

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

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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*,⁶² 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.

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.

⁶³ See *The Problem with Nigerian Journalism* by Mohammed Haruna available at <http://www.gamji.com/haruna/haruna.htm> downloaded 25/11/2008

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 communiqué'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.⁶⁴

The editorial was a reaction to the communiqué issued by the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC) Co-chaired by the President of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs⁶⁵ in Nigeria and the Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria.⁶⁶ They issued the communiqué 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

⁶⁴ See Media, Elite and Religious Crises, which is an editorial by the *Daily Triumph* of 27/11/2008 published in Kano, available at: <http://www.triumphnewspapers.com/med27112008.html> downloaded 28/11/2008.

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 conference⁶⁹ 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.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.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.

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.

⁷⁰ See *Muslims and the National Conference: the Case of Blaming the Victim* available at <http://www.gamji.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 www.gamji.com.

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 <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

⁷² See *Much Ado about police reform* available at http://www.nigerianmuse.com/2008011111038zg/nigeriawatch/abati/Much_ado_about_police_reform_by_Reuben_Abati downloaded 20th /11/2008. Articles published in the *Guardian* by Dr Reuben Abati are available in different websites managed by Nigerians.

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 culture⁷⁴ 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”).⁷⁵ 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).⁷⁶ 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.

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)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.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

⁷⁷ See chapter one for more on various definitions of corruption.

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 30th, 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 Kalto, 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),⁷⁹ 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 communiqué 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 forty 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.⁸¹ 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.

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.⁸² And there could be a number of

⁸² For example CNN rejected Barack Obama's 30 minutes infomercial aired in various television stations in the US. See 30-minute *Obama ad shows campaign muscle* available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/10/29/campaign.muscle/> downloaded 29/11/2008.

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

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 "painstaking" 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?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

⁸⁴ See *Thisday Awards: Celebrating Mediocrity in Government* available at <http://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com/articles/philip-ikita/thisday-awards-celebrating-mediocrity-in-gover.html> downloaded 29/11/2008.

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) language⁸⁵ 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 is 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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APPENDECES

scandal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	corruption	5	3.2	3.2	3.2
	scandal	1	.6	.6	3.8
	controversy	1	.6	.6	4.5
	other	16	10.2	10.3	14.7
	none	133	84.7	85.3	100.0
	Total	156	99.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.6		
Total		157	100.0		

article

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	news story	113	72.0	72.0	72.0
	opinion	23	14.6	14.6	86.6
	editorial	2	1.3	1.3	87.9
	other	19	12.1	12.1	100.0
	Total	157	100.0	100.0	

date

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10304	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	10307	5	3.2	3.2	5.1
	20307	7	4.5	4.5	9.6
	20707	1	.6	.6	10.2
	22107	1	.6	.6	10.8
	30307	2	1.3	1.3	12.1
	40307	4	2.5	2.5	14.6
	50307	1	.6	.6	15.3
	70307	2	1.3	1.3	16.6
	80307	3	1.9	1.9	18.5
	120707	3	1.9	1.9	20.4
	130307	2	1.3	1.3	21.7
	130707	1	.6	.6	22.3
	131207	7	4.5	4.5	26.8
	140307	4	2.5	2.5	29.3
	140707	4	2.5	2.5	31.8
	141207	5	3.2	3.2	35.0
	151207	3	1.9	1.9	36.9
	160707	1	.6	.6	37.6
	161207	2	1.3	1.3	38.9
	170707	8	5.1	5.1	43.9
	171207	1	.6	.6	44.6
	180307	1	.6	.6	45.2
	180707	3	1.9	1.9	47.1
	181207	4	2.5	2.5	49.7
	190307	5	3.2	3.2	52.9
	190707	2	1.3	1.3	54.1
	200307	6	3.8	3.8	58.0
	200707	1	.6	.6	58.6

210307	3	1.9	1.9	60.5
210707	1	.6	.6	61.1
220307	7	4.5	4.5	65.6
220707	9	5.7	5.7	71.3
221207	3	1.9	1.9	73.2
230307	4	2.5	2.5	75.8
240307	9	5.7	5.7	81.5
241207	1	.6	.6	82.2
250307	1	.6	.6	82.8
251207	1	.6	.6	83.4
260307	2	1.3	1.3	84.7
270307	1	.6	.6	85.4
270707	1	.6	.6	86.0
280207	4	2.5	2.5	88.5
280307	3	1.9	1.9	90.4
280707	2	1.3	1.3	91.7
290707	5	3.2	3.2	94.9
300307	3	1.9	1.9	96.8
300707	1	.6	.6	97.5
301207	3	1.9	1.9	99.4
310707	1	.6	.6	100.0
Total	157	100.0	100.0	

accused

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid James Ibori	17	10.8	10.8	10.8
Saminu Turaki	6	3.8	3.8	14.6
Joshua Dariye	3	1.9	1.9	16.6
Orji Uzo Kalu	6	3.8	3.8	20.4
Olusegun Obasanjo	15	9.6	9.6	29.9
Atiku Abubakar	10	6.4	6.4	36.3
Chimaroke Nnamani	4	2.5	2.5	38.9
Jolly Nyame	1	.6	.6	39.5
Ayo Fayose	1	.6	.6	40.1
Two or more	33	21.0	21.0	61.1
none	47	29.9	29.9	91.1
other	14	8.9	8.9	100.0
Total	157	100.0	100.0	

source

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid EFCC/Nuhu Ribadu	13	8.3	8.3	8.3
presidency	4	2.5	2.5	10.8
Former Governor	1	.6	.6	11.5
Spokesperson	3	1.9	1.9	13.4
Straight headline/unidentified	49	31.2	31.2	44.6
PTDF	1	.6	.6	45.2
Senate/Senator	30	19.1	19.1	64.3
House of Reps/member	2	1.3	1.3	65.6
None	13	8.3	8.3	73.9
other	41	26.1	26.1	100.0
Total	157	100.0	100.0	

DAILY TRUST

Abdullahi Muhammad Jinnah

Trust Is A Burden
 WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2007 VOL. 15 NO. 93 SAFAR 11, 1428 A. H. www.dailytrust.com N100

Court strikes out charge against Garba Shehu
 - Page 3

Nigeria still fighting for democracy despite reforms - US Consul General
 - Page 3

Indictment: 36 ANPP candidates sue FG
 - Page 5

Senate C'ttee: Atiku diverted

\$145m PTDF funds

... says Obasanjo breached the law
 • It's a hatchet job - VP

Vice President Atiku Abubakar diverted \$145 million Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF) funds, a Senate investigation said yesterday. It also said President Olusegun Obasanjo "breached laws" governing

By Abiyu Abubakar & Abdul-Rahman Abubakar

the Fund. The panel said Atiku should be "sanctioned" but that Obasanjo should be advised to adhere strictly to the provisions of the laws establishing the PTDF.

In a swift reaction, Vice President Atiku Abubakar described the report as "a hatchet job".

Presidential

spokesperson, Remi Oyo, however said the presidency would not comment until it sees the report.

The report found that

Obasanjo was guilty of "breach of law". Atiku is guilty of "abuse of the office", the report said.

The report was laid before

the Senate by the chairman

Cont. on Pg. 4

Report on Pages 6 & 7

EFCC indicts six states over N1.63tr LG funds

Over N1.6 trillion has been wasted in six states across the country, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), said yesterday in Abuja.

By Soliu Hamzat

the way local government funds are being managed."

The states were named by the EFCC chairman, Nuhu Ribadu. They are Abia, Kaduna, Bauchi, Nasarawa, Ondo and Cross River.

The Association of Local Government of Nigeria admitted to the allegation, saying except in some isolated cases, local governments are far from being rid of corruption.

Ribadu said that corruption is still very high in the states and local governments disclosing that his commission will now

Cont. on Pg. 4

A top official at the Association of Local Governments (ALGON), admitted there is little on the ground to show for the allocations in the last seven years.

The Secretary-General of ALGON, Dr. Chris Agbobu, said very little infrastructure development has been undertaken by most of the local government councils in the country. He said: "It is clear that all is not well with



Obasanjo



Atiku

RMAFC okays jumbo pay for president, govs, others

The president's salary will double this month, the Revenue Allocation, Mobilization and Fiscal Commission (RAMFC), said yesterday.

By Abdul-Rahman Abubakar

The RAMFC also said all serving public officers in the country are to receive a pay increase.

The president's annual pay will more than double, jumping from N1.5 million currently to N3.5 million per annum.

The vice president will now receive N3.03 million, ministers, Head of Service and chairmen of commissions

N2.02 million, ministers of state, members of commissions, special advisers to the president, Auditor General of the federation and permanent secretaries N1.9 million.

Others in the pay increase

Cont. on Pg. 4

Child refugees in Africa's Great Lakes suffer abuse

More than half the children in refugee camps in Africa's troubled Great Lakes region have been victims of some form of sexual abuse, a report by aid agency World Vision said on Monday.

INTERNATIONAL - Page 22

SEC urges states, coys to utilize bond market

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) has urged states, local governments and private sector operators in the country to utilize the opportunity provided by the nation's bond market to raise funds for the financing of large scale infrastructural projects as well as business expansion.

BUSINESS - Page 27

Vogts' visit shrouded in mystery

The visit of the new Super Eagles handler, Bert Vogts suddenly became shrouded in mystery as the NFA kept mute over the failure of the German to arrive in the country yesterday as expected ahead of today's ceremonial match in his honour in Makurdi.

SPORTS - Page 59

DAILY TRUST

Trust Is A Burden

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21, 2007

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Court orders IGP to produce el-Rufai

- Page 4

Court hearings on the Vice President's attempt to be reinstated on next month's ballot were briefly interrupted yesterday by the arrival of city authorities with an eviction notice for the court.

The Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) yesterday served the Federal High Court in Maidama, Abuja with a quit

FCDA serves court eviction notice

By Ruby Rabiu & Abdullahi M. Gulloma

notice, telling the judge to get out before the building is demolished or "face legal action".

The quit notice posted on the door of the court claims that the plot is being occupied

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 place illegally."

The FCDA quit notice reads in part: "You are hereby ordered to vacate this site you

are illegally occupying/developing and report to the development department. Failure to comply will lead to the demolition of your structure and legal action will be taken against you. To avoid embarrassment, please comply."

When contacted, the

Senior Special Assistant to the FCT minister, Aminu Salihu, said she was not aware of the development.

