

Print Media, Governance and Anti-Corruption Programmes in Nigeria

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Abstract. Corruption is the bane of good governance and as such prevents a country from providing basic needs for its citizens. In Nigeria, despite the series of anti-corruption programmes and the activities of the print media, cases of corruption still persist. The main objective of the study was to examine the role of the print media in the prosecution of anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. The study adopted descriptive survey which combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. 10 print media organizations in Nigeria were purposively selected as population. These include The Punch, The Nation, The Guardian, The Sun, Nigerian Tribune, This Day, Vanguard, Daily Trust, The News, and Tell. The sample size was limited to Federal Capital Territory, Abuja and Lagos State through multi stage sampling. The reason for choice of the sample size is that Abuja and Lagos are the hub of media establishments and highly cosmopolitan locations in Nigeria. Survey and interview methods were used to administer and obtain data from eight hundred and twenty (820) respondents and sixteen (16) interviewees respectively. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics in tables, percentages, mean and standard deviation, while the qualitative data from the media organizations were content analyzed. Findings revealed that the print media ensured that corruption cases were properly reported and prosecuted (Mean = 3.7425, St.D = 1.23216); encouraged collaboration among the different anti-graft agencies (Mean = 3.6459, St.D = 1.07545); lacked the political-will to fight graft; embarked less on investigative journalism; and unduly influenced by proprietors. The study concluded that the print media was instrumental to anti-corruption programmes during the period of the study (1999-2019). The paper recommended that the print media should engage more in investigative journalism, develop the political-will to fight corruption, and proprietors should desist from unduly influencing

journalists while performing official duties to enable the print media contribute better towards the implementation of anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria.

Keywords: Print Media, Anti-Corruption, Democratization, Governance, Agency.

1. Introduction

Corruption means many things to different people. Okolo and Akpokigbe (2014) describe corruption as the illegal, dishonest, destructive, conscious and well-planned act by a person or group of persons; to appropriate, by unlawful means, the wealth of another person or group of persons and the securing of wealth or power through illegal means while Transparency International (2018) describes corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain, which can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amount of money that is lost and the sector, where it has occurred. Control of corruption is one of the indicators of good governance. Corruption in the public service impoverishes and alienates the citizens by depriving them of the presence of government expenditures (or benefits), who might also react by failing to pay their taxes, leading to inadequate funding for investment and development purposes (Ovienbor, Adeyeye & Otusanya, 2017).

Corruption has become a pervasive problem in the Nigerian economy involving huge sums of government revenue diverted to personal accounts of few government officials (Ovienbor, Adeyeye & Otusanya, 2017). Corruption, institutions and economic growth are related among developing economies of the world (Salami, Atoyebi & Lawal, 2016). Various media reportage has offered how the anti-corruption programmes can be implemented

successfully. Communities can use the Act to monitor resource allocations and spending by democratic institutions, the ease of doing business can be enhanced when people use the legislation to interrogate procedures and processes relating to recruitments, promotions and contract awards (Dogo, 2017). This can serve as a platform to give the government vital feedbacks on national issues by improving their participation in the decision-making process. This aligns with the position of the General Systems Theory, which states that a system is made up of a combination of elements such as inputs, outputs, environment, conversion process and the required feedbacks (Easton, 1967).

The paper covers print media and anti-corruption programmes in the Nigerian Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2019.

The period was selected because it is most current, the longest, and uninterrupted civil rule since the nation's return to full-grown democracy (Fatile, Akhakpe, Igbokwe-Ibeto & Oteh, 2012). Emphasis was placed on the traditional print media, which is also called the press, because of its unique features of permanence, indefinite exposures, ability to be read severally, being more intellectually-engaging, better sectioning of topics for detailed analysis, and ease of content analysis over the electronic media such as radio and television (Kokemuller, 2018). Furthermore, despite the penetration and wide usage, many social media information are fake, unverifiable and misleading; which make unqualified authors and commentators to dish-out misguided and unethical news that is at variance with the code of conduct that guide media practice in Nigeria (Ajibulu, 2016).

