COVERAGE OF CORRUPTION SCANDALS IN THE NIGERIAN PRESS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS

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A THESIS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SUBMITTED TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD
UNITED KINGDOM

DECEMBER, 2009
BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality
CHAPTER SEVEN
ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

7. INTRODUCTION
In this chapter, an analysis of the results presented in the previous chapter will be done in order to identify various meanings that could be ascribed to the issues raised by the respondents. The chapter provides insight into the relevance of the interviews conducted to the framework of the research and the literature review. Following the introduction, the chapter analyses the themes that emerged from the conception of the journalists which were categorised in the previous chapter. This includes regionalism, in which different classification were provided in order to explain some of the factors that influence the regional biases of the media or what this research refers to as regional parallelism. The chapter will also discuss such issues as journalism culture, in which the differences in culture between northern and southern journalists, and how that affects their work will be explored. Other conceptions that emerged during the interviews such as clientelism, lack of professionalism bad working conditions have been elaborated upon etc. Additional analyses of the solutions suggested by the respondents have also been explored. This chapter will contribute in understanding the complexities involved in the practice of journalism, such that the reporting of corruption scandals can be seen within a context that is shaped by the specificities of Nigeria.

7.1 REGIONAL PARALLELISM
Following the work of Hallin and Mancini (2004) who suggested 'political parallelism' as a framework that can be used in understanding the media systems of different countries, and
the modification of that framework into regional parallelism as suggested in chapter one. The findings suggest that what obtains in Nigeria could be termed "regional parallelism".

Here it will be pertinent to elaborate on the meaning of regional parallelism. Regional parallelism within the context of this research refers to the influence of regional considerations in the practice of journalism. It is rooted in the historical realities of a given country. It is important to note that regional parallelism can be linked to the concept of clientelism discussed by Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002) and Hallin and Mancini (2004) whereby personal connection and respect for procedure are less important compared to personal loyalty and connection.

Regional parallelism is evident because the views of the respondents have shown both elements of political parallelism and clientelism; but also because the historical and political development of Nigeria were regionally developed since the amalgamation of the country in 1914 by the British colonialists. As such it will be difficult to divorce the regional element from the historical realities of the country, despite the transformations that took place in later years. Even the power sharing arrangement in the country at the moment reflects the regional divide.

From the data collected in this research, the following characteristics can be associated with regional parallelism. (1) It is determined by location (2) it is supported by the elites (3) it is promoted by political and business interests (4) it is made obvious by the economic imbalance in media ownership (5) it is surrounded by the complexities that characterised the society (6) it is not absolute. Each of these factors can be identified from the views expressed by the respondents during the interviews.
7.1.1 LOCATION
Starting with location as a factor in Nigerian journalism. It became a factor because of the advantages of history, western education, political and economic power and the emergence of middle class. In terms of history, the south-western part of Nigeria, and Lagos in particular was the gateway to Nigeria; that was how the missionaries who established the first newspaper in Abeokuta in 1859 got access to the country. The region therefore had the advantage of having the first newspaper, the first trained editors, the first audience to read the newspaper, though northern part of the country has the advantage of literacy because of Arabic and Islamic education, the region was left behind in terms of western education that later became the legacy of British colonialism and the leading means of communication in the Nigerian media to date. The first major institutions of learning were also established in the southwest, including the first university in Nigeria that helped in producing the early set of intellectuals whose moral and professional support are needed for the survival of newspapers. The region was also the economic and political power-house of Nigeria; the federal government was also located in Lagos. These factors contributed greatly in establishing a middle class whose support is needed in sustaining newspaper publications, through readership, contribution of comments and analysis and other forms of support. While the factors mentioned above remained true in the country, it will be interesting to see the changes that will occur over time because of the relocation of the federal capital to Abuja. Still, Lagos remains the commercial capital of Nigeria. But the economy is still largely under government control. Some newspapers, like *Daily Trust* and *Leadership*, have established their headquarters in Abuja, the new capital, while other newspapers either have large offices or Bureaus, like *ThisDay* newspaper, or have opened regional offices. So at the moment there is a dichotomy in terms of economic activities, while private companies and other private commercial opportunities remain in Lagos, government business has shifted to Abuja.

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62 Both *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* are seen as northern newspapers.
Though this is beyond the scope of this research, it will be interesting to see how Abuja as a centre of government business influences the locational domination of Lagos in the Newspaper industry.

7.1.2 THE ELITES
The second feature of regional parallelism as drawn from the interviews is the support of the elites in sustaining these newspapers. The elite in Nigeria have understood the complex nature of Nigerian society, with different ethnic groups and religious affiliations both of which struggle for relevance and self assertion. To achieve this, there is the need for a strong media that will articulate the position of each group. With the advantage of location or ownership of a newspaper, the elite effectively utilise the media either to promote their interest, their region, their personal interest or even manipulate public opinion to their advantage. That is one of the points explained by some of the respondents on how the newspapers complement the interest of the elites who use regionalism to maintain their political relevance. According to Haruna, one of the leading columnists in Nigeria:

The sad thing about Nigerian journalism is that it seems so blinded by ethnic and sectarian considerations that it does not admit even a minimum standard of objectivity. For most Nigerian journalists, it seems to be the case of my kith and kin first, right or wrong. Not surprisingly, politicians always try to exploit this weakness of journalism practice to put an ethnic or religious spin on the slightest trouble they manage to get themselves into---there are many other issues of journalism ethics that should worry anyone with a care for the integrity of Nigerian journalism. Of all these other issues, probably the most important is the ethnic and sectarian divisions of the mass media.63

7.1.3 POLITICAL INTERESTS
The third feature of regional parallelism is the promotion of business and political interest.

Many of the respondents interviewed agreed that one of the problems of journalism in Nigeria is that the political and economic class invest in the media to promote their business interest, get easy access to senior government officials or promote their political interest.

Many of the respondents cited an example with one of the leading newspapers in the country whose proprietor distributes identity cards to his staff and leave them to survive on the courtesy of their sources.

This political interest is increasing by the day with serving politicians establishing newspapers, and using the media to promote their political interest. Though as suggested by Hallin and Mancini (2004) that no right thinking analyst will argue that the media is value neutral, what is at stake here is the use of the media to create further division and tension among the people by the members of the elite. An editorial by the Daily Triumph newspaper will be useful here for further analysis:

One of the communique's nine-point observations stated inter-alia "the media have through sensationalism, inaccurate reporting and fraudulent manipulation of facts fuelled religious and community crises." It further noted that the elite are the culprits often involved in inciting people and fomenting social unrest to promote political or personal agenda.  

The editorial was a reaction to the communique issued by the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC) Co-chaired by the President of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria and the Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria. They issued the communique during a meeting in Kano on 27th/11/2008. What this highlights is that the views expressed by the journalists have been confirmed by members of the elite themselves, that the media is monopolised to satisfy sectional and political interest of some individuals. But as acknowledged in the later part of the editorial, it is not simply because the elite utilise the

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65 The Current chairman of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs is the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar.

66 The Current Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria is the Archbishop of Abuja, John Onaiyekan.
media to their advantage, but the government has consistently failed in punishing those who use their position or the media to create tension in the country.

7.1.4 ECONOMIC IMBALANCE
Economic imbalance in media ownership is the fourth feature of regional parallelism. One of the factors that promote the differences between the regions is the imbalance in newspaper ownership. Many of the respondents interviewed pointed out that it is even difficult to make comparison between newspapers as most of the newspapers are located in one region, while other parts of the country struggle with few strong newspapers and few weak ones. This economic imbalance as a factor in promoting regionalism was mentioned by one of the respondents from a newspaper in the north who wants to extend their business to the southern part of Nigeria because the paper is stronger in the north, and they decided to launch their operation in Lagos, during the launching one of the speakers asked them why do they bother to be a national newspaper when they can still maintain their regional identity and have their paper circulated nationally. This imbalance in ownership creates an atmosphere of competition that tilts more towards bridging the gap between the regions. Another issue that came during the interviews is the nature of recruitment. In almost all the national dailies, from each of the regions in Nigeria, majority of the staff of the newspapers came from the region the newspaper is identified with. The influence of recruitment in news judgement was discussed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) when discussing ‘political parallelism’ by explaining that “news incorporates political values, which arise from a range of influences, from a routine information gathering to recruitment patterns of journalists and shared ideological assumptions of the wider society” (p. 26). Hallin and Mancini stated that journalists might be committed to the idea of objectivity in journalism, but some of the influences mentioned could constrain them from being neutral.
7.1.5 COMPLEXITY
The fifth feature of regional parallelism is its complexity. The character of Nigerian journalism is not plain north/south dichotomy. It reflects other complexities of Nigerian society. This complexity can be inter-regional between north and south, intra regional, inter-ethnic or inter-religious. As discussed by some of the respondents during the interviews, majority of newspaper owners in Nigeria are not from the south-west or Lagos in particular, they are from the south-south region, the oil producing area of Nigeria. But because Lagos is the economic and business capital of Nigeria, for these newspapers to survive they have to be located in Lagos. Beyond that, for the newspaper to succeed, these proprietors employ people from the south-west, the Yoruba in particular to serve as editors because they are more familiar with the intricacies involved in terms of securing advertisement and even the nature of readership. This is because of the historical and economic advantage the region has. Another complexity involved is the issue of corruption within the media itself, which was pointed out almost by all the respondents. Corruption within the media goes beyond regional considerations; it is for those who are willing to pay. In the words of one of the respondents, a lot of the news, articles and columns are "full of impurities". Part of the complexity as identified by some of the respondents is that the bias of the newspapers does not necessarily come in news stories; it is mostly in the commentary and editorial sections of the newspapers.

7.1.6 INCONCLUSIVE (NOT ABSOLUTE).
The final feature of regional parallelism is that it is not absolute. It is not absolute in the sense that the newspapers do not side with their region because of a deliberate conspiracy or consensus between them. A number of the respondents, even though they pointed at the apparent nature of regionalism in journalism practice, they indicated that many of the newspapers from any part of the country can be balanced in their reporting, as confirmed by
these two examples, the first from a senior journalist in a southern newspaper, and the second from a senior journalist in a northern newspaper.

"Now the northern papers had the tendency to do what you call 'namu ne', that for a long time did not help the newspapers that were coming from the north until Daily Trust blessed the trail, it is not that it does not exist in Daily Trust but they try as much as possible not to show it."^67

"I think it will be risky for one to make a generalised statement because so many of them have been fairly balanced, depending on whom the proprietors are, because there is quite a variety in the south"

Some of the journalists interviewed also suggested that a new era in Nigerian journalism is on the way because a number of the senior journalists at the moment received their training in journalism and university education after the civil war which took place from 1967-1970, but the ones joining the profession at the moment received their education and training under different circumstances. Though it may take time, but the new era may gradually set in.

Regionalism in the newspapers may not be absolute because Nigerian newspapers have a long history of establishing a national consensus when it comes to issues of national survival, from the colonial era when the country was struggling for independence, to the struggle especially in the 1980s and 1990s to purge the country out of military rule, to the criticism against government policies that might have negative consequences on the polity, or an attempt by some politicians to amend the constitution in order to elongate their stay in power.^68

^67 Namu ne means he is ours, who belongs to us.

^68 See chapter two for more on the historical landscape of Nigerian newspapers.
Perhaps one of the factors that will contribute in the new era in Nigerian journalism is the war against corruption, despite the criticism on how the anti-corruption agencies conduct their affairs, a number of the newspapers that may be accused on some occasions of siding with their region, or commentators seen as ethnic chauvinists collectively condemn the politicians accused of corruption. Many of the respondents interviewed agree that corruption has no ethnic or regional colouration, it is individual based. However many of the respondents also pointed out that political office holders are afraid of media publicity, and it is their view that the media was more active in the last eight years of civilian administration than some of the arms of government.