The Public Relations Officer of the development control department of the FCDA, Mrs. Joyce Madashir, said the quit notice was issued in line with the policy to

maintain residential areas in their original form as envisaged by the FCT master plan.

She said the court should not be situated in a residential area.

The quit notice drew the attention of lawyers and litigants who rallied round to read it while making nasty comments about the FCDA.

Cont. on Pg. 4

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Gov Sani flown to Jeddah for treatment

- Page 3

PTDF: Senate review c'ttee members resign

A whirl of scandal enveloped the Senate late yesterday, when all seven members of the committee set up to review an earlier report on the Petroleum Develop-

ment Technology Fund (PTDF) resigned their posts on the review committee.

Committee chairman Senator Umaru Tsauri said

they were resigning to protest against demands by the Senate leadership to see the report before it was officially presented to the Senate. Also, the scheduled discussion

report was changed by the Senate President's office, the review committee chairman said.

Yesterday was the final Senate sitting before the National Assembly goes on

recess. It will not reconvene until after the elections.

Speaking to *Daily Trust* on telephone, Senator Umar Tsauri, said: "we did this job knowing that our credibility was at stake and we did not

victimise anyone in the course of our assignment. Yesterday, presentation of the report was listed on the Order paper, but as we needed more time to include the revelation of Fasawe 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 today or tomorrow without taking our report, we felt it would be better to resign."

The committee chairman said they did not sanction

Cont. on Pg. 4

Mob frees Hashidu from court

Beats up magistrate

A mob stormed a court at Pantami, in the Gombe State capital yesterday, beat up the magistrate and spirited away the Democratic People's Party's (DPP) gubernatorial candidate.

Alhaji Abubakar Habu Hashidu was in the dock accused of ordering a rampaging mob to burn down a top state civil servant's home.

The Chief Magistrate, Mr. Joseph Garba Shinga, sustained deep cuts on his forehead. He told *Daily Trust* at the Federal Medical Center,

Gombe that the court at Kasurwar Shanu near Tashan Dukku, was attacked by hoodlums numbering about twenty who were armed with dangerous weapons.

He said: "The prosecutor had just objected to bail being granted when the thugs attacked."

Daily Trust findings revealed that supporters of Hashidu objected to the ruling of the court that the accused be remanded in

Cont. on Pg. 4



Sen. Umar Tsauri - (Katsina Central), chairman



Sen. Abubakar Sa'ad Moh'd - (Gombe Central)



Sen. Bello Maitama - (Jigawa South West)



Sen. Chris Adighije - (Abia central)



Sen. Olanukunmi Akinlabi - (Osun West)



Sen. Azuta Mbata - (Rivers East)



Sen. Timothy Adudu - (Plateau South)

Atiku absent at Jigawa AC rally

Thousands of Action Congress supporters in Jigawa State went home disappointed yesterday when its presidential standard bearer Alhaji Atiku Abubakar failed to turn up at the interstate presidential campaign rally in the state.

NEWS - Page 3

EFCC screens projects for N500bn excess crude funds

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Minister of Finance are currently scrutinizing 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.

NEWS - Page 3

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.

BUSINESS - Page 24

DAILY TRUST

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China hands over
NigComSat ground
station to Nigeria

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DMO moves to curb
excess borrowing
by states

- Page 3

Rivers guber polls:
Omehia, Amaechi
know fate

July 20

- Page 3



Court sends Saminu, Kalu to prison

● Dariye remanded in EFCC custody

With his wives and a brother offering comforting words, former Jigawa State governor Alhaji Ibrahim Saminu Turaki shed a tear yesterday when

By Ruby Rabin

Abuja Federal High Court judge Justice Binta Murtala Nyako remanded him in prison custody until Monday

next week, when his bail application would be heard. Also remanded in prison custody was former Abia State governor and PPA presidential candidate Dr. Orji

Uzor Kalu, standing for trial alongside Turaki for alleged money laundering. Former Plateau State governor Mr. Joshua Chibi Dariye, who was separately standing trial on

money laundering charges, was also remanded in custody of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission until his case comes up next week.

Turaki, now a senator, was first arraigned before the court on Friday last week, having been arrested by EFCC agents at his Abuja

home two days earlier. He is facing a 32-count charge in which he was alleged to have laundered over N36 billion while in office. He pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Three companies allegedly used by the accused in siphoning state funds were charged along with him. They

Cont. on Pg. 4



Ex-Jigawa State governor Ibrahim Saminu Turaki arriving at the Federal High Court, Abuja, yesterday to face corruption charges. Pic: Felix Onigbinde.

GNU: ANPP gets more posts

By Aliyu Machika

The All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) yesterday got two more ambassadorial slots, three more Special Advisers to the President, one special presidential assistant and one more board member, further sweetening its participation in President Umaru Yar'Adua's proposed unity government. The president approved the additional slots following a request by the five ANPP governors, who held talks with him at the presidential

villa in Abuja two weeks ago.

Sources within the party confirmed to *Daily Trust* that the governors sought for additional ministerial positions but their request was not granted. Also, the two ministerial nominees nominated by the ANPP may face Senate screening this week, according to party officials.

Mr. Emma Enuekwu, ANPP's national publicity secretary, said names of the party's two nominees have already been forwarded to the presidency. "We have forwarded names of our nominees for the ministerial position to the presidency. Since it is constitutional right for any nominee to undergo such screening, they too will

Cont. on Pg. 4

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

By Abdul-Rahman Abubakar

be sent in by President Umaru Yar'Adua. Already, PDP chapters from states that were left out of the first ministerial list have

sent in their nominations to the presidency. The new nominees include Alhaji Adamu Janfala from Kaduna State, Mr. Jerry Agada from Benue State and Alhaji Hassan Haruna Hadejia from

Jigawa State. Hajiya Fatima Balaraba Ibrahim, the nominee from Kebbi State who was dropped from the list at the last minute, is believed to have been renominated and may make it into the new list.

The new list is also expected to include two ANPP members.

Last week, seventeen out of the thirty four nominees sent by the presidency

Cont. on Pg. 4

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**Industrialists petition
Kupolokun over
black oil**
- Page 4



**The renewed
politics of
dollar salary**
- Page 49



**Can pets
sense
illness?**
- Page 55

Ex-govs live cosy lives in prison

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

By Abubakar Yakubu & Rakiya AMuhammad, Jos

former governors now cooling their heels at Abuja's Kuje Prison, *Daily Trust* learnt yesterday. Former governors

Ibrahim Saminu Turaki of Jigawa, Orji 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 late 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
Cont. on Pg. 4

PDP may appoint caretaker committee

There are strong indications that the Ahmadu Ali-led National Working Committee of the Peoples Democratic Party [PDP] may be replaced by interim executive officers, who will lead the party to the December 8 convention.

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

Key officers of the party including Chief Ojo

By Tashikalnah Hallah

Maduekwe, the national secretary and Mr. John Odey, the national publicity secretary have been appointed as Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information and Communications respectively. Alhaji Ahmed Mohammed Gusau,

Cont. on Pg. 4



From left: Niger State Commissioner for Education, Mrs. Asmau Yusuf Waziri, her counterpart in the Ministry of Agriculture, Alhaji Ahmed Adamu and the Commissioner of Works and Infrastructural Development, Alhaji Sani Ndanusa, at the swearing-in of newly appointed commissioners at Government House, Minna, Friday.
Pic: Francis Falola.

Armed robbers shoot ex-Kaduna gov

Former military governor of Kaduna State Group Captain Usman Jibrin was shot and wounded in Kaduna yesterday by a group of armed men who said they

From Sani Babadoko, Kaduna

were on "a vengeance mission".

Jibrin, who spoke to our

reporter on his hospital bed at Al-Mansour 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
Cont. on Pg. 4

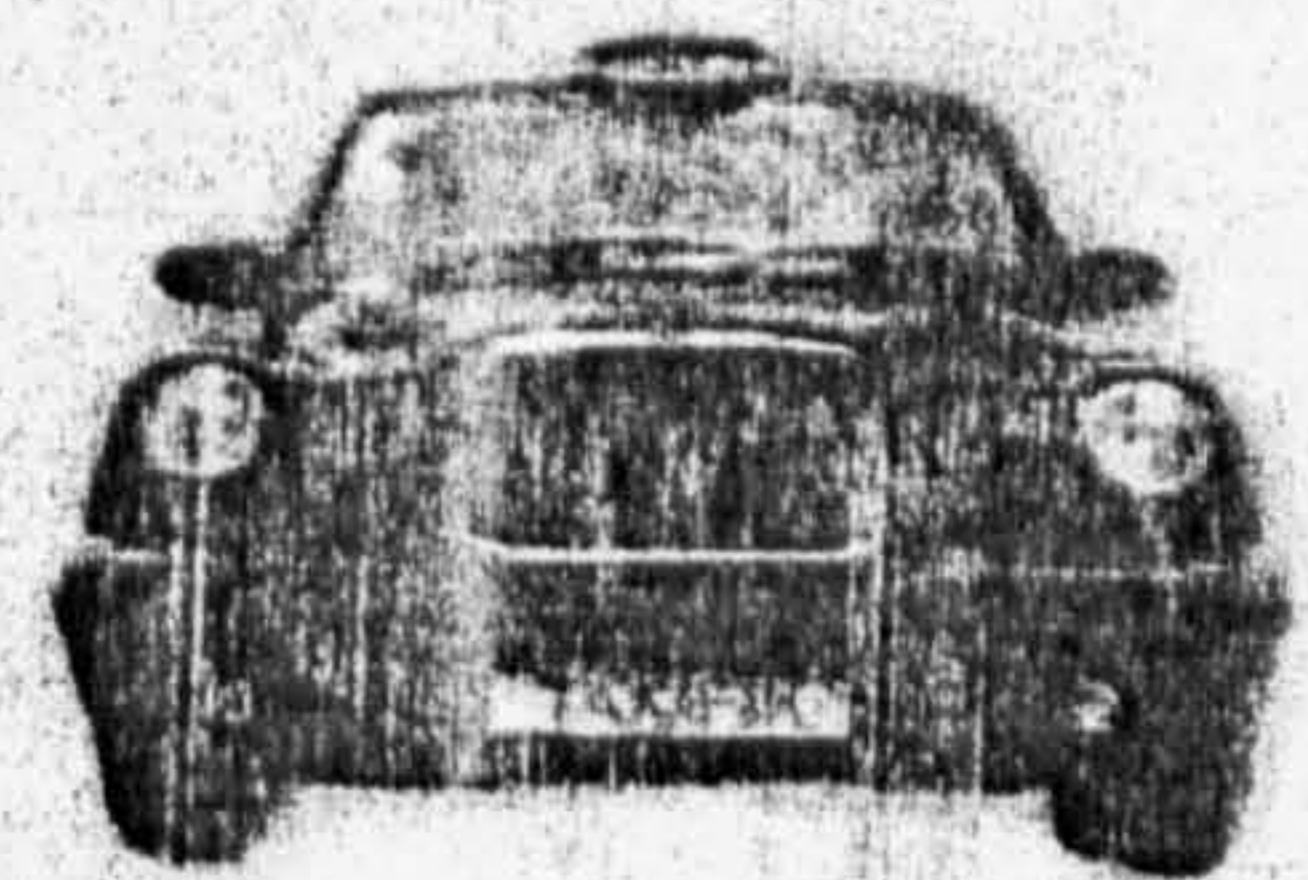


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- Pages 28 & 29



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PTDF: C'ttee recommends Obasanjo, Atiku for trial

● I did nothing illegal - Obasanjo

The Senate committee reviewing allegations of corruption and embezzlement in the Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF), recommended that President Olusegun Obasanjo and Vice President Atiku Abubakar

By Abdul-Rahman Abubakar

face trial by the Code of Conduct Bureau.

