

**MEDIA IN DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF THE GUARDIAN AND VANGUARD  
NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF THE POWER SECTOR REFORM IN NIGERIA  
(FROM 1<sup>ST</sup> OCTOBER, 2013 - 31<sup>ST</sup> APRIL, 2014)**

**BY**

**ACHEME, WILLIAMS ADAKOLE  
MA/ARTS/43993/2012-2013**

**DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE AND PERFORMING ARTS,  
FACULTY OF ARTS,  
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,  
ZARIA**

**OCTOBER, 2017**

**MEDIA IN DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF THE GUARDIAN AND VANGUARD  
NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF THE POWER SECTOR REFORM IN NIGERIA  
(FROM 1<sup>ST</sup> OCTOBER, 2013 - 31<sup>ST</sup> APRIL, 2014)**

**BY**

**ACHEME, WILLIAMS ADAKOLE  
MA/ARTS/43993/2012-2013**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,  
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE (MA) IN  
DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

**DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE AND PERFORMING ARTS,  
FACULTY OF ARTS,  
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,  
ZARIA**

**OCTOBER, 2017**

## DECLARATION

I, **Acheme Williams Adakole** hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “Media in Development: A Study of the Guardian and Vanguard Newspapers coverage of the power sector reform in Nigeria (From 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2013 – 31<sup>st</sup> April, 2014)” has been written by me and it is a record of my research work. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are acknowledged by means of references.

---

***Acheme, Williams Adakole***  
MA/ARTS/43993/2012-2013

---

*Date*

## CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this research titled “Media in Development: A Study of the Guardian and Vanguard Newspapers coverage of the power sector reform in Nigeria (From 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2013 – 31<sup>st</sup> April, 2014),” written by Acheme, Williams Adakole (MA/ARTS/43993/2012-2013), meets the regulations governing the award of degree of Masters in Development Communication, from the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and it is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

---

**Professor Oga Steve Abah**     **Date**  
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

---

**Dr. Aluma Ayedun**     **Date**  
Member, Supervisory committee

---

**Professor M.I. Umar-Buratai**     **Date**  
Head of Department

---

**Professor Sadiq Z. Abubakar**  
Dean, School of Post Graduate Studies

---

**Date**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to God the Almighty, through whom all things are possible and to my father Mr. J. I. Acheme for believing in me, and especially to the evergreen memory of my beloved mum; Mrs. Janet Acheme for your care, love, prayers and support. This work is also dedicated to the blessed memories of our departed lecturers: Professor JenkeriOkwori, Professor Samuel Kafewo and Dr. Martins Ayegba. May their souls and all the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace. (Amen).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am forever grateful to God almighty for equipping me with everything I need for the completion of this research.

My earnest appreciation goes to my supervisors, Professor Oga Steve Abah whose wealth of knowledge, understanding and wisdom I fed from; and to Dr. AlumaAyedun for making time out of your tight schedule and guided my path throughout this study. I am so blessed to have been given role models as mentors and supervisors. Also appreciating my amiable lecturers who impacted my life in a very unique way, most especially, Dr. Emmanuel Jegede and Mr. Steve Daniel, and other theatre lecturers. Thanks and may God continue to bless and increase you in your endeavours.

I am so glad to have the best family ever. My parents, Mr. and MrsAcheme and my siblings are the best gift of life. Thank you so much for your endless support, encouragement and love towards me. I love you all from the depth of my heart.

My sincere and profound gratitude goes to this very wonderful people: Mr. Friday Oche James whom God has used as an instrument of blessing to this study. Sir, you were the reason why this study saw the light at the end of the tunnel and may the good Lord reward you and grant all your heart desires. Also to Mrs. Grace Adeniran for all your support and kindness towards me and to this research. You are indeed an outstanding woman of virtue. Also to Flight Lieutenant Haastrup, S. Adetunla for all your support and love that gave me hope to undertake this study. You are a definition of a good brother and friend. And to a true friend who showed me that friendship goes beyond words but in deeds, recognizing the person of GudaJemimah (a.k.a Peace), for being part of my source of inspiration, support, motivation, advices and love all round towards me that contributed to the success of this research. Thank you. You are all dear to me and may God in His infinite goodness bless you and grant all your heart desires. (Amen).

This acknowledgment would be incomplete without this precious people whose contributions are notable. Aisha Labaran and Ejemah Vincent. May God bless you in all your endeavours. (Amen).

## ABSTRACT

This study explores and analyze the various roles the Nigerian newspapers, with specific referenceto the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers played in the process of government deregulating the power sector by emphasizing the nature of coverage the newspapers gave to the reform. Areas covered in this work include background to the study, review of related literatures. However, the Development Media theory and the Agenda setting theory underpinned this study creating further explanation with regards to prominence the newspapers gave to the deregulation reform in the power. The systemic sampled days technique was used to select Fifty Four editions which formed the sampled size for both newspapers (that is, Twenty Seven selected editions for each newspaper) were content analyzed. Interviews were conducted with ten respondents who are audience to the sampled newspapers. Findings of the research revealed that the deregulation of the power sector reform is the most emphasized deregulation subject matter in the sampled newspapers. The sources of information which the sampled newspapers used in acquiring information on stories they publish on deregulation of the power sector reform were mostly acquired from events and happening with regards to the deregulation reform in the power sector. It was also discovered that the degree of prominence the newspapers accorded to deregulation of the power sector news is relatively low as stories they published on the power sector reform hardly feature on very important pages of the newspapers such as the editorial, front, back or business pages of the sampled newspapers. The study also revealed that the newspapers observed the investigative journalism role but in a minimal standard as a result of which factors prohibiting the deregulation reform in the power sector to succeed were not intricately identified. Finally, the research advocates that Nigerian newspapers should pay more attention to development issues by setting more agendas on developmental issues and also, they should diversify their information sources by adopting multi-faced sources rather than over depending on one information source. The study also suggest that the Nigerian newspapers should develop a serious attitude toward the watchdog role by monitoring progress of developmental projects and report to the public when those in charge are not living up to their responsibilities in order to exhibit their investigative journalism duty.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cover Page-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-i
Title Page-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-ii
Declaration-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iii
Certification-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iv
Dedication-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-v
Acknowledgements-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-vi
Abstract-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-vii
Table of Contents-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-viii

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
1.2	Statement of the Research Problem-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-20
1.3	Aim and Objectives of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-21
1.4	Research Questions-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-21
1.5	Significance of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-21
1.6	Scope of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-23
1.7	Limitations of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-23
1.8	Terminologies-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-23

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0	Introduction-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-25
2.1	Media as the Fourth Estate-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-25
2.2	Media as Agenda Setter-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-29
2.3	Media as a Watchdog and Investigative Tool-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-33
2.4	Media as a Gate Keeper-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-35
2.5	Media Manipulation-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-37

2.6	Media Ownership and Control-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-40
2.7	Media as a Development Policy Maker-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-44
2.8	Theoretical Framework-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-47
2.8.1	Development Media Theory-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-47
2.8.2	Agenda Setting Theory-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-50

### **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

3.0	Qualitative and Quantitative Methodological Approaches-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-55
3.1	Research Design-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-56
3.2	Population of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-57
3.3	Sampling Technique and Sample Size-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-58
3.4	Method of Data Collection-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-60
3.5	Method of Data Analysis-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-62
3.6	Unit of Analysis-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-63

### **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

4.0	Introduction-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-65
4.1	Brief Data Presentation and Interpretation-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-65
4.2	Further Discussion and Critique of Findings--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-69
4.3	Overview of Findings-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-85
4.4	Key Contribution-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-86

### **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.1	Summary-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-88
5.2	Conclusion-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-90
5.3	Recommendations-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-92
	<b>Appendix-</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-94
	<b>Bibliography</b> -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	- 99

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The media are the bridge between the government and the governed – as well as the mouthpiece of the society. The role of the media in development has been demonstrated by the current steep rise in the use of information technology worldwide. Even poor developing countries have embraced the technology of information dissemination among several other necessary factors, to develop. This development is consistent with the established position that the media helps to cause attitude change and to ensure socio-economic transformation. (Schramm, 1964; Lerner & Schramm, 1967; Agbaje, 1992; Ayee, 1997; Mako, et al, 2000, cited in Jibo, 2003).

Basically, the media are described as performing three functions or roles of informing, educating and entertainment. These are the conventional social functions the media renders to the public, this, is equally applicable in broader sense to national development. It could be said that through educating, informing and entertaining, the media makes members of the society, or the nation as well as the leadership, aware of the importance and need to undertake certain process or processes of national development. Attached to these three basic roles of media is another role of persuasion, where the media are seen as virile tools of applying persuasive effort to influence people's actions in a particular direction. The mass media are therefore seen as strategic in providing the public with necessary information to achieve development or change goals. (Isa, 2007).

The role of media in development lies in their capacity and capability to sensitize and mobilize resources and people through information dissemination. (Nwabueze, 2005, cited in Isa, 2007). In

relation to this, Sogolo (1995) pointed that:“the role of information in national development is no longer a matter of dispute and can be argued that information is useful if properly disseminated”. Thus, in a plural and diverse society like Nigeria, the development of the nation would depend on the existence of a cordial relationship between leadership and followership, as well as between the elite and the people at the grassroots level.The role of the media in fostering this relationship and understanding needed for development in the society in the society cannot be overemphasized.

In all this, the media have an important role to play, by taking into consideration the socio-cultural conditions under which they operate, but without losing sight of the universal commitments and objectives of the media profession. (Sogolo, 1995).Yishak (2012) asserts that for media coverage of any development policy to be effectively implemented and valid, it should take into consideration, the following attributes:

**Accuracy:** By accuracy means information provided by a media organization must be reliable and have valid representation of reality of that particular development programme.

**Timeliness:** Information concerning development must be timely so that the receiving end could benefit in decision making of those that the development is meant for.

**Completeness:** Information on any development policy from the media should be complete and comprehensive for proper understanding of the public.

In the absence of the above mentioned factors, the audience may have a distorted view and in the final analysis, the decision of the media audience would come into disarray. (Yishak 2012).Development involves political, economic and social transformation and these need the media’s input for positive integration. Development is a quantifiable change which entails changes in the structure of the economy, social, and political disposition of a society. The targets

of any development programme are the people, it focuses on human population and the media is charged with the role of disseminating to the populace vital information regarding development. Hence, the overall objective of development is human development, the purpose of which is to enlarge people's choices for:

Greater access to knowledge, access to better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, political and cultural freedoms, and a sense of participation in community activities and articulating all these factors is made possible with the media's input. (Eapen, 1973).

In their specific functions in development, Isa (2000) maintained very importantly that the media must observe the fourth estate role. The fourth pillar is required to support of the essential tripod of government: the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary. Thus, the profession of the media serves public interest in government functions. The media are therefore important components of the checks and balances on government policies that pave way for development.

The fourth estate role as amplified in Nash (1994) thus:

There are all kinds of power centre in any democracy: the Judiciary, the government mandarins, the elected Representatives, the establishments, business community, unions but what binds it all together is the media. Only through the media can the governing communicate effectively with the governed in any mass sense to participate in government programmes.

Notwithstanding, the role of the media in national development has also been critically articulated in Jimada (2006:13) with reference to the agenda-setting function of the media; that the media can help raise public awareness about development problems and issues, create public consciousness, inform people and help them to make right choices, influence policy-makers and reflect public opinion. Agenda setting is a relational concept that specifies a transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (audience/consumers)".

Itule and Anderson (2007), cited in Anyadike (2013), identify investigative journalism (also called the watch dog role) a basic duty of the media in development that must be observed. It entails uncovering secrets or issues that would keep the government accountable to the society. At the centre of the debate on media accountability, professionalism and ethical standards to development, is its critical role of investigative journalism. To achieve this role, the media must carry out in-depth investigation which involves thorough researching, interviewing and analysis. That the media plays a crucial role in development is therefore not in doubt. They represent the tool for shaping public opinion, promoting good governance, influencing behaviour, facilitating nation building and promoting policies that guarantee high quality of life for majority of the citizens. Media as vanguard for political, economic and social development also represent a functional organ that carries out a specific role in the society. While it is true that media are crucial in development, their role can only be optimized under certain conditions. Firstly, they must be free and independent. Media freedom is a core variable both in theoretical conceptions of development and in the empirical measurement of it. Media freedom is one of the built-in mechanisms in development, designed to oppose destructive and divisive attitudes. In other words, it should be independent of excessive government control in order to avoid limitations.

Secondly, they must be professional and objective in their reports. Factors such as media bias, sensationalism, propaganda and distortions, negatively affect the contribution of the media in development. Thirdly, control of the media by a few elitists, organizations or government is harmful to the media's ability to effectively carry out its role in development. Fourthly, complementary institutions, such as the judiciary and the media councils, must reinforce their activities and partnership to achieve development.

A number of roles have been assigned to the media in achieving development. Policy makers, governments, civil societies, and the private sector acknowledge the important role the media play in achieving developmental goals. For these reasons, a former senior executive of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Aggarwala (1979) cited in a UNDP Report in 2002 note that, media coverage of development programme is expected to:

Critically examine, evaluate and report on the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the difference between its impact on the people as claimed by the government and as it actually is.

Aggarwala's (1979), description of what the media role in development should focus on is hinged on developmental journalism which emphasizes the watchdog (investigative journalism) and fourth estate roles, and freedom to chat the need to create and participate in development programmes between a government and its people.

From the above, there is no doubt that the newspaper is one of the oldest medium of the media, play a crucial role in development. When a government, civil organization or private sector comes up with a blueprint, they often recognize the role of the newspaper in enhancing information dissemination concerning the policies to stimulate public action especially in modern times where (Ezell, 1989), sophisticated information and communication technologies are in vogue and capable of reaching a larger audience in a shorter space of time.

Newspapers have revolutionized information delivery to a mass audience simultaneously, thereby overcoming problems of narrow information outreach. From its first publication in Nigeria in 1859 and to date, there are quite a number of newspaper organizations in the country varying in frequency and time of publication as well as circulation rate, target audience and achievements. Newspaper messages are durable, produced as tabloids or standard newspapers, their pages basically contain news items presented as editorials, features or advertorials. The

news behind the news (Eze, 1995), or stories explaining the background of news events, the personality highlights surrounding them, the relationship to other news, and future development the news might cause (Emery et al, 1973) appear as features stories. Newspapers also set aside display and classified columns to assist producers and establishments to run developmental campaigns called development journalism. (Ijioma, 1998, cited in Ifenkwe 2008).

One of the primary functions of the newspaper is to objectively report news in all fields of human endeavour. Usually, management of newspapers assess the newsworthiness of events based on the philosophy and interests of the organization, take decision on how best to present news and events to achieve maximum effect. (Ifenkwe, 2008).

The Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers are very influential national dailies considered to be among the leading print media and parades some of the best journalists; respected for its intellectual and independent views, with a very pervasive audience of over 130, 000 on daily basis across all the geo-political zones in Nigeria. They delve into broader issues that interest a myriad of people and aim to serve the people through unflinching commitment to free press and observes the rule of law. (Olukoju, 2004, cited in Oyero and Areoye, 2008: 49). They have disseminated information on several developmental policies and programmes including the deregulation reform of the power sector.

The issue of deregulation reforms cut across military and democratic dispensations. Government promised that the policy will lead to more investment in infrastructure, and social amenities that will guarantee good life, not for few, but for all.

However, Ekwureke (2012) established that most people do not believe that government will keep to its words following what has been seen as the attitude of regimes in the past. Ekwureke (2012: 2) notes that:

It is the situation that our leaders (past and present) have very often heightened through their usually unforeseen hike of oils[power] prices through the deceptive cloak of deregulatory procedures. Suffice it to say that, deregulation could be a mischievous clever way by which government have increased the weight of their purses. Hence, today it is asked: What is the reaction of Nigerians over this anomaly[in the power sector] and what role did the media play to resolve it? The new motto is fast becoming, “Private investors to live more, Nigerian leaders to live most, and the innocent citizens to face the consequences.

With this form of disagreement between government and the citizens, one would wonder, what the expected function of the media would be like in a situation like this, particularly the newspapers.

#### **Issues and Challenges in Development, Power Sector and Media Practices in Nigeria.**

There have been series of development policies in Nigeria. Yet, the country is hunted by the spectre of development. It is fifty six years of independence actually are rolling by daily in search of development. The myth of development is so entrenched that the country’s history passes for the history of development strategies and growth models from colonial times up to date. No term has been in constant flux as development. This seems the only country where virtually all notions and models of development have been experimented and failed. (Aremu, 2003).

Two years after independence, the first National Development policy was formulated between 1962 and 1968 with the objectives of development opportunities in health, education, employment and improving access to these opportunities. This policy failed because fifty percent of resources needed to finance the plans was to come from external sources, and only fourteen percent of the external finance was received (Ogwumike, 1995).

The collapse of the first Republic and the commencement of the civil war also disrupted the plan. After the civil war in 1970, the second national development policy plan in 1970 to 1974 was

launched. The policy priorities were in agriculture, industry, transport, manpower, defense, electricity, communication, water supply and provision of social services. (Ogwumike, 1995). The third policy plan, covering the period of 1975 to 1980 was considered more ambitious than the second. Emphasis was placed on rural development and efforts to revamp agricultural sector. The fourth policy plan in 1981 to 1985 recognized the role of social services, health services, etc. The policy was aimed at bringing about improvement in the living conditions of the people. The specific objectives were: increase in the real income of the average citizen, more even distribution of income among individuals and socio-economic groups, increased dependence on the country's material and human resources, a reduction in the level of unemployment and underemployment (Ogwumike, 1995).

During these periods, Nigeria's enormous oil wealth was not invested to build a viable industrial base for the country and for launching an agrarian revolution to liquidate mass poverty. For instance, the Green Revolution Programme that replaced Operation Feed the Nation failed to generate enough food for the masses. In the recent past, various strategies for development have also been tried with little or no result; among these were the structural adjustment programme (SAP), Vision 2010, national economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS), creation of development centres, e.t.c. currently, seven point agenda with vision 2020 without any clear methodological approach towards achieving them. It is obvious that the current results so far are not what development connotes as attempts to generate meaningful development often prove futile due to challenges still inevitably prevalent in our development plans. (Aremu 2003). First, there are in most cases, no executive capacity responsible for the formulation and implementation of the plans. What are usually seen are officials entrusted to such a position but without any meaningful executive authority. Some of the previous development plans failed

because; there was little or no consultation of the general public. Planning is supposed to involve all stake holders. Even, the Local Government officials who are close to the people were not consulted.(Mimiko, 1998).

