook objectivity we learn in school, because it's a human being that runs the media not an angel fallen from the heaven. So objectivity is defined to the extent that the owners of the media, the gatekeepers, editor, understand it. ... Yes there will always be influences, because this is an institution, and people want to get these institutions to do things in their favor, its natural. ... So yes there influences and pressure to tilt and get some stories over others, there will always be such things but the flip side of it is have we been able to manage such challenges.

The Guardian newspaper usually gives a platform to knowledgeable people; consider the Chinese proverb which says "if a man knows the way, let him lead the way". The newspaper prides in being elitist, other segments or columns are welcome but first and foremost we have an elitist audience, the intellectuals, University Professors, the diplomats, so that is the reason why if you notice we go to experts, government and there is a need for those who know to project information. But there is a balance though, the metro section/city file that deals with the issues that concern the common man.

The libel laws have a colonial relic, Decree 2 and 4, the 1962 official oaths ...But the problem with those laws being there is that even though nobody is talking about them they tend to create a climate of self-censorship. And not many media practitioners are aware of some of these laws. ... The existing laws remind you psychologically that someone is watching your back. ... How can someone refer to 1962 Act, a law that was used and handed down by the colonial masters to hinder the subjects from speaking? So a review of the laws and the repealing of the obscure one is necessary. And the media must be carried along the process in fact they should lead the trail in fashioning out guides for media practice in Nigeria.

R08: Sometimes you have a lot of information but you can't publish it. Some weeks back I was called in the newsroom and asked if I knew some banks were laundering money and I affirmed,

and the editors asked if I can name them and I did. I was asked if I could write about it and I said no and my reasons were that I was not willing to prove it, because I was not willing to disclose my source.

As far as am concerned we are practicing a fake democracy. I do not believe in our democracy, I do not believe we are practicing one, I don't believe it. Maybe my position is informed by my experiences from visiting and seeing how citizens are treated in other parts of the world. Their knowledge of and respect for human right is commendable. And there is nothing like that in Nigeria, we don't respect human rights in Nigeria.

The present government has been trying to restrain itself from clamping down on journalists I think it's been trying to do that. But at the same time we are very cautious of what to write when we don't have concrete proof, even when we do we try to balance it.

R09: Journalism has flourished in this democracy, because when any government official or powerful person feels defamed by a journalist, the right thing to do is to go through a legal process sue the journalist and the organization in order to seek redress rather than the jack boot approach used during the military regime.

During the military regime even when the truth was published a journalist you could be jailed or roped because the assumption is some people are above the law. It's a different ball game all together in a democracy, yes the man may feel injured, might want to use his powers, but there are checks and balances; the legislature for instance. Why did David Mark the Senate President intervene during the impasse over the fuel price increase, because he is the Senate president, and the President cannot ignore his voice, that is democracy, that is checks and balance. Assuming this fuel subsidy was removed during a military regime the dissidents that questioned the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces (the head of state) will be charged for treason, I am sure, and if care is not taken roped in and executed, for insubordination.

A technology feat like the pen camera that records for 24 hours has made the job easier and faster too. There was a time when only the fax machine was used for communication. Today editors and journalists need not have any physical interface yet the work will still continue via emails. The risk and cost incurred as a result of travelling is also been eliminated.

The Decree 2 and 4 enacted by the military regime, though still there in writing those laws have been overtaken by the Constitution which is the Supreme law of the land. And besides I have not seen anybody applying those laws in recent times, particularly in this era of democracy. ... Well if the law has not affected me in the course of doing my job I consider it repealed. How else can the level of journalists' professionalism be explained than the freedom we have to express ourselves on burning issues, the freedom to voice one's dissent on government policies?

R10: You know during the military the culture of freedom earned some of our journalist jail terms... for example we ran a story on some diplomatic postings which was true but the government claimed we embarrassed them and thus jailed two of our reporters, now what am trying to say is that that doesn't happen now, because this is a democracy and people are free to say what they want provided it is the truth.

R11: The journalism culture has not developed because journalists still write stories that are biased, unbalanced, based on whatever interest they have. Some journalists are biased because the people involved rewarded them to do so. This attitude can be blamed on the fact that the journalist' take home pay is not so good and ends must meet and so people tend to fall for that and at the end of the day you have ethical guidelines being violated.

