

## **MEDIA ROLE AND THE HURDLES OF A NIGERIAN JOURNALIST 1984-1999**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study focuses on the role of the media and the hurdles of Journalism practice in Nigeria in the period 1984-1999. The paper shows that in the period of study the Nigerian media was rocked by problems of interference in the discharge of its duties. The media in any society is charged with the decorum to inform, educate, entertain, publicize and most importantly, correct the excesses of society. The Nigerian mass media since 1984 has faced the greatest challenge of how to fulfill these relevant roles to the Nigerian society. First, publishers in Nigeria remain in business collaborating with the political class and by revenue generated from cover price of their titles and advertisement. Second, reporters faces a dual problem of either objectivity or allegiance to his employer Third, Nigerian Journalist suffered insecurity of arbitrary arrest and detention in the years of military rule. Several decrees promulgated ousted press freedom. Journalist fought tenaciously against such constitutional edicts by its publications.

Fourth, the media has over the years been colored, shaped or influenced by emotions, sentiments and other extraneous forces at work. This has made it difficult for the media to truly float its own programme and agenda. Fifth, the media is expected to play the watchdog role of the five 'W's' and 'H' i.e. what, who, where, when and how. Sadly, the level of coverage given to a particular event by Nigerian media practitioners is determined by the amount of money channeled to a particular media by a sponsor. These issues would be discussed in this study. The paper appraises and assesses the media since 1984, through the 'dark days' of military rule to the new democracy in 1999.

It recommends that; the press ought to take precaution in exercising its discretion if it is to preserve its freedom.

The paper recommends that the right to freedom of expression through the press be treated with utmost care by the government more-so that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state. The study adopts historical method of research which involves the use of both primary and secondary sources

### **Introduction**

The basic argument in this paper is that the Nigerian media has not lived up to expectation in keeping to the path of honour. The Nigerian media has over the years been colored, shaped or influenced by emotions, sentiments and other extraneous forces at work. The media has not lived above nepotism, bribery or monetary inducement and blackmail. The media has in some cases fallen under the influence of politicians, ethnic bias, and religious bigotry. This has made it difficult for the media to truly float its own programme and agenda.

The paper discusses how state security operatives, politicians and even journalist.<sup>1</sup> themselves endanger the journalism profession. The freedom of expression and the press is crucial ingredient of democracy. The greatest challenge to the mass media in Nigeria since independence is how to make itself relevant to the Nigerian society particularly in this era of

democracy. The press ought to exercise caution if it is to preserve its freedom. In the light of this national culture, religion, security and tradition should be treated with utmost care by the media more-so that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state. It is in the light of this that the study discusses the role of the media and the hurdles faced by the Nigerian Journalist.

The study covers the period 1984 to 1999. This period is important because the press has since 1984 gone through several institutional manipulations. During these years, the media joisted with the illegitimate rule of the military in the discharge of its statutory functions. From 1984 to 1999, Nigerians were ruled by several obnoxious decrees including the State Security Detention of Persons Decree No. 2 of 1984 promulgated by General Muhammadu Buhari's regime and continued under the regime of late General Sanni Abacha. The decree allowed the military authorities to detain any Nigerian considered a security threat to military rule for a renewable period of three months. Nigerians and Nigerian Journalist in particular suffered insecurity of arbitrary arrest and detention under the obnoxious decree 2 in the days of military rule.

### **The Role of the Media**

The traditional role of the media in any society is to inform, educate, entertain, publicize and perhaps most importantly, correct the excesses of society. The mass media comprises the means by which a society disseminates and receives information. The traditional instruments of the mass media to the modern man are the newspapers,<sup>2</sup>News Agency,<sup>3</sup>magazines, radio and television.<sup>4</sup>The media functions as watchdog capable of blowing the whistle to call attention to serious national issues. This implies a clear recognition of the fact that the media plays an important role on issues of national security. The Journalist is a human being, he studies other human creatures, report about human being and human beings are the source of his information. In essence, journalism is a social relation. The information disseminated by the journalist could be harmful or useful depends on its contents. The media transmit messages about a particular society. No one else can play this role. The information is passed across a destination to achieve a goal.