Lack of good governance also militates against development plans. Where there is no good governance, development becomes a mirage. This is as a result of bad leadership in the country.

Most of our leaders have no sense of commitment to development.

Mimiko (1998) captures the situation this way:

The decolonization allowed the crop of leaders that aligned with colonial power to take over Nigeria. This ensured the sustenance of a neo-colonial economy even after political independence. These leaders on assumption of power quickly turned up the repressive machinery of the colonial state rather than dismantling it. Significantly, they have no vision of development to accompany the efficient instrument of repression they inherited. All they were interested in was access to power and privileges and not development.

High level of corruption and indiscipline is another barrier to development. The Nigerian state is corrupt and managed by corrupt leaders who have made the state an instrument of capital accumulation, rather than using it to project the interest of the citizenry. A very good plan supervised by a thoroughly corrupt state can hardly do a thorough good job (Mimiko, 1998). Corruption and development are antithetical to each other. The two cannot cohabit, and so, where one is present, the other suffers.

Another important factor is the mono-economic base of the country. The country largely depends on crude oil for her survival to the detriment of other resources. All other sectors of the economy are neglected. For instance, agriculture, which constitutes the mainstay of the Nigerian economy in the 1950s and 1960s, has been thrown into limbo over the years. Export promotion cannot be encouraged when there is virtually nothing or limited resources to export. The economy is not diversified and this is not suitable for a development (Mimiko, 1998).

Despite all the development plans, a lot of setback has been encountered in the developmental processes of the various socio-economic sectors of the country. The power sector which is a panacea for national, socio- economic development is lagging since the creation of the sector in 1896. (Ise2014). The sector has gone through series of reforms and till date, witnessing numerous transitions, from being Nigeria Electricity supply Company (NESCO) in 1929, to being Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (ECN) in 1952. Alongside the ECN, the sector witnesses the creation of the Nigeria Dam Authority (NDA) in 1962 in order to develop the hydro power potentials in Nigeria. Another policy was formed in 1972 merging the NDA and the ECN to form the National Electricity Power Authority (NEPA) which later metamorphosized to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) as a holding company for its imminent unbundling and privatization of the sector made possible by the deregulation policy.(Ise 2014).

The intent for government unbundling and privatizing the sector is to liberate it and to boost socio-economic production but all to no avail. Attempts by successive Nigerian governments at industrialization and rapid economic growth have been hampered by power infrastructure deficit gap. Many efforts have been made to close this gap including privatization made possible by the deregulation policy. The economic rationale behind privatizing the sector includes: efficiency among others. Therefore, the privatization of the power sector is aimed at tackling the myriads of problems in the sector such as limited access to power, inadequate generation and usage of power capacity, overlapping/conflicting roles and responsibilities between government and holding companies etc. (Olorunkanmi 2014).

The trajectory to the privatization of the power sector is hinged on the nation returned to democratic rule in 1999. Since then, the government embarked on various infrastructural rehabilitation and expansion of development programmes. It is within these rehabilitation and

expansion moves that involves the privatization reforms in the power sector. The power sector as at that time was characterized by myriads of challenges even as it is now. These challenges include:

The challenge of initial take-off. Despite the privatization of PHCN in 2013, Nigeria's electricity generation capacity has declined from the peak generation level of about 4,517.6 mega-watts (MW) recorded in December, 2012 to about 3,670 MW in January, 2014. (Ise 2014), electricity supply in Nigeria worsened in the fourth quarter of 2013, at the peak of the privatization process. Nevertheless, majority of Nigerians (70 percent) were hopeful about the ongoing reform in the power sector. An average of 46 percent of Nigerians received between 1-4 hours of continuous power supply daily, while 17 percent said they have received absolutely "No Light" in their households. (Vanguard, 28, 2014 cited in Olorunkanmi, 2014).

The challenge of Funding. The power sector is a highly capital intensive industry. Many of the investors that acquired the unbundled PHCN borrowed money from banks and having acquired these loans from these banks, continuous financing of the projects will become a herculean task. Nigerian banks provided 70 per cent of the funds in loans and equity paid for the power assets. Some of the successful bidders have not completed the payments as many of them still owe the Federal Government. According to the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission, out of the 11 electricity distribution companies in the country, only three have so far remitted to the Federal Government money due it. (Punch, February, 26, 2014 cited in Olorunkanmi, 2014).

There is also the issue of inadequate gas supply. The power sector reform is anchored on the use of gas to power systems in order to meet the needs of the country. The availability of gas to ensure consistency in power supply has been a great challenge. This challenge is a result of the inadequate infrastructure needed for gas gathering, processing and transportation. The negative

effects of saboteurs and vandals in gas production affect the availability of gas. Gas supply to the power plants was not taken into consideration that this will affect the operations of the privatized power sector. For instance, approval for the construction of some gas plants by the Obasanjo's administration did not factor in the issue of gas supply to these plants. The resultant effect is that these plants has remained unutilized long after they were commissioned. (Oketola 2013).

The issues Consumers' fraudulent practices. There are many fraudulent practices by many electricity consumers that were ignored by the former PHCN either due to lack of information or with the active connivance of dubious staff of the organization. These fraudulent activities reduce the income generation of the former PHCN. If left unchecked it will hinder revenue of the new owners of the privatized PHCN. These offences were committed when consumers and utility staff resort to unlawful direct hooking from line; bypassing energy meter; injecting foreign elements into the energy meter; drilling holes in electro-mechanical meter; or assigning illegal amount of energy units to consumers. (Oketola 2013).

The challenge of determining the end user tariffs. The efficient pricing of electricity is central to a well-functioning power sector. Power pricing guides investment decisions and is critical for cost recovery. It also signals to users the cost of marginal consumption and should ideally encourage the optimal utilization of installed capacity. But achieving efficient power pricing is easier said than done. The power sector is characterized by substantive up-front fixed costs, and it takes many years for capacity to be fully utilized. Beyond that, costs vary across times of the day (peak/off-peak), seasons (dry/rainy), users (residential/commercial), and geographic areas (urban/rural), which should be taken into consideration when setting prices that promote efficient use. (Briceno-Garmendia, C. & Shkaratan, M. 2011). Electricity prices in Nigeria are currently below production costs. Therefore, the industry is barely able to generate enough revenue to

cover its operating costs let alone meet its considerable capital expenditure needs. This is a huge challenge that new owners will have to contend with as they cannot source for fund from government the way PHCN did. Whatever approach that the new owners will adopt must take into consideration the ability of the end users to pay. Technicality behind setting efficient tariffs were complex, power providers and regulators also face a conflict between promoting economic efficiency and societal well-being. As Borenstein (2008) observes that if income-challenged groups are to enjoy the benefits of power provision, policy makers must set affordable tariffs below production costs or introduce an explicit subsidy regime.

In an attempt to address this tariff issue, Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC) has been charged with the dual function of ensuring that the prices charged by licensees are fair to the consumers and sufficient to allow the licensees to finance their activities and to allow for reasonable earning and profits for efficient operation. NERC has developed a new tariff approach called the Multi Year Tariff Order, (MYTO). At the centre of this is an order that calculates electricity prices based on revenue requirements of the whole industry. The workability of this approach remains to be ineffective. (Ise 2014).

The issues of reconciliation of assets and liabilities of PHCN. The unbundled PHCN was poorly managed which was one of the reasons why it could not sustain itself by generating enough revenue to remain in operation. Therefore, there is the challenge of not having comprehensive information detailing the assets and liabilities of the erstwhile PHCN. In a bid to solve this issue the Federal Government set up the Nigerian Electricity Management Company (NELMCO). It serve as a government Special Purpose Vehicle based on the understanding that it would assume and manage extant assets, liabilities and other obligations that could not be easily transferred from PHCN to the Successor Companies. There will likely arise conflicting interest between the

new investors and the government over the quality of assets that were privatized as the assets that will require additional huge investment to upgrade the assets to standard that will ensure smooth running of the equipment. Government as equity shareholder may be unwilling to commit substantial amount to such investments. (Oketola 2013).

There is also the challenge of workforce. The former employees of PHCN like every employee of privatized companies elsewhere have been averse to the privatization of the sector. The fear of the future of their employment created the initial resistance to the unbundling process. Some of their initial concerns bother on arrears in salaries, pensions, severance and other benefits owed to them. What could pose further challenge are issues that hinges on the criteria to be adopted in choosing those to be retained and those to be laid off. This become an issue when most of them were retained to keep the business going even when their severance allowances had been paid with the hope that they will be reabsorbed. This might create room for sabotage from disappointed staff. (Olorunkanmi 2014). Most of these challenges brought about the various reforms in the power sector.

For a nation to be in a phase of development, there must be some pre-requisites, which include socio-political and economic stability. Nigeria has not been able to engender meaningful development in spite of her huge resources endowment. This has greatly affected her quest to improve quality of life of her citizens. In order to successfully enhance meaningful development, effective strategies must be evolved. Here, the undisputed role of the media must be incorporated into the process. (Tolu and Abe 2001). These challenges brought about the various reforms in the power sector.

In spite acknowledging the significance of the role of the media in development, it is underlined with some issues and challenges as well because as Ugwu (2010) observes, the general

journalistic practice in Nigeria is threatened with numerous challenges and are crippling its prospects in developmental processes.

The Nigerian media, since the return of democracy in 1999, has been enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy and freedom to air their news without fear of persecution. Although, Nigerian media most often lay claim to professional tenets of objectivity, neutrality, impartiality, however, it is doubtful whether it could be said that Nigerian media practice is professional in the real sense of it as there are many factors militating against its professional ethics and hinders their roles in developmental. Momoh (2005:11), contrarily posits that, evaluating Nigerian media practice, one would not but agree with the view expressed by Adaja (2011) that, “Nigerian media cannot be fully referred to as a profession with a credible degree of professionalism”. The Nigeria Union of Journalists though, parades a Code of Conduct in its Article I, which referred the union as a professional body. (Nnaemeka et al, 1989:276). The Code, however, failed to state the extent of professional knowledge to be imbibed by its members.

The membership provision was so loose that anybody that has anything to do with media practice can call him/herself a Journalist. The provision provides for Public Relations Officers, Practitioners, editorial staff, and those who had completed a probationary period of only 12 months to be called Journalists without stating any minimum qualifications. Also, no acceptable body to all the stakeholders was established to train and regulate the practice of Journalism and enforce its rules and regulations in Nigeria as seen in other countries. For example, in 1952, Britain established the National Council for the Training of Journalists (BNCTJ). The body was charged with the task of securing minimum standards for journalism practitioners. The body, subsequently, introduced a qualifying examination, a proficiency test, as a measure of control and career advancement. Thus, Boyd-Barret (1980:323) acknowledges that;

The purpose of the proficiency test was to indicate the completion of training during the apprenticeship period and to qualify the holder of a proficiency certificate for an advancement course to the status of senior journalist and its associated salary advantages.

The British National Council for the Training of Journalists (BNCTJ) provides that candidates must have passed four basic subjects: English language, law, public administration and shorthand before such candidate can be admitted to be trained as a journalist. At the same time, qualified candidates were expected to complete a 30 months training period. This is very much unlike the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) provision of just 12 months training period, without any qualifying examination; giving room for loose “*entry regulations*” for unskilled and amateur practitioners. (Nnaemeka et al, 1989). This has characterized media practice in Nigeria by flaws preventing it from being referred to as a professional body lacking the crucibles to embark on developmental tasks.

For instance, Nnaemeka et al (1989), asserts that, the first newspaper established in Nigeria, “*IweIroyin fun AwonAraEgbaati Yoruba*” was started by Rev. Henry Townsend who never had the opportunity of attending a school of Journalism or subscribed to any known body of knowledge and never practiced journalism. The closest experience he had was that he “watched” his brother establish a newspaper in one of the British Colonies before coming to Nigeria and followed suit. Thus, the foundation of several media corporations in Nigeria was erected on such wrong footing, and, if the foundation (of journalism) be weak, the practical sense of it is only haphazard.

It can be deduced that, for newspapers to live up to its expectations in development, practitioners need to acquire appropriate knowledge and skills to perform its constituted role. They must be properly “schooled” in the art and science of journalism. The art and science of journalism involves news detecting, gathering, sorting, processing and eventual dissemination. Anything

otherwise, will jeopardize professional practice. It is instructive to state that, newspapers do not operate or function in a vacuum. The society ascribes certain social responsibilities to them which, neophytes or novices cannot adequately understand. Only those who are sufficiently trained and grounded in journalism or mass communication can perform these functions satisfactorily.

Another major challenge facing the Nigerian newspapers is one identified by Momoh (2005) who asserts that the Nigerian newspapers have been in perpetual flux, drifting from neutrality to partisan politics both in the period preceding independence and after. No doubt, before independence, Nigerian newspapers landscape was polarized along ownership structure, yet worked together to fight a common enemy, the colonial master, in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s for common interest and development of the country.

However, the creation of the three regions brought about ownership rivalry, party affiliation and promotion of regional interest rather than national development. Newspaper organizations in this period jettisoned their professional tenets of neutrality, objectivity, impartiality and took on the garb of partisan politics. The Nigerian newspapers shifted allegiance to owners, regions as well as the dominant party or government of the region. Hence, newspaper organizations became divided along ethnic and party lines. Thus, journalists and newspaper establishments became politically minded to the extent that most of the allusions attributed to their professional standards were consigned into the dustbin. Politicians and the elites have over the last two decades, dominated and manipulated the media especially the print media to their own advantage and at the detriment of the generality of the populace. (Rauf et al 2013).

Newspaper organizations consequently gave more attention to political issues that matters to government, owners, sponsors or parties than developmental issues in the country leading to

more problems of regional divides, underdevelopment and staging attacks and criticism against opponents by politicians. (Adaja 2012). In other words, the Nigerian newspapers shifted attention to political matters than developmental matters, giving more prominence to politics in their agenda over other issues.

For instance, Jimoh (2013) holds that while economic downcast needed serious media attention, the Nigerian media, particularly the print media were rather obsessed with the Jonathan-Amaechi inordinate and political ambitious war, BamangaTukur-Governors drama or the Jonathan and Obasanjo pretense. These and other communiqué political issues were what the Nigerian media devoted time to, at the detriment of salient developmental issues at stake. (Jimoh 2013).

In a society like Nigeria, with the tendency of the Politicians owning and controlling the media, it may not be too difficult to conclude that Politicians dictate the pattern of media practice and its disposition, attitude and preponderances of practitioners, giving political narration the edge over other issues. The debate over who actually sets the agenda between the newspapers and the politicians has not seized.

Again, investigative journalism as a major attribute of newspaper's role in development has metamorphosed into a formidable tool for exposing facts and secrets which governments, institutions, organizations or individuals would naturally try to obscure from the public. It must be noted that fact finding and fact giving are among the basic goals of media.

Nigeria newspapers, often at time, give more attention to entertaining their audience while losing sight of their investigative ethics allowing corrupt government, organizations and individuals reap the public of their right without been held accountable or punish. Ugwu (2010) observes that the practice of investigative journalism in a developing nation like Nigeria is threatened with numerous challenges crippling its prospects.

Furthermore, the liberalization and commercialization policy of the federal government of the 1980s and 1990s threw a lot of challenges to the professional standards of media practices in Nigeria. The policy made all forms of news coverage to be evaluated from the commercial point of view. The impact of the policy became noticeable on journalists' sense of news judgment, especially in the print and broadcast media. News and events not sponsored (especially by government agencies) were hardly aired and given low priority. According to Oso (2012) cited in Adaja (2012):

The Journalist is not allowed the autonomy and detachment required for the practice of his trade. His professional judgement has been compromised. The sale of news is killing professionalism in Nigerian journalistic practice. Of a truth, commercialization of news has contributed to the dearth of serious journalism in Nigerian Press and Broadcasting.

The commercialization phenomenon poses a grievous challenge to the credibility and sources of the news stories reported by the print and broadcast media because stories and events are usually arranged to suit sponsors, media owners or certain personalities or group. For instance, the policy has made it possible for news to be sourced or sponsored by media agencies in the country such as the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN). Private media outlet sourcing for news, seeking access to top government officials for interview, most times make compromise, which logically translate into private media doing the bidding of the government. The commercialization policy also made media organizations shift much of their primary objective to the media economy, in that, news reportage by media organizations is done with a motive of making financial gains since they also pay for news they source from top public relation agencies. (Oso, 2012).

This is why Adebani (2004), accepts Bagdanor's (1991) opinion that, the dominant flow of the news commercialization process and political communication in the mass media eventually becomes the definer of what is significant in the economy realm of any society. Thus, studies on

mass media in Nigeria have further shown that news commercialization often lead to media manipulation (framing) of issues to promote certain interest. Galadima and Soola, (2012) note that, one most notable problem with Nigerian media is that of manipulation. Manipulation involves framing of stories, news or issues and disseminated to the public with a misrepresented view. Manipulating an issue depends on the ranking or priority given to such through the media agenda setting which Adebani (2004), cited in Galadima and Soola (2012), agrees, is an art mostly engaged by governments and certain class of people in the society.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The power sector has come under serious and persistent scrutiny from the masses especially in recent time. This is because the epileptic nature of the power sector has affected economic and social development in Nigeria and this situation has persisted for some decade now. It is against this backdrop that successive administrations (military and democratic governments) have sought for appropriate reforms to address the dilemma in the power sector. In 2013, the President Goodluck Jonathan's government embarked on One Hundred Percent (100%) deregulation of the power sector; a reform the government believes will fully revamp the power sector. As a national reform, it was expedient to attract full attention of the media especially the newspapers'. Onabanjo (2011) submits that despite the huge evolution expected in the power sector deregulation reform, little attention was however accorded to it by the newspapers'. The low coverage of the reform resulted in the lack-luster support for the entire reform as many citizenries are not properly acquainted with the reform and are irked by the negative trends in the power sector. Why a sensitive national reform of that magnitude was not adequately covered by the media especially the newspapers' which are seen rightly as part of the societal mirror became the question. To what extent did the low coverage by newspapers' affected implementation of

the deregulation reform in the power sector? This study will attempt to carry out a detailed assessment with the view to enhancing the continuity of the power sector reform in Nigeria.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the study is to determine the roles of the Guardian and Vanguard newspapers with the view to enhancing newspapers coverage of the deregulation of the power sector reform in Nigeria.