However, the Presidency in a reaction faulted the Senate Review Committee's report.

The Special Assistant to

the President on Public Affairs, Mallam Uba Sani, disagreed that the funds approved by the president from the organisation's accounts were for projects which were outside the mandate of the funds.

Also yesterday the Action

● President must be punished - AC

Congress (AC) called for the immediate publication of the report of the Senate special review committee on PTDF.

In a press statement issued last night the party said: "We cannot have one set of rules for some, and another set of rules for others in a country

governed by the rule of law."

The review committee laid its report before the Senate yesterday after the senate rejected an attempt by members of the committee to resign. After a long closed door session, Senate

unanimously agreed to allow the committee lay its report on the table.

The committee said: "The

Cont. on Pg. 4

Full report on Pages 9 & 10



Nigeria Peoples Congress (NPC) presidential candidate, Prof. Vivian Mottohigan (right) and Mrs. Rabini Abdullahi of Womens Rights Advancement and Protection Agency (WRAPA) during a press conference on the arbitrary substitution of women candidates by political parties for the 2007 elections organised by UNIFEM at the United Nations House, Abuja, yesterday. Pic: Felix Onigbinde.

Six parties call for Iwu's sack

● EU to boycott Niger Delta

Professor Maurice Iwu should resign his position as chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, the Coalition for a New Nigeria

By Allyu Machika & Charles Onunaiju

(CNN), a group of six political parties demanded yesterday.

Also yesterday, the European Union (EU),

election observation mission announced it will not go to the Niger Delta to monitor the elections.

The parties said Nigerians no longer have confidence in

him.

In a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the CNN said President Olusegun Obasanjo and his deputy,

Atiku Abubakar, should be impeached if they are found culpable in the PTDF saga.

However, if NASS could not do that because of time

Cont. on Pg. 4

Hashidu's whereabouts unknown, say police

From Muhammad Abubakar, Gombe

The Gombe state police command has not found the DPP gubernatorial candidate who escaped from a court on Tuesday.

A mob on Tuesday stormed the magistrate court in Gombe and took away Alhaji Abubakar Habu Hashidu as he faced charges of allegedly ordering thugs to go on rampage after a campaign rally.

Two days after the mob barged into the courtroom and grabbed Hashidu, the state commissioner of police, Mr. Joseph Ahmed Ibi, said the police were still waiting for a court order for the re-

arrest of the former state governor.

He was just about to be denied bail by the judge when men suspected to be his supporters barged in and grabbed him.

Efforts by our correspondent to get the position of the state judiciary were unsuccessful. Aides to the commissioner for justice and the high court judge said they were unavailable.

Judiciary sources speaking on condition of anonymity, said the state judiciary was not happy with Hashidu's escape, describing the incident as a slap on its integrity while also revealing that the third arm of government has no knowledge of whether an order to re-arrest Hashidu has been given.

He said the magistrate who presided over the case, Mr. Joseph Garba Shinga, is still

Cont. on Pg. 4

Four-year-old girl loses eye to ritualists

A four-year-old girl on Sunday became the latest victim of ritual attacks in Bauchi after she was found in a pool of her own blood, her left eye missing from its socket. Murna Samuel was found in an unfinished building.

NEWS - Page 3

INEC rejects interim government

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) said yesterday that the nation won't need any interim government, as the general elections scheduled for next month will hold.

NEWS - Page 4

World Bank approves \$75m dev. fund for Nigeria

The World Bank has approved 75 million dollars floating development fund for the country.

BUSINESS - Page 27

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Yar'Adua
summons
governors

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THE PUNCH

Nigeria,
38 others
to benefit
from
41.6bn
IDA fund

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Fayose, Ibori to spend Xmas, New Year in prison

— Page 7



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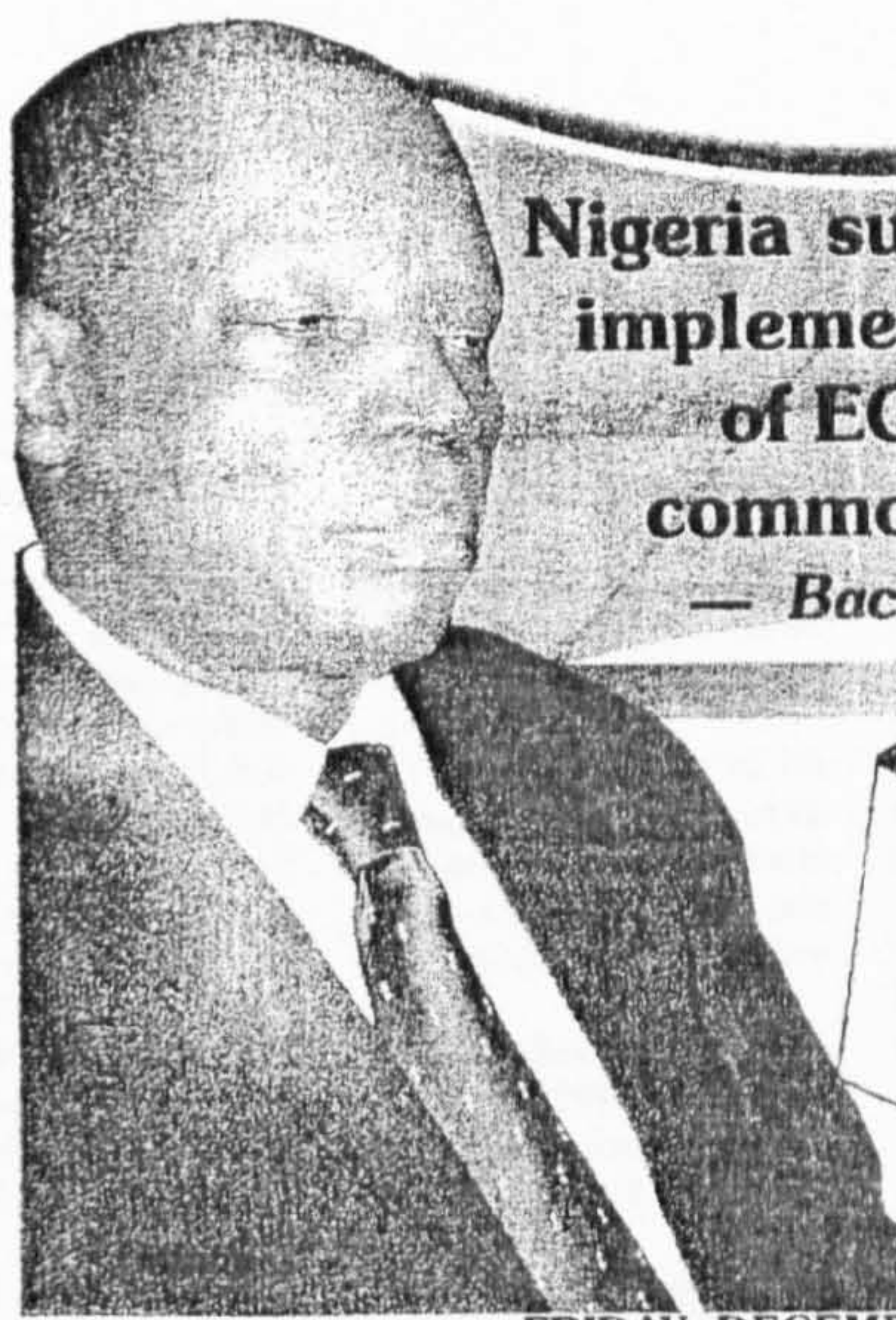
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Nigeria suspends implementation of ECOWAS common tariff
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Rivers electoral chairman kidnapped
— Page 4

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Ibori stole N9.1bn from Delta State – EFCC