As part of its social function, the media is expected to mobilize people to achieve the desired objective of the state. This view is articulated by Nzimiro:

*A major role of the media is to mobilize the people through ideological exposure which implies their political education into the socio-cultural sector which govern their behavior to produce in them a sense of pride in themselves and patriotism for the collective good as well as a belief that they are capable of mastering their own destiny, controlling nature and organizing themselves.*<sup>5</sup>

The media possess enormous power to decide what the people should read, see or hear. What has been in the centre of controversy is the capacity of those in whose hands reside such enormous powers to use that power judiciously and in public interest. Media professionals have the options to use the power of media instruments in their hands either to serve the nation or indulge in self-propelled interest. The media ought to be objective as it carries out its functions.

According to Ofuafor<sup>6</sup>mainly because of its social role in informing and educating the masses the Nigerian press is always made to be seen at the centre of any national crisis. This has caused the Nigerian media to be reduced overtime to mere tools in the hands of the governing class to legitimize and perpetuate their illegitimate rule. The political class has found it easy to impose its will on the media because of the challenges that media practitioners had to face in the

course of discharging their duties. Such challenges include poor remunerations, poor conditions of service, job insecurity, nepotism, exposure to hazards, inadequate facilities for research and development and so on.

Indeed, the media is expected to play the watchdog role of the five 'W's' and 'H' i.e. what, who, where, when and how. The media is expected to keep the electorates abreast of events to ensure free and fair elections. However, the Nigerian media has not done well in political coverage because of political cleavages and by proprietary inclinations. Sadly, the level of coverage given to a particular event by Nigerian media practitioners is determined by the amount of money channeled to a particular media by a sponsor. For instance private media houses give more coverage to political parties that pay for adverts which make it difficult for media houses to divorce themselves from partisanship. Consequently, the reporters faces a dual problem of objectivity allegiance to his employer. Okoye noted that:

*In the original journalistic sense: objectivity required that the journalist kept himself out of his report by not injecting his emotion, personal opinion and bias into the news report. But this is very difficult, if not impossible. Since journalist may be required to offer interpretation and explanation of the issues they write about, they may consciously or unconsciously inject their own personal opinions and understanding of the issue. In fact, if the mass media should pursue objectivity at all cost, the media audience will be short-changed.<sup>7</sup>*

The new code for Journalists by the Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ).<sup>8</sup> Journalism entails a high degree of public trust, it is morally imperative for every Journalist and every news medium to observe the highest professional and ethical standards. In the exercise of these duties, a Journalist should always have a healthy regard for the public interest. Irrespective of these facts, no journalist with empty stomach can be trusted with objective reporting especially when he is not been paid his salary for months; he is, therefore, ill-equipped for the job and yet there is no benefit of long service or security of job. The outcome of media collaboration with the political and bourgeois class is that the mass majority of the citizenry are marginalized and exploited. This causes a serious problem of poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, diseases, which have brought about the incidence of armed robbery and other violent crimes, youth militarism, ethnic, chauvinism, religious bigotry. Media professionals have indulged in self aggrandizement.

Conscious of the responsibilities and duties of Journalists as purveyors of information, truth is suppose to be the cornerstone of Journalism and every Journalist is expected to strive diligently to ascertain the truth of every event. But this has not been the case. Publishers in Nigeria or media proprietors remain in business collaborating with the political class and by revenue generated from cover price of their titles and advertisement. To make more sales and remain in business in the face of kin competition most media use headlines and publish stories that would attract public attention.

Recently, in order to broaden their revenue base, publishers are seeking new ways of revenue generation as they are finding it difficult to operate successfully in view of declining circulation sales, the poor income and general reading habit of Nigerian.<sup>9</sup>

The media is supposed to assist the government of the day in publishing its activities but it has been the case of he who pays the piper dictates the tune. Political correspondence and editors of titles are often under the influence of politicians. The media has not been able to fully check

the excesses of society. There have been series of cases of media compromise either with the business, political or civil populace. This compromise inhibits media freedom as there is tendency for the media to be colored by emotions and sentiments. The Nigerian media has therefore, largely been a comprador as it has to rely on sponsoring of programmes and activities.