- (a) To ascertain the degree of prominence accorded to deregulation of the power sector reform news.
- (b) To investigate sources of news and information published on deregulation of the power sector.
- (c) To examine the most emphasized deregulation subject matter in the Nigerian Newspapers.
- (d) To explain the extent of independence of the newspapers in their investigative journalism role.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

Base on the above objectives, the study seeks to answers to the following research questions:

- (a) What is the degree of prominence the Nigerian newspapers accorded to coverage of deregulation of the sector?
- (b) What are the sources of news the selected Nigerian newspapers used to acquire information they publish on deregulation of the power sector?
- (c) What deregulation subject matter is the most emphasized in Nigerian newspapers?
- (d) Did the Nigerian newspapers observe the investigative journalism role while reporting on deregulation of the power sector?

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The significance of the work is manifold in the sense that information has become part and parcel of our daily lives, and shapes our opinion as well as influences our interest, arrests our attention and most importantly, compels us to act or make valuable decisions. Thus, a major significance of the study is that it espouses the value of information and communication for development by re-appraising the role of media in the development of the Nigerian power sector. The media can be positioned to look into the entire power sector chain-value including generation, transmission and distribution with a view of identifying what the problems in the power sector.

This study further highlights the importance of the power sector by making the masses realize the essence of regular and stable power to national development and encouraging the media to adequately report and challenge key decision makers in the sector on why the policy of deregulation worked in other sectors but lagging in the power sector.

The study will also serve as an illuminant to key decision makers and new investors in Nigeria's economic development on the importance of the media in achieving positive development. In addition, to the fact that the study contributes to the body of existing knowledge, on the role of media in development, as well as stimulates further works and serve as a body of literature to other researchers on the role of newspapers in development.

It also brings to fore the weakness of the deregulation policies in the Nigerian power sector, discussing the perceived role of the government, organized private sectors and the general masses in the ailing power supply in the country. The study brings into light the attention the Nigeria newspapers placed on the deregulation of the power sector in the national agenda and the extent to which the newspapers report on general issues emanating from the deregulation of the power sector.

Hence, the research provide some tips on how the media particularly the newspapers can contribute to development in the power sector which in turn contributes to national development.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

For the purpose of time and material consumption, the limit and area of coverage of this study will be limited to the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers coverage of deregulation of the power sector reform. In other words, only articles, publications, editorials and stories published in these newspapers on the deregulation of the power sector reform were treated but limited in scope, with specific emphasis on the newspapers editions of the months of 1<sup>st</sup>October (2013) to 31<sup>st</sup>April (2014). These specific months were sampled because it marks the period which the power sector was fully deregulated.

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

In the course of the study, certain challenges were encountered. These limitations are stated as follows:

Time constraint was a limitation in the sense that much time was spent on the attempt to identify and use a suitable methodology for the study.

Most of the respondents approached while conducting the interview were not willing to be interviewed.

Never the less, the attitude of some library staffs that were unwilling to assist in retrieving the needed newspapers for analysis also contributed to the limitation which led to more time consumption.

### **1.8 Definition of Terms**

**Media:**Media as conceived by Dutton et al (1998) simply refers to the channel of communication that involves transmitting information in some way, shape or form that make meaning to an audience. The term “media” includes the whole range of communication mediums such as, television, camera, video, radio, advertising, newspapers, magazines, journals, music, computer games and the internet. All these put together constitute “the mass media”.

**Development:**F.G Fowler and H.W. Fowler (2001), conceive development as “a new stage in a changing situation that impact on the well being of a people”. To develop is to become more advanced.

**Deregulation:** According to George Stigler (1981), defined deregulation as a government or a state’s withdrawal of it legal powers and control to direct the economic conduct of an entity it willed out (such as pricing, entry and exit) to non-governmental bodies.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Isa (2007) opined that one major aim of media in development is to encourage an audience to reflect on the value of the media's independent roles in development process. This is something several media and development scholars have been thinking about a lot recently while writing literatures on the role of media in development.

Understanding how newspapers operate and successfully contribute to development, entails understanding certain roles expected of them. As such, literatures have been built up by media scholars to help understand these roles. This is very pivotal because the media in general carry out fundamental roles in the society and have become part and parcel of our daily lives.

#### **2.1 Media as the Fourth Estate**

Access to information is essential to the health of the political, economic and social structures and progress of any society for at least two reasons. First, it ensures that citizens make responsible and informed choices based on the quality of information they receive from the media rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation. Secondly, information serves as a checking function by ensuring that government and elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them and this is where the role of the media as fourth estate comes into play.

To Thomas Carlyle, (1905), the Fourth Estate is most commonly used to refer to the news media, especially print journalism or the press. Carlyle(1905) attributes the origin of the term to Edmund Burke, who first used it in a parliamentary debate in 1787 on the opening of press reporting of the House of Commons of Great Britain. The term makes implicit reference to the earlier division of the three Estates of the Realm. (That is, the three arms of government).

Carlyle furthered in his argument that media are often called the fourth branch of government because they monitor the political activities of the government on behalf of the masses to ensure that political players don't abuse the democratic process.

In Burke's 1787 coining of the term made reference to the traditional three estates of Parliament namely: the Lords, the Lords Temporal and the Commons which in the Nigerian political system refers, to the executive, the legislature and the judiciary arms of the government.

In an evolving concept of the fourth estate, BenklerYochai, an author of the 2006 book titled "*The Wealth of Networks*", reviewed this aspect of the media and rebranded it as the "*Networked New Fourth Estate*" in 2011 in a paper published in the Harvard Civil Liberties Review and explains the growth of non-traditional media on the Internet and how it ensures a system of check and balance on government and top officials using Wikileaks as an example. His argument about the concept of the fourth estate, which he called the "Networked new fourth estate" took a different dimension thus as: the new set of media practices, organizing models, and technologies that are associated with the free press and provide a public check on the branches of government as wikileaks does. It differs slightly from the traditional fourth estate in that it has a diverse set of actors instead of a small number of major presses. These actors may include profit media organizations, non-profit media organizations, academic centers and distributed networks of

individuals participating in the media process in conjunction with the larger traditional organizations.

Thus, both the traditional fourth estate and the network new fourth estate concepts have a corresponsive base in that their primary objective as fourth estate is geared towards representing public interest when observing government functions, but the network new fourth estate media function beyond limitations of the traditional fourth estate media when considering the set of mediums involve, their reach and participation. But with the decline of traditional fourth estate, particularly on the local level, there are concerns that the power of the press (newspapers) as the fourth organ of government that ensures check and balance is becoming more compromised. Although, whatever be their point of divergence and convergence, the both has empower citizens to oversee the doings of their elected representatives.

For example, Hoffman (2014),submit's that, both the traditional and the network new fourth estates have in recent time enabled millions of citizens to take to the streets of Sao Paulo, Manila, Madrid and Bangkok, demanding good governance and an end to corruption. Also, the Arab awakening that was made possible and gave rise to a spontaneous revolution in Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Syria and Algeria because the people were able to organize themselves through the use of network new and traditional fourth estate in their struggle for democracy and good governance. Citizens in India demand protection from rape and in Nigeria,Godwin and Dagogo (2014), holds that, citizens were able to protest and campaign against the background of removal of fuel subsidy in 2012 in Nigeria by organizing and sharing information through this media avenue, to demand government reverting the policy as it was not suitable for the development of the ordinary citizens.

Observing the above literally means, citizens in Nigeria no longer depend much on media practitioners who usually help them execute the fourth estate role as often been in the case of traditional fourth estate while has to do with only the press. Citizen now directly represent themselves through the use of social media and other internet sources as in the case of the network new fourth estate. In other words, Nigerians acknowledge the strength of the media fourth estate role for their development that serve as check and balance on government. Sharing information among citizens through the internet and phones as the network new fourth estate and through newspapers, journals and articles as part of the traditional estate has equipped and sensitized people with the knowledge to participate in the process of what policy should be adopted to develop.

Although, the above assertion may not be generally so at all timethere are those whose views on how the fourth estate in Nigeria is observed, contradict that of Godwin and Dagogo (2014), because Olusegun (2010), in his article titled "*Nigerian media- The fourth estate of graft*", reacted that, Nigerian media fourth estate realm is characterized as one hot bed of corrupt practices using several cases of how Nigerian media represented corrupt government officials and agencies in the country. He argues that even most of the super powerful traditional fourth estate (that is the press) and some network new forth estate owners have sold their consciences to greed and instead serve the government rather than serve as the people's fourth estate. Olusegun (2010) further explains that, Nigeria media's fourth estate often portrays falsehood and litigate evidence especially in an era when Nigerians are aghast at the unreserved penchants of some government officials dispensing all sort of corrupt practices that are detrimental to the development of Nigerians and yet, journalist who are supposing public watch dog and

representative of the masses fourth estate use several falsehood and inaccurate information submitted to them by corrupt government officials to confuse Nigerians.

Nevertheless, whatever be the positions of these writers, it should be acknowledged that the traditional concept of fourth estate and the network new fourth estate continues to sort, contextualize and analyze the vast data that is available and has the training, skills and credibility to tell the story which still makes them relevant, but the network new fourth estate concept is strongly emerging fast that gives the people more power to demand accountability from their governments that could be heard anywhere in the globe through the use of internet facilities and has a wider global reach in a shorter time space than the traditional media. The network new fourth estate hence, is in partnership with the traditional fourth estate to give louder voice to citizens.

Concluding on the fourth estate concept, it can be asserted that, media serves as the channels of information that function to promote transparency, accountability, and public scrutiny of decision-makers in power, by highlighting policy failures, maladministration by public officials, corruption in the judiciary, and scandals in the corporate sector. In other words, it is expected that Nigerian newspapers represent the views and opinion of the masses in the cause of adopting the policy of deregulating the power sector by the government. If this function was observed by the Nigerian newspapers, it can then be satisfied that, the fourth estate function was exercised by Nigerian newspapers in the debate on deregulating the power sector.

## **2.2 Media as an Agenda-Setter**

Agenda-Setting as defined in “Mass Media, Mass Culture” is the process whereby mass media determine what we think and worry about. It is the ability of the media to influence the salience

of topics on the public agenda. That is, if a news item covers a particular issue more frequently and prominently, the audience will regard such topic as very important and act.

Walter Lippmann (1922), who first observed this function, in the 1920's pointed out that the media dominates over the creation of images in our head. Lippmann believed that the public reacts not to actual events, but to the pictures of events in our head created by the media. Therefore, the agenda-setting process is used by the media to remodel all the events occurring in our environment into a simpler model and arranged in orderly ranks before we deal with it.

According to McCombs and Shaw (1977) cited in Littlejohn (2002) describe the agenda-setting function of the media in their book titled "*Emergence of American Political Issues*". In this book, the authors noted that, there are abundantly collected evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important part as they go through their day to day tasks in deciding and publicizing news. This impact of the mass media ability particularly the *press* to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking has been labeled as the *agenda-setting* function of mass media. Here lies among the most important effect of mass media's ability to mentally order and organize our world.

It must be stressed very importantly that, the situation as painted in Littlejohn (2002) is a very apt reflection of the actual influence of agenda setting and the media's ability to tell the public what issues are most important and should be given more attention. This is an important idea because it really shows how much influence the media has on people and as such, Littlejohn (2002) points out the basic objectives of media agenda setting thus: to produce existing stories that appeal to audiences, to gain praise from fellow journalists, finally to trigger political, economic or social actions and be a part of it for effective outcome.

This is important to understand because it is clear that newspapers want to entertain their audience by keeping them informed and in doing so, they often possess the ability to tell the audience what issues are most important. The audience may not be getting the most important information when the main objective for a media company is to entertain. This is definitely a huge weakness of the media in general. Even though successful journalists are supposed to be good storytellers that attract an audience, the stories they tell need to be relevant.

Since the common assumption of agenda-setting lies in the media's ability to influence the visibility of events in the public, translate into, the more attention given to a topic by the media, the more importance attributed to such topic by the audience. Therefore it must be submitted thus, that agenda-setting is for the press to selectively choose what the public want to see or hear in their reports.

Emphasizing on how important and effective the agenda-setting is on public minds is epitomized in Cohen (1963), quote this effect thus:

The media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its audience what to think about.

Drawing from the above, it is worth mentioning here that the public rely on the media to be acquainted with whatever is going on in their environment and limiting them to the line of thinking and focus that suit the media's intention.

Although, Rogers and Dearing (1997) brought the various levels in agenda-setting into light. They argue that the first level enacts the topic or issues that are most important to the media, and the second level decides what parts of the topic or issues regarded as important will be selected and treated as salience in order to influence the public minds. These two levels of agenda-setting lead to the actual function and process of the concept. This concept is a process that is divided into three parts. For Rogers and Dearing (1997) in their book titled "*Agenda-Setting Research*",

the first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second level emphasize if the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public thinks (this is referred to as public agenda level when the public perceive a topic to be important), the third level is referred to as the policy agenda level and is influence by the public agenda (that is the level when the public needs to act).

Concurring with Rogers and Dearing (1997); for any policy to dominate media agenda must be thrown to the center stage for public discourse by the media. A thorough public scrutiny and interrogation of the topic presented as salience through media agenda setting will determine the degree of prominence and attention that will be attach to such topic before been transfer to the policy level which leads to development. In other words, the media agenda which is the first level known as agenda-setting stunningly influence the public agenda, and the public agenda (after a successful public debate) influence the policy agenda. Therefore the first and second levels are important to this study because it decides what parts of the issues are important to the public; and in relation to the deregulation of the power sector policy.

It is expected that Nigerian newspaper outlets must have set agendas to focus public attention on key issues regarding deregulation of the power sector, in an immense and well-documented way by given prominence to coverage of the sector through the agendas they set in order to make the public see the necessity and importance to debate on the policy and mediate between the government and the people for better outcome.

In a parallel opinion on how agenda setting function of the media have been used to promote issues in Nigeria, Jonah (2014) observes that, this function is mostly used as a dependable ally in conveying political messages to the public and help them form opinion on certain political issues

raised. The problem here is that, the Nigerian newspapers often give fewer cognizance to non-political matters when setting agendas that the public would like to know about.

However, the only critique against the arguments of Rogers and Dearing (1997), is that, they failed to specify whether the media has an input in determining the approval of policies at the third level of agenda setting since it is a known habit of government to enact policies in Nigeria without much regards for public views concerning the policy and how the media moderate the issue to create a state of equilibrium. Again, they failed to stress on factors that influence agenda-setting as these factors are assumed to involve the combination and input of gatekeepers, editors and managers, and external influences. These external influences may be from non-media sources, government officials, influential individuals of the ruling class and media ownership. In other words, if the media has close relationship with government or elite class in the society, that class will probably exert greater influence on the media agenda and logically transform to the public agenda. Hence, ownership, sponsorship among others is also among factors that influence salient issues in the media agenda-setting.

### **2.3 Media as a Watchdog and Investigative Tool**

The media are traditionally the watchdog of the people or better put as public eye of the masses which is greatly linked to their status as investigative journalism and gate keeping. The key assumption underlining this concept is that, they investigate, monitor and interrogate acts perpetuated in the society by government and individuals. In analyzing the role of newspapers as investigators and gate keepers, Schuepp (2000), identifies the responsibilities of a watchdog, thus:

- (a) A watchdog has to protect his owner, give him security and react to possible outside interference with the rights of his owner.

(b) The watchdog has to know his loyalties therefore they have to be loyal to the society, because they are the watchdog of society and not of government.

(c) Anybody who threatens democracy, freedom of speech, the basic rights of the people, should be attacked by the watchdog.

According to Kovach (1998), watchdog journalism at its best helps alert public on changing circumstances affecting their lives after a thorough investigation. He further asserted that the watchdog role goes beyond a simple journalism of witness thus:

Embedded in each watchdog story are the elements of disclosure and judgment, which often point to victims and wrongdoers. By probing below and beyond surface information, challenging assumptions and assertions, the reporting in civic judgment after an in-depth investigation.

Hence, newspapers must be loyal to the public it claims to serve and protect them against any form of manifesting threats. It should also, on behalf of the public, make outright attack by criticizing a government, person, organization that intends to destabilize the well being and peace of the society. However, how effective and consistent the watchdog is, are epitomized in the findings of a Bangkok based media and research institute, “*MediaHubAsia*”, in its 2002 published article titled “*Freedom of Expression is Essential Says Newspapers Readers*” revealed that, majority of newspapers audience believe that freedom of expression in the newspaper is essential, but fewer than half of them believe that newspapers should take on a strong role as a public watchdog due to lack of in-depth investigation in newspapers reports. As such, the research reveals the Bangkok newspapers audience perceptions of newspapers as a public watchdog. 44% of them considered that the newspapers watchdog role should be very strong, but 46% view it as “mediocre” while the remaining 10% said a watchdog role was “non-existent” as a result of the Bangkok newspapers inability to conduct a proper investigation when covering a report. (MediaHubAsia report, 2002).

However, the primary assumption of this study on the watchdog role concurs with the 46% who see the watchdog role of newspapers as mediocre because Galadima and Soola (2012) study of the Nigerian newspapers titled *“The Press and Group Identity Politics in Nigeria”* also revealed similar problem of lack of investigative reports as the Nigerian newspapers mostly framed regional group identity of electorates and voters in the 2003 and 2007 presidential elections either in favour of regional group they tend to support or criticize.

At this point, it can be asserted that, the problem of lack of proper investigation in some newspapers report as the public watchdog is a familiar problem with several newspapers organizations around the world. In other words, the biggest gap between the people and the press is over the ways newspapers play their watchdog role by sometimes, publishing stories that lack genuine source and investigation leading to bias and news framing and are harmful to national development.

For this Kohut (2003), submits that, people now saw the press as an ill-mannered watchdog that barks too often; one that is driven by its own interests rather than by a desire to protect public interests while Olusegun (2010) opined that the Nigerian newspapers as a watch dog, is even a more alarming situation, thus: “It is indeed ironical that Nigerian press that is suppose to serve as public eye, watch dog and a thief catcher is in fact suddenly found to be a thief master. The Nigerian press remains an indictable part of Nigerian problem. They ascribe to dirty government officials and politics, worship money and prefer to serve on the altar of corruption”.