According to Oyovbaire (2001) in his discussion of Nigerian media landscape, he pointed out that the coverage of news in the Nigerian media is drawn from the complex and plural nature of the country. He summarised the entire picture of Nigerian media in the following words:

We have identified that the south-west of the country is the materialist location of the Nigerian media which coincides with the Yoruba nationality, early evangelisation of Christianity, propagation of western education and establishment of the seat of colonial and post-colonial government together with the large and flourishing market forces and patronage which aided the locational stimuli of the media. The readership audience for marketing its role, mandate and products was the south-west, this historical location continued to provide the arrowhead for opinion formation, legitimisation of media contents, agitation and agenda-setting.

This highlights the difficulty among journalists to shun away from issues of regionalism, because it is part of the make-up of the country. For example, the newspapers always pay attention to appointments by the sitting president, if one section of the country is seen to be favoured over the other, the newspapers from the section of the country that feels marginalised will complain about it. The following examples from The Guardian newspaper, published in the South, and Daily Trust published in the north will be illustrative. Two leading columnists from these newspapers have at different time or another complained over
committee compositions by the federal government. First, Mohammed Haruna who runs a Column in the *Daily Trust* mentioned this about the national political reform conference\textsuperscript{69} called by former president Olusegun Obasanjo:

The controversy surrounding the composition of the leadership and membership of the National Political Reform Conference has once again brought to the fore the importance of the mass media in shaping public opinion and in policy making and implementation. When President Olusegun Obasanjo decided to make virtually the entire leadership of the NPRC Christian and also decided to give them a nearly two thirds majority edge over Muslims in its membership in a country he himself says is 50:50 Muslim/Christian, he knew he could count on the conspiratorial silence, if not the support, of most of the Nigerian mass media in his flagrant breach of the same Nigerian Constitution he has sworn to defend. Clearly the president has not been disappointed. Three weeks into the Conference, there has been a deafening silence from most of the Nigerian mass media over the president's blatant act of injustice.\textsuperscript{70}

During the political reform conference there was anger particularly among Muslims and people from northern Nigeria because as stated by Haruna, majority of the members were Christians including the chairman and the secretary. While the secretary of the committee, Revered Father Mathew Hassan Kukah was from the north, which partly conforms to the tradition of regional balancing or federal character in appointments, usually such appointments combine either a Christian from the south and a Muslim from the north and vice versa except in exceptional circumstances.\textsuperscript{71} Therefore Muslims felt underrepresented in the composition of the committee, and that was the point being made by Haruna, that former president Olusegun Obasanjo being a Christian from the south is marginalising the Muslims.

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\textsuperscript{69} The national political reform conference was called by former president Olusegun Obasanjo to discuss issues of national importance like resource control and allocation, the system of government that best suits the country between presidential and parliamentary or other systems of government. However there is the view that the main reason for the conference was to suggest the amendment of the constitution so that the former president could have the opportunity to succeed himself.

\textsuperscript{70} See *Muslims and the National Conference: the Case of Blaming the Victim* available at \texttt{http://www.gamij.com/haruna/haruna.htm} downloaded 20th/11/2008. The Columns written by Mohammed Haruna on Wednesdays in the *Daily Trust* newspaper are also available in his web page people and politics hosted by \texttt{www.gamij.com}.

\textsuperscript{71} The federal government finally appointed Professor Ishaq Oloyede, then deputy vice chancellor (academic) university of Ilorin to serve as co-secretary alongside Rev Mathew Kukah in order to balance the composition of the leadership of the National Political Reform Conference. See *Islamic Group, Lawyer Hail Oloyede's appointment* available at \texttt{http://www.thisdayonline.com/nview.php?id=12050} downloaded 20th/11/2008.
The second example is on the composition of the police reform committee established by the current president, Umaru Musa ‘Yaraduwa, a Muslim from northern Nigeria. Commenting on this in his column, Dr Reuben Abati who chairs the editorial board of the *Guardian* newspaper stated this in one of his columns:

On Tuesday, President Umaru Yar’Adua inaugurated a 16-man police reform panel led by Alhaji M. D. Yusufu, a retired police man, There have been complaints about the composition of the panel, focussing mainly on its lack of ethnic balancing, and its domination by former police men and women whereas the panel ought to be more representative, to include other stakeholders particularly civil society groups who are directly affected by police functions.72

The complaint is about the composition of the committee by having more northerners and Muslims. What the complain signifies within Nigerian context is that ‘Yaraduwa is favouring Muslims and northerners since he is both Muslim and from the north. This position taken by two leading columnists in the *Guardian* and *Daily Trust* is not new; it has been part of the character of the Nigerian press. While the views expressed by both journalists may be their personal opinion, but it will be difficult also to divorce it from the societal pressure and the interest of readers of both papers. With regards to the police reform committee, *Afenifere* even issued a statement calling on the attention of the president that there is no Yoruba in the committee. 73


73 Afenifere is the leading Yoruba socio-cultural and political organisation in the southwest. “In a statement by its National Publicity Secretary, Mr. Yinka Odumakin, the group said the non-inclusion of a Yoruba person in the 16-man panel was unacceptable to the South-West people: “In an ideal situation, we would have expected a broadminded President to ensure that each geo-political zone in the country has at least three members in a 22-man committee. Or is the President saying the Yoruba do not need policing? Or are we no longer part of Nigeria? We will not buy any argument that Yar`Adua is only picking people on competence without geography. Will that explain why the chairmen of his Political Reform Panel and Police Reform Committee are both from Kastina, while the chairman of the Energy Council is from Zaria?”, See President on the spot over “Northernization of Nigeria” by Oluokun Ayorinde available at http://www.thephctelegraph.com/stories/June,%202008/2206feat_05.html downloaded 20th/11/2008.
7.2 JOURNALISM AND CULTURE

Journalism cannot be divorced from the society in which it is practiced. According to Mancini (2007) “There is one main reason why I believe that the idea of journalism culture can be very useful: it allows journalism to be placed in the widest social and political context in which it develops”, this is because “Unlike other professions, journalism is not a neutral, aseptic profession that can be separated from the surrounding social and political reality” (p.1). Thus, journalism practice in Nigeria is not an exception, and the views already expressed by the respondents points to that. This does not mean that the views of the respondents should be seen as sacred facts; rather they were able to capture a view already held by the scholars. Because it is the culture which produces the national political culture through which individuals understand and interpret issues whether in relation to corruption or otherwise. Therefore it will be helpful to elaborate on the cultural specificities of the Nigerian society.

Islam is an integral part of life among Muslims in northern Nigeria, and it is an important yardstick in measuring who is of good behaviour over a deviant, responsible or irresponsible, and these moral codes determine the kind of respect you receive from the society, and on the other hand those moral conducts shape how an individual also deals with other members of the society. An important contribution in this area is Kirk-Greene’s thesis of Malam Bahaushe Mutumin kirki (meaning “a good Hausa man”). The thesis suggests that there are ten qualities that define mutumin kirki, they are: gaskiya “truth”, amana “trust”, karamci

74 See chapter one for additional details on political culture.

75 Hausa is both a language and an ethnic group found in many parts of west Africa, especially in Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Cameroon, Chad etc. majority of them are Muslims, and they constitute the single largest community in northern Nigeria. But there are a lot of Muslims in northern Nigeria who are not Hausas, like Fulani, Kanuri, but many of them also use Hausa as their lingua franca. Intermarriages and cultural proximity is also breaking the cultural differences among them. The term Hausa in certain circumstances means these three ethnic groups, especially the Hausa and Fulani. In fact Hausa-Fulani is now a popular term used to refer to Muslims from northern Nigeria.
“generosity”, hakuri “patience”, hankali “sense, common sense”, kunya “shame (bashfulness), modesty”, ladabi “good manners”, mutunci “humanity” hikima “religious wisdom”, adalci “religious scruples” (Hunter & Oumarou 1998, p.168). These according to Hunter and Oumarou “are the qualities that build hali, character” and they define the personality and language behaviour of the person (Hunter & Oumarou 1998, p. 169). These moral codes which define the character of the “ideal” Hausa person, “will have direct link to Islam, which is the matrix of life and behaviour for the Muslim Hausa” (Adamu, 2000, p. 8). Overtime these qualities were assimilated into the culture, and they are seen more as cultural rather than religious values.

At least two lessons can be derived from this thesis in relation to the practice of journalism especially among the Muslims from northern Nigeria. First, if we take the example cited by the editor above that they face pressure from people to censor stories because the person is an elder or a brother, then perhaps it is an indication that the elites selectively exploit some of the qualities of mutumin kirki such as kunya “shame, modesty” and ladabi “good manners”; the two qualities as they are applied among the Hausa people suggest a person who remains calm and reserved as a courtesy to someone he respects, even though he may disagree with him or disapproves of his actions. And second, what will make the journalists counter the elite may depend on their ability to apply some of the qualities of mutumin kirki like gaskiya “truth”, and amana “trust”, terms that fit into the values of journalism in its ideal form. Where the journalists failed to uphold these principal values that is perhaps when the issues raised by some of the respondents that northerners are deferral to the authorities may hold water.

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76 Adamu has further refined the Malam Bahaushe Mutumin kirki thesis in the same work by merging it with the works of Habib Alhassan, Usman Ibrahim Musa and Rabi’u Muhammad Zarru to produce eighteen codes of behaviour.
The work of Schultz (2007a, 2007b) will be relevant in understanding journalistic culture and how the production of news is influenced by economic, cultural and environmental factors. Though reporters may go ahead and write their reports, the editors decide the angle which the report should take. This according to Schultz might explain why a single report might be reported in different ways. Such differences may explain why specific journalistic cultures shape journalism practice, and this according to Shultz is where the contribution of Hallin and Mancini (2004) on *Media Systems* becomes more relevant, because it seeks to contextualise journalistic practice within cultural and historical space. With this in mind, since this research also is rooted in the works of Hallin and Mancini (2004), it is easier to understand how the issues raised by the respondents in terms of the historical, economic and cultural factors shape the orientation of journalism practice in Nigeria.

Drawing from the ideas of Bourdieu, Schultz discussed the concept of field which is one of the contributions of Bourdieu in which the field seeks to explain the relationship between journalism as a field, and the economic and other social practices that influences it. What this suggests according to Schultz is that newspapers for example are not autonomous in themselves, but they are autonomous in terms of their political or ideological linkage when they are compared to other newspapers. As such it can be argued that the *Guardian* of London is left wing or left of centre when it is compared to *Daily Telegraph* which is seen as right of the centre. This argument is significant for this research because in addition to further explaining the relevance of the data used, it suggests that issues of regionalism, north and south, Muslims and Christians become relevant when they are compared to each other. In Bourdieu’s perception about the field theory “positions are defined by opposition, such as teacher=student, author=literary agent...” (Hanks, 2005 p. 72). This could further suggest
that though journalists are conscious of the regional and ethnic divide in the way journalism is practiced in Nigeria, but overall what is happening is a struggle between the social structure of the society, and the newspapers are serving as the medium where the competition between these social forces is revealing itself. Still drawing from Bourdieu, Shultz suggests that journalism in this respect should be seen as part of the means of cultural production.