Sequel to the above, recent technological innovations in television broadcast have caused worry in the minds of some Nigerians. Television commercials of one country are now found in other nations. Such commercials create a thirst for consumer goods from abroad and threaten the nation's culture antiquity. It also provides unfair competition to local industries. Messages fed into television commercials across national boundaries are not censored. National security is threatened by mass media as the media is increasingly internationalized in content. Developing countries are expressing concern about the possible negative impact of the media on their cultural uniqueness.<sup>10</sup> Another role of the media as articulated by Nzimiro is:

*Mobilizing of people through ideological exposure implies their political education into the socio-cultural factor which govern their behaviour to produce in them a sense of pride in themselves and patriotism for the collective good as well as a belief that they are capable of mastering their own destiny by controlling nature and organizing themselves.*<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately however, the media which ought to be a major stake holder in ensuring the security of the state sometimes trivialize this very sensitive issue as stated by Wali:

*The Nigerian press is yet to grow in maturity. Issues that affects the general well-being of the people of the country but which can cause disaffection and disunity should be de-emphasized or played down. The reverse has been the case in many Nigerian publications wishing to make quick sales on the platform of sensationalism and journalist scoops.*<sup>12</sup>

### **The Hurdles of a Nigerian Journalist**

There is the burning issue of whether or not it is unlawful for the journalist to receive brown envelope. Although it is well known that it is against the constitution of the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ) for Journalist to receive brown envelop. The NUJ code of ethics stipulates that, 'A Journalist should neither solicit nor accept bribe, gratification or patronage to suppress or publish information'.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of this code the question is often raised whether there is a Journalist who would refuse or reject a brown envelop with courage when it is given at a function while his colleagues collect theirs with gratitude. Who is that Journalist who will immediately disappear after an event while his colleagues are waiting to receive brown envelop and particularly when the announcement had been made that all Journalist who came to cover the event should wait, or show me that Journalist who while sitting down at an event, he is handed a brown envelop and would refuse to accept.

This is not to suggest that the Journalist are incurably addicted to brown envelop but the fact on ground is that the news men often expect to be given an envelope when they go out to cover events. It will be full- hardy and pretentious to blame the newsmen for this situation. News

men leave their houses every morning to their various locations or beats to gather information. They are expected back in the office later in the day,

mostly in the evening at 4.p.m. to submit whatever information they would have gathered (that is after writing or processing the story). They can not be negligent on duty. Come rain or shine or they risk losing their job. They are constantly under threat of query or sack by their immediate boss or employer as the case may be day-in, day-out, they are at work, sometimes till late at night. In some cases, newsmen go through several hazards to obtain information. They do not observe public holidays and in some media houses, they don't go on annual leave. Worst still, they must meet production dead-line.

The irony of it all is that most media owners in Nigeria have no regard for the welfare of their employees. Salaries are not paid as at when due. In some cases news men are owed as much as eight months arrears of salaries, no weekly transport allowance is given to enable the news men move around. Consequently the Journalist is reduced to a debtor and a beggar. The Journalist must not wait until he starves to death. He must device some means to survive. The pages of the newspaper and the air time on radio and television compete for space, so therefore Journalist must survive.

Whereas the Code of Conduct for Nigerian Journalist guarantee editorial independence of news by a professional Journalist.<sup>14</sup>At a BBC training for Political Correspondence in Lagos in February, 2003<sup>15</sup> it was noted that some practicing Journalists and media executives are not upholding the ethics of the profession. While state owned media houses have to dance to the tune of the government of the day in order to protect their job, private owned media publish what is paid for. So how can the Journalist be the true watchdog of his society and how can Nigeria move forward when he who pays the piper dictates the tune. It was also noted that the political allegiance of media owners is the political allegiance of a Journalist. If an editor has the gut of telling the media owner that he can't make a head way with what the owner wants, he might have the option of resigning his appointment. Therefore, Journalist must position themselves between the people and the officials. The brown envelop syndrome could be cured if the take-home pay of Journalist is improved. Some media owners collect contract to publish

information, receive the money, pocket it and hand over the job to the journalist. In some cases the media owners abandon the Journalist and the business for another industry while the workers suffer. *Fadugba, noted sadly that:*

*There is no strong union to deal with the government and private employers of Journalists. The employment conditions of Journalist and the qualification for practice can not be dealt with without a strong union. Generally, newspapers, radio and television are always politically tainted.*<sup>16</sup>

Journalists have their own prejudice which is not that of the owner. An example, in the United States of America seventy percent of the readership of the sun newspaper belong to the Labour Party.<sup>17</sup>Whatever purpose brown envelop is meant to serve, whatever purpose election rigging is meant to serve just as a people get the kind of leadership they deserve, so also they get the kind of media they deserved. There can not be objectivity in an empty stomach. Media executives are aware of brown envelopes phenomenon and in fact sits in the office and wait for their field workers (the Reporter) to come with it. The media executives know the lucrative beats

and events. They post 'reliable' reporters to such places. The reporters will in good faith send them returns.