Apart from the fact that people (journalists) are bribed to do certain things, people are very afraid for their life, life is very cheap these days, it takes just a bullet and you are gone for life you know, and nobody wants to die for being honest, so that kind of threat makes people to bend to suit whatever party is involved. ... The greatest threat is the assassinations and all; people have died on this job because they were bent on exposing some things that will affect some highly placed people. ... Greed and fear has taken over the whole profession as far as am concerned, everything is either watered down or it is not said at all or it is not reported fairly, both sides are not heard.

Attempts to get information from the government most times end in a deadlock, sometimes they out rightly refuse to respond, switched off their lines, or someone picks on their behalf and keeps posting you until you tire. Or someone picks on their behalf and tells you well I am not in a position to say this, or I was told in this office not to divulge any information. ... Journalists can't really say we are operating in the democracy; the democracy has not worked for us really.

R12: The FOI Bill has helped a lot but of course a lot of people (journalists) are still afraid of expressing themselves maybe because of poverty.

R13: Though we may not have achieved the level of press freedom we would love to have but I think Nigeria is better off, and I can attest to the fact that since Nigeria's return to democracy media titles report with some appreciable level of freedom. Politically I don't think there is any threat, *The Guardian* has become better, with all sense of modesty; it is still the flagship of the Nigerian media. ... Even in religious matters we maintain a balance of our stories. But in religious matters one has to be very careful.

The title has a tradition such that almost everybody is given a voice. From Monday to Sunday when you see the list of people commenting on issues, they are not the well-known people in the country's polity or geo-political zones.

R14: Since the Guardian is a private title, we don't owe anybody, whether the government is authoritarian or not our editorial and opinion articles speak for us. We have never been pro government; if the government is good we commend them, if they go wrong we criticize them. In as much as we do not try to incite the public we speak the truth as it is and do not cover it up. No, nobody poses as a threat because we try as much as possible to represent everybody's interest.

Decree 4 has been abrogated, and the law of sedition is still there, BUT the FOI Bill has not been passed into law, they say it has been passed but we are not getting all the information we will love to get from government which will serve as an overriding law to those laws. There are still some moribund laws that need to be repealed and reviewed but the freedom of information is the latest one that journalists are clamoring for to enable them practice their profession properly as society's watchdog.

Appendix IV

Main Study Interview

Interview schedule adapted from Hanitzsch's standard questions.

- 1a. What is the current position you occupy in your newsroom?

- 1b. How would you describe your current employment?

2. Do you usually work on a specific "beat" or subject area, such as politics or sports, or do you usually cover different topics and subjects, more like a general assignment? Elaborate.

3. Please can you explain your normative (ideal) job description as a journalist working in Nigeria?

4. Is there any justification you can use to go contrary to these normatively prescribed ways of doing journalism?

5. Please tell me, what should be the three most important roles of journalists in Nigeria?
 - a. Why do you believe they are the most important roles of journalism?
 - b. How did you come to believe that? Did something happen that makes you believe that?

6. Among these three roles which do you think is the most important?
 - a. Why do you believe it is the most important role of journalism?
 - b. How did you come to believe that? Did something happen that makes you believe that?

7. What are the factors/events that have influenced journalism significantly in Nigeria?
- a. How have they influenced journalism?
 - b. Have you adapted how you work or think about journalism because of this? If so, can you explain how?

Individual responses: July 2012

R01: My official employment letter says am a general reporter, but I specialize in health reporting. I also cover for the editor when he is unavailable. Three months ago Medical doctors in Lagos state went on strike and I was detailed to monitor the issue, it was my duty to understand the feud between the doctors and government and to help alleviate the plight of the patients. My ideal job description is not fixed; it changes according to the situations or events.

As a journalist I inform, educate and alert the public of danger. When we write as journalists we are always doing these three things, but when there is danger in the society we try to alert people, for example during the doctors strike, we tried our best to update the public and to let the government know the implication of not having a functioning health care system. Still referring to the recent doctor's strike, actually it made me know I had a role to play in managing the crisis because there was lots of falsehood being peddled around then. And even after the strike was called off, I still had to follow up the on-going negotiations between the doctors and Lagos state government. For in the process I get to develop the stories further.