7.3 JOURNALISM AND CLIENTELISM
Journalism as a profession claims to uphold certain principles, these principles include honesty, impartiality, accuracy etc, but this is the ideal picture; a common feature in many countries, which contradicts those “ideal” principles, is clientelism. Though it exists even in developed societies, but it is more visible in countries that are still struggling with the challenges of development. Clientelism “is a particularistic form of social organisation, in which formal rules are less important relative to personal connections” (Hallin and Mancini 2004, p. 58). According to Hallin and Mancini, the culture of clientelism can be found both in the private and public media. Appointment of chief executives of media organisations are made to fulfil certain political obligations and failure to abide by the unwritten expectations may result in the dismissal of the official. In the case of private media organisations, the proprietors have access to government officials and they use the media outfits to satisfy the needs of their political friends. Government officials also use their positions to punish those who refuse to do their bidding.

In discussing clientelism and corruption in Nigeria, reference has to be made to the scholarly contribution of Richard A Joseph’s book on *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria* (1988). The work studied Nigerian politics in the second republic and how different ethnic, regional and other interest groups struggle to accumulate the resources of the state for
personal or sectional reasons. A situation which ended up promoting excessive corruption and clientelism. According to Diamond (1989):

Joseph's crucial contribution is his notion of 'prebendal' system. Drawing heavily (but not inflexibly) on Max Weber, Joseph uses the term prebendal to define 'patterns of political behaviour which rest on the justifying principle that [state] offices should be competed for and then utilised for the personal benefit of office holders and as well as of their reference or support group'...part of the value of Joseph's approach is his deep and well documented appreciation of the pressures and norms from below which help to propel and legitimate the system (pp. 284-285).

This is a significant contribution in trying to understand the relationship between clientelism and journalism practice in Nigeria. Nigerian political landscape, politicians and even members of the public have not changed from the depiction of Joseph in his thesis of prebendal politics in Nigeria. The very politicians, whose view of public office is to gather resources for personal use or to serve certain interests, are the very ones who invest in the media. Beyond that it is common for members of the public to view the newspaper or other media of communication as representing their interest or that of their region or ethnic group. The views expressed by the respondents in chapter six on how some ministers tried to punish some newspapers for not supporting them because of regional affiliation, or the killing of stories because of the political position of a politician within a particular ethnic group is simply a reflection of the larger society. As discussed by Bayley (1966), this is one of the reasons why it is important to pay attention to the role of culture in defining corruption.

7.3.1 CLIENTELISM AND PROFESSIONALISM
One of the effects of clientelism is that it compromises professionalism for other political and cultural considerations. According to one of the respondents with the Guardian Newspaper, one of the reasons why newspapers could not survive in northern Nigeria, is not necessarily
because of lack of advertisement, but because of what in his words described as “namu ne”, meaning “he is ours”, and he stated that such attitude began to change when “Daily Trust Blessed the trail”, and that is perhaps why Daily Trust refused to succumb to the pressure from the minister. This situation is common in most of the newspapers. According to one of the respondents who worked with the Punch newspaper, the major challenge he faced in his job, was when he writes and criticises President Olusegun Obasanjo, at the end of the day he was dismissed from his job on the excuse that he purchased an expensive car which he couldn’t afford to buy from his salary.

This culture of clientelism has an in effect in the practice of investigative journalism, because of the connection between senior government officials whose wrongdoing might be investigated, and the proprietors who might be interested in government favours. As confirmed by the respondents, it is a common knowledge that some journalists initiate investigation into the profile and private life of high ranking government officials in order to identify a scandal, once they discover something that might interest the public, they present it to the official and threaten the official to pay for the story or else they will get it published, and many officials succumb to this blackmail. The paradox here is that the investigation has been carried out, the facts have become obvious, but the intention is simply to extort the victim.

7.3.2 CLIENTELISM AND INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM
So clientelism which is a feature of many developing countries interferes with the ability of journalists to investigate corruption scandals. And it is clear from the views expressed by the respondents that both politicians and journalists are interested in this clientelist relationship because it serves the following purposes. First politicians take advantage of their regional or ethnic affiliation with either the journalist or their proprietors to draw sentiments that will
make the politicians have their way. Second, proprietors and editors are interested in the advertising revenue and other patronages they can receive from the officials, hence making them kill or ignore stories affecting their clients. However this may not always be the case, because the frequency of stories about corruption scandals is increasing by the day, principally due to the activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The activities of these commissions has created a sense of competition among Nigerian newspapers that newspapers will seldom ignore stories about corruption even if it involves their proprietors. Perhaps there could be differences in the use of language. For instance the Sun newspaper allegedly owned by former Abia State Governor Orji Uzo Kalu reported his arrest as “Kalu held”, and one of the respondents from that newspaper rhetorically asked what is the difference between “Kalu held” and “Kalu arrested”?, the latter being the phrase used by some newspapers. But going through the comments in the newspaper, the reports took the perspective that Kalu is simply being victimised by the EFCC because he was a critique of former president Olusegun Obasanjo, and the EFCC is simply hunting the enemies of the former president. Thirdly, clientelism takes the form of blackmail, especially when journalists use the wrongdoing of a politician to extort him.

What this indicates is that, investigative journalism may exist theoretically, but the way it is used in exposing corruption scandals may be surrounded by other factors associated with the internal dynamics of the society such as clientelism, corruption, ethnicity and regionalism, and the understanding of these factors will help a lot in the way questions such as journalistic autonomy and professionalism are addressed.

However there is a variation in the way the journalists express their understanding of investigative journalism. Some of the respondents look at investigative journalism as giving
exposure to stories that will expose the corruption of public office holders. The emphasis is on what Tumber and Waisbord (2004) described as “moral transgressions” in which public office holders fail to live up to the standards expected of them, and once such stories get to the media, they attract public attention.

Some of the respondents pay attention to the digging of facts. Looking beyond the surface evidence. As identified by one young journalist, investigative journalism “is just a way of going an extra mile into finding more facts, figures or even more information about an event or an issue that is making the news”.

The journalist above was able to identify at least three key points required in investigative journalism, the first is going “extra mile”, that is going beyond the routine, or reliance on handouts from news sources, who may perhaps try to control what goes out. This point corresponds with what (Brennen, 2000) explains as going beyond the routine by serving as keepers and educators of public conscience. The second point “finding more facts” and “figures”, means that going beyond the routine itself is not enough, all allegations must be supported by facts or figures, and that is what differentiates quality journalism from its opposite. And the third point, it has to be on “an issue that is making the news”. This is the point where the connection between scandal and corruption is established from communication perspective. One of the characteristics of scandal as discussed by Lull and Hinerman (1997) is that it attracts public attention through the news media.

As explained by Goddard (2006), investigative journalism is done to promote public interest. The understanding of investigative journalism by some of the respondents reinforces Goddard’s position as confirmed by this woman editor, “Well I guess it is when you come
across a topic which is of public interest and you pursue it to the very end whatever the troubles ahead'. From the perspective of this journalist, two things are important, the notion of public interest, and the trouble that might come with it.

Scholars who defined corruption gave similar emphasis on the notion of public interest. Sandholtz and Koetzle (2000)\textsuperscript{77} in their classification of corruption started by identifying a public interest definition of corruption which focuses on the behaviour of the public official in discharging his responsibility and the extent to which he violates public interest. Looking at the revelations coming from various newspapers about allegation of wrongdoing by politicians, for example the revelation that over $16 billion has been embezzled by the administration of former president Olusegun Obasanjo, or the use of $5 million dollars by the former speaker of the House of Representatives Patricia Etteh and her Deputy Babangida Nguruje to renovate their houses and purchase new cars even when university teachers constantly go on strike, it is only fair to assume that the notion of public interest will be in the conscience of journalists in practicing their profession.\textsuperscript{78}

While there are differences in the way the journalists framed their understanding of investigative journalism, what their views suggest is that investigative journalism has a common purpose, educating the public and standing for truth. But to be successful in investigating stories, there are some factors that should be available. Investigative journalism cannot be practiced in isolation; simply because a journalist likes to uncover a scandal, he

\textsuperscript{77} See chapter one for more on various definitions of corruption.

\textsuperscript{78} For details about the $16 billion allegation, see the Nigerian Tribune of 18 March, 2008 which reports that “The House of Representatives was a focus of attention last week as it began a public hearing on investigations into how the last administration spent $16billion on the power sector without much to show for it”. Also see the story on former Speaker Patricia Etteh see “Nigeria’s speaker goes in graft row” reported by the BBC on October 30\textsuperscript{th}, 2007.
doesn’t just pick his pen and paper and go into the field. He needs resources from the organisation; the judiciary should be strong enough to stand against interference from powerful officials or people with strong link to government. The journalist also requires special training about safety, and be aware of the consequences that may arise from his action. The society also has a role to play in this regard in terms of the way it treats those in authority especially if they are found guilty, so that the effort of investigative journalists doesn’t end at breaking news only. This point is important because as discussed in chapter one, among the features of scandal as identified by Lull and Hinerman (1997) is that apart from reporting the scandal widely in the mass media, the people involved should take responsibility for their action, and the stories must attract public attention and response.

7.3.3 CONSEQUENCES OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM
The respondents were also mindful of the consequences that might come with investigative journalism. Such consequences could mean losing ones job, the risk of losing life as the case was with late “Dele Giwa, founding editor of Newswatch, the country's foremost newsmagazine, [who] was blasted to death in October 1986 by a letter bomb suspected to have been sent on orders of a top official of the military regime in power” (Ette, 2000, p. 68), and the bombing of Bagauda Kaito, the correspondent of The News Magazine in Kaduna, allegedly for writing stories the military regime of the time was not comfortable with (Ibrahim, 2003). And in some cases, those who manage to survive with their life might end of with a deformity for life as discussed earlier.

Though many journalists have the passion to uncover stories, but the economic situation of the country, the absence of a legal protection due to lack of an independent judiciary and the fear of the unknown might prevent journalists from investigating corruption scandals, even if they fully understand what it means, and so the routine handout journalism might prevail. It is
clear from the views expressed by the respondents, that they have reservations on whether investigative journalism is actually practiced by Nigerian journalists. As discussed by Waisbord (2000), investigative journalism has to stem from the effort of the journalist, by looking at information and facts such that the result of the investigation is worthy of changing the mood of the public.

In the words of one of the respondents from Guardian newspaper, "Investigation is not something that even some of these young people have had about because we don't do it at all here. Investigation is not something that you start yesterday and that will end today". The reference to "these young people", meaning young journalists who have not been in the profession for a long time confirms the reservation of many journalists on whether investigative journalism is practiced at all in Nigeria.

As discussed by Lull and Hinerman (1997), among the features of scandals is that those involved have to take responsibility for their action, and feel the impact of their wrongdoing. What is perhaps clear is that within the context of Nigeria, and to a large extent many developing countries, there is need for a redefinition of investigative journalism from the ideal type of investigative journalism.

The inability of the media in developing countries to conduct investigative journalism in its "ideal" form may also be related to the economic situations in those countries because of the control of resources by the governments which make it nearly impossible for media organisations to survive. Waisbord (2000) aptly described the situation where he points out that "the intertwined political and economic relations between news companies and the state"

79 See chapter one for more details on the definitions and features of scandal.
made impossible the affirmation of the model of an “independent,” “fourth estate” press, a model that views the reporting of official wrongdoing as one of its priorities and obligations. In countries where the state remained in control of vital resources for press economies, rarely were news organisations willing to criticise governments out of fear that such reporting would have damaging political and economic consequences” (p. xxi).