The print media is usually compelled to undergo strict gate-keeping and verification process, by upholding accuracy, news verification, balanced reporting and impartiality. These cultures contrast that of online journalism or social media that has the freedom to report information without undergoing any verification process (Anindya, 2015). In democratic countries, media organizations had, over time, developed journalistic standards for vetting, and verifying information (Fukuyama, 2020). There are fifty-one (51) newspapers and magazines in Nigeria (Nigerian Finder, 2018). The selected print media that have wide coverage, high circulation and national spread for the study are: (a) Newspapers: The Punch, The Nation, The Guardian, The Sun, Nigerian Tribune, This Day, Vanguard and Daily Trust (b) Magazines: The News and Tell.

A nation prospers when its human and material resources are used judiciously. Corruption becomes a

national problem because public funds that should be used to cater for the people and provide basic infrastructural facilities are stolen or converted into private use (Akpan & Eyo, 2018). Corruption leads to the use of public resources to finance elephant projects at the expense of key infrastructural development like schools, hospitals, roads, water and electricity supply. This has been responsible for Nigeria's underdevelopment in all sectors (Adamu & Zuwaira, 2016; Abdulrahman, 2015). Corruption remains a common feature of many developing nations because it is almost impossible to have a corrupt-free society. The role of the print media is to serve as the 'prism' that mirrors the government by ensuring accountability, transparency, and stewardship in public administration (Moliki & Dauda, 2017). Corruption is grievous among many developing countries including Nigeria making them unable to provide the basic necessities of life for the citizens and promoting bad governance at the expense of development and good governance (Okolo & Akpokigbe, 2014). Therefore, the paper seeks to interrogate the observed discrepancies by examining the role of the print media in the anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. The objectives of this paper is to examine the role of the print media in prosecuting anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. Identify the challenges facing the print media in the reportage of anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria.

2. Conceptual Underpinnings

2.1 Print Media

Media, a collective noun for the press or news reportage activity, refers to the many ways and medium of having access to ordinary informational items, political news, commentaries or in-depth analysis. Media is a communication channel that provides members of the public with access to a variety of information - political, business or entertainment. In public communication, media includes the print such as newspapers, magazines and other publications; the electronic or broadcast (radio and television); and the New Media (social media).

After independence, the focus of the media shifted away from the arbitrariness of colonial rule to the inadequacies, fractiousness and excesses of the Nigerian political class, which replaced the 'British colonial masters' with focus on administering, rather than governing the country with as much arbitrary instruments as the British. The media then became an 'enemy' to be dealt with as a number of laws or ordinances that were enacted against the press. This character of the media and the democratic process

dominated the post-independence political process, as a consequence of military dictatorship, which is akin to colonial rule. The relationship between media systems and political systems has great importance for understanding the role of the media. The Development Media Theory shows this inclusiveness and recognizes the fact that societies undergoing a transition from underdevelopment and colonialism, to independence and development require the strengthening of media institutions (Mishra, 2016).

In Southern Europe, newspapers are addressed and read primarily by small clearly-defined, well-educated, urbanised and politically-active elite. In the Nordic countries, the contrary is the situation, as newspapers are intended for a wide audience, not necessarily by those interested or involved in the political life. Newspapers in the former communist countries are subsidised and supported by political actors and do not have a history of being run-for-profit, while those in the Northern European countries have a strong tradition of having newspapers as businesses run-for-profit, inclusive and strong institutions level the playing field and provide all citizens with opportunities to participate in and shape public policy (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012).

When democratic institutions are unduly influenced by private interests, using non-transparent means, it could result in political corruption as can be seen in Nigeria of today. Strengthening the integrity, openness and credibility of both government institutions and the policy-making process should be a priority for governments around the world and this requires institutionalised mechanisms for disclosure, monitoring, enforcement and complaint resolution. When countries allow freedom of speech and a free and independent media, governments perform better while waste and corruption can be reduced (OECD, 2015). Measuring institutional performance is an important process for strengthening democratic institutions. This could help countries develop methods for assessing the quality of their core institutions, such as whether their budgets are comprehensive, whether there is effective external control of the budgets, whether their procurement process is competitive and whether they gather basic information on government operations such as taxation or employment that could promote transparency and accountability in governance (Moliki & Dauda, 2017).