Education is the most important role, because when educating the society we are inadvertently providing them with information and alerting them of dangers. The Western world has progressed because her citizens have been educated through the media. The Western media has educated her citizens especially during the election campaigns. Challenges come from not being able to be in two events at a time and when am ill.

R02: I am a reporter and I write on different beats but currently I write have interest in politics and economy, those are the subjects I write mostly on.

I have a routine job of going out to source for news, and bringing out the scoops that make news. I read and edit other colleagues'. A time we (journalists) engage in at least 70% of the production of the copies planning the pages, the beauty of the page, the pictures and so on, ensuring that everything that will bring about a beautiful and quality newspaper is handed to the readers. In spite of the challenges of deadlines, I think there is no justification not to fulfil my obligation. As a human being there are occasional lapses, but the goal is to attain perfection on the job or at least to stay above average.

The journalist has a responsibility of informing the public – information. As we inform we also educate. ... What distinguishes one journalist from the others is investigative journalism. It takes more time it is more challenging, you must have contacts. The three most important roles of the journalist are information, education and investigation. I think journalist has the role of informing the public, something that must help the public, which has been coined as developmental journalism. ... The developmental role is enormous, and I can't say we are doing too well, we need to do more, largely because of the society or institutional structures do not allow us to do our job well. We are still working according to the authoritarian model of the press where the freedom is not there, getting information is not easy, and even when you get it after publishing you think of what may befall you [...] these are the challenges. All the roles complement each other, none is more important than the other ... you have to research to get the facts – so as to be on top of your job.

We are living a country where we have chains of events happening at the same time, within the last three months we have the Dana crash, the subsidy bribe scandal, Jos sectorial crisis and many others ... the Nigerian journalists are overwhelmed by events and it makes it difficult to follow up issues to a logical conclusion. ...when you consider the price you'll pay for writing a story you may just not write it, we have cases of journalist being killed and their families are suffering because the institution is not there to protect you, you carry your cross.

R03: As a production editor my official job description does not involve going out to cover stories, but as an individual I can decide to do that. My work is to supervise copies and the people that work at the graphic section to ensure that the stories come out neatly.

The journalist should be provided with what she or he needs, and one's salary or package should deliver one from the temptation of 'brown envelop' (cash and kind gratification given to the journalists). But if you work so hard and your electricity bills remains unpaid and your children are sent out of school, no matter how full of the Holy Spirit you will try to clear out some space for some demons of money. ... You look for other means of making ends meet, it's natural.

To be watchdogs, but you know if the owner of the dog does not feed the dog well and the dog sees a thief who has plenty of bones, meaty bones at that, the dog will keep quiet wisely so it can partake of the meal, but if the dog is well fed his appetite is satiated it will bark and alert its owner of any intruder. As agenda setters, journalists consider the pressing needs of a society and suggest them to the government or policy makers through news articles and editorials.

The roles are all interlinked, if am forced to answer I'll say social engineering, because the purpose of every activity should be making our society better. The most important item in any activity is the human being, the welfare of human being is the greatest act of God worship, and every other thing comes second even the welfare of God should come second, because God does not have problems.

The extent of good governance determines how well journalists do their work. And if the freedom of Information Bill has been ratified it will help journalists to ask government officials more critical questions. On this job one is forced by circumstances to do other things, for example, there was a time I was so broke and my children's school authority threatened to send them home because their fees had not been paid. I then called a friend who works with the government and asked if there is any work that I could do, at that time the governor needed some interviews to be done. Whether the interview was for social engineering or not I went for it. I did the interview on Saturday and got some amount afterwards. I wouldn't have been able to pay my children's fees if I hadn't done that 'non- social engineering', that is the reality of life, although, if the interview was in any way going to impede on any of my values I would not have done it.

R04: As an editor, I only edit reports. The journalist's work is to source for the news, report the truth and facts, not to sensationalize issues. The roles are interconnected. We have minimal challenges, save when our systems are down, and when that happens we have back up and standby engineers.

R05: As an editor I coordinate the desk, the assistant editors and the journalists under me, it is my responsibility to ensure that the newspaper comes out every day. Together with my subordinates it is my duty to come up with story ideas and assign reporter to source stories, write them and we process and build the pages, and sent to the press.