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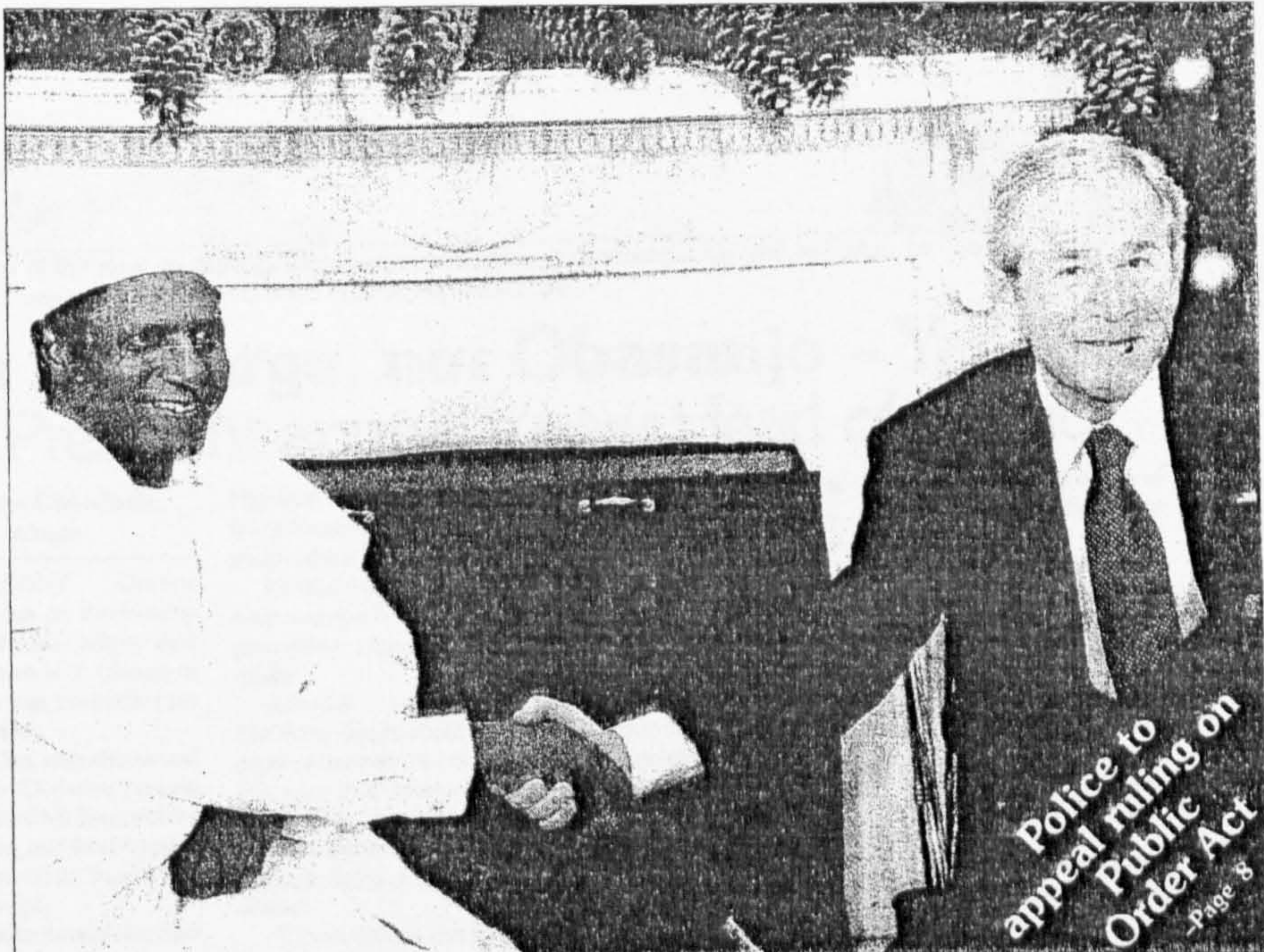
• Ex-governor asks for drugs in the dock, remanded in custody

Nigeria okays US military command in Africa
— Page 4

VP's father dies in Aso Rock
— Page 9

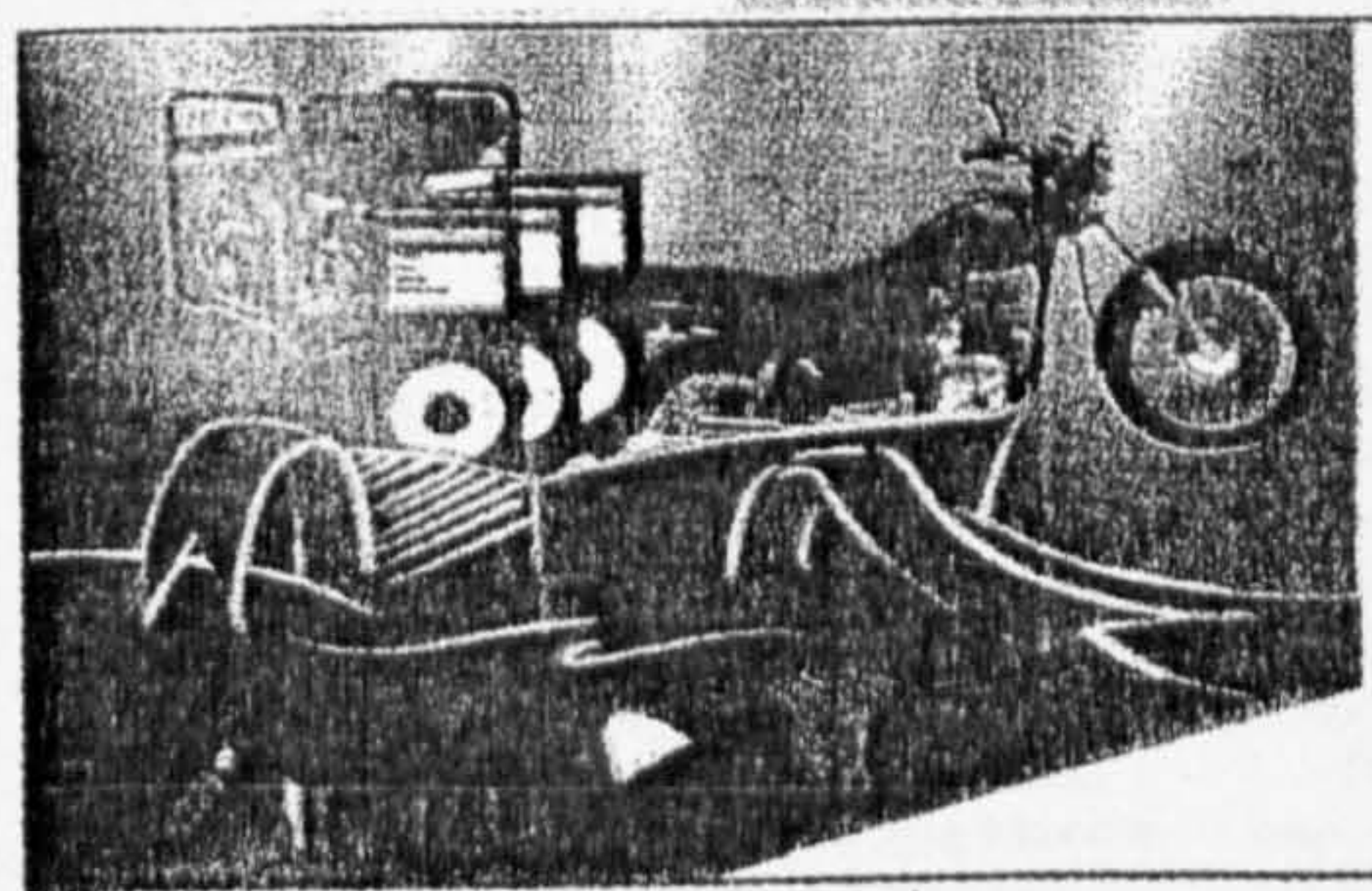


Reps order probe into banks
— Back Page



• 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.

Police to appeal ruling on Order Act
— Page 8



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1, 4, 7

Iusikilu Mojeed, Offrey Ekenna and Halekan Adetayo

EFCC arrests Kalu, Turaki

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission arrested former Governors Kalu (Abia State) and Inu Turaki (Jigawa State). Investigations by our correspondents showed that the two former governors were picked in the early hours of Tuesday in Abuja.

A source said that Kalu was arrested at about 4am at the United States, where he had gone for medical treatment.

On his part, Turaki, now a senator, was arrested in his posh mansion in Aso Rock area of Abuja.

It was learnt that the EFCC operatives apprehended him before he could set out for the ongoing ministerial screening at the Senate.

Although the two ex-governors were being questioned at the anti-graft agency's office in Abuja, it could not be ascertained at press time if they could be released or not.

It was learnt that Kalu and Turaki were arrested for failing to honour invitations sent to them two months ago by the anti-graft body.

The EFCC, in a statement issued by its Head, Media and Publicity, Mr. Osita Nwajah, confirmed that the two former governors were arrested for failing to honour their invitation.

The statement reads, "The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission has executed warrants of arrest duly issued by a court on Kalu and Turaki. The warrants were executed early on Wednesday, 11 July, 2007 in Abuja.

"Whereas other former governors invited to answer questions about their tenure in office responded and were questioned by officials of the commission, the arrest of the former governors of Abia and Jigawa states became imperative following their pointed refusal to honour several invitations of the EFCC over a period of nearly two months.

"Kalu and Turaki are now answering questions on allegations of conspiracy to steal, abuse of office, diversion of public funds and money laundering, among others."

The commission restated its commitment to fulfilling 'its mandate of ridding Nigeria of all vestiges of economic and financial crimes.'

In the last two years, Kalu had been battling to exonerate himself from the allegations of money laundering and diversion of public funds to family businesses.

The Code of Conduct Bureau had on May 13, 2005 dragged him before the Code of Conduct Tribunal for allegedly violating the Code of Conduct Act on the operation of foreign accounts.

Apart from owning SLOK Airline and two houses in London and the US, Kalu had been accused of having two banks in The Gambia and Sierra Leone.

The maintenance of his business and foreign accounts, while in office, was said to be in contravention of the Code of Conduct Act and the 1999 Constitution.

Section 3 of the Fifth Schedule of the 1999 Constitution, part 1, forbids the operation of a foreign account by a public officer.

The schedule reads, "The President, Vice-President, governor, deputy governor, minister, commissioner, members of the National and of the Houses of Assembly, and such other public officers or persons in the National Assembly may by law prescribe, shall not maintain or operate a bank account in any country outside Nigeria."

The EFCC had also on October 11, 2006 declared Eunice, the mother of Kalu, and 18 personal staff and officials of the state government wanted.

They were accused of conspiracy, stealing, money laundering, official corruption and diversion of public funds.

Out of the 18 former aides of Kalu that were detained by the EFCC, Mr. Theodore Orji (his former Chief of Staff) is now the Abia State governor, having won election from cell.

Kalu could not be arrested by the EFCC because Section 308 of the 1999 Constitution conferred immunity on him.

After his exit from power on May 29, 2007, he allegedly failed to report to the EFCC because he felt he had no question to answer. He also considered the allegations against him as political.

On May 18, 2007, he told newsmen in Abuja that he won't run away from the country.

He said, "Those who think they can cow us and put us in a room to stop talking are wasting their time.

"Those who think I will run away are jokers. Nobody can intimidate me. In fact, this is the beginning of political development."

For Turaki, his arrest is the climax of his trial since 2005 for managing a foreign account.

Although the account was closed by the Federal Government on February 10, 2004, the CCB went ahead with Turaki's trial.