After all, Thomas Hobbes<sup>18</sup> regarded self preservation as a supreme right. This notion he borrowed from the Greeks, who contend in the law of war and peace (1625) that all individuals had a right to preserve themselves and that all other things being equal, no one could ever be blamed for doing what they did in order to survive. Both Grotius and Hobbes considered the right of self preservation a sufficient basis for morality, in its minimalist or natural sense. If Journalist posted to 'lucrative' beats stop bringing returns they attract the re-posting or even sack. Some reporters have played this role so well that they become demi-gods on their beats. Nobody deer transfer them. Some have said that this is why it is pretty difficult to eliminate beat associations.

One looks forward to a good take-home pay at the end of the month. The brown envelopes received by Journalist have in some cases degenerated to insults and with the stigma which has become attached to it makes, the whole show irritating. But what do you do when you are not sure of your next monthly income barely enough to feed for two weeks and if you have children God save you.

### **Decree No. 2 of 1984 and Others**

Series of laws and decrees stood as legal constraints to the promotion of freedom of expression and the press from 1984 to 1999 when the military finally handed over power to a democratically elected government. Some of these include the official Secret Act Cap 335 laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990, which restricts the access of Journalist and other persons to official information. Also existing along side this official Secret Act is the Sedition Act as contained in the Criminal Code Act chapter 71 of the laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990, and the penal code which continued to be applied in the nineteen northern states and Abuja despite court pronouncement that they no longer form part of Nigerian laws.<sup>19</sup>

Other existing legal constraints to freedom of expression and the press are the state security and detention of persons Decree No. 2 of 1984 as amended. This particular Decree allows for the indefinite detention without charge or trial of any person perceived a threat to the security of the state. The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Decree No. 38 of 1992, the Nigerian Press Council (NPC) Decree No. 85 of 1992, and the Treason and Treasonable offences Decree No. 29 of 1993, which expanded the ambit of the law of treason to include uttering or publication of words capable of breaking up Nigeria and prescribed death penalty for the said offence are also legal draw backs to the free conduct of the media.<sup>20</sup>

Also in the statutory book are the offensive publications Decree No. 35 of 1993, The Newspaper Registration Decree No. 43 of 1993, the National Film and Video Censor Board Decree No. 85 of 1993. The above Acts and Decrees have made Journalism difficult. In order words, they restricted legal frameworks of media operations. Unfortunately, these bodies of laws can be exercised on the discretion of one or a few

government officials or functionaries without the opportunity of judicial review in a court of law.<sup>21</sup> In 1998, Nigeria earned the unenviable position of a country with the worst environment for the practice of journalism in the world The Committee to Protect Journalist (CPJ) rated Abacha top 10 enemies of the press in the world.<sup>22</sup>

Journalist and their publishers, who decided to publish reports considered embarrassing to government and its top officials in the years of military rule in Nigeria, were subjected to incessant arrest and seizure of their publications. The period proved worst for the most vocal media such as Journalist and workers of the 'The News', 'Tempo' and Tell magazines who suffered seize less attack mounted on them by security agents following their reports on the health

of the late Head of State, General Sanni Abacha. The media houses virtually remained under siege with security agents carrying out random raids on their premises in search of their editors or other Journalist.<sup>23</sup>