The work of the journalist is to inform, educate, entertain and enlighten society focusing on those issues the government wanted to hide. ... As watchdogs we inform the readers of what is going on so the society can know what to do. We also provide education for the members of the public. We break down complex issues as pertain to politics, economy, business, the stock market, and so on so in a way that is comprehensible to the readers. ... I think both code of ethics and years of practice have made me know this. In the course of practice you discover that the founders of the profession were right to have prescribed these.

I think information is the most important, because information is the key to everything, and that is why even in laws advocating access to information in society. Given our own peculiar situation in Nigeria, perhaps even in sub-Saharan Africa, the government which is the principal source of information in society always act as if they have something to hide. So access to valid and accurate information is a problem ... this is the most challenging part of our job. For instance it is said that till date Nigerians don't know how many barrels of crude oil is produced or how many are actually sold. In other parts of the world, government statistics are available to everyone ... Since we publish daily we rely a lot on speculation or sources who have an axe to grind with those in authority, so they give you information that is not correct or very accurate.

In recent times, the media has become more critical than we were say two three years ago, because we believe the government hasn't done much... there is a lot of corruption, the social and economic infrastructure have deteriorated, unemployment is at its zenith, the country is faced with a lot of security problems seemingly insurmountable by the government. So that when

you open the newspaper, you discover that virtually 90-95% of the stories are negative ones. Where they are positive at all the readers don't seem to believe or are sceptical, so the failings of government have influenced the way we practice journalism under this government. [...] there have been opinion surveys, and you see the responses of very angry and frustrated Nigerians.

R06: As an editor my role is synonymous to that of a General Commanding Office (GOC) in the army. As the GCO I oversee the reporters, by directing, mobilizing and inspiring them so you can get maximum output from them.

The journalist is a watchdog of the society, an agenda setter that ensures that the three arms of government (the Legislator, Judiciary and the Executive) work within the ambits of the Law. Journalists ensure there is social equilibrium.

The primary role of the journalist is to inform, educate and entertain ... Of course you know an informed mind is easy to govern or lead ... it is also the job of the journalist to educate - and that is why you see informed analysis in the newspaper trying to redirect the mind-set of the reader trying to bring out the implication of the readers action and inactions. Also for entertainment, it is not all information the media lets out that is meant to be hard, especially in a society where there is mass poverty, deprivation and injustice there should be a lighter version of the job to douse tension and to reduce stress.

The three roles are complementary. If you inform and don't go ahead to educate the information might be lost to the intended reader, for instance if I tell you this is a digital recorder and I don't tell you how to use and maintain it I have not done you any good. If a journalists only complains of the woes of society and not add a bit of entertainment then in a way, s[he] adds to the problems of the reader and in no time they will have high blood pressure. ... Information is the most important role.

One example of the challenges we have had in recent times is the threats from the *Boko Haram* fundamentalists ... we are coming from a robust background where threats do not make any meaning to us, then journalists were killed, some incarcerated, some did not survive the

incarceration, but here we are today, people still believe we are the champions of democracy. Our past has toughened us and the *Boko Haram's* threat will not have much impact. Also attitude of politicians is also a challenge, we believe that having conquered the military, the so-called politicians will also learn one or two lesson and relate it to the way the govern, but today, am sure you will not want to say we are there already.

R07: As a reporter I write features on broad range of issues like, health, education, the environment, and human rights and so on. My ideal role involves doing field research, writing and editing other peoples' copies as well.

Since it is a set role, I don't think the question arises as to go contrary to it ... I deliver to my boss the needed materials ... once there is competence I do not see myself running contrary to that. Except that sometimes I wish I am removed from writing and editing aspect of my job, I don't know if that is going contrary in the sense you mean, what I mean is that is that I will prefer more time on the field, so I can investigate intensely and write informed pieces. At least I should be able to spend at least one month on the field, but right now I don't have that luxury of that time, it's the reason why many people in other parts of the world go freelance because they want more time to do things in details, ... journalists from other parts of the world sometimes spend about six months investigating, and they don't have this pressure I experience.