Whenever government is operating secretly and is not answerable to the people, and the people are thus denied information and left in ignorance about the

facts and figures of government in public offices, public affairs, and matters of public interest, the situation can be corrected by passing a freedom of information law such as was done in Nigeria through the Freedom of Information Act (FoIA) of 2011 (Moliki & Dauda, 2017). Similarly, where there is the freedom of information legislation, any person including the press, can apply for and receive information or document from government and any public authority. Where the request for information is turned down, the applicant may go to court and in an appropriate situation, the court will order that the information should be given to the applicant, especially, where the information is not national defence information (United Kingdom, Freedom of Information Act, 2000). Media operations in Nigeria are still usually pronounced and vivacious in Nigeria unlike what is obtainable in some African countries. On the media-democratic institutions' relations, the major limitations of the Nigerian media range from ownership pattern, which indicates that there is public ownership or government ownership, as well as private ownership of both the print and electronic media, as Sule (2015) notes that Nigerian journalists' code of ethics decries corrupt practices and encourages the observance of the highest professional and ethical standards.

Okafor (2011) states that there is also the complexity and pluralism of religion, religious sensibilities and denominationalism, observing that the two major religions of Christianity and Islam, together with their denominational and intra-denominational divisions, dominate religious terrain in Nigeria. Alemoh (2011) claims that Nigerian media practitioners have been accused on several occasions with regard to the issues of bribery, corruption and a host of other unethical behaviour in the discharge of their duties. Corruption in the media, usually called 'brown envelope' syndrome, is a big challenge, where journalists allegedly receive gratifications, to either suppress or manipulate news. Journalists in many African countries have been accused of receiving or demanding monetary and other forms of reward from newsmakers for publishing or 'killing' stories; a widespread practice referred to by different terms: 'soli' in Ghana, 'gombo' in Cameroon and 'brown envelope' in Nigeria (Ya'u, 2012).

2.2 Democratization

Democratization involves building a system that guarantees fairness, equity and justice to every citizen, irrespective of the party or personality in power (Jebril, Loveless and Stetka (2017). It also canvasses for the building of a state on an enduring

and sustainable democratic culture that guarantees the triumph of the rule of law. In the pre-colonial Nigeria, trappings of democratization could be seen in the traditional values of respect for the rights of the individual, as demonstrated in his right to attend court sessions, which was found in the Sokoto Caliphate; right to free trial and free hearing, as found in the Igbo system; and the constitutional checks and balances, as demonstrated in the Oyo system.

Komolafe (2010) asserts that such warped view of democratization tends to neglect the fact that some of the major physical infrastructure such as roads, bridges, airports, refineries and other facilities are what democratic dividends stand for and not democratization. This involves certain values, which include freedom of association, citizen participation in decision-making and non-arbitrary rule, tolerance of opposing views, respect for law and order, free and fair elections, leadership transparency and certain basic virtues such as popular participation, capacity expansion and freedom.

2.3 Good Governance

The essence of making the print media impactful in the prosecution of anti-corruption programmes is to bring about good governance. Shiyabade, Ganiyu and Olajide (2016) describe good governance as the competent management of a country's resources or affairs in a matter that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the people. Good governance also plays crucial role promoting the rule of law, allows for sound and efficient management of human resources for equitable and sustainable development (Shiyabade *et al*, 2016).

Public administration strives to stimulate the existence of good governance, does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, it occurs within a social, cultural and political environment and its activities, like the general systems, are deeply embedded in that environment (Easton, 1967). This forms the ecology of public administration that is concerned with how the differences in social, cultural, environmental factors and experiences affect administrative actions externally in political, social, cultural, economic, technological and legal terms (Oladejo & Oni, 2016).