The bureau had accused him of failing to comply with Section 7 of the CCB and Tribunal Act, Cap 15, 2004 and Paragraph 3 of the Fifth Schedule of the 1999 Constitution.

It was gathered that the former governor might answer questions on why he left an empty treasury for his successor, Governor Sule Lamido.

Reacting, Mr. Iyke Ekeoma, the Media Adviser to Kalu,

claimed that the former governor was 'invited' by the EFCC.

Ekeoma, in a statement on Wednesday, said, "The former governor, who was on his way back from the US, obliged the invitation as a fulfilment of an earlier invitation by the body to answer to some allegations.

"However, we view the manner of the invitation by the EFCC this time around as an affront to judicial proceedings.

"This is in view of the fact that there is a subsisting court order restraining the EFCC or

any of its agents from harassing, intimidating or arresting the ex-governor.

"Since the EFCC cannot operate outside the law, this latest invitation should be considered as a flagrant disobedience to court order.

"Consequently, the ex-governor's lawyers have filed a notice of consequence after which contempt of proceedings will be taken against the EFCC if they fail to respect the rule of law."

When contacted, the Na-

tional Publicity Secretary of the Progressive Peoples Alliance, Mr. Olu Akerele, confirmed Kalu's arrest.

Akerele said, "The National Working Committee of our party met today with the governors of Abia and Imo states and we have decided to postpone our National Executive Committee meeting scheduled for Thursday.

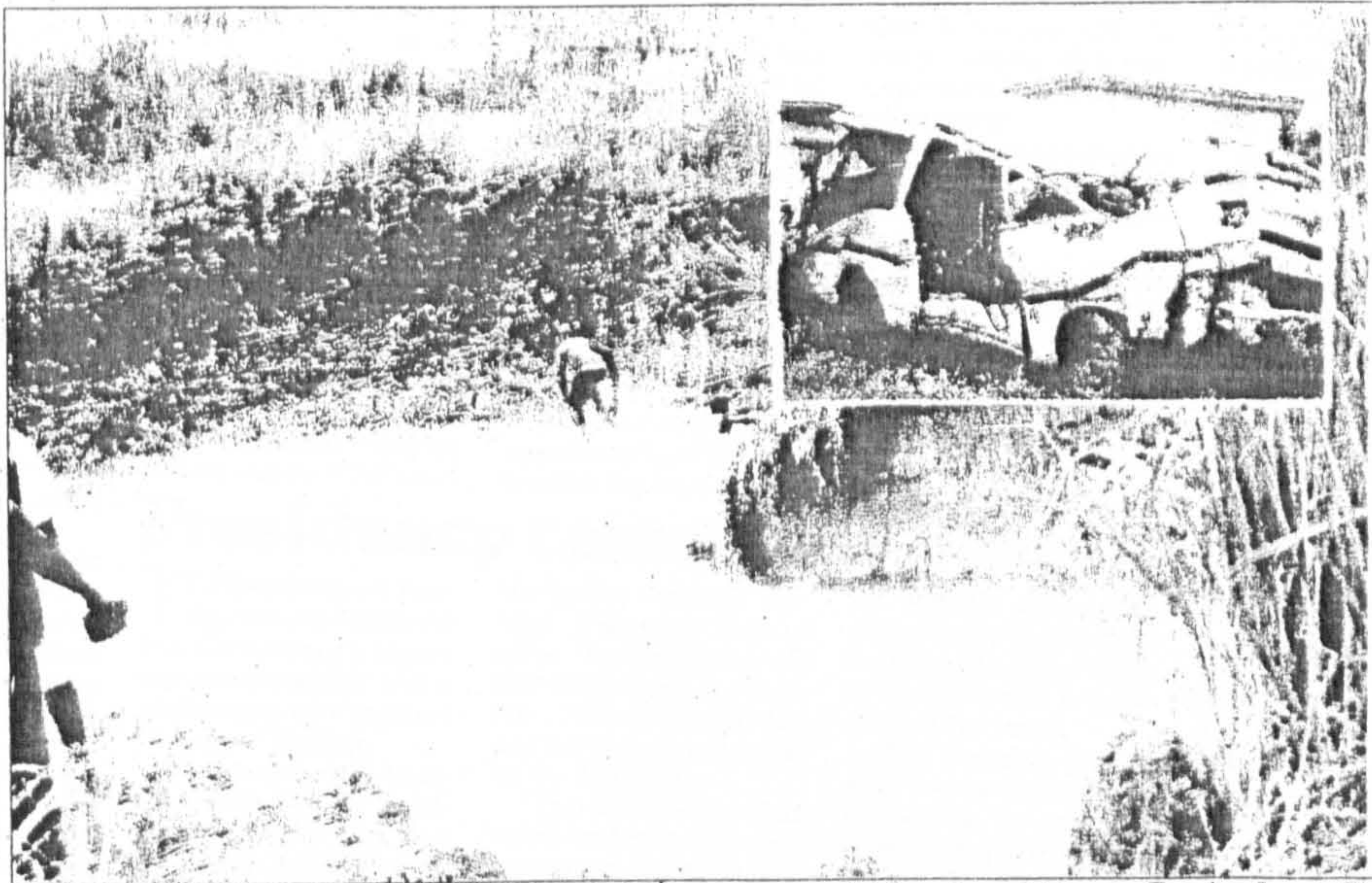
"We cannot afford to have our leader behind bars and proceed to hold the NEC meeting. We had planned to install the

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 Kalu refused to honour EFCC's invitation, Akerele said, "He was abroad for medical check-up and he wrote the EFCC that he would see them on his return.

"He also got a court injunction, dated May 30 2007, restraining the EFCC from arresting him."



• A part of the river on the Ag-woye road where a commercial bus plunged into... on Tuesday. Inset: The bus after it was pulled out of the river. Photos: Niyl Odebo.

I'm in charge, not Obasanjo – Yar'Adua

• President appoints new Head of Service

Ihuoma Chiedozie, Abuja

PRESIDENT Umaru Yar'Adua on Wednesday dismissed insinuations that former President Olusegun Obasanjo was controlling his administration.

Yar'Adua, who also named Mrs. Ebele Okeke as the new Head of the Civil Service of the Federation, said that Nigerians should not doubt that he was fully in charge.

He spoke through his Special Adviser on Communications, Mr. Segun Adeniyi, during an interactive session with journalists at the State House, Abuja.

Adeniyi said, "The person in charge now is President Umaru Yar'Adua and he is the one that Nigerians are going to hold accountable for their fortunes and misfortunes at the end of the day. So, I see no reason why he will surrender power to anybody."

The presidential aide was responding to a question on the lingering perception by some

Nigerians and media reports that Obasanjo was calling the shots outside Aso Rock.

He said that Yar'Adua had been having a laugh over such perception, especially in the media.

Adeniyi said, "He (Yar'Adua) laughs about it (perception) because it is not true. I am sure you know about power. How do you imagine that the President of Nigeria will be controlled by anybody elsewhere?"

"Obasanjo was at a time a President. I don't know if anybody controlled him. So, I wonder why Yar'Adua will sit down here, knowing that he is not only responsible to Nigerians, and then allow someone else to dictate to him. He knows that he will be held accountable at the end of his stewardship.

"Nobody is going to query Obasanjo for whatever happened between May 29, 2007 and May 28 or 29, 2011. For whatever happens in Nigeria, Yar'Adua will be held responsible.

"So, I wonder why he will

allow Obasanjo to take over. He reads all these things (newspaper reports) like we all read them here. He just smiles about them. They mean nothing."

The SA also explained the seeming delay in the implementation of the emergency intervention in the power sector.

He pointed out that the President was currently holding consultations with all the stakeholders in order to come up with a holistic intervention programme.

Adeniyi said, "He has met several times with the top officials of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria and the Bureau of Public Enterprises.

"He has met several times with the officials of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. When you look at most of these issues, you will find out that they are issues you need to sort out with one agency or the other.

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

will be no excuse for failure after all, these issues have been sorted out.

"I think that is what is going on now. Very soon, within the next two or three weeks, I think he will come up with his plans for the power sector. Same goes for the Niger Delta."

Meanwhile, the President on Wednesday appointed Mrs. Okeke as the new Head of the Civil Service of the Federation.

Okeke replaces Alhaji Yajale Ahmed, now a ministerial nominee.

A statement by Adeniyi explained that Okeke's appointment was with immediate effect.

The statement further announced the retention of Senator Florence Ita-Giwa as Yar'Adua's Special Adviser on National Assembly Matters.

Ita-Giwa's appointment took effect from June 3, 2007.

Dr. Tanimu Kurfi was also named as the Deputy Chief of Staff to the President.

Kurfi will assume duties upon his disengagement from the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria.

PTDF: Panel blames Obasanjo, indicts Atiku

John Alechenu and Oluwale Josiah, Abuja

THE Senate Ad hoc Committee on the Petroleum Technology Development Fund has faulted President Olusegun Obasanjo for acting outside the Act establishing the PTDF.

It, however, indicted Vice-President Atiku Abubakar for the mismanagement of the agency's funds.

In a report formally presented by its Chairman, Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba, to the Senate on Tuesday, the committee found Obasanjo and the Federal Executive Council guilty of allegedly using PTDF money for projects not covered within the law establishing the fund.

It said, "In respect of some projects commenced by the PTDF in 2006, particularly the establishment of African Institute of Science and Technology in the FCT, incorporation of Galaxy Backbone Plc, and purchase of computers for civil servants under the Computer for All Nigerians Initiative, for which Obasanjo gave approval and subsequently obtained the ratification of the FEC, laudable as they may seem, they were outside the mandate of the PTDF as provided for in Section 2 of the enabling Act.

"The President and the FEC acted in disregard of the law establishing the PTDF. Though the ratification by the FEC may mitigate this breach of the law, it however, does not absolve the President and the council of blame."

The committee, therefore, recommended that the President "be advised to adhere strictly to the provisions of the law establishing the PTDF at all times in either approving projects, expenditure of funds or howsoever."

The committee indicted Abubakar for allegedly aiding and abetting the placement of \$145m belonging to the PTDF in banks.

It added that the money which was meant for specific projects, was fraudulently given out as loans to companies.

The report reads in part, "That His Excellency, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, vice-president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, abused his office by aiding and abetting the diversion of public funds in the sums of \$125m and \$20m respectively approved for specific projects to deposits in banks, some of which were fraudulently converted to loans to Netlink Digital Television, Mofas Shipping Company Limited and Transvari Services Limited."