All over the country, Journalist in the Abacha era were in danger. For example Bayo Onanuga, the editor-in-chief of the The News was forced to go into exile. Onanuga who has frequently being arrested and detained in the past by various categories of security agents, went into hiding on October 6, 1997, after the Police issued a warrant summoning him to report at the Police Force Headquarters in Abuja. The daily evening newspaper, 'P.M. News' continued to appear regularly on newsstands despite the harassments. Journalist in other media organizations such as Vanguard, Punch, Daily Sketch, The Tide and Fame Magazine and the electronic media, also suffered series of attacks in the hands of security agents in different parts of the country. Most of them were driven underground resorting to operating at numerous locations around the country; others fled into self-exile. Vendors and relations of Journalist were taken hostages.<sup>24</sup>

The Publisher of the Horn, a newspaper and former Chairman of Mbaitoli LGA (Local Government Area) of Imo State, Chief Oni Egbunine was on June 30, 1997, beaten to a state of coma by military men attached to the Government House. Egbunine

was invited for a 'chat', a euphemism for interrogation, at the instance of the Aide-de-camp (ADC), to the military administrator, Colonel Tanko Zubairu. On arrival, he was reportedly slapped by the ADC, given a marching order to the government house car pool and ordered to pull off his clothes before being caned with a horsewhip. He slumped and became unconscious and was revived after 20 minutes.<sup>25</sup>

Though the government used other means to harass and intimidate the press and even advertisers, surveillance and printers, seizure of print runs and withholding information on government policy. curiously, the Abacha regime regarded its records with high esteem. In its 4<sup>th</sup> anniversary broadcast to the nation, the general declared that the Nigerian press is the freest in the world. But the world had a different view of his reign.<sup>26</sup>

Decree 2 and several other decrees and edicts were promulgated by the military that violated, restricted or hindered the fundamental human rights of the citizens. For instance on October 10, 1997, security agents attached to the government house in Kaduna arrested the Kaduna state correspondent of 'The News' and 'Tempo Magazine', Henry Ugbolue. He was taken to the Government House, tortured and detained for several hours. Upon his release he was hospitalized and treated for injuries sustained during the torture. No official reason was given for the action of the agents.<sup>27</sup>

Thousands of Nigerians languished in various prisons located in different parts of the country under the holding charge. On July 27, 1998, the Abuja Bureau Chief of the African Concord Magazine, Mohammed Adamu, was arrested at his Montgomery close residence, Garki by three security agents who said he was being invited to the presidency for a "chat". Though no other reason was given for his arrest, it is believed to be connected with the cover story of the July 14, 1997 edition of the African Concord. <sup>28</sup>titled "Al Mustapha Ruthless man Behind Abacha" which did not go down well with the Chief Security Officer (CSO) to the former Head of State late General Sanni Abacha.

The decrees and edicts ousted the jurisdiction of the court in determining civil and criminal matters. The press fought tenaciously against such unlawful and unconstitutional edicts by its publications and criticisms of the system and its operators. ThisDay Newspapers strongly condemned Decree 2 as:

*A breach of the provision of international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on*

*Human and People's Rights. The abrogation of Decree 2 and other such repressive and obnoxious decrees, edicts and laws will help to lay a solid foundation for a stable and enduring democracy.* <sup>29</sup>

Thus, these stories of Journalist harassment are endless and prompted the initiation of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill. The Bill was first submitted to the 4<sup>th</sup> National Assembly in 1999 when the country returned to democracy. The Bill was signed into law on May 24, 2011 by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. <sup>30</sup>The Bill was passed by the sixth National Assembly which ended its tenure on May 29, 2011. The objective of the FOI Act is to make public records and information more freely available and to also protect public records and information to the extent consistent with public interest and the protection of personal privacy.

## **Discussions**

Some of the hurdles that the Nigerian Journalist suffered included insecurity of arbitrary arrest and detention under the obnoxious Decree 2 in the days of military rule. The Decrees and Edicts ousted the jurisdiction of the court in determining civil and criminal matters. The press fought tenaciously against such unlawful and unconstitutional edicts by its publications and its criticisms of the system and its operators.