3. Corruption Management in Nigeria

Corruption has become a pervasive problem in the Nigerian economy involving huge sums of government revenue been diverted to personal accounts of few government officials (Ovienbor,

Adeyeye & Otusanya, 2017). In Nigeria, democratic institutions and programmes saddled with the responsibility of curbing corruption include the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB), Ethical Revolution/Re-orientation Campaign, Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), War Against Indiscipline (WAI), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC), Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU), Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) and the Whistle-Blowing Programme, among others (Dauda, 2017).

Corruption, institutions and economic growth are related among developing economies of the world (Salami, Atoyebi & Lawal, 2016). Corruption is prevalent in many African countries, including Nigeria, where media coverage of corruption matters among political office holders and the anti-corruption programmes have been remarkable and impactful (Ogbodo, 2016), beginning with the establishment of the ICPC in 2004 and EFCC in 2005. The press coverage of the prosecution and subsequent conviction of Mr. Tafa Balogun, a former Inspector-General of Police, was remarkable. Arguably, some of the celebrated corruption cases in the press were those involving the former governors of Plateau, Delta and Bayelsa states; Chiefs Joshua Dariye, James Ibori and Diepreiye Alamieyeseigha.

The same thing for Rev. Jolly Nyame, former governor Taraba State and Dr. Bukola Saraki of Kwara State, who were being investigated by the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB). Just like the perceived excesses of Mallam Nuhu Ribadu as the pioneer chairman of EFCC (2003-2007) did not escape the scrutiny of the press while the perceived slowing down of the anti-corruption campaign under Mrs. Farida Waziri, had generated serious controversy. For Mrs. Waziri, who was EFCC chairman between 2008-2011, the perception of the vocal segment of the press about her tenure was that of deliberate slowing down of the war against corruption and that the media has been irrepressible in holding the citizenry, particularly, the political leaders accountable in Nigeria.

The EFCC, under Mallam Ribadu, was seen as a weapon in the hands of former President Olusegun Obasanjo, to deal with his perceived political opponents. Not much was recorded in terms of the ability of EFCC to successfully prosecute looters of the economy under the chairmanship of the anti-graft body under Mr. Ibrahim Lamorde (2011-2015) while

Mr. Ibrahim Magu has recorded significant arrests, investigation and prosecution of graft suspects, since assumption of office in 2015. Omeihe (2015) submits that corruption is endemic in Nigeria than what the current mandates of the anti-graft agencies can tackle because such mandates can only focus on incidences of corruption, as the agencies come in reactively only when there are financial infractions and not before they happen.

Various print media reportage has offered how the anti-corruption war can be fought successfully. The issue of concern is the impact of such an intervention. On assumption of office in 2015, President Buhari had directed EFCC and ICPC, to assemble documents on money carted away in President Goodluck Jonathan administration for necessary actions. In the publication, President Buhari said his administration will break the vicious cycle of corruption, unemployment and insecurity in Nigeria (Adesomoju, 2015) further stresses the need to rebrand institutional enforcement, adding that the laws against corruption are there, but what is lacking is their enforcement because 90% of corruption cases go undetected and those seen as being prosecuted are the only politically-exposed persons that make drama on the pages of newspapers. Dogo (2017) observes that several years after its enactment, FoIA had remained grossly under-utilized in its efficacy in addressing the issues of corruption and impunity that had characterized the nation in its quest for democratization.

It has been reported that from the inception of the EFCC since 2003, the commission has secured many convictions. The commission seems to have lost the majority of its cases in courts largely due to lack of diligent investigations, inadequate equipment, shortage of trained personnel, and poor strategic preparation (Dania, 2017). In keeping with the Act establishing the commission, recovered monies are usually paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Federation. The Acting Chairman of EFCC, Mr. Ibrahim Magu, had lamented that mothers of cyber fraudsters, popularly known as Yahoo Boys, were now organizing themselves into an association. Mr. Magu said such parents always justify their children's activities with the argument that they were supporting their families in the place of irresponsible, runaway or dead fathers (Ramon, 2019). The ICPC and DSS still have different roles to play in the anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. The core mandate of the ICPC is to curb corruption in public and private establishments while the DSS is to prevent and protect the nation's corporate existence against violent crimes by maintaining internal security (Akpan & Eyo, 2018). This delineation of functions

is necessary by the print media in strengthening the existing security apparatus by promoting inter-agency cooperation, avoid operational conflicts and improve the perception of Nigerians on security agencies in relation to efficient and effective performance of duties in Nigeria.