It also noted that contrary to the argument by Abubakar that PTDF funds were not lost in the various placements, N1.130bn

loaned in two instalments to the NDTV, N420m to Mofas Shipping Company Limited; and N300m to Transvari Services Limited by TIB were yet to be recovered.

The committee, however, said that although the loans had been restructured with the acquisition of TIB by Spring Bank Plc., they (loans) might not be recovered outside the restructured framework without endangering the health of Spring Bank.

It, therefore, recommended that the VP be penalised for the offences.

It added that the Marine Float Limited Accounts, which had generated a lot of public interest, was outside its terms of reference as no PTDF funds were traced directly to the account. But the committee noted that the company was at best, a second line beneficiary of the PTDF funds.

The committee further recommended that a businessman, Chief Johnson Oyewole Fasawe, be prosecuted and made to refund N1.55bn being the loan advanced to NDTV and Mofas Shipping Company.

The committee also advised that another businessman, Ahmed Vanderpuye, "be prosecuted and made to refund N300m being a purported loan to Transvari Services from the TIB."

Also recommended for prosecution are two former executive secretaries of the PTDF, Mr. Hamisu Abubakar, and Mr. Hussein Jallo.

The committee said, "Hamisu Abubakar, executive secretary of the PTDF from September 2000 to July 2005, abused his office by diverting public funds in the sums of \$125m and \$20m approved for specific projects to deposits in banks, some of which were fraudulently converted to loans to the NDTV, Mofas Shipping Company Limited and TSL and other criminal acts and should be prosecuted for any offences disclosed."

"Hussein Jallo, the executive secretary of the PTDF, from July 2005 to November 2005, having abused his office through criminal acts and for which N49m and six vehicles have so far been recovered from him by the EFCC, should be prosecuted for any offences disclosed."

EFCC had recovered N200m from Hamisu Abubakar.

The committee also recommended that another former Executive Secretary of the PTDF, Alhaji Adamu Waziri, be made to refund the N4.5m which he okayed for the execution of the Progress Report on Obasanjo Administration and photographs for State House Library since the projects

were outside the contemplation of the Section 2 of the PTDF Act.

The committee also suggested that the Marine Float Accounts be independently investigated by the Independent Comptroller and other Related Offences Commission since the initial investigation by the EFCC had been controversial.

It advised that all accounts in the name of the PTDF within and outside Nigeria be established by the Senate Committees on Petroleum (Upstream) and Public Accounts.

The committee said taxes payable on the bill by Emmanuel Chambers, the company which allegedly registered Galaxy Backbone Plc, should be recovered by the PTDF and paid over to the relevant tax authorities.

While it suggested that the management of the PTDF be reorganised to enhance its capacity to deliver on its objectives, it also voted for the amendment to the PTDF Act.

The committee observed that because the PTDF was a

THE Presidency on Tuesday said the Senate Ad hoc Committee's report was commendable and a vindication of President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The Senior Special Assistant (Media) to the President, Mrs. Remi Oyo, said the panel's comments on the President did not amount to his indictment for abuse of office.

Oyo said, "A wider interpretation was given to the

THE Vice-President, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, on Tuesday described the Senate Committee's report as a partisan political hatchet job that would not stand the test of public scrutiny.

He called on the Senate to reject the report in the spirit of justice, fairness and equity.

In a statement by the Atiku Campaign Organisation, the vice-president said the conclusions of the committee were inconsistent with the abundant evidence put at its disposal by himself and several witnesses who appeared before it.

He wondered if the predominantly pro-third term members of the committee had yielded to pressures.

The vice-president on Tuesday asked, "The three critical issues are (i) Was the approval of the FEC needed for the placement of PTDF funds? (ii) Was any money lost in the investment of PTDF money in ETB and TIB? and (iii) Was there any material link established between the vice-president and the PTDF funds?"

special fund for which appropriation was not required by the National Assembly, it was treated more or less by the Presidency like a security vote with scant regard to the provisions of the Act establishing it.

It also lamented the fact that training for oil and gas sector was relegated to the background as against unrelated projects for which there might have been appropriation elsewhere.

"The fortunes of the fund did not appear to have improved from when its supervision moved from the VP to the President," it added.

The committee also held that some accounts kept in the name of the PTDF by the Accountant-General of the Federation were not known to the PTDF.

It added that the decision to restrict the funding of the PTDF to a limit of 25 per cent of signature bonuses or \$100m per annum was done without legal backing.

It further observed that the supervision of the PTDF by the executive had been grossly in-

adequate and compounded by the lack of proper oversight by the National Assembly.

The committee also said that the increase in approval limits of the executive secretary of the PTDF from N.7m to N10m was not in accordance with extant financial regulations. It added that bogus and unrealistic projects were recommended and funds approved for them.

It said, "Many of the projects for which monies were approved have not been implemented."

The President of the Senate, Chief Ken Nnamani, said, "The time for propaganda is over, now we have to deal with facts not emotions."

He said he would sign every page of the report to ensure that the document was not "doctored"

Soon after presenting the report, Ndoma-Egba, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria, told newsmen that Abubakar was not compelled to appear before his committee.

The debate on the report will commence on

the laudable projects approved by the President and the Federal Executive Council for the overall development of the nation.

"The Presidency, however, wishes to clarify that the projects are related to development in the oil and gas sector, which falls within the ambit of the PTDF."

"For instance, the Presidency noted that the Petroleum Training Institute in Warri is nothing but an in-

stitution developed to the training of skilled manpower for the oil and gas sector.

"With regard to the African Training Institute in Abuja, the federal involvement is actually for the Gulf of Guinea Institute for Petroleum Gas within that institution. The institute is for the training of manpower for the oil and gas sector, not only in Nigeria but also interested neighbouring countries."

The one by Abubakar is still pending before a Federal High Court in Abuja.

Presidency commends Senate committee

law by the President perhaps. It is not an abuse of office. You have been told that the projects are laudable. Nobody has said that any money was embezzled by the President.

"The Presidency has noted the Senate Committee's report and expressed its commendation for the committee for exercising its oversight functions. It particularly notes the committee's acknowledgement of

VP says report is a hatchet job

He noted, "The evidence before the committee confirmed our position. As at December 2006, over N19bn of PTDF money was invested in banks and there was no single evidence that the FEC was involved in securing it. This is a confirmation that the investment in TIB and ETB did not require a FEC approval, the transactions passed through the Auditor-General's office as required by law. The conclusion of the committee therefore is inconsistent with the facts at its disposal."

Abubakar said he was surprised that the committee left the avalanche of evidence he provided to exonerate himself and to clearly prove that it was President Obasanjo who had a case to answer on the PTDF funds.

He said he could not have imagined that the committee would come out with such a glaring partisan report.

On the final issue of whether the investment in question was lost, the Vice-President restated his position that no money was lost in the transaction in spite of the false claims by EFCC and the Senate Committee.

He explained, "The conclusion of the committee regarding President Olusegun Obasanjo, is however the greatest evidence that the committee is biased in its report. In spite of the avalanche of evidence against his handling of the affairs of the PTDF, the committee merely recommended that the President should be advised to follow due process."

"It is intriguing that in spite of at least 10 cases of abuse of office by the President, the committee feels it was merely a 'due process matter.'

"It is equally strange that while PTDF officials confirm the position of the vice-president, that N20bn PTDF money approved by the President in the heat of the obnoxious Third Term Scheme, could not be traced, the committee did not deem it as appropriate to sanction the President or investigate the allegations that the money was used for the agenda."

He said, "It is equally curious that the committee did not see anything wrong in the President approving the payment of a whopping N250m for the mere act of registering a company, whose actual cost was not more than N23m. What further evidence did the committee need to realise that it was the President, his friends and cronies who had looted the PTDF?"

"I call on the Senate to look closely at the Committee Report, identify its illogicalities, bias and inconsistencies, and reject it in the interest of fairness, equity, and justice."

"We have been confident that in spite of the closeness of most members of the committee to President Obasanjo and the fact that 10 of the 13 members are in the PDP which has developed Atiku-phobia, we have always thought the assignment will be handled with the greatest sense of responsibility and patriotism. Perhaps, we had carried our optimism of the members' sense of fairness too far."

PTDF: Atiku should face trial – Presidency

Ihuoma Chiedoze and
Olalekan Adetayo

THE Presidency on Thursday advised the Senate to recommend the prosecution of Vice-President Atiku Abubakar for allegedly mismanaging the accounts of the Petroleum Technology Development Fund.

The advice came barely 24 hours after the Senate commenced debate on the report of its ad hoc committee on the management of the PTDF.

The vice-president, however, said it was President Olusegun Obasanjo, who had something to worry about.

Abubakar was indicted by the ad hoc committee for allegedly aiding and abetting the diversion of PTDF funds as loans to Netlink Digital Television, Moras Shipping Company Limited and Transvac Services Limited.

Speaking with journalists in Abuja through the Special Assistant to the President on Public Affairs, Mallam Uba Sani, the Presidency said prosecuting Abubakar would serve as a deterrent to those who might wish to abuse public office.

It also asked the Senate to direct the vice-president and his cronies to refund funds said to have been misappropriated by them.

"For abusing his office and exposing Nigeria to ridicule, the Senate may wish to recommend that Abubakar should refund the monies he misappropriated with his cronies, in addition to prosecution on leaving office. Abubakar had demeaned the exalted office of vice-president by his ignoble act," the Presidency said.

The Presidency added that with the release of the ad hoc committee report, "Abubakar's voyage of deceit has come to an abrupt end."

It pointed out that the report did not blame Obasanjo over the part he played in the management of the PTDF, particularly in the approval of funds for projects.

It described as erroneous, the belief in some quarters that Obasanjo was equally held culpable for certain approvals from the PTDF.

It said that the committee noted that the approvals were for laudable projects, which did not personally benefit the President.

"We must not however fail to correct the erroneous impression that the President was equally indicted in the committee's report. On the contrary, the committee recognised the fact that the projects for which the President gave his approval were laudable," the Presidency added.

It explained that if the committee had taken a broader look at the mandate of the PTDF, it would have discovered that the concerned projects fell within the PTDF mandate.

The Presidency added that the report had shown that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, which initially indicted the vice-president for the management of the PTDF was a credible body.