The three main roles of journalists are to inform, educate and entertain. In a democracy information is that fluid that gives vent to the ideas that shape the society... The dominant analysis or dominant thoughts, ideas, people's perceptions, their knowledge of what is right and wrong is dependent on information available to them.

A journalist is supposed to be a jack of all trade and a master of all having sufficient mastery of any topic that he delves into. The journalist is the one that goes into other people's world and exhumes treasures that others will later have access to. We live in a world of so much boredom with lots of hard news going around if the entertainment component is not there then ones readers will be isolated. Even in the serious stories journalists must find a way to entertain the people. Every other role the journalist plays can be subsumed within these three roles of a

journalist. Yeah I think it is from experience and from the feedback we get. We get feedback on the broad range of information people want, so it's for us to be in sync with our readers and know what areas they need information most. Don't forget the journalist is not living in isolation but part and parcel of the society, but unlike the historian, journalists are involved in writing history, but in a hurry.

Information is the most important, although the roles are interwoven, the roles differ at some point. We know for sure because our readers write back to say how useful a story was to them, they even draw inferences for which the writer never even thought of when writing. So in that sense information is the overarching role.

I have worked as a journalist under the three presidents (Obasanjo, Yaradua, Jonathan) since Nigeria's return to democracy. If you look at a country like Nigeria, it is multicultural and multi-religious. ... Regarding factors shaping our job, the truth is we are sometimes swerved by certain persuasions even if we want to be objective, because journalists don't fall from heaven but are part of the society. Being objective does not mean you do not have an opinion or a political or moral persuasion, but objectivity is the ability to keep such persuasions far from one's reportage.

R08: I have been a freelance reporter for *The Guardian* for four years, am still waiting to be employed permanently. My main beat is arts and entertainment, but a-times I report on other issues.

I had always wanted to work in an environment like this, I was inspired by my late cousin who was a journalist, and I felt it was a very prestigious profession, also another attraction was the fact that the job is very flexible, it's not the job you do 24/7 ... on the job you meet people, go places and in the midst of all that able to attend to one's personal needs. As a woman who hopes to have a family I feel it is a job that will give me time to take care of my family. That is why I have remained for four years hoping that one day they will make me a permanent staff.

So far for me I have not met any challenge on the job, when I set out to do a story nothing stops me, when I am to attend an event and it's raining, if I have to spend more money to hire a taxi rather than taking a bus I'll do so because I want to get to that event and get my story. ... And of

course finance has always been a challenge if you don't have a heart for the work you know with what happening internally, one will not be able to go ahead and put in one's best, except one is interested in the work naturally.

I think being the voice of the voiceless is the most important role. For example I am currently following up a case where of a man who made claims that Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) rented his house and had not paid the due rent. Many other journalists did not think the story was worth their time, but when I got to know I took it up, and we are working on it ...

R09: Report on any news worthy subject. My ideal role as a journalist is to enlighten, inform the public, to defend the interest of the masses. To play the watchdog role by ensuring that people who make promises fulfil them, this includes the government, the people, the Chiefs, Professional like doctors, accountants, even touts, all members of society generally.

The three most important roles are to educate, inform and to instruct the society. These roles have formed the character of journalists over the years, it's been what they do, that is the structure I met on ground, and that is what should be upheld. These roles help to make the society balanced. For instance, information elicits reformation, and communication adduces growth. Without them (journalists) the government and its policies will not be known, if someone wants to run for an election we are the ones who promote them, if they go wrong we expose them, without the journalist information will nor circulate. Education is the best, give a man education and take him off animalistic tendencies.

At times the powers that be might not permit me to perform my ideal role, because the society is not secure. Corruption, mismanagement by those in the helm of affairs, because before now there journalists were afraid to report on some issues and even when they do they have to balance it so that they are not killed for doing so. Although the FOI Bill has been signed into law it is yet to be ratified.

R10: As the assistant Features Editor I edit feature stories on different issues like health, telecoms, business, fashion etcetera. I do so to make sure there is nothing libellous in the stories

that make it to press. I am very meticulous when I write my own stories to make sure there is nothing offensive to my bosses or the owners of the newspaper or the public. I always try to follow the ethics of the profession when doing my job.