The press in Nigeria has a history of taking adversarial stands against government positions from colonial to post colonial days which may be one of the factors that keep the newspaper industry moving. However, the media is not completely immuned from the factors described by Waisbord. A scan through Nigerian newspapers will reveal that the pages are full of adverts congratulating the government or the president on his birthday, independence celebrations, New Year celebration, democracy day or best wishes from cronies who want to maintain their relevance or use that to seek more favours. Such adverts are sought by commercial departments of the media organisations because it provides them with the revenue required to sustain themselves. As explained by one of the editors of the newspapers, sometime when newspapers refused to cooperate, they get punished by being denied such advertisements.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) journalism cannot be practiced outside the culture in which it is being practiced. This therefore as stated earlier requires a negotiated definition that will either look at investigative journalism as conceived by journalist within their specific domain, or come up with another definition or term that accommodates the realities of other countries. Perhaps this is where Waisbord’s (2000) idea of watchdog journalism which does not claim the “ideal” type of investigative journalism, but lives up to the responsibility of disclosing official wrongdoing becomes relevant. It is clear that though
Nigerian newspapers do try within the limit of their resources and conception of investigative journalism to expose the cases of corruption scandals, they do not completely agree that it is being practiced. This is where the idea of watchdog journalism may provide a suitable alternative.

No matter how professional the media may be, and no matter the fashion from journalists to expose corruption scandals, they may only succeed if they are supported by other institutions in the society. If the judiciary is not strong enough to punish those who violate rules and procedure, and the legislator becomes lame-duck and unable to investigate and put pressure on erring officials, and the civil society becomes dull and ineffective, while the average person in the society is whirling in ignorance and poverty, coupled with the corruption within the media itself, the likely thing that will happen is the triumph of handout journalism. These challenges faced by the press whether in Nigeria or elsewhere do confirm the reservations of those who have concerns about the watchdog role of the media as the fourth estate of realm. This brings us to the obstacle faced by journalists when trying to investigate stories.

7.4 OBSTACLES
Nigerian journalists face numerous challenges. As discussed earlier and acknowledged by the respondents; those who try to uphold the principle of investigative journalism may risk their lives especially if they want to attempt to follow the Anglo-American model of investigative journalism. The cases of Dele Giwa and Bagauda Kalto are typical example of how risky it could be to be in the bad books of senior political figures. In Nigeria, especially during military rule, it was common to close down media houses, arrest and detain journalist or confiscate their working materials. Even under a civilian administration, the media was not
free from government effort to scuttle their activities when the government perceived them to be over stepping their boundaries.\(^{80}\)

The challenge of government interference undermines the ability of the journalists not only in unearthing corruption scandals, but also in their routine activities. This is more prevalent with the government owned news media. A respondent who was an editor formerly in two governments owned newspapers had a bitter experience with the chairmen of the board of directors who were the government representatives in both newspapers. According to the journalist's account editorial decision will be taken, but the following morning the journalist will see on the pages of the same paper a news headline and editorial different from the one agreed and written the previous day. This was happening at a time in the mid 1980s when the government was considering introducing the Structural Adjustment Programme which created a harsh economic situation in the country. The journalists had to resign in protest. In some newspapers and radio or television stations, some state governments gave instruction to the media houses to make sure they carry the stories featuring the state governor first before other stories. When journalists find themselves in this situation, it will be difficult for them to even contemplate anything near investigative journalism or writing reports that will implicate senior officials. The media houses in this case are simply part of the state bureaucracy.

But the media itself has its own internal problems. One of the respondents, a former president of the Nigeria union of journalists mentioned that in almost every story written there is a kickback. After covering an event, journalists normally wait for a post coverage fee, what is commonly known as "kwa", a neologism derived from communique into communi-kwa and

\(^{80}\) For a detailed account on the risk and intimidation including loss of life that happened in recent years under a civilian administration in Nigeria see World Press Freedom Review on Nigeria by the International Press Institute available at: http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0006/KW0171/.
then short-formed to “Kwa”. The money is used for transportation and the purchasing of top-up-cards for mobile phones; the amount is normally between one thousand Naira to five thousand Naira, (five to fourty pounds), this according a senior journalist from the Nation Newspaper does not indicate an intention to influence the story (though it does in away because the journalists may ignore the story if they did not receive the bribe), but when the journalist is given hundred thousand Naira (four hundred pounds), then it is a real bribe aimed at influencing the story. Many journalists establish a rapport with politicians through coverage of events, which in many occasions translate into appointment as press secretaries, special assistants, special advisers, etc.

The challenge of advertising revenue and lack of adequate training and modern equipments is a serious impediment in journalists practice. Many journalists do not know how to use a computer, where they do, access to internet is not smooth such that they can easily get stories, though there is a significant improvement as many journalists either from personal effort or from loans given by their proprietors try to own laptop computers in order to ease their work. But on the job training remains a major challenge.

However it is fair to say that journalists in Nigeria fall into the trap of politicians and news sources and sometimes being compromised, not necessarily because they intentionally decide to be corrupt. It is because they can’t be different from the society they work in. where a journalists is underpaid, he doesn’t have working materials, he cannot produce stories through magic, he has to find a means of survival. Many journalists carefully confirm that some newspapers, in particular Thisday, has a reputation of giving its staff identity cards and leaving them to survive on the favours of their news sources. Going by Gans (1979) theory of it takes two tango; it is clear who will take a better advantage between the journalist and
the source. The journalists are certainly not happy with the situation, and in the words of one of the respondents and a senior figure of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, he described journalists among the best Nigerians and among the most patriotic.

7.4.1 CORRUPTION WITHIN THE MEDIA
The fact that the journalists themselves point at the media as suffering from corruption internally poses the question as to whether corruption within the media is similar to corruption in politics. The answer may not be a definite yes or no. However from the responses of the journalists interviewed, there could be some reasons that may provide indications as to the differences between corruption within the media, and corruption in politics which the media shows interest in reporting. There are at least five points that will be of interest here.

First is the anger of the journalists about corruption in politics. Of all the journalists interviewed, their body language, and the way they emotionally respond to the questions suggests that they are not happy with the corruption in government, even if they contribute to the corruption within the media. In fact two of the respondents, one from the Guardian and the other from the Punch said they are also not saints.

The second reason which could differentiate between corruption within the media and corruption in politics is the desire shown by the media in reporting these cases of corruption. Even if it is for commercial reasons, it was an indication that the press is concerned about political corruption and is willing to report it as much as possible. According to a respondent who is a senior executive in the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, journalists are among the best Nigerians, and some of the cases investigated by the commission were a
follow up of stories carried by the press, as such, if the journalists become corrupt, it is because it is hard for them to be different from the society they live in.

The third reason which will also be highlighted later, is the lack of strong capital base which will allow the media to have the strength to investigate stories, expose it and still survive the anger of authorities should they decide to punish the media by denying it government patronage like advertising etc. A former president of the Nigeria Union of Journalists who was among the respondents suggests that the best way for the media to be independent in Nigeria is to have a reform that will bring consolidation so that different media organisations could merge and have a strong capital base as was done to the banking sector which made the banks stronger. Though this argument by the journalist may have a merit, but there could be concerns that such an effort will hand over the media to few powerful individual organisations as the case is for instance in the west with Murdock press or the Time Warner Company and other few conglomerates that monopolise the media industry.

The fourth reason that may differentiate between corruption within the media and corruption in politics is poor remuneration. Journalists are underpaid; this is one of the points raised by many of the respondents. Among the few newspapers that have a large capital base, the earning of their staff does not correspond with the profit they make. This situation has the tendency to encourage journalists to use their profession to make money since their proprietors are exploiting them to make money.

81 Another concern is that after Sanusi Lamido Sanusi took over as the Central Bank Governor of Nigeria from Professor Charles Soludo who introduced the consolidation of the banking sector, a lot of corruption was uncovered to the extent that the Central Bank had to sack some of the chief executives of the banks, and inject money up to 400 billion Naira into the banks so that they don’t collapse. See “Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Sacks 5 bank CEO’s, injects 400 billion into banks available at: http://www.chairmanking.com/central-bank-nigeria-cbn-sacks-5-bank-ceos-injects-400-naira-billion-banks-20090814/ downloaded 17/01/2010.

289
The fifth reason is the pressure from the society. People pay attention to the type of work you do. It is easy for instance for people to assume that a reporter attached to the presidency, governor’s office or the national assembly is making money, because the beat he is reporting from may be considered as lucrative. Even fellow journalists may have the same assumption and perhaps start looking for the time they will be given similar assignment. A luxurious lifestyle is attached to certain kind of jobs; in fact friends and relatives may even suggest that this is the opportunity to take your share from the national cake. Such pressure may force journalists not only to accept bribe but also use their position to seek for government favours.

The five points above do not provide an excuse to media practitioners to become corrupt, especially the final point which may facilitate a stronger clientelist relationship between journalists and government officials. But what this suggests is that journalists are human beings with needs like people in other professions, the society in which they live also affects their thinking and ideological orientation.

7.4.2 POOR CAPITALISATION
The journalists interviewed have shown strong concern about the need for a strong capital base that will ensure a smooth running of the newspaper industry. This indeed is a valid argument. Perhaps the journalists are concerned about the encroachment of external influences that may take advantage of the weak financial base of the newspapers to satisfy their interests. Another issue that can be deduced from here is that perhaps journalists in Nigeria are looking up to other media conglomerates in the world like CNN, BBC etc because they have a strong financial base which enables them to run their operations smoothly sometimes by rejecting expensive adverts. And there could be a number of

reasons for that. First is the influence of the Anglo-American media in Nigeria as both BBC and CNN are known in the country. The second is that many of the journalists as indicated in the interviews received their training in some of these big media organisations, or had even worked in them. The third reason could be that the university departments that train journalists in the country do train journalists based on the Anglo-American model as some of the teachers received their training either in England or the United States (Murphy and Scotton, 1987). This view, though apt, may be simplistic in the sense that even the media in the west do face a lot of challenges in terms of the way they operate, classical example can be found in the work of Franklin (2004) in his work on packaging politics where he cited examples of how the BBC received flaks during Margret Thatcher’s government on license fee, or the informal censorship and the influence of spin during Tony Blair’s government. Herman and Chomsky’s work (1988) and (2002) on the propaganda model was an additional example of how capitalism may work against the interest of media organisations. 83

What however may be needed in the case of Nigerian media is a high degree of social responsibility. This responsibility may be in two ways. The first is by diversifying and encouraging the establishment of local newspapers that may satisfy local interests. This is possible by coming up with government policies that make the starting of newspaper businesses to be flexible, and have low taxation on the import of news prints and other machines needed for newspaper production. It is not easy to maintain a national daily in a country with a population of over one hundred and forty million people. To do so there is need for massive capital which ensures the employment of staff and offices in almost every

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83 An example of the inadequacy of western media can be found in the build up of the war on Iraq where Judith Miller, the New York Times reporter was used as a “conduit” for writing stories that will be used by government officials as evidence that there are weapons mass destruction in Iraq. See Boyd-Barrett (2004) who used the propaganda model to critique what he calls “the buying out” of journalists by intelligence services or Public Relations Agencies.
part of the country. Transporting the newspapers as early as possible to states that are away from Lagos and Abuja where the newspapers are printed. At the moment even the highly established newspapers are finding it difficult to cope, these results in some states in Nigeria receiving copies of newspapers of the previous day. Meaning the news they read is twenty four hours behind. The competition in the market also makes it difficult as the main source of advertising remains government parastatals and companies mostly based in Lagos. If local newspapers can be established and the cost of running is affordable, these local newspapers can survive on the sale of news copies and adverts generated from issues affecting the people like naming ceremonies, announcements, auctions etc. The second thing is to have a salary structure for journalists which employers must abide by and sanctions imposed on any newspaper that refused to adhere to the needs of its employees.