Re-emphasising its satisfaction with the report, the Presidency commended the committee for not only detecting "scandalous acts perpetrated by some high ranking former and serving public officials, but also making far-reaching recommendations on how the PTDF could be restructured to effectively carry out its responsibilities."

In the same vein, it dismissed insinuations that Obasanjo had a personal problem with Abubakar.

According to the Presidency,

Obasanjo's only grouse with Abubakar stemmed from the need to have the vice-president conform with his oath of office, and refrain from subverting government's anti-corruption campaign.

Also on Thursday, the Minister of Finance, Mrs. Nenadi Usman, alleged that Abubakar, in collaboration with a former Executive Secretary of the PTDF, Alhaji Yusuf Abubakar, stalled investigations into the conduct of the Fund between 2004 and 2005.

Usman, in a statement in Abuja, said that Obasanjo ordered investigations into the agency when he learnt that its funds were being mismanaged.

She explained that the President once ordered the closure of all PTDF accounts with the Central Bank Nigeria and directed that the resources flowing into the Fund should be limited to 25 per cent of the signature bonuses.

Usman said, "The Act establishing the Fund was not amended, thereby compelling the payment of all the proceeds from signature bonuses into the Fund."

"The first indication of what was going on came by way of a memorandum presented to the Federal Executive Council for the award of a \$120m contract. It was then that Mr. T.

became aware of the resources being accumulated by the Fund."

Reacting, Abubakar said the President should be the one in "trouble" over the PTDF funds.

The vice-president, who spoke through his Media Consultant, Alhaji Garba Shehu, said his testimony before the ad hoc committee had exposed the type of looting which the office of the President engaged in when Obasanjo took over

the affairs of the PTDF.

He added, "Atiku would be happy answering questions before a court system in which he has confidence."

Also, the National Publicity Secretary of the Action Congress, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, said the party was not bothered by the Presidency's advice to the Senate since it (AC) was on the side of truth.

Mohammed said the latest move showed that the Presi-

dency had suddenly realised that the game was up.

While agreeing that the vice-president could be prosecuted after leaving office since he would no longer enjoy immunity, he said he was confident that the court would not rule arbitrarily.

He said, "We are aware that the Presidency wants Abubakar nailed by all means. The truth of the matter is that Abubakar cannot be indicted

by anybody. Under Section 308, he cannot be indicted.

"What we have always said is that you can investigate Abubakar. At the end of his tenure, you can ask him to come and answer whatever charge. But let's face it, any court of law will throw out that recommendation."

Mohammed, however, said it was wrong for the Presidency to advise the Senate to recommend Abubakar's trial.

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

Tobi Soniyi, Abuja

THE Supreme Court has fixed Monday for the hearing of the appeal by the Federal Government against the judgment of the Court of Appeal, which affirmed that Alhaji Atiku Abubakar remained the nation's vice-president.

Our correspondent gathered that the date was fixed by the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice Idris Kutigi, who wanted the case determined before May 29, 2007.

The Court of Appeal had on February 26, 2007 transferred the records of proceedings in the suit to the Supreme Court.

The Court of Appeal had held that Abubakar must remain the vice-president despite his defection from the Peoples Democratic Party, the platform under which he was elected with President Olusegun Obasanjo, to the Action Congress.

Sources said that the transfer of the records by the Court of Appeal was to give the Supreme Court, the opportunity to determine the appeal expe-

ditiously.

The Supreme Court is yet to constitute any panel to hear the appeal.

The government had in its application, filed by Chief Babalola (SAN), said that the Court of Appeal erred in its judgment.

It said that a situation of absurdity, anarchy, disorderliness, political rascality and threat to national security could arise if for instance in the case of death, Abubakar became the head of a PDP-led government.

It filed 20 grounds of appeal with a promise to file more.

Specifically, the government asked the Supreme Court to set aside the Court of Appeal judgment and to grant its own counter-claims.

In the appeal, the government said, "To appreciate the strength of the companionship, the court was under a duty to consider the historical antecedent as contained in the Constitution Drafting Committee Report which states as follows: "The relationship of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to that of his vice-pres-

ident should be one of pilot and co-pilot, rather than the latter being a counterpole to the former."

According to the government, the Court of Appeal completely ignored the lawmakers' objective.

It further argued that Section 142(1) created a relationship of trust and confidence between the President and the vice-president.

The notice reads, "By requiring the vice-president to be an associate of the President, the drafters of the Constitution intended that the vice-president would act in the interest of the President at all times and would act for him when the President proceeds on vacation or he is unable to discharge the functions of the office or he is dead."

"By imposing a condition that the vice-president must be an associate of the President and must be from the same political party as the President, the makers of the Constitution intended that the programme and policy of the sponsoring political party are duly implemented without interruption by an antagonist or a member of a rival party opposed to the President's party."

The government also faulted the allusion made by the Court of Appeal to the issue of freedom of expression which was raised by the court suo motu.

It accused the court of confusing the personal rights of an individual to associate freely with the constitutionally circumscribed right of a sitting vice-president to maintain allegiance to the ticket that brought him to power.

It noted that the issue of freedom of association was not raised or addressed by any of the parties.

"An elected vice-president has a choice either or not to remain as a vice-president or to pursue his ambition after dissolving the union between him and the President," government added.

It further said that the right to freedom of association could not be exercised in a way as to defeat a clear provision of the Constitution.

Tenure: Obi seeks transfer of case to Appeal Court

Adelani Adepegba,
Enugu

GOVERNOR Peter Obi of Anambra State on Thursday asked the Federal High Court, Enugu, to refer the suit on his rightful tenure to the Court of Appeal.

Obi wants an order stating that his four-year tenure ought to commence from the day he was inaugurated as governor.

Obi won the governorship election on the platform of the All Progressives Grand Alliance in April 2003, but his opponent, Dr. Chris Ngige of the Peoples Democratic Party, was declared as the winner.

He challenged the electoral fraud in court, leading to his inauguration as a governor on March 17, 2006.

He said the three and a half years he spent on litigation to claim his mandate were not part

of his tenure.

He is also asking the court for an order that there should be no election in the state in April. He said that he had not fully spent his tenure as governor.

Obi's counsel, Dr Onyechi Ikpeazu (SAN), told the court in Enugu that a proper determination of what should be the governor's tenure was "recondite" as it had not been pronounced upon by any court in the country.

Ikpeazu argued that the application for the reference of the case to the Court of Appeal met all the conditions prescribed by law.

These, he said, included the fact that the case had to do with the interpretation of the constitution.

He also said that the application arose from a matter already before the lower court.

He said, "The issue of Obi's rightful tenure in office as Governor of Anambra State is the most important constitutional issue in Nigeria today."

"We have approached the Federal High Court for the interpretation of Section 180 (2) of the constitution. The issues have been joined and it is clear that there is no agreement by the parties on what should be the proper interpretation of that section, hence, the application for its reference to the Court of Appeal for determination."

The Senior Advocate of Nigeria also submitted that the issue raised a substantial question of law and that its determination was of importance to the constitutional development of the country.

He added that referring the case to the appellate court would help expedite its determination in the light of its pecu-

liar circumstance.

But the counsel for the Independent National Electoral Commission, Chief Chris Uche (SAN), said that the application by Obi was premature, misconceived and lacked merit.

He said the issue of jurisdiction of a court to hear a matter and the questions raised by the applicant were not for reference to the Court of Appeal.

Uche added that there were no indications that the high court had found them impossible to resolve.

He said, "This case cannot be moved to the Appeal Court. This is not in line with the mindset of the framers of the constitution."

"Nothing has been presented before the court to show that the case is extremely impossible to resolve."

"Section 295 (2) of the

News

PDTF: I didn't call for Obasanjo, FEC's trial - Sen. Ogunwale

Senator Kola Ogunwale yesterday denied a recent newspaper report which said he called for the trial of President Olusegun Obasanjo and the entire Federal Executive Council in the ongoing Petroleum Development Trust Fund (PDTF) crisis.

Ogunwale, who represents Osun Central senatorial district, noted that the headline of the story was quite different from its body. He said the newspaper house may have chosen to treat the story to his disadvantage and thereby destroyed the essence of the article.

Ogunwale, an ardent supporter of President Obasanjo, said the argument he advanced in the interview was that it would amount to no meaning should the Senate seek to try Obasanjo over an allegation that did not establish the president as corrupt.

According to him, "the review committee of the PDTF was to look into the recommendation of the Senator Edoma-Egba committee which had called for witnesses. The outcome of calling for witnesses was however that Obasanjo and Atiku should be tried. It was on the basis of this that I

From Olumide Bajulaiye, Lagos

reminded them that if Obasanjo should be tried, will it also amount to trying the entire FEC which empowered Obasanjo and that will such not turn out meaningless?

"But I was surprised to have read that I called for Obasanjo's trial. That is not correct and cannot be correct because I will not stand against Obasanjo, especially when he is on the path of truth, honour,

patriotism and national development", he said.

Defending Obasanjo, Ogunwale said the money Obasanjo gave approval was to be spent for the good of the nation which, he argued, was different from that of Vice President Atiku who requested \$20 million for a non-existent project and money spent with his friends at the expense of the entire country.

"And this appears so because the law setting up PDTF did not envisage that PDTF would have that much money in its coffers. But between 1999 and now, more oil blocs have emerged, thus bringing in so much money into the coffers of PDTF and made it unmanageable by the law", he further explained.

Taraba state governor, Jolly Nyame, is 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.

Nyame not afraid of impeachment - Aide

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 impeachments are not done through rumours on the pages of newspapers.

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

"Right now the governor is concerned about handing 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, Sanda 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."

Niger spends N15bn on roads

From Aideloje Ojo, Minna

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 three geo-political zones in the state over the past eight years.

The state commissioner of works, Alhaji Ibrahim Ebbo, disclosed this Wednesday at the commissioning of the Minna-Bida road constructed at the sum of N1.8 billion.

He said that over 81% of the road projects have been completed, prominent among which are Kontagora, Suleja, Bida, New Bussa, Agaie, Lapia, Minna and Paiko township roads.

Those still under construction include Gulu, Muye and Rijau Dukku roads. The IBB University, Zuma housing access roads and Doko township roads are also being executed, he said.

Ebbo said the Minna-Bida road covered the distance of 84km and that it was awarded at the cost of N1.6 billion in 2004 to Messrs Triacta Nigeria Limited before the contract sum was reviewed upward to N1.8 billion to cater for additional works.

He commended the contractor for completing the project on schedule in accordance with government specifications.