By and large, state security operatives in particular during the military regimes constituted a security threat to media practitioners because the military is dictatorial in nature and feared that a liberal attitude towards the civil populace would bring down their regime. If the media was given free hand to operate the public could be sensitized about the dictatorial nature of the military and there could be a consequent uprising. Although, sometimes the media could be divided according to the ownership interest but during the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida the media were unanimous in raising constructive criticisms about the regime and eventually succeeded in ousting the regime

It must be mentioned that the section of the press that was pro- democratic contributed a great deal in installing the Nigerian fourth republic in 1999. <sup>31</sup>

Punch Newspaper reported in June, 1997 that:

*Maluwa, a Law Lecturer at the Cape Town University, South Africa, is to report to the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), from time to time the human rights situation in Nigeria. His appointment was sequel to the indictment in April, of the military regime for its gross abuses of the human rights of Nigerians. The Commission had also endorsed a motion by the European Union (EU) warning the military regime to abandon its wanton application of arbitrary detention orders.* <sup>32</sup>

The Guardian report under the Headline:

### **NIGERIA OF OUR DREAM**

*There must be a respect for all parts of the country before people will begin to think that Nigeria is really for all Nigerians* <sup>33</sup>

A group Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) which promotes respect for human rights and the rule of law in Nigeria reported in September 1998, that:

*Extra-judicial killing, torture, harassment and ill-treatment of citizens, perpetuated by security forces abound in Nigeria. In spite of its international treaty obligations, Nigeria security forces continue to violate known human rights norms guaranteeing dignity of life and human person.* <sup>34</sup>

Before Nigeria assumed full-blown democracy on May 29, 1999, Journalist in the country languished under the infamous Decree No. 2 which hindered them from publishing information they allegedly gathered without clarification from appropriate authority. Decree No. 2 was in

complete disregard of the provisions of international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. This prompted Journalist to agitate for a Freedom of Information Bill (FOB).<sup>35</sup>

On the political front, newsmen are expected to report about the activities of the politicians and are expected to feed the public with objective information. The newsmen are expected to nose around for information beyond the ovation at political rallies. The media are expected to reflect balanced views of the opposing party. But most media houses do focus attention mostly on the ruling and bigger parties to the detriment of the smaller ones. While newsmen are not expected to be public relation officers to party, some chief executive of media houses often take side with political parties.

Although politicians employ the newsmen to give them publicity, the newsmen are expected by the members of the public to do what is right. However, some newsmen are victim of self-censorship by reframing from publishing certain information for fear of been queried or been sacked by his employers even when the employer has not told him not to publish such information, fear needless fear could, therefore, kill the creativity in journalism. The media could constitute a threat to security where it collaborates with the political and bourgeoisie class to further marginalize and exploit the citizenry.

## **Conclusion**

The study has discussed the role of the media in Nigeria from 1984-1999. It has shown that since then the Nigerian media was rocked by problems of interference in the discharge of its duties. These problems include that of ownership interest, political interference, military dictatorship, and proliferation of media houses. These problems tended to overwhelmingly have control on the media and hindered it from the objectivity it should pursue.

This study has discussed objectivity in journalism which is the greatest challenge of a Journalist. The Journalist engages in the duty of information gathering, processing, storing and dissemination. Because of his role as information disseminator the Journalist becomes a gate keeper and a watch dog. The Journalist occupies the position of the 4<sup>th</sup> Estate of the realm. The role played by the media is indispensable in a democracy. Therefore the media is looked upon as a great contributor to state building. However, the media is blamed for collaborating with politicians and the rich in their quest for money, power and fame. This is where the media becomes a threat to society.

The study argues that the Journalist can not be blamed for doing what they are doing because all things being equal they have to survive. Therefore they must obey the rule that he who pay the piper dictates the tune. It blames the Nigerian media proprietors for allowing the amount of money paid by a sponsor to dictate what is to be published.

## **Recommendations**

In the light of this study it is recommended that media practitioners should work with media proprietors, the government, and security operatives as watch dogs.

The media should rise to their expectation and use their power judiciously or else national security will continue to be threatened.

Newsmen are expected to feed the public with information capable of promoting peace and development. Government on its own part should strive after national interest or public interest so that the public can hear positive information or news favourable to them from the media who are expected to promote harmony and safety of their environment. The study

recommends that the right to freedom of expression through the press be treated with utmost care by the government recognizing that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state.