For Transparency International (TI), its recent report reveals that the anti-corruption war remains a concept or mere policy document. A list of alleged looters of funds in Nigeria has been released in batches showing that alleged looters were mainly PDP members and leaving out alleged looters belonging to other political parties, including the ruling APC (Akpan & Eyo, 2018). There is also the perception that Buhari deliberately chose to use political appointments of his political acquaintances and decampes from the opposition parties, as a result of fear from persecution and prosecution, to reward them. For instance, the former Secretary to Government of the Federation, Babachi Lawal, who was removed from office on accusation of tampering with the funds meant for the provision of habitable environment for the Boko Haram insurgency-related and internally-displaced persons (IDPs) in the North-East. Lawal allegedly played an important role in the emergence of the President in 2015.

The Acting Chairman of the EFCC was accused of refusing to answer questions from journalists regarding a petition submitted against the APC chieftain, Senator Bola Tinubu. Before then, the EFCC boss, who held a press conference in Abuja, had lamented the high rate of corruption in the country especially among the youths who perpetrate Internet fraud. He had alleged that many non-governmental organisations operating in the North-East were being used for money laundering (Akinkuotu, 2019). The Convener, Concerned Nigerians, Mr. Deji Adeyanju, had submitted a petition against Senator Tinubu, who is also the National Leader of APC, for having two cash-laden bullion vans in his compound on the eve of the presidential elections in February 2019.

The 2019 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) computed by Transparency International indicates that the aggregate data from a number of different sources that provide perceptions by business community and country experts of the level of corruption in the public sector. While the index does not show real incidences of corruption, it is a reliable indication of the perception of the Nigerian public and the international community about the state of corruption in the country. The index is 100%

impartial, objective and is globally well-respected. CISLAC observes that the introduction of the Treasury Single Account (TSA) has eliminated enormous leakages in most Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), the launch of the Anti-Corruption Strategy has provided, for the first time ever, but the period also witnessed increased attacks on civil society and the media (CISLAC, 2020).

4. Theoretical Framework

The study has adopted Development Media Theory for analyzing and examining anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. The Development Media Theory was propounded in 1987 by Denis McQuail, a British Communication Theorist and Emeritus Professor at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. The goals of the theory include the primacy of national development task, the pursuit of cultural and informational autonomy and support for democracy solidarity with other developing countries. The theory argues that unless a nation is well-established and its economic development well underway, media must be supportive rather than critical of government as partners, and that journalists should promote development by implementing such policies. This theory recognizes the need for some form of government intervention into the operation of media through government regulatory agencies, monitoring, training and licensing of media (Raza, 2012).

The theory underscores the importance of communication by stressing that development is impossible without communication. Therefore, the media, being the platform around which communication revolves, undertakes the role of executing positive developmental programmes, accepting restraints and orders from the state. In other words, it is proper and developmentally-essential for the media to yield itself to the politico-economic and socio-cultural needs of both the masses and the state (Eweka, 2017). Main features of the theory include getting the people to access good governance, discouraging of propaganda, generating genuine response from the audience, developing critical consciousness, two-way communication flow and aiding the development of communication tools (Mishra, 2016). The theory is applicable to countries like Nigeria with lower levels of economic development and with limited resources that take

various forms, but essentially proposes media freedom under desirable conditions by favouring the ones in power.

The limited application of established theories of the media to majority of the Third World countries, which are vastly different from other Western countries, and the fast-changing economic and political conditions, have led to the birth of a new approach, whereby communication is used to carry out development tasks in line with nationally-established policy. Therefore, in the interest of the task of national development, the freedom of the media and of journalists needs to be moderated to an extent under the concept of the theory that outlined a new form of control in the society. The theory is inclusive (Mishra, 2016) and recognizes the fact that societies undergoing a transition from underdevelopment and colonialism, to independence and development, through the electoral process, often lack the full infrastructure, resources, traditions, professional skills and audiences needed to sustain and strengthen media institutions, as comparable to those of the advanced nations.