Commissioning the road project, the former head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, commended the state government for embarking on people-oriented projects. Gowon who also commissioned the General Hospital Bida, said the Kure administration has provided enough dividends of democracy to the people of the state.

Speaking at the commissioning of the Bida general hospital, the state commissioner of health, Dattijo Aliyu, disclosed that

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,

Tunga Majiya and Bida general hospitals would benefit from the gesture.

He lauded the state governor for embarking 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 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.

NCC committed to training telecom manpower, says Ndukwe

The Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC) will build human capacity, promote fair competition and facilitate the entry of private entrepreneurs into the fast expanding industry, its chairman, Chief Ernest Ndukwe, has said.

He stated this at the presentation of communications and engineering books to the Kaduna Polytechnic Library in Kaduna Tuesday that the NCC as the telecommunications regulator in Nigeria, was saddled with the responsibility of creating an enabling environment.

Ndukwe who was represented by Engineer Muktar Zimit, an NCC executive director, said part of its drive to the country through its corporate social responsibility is to ensure that young Nigerians are gainfully employed in the vast area of the telecom industry as soon as they completed their training.

"Employment in the

From Sanli Babadoko, Kaduna

telecom 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 source for skilled manpower or they have to expend a lot of man-hour to retrain 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 telecom manpower.

Ndukwe said pursuant to this, the commission set up the Digital Bridge Institute in Abuja in 2004 to contribute to knowledge-based information society in Africa. He said though the effort has been laudable, it could not cope with the 140 million Nigerians where there are 35 million telephone lines as at January 2007.

AMINIYA

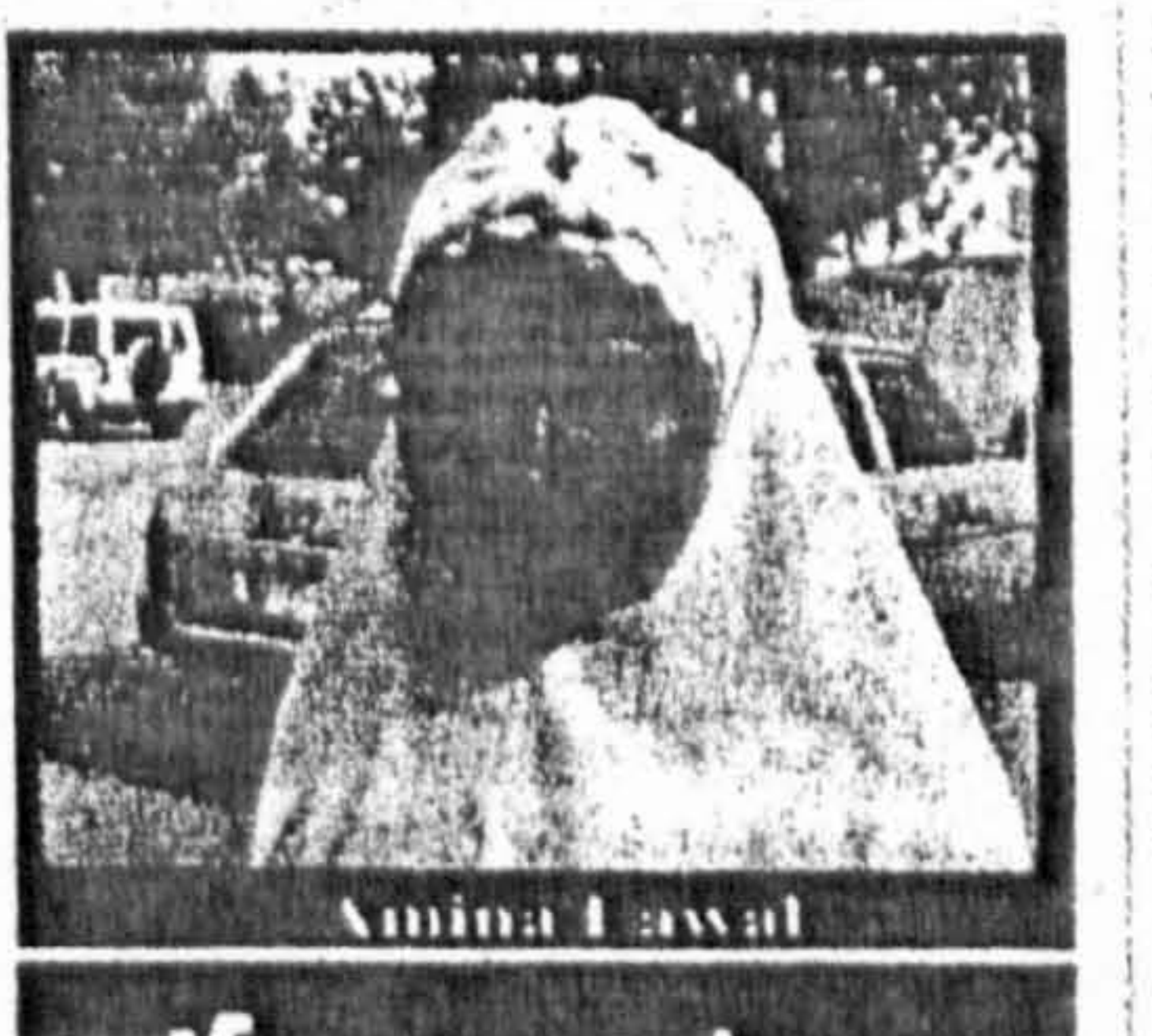
Volume 30 On February 2007 Kashi No 1 To 30 12 On Rabi'ul Awwal 1428 Bayan Hijira Kuduna N80

Companion Radio 104.5 FM

Aliko Dangote Zal cika Shekara 50 a ranar 10/4/07 masu son taya shi murna su duba shafi no 12

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Amina Lawal ta zama 'yar siyasa - Kungiyar WRAPA ta dangwari da ta



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Kananan 'yan kasuwa na ganin tasku ...

Ashe a jantun ma na son hira da 'yan jarida?

Wutar fetur ta hallaka mutum fiyo da 100 a Katugal

Kashi sittin na fina-finan Hausa gurbatattu ne

Politics



•Nnamani



•Obasanjo



•Abubakar

PTDF: Senate battles to redeem image

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 unruffled in spite of chronicled 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 illegalities 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 Nnamani, charged the members to come up with "actionable recommendations." He also charged them to produce a coherent and truthful report, giving rise to speculations that there might have been some measure of falsehood in the earlier report.

He also said, "In fact, misapplication and misappropriation of public funds should be perceived as capital offences that attract severe punishments; this special committee should produce actionable recommendations that restore credibility and respect to public governance and ensure that the high crimes against the Nigerian people in the PTDF affair are adequately captured." The tone of these remarks was a driving force and leading light for the committee in the discharge of its assignment.

Senator Umar Ibrahim Tsauri, who was appointed to head the committee, hails from Katsina State and is a member of the Peoples Democratic Party, which controls a majority

Oluwole Josiah, Abuja
in the Senate. He was largely an un-tempered and unpredictable senator. Those who know him think he is easy-going and incorruptible. He holds a BSc. (Ed) in Agriculture from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He was elected as a member of the House of Representatives in 1999, and now heads the Senate Committee on Rules and Business.

His reputation among his colleagues cuts him out as one who cannot be shoved around, and who can stand his ground when it matters most. His conduct of the review committee's business in its one-week assignment showed that he is a no-nonsense leader, who would insist on the rules. It was clear that despite his party affiliation, he had no sympathy for either the President or the vice-president while he steered the affairs of the committee.

During meetings, he would overrule any senator on any question or contribution that tended to derail the committee's assignment. Some of the senators considered it dictatorial and a breach of their right to give vent to their views. Senator Akinlabi Olanikanmi was forced to complain about Tsauri's highhandedness during proceedings, and openly disagreed with him on many occasions.

Senator Olanikanmi may not be outspoken. He demonstrated, during the committee's work, that he could be independent when it was time to stand alone. He represents Osun West in the Senate on the platform of the PDP and he's basically a banker. He took special interest in the operations and running of the PTDF accounts and the Mofas accounts with the Trans International Bank, now acquired by Spring Bank Plc.

He was also interested in the manner in which loans were advanced to NDTV and Mofas by TIB. His minority opinion over several issues raised during the proceedings was practical and valid, even though he had to be overruled on such occasions. He was quite fastidious when issues about the involvement of the vice-president in NDTV deals and the placements of PTDF funds were brought up.

It was his candid opinion that Abubakar was involved in the business of NDTV, and had argued that the vice-president influenced the

placement of PTDF money in the bank for the purpose of being advanced as loans to his friends. He held this opinion from the beginning and demonstrated it in the manner he probed the respondents like a prosecuting counsel in a court case.

His dissenting opinion, published in the same report, showed that he was in support of the report submitted by the Ndoma-Egba committee. Senator Sa'ad Abubakar Muhammed, until last week, was a member of the PDP. He announced to the Senate that he had defected to the Action Congress because he was not accorded due recognition. His questions during the sitting were few. In most cases, he asked questions to make clarifications and there were times when he never said anything. Although some had alleged that he was disgruntled due to his inability to get the PDP ticket for his senatorial ambition, he never showed it in the deliberations.

Timothy Adudu 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 guiltless and the laws were misinterpreted to indict him.

He took special interest in the interpretation of Section 9 (1) of the Finance Act, which spelt 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-banker relationship, which formed the basis of the committee's judgment on the advancement of loans to the NDTV and Mofas by TIB.

Senator Bello Maitama is of the PDP, representing Jigawa South-West. He acquired his law degree from NorthGate University, Washington. He is also a legal practitioner and a businessman. He has been in government over the years, serving as Minister of Internal Affairs from 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, initi-

ated 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 meeting. 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 scandal 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 Azuta-Mbata, who represents Rivers East on the platform of the PDP. He holds a Masters in Public Administration from the University of Ibadan and an honoris 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 nursing the wounds inflicted on his credibility during the bribe-for-budget scandal.

Mistrust however existed among committee members on the one hand and between the committee and the Senate leadership on the other.

This development was established by their countenance during the proceedings. Senator Olanikanmi had to complain to a journalists over the manner he was being shouted down by the chairman of the committee whenever he tried to get a particular answer from a witness.

A case in point was when Chief Oyewole Fasawe testified before the committee. A question asked by Olanikanmi was tepidly answered, but Senator Tsauri promptly