### **End Notes**

1. The Nigerian Journalists Code of Ethics defines Journalists as "Any person (not being less than 18 years of age) engaged in the collection, processing and dissemination of information for use in the press and who has been accredited by the Nigeria Union of Journalists." See *Code of Ethics For Nigerian Journalists* (Approved by Nigerian Press Organization). Asokoro, Nigerian Press Council, Abuja, Nigeria, 1998, 24.
2. Newspaper means – any paper containing public news, intelligence or occurrence or any remarks, observations or comments printed therein for sale and published periodically, or in parts or numbers. See *Code of Ethics For Nigerian Journalists* (Approved by Nigerian Press Organization). Asokoro, Nigerian Press Council, Abuja, Nigeria, 1998, 24.
3. News Agencies – means any agency engaged in the collection and dissemination of news, pictures and features. See *Code of Ethics For Nigerian Journalists* (Approved by Nigerian Press Organization). Asokoro, Nigerian Press Council, Abuja, Nigeria, 1998, 24.
4. Radio and Television – includes electronic means of mass communication which share in the formation of public opinion. See *Code of Ethics For Nigerian Journalists* (Approved by Nigerian Press Organization). Asokoro, Nigerian Press Council, Abuja, Nigeria, 1998, 25.
5. Nzimiro, I. 'Mass Media and National Security: The Nigerian Situation' in R. Akinfeleye. *Contemporary Issues in Mass Media for Development and National Security*. Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd, 2006, 2.
6. M. Ofuafor. 'The Media, Corruption and National Security in Nigeria Since Independence'. Gombe, Paper Presented at the 53<sup>rd</sup> Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN), Gombe State University, 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> October, 2008, 1.
7. Okoye, Innocent. *Nigerian Press Law and Ethics*. Lagos, MaltHouse Press Ltd. 2007, 15.
8. See the new Code for Journalist. Ikeja, Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ), Lagos, 1999,1.
9. Marketing Edge Magazine, Nov/Dec 2008: 65.
10. E. Akpan. 'Modernization of Traditional Theatre: a Mass Communication Approach' in R. Akinfeleye. *Contemporary Issues in Mass Media for Development and National Security*. Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd, 2006, 23-24.
11. I. Nzimiro 'Mass Media and National Security: The Nigerian Situation' in R. Akinfeleye. *Contemporary Issues in Mass Media for Development and National Security*. Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd, 2006, 31.
12. .A. Wali. *Press Freedom and National Security: A Study in the Dynamics of Journalists and Security Agents Relationship in Nigeria*. Zaria, Open Press Ltd, 2003, 69. See *Code of Ethics For Nigerian Journalists*; Approved by Nigerian Press Organization. Abuja, Nigerian Press Council, 1998,
13. Section 7(I and ii) states: A Journalist should neither solicit

nor accept bribe, gratification of patronage to suppress or publish information; To demand payment for the publication of news is inimical to the notion

14. Ibid, 1.
15. The author of this paper, Dr. Anthony Danladi Ali was a participant at a 3-Day training for political correspondence at Don Etiebet's House, Lagos in February, 2003, organized by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and writes from a participant observer point of view.
16. Mrs Olufunke Fadugba was the Chairperson of the Lagos State chapter of the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ). She was at the 3-Day workshop for political Correspondence organized by the BBC. She addressed the Participants on 6/2/2003
17. J. Ogunye. *Nigerian Students and the Challenges of Leadership*. Lagos, Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), 1998, viii.
18. S. Mukherjee and S. Ramaswamy. *A History of Political Thought: Plato to Marx*. New Delhi Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, 2007, 358.
19. J. Ogunye. Op cit. 63.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid, 87.
22. Ibid, 94.
23. ThisDay Newspapers, Tuesday July 2, 1999, 4; See also A. Udoudo & M. Asak. Op cit. 8.
24. A.D. Ali. 'Security Threats in Nigeria: The Challenges of our Time 1960-2008.' Paper presented at the 53<sup>rd</sup> Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Gombe State University, Gombe, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> October, 2008, 8, Theme: Historicising National Security, Order and Rule of Law in Nigeria.
25. ThisDay Newspapers, Tuesday July 2, 1999, 4.
26. The Guardian Newspapers, Wednesday, June 1, 2011, 1 (Front Page). The Passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill was celebrated by the civil society groups, especially free media advocacy bodies, which said it would aid the anti-corruption crusade, improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public institutions, support justice, and ensure more open society.
27. Punch Newspapers, Monday June 2, 1997, 3.
28. Ibid.
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