Having a strong capital base is a necessity for the running of media organisations, what however the respondents failed to see is that the strength of the media goes hand in hand with the strength of the economy. Therefore it may not be easy to generate the kind of capital the journalists think when majority of the newspapers are competing in the same market that is already saturated. To further illustrate how good policies and the running of local newspapers can help the newspaper industry is when you look at the habit of some readers who may not be able to purchase the newspapers at their market price, for instance hundred Naira per copy (fifty pence), but they are willing to pay five Naira to the Vendor and read the headlines and some of the stories and then keep the newspaper and leave. If the good policies are in place, which ensure the establishment of these local newspapers sold at a price that can be affordable to the person who is willing to pay five Naira to read the headlines, it means there is a market left which is not being explored due to the absence of these good policies and the
insistence of newspaper proprietors to concentrate on establishing newspapers that are sold nationally.

7.4.3 BAD WORKING CONDITIONS
Some of the factors responsible for the bad working condition which the respondents complained about stemmed from the issues raised in poor capitalisation. But let us deduce more from the issues raised by the respondents. At least three things are clear from the views expressed by the respondents which may suggest some of the factors responsible for the bad working condition. These three factors are greediness, poor remuneration and lack of self esteem. In terms of greediness, some of the proprietors have shown their desire to accumulate wealth using the newspapers, without regard for the profession and its credibility and the welfare of the staff working under them. The most popular example given by the respondents is that of a proprietor who thinks the identity card given to his staff is enough for them without a monthly salary. This has the tendency of not only compromising the staff working under him, but such greediness easily makes the newspapers to become vulnerable in the hands of politicians. Such greediness has made some newspapers to introduce an annual ceremony in which awards are given to ministers, governors and other people holding senior positions in government. Leading this in Nigeria is ThisDay newspaper which continues with such ceremonies despite criticism and displeasure expressed by the public. According to (Ikita) 2008:

In Thisday’s parade of the “Ministerial Front-liners” on its Tuesday (February 12, 2008) daily edition, the newspaper attempted to dress up activities of “intent” or “hoping/dreaming” projects embarked upon by ministers as reasons for ‘nominating’ the ministers for ‘best’ minister award. According to Thisday, “we painstakingly monitored the performance of the ministers throughout 2007”. But what Thisday describes as a “painsstaking” monitoring process is actually no more than shallow presumptuous statements that hold no substance among the veritable variables that can be factored into the calculus of good governance. What is there to assess about a minister that just got appointed a little over half a year ago? What is
there to assess when policies or ministerial initiatives have caused pain than pleasure to more citizens?\textsuperscript{84}

A good salary that is enough to take care of the needs of a person is an essential motivation. As explained by the respondents, journalists are not paid for months. Yet they are expected to continue with the daily routine of reporting, writing articles and analysis. In some newspapers, there are number of words which a reporter must write only daily basis. These factors which becloud the journalist may force them into fabrication, sycophancy etc, journalism will simply become a way of extortion and deception which leads to lack of self esteem. Journalists are seen as beggars, as people who have no self respect. The integrity of a profession goes hand in hand with the way a person handles such a profession. This situation may create an ethical dilemma between upholding the ethics of the profession and the search for daily bread. Oloruntola (2007) has summarised these problems that contribute in producing a bad image for journalists in Nigeria in the following words; “despite the introduction of the code of ethics for Nigerian journalists and the setting of Nigerian press council, there are other ethical issues which are part of the overall problems in the society. These include sycophancy, character assassination, pressure, bribery, moonlighting, sensationalism, self-censorship, plagiarism, advertorial, deception and faking stories among others” (P. 63).

7.4.4 INADEQUATE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
The views expressed by the respondents have suggested some of the key shortcomings faced by media practitioners. These shortcomings can be summarised into three, education, equipments and training. Concerning education one of the respondents even posed a challenge to the journalists as to the number of books they read. It will be difficult for journalists to inform others when he is not himself informed. However, the educational

shortcomings of the journalists may be linked to the kind of training they receive from the university. At the moment there a lot of universities offering courses in mass communications in different universities in Nigeria. An example of universities offering at least a first degree in mass communications include Bayero University, Kano, University of Maiduguri, University of Lagos, University of Nigeria Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nnamdi Azikwe University etc, this is in addition to other state universities and polytechnics offering diploma courses in the same area. Under funding and lack of equipments is a major problem affecting not only these courses but the university system in general. Some of the facilities required for training in these departments are outdated and therefore have little relevance to what exists in the field. Postgraduate programmes that will help with research and production of ideas are still struggling to take root, this might be one of the reasons that makes it difficult to digest “the tensions and solutions to the problem of craft versus scholarship” (Steel, 2007 p. 2) in journalism.

Journalism is a dynamic profession that is moving with technological advancement in the world. The medium of instruction remains English language, and so with the falling standard in education, employers face the challenge of having not only to retrain university graduates, but also be concerned about the quality of their (English) language which majority of the newspapers use as a means of communication. Many graduates do become acquainted with

85 *Leadership* newspaper carried an editorial on 29th/11/2008 about the falling standard of education in Kwara state-Nigeria. According to the editorial “Early last week, the Kwara State commissioner for education, science and technology, Malam Bolaji Abdullahi, made a shocking revelation. Out of 19,125 teachers, including 2,628 university graduates, who took a test designed for primary four pupils, only seven passed. Two hundred and fifty-nine teachers, including 10 university graduates, scored zero in the test which was in English and Mathematics. This is the barest manifestation of the utter decay in our education system.” See A National Disgrace available at http://leadership.nigeriannewsservice.com/news/130/ARTICLE/3057/2008-11-28.html downloaded 30th/11/2008.
the practical aspect of journalism after they have been employed, and with the challenges faced by the industry, it will be difficult to raise the standard of these graduates to the level they can favourably compete with journalists whether within the country or in other parts of the world who already have been used to modern equipments right from their university days. This is for those who have the degree. So the method of journalism training in many universities not only in Nigeria, but in many African countries needs to be boosted to meet contemporary challenges. For more on journalism education in Africa, see (Banda et al, 2007; Berger, 2007; Skjerdal and Ngugi, 2007; Rooney, 2007; McCurdy and Power, 2007, Ogundimu, Oyewo and Adegoke, 2007; Botha and de Beer, 2007.).

As stated earlier, working equipments are essential in the practice of journalism, these may include recording devices, laptops etc. The internet is playing an important role as well in the search for stories, receiving regular updates, and the use of emails makes sending reports easier, and since they are already typed it will simply be copied and pasted for layout. Where the internet is slow, or the journalist does not know how to use a computer, there may be a delay in writing and sending news reports. Despite these challenges concerning equipments, there are significant signs of improvement here as many of the journalists either through personal effort, or from their organisations do own laptops. And the increase in commercial internet cafés also helps journalists in their work especially reporters from regions that are far away from the headquarters. Having modern equipments is also crucial in terms of training.

Training is very important because it will help many of the journalists to confront the challenges of their time. Though some foreign media organisations like the BBC do help with the training of journalists as discussed earlier. But such training may not necessary be conversant with the internal challenges faced by journalists since they may provide more of
an international angle. Also the training provided by the foreign media can only cater for few journalists which make it even harder for the majority of journalists to benefit from such efforts.

7.5 CONCLUSION
This chapter has provided an analysis and insight from the perspectives and experiences expressed by the respondents in the previous chapter. The chapter has brought out additional meaning to the issues raised in relation to corruption scandals, fourth estate, journalism culture, clientelism, poor capitalisation, bad working condition and inadequate professional practice. Additional classifications of the issues raised in the previous chapter were provided. Quotations from different newspapers in Nigeria were used to further substantiate some of the issues raised in the chapter and some of the theoretical insights provided by scholars.

What this discussion highlights is that journalism is a product of the culture in which it is practiced, and that this impacts on the practices, processes as well as expectations and conventions. More so, the discussion has shown how interviews can serve as valuable means of identifying themes and issues in relation to journalism practice which they may not write or give prominence to in their day to day activities. This highlights the importance of this research as a contribution into the wider literature on journalism in Africa, and the internal dynamics in terms of culture, religion, politics, economy that makes Nigeria distinct from other societies. The chapter has also further highlighted the difficulty in adopting models developed in other parts of the world and then applying them directly without modification in other settings.

Therefore as discussed by Bourdieu, that journalistic field is part of cultural production (Schultz, 2007c), the analysis that stemmed from the data suggests that beyond information
dissemination, journalism practice is an exhibition of the cultural ethos of the society. The complexity of the way newspapers operate in Nigeria as discussed by the respondents adds impetus to the thesis that sees journalism as an avenue of cultural production.

As such it is important to understand that the issues raised in earlier chapters on the historical landscape of the press in Nigeria and the literature review which provided additional insight into the character of African media remained fairly consistent. The complex nature of Nigerian press should not be viewed in isolation; it is part of the historical process of the evolution of Nigeria. So the reporting of corruption scandals should be viewed from this perspective rather than to be seen as something that can be reported in a manner different from the political, economic and cultural factors that shape the thinking of the journalists and the media environment itself. The implication of this is that it will take a long time before journalism practice in Nigeria improves to a standard that will avoid the influence of certain forces in the society that the journalist as an individual cannot avoid.

The analysis of the interviews has addressed a number of issues identified in the aims of the thesis and the research questions such as the operational mindset of the Nigerian press, the regional dichotomy, the application of such aspects of journalistic practice like investigative journalism etc. The results of the interviews and the analysis have also shown that journalists believe that Nigerian newspapers are active in reporting stories about corruption scandals, but not satisfied with the watchdog role of the press.

7.6 SUMMARY
This chapter analysed the issues raised by the respondents in the interviews. It tried to make sense of the Nigerian press by classifying the meaning of issues like regional parallelism,
clientelism, corruption within the press and the socio-cultural peculiarities of Nigeria. The findings of the chapter have shown that Nigerian journalists have different understandings, with some agreeing on the watchdog role and others having a different view. What is clear from the analysis is that the journalists almost unanimously agreed that some core journalistic principles like investigative journalism are not practiced in Nigeria. And this may not be unconnected with the challenges identified by the journalists. It is important to state that corruption scandals do not have to be exposed through investigative journalism only, they can be exposed through leaks and whistle blowing as discussed in chapter one. What investigative journalism does however is to show how alive the media is and its willingness to go an extra mile in exposing corruption scandals as part of its responsibility rather than relying on leaks and handouts as the case is with Nigerian press. The next chapter will be the conclusion, which will review the entire issues discussed in the thesis, and make recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

8. INTRODUCTION
This thesis is about the coverage of corruption scandals in the Nigerian press: A comparative analysis of northern and southern newspapers. The aim of this chapter therefore is to revisit what has been discussed in the thesis from chapter one to seven. Summarise the entire thesis by explaining what has been discussed from the aims and objectives of the thesis, the research questions, and the kind of contribution the study has made. The chapter will also make some recommendations about areas of further research, by identifying issues which are relevant, but have not been addressed in the thesis.

The thesis comprises of eight chapters. The first chapter, which was the introduction, sets out the context of the research, by introducing the topic, the research questions which the study seeks to answer as well as the aims and objectives of the entire research. The first chapter has explained a number of issues. These issues include the background, which explains the reason why conducting a research on corruption scandals is important. One of such reasons is the attention given by various countries on fighting corruption. In Nigeria after the return of the country to civilian rule, two key bodies were established to fight corruption; they were the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. The two agencies led the war against corruption in Nigeria, which drew the attention of the press. As discussed in Chapter one, one of the key issues identified by the Commission for Africa Report, was that corruption is among the things retarding the development of Africa. As such it is important to explore how the press in Nigeria report these cases of corruption.
Equally important, the chapter provided a brief history of Nigeria. This was important because history helps in shaping our understanding of a country, because historical factors may also influence the way other institutions operate. Subsequent sections of the chapter discussed political culture, defined corruption, and then reviewed the works of different scholars on the issue of scandals, fourth estate role of the media and investigative journalism. These are important because they constitute the core of this research. Corruption as discussed in previous chapters is a private affair, but once it attracts the attention of the media, and becomes a subject of debate among the public, because they perceive it to contradict certain ethos of the society, then it has moved from corruption to scandal (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004a, Thompson, 1997).