Base on the above premise, it can be asserted that, newspapers watchdog role in development (especially in developing societies) is not always observed considering the bias and unfair manner the newspapers discard their social role and watchdog responsibility they owe the public. This phenomenon is also peculiar to private newspapers outlets and has dented their credibility

as well as their fourth estate role. Since the watchdog role is linked with the gate keeping role, thus, news topics and items that pass through the gate are mostly meant to promote the interest of sponsors and owners at the expense of the masses.

## **2.4 Media as a Gatekeeper**

Gate keeping defined by Shoemaker (1991) as the controlling of a strategic portion of a channel, so as to have the power of decision over whether whatever is flowing through that channel will enter the group or not. It involves a series of checkpoints that the media news and information has to pass through before it gets to the public. Through this process media practitioners have to decide whether or not a news item is to be seen or heard.

Conversely, Shoemaker (1991) holds that, gatekeepers in the media are message *filters*, and they include reporters, writers, editors, producers, public relation and even government officials. The concept involves every aspect of message selection, handling and control. This process of the media acting as gatekeeper is meant to filter information before selecting it among the agendas and disseminating it to the public especially those aspects of information capable of disrupting government function or owners will.

However, one major critique against the gate keeping function is that several scholars have faulted it that the process allows for systemic framing and manipulation of credible information and privilege inclusion and exclusion of information that should dominate in the set agendas. For this, Beder (2004) is of the views that, much of the news people read, watch and listen to on the print media or broadcast media are manufactured by media editors and public relations, and is made possible as a result of gate keeping process. This process privileges media owners, sponsors, editors and journalist to systematically screen a news or article before airing it, to arouse public reaction that may lead to positive views about the news. For instance, it is evidence

in Akpan, et al (2012) that in the course of adopting deregulation policy, the Nigerian government task several media outlets in the country particularly those in support of the administration responsible for deregulating the power sector to give priority to the policy in order to persuade the public to accept it. In other words, newspapers outlets in the country may have prominent the policy by keeping the gate open for the selection and treatment of the issues of deregulation of the power sector in other to influence the public and policy levels discussed under the agenda setting role of the media.

Hence, it is significant to underscore that this function leads to the build-up of problems of information distortion and bias. It is important to stress that gate keeping role like the agenda setting function, creates an opportunity for media practitioners to carefully screen and select news topics and relevant aspects of the selected topics to be aired for public hearing and what aspects should be kept from public. Media manipulation is a serious problem that has dented the media's credibility. Nevertheless, gate keeping function of the media can be said to be among the several factors that promote media manipulation.

## **2.5 Media Manipulation**

Silva (2014) conceives mediaManipulationas exerting shrewd or devious influence especially for one's own advantage. In other words, media manipulationis done for both good and evil intent aim at attaining certain objective best known to the manipulators. There are several reasons why manipulators distort credible information. Although Silva (2004) argues that, part of the Primary motives for this act could be attributed to reasons such as amassing of profit rather than truth, propaganda, advocacy, subjectivity, among others. Only if truth pays, will the media report it at all time. Likewise a government or group seeking control or power is likely to censor the

information they provide to citizens on policy formulation and even worse to misinform especially when the facts (truth) get in the way of implementing their own agendas.

In the same vein, Rhee (1997); Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) cited in Galadima and Soola (2012); explains that a common and major technique used to manipulate newspapers is through what is known as "*Framing*". Framing is the systematic process of exclusion and inclusion of stories, articles or publication in media reports, in certain ways to smear or create support for an article, story or news which typically entails manipulation.

In line with the above, it can be reasoned that, just as media agenda setting is central and dependent of media ownership, sponsorship and other factors that influence gate keeping, manipulation on its own is also to a large extent a dependable variable on media ownership, sponsorship, editors, among others and the act is geared towards promoting agendas and interest of owners and sponsors.

Nnoli (1978) and Omu (1978) cited in Galadima and Soola (2012), in their study titled "The Press and Group Identity Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Newspapers Framing of the 2003 and 2007 presidential Elections," hold that history of media manipulation in Nigeria can be traced back to the early post-colonial era. Their study revealed that newspapers in Nigeria promoted ethnic group identities of those contesting for political power via manipulation by taking side in regional politics of electorates they supported.

The authors found that newspapers owned by leaders of the various political parties published negative reports about the opposition leaders and their ethnic groups by smearing their reputation. For example, Ige (1995) establish that the Nigerian Tribune and Irohin Yoruba owned by Chief Obafemi Awolowo published negative stories on Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe and other Igbo leaders while the West African Pilot owned by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe also published negative

stories on Chief Obafemi Awolowo and other Yoruba leaders. The Nigerian Citizens and Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo owned by the northern regional government were also blatant in their anti-Yoruba and anti-Igbo vituperation during this period. This explains why Omu (1978) and Agbaje (2005) states that newspapers of this period contributed to the inter-group tension and animosity in Nigerian politics and loss of true sense of judgment that has persisted to present day media ethical practice.

Between those periods till date, attitude and ways of doing things have changed somewhat, but the question posed by this research is that: Have the media especially the newspapers also change for the good of the nation or have they remained the same since the post colonial era? Olusegun's (2010) assertion proffers an answer to the above thus: "it is not new that stories are fine tuned by Nigerian press and is a known fact that the Nigerian journalists are in the habit of publishing framed stories as fact. They often feed the public with half truth and distorted concoctions borne out of their kleptomaniac dispositions. The myth about the Nigerian press remains, there can be no iota of truth in their stories most of the time".

It may be of little or no interest to media audience, that one person, group or a government is quite happy to lie on behalf of a cause that they know to be unjust and detrimental to the common good of all via manipulation of information and this is because media audience in general mostly neglect the consequences of their ignorance; thus, promoting a traditional act of manipulation, self-righteousness and interest that disfigures truth and the nation's intellectual history published in the media, meant to promote development and well being of citizens. As a result, we are now living in an era where the gap between how the world is and how power interests are portrayed has grown dramatically wide between the ruling class and the grassroots.

Generally, the newspaper medium possess the power that comes from political and economic liberty which grants access to information and freedom of expression to act on behalf of the society and also provides the facilities and training to seek for truth lying hidden. It is not so in most parts of the world including Nigeria where newspapers suffers more proscription in the hands of government, owners and sponsors.

Finally, it is necessary to assert that media manipulation is to some extent responsible for the under development and poverty of thought among citizens alongside, difficulty in articulation of reality with information generated by media. Although, Galadima and Soola (2012) note more importantly, that while some scholars argues that government or state owned media tend to be more manipulativeand by government and ruling class than private owned media corporations; others argued, the reverse is the case.

## **2.6 Media Ownership and Control**

Djankov et al (2003), examined the patterns of media ownership in 97 countries in a study titled “*Who Owns The Media?*”. The research found that almost universally, the largest media firms are owned or controlled by government and others by private who are members of the ruling class that share close margin with the government. The study shows that, government media ownership is more pervasive in broadcasting than in the print media while the private ownership was more pervasive in the print media than in the broadcast media. The researchers examined two conflicting theories on government media ownership namely: the public interest (Pigouvian) theory, which states that government ownership promote political and economic structure and cures market failures, and the public choice theory which states that government ownership undermines political and economic freedom that lead to positive political and economic

liberation. In the end of their analysis, the research was in favour of the public choice theory. (Djankov et al, 2003).

This is to say, government ownership and control over the media tend to underestimate political and economic freedom of the people and it is a duty of the private media to speak out rightly against such government repression but this is impossible because Djankov et al (2003) holds that the private owned media which are mostly the print media share a close margin with the government as members of the ruling class and sometimes publish reports that favours the government. Ownership and control has been factored to be among determinant of agendas that should dominate in the media news and even manipulation because it is the owners who control information flow, set agendas that should be included and frame issues that should dominate over other topics.

Due to this, some scholars argue in favour of government ownership asserting that, information is a public good and for this reason many countries have made it a case for organizing the media industry as a government owned monopoly. Second group argue in favour of public ownership over private ownership that because of consumer protection, private ownership is seen to corrupt the media industry by serving narrow interests while the third group argues that state ownership ensures public exposure to educational and proper information circulation and as such media ownership and control should be a state affair.

Thus, the researcher is of the view that government ownership and control media, tends to manipulate and distort credible information, undermine economy growth and preclude public from making informed decisions than private media. On the balance, the system should serve political, economic and social interests equally and both the upper and middle classes. By and large, the above review indicates that monopolizing control over information reduces the

effectiveness of the media in providing checks and balance on government activities and can hinder positive development.

In line with the study of Djankov et al (2003), the World Bank Report of 2002, indicated that government ownership and control over the five largest newspapers and five television stations in each of the 97 countries studied by Djankov et al (2003), is pervasive. On the average, government controls about 30% of the newspapers (including some privately owned newspapers) and 60% of the television stations in the 97 countries that were studied. The government also owns 72% of the largest radio stations in the 97 countries studied.

The Report further that, private ownership of newspapers in the countries studied is mostly in family hands and not in widely dispersed shareholdings and that the privately owned newspapers are closely related to the government through business, family and personal associations. Therefore, the influence of government control exerted over private newspaper outlets is even greater.

From the above analysis of those 97 countries, it can be established that media in countries with high levels of government control and ownership are much less free, transmit less credible information, high manipulation and negatively correlate with economic and social development and give high cognizance to political matters.

More consequentially, greater government control and ownership is associated with less freedom of the press, less freedom of citizens to participate in economic and political decision, a greater number of journalists jailed and media outlets closed by the government, difficulty to acquire the entry regulation, high tax levy, rise in more government ownership and imprisonment of journalists by government. For instance, in the data gathered in Djankov et al (2003), reveals that, 45 democratic countries (out of the 97 countries studied) do not jail journalists, but 7 countries (including Benin, Malawi, Moldova, Niger, Nigeria, Russia, and South Korea) do in

the past and to some extent in present. While 17 near-democratic countries do not jail journalists, 11 countries (including Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Gabon, Iran, Peru, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, and Zambia) do. Of the autocratic countries, 11 do not jail journalists, perhaps because there is no dissent, but 6 countries (including China, Egypt, Kuwait, Myanmar, Syria, and Uzbekistan) do.

Although, Rauf (2013) contends that media Ownership and control is a constitutional issue in Nigeria as provided in Section 39 sub-section 2 stipulated who can own what media and in what condition. Rauf (2013) certifies that the Section provides that every Nigerian is entitled to own, establish and operate a medium for the purpose of dissemination of information except that for broadcast media ownership by private concerns. Fortunately, against what is obtained in the past, the Decree no 38 of 1992 (now on Act of the Parliament has liberalized the broadcast media landscape and this has actually provided opportunity for private ownership of quite a large number of radio and television in the last two decades. (Rauf, 2013).

Government ownership and control still persists though, the Print media are more privately owned in Nigeria as most of the known government newspapers have gone to sleep within the last twenty years or thereabout. The existing ones are still embattled.

However, the researcher is of the view that, countries with greater government ownership and control tend to censor the media more heavily and often as a measure that, if the government does not monopolize the media access and content, may lead to it reduction in ownership and control. Again this translates into more manipulation, corruption, inferior economic advancement, less developed financial markets, few political rights for citizens and poorer social outcomes in education, agriculture and health. Because citizens now know that information reaching them are filter and government abuses control over ownership and grant licensing

procedure to permit entry (that is entry regulation) only to private media willing to do the government biddings, citizens generally discount the credibility of such private media organization. As a result of this problem, *media credibility crisis* becomes imminent which originates from the subjective consequences of media manipulation and has a direct effect on formulation of development policies.

## **2.7 Media as a Development Policy Maker**

A policy is a decision implying impending or intended action.(Bauer, 1968, cited in Qadri, 2010). In analyzing policies, two aspects are generally considered most significant; policy making and content which the mass media are among the aspect that influence the policy process.

Information explosion as the transformation on the media landscape has come to be known worldwide and has caught (more especially) the developing world unawares. It is now globally acknowledged as a fourth pillar of state alongside parliamentary, judiciary and the executive arms of government and is recognized when making and executing a policy. Historically, Qadri (2010) establishes that the right to freedom of expression can be trace back to United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948. This is a true fact that has empowered the public to be a part and decide in the policy process through the media that represent them as the fourth estate.

Qadri (2010), in his article titled "*Role of Media in Policy Formulation*" argues that, gone are the days when governments often hide credible aspects of information from its people and mislead them when formulating policies. Now, policy formulation processes are bound to be

transparent as media keeps a continuous vigil on government. The rise of *investigative journalism* has added to the strength of media as a watchdog and fourth pillar in policy formulation processes.

The following points could be instructive in this regard as argued by Qadri (2010): (a) Policies were framed in the past to the benefit of the elites because very little information reached the grass root people as fewer channels of disseminating information existed then. (b) Majority sources of information were under direct or indirect control of government and the ruling elites then. But with intense growth of both in print and electronic media channels, information has become easily available and accessible for people regarding formulation of policies that affect them and also to participate in the process. It is not easier any more for the vested dominant interests to hide information resulting in transparency in the policy formulation.

From the above discourse, the role of media in policy formulation is not just confined to make information available. It also educates people on key national issues concerning lives of the common people. Newspapers as one of the most effective medium of the media can conduct in-depth critiques, analyses and appraisals by discussing pros and cons of a given policy of government or any issue in an impartial and fair manner. In the process, it brings out what is good or harmful to the people. It could be best put that, it informs people to oppose or support a given policy and this is a way that the newspaper can perform the role of an opinion-maker in policy formulation process.

No wonder, Hoffa (2012), says this about the newspaper policy making roles; “how sensitively and accurately they perform has become a matter of grave concern because newspapers act among the foremost mediums as policy maker”. A part result of such media approach in policy formulation is that, governments have to be very meticulous in the formulation of policies. Since

media undertakes critical appraisals of policies in a threadbare manner, therefore, it performs the role of a national watchdog of the people. If a government adopts a policy that is not beneficial or is not in accord with popular appeal of the masses, the media should criticize such policy so severely as to arouse oppositions. So powerful is this role of media as a watchdog and a fourth estate that the governments have to sometimes withdraw themselves from their stated positions. Therefore, this role of media as a protector of public rights is very important for fair and beneficial policy formulation.

Although, it is also worth mentioning that at times, media tends to overstep its limits and dent its ethical practice. The nature and content of political talk in the media sometimes is a proof that instead of spearheading, informed and organize constructive debate on issues of national importance, they anchors and hosts with the full connivance of their employers, try to direct the debate in a particular direction, mostly to the government favour and those of the ruling class. This attitude runs to counter the principles of media neutrality, objectivity and fair play leading to manipulation of policies.

Moreover, it is also worth mentioning that Qadri (2010) and Hoffa (2012) fails to point that, media's role in policy formulation is not always observed especially in the third world countries where governments have little or no regards for it citizens opinion and media corporations that intend to serve the people. Also, the unrestrained rush to publish or telecast breaking news coupled with competition among media corporations which is premised on grabbing maximum viewership is also responsible for this careless behaviour on the part of the (especially the print) media.

Hence, there is a need to formulate code of conduct and settle rules of the game, which should characterize the functioning of media to uphold professionalism when policy formulation is

concerned. Therefore, it is deemed by this study that time has changed, likewise the way media and the government handles policy formulation also need to change for better. We need to change our policies accordingly. Change is always the most constant but difficult to accept. It demands courage, conviction and willingness. We need to involve the common people who are the real stakeholders of any state into mainstream of national decision-making especially concerning policy making that affect their lives and development because without their support, the media cannot act as policy maker. Again, governance should shift emphasis from a few individuals to all when forming policies. Our policy formulation should undergo a paradigm shift. We need to evolve allinclusive rather than majority exclusive model of governance. We had better spearhead evolutionary change in policy making rather than the one dictated by deceit as in the case of deregulation. The challenge is huge, so should be our resolve to overcome it using the various mediums particularly newspapers as they also have a vast audience.

Given the sorry illiteracy rates, poverty of mind and low intellect among third world countries which include Nigeria, it is generally not possible for the people to understand the intricate issues of governancesurrounding policy making. Neither do they have the leisure of apprehending these things as they are already faced with graver concerns of survival. In these circumstances, it is the responsibility of the media to create awareness and educated sections of society to form groups and associations to impact upon decision-making and policy formulation at the national level in the interest of the down-trodden sections of society.

## **2.8 Theoretical Framework**

The study utilizes two theoretical frameworks namely the Development media theory and the Agenda setting theory to gain more insight to the phenomenon under study.

### **2.8.1 Development Media Theory**

The development media theory (also known as development journalism) is a normative theory of mass media. By normative means norms or standard that the media should follow in development. It is designed to: (a) address the imbalance in development and information flow of third world countries (b) assist in providing information on solutions to the technological problems facing them with regards to developing. In McQuail (1983), the major assumptions of this theory are highlighted thus:

- Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy.
- Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally, politically or economically.
- Freedom of the media should be open to the economic priorities and development needs of the society.

Rampal (1984) in Thusu (1996:13); in espousing the essence of development media theory states that “development journalism, as is all journalism, is information, analysis, comment and interpretation. But it must also include motivating people to be part of formulating policy towards what they want and need as development and exposing, publicizing successes and failures of government.

Aggarwala (1979), in Thusu (1996: 9) shares similar programmatic views on development media theory with McQuail (1983) and Rampal (1984), when he submits that “in covering development news beat, journalists should critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of development projects by stressing the national and local needs of citizens, the difference between a plan and its actual implementation and the difference between its impact on people as claimed

by government officials and as it actually is". This approach Aggarwala (1979), claims would be a departure from the western news norms that emphasize action and spot news reporting.

In order to realize the goals of development media theory, Edeani (1994) identifies three categories of journalists and how they should report development issues; their news style and level of commitment to the ideals of development journalism. These include: (a) conventional journalist who merely reports development regularly at its face value and with much professional detachment and refrains from news interpretation and analysis (b) the developmental journalist who reports development on *ad hoc* basis that normally acts as an information officer to government by publicizing policies, statements and projects without evaluating them, and (c) the development journalist who holds the view that news events can only be meaningful and useful to the audience if they are presented in a context through which relevant background information and analysis that accompanies straight news and does not hesitate to evaluate, criticize and apportion blames or praises where necessary. Edeani (1994) submits that the third category of journalist identified is most likely to achieve the primary target of the theory.