If I read through a copy and it is not worth publishing because it will incense the public then I don't forward it for publishing. I once edited an Islamic article and subsequently the author wrote to tell me a reader wrote a rejoinder to his article swearing at Prophet Mohammed. He forwarded all their correspondence to me, all his attempts to correct the reader were harsh to say the least, even though he claimed he was educating the reader on what Islam was about and what it was not. But because I know the religious history of the country, with the consent of my immediate boss we decided not to publish his complaint. Given that Boko-Haram has already threatened to bomb our organization, we did not want to give them a reason to capitalize on. Even before the titles' editor sees it I can decipher when a story is not worth publishing. ...The Guardian is a newspaper that people believe in we try our best to we do not sensationalize our stories but we balance and cross check our facts.

The role of the journalist is to serve as the society's watchdog, looking at the ills in society and publicizing them, in order to correct the ills, drawing government and organizations' attention to any bad thing happening in the society. As agenda setters we influence the agenda of the government and the general public. It is our duty to inform and educate the general public on different issues like, health, financial, education, telecoms, anything that is worth their interest. I think they are because they are the ones that can effect positive change in society. Knowledge is power; it enlightens people, lead to behavioural and attitudinal change that can lead to a better society. And when the government see that their programs are criticized in the media they will sit up.

Information is the most important. It is proper for people to know what is happening around them, whether good or bad, when the government is bringing up new policies it is good for the people to know so they can make informed contribution or criticism.

R11: I occupy the position of senior correspondent and I have handled the women's page of the Living Guardian for 17 years running, reporting on women's contribution to National development. The issues I cover range from business, health, family, education, welfare, anything about the lives of women in Nigeria and abroad. I help to give women a voice on all their desires, dreams, aspirations and challenges as they strive to make Nigeria better.

Our newspaper places a high premium on truth as guided by our motto 'conscience nurtured by truth'. We have a mandate to report stories as they really are... You must not deny the people the right to know, it's the journalist's duty to serve the public with news/information. The watchdog of the state, the fourth Estate of the Realm working alongside the president, the judiciary and the legislators, we give information to the people on government policies – this is the most important role for journalists universally. The watchdog serves as the middle person between the people and the government.

Some of the things that pose as challenge to my work are poor welfare package, the challenge of the Lagos traffic, bad roads, weather, and the home front. ... Of course all the money is not there ... on the job nobody wants to hear stories, they just want you to give them 'the story', just deliver. It is tough, very tough, to balance work and the family is an arduous task, it takes God, am just telling you my heart, and of course the support of my wonderful-wonderful husband [he is the assistant political editor she says] has made the difference.

R12: I am a freelance reporter, I write on general topics, but I write more on marital sex ... I find the subject very fascinating hence the extensive research. My goal is to help couples enjoy sex in marriage because it is a very important aspect of marriage that people don't talk about. I have been able to talk to sexologists, medical doctors, councillors, married people, and even the unmarried in order to understand their expectations of sex when they marry. The main focus of my write-ups is to help couples to understand their bodies, for example some men misunderstand the medical condition 'erectile dysfunction' by assuming that they are not attracted to their wives. ... I am also interested to natural (alternative) medicine, so I use the opportunity I have here in *The Guardian* to educate people on issues about their health. Recently I learnt that fibroids are a common ailment for both the married, unmarried women. Most times having

observed the fibroids, doctors advise their patients to surgically remove the growth, they don't advocate for lifestyle change, particularly the diet and exogenous pollutants in atmosphere and environment causing these fibroids.

I try to write ahead of time so the stories don't go stale and so I can meet my deadlines. To do this I sometimes write articles two weeks ahead of time.

The journalist's main work is to be as objective as much as is possible, reporting issues the way they are. To be the eye and voice of the society, agenda setter – to raise issues for further discussion in the society.

The most important job of the journalist is to be the voice of the voiceless especially because the marginalized in society who do not have a voice need help and when you help them you have done a great thing for the community. For example the in one of the editorial meetings I raised the Niger Delta militancy issue, even though the Nigerian government claims they have sorted the problem, the problem is still there, and the issue is that the educated elite and the leaders in that region have personalize the money earmarked for the development of these areas. ... So I was suggesting we do an investigation into the matter so as to expose the plight of the people. And I believe we have to stand in for them, if am able to bring a solution to this problem I will be the happiest person.