The last section of the first chapter provided the framework that guided the research. The entire framework was rooted in the work of Hallin and Mancini (2004), where they proposed a framework for studying media systems. The framework was studied and modified to fit in with the complex nature of Nigeria as a country, and the manner in which its media operate. This is useful because the framework provided by Hallin and Mancini, was flexible such that it can be modified and applied in a different setting. It is important also, because as they suggested, it is time to bury the four theories of the press, which dominated media discourse for a long time, and then move forward to see how the internal dynamics of other countries, their culture, political systems and history determines the character of their media system. This has proved to be useful in this research, because it helped in revealing the complexity of the Nigerian media landscape in terms of the regional dichotomy of the country, and how that shapes how corruption scandals are reported. Equally important is that the framework was helpful in addressing the research questions and the aims of the thesis.
Chapter two of the thesis studied the historical landscape of the Nigerian press. Although in the first chapter, a brief history of Nigeria was provided, there was the need to understand the historical evolution of the Nigerian press. This was relevant because the press in Nigeria underwent different stages. It started as a means of propagating missionary activities, and then moved to become the mouthpiece of colonial government; the nationalists also saw it as a way of mobilising the people to fight for independence. Still through this process, it continued to maintain its regional identity, even if it is united on certain issues of national importance. Reviewing the literature on the historical landscape has proved to be useful in the research, in that the way Nigerian newspapers report the cases of corruption as explained by the respondents in the interviews, and as reported in the newspapers, showed that the press in Nigeria has not changed in its approach. As discussed in the interviews, and the analysis of the newspapers, they maintained their regional identity and at the same time pay attention to issues of national importance. That was exactly what this research found in relation to reporting of corruption scandals in Nigeria. The press frowned at it, yet the language used to report the cases of corruption sometimes take a regional correlation.

Chapter three provided a general overview of the state of media in Africa. The chapter started by discussing traditional communication in Africa, how messages were sent to a mass audience before the advent of newspapers and other channels of mass communication. Following that, the chapter discussed the issue of development communication, which defines the nature of journalism practice in many African countries. So different theories emerged on how best the media can contribute to the development of these countries. As such the development communication thesis, which sees the mass media as a contributor to national development dominated media discourse in many African countries. The chapter drew examples from other African countries such as South Africa, Kenya and Ghana,
countries which share historical similarities in terms of language, colonial history and diverse societies. The literature review was critical to this study in that the lessons drawn from these countries in terms of media ownership, with the press mostly operated by private hands and the broadcast media under government control until the deregulation of the 1980s, similar situation obtains in Nigeria.

In chapter four, the methodology through which the data used in this study was collected was explained. The research applied the principle of triangulation by combining interviews with content analysis. The interview schedule was developed from the research questions and the context of the research. The chapter explained the pilot study that was conducted before the main interviews. The pilot study was useful to the research because it helped in modifying the interview schedule, and the outcome of the pilot study was used to readjust the focus of the study to ensure that it fits with the aims of the research. At least two key issues emerged from the (interviews) pilot study and were incorporated into the main interview schedule, the outcome of which became central part of the thesis. These issues were corruption within the Nigerian press, and the role of freedom of information bill in helping towards investigative journalism and exposing corruption scandals in Nigeria. Using phenomenography, the interviews analysed different experiences of the respondents. The chapter also discussed qualitative content analysis by means of critical discourse analysis which was applied in studying two key newspapers on how they reported corruption scandals. The newspapers were Daily Trust from northern Nigeria, and the Punch from the south. The scandals studied were the Former Governors’ Scandal and the Petroleum Technology Development Fund Scandal (PTDF). The use of critical discourse analysis in a study of this nature is useful because it helps in unearthing a lot of behind the scene issues, which quantitative studies might ignore. It is also important in the sense that it allows for a multidisciplinary approach.
in studying and analysing the use of language in news (Fairclough; 2003, Fowler; 1991, Richardson; 2007, Wodak and Meyer; 2001). This is particularly useful in this research because as the aims and objectives, as well as the research questions indicate, this research is interested in studying northern and southern newspapers. Therefore there is need for a more critical approach because of the political, historical and cultural complexities of Nigeria.

A pilot study was also conducted before the actual coding of the stories; the coding frames were modified as result of the pilot study. The qualitative content analysis therefore paid attention to the kind of language used in writing the stories about corruption scandals. These include the use of metaphor and description, legal terms, punishment, sympathy etc.

In chapter five a critical discourse analysis of two newspapers, Daily Trust and the Punch was presented. The Daily Trust from the north and the Punch from the south. Each newspaper was analysed according to the linguistic categories developed in the coding frame, already explained in the methodology chapter. Therefore the headlines and the text of the stories were analysed by figuring out aspects of language used in framing the discourse about corruption scandals. The linguistic frames include metaphor and description, legal terms, punishment, sympathy etc. the critical discourse analysis used in the chapter has revealed how language in used in the struggle for power as some of the texts have shown especially in the Petroleum Technology development Fund Scandal between former President Olusgeun Obasanjo, and former Vice President Atiku Abubakar. It has also shown how language can be used to frame stories mildly if the newspaper has sympathy for the accused, and expose the same if the newspaper has no sympathy for the accused as exhibited in the way the Daily Trust and the Punch frame the story of former Jigawa State Governor Ibrahim Saminu Turaki, under the former governors’ scandal.
Chapter six presented the results that emanated from the interviews conducted with Nigerian journalists. The results were presented according to themes. The first theme is corruption scandal, under which a lot of issues were understood from the experiences of the journalists. These were consensus, which suggests that Nigerian journalists agree that the press has given adequate attention to stories about corruption scandals; regionalism which implies that the press in Nigeria is regionally divided. A fact that corresponds with the issues discussed in chapter two and three; clientelism which connotes how non professional considerations and personal loyalty influence the reporting of corruption. The theme also identified issues about the unevenness in newspaper ownership in Nigeria. An outcome that corresponds with the aims of the research, and the research question which seeks to explore the differences between northern and southern newspapers.

The second theme presented results on journalism and culture. The results showed that Nigerian journalists are influenced by the cultural peculiarities of their region; hence according to one of the respondents, journalists give prominence to news about corruption depending on the region the individual comes from. The third theme concentrated on the fourth estate role of the media. From the results presented in this theme, the journalists were satisfied with the watchdog role of the Nigerian press. Some of the respondents were of the view that the press in Nigeria has even performed better than the legislature. Other respondents were of the view that the press has tried but more needs to be done. The views expressed by the interviewees in this theme were particularly relevant because one of the research questions asked whether the journalists in Nigeria see their role as that of the fourth estate role. It was clear from their responses that they see it as such, but were careful to state that they need to do more. In the fourth theme results were presented on aspects of
journalistic practice, and in this case investigative journalism. This aspect is equally relevant because it is directly linked to the research question which asks whether journalists in Nigeria use investigative journalism in reporting corruption scandals. And from the responses, it was clear that the journalists do not agree that investigative journalism is practiced. They mentioned some of the challenges they face in trying to do so such as clientelism, corruption within the media, bad working condition and lack of training, poor capitalisation etc.

Chapter seven provided an analysis of the results presented in chapter six. The analysis was built on the framework of the research. The chapter therefore started by providing an analysis on regional parallelism which was a modification of Hallin and Mancini’s (2004) framework of political parallelism. The respondents have acknowledged the existence of this regional divide, and they also agree that in many instances it influences the nature of reporting corruption scandals. Certain features according to the analysis are associated with regional parallelism. These include location, elites, political and business interests, imbalance in media ownership, complexities of Nigeria, and that it is not absolute. The chapter also dwelt on other issues presented in the results section, like the issue of culture and how the orientation of journalists from the south and the north shapes their understanding, but also bringing their culture into the newsroom. Other aspects analysed include investigative journalism and the general challenges faced by the journalists. The journalists also suggested some solutions, like training, good remuneration and convenient working environment.

This research has demonstrated the significance of expanding media research in Africa by looking inward and understanding the specificities of different societies. In this case the framework suggested by Hallin and Mancini (2004) on studying media systems provides a valuable alternative of how the media operates in other parts of the world. In the case of this
research, the framework has contributed in understanding the relevance of culture, politics and history, factors which help in shaping the media environment of a given society. From the literature reviewed and the results collected, it shows how the historical landscape of the Nigerian press, which was involved in the struggle for independence and working against military rule, is repeated in reporting the allegations of corruption scandals. The watchdog role played by the press before and after independence is very much alive. Paradoxically, the same issues that divided the press in Nigeria, in terms of regionalism and ethnicity, are still present, and it is a fact that many of the journalists interviewed have suggested, and the text of some of the stories analysed in the newspapers lend credence to.

One of the significant contributions of this research is the modification of the media systems theory proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), by applying it in an intra-national context. Regional parallelism instead of "political parallelism" as proposed by Hallin and Mancini situates the study of the Nigerian media system within the historical, political, cultural and economic milieu of Nigeria. This contribution is significant in the sense that beyond Nigeria, there are other countries like Ghana, Ivory Coast, Sudan, and Cameroon that have similar socio-cultural duality like Nigeria, where you have different ethno-religious groups living in different regions. This set up becomes the determining factor in defining the identity of the individual and the community at large, with the communication media playing a vital role. Just as Hallin and Mancini stated in the introduction of their book Comparing Media Systems, that what they propose is a theory that can be studied, and improved before it is applied in other contexts, the expansion of this thesis into regional parallelism is a contribution that can be taken forward in other African countries and adjustments made according to local specificities.
It is not easy to make generalisation about the Nigerian media system using the reporting of corruption only. This is for a number of reasons; key among them is the fact that corruption as testified by many of the journalists is frowned upon by almost everyone. But still that does not insulate the media from taking the regional and ethnic stand. However this research has contributed to the literature on reporting corruption scandals, in that there are few studies in that area. The thesis has also demonstrated that the interest in reporting scandals by the media is not specific to advanced democracies only, as long as there is an element of freedom in the media system of a country, and the press has some independence, then reports about scandals will attract the attention of the media. At least as discussed in the context chapter, stories about scandals “sell”, and the media today is a big business.

8.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As with any research, this research also has a number of limitations. The first limitation is time, the research has to be concluded within the four years frame, and coupled with lack of sufficient resources to expand the interviews and employ research assistants to help in the collection and organisation of the data. Any assistance received in terms of transcription of interviews and the finding of contacts was voluntary. Everything else was done by the researcher.

The second limitation of the study is that the newspapers analysed did not include the ones owned by some of the State Governors that were charged with allegations of corruption by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, particularly the Sun and the Independent, allegedly owned by Orji Uzo Kalu and James Ibori, former Governors of Abia and Delta States between 1999-2007.
The third limitation of the study is that the interviews conducted were mainly with editors and reporters. Politicians who give bribe or establish clientelist relationships were not interviewed, which would have revealed their own perspective.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The outcome of this research has revealed different areas for further research, whether as a PhD research or inform of books and scholarly articles. These areas include:

1. A study of corruption within the Nigerian media. Although this research has touched on this issue in the interviews. Additional research can be conducted with corruption within the media as the theme. Doing so can help in finding the pattern of corruption, whether it its grand corruption, petty corruption etc. the study can also explore why those who give the bribe, especially politicians do so, and what exactly do they want in return.

2. A study that specifically focuses on the coverage of corruption by former governors as covered by the Independent and the Sun newspapers, two newspapers allegedly owned by two former governors that where arrested by the EFCC.