The emerging scenario from the prescriptions of what development media should be by the various scholars is that, development media is all of the following: an advocate who gives voice to the voiceless and the socially weak, an agitator for the common good of the masses, growth and social justice, an organizer or propagandist for national transformation and a media with a social conscience and mission.

In addition, this theory provides for a typical news reporting style that tends to repudiate the western news values of unusualness, oddities and a penchant for being the first to break the news in a horse race fashion. Development media theory is rooted in the ethos that factual reporting is

not enough but taking actions as well. Hence, the news audience should be educated and motivated through the perspectives and opinions offered about the news reports proffered in this theory.

The Nigeria newspapers have been playing a historic role in the struggle for national development beginning from the nationalist movement to the antimilitary regimes in the country. For this, Odozi (2007), holds that, the struggle appears to be a continuous one and each historical epoch presented different developmental concerns and so have media been responding, giving the political tendencies presented. The tempo is still currently sustained as it is clear from the daily news reports in the Nigerian media that government is under surveillance and constant pressure to ensure accountability and responsibility.

It is significant to underscore that despite the different shades of opinion about the nature of development media theory; there is a close perception of development news as normatively, interpretative and investigative among media scholars. (Edeani, 1994: 132). Available literatures as highlighted above have made it clear that the practice of development media has acquired a normative status comparable in rank to the other media theories. (Siebert, Peterson, Shramm, 1956, in McQuail, 2005).

As stipulated in most theories of the press, an influential source of normative press theorization among scholars over the years, “the press always takes on the form and coloration of social and political structures within which it operates.” (McQuail, 2005: 176).

Major strength of this theory is that, contrary to the idea of detached news reporting, development media theory encourages participation and civic engagement with public interest and common good for national growth.

Given the above media context, how much of these defining values of development media theory are reflected in the reporting of Nigerian newspapers on issues of the deregulation of the power sector is fundamental to further enhance their roles in development.

### **2.8.2 Agenda-Setting Theory**

The basic premise of the agenda-setting theory examines how media reports on particular issues, and influence or shapes public awareness and debate about that issue. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, cited in Franklin et al, 2005). Cohen (1963), holds that editors act as gatekeepers of mass mediated messages. They promote a media agenda by prioritizing certain topics as salience issues through the concept of agenda setting in the media. Part of this theory assumes that, media corporations can provide, sustain and prominent coverage of an issue as very important topic while others are marginalized. The theory also assumes that individual members of society reflect on such issues already raised and treated by the media as salient and then make personal submissions based on their subjective reasoning.

The central proposition of the agenda-setting theory submitted by Cohen (1963), who propounded the theory, suggests that,

The media do not tell us what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling us what to think about particular issue.

This typically denotes that mass media has the potential to draw people's attention to certain issues and allow for conclusions already raised in the public agenda. Hence, the Agenda setting power of the media resides in more than the amount of space or time devoted to a story and its rank in the broadcast. Also important is the fact that there is a great consistency between media sources across all media in the choice and type of coverage they give to an event. The more consistency and repetition signal to people regarding a story or news, the more important such issue or event becomes to the public.

Lippmann (1922), cited in Baran and Davis (2006) notes that:

For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations of information. Although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model using the media before we can manage with it.

In other words, the above can be translated that, average people just can't be trusted to make important decisions based on these simplified pictures. Average people have to be protected and important decisions have to be made by technocrats who use better models (the media) to guide their actions.

Although, Lippmann (1922) did not specifically use the term agenda setting; Bernard Cohen is generally credited with refining Lippmann's ideas into the theory of agenda-setting. (Baran and Davis, 2006). Furthermore, had Cohen's ideas on developing the concept of agenda setting not been further researched, it would have lingered in total abandonment and the emergence of the theory. But thanks to McCombs and Shaw (1972), whose further studies in this area reveal that "in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staffs, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping public reality that affect every sphere of human endeavour. Media audience learn only not about a given issue, but ways to approach it and how much importance to be attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, cited in Baran and Davis, 2006).

Again, the theory tends to analyze the strong relationship existing between the emphasis placed on different issues campaign by the media and the judgments of the audience in relation to how salience or important the various campaign topics are.

Although, limitations of this theory are amplified in the study of McCombs and Shaw (1972) thus; that apart from the theory being said to be good in promoting political issues, what other

issues of media contents can it address very effectively? What is the nature of relationship between the media and the audience in influencing their thoughts? Could it be that the society sets the agenda while the media reinforce it? Is it likely that the media must have often influence their output in order to always influence the public minds? If this last question is true, then it is a total deviation from the findings of McCombs and Shaw (1972) which suggests that the relationship is that of often influence of the media on the people and without the people having much opportunity to make much sense out of an issue on their own. Whatever be the arguments of these critics or questions raised, it is not enough to water the place of the agenda-setting theory in explaining media's effect on the people especially in promoting certain political, social and economic matters.

The relevance of this theory to this research is that, the theory can be used to evaluate the amount of prominence and attention Nigerian newspapers often dedicate to policies that are geared towards national development such as deregulation of the power sector with the aim of raising it to the level of public discourse so as to attract a cross-sectional view of how to wriggle out of the problems embedded in the policy.

Based on this, the media can then take a stand in its reports in terms of stories, articles and editorial writing with the aim of tailoring the attention of the people towards a particular aspect of the policy. This step will go a long way in directing public attention on the true nature and state of the policy.

**Justification** for using these theories is hinge on the fact that the newspaper is one of the avenues for exchange of information, it gives support and provide accessible environment where audience are active communication participants. Hence, the relevance of these theories to this work is to provide common insightful perspective for people to access the role of media in

development. The theories are also appropriate to this study because they bring refreshing perspectives, a new thinking of the roles of newspapers to access and facilitate development – elaborating and emphasizing on development issues through the agendas setting. It also point out the lapses, help to formulate suitable development policies and identifying technological means necessary to achieve developmental goals.

It provides motivational support that empowers the people to act, communicate and participate in the broader political and social processes. This type of support may lead to political and social awareness, increase individual self-esteem and efficacy as prescribed by the theories. Since little attention is paid to the influence the media exert on developmental processes, the theories helps to redirect more focus on the importance of media's role in development.

Hence, this study's framework is built on the Development media theory and the Agenda setting theory because it shows the relationship between the media and a development policy. They also produces a framework upon which the research should be analyzed; unlike the other theories that focus more on the media or the audience but do not show distinct relationship between the medium and development which is very important to this work. They also help to realize the study's objectives which are fundamental to this research. The two theories complement each other, the Agenda setting theory helps to understand why a particular topic should be emphasize consistently and thoroughly to make the media audience perceive such a topic as important. The Development media theory on the other hand helps to identify human needs necessary to develop and the suitable technological means for actualizing the identified needs that should be constantly elaborated in the media agenda. The two theories are deeply interwoven in that they both assumed that media should give priority to news and information that has to do with development.

The relationship between the theories to the case study is that the power sector has been going through several reforms by successive administrations in Nigeria and hasn't yielded any positive change to impact the live of citizens and the economy at large. The identified roles of the media by the theories with a good journalistic professionalism can help to ensure transformation and development in the ongoing transition in the power sector. The newspapers can also take development to another level with the provision of norms stipulated by the agenda setting theory and the development media theory. This will directly or indirectly influence not only the media, but also the government and the masses when formulating development policies.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Qualitative and Quantitative Methodological Approach**

This chapter espouses how the research will be executed and what tools would be used to bring the project to fruition. A general overview of key research concepts is explored and the methodology to be used analyzed in relation to the research topic.

A methodology is a strategy, which researchers follow in order to gain knowledge of study phenomenon, and it usually consists of two approaches namely: the quantitative and qualitative approaches. (McNabb, 2004).

The quantitative research has to do with numbers, figures being quantified in terms of statistical analysis. It is usually driven by the researchers concerns. It deals with measurable and quantifiable aspects of the phenomenon under study and it mostly focus on questions such as: to what extent? How much? What relationship exists between factors? What causes a particular process or situation? (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008). It is also an enquiry into an identified

problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analyzed using statistical techniques.

Qualitative research on the other hand, focuses on investigating the behaviour, motivations, desire, attitudes, beliefs, choice and opinions of persons. It seeks to understand the phenomena from “why” and “how” perspectives in order to describe and characterize the phenomenon. (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008).

Basically, qualitative research is defined as “gaining emphatic understanding of societal phenomena and recognizing both the historical dimension of human behaviour and subjective aspects of the human experience”. (Frankfort and David, 1992). It could also be described as a set of non-statistical inquiry techniques and processes used to gather data about social phenomenon. Qualitative data refers to some collection of words, symbols and pictures or other non-numerical records, materials, or artifacts that are collected by a researcher and is data that has relevance to the social group under study. The use for these data goes beyond simple description of events and phenomena; rather, they are used for creating understanding, for subjective interpretation and for critical analysis as well. (McNabb, 2004).

Therefore, this research used **both qualitative and quantitative methods** for the two are needed to address the research objectives. According to Silverman and Marvasti (2008: 147), “there is no right or wrong methods. There are only methods that are appropriate to your research which you are working with”. Secondly, the study uses the two methods because of their determinant, flexible and interactive qualities that will assist in the collation of data on the phenomenon under study. These methods enable the assessment of the extent Nigerian newspapers cover the deregulation of the power sector reform. They answer questions like what, when, how and why, so as to describe and characterize the variables being studied.

Furthermore, the research integrated multiple methods whereby the qualitative implore the use of survey encompassing the in-depth interview; the quantitative measures the explanatory response to some of the questions.

### **3.1 Research Design**

Given the nature of this study, the explanatory mixed research design is adopted. According to Creswell (2002: 566), the explanatory mixed research design method consists of first collecting quantitative data in order to explain or elaborate the phenomenon in question through content analysis while the qualitative data is used to further strengthen and support the quantitative data. The rationale for this approach is that the quantitative data and result will provide a general picture of the research problem specifically through content analysis which is needed to refine, extend or explain the general picture. In the case of this study, quantitative data, which is the first approach in explanatory mixed method, media contents are observed and content analyzed. The qualitative method and data was used to assist the quantitative data by interviewing media audience aimed at providing in-depth explanations of the phenomenon under investigation.

### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The general population for this research has to do with all existing newspapers in Nigeria as the outcome of the research will be use to make generalization. The study will however not be able to examine all the national dailies that are in the business of informing, educating and entertaining the people. Therefore, the population of the study is limited in scope to only two selected national dailies namely: *The Guardian and the Vanguard Newspapers*. These newspapers were studied and analyzed from the period of 1st October, 2013 to 31st April, 2014, which marked the major period when the power sector deregulation was at its peak.

Selection of the two sampled newspapers is based on the Purposive (Judgmental) sampling technique. The process involved in Purposive sampling is mostly based on the authority or the researcher's knowledge and judgment, although, may be perceived as biased or unreliable due to its non-probability status. Purposive sampling starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include category of variables or people of interest and exclude those who do not suit the purpose. This method is popular in sampling newspapers and magazines. (www.googlesearch.com).

**Justification** for the purposive selection of these newspapers as sampled the population is hinge on the fact that, Olukoju, (2004), cited in Oyero and Areoye, (2008: 29), contends that, the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers are considered to be among the leading national dailies in terms of circulation and parade some of the best known journalists in the country. The Guardian is respected for its intellectual and independent views, and is very pervasive in terms of circulation among the various social groups in Nigeria while the Vanguard is a credible news resource because it often delves into broader issues that interest a myriad of people and aim to serve the people through unflinching commitment to free press and the observance of the rule of law. Statistically, the Vanguard circulates 130,000 published copies to reach a very large audience on daily basis and having numerous distribution points in all the geo-political zones across Nigeria. (Olukoju, 2004, cited in Oyero and Areoye, 2008: 49).

Hence, the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers formed the population of the study. Stories or articles published in these newspapers in areas such as sport, entertainment and others not related to deregulation were excluded from the unit of analysis. Only stories published in these newspapers regarding deregulation formed the unit of analysis that were contents analyzed.

### **3.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size**

The concept of sampling was utilized in this study. To determine the sampling technique and sample size for this study, the Systemic Sampled Days technique is used to form the Systemic Composite Week Sampling and to determine the sample size for this study. The systemic sampled days is a probability sampling technique that allows for the systemic selection of all the seven days of the week to be rationally selected on a day per week basis. In other words, four sampled days are systemically selected respectively to represent a monthly edition. These sampled days are concurrently put together to form a systemic composite week sampling.

To demonstrate how the Systemic sampled days sampling which logically transform to the systemic Composite Week sampling works, a particular day was chosen to mark the starting point. For this study, the newspapers editions published on the first Tuesday of the first week of October 2013 (that is, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2013) are selected to mark the starting point. Thereafter, Wednesday of the second week of October 2013 was selected, Thursday in the third week and Friday in the fourth week to complete the days of the weeks of October, 2013. This procedure continued from Saturday of the first week of November, 2013, Sunday of the second week of November 2013 and Monday of the third week and the procedure was repeated concurrently starting with Tuesday of the fourth week of November for the subsequent months of December (2013), January, February, and April (2014). This will give a number of 27 sampled days (editions) each for the sampled newspapers for the seven (7) sampled months, bringing to a total number of fifty four (54) sampled days (editions) for both sampled newspapers to be analyzed. In other words, one edition of each sampled newspaper is chosen per week and the total numbers of the sampled editions of newspapers were counted to determine the **sample size** for this study, which is the fifty four (54) sampled editions (sample size) for both newspapers.

The Availability Sampling method (Also Known as Convenience, haphazard, or accidental, Sampling) was used to draw ten (10) respondents who are newspaper audience on the basis of non-probability and interviewed. This method of sampling is used when choosing elements or subjects who are available or easy to find. The primary advantage of this method is that it is very easy to carry out compared to the other non-probability methods. A researcher can just stand out on his/her favorite street corner or in his/her favorite tavern and administer surveys to his/her target audience. Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993).

**Justification** for adopting the techniques is based on Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2011: 163), who explains that research has demonstrated that the Systemic Sampled Days technique which form the basis for the Systemic Composite Week Sampling technique is superior to both Random Sampling and Consecutive Days Sampling techniques especially when dealing with newspaper contents. Wimmer and Dominick (2011), are of the view that, a small carefully chosen contents of the sampled newspapers to be analyzed, in combination with views of respondents can produce more valid results and with the expenditure of much less time and efforts. This is to minimize excesses and cumbersome data that may lead to errors and manipulation in the course of analysis. In other words, excessively sampled newspaper contents sometimes allows for too much errors and manipulation of data by researchers.

Again and very fundamental, a major advantage of the Systemic sample days and the Composite Week sampling techniques is that, it enables us to know how consistent a newspaper agenda-setting gives prominence to publication of a particular issue throughout a week, month and subsequent time. (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003).

### **3.4 Method of Data Collection**

In gathering quantitative data which is the first approach in the explanatory mixed research design, the Documentary Observation in the form of Content analysis was employed as instrument for data collection. Documents are useful source of data in both qualitative and quantitative research, but they have to be treated with care. Documents can help reconstruct events, and give information about social relationships. (Woods 2006).

Content analysis has to do with observation of documents whether written, printed, video/ audio records, photography, etc. The process of going through documents to scan for relevant or related information is what is referred to as content observation and analysis. The sampled newspapers served as documents to be observed and its contents on the power sector are analyzed by the researcher. The observed documents served as source of data and were analyzed via content analysis.

For this reason, Woods (2006), agrees that documentary methods are identified trends by Participants who observe these trends directly or indirectly and keep records as primary or secondary sources while researchers conduct content analysis using these documents. Primary sources of data are those in which the originator of the news story is recounting firsthand experience of the phenomenon of interest through documentation.

However, Davis Michaelson and Toni Griffin (2005) cited in Woods (2006), stresses strongly that, the weakness of a technique is supported by the strength of another technique, informed the use of in-depth interview to support the documentary observation as instruments to elicit data from respondents who are newspaper audience and conversant with the sampled newspapers.

The interview was done face to face and consist of structured and unstructured patterns. In the structured interview, the researcher prepares specific questions to ask the respondents in relation to the research questions and does not deviate while in the case of unstructured interview, the

researcher is more flexible, though with set questions but might deviate when necessary depending on how the respondent answers, to gain more insight into the phenomenon under investigation.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, the first step was to take sampling from content of the sampled newspapers, which in this case involved two national dailies in Nigeria namely: the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers. The goal was to examine the role the sampled newspapers played in the coverage of the deregulation of the power sector. The newspapers editions analyzed were those of October 1, 2013 to April 31, 2014. These periods, (especially November, 2013) were purposely chosen because it represent a time when the power sector was completely deregulated.

### **3.5 Method of Data Analysis**

Since content analysis is a quantitative research method and is descriptive, analytical and statistical in nature was also employed as a means of data analysis in order to arrive at an explanatory inference. In other words, contents of these newspapers concerning news on deregulation of the power sector were analyzed to determine the aim of the study.

Ohaja (2003: 14) reports that, content analysis refers to the examination of the manifest content of communication to discover the patterns existing therein. Such manifest contents could be advertisements, news stories, features, opinion articles, editorials, letter-to-the-editor, cartoons, photographs and other illustrations in newspapers or magazines. This informed the use of content analysis to analyze the newspapers contents that were observed.

However, Holsti (1969:14) cited in Jensen and Jankowski (1991) specifically opined that, in content analysis, the researcher must decide whether to analyze only the manifest or latent contents of a document. This has led to the debate as to whether hidden meanings found in

documents can be analyzed as it involves interpretation. As a result, Content Analysis as method of data analysis has its limitations and in some cases cannot stand alone. It is therefore combined with other techniques to further enhance the data collection and analysis. In the case of this study, it is combined with the use of in-depth interview.

Interview is a very useful qualitative tool that can also accompany other quantitative tools like Content analysis. For this reason, Jensen and Jankowski (1991) asserts that interviewing provide an opportunity for combining practical, analytical and interpretative approaches to the study of media. Finally, Micro soft bar charts and tables were used to in the process of data interpretation.