5. Methodology

The paper adopted descriptive design. The population of the study comprised selected Print media in Nigeria which include, The Punch, The Nation, The Guardian, The Sun, Nigerian Tribune, This Day, Vanguard, Daily Trust, The News, and Tell. Abuja and Lagos were purposively selected being the hub of media establishment and most cosmopolitan locations in Nigeria. Multi-stage sampling procedure was adopted to select print media stakeholders, journalists and members of the public (respondents, who are not print media stakeholders and journalists) but have an understanding of public administration and the electoral process in Nigeria. 820 questionnaire were administered and 16 respondents interviewed to elicit data from Stakeholders, journalists and members of the public. The response rate of the questionnaire administered was 781(95.2%). For secondary data, the study surveyed and analyzed contents of editorials, news analysis, news stories, feature articles, readers' opinions, and advertorials in the selected newspapers and magazines, covering the study period (1999-2019). Data obtained were presented in tables and descriptive statistics and content analyzed.

S/N	Item	Location	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean	St.D
1	It has enhanced the fight against corruption by the government	Abuja (FCT)	156(52)	82(27.3)	19(6.3)	31(10.3)	6(2)	4.1767	1.59392
		Lagos	45(22.8)	106(53.8)	19(9.6)	24(12.2)	2(1)	3.8376	.98147
		Combined	202(40.6)	188(37.8)	38(7.6)	54(10.9)	8(1.6)	4.0423	1.39275
2	It ensured that laws on corruption are strengthened	Abuja (FCT)	21(7)	186(62)	41(13.7)	41(13.7)	5(1.7)	3.5300	1.00289
		Lagos	23(11.7)	116(58.9)	43(21.8)	7(3.6)	7(3.6)	3.7005	.89022
		Combined	44(8.9)	302(60.8)	84(16.9)	48(9.7)	12(2.4)	3.5976	.96252
3	It has ensured that corruption cases are properly prosecuted or reported	Abuja (FCT)	124(41.3)	82(27.3)	33(11)	42(14)	13(4.3)	3.8133	1.32830
		Lagos	31(15.7)	107(54.3)	26(13.2)	24(12.2)	7(3.6)	3.6345	1.06351
4	It has ensured coordination among the different agencies fighting corruption	Abuja (FCT)	45(15)	168(56)	41(13.7)	30(10)	10(3.3)	3.6333	1.08450
		Lagos	38(19.3)	96(48.7)	31(15.7)	24(12.2)	7(3.6)	3.6650	1.06399
		Combined	83(16.7)	264(53.1)	72(14.5)	54(10.9)	17(3.4)	3.6459	1.07545
5	The media has helped in enlightening the public on the dangers of corruption	Abuja (FCT)	100(33.3)	125(41.7)	38(12.7)	27(9)	4(1.3)	3.9067	1.12048
		Lagos	77(39.1)	93(47.2)	18(9.1)	7(3.6)	1(.5)	4.1929	.84717
		Combined	177(35.6)	218(43.9)	56(11.3)	34(6.8)	5(1%)	4.0201	1.02960

Table 1: Role of the Print Media in Anti-Corruption Programmes
Source: Field Survey (2020)

6. Data Presentation, Interpretations and Discussion of Findings

Table 1 reveals the analysis of the data on the respondents’ views on the role of the print media on anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria. The interpretation of the contents of the table shows that on the average, the respondents were of the opinion that the print media enhanced the fight against corruption by the government (Mean = 4.0423, St.D = 1.39275); it ensured that laws on corruption were strengthened (Mean = 3.5976, St.D = 0.96252); it ensured that corruption cases were properly reported and prosecuted (Mean = 3.7425, St.D = 1.23216); it promoted coordination among the different agencies meant to fight against corruption (Mean = 3.6459, St.D = 1.07545); and the print media helped in enlightening the public on the dangers of corruption in the Nigerian State (Mean = 4.0201, St.D = 1.02960). All of these interpretations imply that the print media strongly contributed to the achievements of the goals of the anti-graft campaigns in Nigeria during the period of this study.