3. A study on poor capitalisation and corruption: such study will help to find out how the absence of strong capital promotes corruption, what should be done to improve the capital base of Nigerian newspapers.

4. Comparative Coverage of Scandals in Nigeria and Britain: This kind of study will showcase the differences and similarities in reporting scandals between a developed and a developing country, a former colony and the coloniser, and both of them English speaking (at least officially). Such study can show a global trend on the coverage of scandals.
5. A study on corruption, governance and the press in Nigeria: a study of this nature will seek answer to questions about the role of the press in promoting good governance? How does corruption undermine the press in its watchdog role? How can the press contribute in good governance etc?

6. Journalism education and the press in Nigeria: one of the key issues identified to be among the obstacles facing Nigerian journalists is poor education and lack of professional training. A research can focus on this to see the kind of training received by the journalists and how the training and education they receive determines the quality of their journalistic output.

8.3 CONCLUSION
This chapter has reviewed the entire thesis by explaining what each chapter in the theses contains. It also provided an overview of the issues raised in the thesis. The limitations of the study were identified and areas of further research were suggested. It is important to state that the methodology adopted in this research was key to answering the research questions. The outcome of the research suggests that the press in Nigeria is alive, but it is constrained by political and economic challenges, a number of them prevalent in other African countries as discussed in the literature review. It is the position of this thesis that studies of the media in Africa should be viewed holistically, in terms of the social, political and economic factors surrounding the countries of the continent. The media does not survive in isolation. So if the society suffers from corruption, although the media may report it, it can hardly survive a social problem that affects everyone. At least this thesis has proved that.
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312


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### APPENDICES

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Court strikes out charge against Garba Shehu

Nigeria still fighting for democracy despite reforms - US Consul General

Indictment: 36 ANPP candidates sue FG

Senate C'ttee: Atiku diverted $145m PTDF funds

... says Obasanjo breached the law

It's a hatchet job - VP

EFCC indicts six states over N1.63tr LG funds

RMAFC okays jumbo pay for president, govs, others

SEC urges states, coys to utilize bond market

Vogts' visit shrouded in mystery
PTDF: Senate review c'tee members resign

A whirlwind of scandal continues to engulf the Senate yesterday, with all seven members of the committee appointed to review an earlier report on the Petroleum Technology Fund (PTDF) resigning their posts.

They were resigning to protest against demands by the Senate leadership to see the report before it was officially presented to the Assembly, scheduled to take place next week.

Sen. Umar Taure, chairman of the committee, said: "We did this job knowing that our credibility was at stake and we did not victimize anyone in the course of our assignment. Yesterday, presentation of the report was fixed but we decided there was need to include the revelation of fraud in the report, we were unable to present it on time but they would have allowed us to lay it on the table.

"We later noticed that they had removed the presentation of the report from the Order paper and since the Senate may go on recess tomorrow without taking our report, we felt it would be better to resign."

The committee chairman said they did not sanction the dismissal of the report.

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Court orders IGP to produce el-Rufai

FCDA serves court eviction notice

By Rukiyah Abbas and Abraham M. Guduma

FCDA serves court eviction notice illegally by the officials of the Federal High Court.

But the court's Deputy Chief Registrar, Ayo Emmanuel, told Daily Trust: "We are not occupying the structure".

The court's Deputy Chief Registrar, Ayo Emmanuel, told Daily Trust: "We are not occupying the place illegally." The eviction notice reads in part: "You are hereby ordered to vacate this site you illegally occupying/developing/and report to the FCT minister, Abdiasu Musa, before the building is demolished or 'face legal action."

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Mob frees Hashidu from court

Mobs stormed a court in Funtan, Gombe State, yesterday, as a 21-year-old girl accused of murder was released on bail.

From Muhammad Abubakar, Gombe

"The victim's family had complained to the court that the woman had murdered their son."

"The court released her on bail after the prosecution lawyer, Mr. Ahmed Ali, presented the case.

---

Atiku absent at Jigawa AC rally

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Minister of Finance are currently circulating the list of capital projects which the 36 states said they would fund with their share of the N500bn excess crude funds earmarked for distribution soon.

---

FG to extend gas trunk line to Kaduna

The Federal government says it has reached an agreement with South Korea for the construction of a gas trunk line that will extend to Kaduna.
Dariye remained in EFCC custody

With his wife and a brother offering comforting words, former Abia State governor, Alhaji Ibrahim Saminu Turaki shed a tear yesterday when he appeared before Justice Bitrus Murtala of the High Court in Abuja, standing trial on charges of laundering over N1.5 billion money. The former governor is one of three persons alleged to have been involved with financial crimes and is to be arraigned before the court this week.

Ministerial screening continues today

Screening of ministerial nominees is expected to continue today in the Senate and will cover the remaining 17 nominees outstanding from last week as well as eight fresh names to be screened in today's nominations to the presidency. The new nominees include: Alhaji Adamu Jibril from Kaduna State, Mr. Jerry Agada from Benue State and Alhaji Hassan Haruna Hadejia from Jigawa State. The new list is expected to include two nominees for the ministerial position to the presidency.

GNN: ANPP gets more posts

The All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) yesterday got two more ambassadorial slots, three more Special Advisers confirmed to the President, three more board members, and further special assignments. Sources within the party confirmed to Daily Trust that the government sought for one additional ministerial position but their request was not granted.

China hands over NigComSat ground station to Nigeria

DMO moves to curb excess borrowing by states

Rivers guber polls: Omehia, Amaechi know fate July 20

Court sends Saminu, Kalu to prison

Ex-Jigawa State governor, Ibrahim Saminu Turaki arriving at the Federal High Court, Abuja, yesterday to face corruption charges.
A relaxed life of social visits, reading of books and newspapers, prayer sessions, conversations under leafy trees and receiving streams of visitors is the lot of four former governors now cooling their heels at Abuja's Kajj Prison, Daily Trust learnt yesterday. Former governors Ibrahim Saminu Turaki of Jigawa, Ogja Uzor Kalu of Abia, Jolly Nyame of Taraba and Chief Joshua Dariye of Plateau were all being held in the prison following their arraignment by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) over various charges of fraud, theft and money laundering.

Though they secured bail last week, they were still in prison at the weekend, trying to meet the stiff bail conditions. A source inside the prison said the VIP inmates are very popular with the prison staff.

PDP may appoint caretaker committee

There are strong indications that the Aisha Al-Hassan National Working Committee of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) may be replaced by interim executive officers, who will head the party to the December 8 convention.

A party source said the decision to replace the Aisha Al-Hassan executive was hinged on the grounds that many prominent members of the working committee have either been elected into political offices or have taken up political appointments with various governments.

Key officers of the party, including Chief Ojo Madueke, the national secretary, and Mr. John Oke, the national publicity secretary have been appointed as Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information and Communications respectively.

From left: Niger State Commissioner for Education, Mrs. Aminu Yusuf Nasiru, her counterpart in the Ministry of Agriculture, Alhaji Ahmed Abbas; and the Commissioner of Works and Infrastructure Development, Alhaji Sam Ndanusa, at the swearing-in of newly appointed commissioners at Government House, Minna. Friday.

Armed robbers shoot ex-Kaduna gov

Former military governor of Kaduna State Group Captain Usman Abba was shot and wounded in Kaduna yesterday by a group of armed men, who said they were on "a vengeance mission".

Jibrin, who spoke to our reporter on his hospital bed at Al-Manseor Hospital in Kaduna last night, said the robbers had first attacked his house at about 6.30pm on Saturday. He said they went to the children's wing just behind the house, and his children shot one of the robbers, who died. The gang then returned to the house at 9. Coronation Crescent, Kaduna yesterday and announced that they came to seek revenge for their fallen comrade. They also said they must kill Jibrin because his

From Sanj Babadoko, Kaduna

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PTDF: C’ttee recommends Obasanjo, Atiku for trial

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I did nothing illegal - Obasanjo

President must be punished - AC

Hashidu’s whereabouts unknown, say police

Six parties call for Iwu’s sack

EU to boycott Niger Delta

INEC rejects interim government

World Bank approves $75m dev. fund for Nigeria

Four-year-old girl loses eye to ritualists

President must be punished - AC

IN Materials

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**Daily Trust**

Thrust Is A Burden

Thursday, March 22, 2007

Vol. 16, No. 9

Rabiul Awwal 3, 1428 A.H.

www.dailystatus.com

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**STAR FEATURE**

Olympics

- Pages 28 & 29

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**PHCN**

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**Unity Bank**
x-governor Turaki looted N17bn in one day – EFCC

Judge remands him, Kalu in prison custody

Oyo approves new Olubadan’s appointment – Page 11

NNPC’s boss murder: We’re following many leads – Police – Page 6

Akepismi Eteh protests to Spanish ambassador – Page 7

go Platinum
Fayose, Ibori to spend Xmas, New Year in prison

— Page 7
Ibori stole N9.1bn from Delta State – EFCC

- Ex-governor asks for drugs in the dock, remanded in custody

Nigeria okays US military command in Africa
- Page 4

VP’s father dies in Aso Rock
- Page 9

Reps order probe into banks
- Back Page

Police to appeal ruling on Public Order Act

Receive MoneyGram transfer through ETB and get an instant gift, plus a raffle draw ticket to win fabulous prizes at the end of the promo in Lagos, Aba and Benin. Be thrilled during the regional draws with:

Lagos
- 4 motorcycles
- 4 generators
- 10 iPods

Aba
- 2 motorcycles
- 2 generators
- 5 iPods

Benin
- 4 motorcycles
- 4 generators
- 5 iPods

ETB shares the love this season.
Raffle draw date to be announced at the end of the promo

L-R: President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua and United States President, George W. Bush, at the White House, Washington DC, on Thursday. Photo: State House.
I am in charge, not Obasanjo — Yar’Adua
President appoints new Head of Service

Ihuoma Chiedozie, Abuja
PRESIDENT Umaru Yar’Adua on Wednesday dismissed intimations that former President Olusegun Obasanjo was controlling his office as a fulfilment of an agreement made with him.

"Since the EFCC cannot operate outside the law, this latest invitation should be considered as a further evidence to court order," he said.

"Consequently, the ex-governors involved have had notice of contempt of court proceedings which will be taken against the EFCC if they fail to respect the rule of law.

When contacted, the National Publicity Secretary of the People’s Democratic Party, Mr. Olave Akeredolu, confirmed Yar’Adua’s statement.

Akeredolu said, "The National Working Committee of my party met today with the governors of Abia and Ino states and we have decided to postpone our next NEC meeting scheduled for Thursday.

"We cannot afford to have our leader behind bars and proceed to hold the NEC meeting. We had planned to install the former governor as the chairman of the Board of Trustees of our party.

"With this unexpected development, we cannot go further until the matter is resolved."

When asked why Yar’Adua refused to honour EFCC’s invitation, Akeredolu said, "He was abroad for medical check-up and he wrote the EFCC that he would see them on his return.

"Yar’Adua did not give a court instruction, dated May 30, 2007, restraining the EFCC from arresting him."

The EFCC, in a statement by its Head, Mele Eleka, said, "The bureau had accused the former governors of having two banks in the United States, where part of their foreign accounts was being operation of the Foreign Accounts Act on the operation of foreign accounts."

Apart from opening SLOK Account and two houses in London and the US, Yar’Adua had been accused of having accounts in the Gambia and Sierra Leone.

The bureau maintained that his business and foreign accounts, while in office, was said to be in contraction of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution and the 1999 Constitution.

Mr. Mele Eleka in a statement, which the EFCC issued on October 11, 2006 declared, "We have been questioning the EFCC's office in the country for many years."