The purpose is to identify the scope of attention paid to the issues of development by examining what is reported and how it was reported about deregulation in the Nigeria newspapers. The rationale thus, is to understand the reason for the publication of such stories by the sampled newspapers. It is for this reason that Wimmer and Diminick(2011) asserts that, it is expected that, through analyzing the news contents published by newspapers and interviewing the newspapers audience and writers, the researcher will gain more insight to the phenomenon under study.

### **3.6 Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis for this study include all pages of the sampled newspapers that contain information on deregulation of the power sector such as government pronouncements about deregulation of the sector, actual reforms or launching as well as activities of government affiliated bodies being reported in these newspapers are considered as units to be analyzed.

A coding schedule was developed as the research instrument to measure different variables. The study adopted the nominal (coding) categorization of data. The variables are presented in

categories, with each category having varying options to choose from. The coding procedure involved allocating values on the categories for each of the units.

The essence for the coding is to enable the researcher go through the data and assign evaluative codes to appropriate subject matter aimed at realizing the set objectives of the study and to enhance understanding of the data generated for analyses.

The **Coding Criteria** are based on the following: straight news, background news, cartoons, adverts and written articles on the front, editorial, back and other inside pages containing news on deregulation of the power sector. Each unit scores will determine the actual weighted value placed on the subject by these newspapers.

Edeani (1993), states that, to ensure reliability, coders are often recruited among mass communication journalists who have the basic knowledge, competencies to evaluate the news stories. The content categories considered are attention, prominence, and commitment. Attention is measured in terms of inclusion or exclusion of stories involving deregulation of the power sector in the daily news reports. Prominence is based on the location of the stories in the newspapers pages, considering the editorial pages as a measure of priority and value placed on the story, followed by front and back pages and the inside pages as the least position. Commitment is considered according to the style used for reporting the stories.

Based on these criteria, the research questions would be answered ascertaining relevant findings related to the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

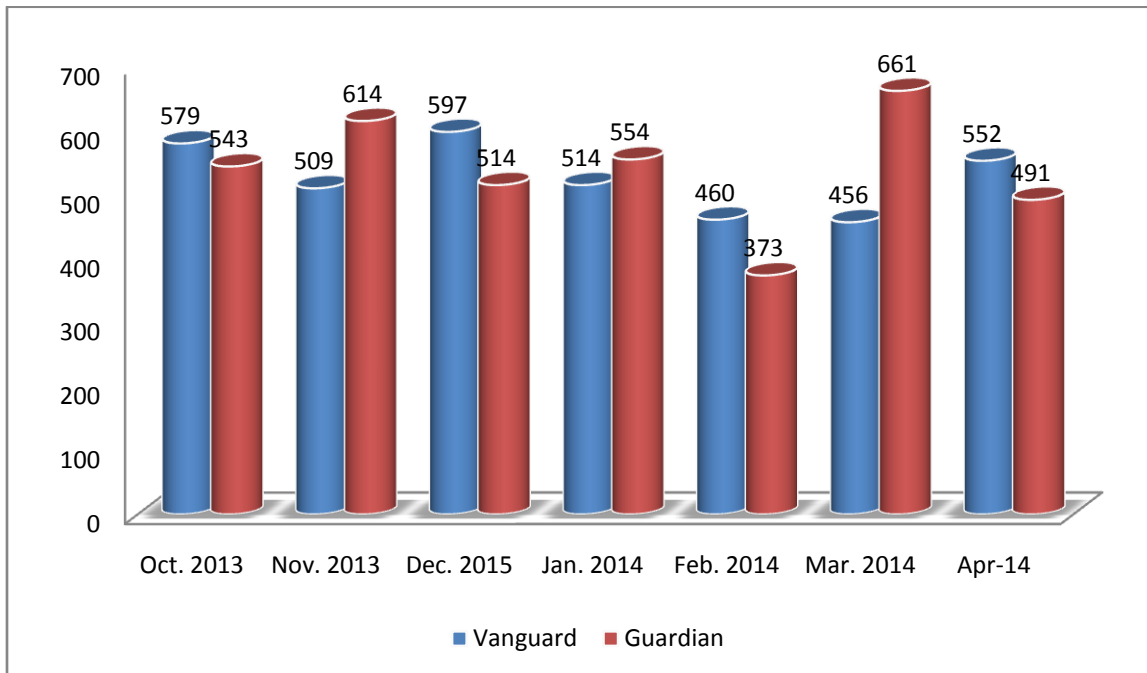
Understanding the role of media in development with particular reference to newspapers and their impacts in executing developmental task is the crux of this study. However, this chapter deals with the analysis of data collected through documentary observation and the conduct of in-depth interview which was also used in discussing the findings on *Media Development: A study of the Vanguard and the Guardian Newspapers coverage of the deregulation of the power sector reform in Nigeria from 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2013-31<sup>st</sup> April, 2014*. The data collected was coded using the nominal coding schedule. It was then interpreted and analyzed using descriptive tool in form of bar charts enhanced by the Micro Soft Excel Statistical Package to foster understanding of the interpretation and discussion of the findings.

#### **4.1 Brief Data Presentation and Interpretations**

Considering the research method adopted, (that is, content analysis but with the additional use of the in-interview) the data analysis is expected to be presented in both quantitative and qualitative format, but with large emphasis placed on quantitative data analysis. To this effect, the quantitative approach using the content coding in the graphs were used to address the research questions.

A total of 3,750 stories were published by the Guardian newspaper in the twenty seven sampled editions compared to the Vanguard newspaper that published 3,694 stories in twenty seven sampled editions making a total of 7,444 number of stories published in both newspapers infifty four sampled editions. To ascertain the above, the number of publications for both sampled newspapers per each sampled month is represented in figure 1below.

**FIGURE 1: Total Number of Publications for both Newspapers per Sampled months**



**Source:** (Based on information in Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers, Oct 1, 2013-Apr 27, 2014).

Figure 1 above present the number of publications of each newspaper in the sampled months. Four editions of each newspaper were systematically sampled to represent each of the sampled months bringing to twenty seven sampled editions for each newspaper and a total of fifty seven sampled editions for both newspapers. The Vanguard newspaper has a slightly higher number of 579(15.7%) publications in the month of October 2013, compared to the Guardian with 543(14.5%) numbers of publications. The Guardian published 614(16.3%) articles in the month of November 2013, compared to Vanguard with 509(13.8%) articles. Vanguard published 597(16.2%) number of articles in December 2013, while the Guardian published 514(13.7%). In January 2014, the Guardian had 554(14.8%) number of publications while the Vanguard published 514(14.6%). The Vanguard published 460(12.5%) number of articles in February, 2014 compared to the Guardian that published 373(9.9%) number of publications. The month of March, 2014 recorded the highest number of publication as the Guardian has 661(17.6%) number of publications compared to the Vanguard with 456(12.3%) number of publications. In the month of April, 2014, the Vanguard has 552(14.9%) number of publications while the Guardian has 491(13.1%) number of publications. In summing the number of publications of both newspapers per sampled month, November, 2013 has the highest number of publication at 1123(15.1%), followed by October 2013 with 1122(15.1%) number of publications in both newspapers. Next is March 2014 with 1117(15.1%) numbers of publications in both newspapers; then December 2014 with 1111(15%) number of publications in both newspapers. Then January 2014 with 1068(14.3%) number of publications in both newspapers. April 2014 has 1043(14.1%) number of publications in both newspapers. Last is the month of February 2014 with 833(11.2%) number of publications in both newspapers.

Deducing from figure 1 above, the study then looked at the number of stories and percentages on deregulation of the power sector published by each newspaper among the total published articles in the fifty four sampled editions. These figures are shown in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Number of stories and their percentages published on deregulation of the power sector in both newspapers from October 2013 – April 2014.**

	VANGUARD	GUARDIAN	BOTH NEWSPAPERS
Total number of Published stories	3,694	3,750	7,444
Total number of published stories on deregulation of the power sector	46	58	104
Percentages (%) of deregulation of the power sector stories	1.24	1.54	2.78

Table 1 above shows both newspapers published stories and their percentages on deregulation of the power sector. On the whole, each newspaper devoted less than 3% coverage to issues, events and development that occurred in the power sector in the period under review. This shows that deregulation of the power sector news were largely under reported by both newspapers.

Based on the above finding, the research sought to examine the average monthly publications for each newspaper and the percentages of stories on deregulation of the power sector. Note thus that the term “*average*” in this study refers to the expected number of publications on deregulation of the power sector by the newspapers. It is necessary to determine the average or expected monthly publication for both newspapers since the sampling technique used do not permit sampling of complete editions of the newspapers per month. This attempts to envisage the number of monthly publications on deregulation of the power sector when considering a complete monthly edition of the newspapers.

To determine the average monthly publications thus; stories on deregulation of the power sector in the sampled editions of both newspapers were counted to determine the number of stories published by each newspaper on monthly basis. This was done by adding the total number of all stories on deregulation of the power sector of all the sampled months of each newspaper, multiplied by the total frequency of each newspaper (that is the 27 sampled editions of each newspaper within the seven sampled months) in order to determine the average (that is, expected) monthly publication for the Vanguard and Guardian respectively on deregulation of the power sector. Hence, the expected (average) monthly publications for the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers on deregulation of the power sector within the sampled period are 398 and 313 respectively when considering a complete monthly edition. (See table 6).

In order to find the percentage of stories published by each newspaper, the total score for each month is divided by the total number of stories on deregulation of the power sector in all the seven (7) sampled months and then multiply by 100 to get the total average percentage for the Guardian and Vanguard newspapers as 14.6% and 14.7% respectively. (See table 7).

To find the total average percentages for both newspapers, the total score for each month is divided by the total number of stories on deregulation of the power sector in all the seven (7) sampled months and then multiply by 100 and each score for both newspaper is added together to get 29.5%. (See table 7).

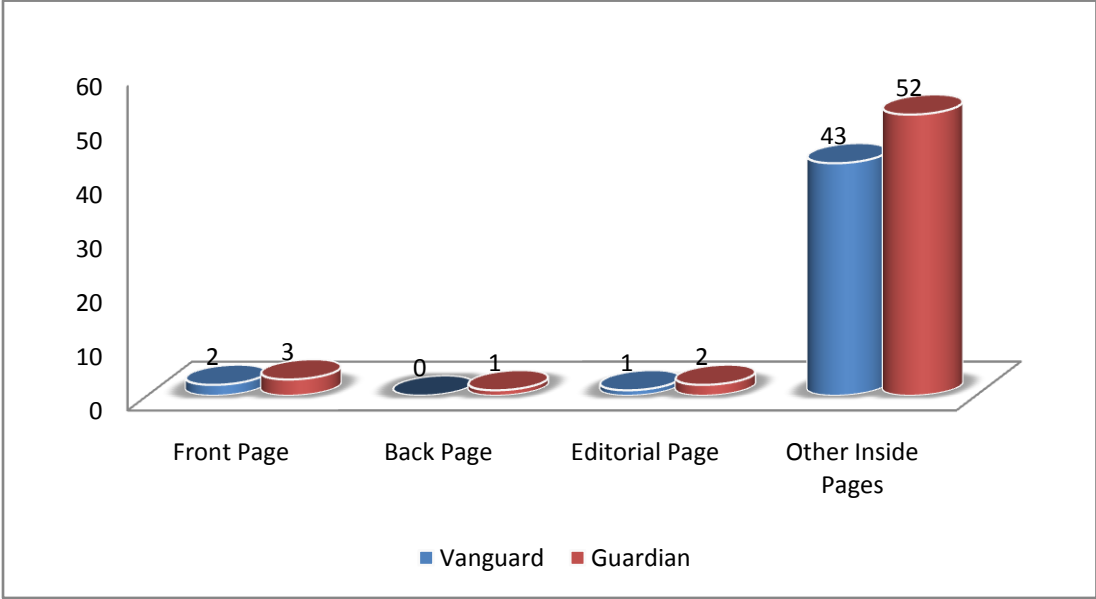
## **4.2 Further Discussion and Critique of Findings**

To enhance understanding of the discussion of the findings, the research questions are revisited below.

**Research Question One: What is the degree of prominence accorded to deregulation of the power sector news articles by the newspapers?**

The variables coded here measures the degree of prominence the sampled newspapers attached to news articles on deregulation of the power sector news by considering specific pages placement of deregulation of the power sector news in the sampled newspapers because newspapers often devote some pages to very important news reports. Options in this category included the sampled newspapers front page, back page, editorial page and other inside pages. The findings are presented in figure 2 below.

**FIGURE 2: Page Placement of Deregulation of Power Sector News Articles**



**Source:** (Based on information in Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers, Oct 1, 2013-Apr 27, 2014).

Figure 2 shows very little difference between stories published on the front, back and editorial pages of the newspapers. It should be noted that the Guardian has a slightly higher amount of

reports on deregulation of the power sector on the front page with 3(5.2%) stories compared to Vanguard that publish 2(4.3%). On the back page, the Guardian publish 1(1.7%) compared to Vanguard with 0(0%), and the editorial pages, the Guardian published 2(3.4%) articles compared to the Vanguard that published 1(2.2%). On other inside pages, the Guardian published 52(89.7%) articles compared to the Vanguard that published 43(93.5%). On the whole, the Guardian tends to dedicate these pages to top stories and news, while the Vanguard tends to publish sport articles with one or two news on the back page. In essence, The Guardian is able to share most of its stories on deregulation of the power sector between its inside pages as well as the Vanguard, however, it dedicate only a subtle of their front pages, back pages and editorial pages to news stories on deregulation of the power sector. The page placement of most of the deregulation of the power sector related articles entails that both newspapers gave little prominence to news on deregulation of the power sector.

From the above findings on the degree of prominence accorded to development issues on deregulation of the power sector shows that the newspapers gave low prominence concerning events on deregulation of the power sector within the period under study as most stories reported on deregulation of the power sector were placed on the inside pages of both newspapers. This finding was arrived at by coding prominent issues that occupied the newspapers most important pages within the period sampled. (See figure 4). Despite the fact that both newspapers published a fairly considerable amount of stories on the deregulation of power sector, none published more than three (3) articles on deregulation of the power sector on its front page where the major headlines always dominate, one (1) on their back pages and two (2) on their editorial pages. Reported issues on deregulation of the power sector reform hardly featured on the front, back and editorial pages. Hence, the level of prominence placed on deregulation of the power sector

by the newspapers was very low when compared to political issues. According to Omu (1978) and Jibo (2000) cited in Jibo (2003) holds that, it is the ideology and politics of the media proprietors that mostly decides what issue dominates in the media agenda, bias and slant. In Nigeria, this has been the dominant consideration since the pioneer media proprietors were motivated largely by their political ambition to establish a printing press to promote their political ideologies.

There is no doubt that in newspapers publications, editors and owners consider the importance of each story to their audience before deciding whether to feature it on their most significant pages. Other important stories that do not make the front page are sometimes published on the back page. The editorial page is very special to newspaper organizations because that is where journalists are able to lend their voices on burning issues within society. Because of the importance of the editorial page to newspaper organizations, most editors often ensure that only the very important publications that matter to the media or government are presented to readers on these pages.

In line with the above, the interview aspect revealed that majority of the respondents opined that newspapers reports often favour stories that are important to their organizations and interest. For instance, Amos Anihi opined that:

...Provided such news will promote their interest, they will report it with more enthusiasm because we all know that the media report news putting their interest first. So, how interesting and beneficial that news is for them, depends on how and way and manner they'll present the news. Like for me, I read the newspaper almost every day but I've never come across any news on privatization of the power sector on these pages we are talking about.

(Interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

This respondent also noted that the newspapers can do more to enhance development by continually elaborating on development issues at stake on their important pages that captures main events regarding development that matters to the public.

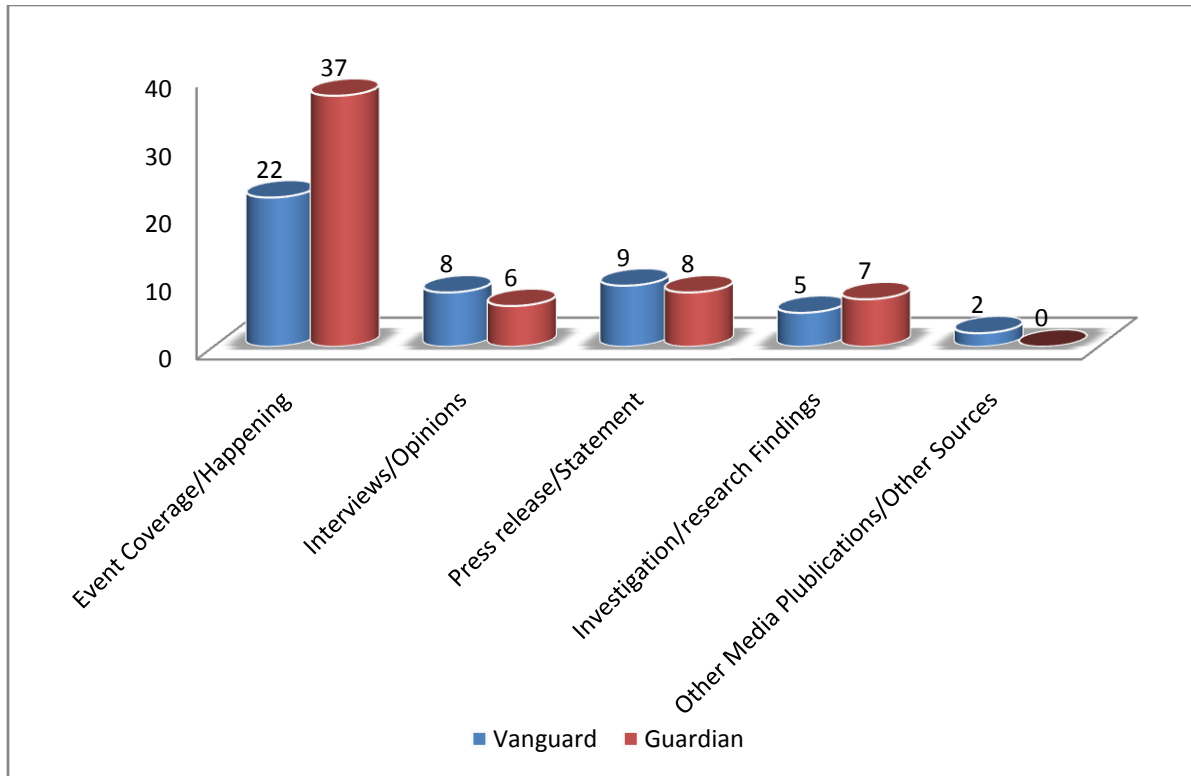
The low placement of deregulation of the power sector related articles on the front, back and editorial pages strongly assume that these newspapers did not consider the event that unfolded in the power sector to be very significant to society and did not report it with high prominence.