The Official Spokesperson of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) further observed that newspapers and magazines have consisted of strong tools that organizations like the EFCC have been using to fight corruption, to enlighten and educate the public, as well as to get feedbacks regarding public appreciation of the anti-corruption campaigns, and that the print media used the strategy of investigative reporting to assist the anti-corruption agencies by calling their attention to

issues that ordinarily will not attract the attention of the agencies. EFCC collaborates with influential print media establishments in organizing anti-corruption seminars, workshops, and partnerships with governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and jointly with musical artistes, entertainers, religious leaders, schools, and National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members, among others.

According to the State Director of Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), the print media has not done enough on the promotion of anti-corruption in Nigeria, especially because corruption, a social problem that requires the cooperation of all to curb, is still very prevalent in the country. The print media seems to lack the political-will to fight graft in Nigeria. The print media needs to boost its efforts at investigative journalism and in providing background information on the people being investigated, to corroborate the veracity of oral evidence tendered by them. It was discovered that the print media positively impacted the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria. It did this through its publications, which provided details on the national laws on corruption, constantly reported corruption cases and issues relating to the extent of cooperation between and among the different agencies meant to fight against corruption. Part of the support for anti-graft programmes included publication of the details that enlightened the Nigerian public on the dangers of corruption to the Nigerian State. These finding are related to the information held in existing literature. Corroborating these findings, Sule (2015) observes that Nigerian

journalists' code of ethics decries corrupt practices and encourages the observance of the highest professional and ethical standards, conforming to universally-accepted principle of confidentiality and non-disclosure of their source of information, bearing in mind that the Nigerian media has been considered as powerful enough to strengthen democratic institutions in achieving full democratization.

This understanding may have been the drive behind the print media's support for the anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria during the timeframe of this study. Also, Moliki and Dauda (2017) were of the opinion that the print media has the potential to draw attention to and scrutinise public activities, and may act as the 'whistle-blowers' when corruption occurs, or simply draw attention or scrutiny to activities. These tally with the assertion of Idumange (2013) that for the print media to consist of a useful framework for democratisation and strengthening of democratic institutions, as the press serves as the watchdog. This lends credence to the argument of the Development Media Theory that the media should undertake the role of executing positive developmental programmes by accepting restraints and orders from the state. Therefore, it is proper and developmentally-essential for the media to yield itself to the politico-economic and socio-cultural needs of both the masses and the state (Eweka, 2017).

7. Conclusion

The study concludes that the print media strongly contributed to the achievements of the goals of the anti-graft campaigns in Nigeria during the period of this study. Despite the challenges of inadequate remuneration of journalists, insufficient working tool, and undue interference by print media owners, newspapers and magazines were involved in enlightening, educating the public, and getting feedbacks regarding public appreciation of the anti-corruption campaigns. The print media used the strategy of investigative reporting to assist the anti-corruption agencies by calling their attention to issues that ordinarily will not attract their attention. Print media also collaborated with governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to fight corrupt practices and acted as 'whistle-blower' by exposing graft in Nigeria.

8. Recommendations

The paper recommends as follows:

- The Nigerian print media needs to boost its efforts at investigative journalism by

providing background information on the people being investigated, to corroborate the veracity of oral evidence tendered by them.

- The print media should be more proactive by assessing and monitoring the capacity of the institutions to curb corruption in Nigeria.
- Print media journalists should be allowed to participate at the decision-making level for effective designing and implementation of anti-corruption programmes in Nigeria.
- Print media owners in Nigeria should pay adequate remuneration and provide sufficient working tools for journalists to carry out their duties effectively.
- Owners of media establishments in Nigeria should desist from undue interference when journalists are performing their duties in line with their code of professional ethics.

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