"We have been questioning the EFCC's office in the country for many years."

"We have been questioning the EFCC's office in the country for many years."

Eleka said that the EFCC was still investigating the case.

The bureau had on May 13, 2007 named Mrs. Uche Onyezien as the new Director-General of the bureau.

"The EFCC has also extended its investigation to the former governor of Abia State, Mr. Peter Obi, who is facing similar charges before the EFCC.

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"He has met several times with the officials of the Nigerian National Pension Corporation. When you look at most of these issues, you will find that they are issues you need to sort out for yourself."

"All the stakeholders within the sector are being brought to the picture so that he can have a holistic picture of the problem in the power sector."

The statement read, "The economic and Financial Crimes Commission has extended the period for which EFCC was investigating the former governor of Abia State, Mr. Peter Obi, to 14 days, "the EFCC said, "in view of the fact that he is not in charge of the sector."

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Panel blames Obasanjo, indicts Atiku

The Senate Ad hoc Committee, on Thursday, said it had established evidence of misuse of PTDF funds by former President Olusegun Obasanjo and his vice, Femi Fasawe, as well as his successor, Abubakar.

The ad hoc committee, which was set up by the Senate in December 2016, has been investigating the PTDF since 2002.

The committee has concluded that the PTDF, which was established in 1997 to provide education and training to Nigerians, had been misused by former presidents and their ministers.

The committee's report, which was presented to the Senate on Thursday, alleged that the former presidents had used the funds to finance political campaigns and other personal interests.

The report also alleged that the PTDF had been used to finance coaching centres and private schools, and that the funds had been misused by contractors and consultants.

The committee recommended that the PTDF should be restructured and that the former presidents be prosecuted for their alleged misuses of the funds.

The Senate has since referred the report to the Committee on Power, Works and Housing for further action.

The report has sparked outrage among Nigerians, who have accused the former presidents of using the PTDF funds to finance their personal projects and campaigns.

Meanwhile, the Senate has directed the Ministry of Education to reopen the PTDF and ensure that its funds are used for their intended purpose.
PTDF: Atiku should face trial

President

Tobi Sontyli, Abuja

The Supreme Court has fixed Monday for the hearing of the appeal by the Federal Government against the decision of the Court of Appeal that dismissed the suit by the President, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, against the PTDF.

The spokesman of the Solicitor General, Tobi Sontyli, a3ed the court to hear the appeal on Monday.

According to the spokesman, the appeal was against the Court of Appeal's decision to set aside the judgment of the Supreme Court on the case.

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The Federal Government had asked the Supreme Court to set aside the judgment of the Court of Appeal in the case.

The Supreme Court is expected to hear the appeal on Monday.

VP: S'Court to hear FG's appeal on Monday

Mieke Gebuert

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Niger spends N15bn on roads

The Niger state government has spent over N15 billion on the rehabilitation, reconstruction and construction of 452 kilometres urban roads and other state truck roads spread across the state. He said the Bida general hospital was strategic to the provision of health facilities across the state.

The commissioner said the state government in Kure said his government has embarked on total revolution in the health sector which he said has now brought medical facilities to the door step of the people. The governor, in his address at the occasion said the government attached importance to improvement of health facilities in the state. Kure said his government has left behind a legacy in the health sector with the construction of general hospitals across the state, including that of Bida.

Nyame not afraid of impeachment - Aide

From Aidejo Ojo, Minna

The National Development Council (NDC) is committed to training telecom manpower, says Ndukwu

The Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC) says its regulatory activities have contributed substantially to the development of the telecommunication industry, its chairman, Chief Ernest Ndukwu, has said.

He said the presentation of a strategic plan for the development of the telecommunications sector in Nigeria, was saddled with the responsibility of creating an enabling environment.

Ndukwu, who was represented by Engineer Maktar Zinmi, an NCC executive director, said part of the moves would be to improve on its corporate social responsibility to raise awareness in the area of the telecom industry as soon as possible and fund their training.

The national development council (NDC) is committed to training telecom manpower, says Ndukwu

From Saul Bahadoor, Lagos

Manpower in the industry requires high and large technical skills which the industry has been lacking since the deregulation of the industry. Operators have been looking outward to recruit for skilled manpower if they have to spend a lot of money to retain our fresh graduates.

He said the commission is determined to reverse the trend because, according to him, it has led to a substantial demand on the available human resources and could lead to the net importation of skilled manpower.

Ndukwu said pursuant to this, the commission set up the Digital Bridge Institute in Abuja in 2004 to contribute to knowledge-based information and communications technology.

He said though the effort has been laudable, it could not catch up with the 140,000 Nigerians where there are 35 million telephone lines as at January 2007.

From Obasanjo, Jolly Nanye

I'm not afraid of impeachment provided due process is followed, his chief press secretary, Yusuf Sanda, has said.

Sanda spoke with Daily Trust in Jalingo while reacting to newspaper reports of moves to impeach the governor. He said such rumours and reports were baseless as the state House of Assembly has not served the governor with impeachment notice.

From Aidejo Ojo, Minna

The hospital project gulped N426million. Aliyu said Kure administration was committed to the provision of health facilities across the state.

He said the Bida general hospital was strategic to the medical needs of the people and this informed the equipping of the hospital with the state of the art facilities.

The commissioner said the state government in conjunction with local governments has donated five ambulances to some general hospital in the state. He promised that Lapia, including that of Bida, New Bussa, Agaie, Kontagora, Suleja, Gulu, Muyc and Rijau will also benefit from the dividends of democracy to the people.

Amin Lawal

Kanana’an yan kasuwa na gani? Tashku ...

Dame Amin Lawal's name has been linked to the trend, but the name has not been confirmed by the government.

Ashe s'Jimba ma na sa hi da 'yan jarida?

The government has been quick to respond to the reports and the name has not been confirmed by the government.

Wutar feliti ta halajki motum faye da 100 â Katagal

Aliko Dangote, Nigerian businessman and the owner of Dangote Group, has donated N1 billion to a hospital project in Minna.

The donation is part of the N426 million project for the construction of the Bida general hospital.

The donation was made through the Dangote Foundation, a philanthropic outfit which Dangote founded.

The foundation said the donation was to support the construction of the hospital project in Minna.

The hospital project is said to be a joint effort between the state government and the Federal Government.

From Fidelis Mac-Leva, Jalingo

Some national dailies recently reported that the 22 Taraba state lawmakers were summoned to Abuja by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) where 16 of them allegedly signed an impeachment notice on Governor Nyame.

"I want to emphasise here that the Taraba state governor is not afraid of any impeachment move provided the due process as contained in the constitution is followed. I also want to state that the newspaper reports concerning impeachment on

the governor were based on mere rumours. Sanda said.

He said all impeachment moves are to be done through the regular procedure of the people of the state.

The CPS described the impeachment issue as a deliberate ploy by the opposition to distract the attention of the state government, Sanders.

"Right now the government is concerned about handling over to someone who will continue with his good legacies. Therefore I look at the impeachment rumours as a way of distracting the attention of the governor. But I can tell you that the play has failed."

On alleged invitation of the state legislators to Abuja by the EFCC on whose prompting the impeachment notice was allegedly signed, Sanders said: "I am sure you are aware that inviting state legislators to Abuja by the EFCC is a routine process of investigation. Therefore if the Taraba lawmakers were invited to Abuja by the EFCC as alleged I don't think it has anything to do with impeaching Governor Nyame."

From Aidejo Ojo, Minna

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He said the Bida general hospital was strategic to the medical needs of the people and this informed the equipping of the hospital with the state of the art facilities.

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When the Selection Committee of the Senate, representing its leadership, constituted the seven-man review committee to take another look at the report of the Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba-led ad hoc committee on the Petroleum Technology Development Fund, there was no doubt that the Senate wanted something entirely different. While the ad hoc committee clearly indicted Vice-President Atiku Abubakar for abuse of office with regard to the administration of the PTDF's funds, it left President Olusegun Obasanjo untried in spite of circumstantial evidences of illegality that he allegedly committed as well. The Senate thought the incongruity between the committee's findings and its recommendations should be corrected.

By implication, the Senate's position was that the President himself was as guilty as his deputy. In fact, some of the senators argued that the President committed more illegality than Atiku. If these arguments were to be clearly understood, the selection of members of the committee gave a clue about the objectives of the new committee.

While inaugurating the review committee on March 13, the President of the Senate, Chief Ken Nnamadi, charged the members to come up with "actionable recommendations that will restore credibility and respect to which loans were advanced to NTVI and Mofas by CBN officials. His participation in the committee particularly gave insights into customer-bank relationship, which formed the basis of the committee's judgment on the advance of loans to the NTVI and Mofas by TIB.

The senator from Abia West, the President of the Senate, Senator Ahmadu Umaru, was of the PDP. He announced to the Senate that he had defected to the Action Congress because he was not accorded due recognition. His dissenting opinion, published in the same report, showed that he was in support of the report submitted by the Ndoma-Egba committee. Senator Sabo Yar'adua, who is currently facing trial for alleged involvement in the N55 million bribe-for-budget scandal. The senator from Abia Central, who is a no-nonsense leader, who never said anything. Although some had alleged that he was disillusioned due to his inability to get the PTD ticket for his senatorial ambition, he never showed it in the deliberations. Timothy Adasu showed his judicial leaning when he asked questions from those who appeared before the committee. To some keen observers, his inclusion in the committee was curious, in that he had made his views about the Ndoma-Egba-led committee report known at the plenary. As far as his arguments were concerned, Abubakar was guileless and the laws were misinterpreted to indict him. He took special interest in the interpretation of Section 9 (1) of the Finance Act, which spells out the guidelines for the investment of public funds. The operating words such as placements "on call" and "notice of six months" in the Act were made clearer through his interrogations of CBN officials. His participation in the committee particularly gave insights into customer-bank relationship, which formed the basis of the committee's judgment on the advance of loans to the NTVI and Mofas by TIB.

Senator Sabo Yar'adua is of the PDF and he's basically a banker. He holds a BSc. (Ed) in Agriculture from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He was nominated to head the committee, hails from the platform of the PDP He holds a Masters degree from NorthGate University, Washington. He is a legal practitioner and a businessman. He has been in government over the years, serving as Minister of Internal Affairs, 1979 to 1982, Minister of Commerce, 1981-1983, Acting Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, 1989; and was a member of the famed Vision 2010 Committee, initiated during the Abacha military regime. He did not ask too many questions. However, it was learnt that he held unto his views during the committee's deliberations.

Senator Chris Adighije was a little careful about his choice of words during the meetings. The senator from Abia Central, who recently defected to the Progressive Peoples Alliance from the PDP, holds a doctorate in Geology and was a national treasurer of the defunct National Republican Convention. But his involvement in the probe of PTDF is coincidental to his present position as one who is currently facing trial for alleged involvement in the N55 million bribe-for-budget scandal. The senator involved the alleged attempt by former Education Minister, Prof. Fabian Osuji, to bribe some senators and members of the House of Representatives to approve his ministry's budget. He made only a few comments in the open, but his views during closed door sessions were said to be acute.

He is in the same boat with Senator John Akutsu, who represents Rivers East on the platform of the PDF. He holds a masters in Public Administration from the University of Ibadan and a honors causa doctorate from the Pacific Christian University, Glendale. He is a member of the Governing Council, Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt. He is also a legal practitioner and a businessman. He has been in government over the years, serving as Minister of Internal Affairs, 1979 to 1982, Minister of Commerce, 1981-1983, Acting Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, 1989; and was a member of the famed Vision 2010 Committee, initiated during the Abacha military regime. He did not ask too many questions. However, it was learnt that he held unto his views during the committee's deliberations.

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