Thus, this study suggest that in order to raise public awareness on the trends in the power sector, articles on deregulation of the sector must feature on the front, back and editorial pages of newspapers to make their audience perceive such development as important.

**Research Question Two: How do the Guardian and the Vanguard newspapers acquire information they publish on deregulation of the Power Sector?**

The next variable measured was the sources of information on stories on deregulation of the power sector published in the sampled newspapers. This was done to examine whether reporters in the sampled newspapers identify the sources of stories and information they published on deregulation of the power sector as it is perceived that the news commercialization policy enables media outlets to source for news from government information agencies in some cases. It is possible to identify sources of stories in newspapers since sources of news are often implied or explicitly stated in the reports by journalists. The findings are presented in figure 3 below.

**FIGURE 3: Newspapers Sources of News Stories on Deregulation of the Power Sector**



**Source:** (Based on information in Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers, Oct 1, 2013-Apr 27, 2014)

Figure 3 shows that, stories published on deregulation of the power sector by the sampled newspapers were mainly sourced through event coverage/happenings within society. This demonstrates the trend among the newspapers to rely more on occurring phenomenon and planned events as source of news stories. The Guardian leads in this aspect with 37(63.8%) stories on deregulation of the power sector sourced through event coverage/ happening compared to Vanguard that sourced 22(49.8%) stories on deregulation of the power sector in such a way. However, the Vanguard is slightly leading in terms of stories sourced on deregulation of the power sector through interviews/opinions with 8(17.4%) sourced stories compared to Guardian with 6(10.3%) sourced stories. On stories source through press release/statement, the Vanguard sourced 9(19.6%) compared to the Guardian that sourced 8(13.8%). In terms of sourcing news through investigation/research finding, the Guardian sourced 7(12.1%) stories compared to

Vanguard that sourced 5(10.9%), and sourcing news through other media sources/other sources, the Vanguard lead by sourcing 2(4.3%) stories compared to Guardian that source 0(0%). In order to discuss how the newspapers acquired information on issues of deregulation of the power sector, the sources of newspapers stories on deregulation of the power sector shown in figure 3 is seen as the best way to ascertain that.

It became obvious that the findings of this study revealed that the sampled newspapers source most of their information on deregulation of the power sector primarily through events/happenings in the society. Other sources that serve as means of information for newspapers such as interview/opinion, press release/statement, investigation/research finding and other media sources/publication tend to serve as secondary source of information as the newspapers do not rely so much on them as illustrated in figure 3. This could imply that most journalists only report on development when there is a major activity occurring about a specific issue. This could also mean the commercialization policy has little effect on these newspapers while reporting on happenings in the power sector. Although, this research shows that most Nigerian journalists rarely conduct interviews or investigate prevailing circumstances as source of news. Similarly, informing the public about development regarding the power sector is also assumed to be given minimal coverage due to over dependence on one source of information leading to lack of investigative reports, and critical analysis of development news coverage that can lead to fact finding which also suggests that the newspapers rarely performs a watchdog role. This is to say; Oso's (2012), assertion that the news commercialization policy in Nigeria allows media organizations to acquire news and information from various sources and sponsorship, is also overwhelming with the print media; but they mostly depend on occurrence of events happening to report effectively on particular issues despite the availability of other information

sources. On the whole, how reliable and trusted these sources are also count or discount from the media credibility because when the media depend on a wrong source for information can only add to the already existing problem of media credibility crisis, bias and manipulation which confirms Galadima and Soola (2012), observation that distortion of credible information in media's report sometimes logically flows from the problem of news commercialization process and lack of investigation by the media.

Also using the interview as a tool to further elaborate on the above question, Ogbadu, D. Suleiman lamented that:

I respect the newspaper because I read it a lot, but one cannot take everything you read on the paper and digest them all the time because some of their story sources are not always reliable as their stories contain reports that has misleading opinion because the other newspapers sources hardly confirm sources of stories from another newspaper. (Interviewed, 21<sup>st</sup> June, 2015).

Additionally, Abel Ogbonyomi opined that:

Apart from the fact that bad news is good news for the media in general; they still keep us informed about some realities that are happening in our society today. For example, if not for the media today, we wouldn't have heard about the missing twenty billion US dollars even though Goodluck and OkonjoIwela are trying to deny it. These things are happening live and the media are there to observe them so as to inform us and this is how the media get their news. They (i.e newspapers) see their role in the crisis as paramount for the sustenance of democracy but then, you cannot trust them all the time because there are people's interests they serve which make them to change some fact in their news that is quite different from the way it is in the original source. (Interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

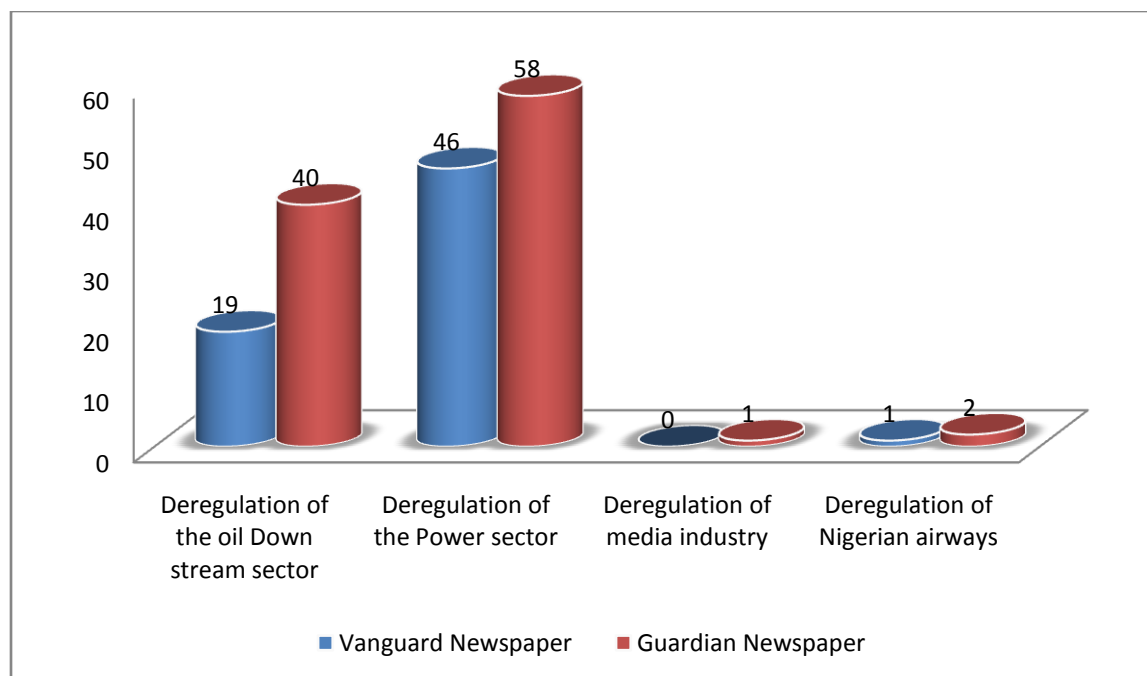
To sum up here, findings from the above discussion show that the two newspapers did not adequately report on the deregulation of the power sector during the period investigated due to over dependency on events/happening as source on their information and not giving much consideration to other sources which may lead to setting less agenda and low reportage on deregulation of the power sector. Hence, low reportage also shows on the other hand that the Nigerian newspapers failed to set much agenda for public discussion on issues concerning the

power sector, thus failing to raise issues for the public. The newspapers also failed in their role as disseminators of positive development news, as posited by the development media theory.

**Research Question Three: What development issue is most emphasized on deregulation subject matters in Nigerian newspapers?**

To ascertain the above question, the study sought to examine the frequency of topics on deregulation subject matter in the coded schedule. By frequency means how often or frequent a topic is treated in the newspapers. The variables measured (coded) here was the general subject matter in terms of publications of news articles found on deregulation subject matters (shown in figure 4 below). This is done in line with Wimmer and Dominick (2011: 170) who opined that “the researcher needs some benchmark for comparison of the items coded”. In the case of this study, to help determine the most emphasized deregulation subject matter in the sampled newspapers, the researcher decided to produce a content analysis of stories found on other deregulation matters. The options within this category include ranges of stories reported generally on several aspects of deregulation subject matters. These other deregulation subjects were coded respectively in an attempt to make comparison with regard to the amount of coverage on deregulation of the power sector versus other deregulation subject matters found in the sampled newspapers. The findings are presented in figure 2 below.

**FIGURE 4: Subject Matter on Deregulation News Articles**



**Source:** (Based on information in Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers, Oct 1, 2013-Apr 27, 2014).

Figure 4 above present the frequency distribution of each deregulation subject. As seen, the two sampled newspapers varied in the amount of reportage they gave to the general matter on deregulation. Both papers gave predominant coverage to issues relating to the deregulation of the oil downstream sector and the deregulation of power sector in varying order but with coverage on stories on deregulation of the power sector in the lead among the subjects of deregulation news articles. The Guardian gave the highest coverage to stories related to power sector with 58(57%) published articles compared to the Vanguard with 46(69.7%), followed by stories on deregulation of the downstream oil sector with the Guardian leading with 40(40%) published articles compared to Vanguard with 19(28.8%).The Guardian also gave the most coverage to the other subject matters on deregulation news article. The Guardian publishes 1(0.6%) article on deregulation of the media industry to the Vanguard that publishes 0(0%). On deregulation of the Nigerian airways, the Guardian publishes 2(1.2%) articles compared to the Vanguard that publish 1(0.6%).

The findings of this study show that issues relating to deregulation of the power sector and deregulation of the oil downstream sector were the most emphasized deregulation subject matters in the Nigerian newspapers within the period of 1<sup>st</sup>October 2013 to 31<sup>st</sup>April 2014. Other deregulation matters pertaining to deregulation of the media industry alongside issues on deregulation of the Nigerian airways were the least emphasized among the general development issues reported on deregulation in Nigerian newspapers.

The high reportage given to stories on deregulation of the power sector over other stories on deregulation subject matters reflected in the sampled newspapers can be attributed to the fact that the sampled newspapers were those of 1<sup>st</sup>October 2013 to 31<sup>st</sup>April 2014; which marked the period of major happenings in the power sector such as the one hundred percent withdrawal of the federal government from its ownership and control of the power sector – at best, owning its new ownership and management to private individual. Similarly, the study examined and observed the specific period which marked a major event and happening in the history of the power sector: coverage of the power sector which should not only dominate headlines but should also dominate other deregulation issues at this particular period almost got a head to head coverage compared to the deregulation of the oil downstream sector. When considering amount of coverage the Guardian newspaper alone gave to deregulation of the power sector at 57% compared to the coverage it gave to deregulation of the oil downstream sector at 40%. (See table 3). This competition in terms of coverage given to the oil downstream sector almost equal that of the power sector in this particular period which on the other hand, may not only be attributed to the persistent rise in fuel prices but events occurring in the oil sector tends to attract more newspapers coverage than the other sectors of the economy, but it featured prominently in the Nigerian newspapers within the sampled period because it attracts more political interest. This is

true assuming coverage was to be given to both sectors in ordinary time or period that no major event is occurring in the two sectors; it means the downstream oil sector would have gained more coverage than the power sector because it is used to assess the government interest at national and international levels. Deregulation of the media industry and that of the Nigerian airways had very low coverage in the Nigerian newspapers. The only reason such issues are brought into light by the newspapers is when there is a major occurrence in those aspects and reporting on them has to make reference to past history of these sectors. For instance, coverage on deregulation of Nigerian airways was thrown into center stage for debate by the newspapers because of the DANA plane crash in 2013 which made the newspapers report to recount or reflect on the present flaws in the aviation industry that has persisted since the federal government deregulation of the Nigerian airways. This is to say, coverage of deregulation of the power sector and of the oil downstream sector which scored the highest coverage among most emphasized development issues on deregulation subject matters may be forgotten sooner or later. The only time the newspapers may remember to give them coverage is when some major events may have occurred in those sectors again.

To further talk about what development issue is most emphasized among the deregulation subject matters in the newspapers, in an interview conducted with Vincent Ejamah in respect to the research question in focus, the respondent surmises that:

Newspapers have tried in their effort to give adequate coverage on behalf of the government and the people because the newspapers coverage's are part of the information parameter that helped mobilized support for development. This is true but at time they jettison this responsibility in that most of their coverage's favour political events than development and their coverage lack balance of how events should be placed in their reports. But, generally speaking, I think the petroleum sector has more coverage than other development issues in the newspapers probably because it is the backbone of the Nigerian economy and ordinarily, in any Nigeria dailies you read, there's always a feature on the petroleum sector. (Interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

Similarly, regarding how often development issues are featured and what development issue tends to feature more in newspapers; Garbawada noted that:

...Of course, the newspapers I read have features on development issues like features on agriculture, health, education and so on. All these are developmental features but I think the petroleum sector always feature more than those I just mentioned but generally speaking, politics comes first in newspapers before development because the political institution determines what transpire in the development arena. So I think the newspapers should help in projecting issues on development in the country by featuring more reports on development; things would change for the better.  
(Interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

The interview conducted further ascertained what development issue is most emphasized in newspapers, the respondents content that the oil sector is often given more cognizance by the newspapers than other sectors; but the high reportage given to stories on deregulation on the power sector over other stories on deregulation as reflected in the sampled newspapers may be hinge on the fact that the period of October 2013 to April 2014, marks the period when the power sector deregulation reached its peak.

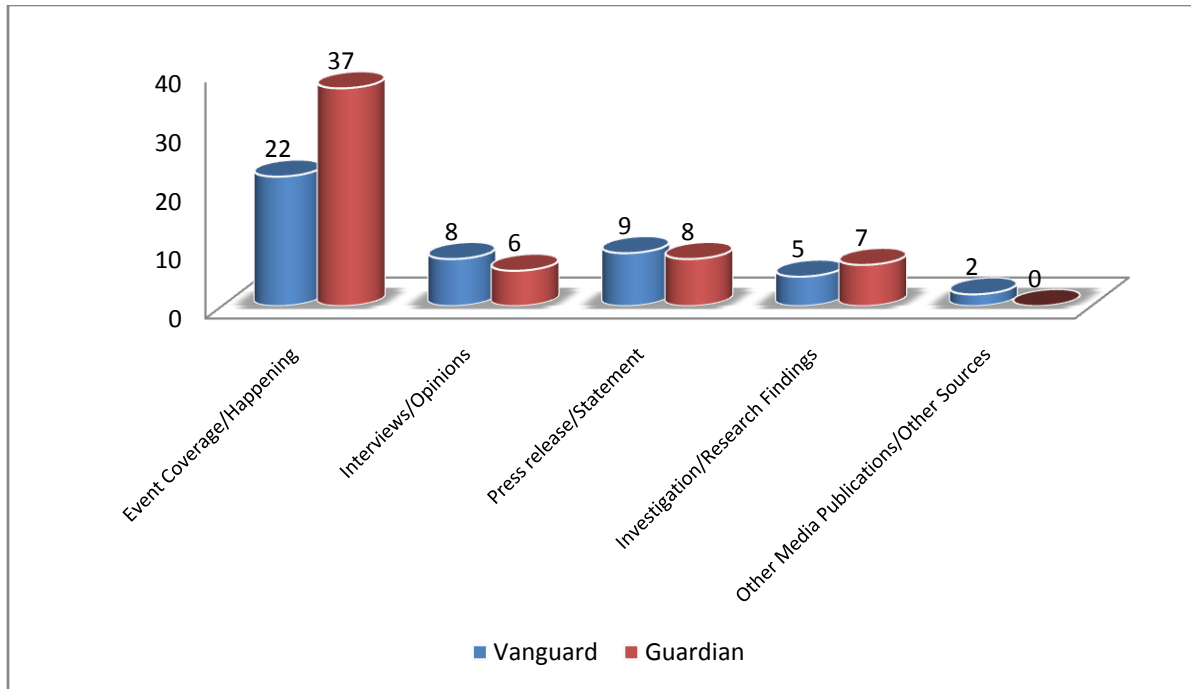
At this juncture therefore, it was not surprising that findings on developmental issues concerning deregulation reveals that reports on the deregulation of power sector is slightly higher than reportage on the deregulation of the oil downstream sector. Despite alarming political interest that Nigeria has in almost all areas of the petroleum sector which tends to be the backbone of the Nigerian economy. It was discovered that the amount of coverage given to the deregulation of the power sector was higher and very impressive among all the deregulation subject matters that were emphasized in the newspapers. However, it was not too impressive on the whole, when considered solely to other political issues. Perhaps, this revelation may be attributed to the fact that the sampled newspapers were those published in the period the power sector was deregulated.

Based on this result, it shows an urgent need for a continual and increased focus of newspapers coverage on the power sector as it is in this study, especially amidst the country's consistent power shortage and its epileptic supply. It is hoped that effective newspaper coverage in line with the assumptions of the agenda setting theory by continuously elaborating on the need to revamp the power sector and its relevance in national development could help change this situation.

**Research Question Four: Did the newspapers play the investigative journalism role that put them as a watchdog and fourth estate?**

The variables measured for the above question was the coding schedule on source of information on deregulation of the power sector stories published in the sampled newspapers in figure 3, focusing solely on investigation. This was done to ascertain whether the sampled newspapers reporters often research or dig deeper to reveal certain deeds without relying much on other information sources before publishing reports they frequently term as truth. The findings are presented in figure 3 below.

**FIGURE 3: Newspapers Sources of News Stories on Deregulation of Power Sector**



**Source:** (Based on information in Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers, Oct 1, 2013-Apr 27, 2014).

Figure 3 shows some means that newspapers depend on as sources of information they publish on deregulation of the power sector from the sampled newspapers. These means are identified thus: event coverage and happening where the Guardian score 37(63.8%) compare to Vanguard that scored 22(49.8%). On interviews/opinions, Vanguard scores 8(17.4%) compare to Guardian at 6(10.3%). On press release/statement, the Vanguard leads with 9(19.6%) compare to the Guardian at 8(13.8%). In terms of news investigation and research, the Guardian score 7(12.1%) compared to Vanguard that scores 5(10.9%), and on reliance on other media sources/other sources, the Vanguard lead by scoring 2(4.3%) compare to Guardian that scores 0(0%).

From the above finding, the data generated shows that investigative journalism is practiced by both newspapers. The Guardian newspaper tends to be more inclined to its role of investigative journalism on issues concerning the deregulation of the power sector than the Vanguard which on the other hand, gave less investigative analysis in its reports in this regard.

Again, the data generated shows the extent to which investigative journalism is practiced by both newspapers to be considerably low. (See figure 3). Reason for this can be attributed to challenges facing the practice of investigative journalism in the country. This finding has proven that Nigerian journalists have not overcome challenges engulfing the practice of media professionalism by journalists.

Despite acknowledging that Nigerian newspapers have attempted to observe the investigative journalism role, the fact remains that there are still critical issues that the Nigerian newspapers need to deal with. Some of the more obvious one's are that Nigerian journalists oftentimes tend to over censor their publications for fear of reprisals. This leads to factual inexactitude; a situation where information is often incomplete or deliberately down played or some facts missing and deteriorate the foundation of investigative journalism.

Some of the challenges militating against sound investigative journalism affirm those identified by Jibo (2003) which include: poor remuneration for the journalists; the polarization of the media along North-South divide that pervades Nigerian politics; ownership influence that affects media stand and judgment on certain issues in the private media, as well as the public media have often been accused of reflecting the ideological and political considerations of the proprietors, the issue of protocol journalism in which highly placed public officials are deliberately shielded from embarrassing questions and investigations from the media in return for some consideration for the media. Also extreme commercialization of news; partisan, biased or ethnic reporting of events and the practice of blackmail journalism as identified by Olutokun (2001) could be among the reasons. These and other factors hinder the sound practice of investigative journalism in the country.

The prospects of the practice of investigative journalism could be interpreted as lagging in newspapers publications without delving deeper into the issues aimed at exposing factors and practices that may be prohibiting the deregulation of the power sector reform to yield.

In the data generated through the interview, majority of the respondents affirmed that investigative journalism is practiced but is very low and ineffective, and as such; the newspapers need to do more to be an investigative tool while one respondent said it is not practiced at all.

This is evident to an interview response with Sylvester Adakole who gave his view on the position of newspapers as a viable tool for investigation, opined that:

...In fact that's what they should be doing by investigating but I don't want to completely believe in the assertion that newspapers are reliable tool for exposing corruption all the time because, you see, sometimes the writers of these newspapers are too bias in trying to give us information concerning a particular corrupt politician or member of the society that has committed a crime financially. I see it as those writing these articles are often bias. Like in the case of Farouk Lawal caught in the scene of collecting bribe of over 450 thousand pounds and if you were reading the newspapers at this period particularly the Daily Trust look so bias in presenting the issue because plenty people are saying the Daily Trust is just like a paper for Northern Nigerians. So it try to hide up some kind of issue in favour of Farouk who is a northerner not to expose him.  
(Interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

To compliment the above response, Abdulsalam Bashiru Danimo asserted that:

...In fact, if you pick up two or three papers reporting on the same case, they all have different version of the story due to lack of proper investigation. So tell me, how can you rely on them as people who are good investigators? Because honestly, the papers has not reported the truth behind a lot of happenings in the country and there are several other cases like that presently. So...  
(Interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2015).

In light of the above, it can be said that the absence of an effective investigative journalism unequivocally means its practice is at the barest minimal. In the absence of the effective practice of investigative journalism, the media particularly the newspapers cannot fight the 3Cs namely: corruption, collusion and cronyism. And even where the media, particularly, the print media has exposed corrupt acts, these have usually been after the demise of the administration under

which the acts occurred as lamented in Jibo, (2003). The media should not only promote human rights, it has to uphold the rule of law and also keep the citizens constantly informed. This can only be achieved with critical investigations.. To discharge this duty creditably, journalists must be equipped with the necessary investigative training to bring out the truths to the public and fulfill their functions in promoting development. Eregare (2002) posited that the Nigeria media have been accused of fact inexactitude; a situation where press release are in some cases distorted to give a slant that would suit the idiosyncrasies of either the reporter or the medium owners. Hence, what is advocated here is that the newspapers should shun unprofessional acts capable of jeopardizing their credibility in any way, and embrace professionalism at all cost.

However, the issue of professionalism continues to remain a critical area of challenge in relation to the contentions surrounding investigative journalism practice in Nigerian as demonstrated in the findings of this research. In other words, due to the ineffective practice of investigative journalism identified in this study implies that the Nigerian press is not a good watchdog and has not properly serve as the fourth estate of the people in terms of giving them fair representation in the way they inform the public by exposing certain issues to the advantage of the masses and developmental matters.

### **4.3 Overview of Findings**

The research is carried out to determine the roles of the Guardian and Vanguard newspapers with the view to enhancing newspapers coverage of the deregulation of the power sector reform in Nigeria. Base on the research findings, it was discovered the following:

Among all the stories on deregulation published in the Vanguard and Guardian newspapers, articles on deregulation of the power sector slightly dominate but with almost a head to head

amount of coverage compared to stories on deregulation of the oil downstream sector within the period, a major time in the history of the power sector.

The sampled newspapers mostly depend on event happening as the major source of information they publish on deregulation of the power sector (shown in figure 3) which led to the newspapers failing to set more agenda on the sector and in turn led to low reportage of events that occurred in the power sector.

The degree of prominence the newspapers dedicated to coverage of events that occurred in the power sector during the period was low (shown in figure 2) as they failed to publish enough articles frequently concerning deregulation of the power sector on the most important pages of their papers.

The practice of investigative journalism faces challenges especially in any corrupt allegation that may have occurred in the power sector and as a result, Nigerian newspapers are weak watch dog and unreliable as the people's fourth estate.

#### **4.4 Key Contribution**

The study brings into light the attention the Nigeria newspapers placed on the deregulation of the power sector reform in the national agenda and the extent to which the newspapers report on general issues emanating from the reform in terms of the investigative role they played, prominence they placed while reporting on the sector and means they acquire their information about the sector.

The study brings to knowledge that there exists inequality in newspapers coverage of issues regarding development compare to other issues publish in the newspapers; such gap needs to be address by the media by setting more agenda to tackle problems hindering development particularly in the power sector for some decade now. Since it is believe that the media is one of

the major means of achieving positive development, the study thus scientifically contributes to the field of communication especially in Nigeria. This study have revealed that newspaper practice are ineffective in achieving development as speculated by the norms of development journalism in that not much newspaperscoverage and analysis is devoted to stories on development such as the reform in the power sector. Not much research is carried out in form of investigative journalism by the newspapers to expose any set back, laxity and corrupt practices hindering development of the sector. Hence, the research provide some tips on how the media particularly the newspapers can contribute to development mainly in the power sector as the sector is not just an integral part, but has the flip to turn around the fortune of the economy and contributes to national development.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECCOMENDATIONS**

## 5.1 Summary

This research analyzes the coverage of the Nigeria newspapers (the Guardian and the Vanguard) in terms of the role they played in the course of deregulating the power sector in the quest to develop the sector in order to tackle the challenges of epileptic power supply in the country.

Theories underpinning this study are; first the development media theory that aids the understanding of how the media should operate. Basically it suggests that media should focus on specific flash points in the society where the media should pay more attention to development challenges in order to influence development. Secondly, the utilization of the Agenda setting theory propounded by Jeff Cohen (1963) which lay emphasis on the media ability to set more agenda on issues concerning development that can help focus attention and resources in the particular direction needed for development attainment.

Unequivocally, the integration of the qualitative methodology with regards to in-depth interview and documentary observation and the quantitative methodology with regards to content analysis was also implored. The qualitative methodology through the use of in-depth interview was used to interrogate beliefs and opinion of respondents regarding how effective they think newspapers are influencing development. The documentary observation aided in scanning for related texts, news and articles in the sampled newspapers that are in line with the phenomenon under study. The quantitative methodology on the other hand helps in determining the role of the Nigerian newspapers in the deregulation of the power sector. The research instruments used helped in achieving the objectives of the study. The study used the systemic days sampling procedure which bring about the composite week sampling procedure to select the sampled newspapers editions that will be analyzed and the simple random technique was used to select fifteen

respondents for interview. The fifty four sampled newspapers editions were used to draw inference for the entire population.

Analysis of the field findings was done using descriptive tools such as tables and bar charts whereby percentages and frequencies was used in gaining insight into the role Nigerian newspapers played in the deregulation of the power sector. From the analysis and interpretation of data gotten from the field reveals that among all the stories on deregulation subject matters published in the sampled newspapers, articles on deregulation of the power sector slightly dominate but with almost a head to head amount of coverage compared to stories published on deregulation of the oil downstream sector despite taking into account the period of the study which mark a major time in the history of the power sector. Again Nigerian newspapers mostly depend on event happening as the major source of information they publish on deregulation of the power sector which led to newspapers failing to set more agenda on the sector and in turn led to low reportage of events that occurred in the power sector. The degree of prominence Nigerian newspapers dedicated to coverage of events that occurred in the power sector during the period it was deregulated was low as they failed to publish enough articles on the most important pages of their papers. The practice of investigative journalism faces challenges and as a result, not a single corrupt allegation was reported concerning the policy in the sampled newspapers that may have occurred in the power sector. Hence, Nigerian newspapers were not as effective in their watch dog role and unreliable as a fourth estate.

Finally, the role of newspapers in development is not very effective taking into account the Nigeria case as demonstrated in this study but with dedication and consideration to their professional ethics and responsibilities placed on them, will help improve a healthy media practice especially in the development of societies especially as suggested by the interviewed

respondents that the media need to do more than they are doing now to eliminate those challenges that stand as hindrance to the media prospects and practice in the country. Only when this is done will the media serve better.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The study reflects newspapers coverage of the power sector between October, 2013 to April, 2014. The study has also shown the poor coverage of deregulation of the power sector by two Nigerian newspapers. It is acknowledged thus that based on the newspapers performance of the above mentioned period, suggest that future research can only benefit from a comparative study to determine any significant change that may have occurred since then.

The use of newspapers in development seems promising but only if explored wisely. The Nigerian newspapers can play a more effective role in the quest for positive transformation to take place if their professional standards are observed. In particular, the newspapers need to show more commitment to the universal ethics of the profession with strong attachment to the sacredness of facts, finding on development issues, set more agenda on development to give them high prominence.

Although, there is a high involvement of newspapers to plan and execute development policies around the world, notwithstanding, their functions also serve developmental purposes in Nigeria since they were used to disseminate information regarding the power sector and the effects it bears on the economy as in the case of the sampled newspapers. They can be used as catalyst to achieve meaningful development only if they observe professionalism and just ethics cited as their watch word because once issues of facts and professionalism have been subjected to disrespect, the way is wide open for all sorts of misconduct ranging from lack of commitment,

bribe taking and failure to dig deeper in order to reveal wrong acts, destroys the newspaper credibility. (Jimada 2006). In the process, important considerations are compromised, including transparency and accountability with regards to developmental issues as in the case of deregulation of the power sector. These are the contemporary ethical problems of the Nigerian newspapers.

The poor journalism skills problems are also a hindrance in spite of the large number of journalists in the Nigeria media industry. The skills of investigative journalism have not been widely exhibited. In the event, serious issues such as allegations of corruption against top government officials, receive a cavalier approach. Serious and widely publicized allegations are thus allowed to quietly disappear from the media consciousness because the Nigeria newspapers have almost jettisoned these professional responsibilities.

In essence, the Nigeria newspapers should deduce from the assumptions of the development media theory and the agenda setting theory; and should uphold the investigative journalism practice if they must achieve their aim in developing our societies since their influence are overwhelming and significant to bring about growth.

It can be concluded that there is low commitment on the part of the Nigerian newspapers to deal with ethical issues of professionalism which to some extent gave rise to some of the problems at the base of development journalism. This assertion is further buttressed by the fact that development news hardly merits front, back or editorial page commentary. There is also the suspicion that sources of development news reports appear to be more of events/happening and press release driven as most dependent sources of information for newspapers. The suspicion here is that most journalists may not have acquire enough professional knowledge and training to interrogate the dynamics of development policies formulated by government, so they are

deficient in in-depth and interpretative reporting. All these assumptions can be further investigated and necessary recommendations made to improve the situation.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The aim of the study is to determine the roles of the Guardian and Vanguard newspapers with the view to enhancing newspapers coverage of the deregulation of the power sector reform in Nigeria. Hence, the study of how necessary the role of newspapers in development is one vital area that needs to be attended to and not neglected due to their impact in development. Base on the findings, the study proffers the following recommendations:

Nigerian newspapers must pay more attention to development issues such as the deregulation of the power sector reform by elaborating them often, aimed at informing citizens on the need to support such program or not.

Nigerian newspapers need to emphasize more on the deregulation reform in the power sector and accord high degree of prominence in reporting issues thriving in the sector. Doing this entails making constant and thorough emphasis on the reform so that citizens can be properly informed about the reform. This role of the media is highly in line with the postulations of the agenda setting theory regarding treating of a topic on a constant basis with high prominence.

The Nigerian newspapers need to diversify their information sources on development stories they report regarding the power sector in order to make more information available to citizens since such information are used to make significant decisions. Observing this entails realization of the assumptions postulated by the development media theory for developing countries. Also, a source of information by a newspaper should be confirmed by the others to avoid conflicting opinions

Nigerian newspapers must develop a good habit of the watchdog role by monitoring every progress on developmental projects aimed at reporting to the public when those in charge are not living up to the task. Doing this, it can be logically accepted that Nigerian newspapers are viable tool of investigation.

## APPENDIX

### (LIST OF TABLES)

**Table 1: Total Number of Publications for both Newspapers per Sampled Month and their percentage total.**

Newspapers	Oct 2013	Nov 2013	Dec 2013	Jan 2014	Feb 2014	Mar 2014	Apr 2014	Total	Percentage Total
Vanguard	579	509	597	541	460	456	552	3,694	
Percentage (%)	15.7	13.8	16.2	14.6	12.5	12.3	14.9	100	49.6%
Guardian	543	614	514	554	373	661	491	3,750	
Percentage (%)	14.5	16.3	13.7	14.8	10	17.6	13.1	100	57%

Percentage total is a general rating of performance of both newspapers based on the number of stories they published per month on deregulation of the power sector. In other words, the general rating for Vanguard is 49.6% while Guardian is 57%.

**Table 2: Number of stories and percentages published on deregulation of the power sector in both newspapers from October 2013 – April 2014.**

	VANGUARD	GUARDIAN	BOTH NEWSPAPERS
Total Published stories	3,694	3,750	7,444
Total stories on deregulation of the power sector	46	58	104
Percentages (%) on deregulation of the power sector	1.24	1.54	2.78

**Table 3: Subject Matters on Deregulation News Articles.**

Newspapers	Deregulation of Downstream Oil Sector	Deregulation of Power sector	Deregulation of Media Industry	Deregulation of Nigeria Airways	Total
Vanguard	19	46	0	1	66
Percentage (%)	28.8	69.7	0	1.5	100
Guardian	40	58	1	2	101
Percentage (%)	40	57	1	2	100

**Table 4: Page Placement of Deregulation of the Power Sector News Articles in the sampled newspapers to determine prominence.**

Newspapers	Front Page	Back Page	Editorial Page	Other Inside Pages	Total
Vanguard	2	0	1	43	46
Percentage (%)	4.3	0	2.2	93.5	100
Guardian	3	1	2	52	58
Percentage (%)	5.2	1.7	3.4	89.7	100

**Table 5: Sources of News on Deregulation of the Power Sector.**

Newspapers	Event Coverage/Happening	Interview/Opinion	Press Release/Statement	Investigation/Research Findings	Other Media Publication/Other Sources	Total
Vanguard	22	8	9	5	2	46
Percentage (%)	47.8	17.7	19.6	10.9	4.3	100
Guardian	37	6	8	7	0	58
Percentage (%)	63.8	10.3	13.8	12.1	0	100

**Table 6: Average score for each sampled month in the Vanguard and Guardian Newspapers to determine the average (expected) monthly publications.**

	October 2013	November 2013	December 2013	January 2014	February 2014	March 2014	April 2014	Total
Number of stories reflecting deregulation of the power sector news in Vanguard newspaper	6	5	2	9	1	14	9	46
Number of stories reflecting deregulation of power news in Guardian newspaper	13	6	12	12	3	6	6	58
Number of sampled days (newspaper editions) per month (frequency) for both Newspapers	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	27
Average (expected) number of publication on deregulation of the power sector per month for Vanguard	1.5	1.25	0.5	2.25	0.33	3.5	2.25	11.58
Average (expected) number of publication on deregulation of the power sector per month for Guardian	3.25	1.5	3	3	1	1.5	1.5	14.75

Total average score of each month for **Vanguard**:  $1.5+1.25+0.5+2.25+0.33+3.5+2.25 = 11.58$ .  
Therefore,  $11.58 \times 27$  (frequency; that is, number of sampled newspaper editions) =  $312.66 = \underline{313}$   
(Expected monthly publication).

Total average score of each month for **Guardian**:  $3.25+1.5+3+3+1+1.5+1.5 = 14.75$ .

Therefore,  $14.75 \times 27$  (frequency; that is, number of sampled newspaper edition) = 398.25 (Expected monthly publication).

**Note:** The average monthly publication is done to determine or envisage the number of expected monthly publication of each newspaper on stories of deregulation of the power sector since the use sampling technique does select a complete monthly editions of the sampled newspapers and to count the stories on deregulation of the power sector publish therein. In other words, the calculation for the average monthly publication was a way to envisage the expected monthly publication of both newspapers on deregulation of the power sector

**Table 7: Total Average Percentage of Stories Published on Deregulation of the Power sector**

	<b>Vanguard Newspaper</b>	<b>Guardian Newspaper</b>	<b>Both Newspapers</b>
Average or expected monthly published stories	313	398	711
Total number of stories published on deregulation of the power sector	46	58	104
Percentage (%)	14.7	14.6	29.3

The above table is simplified below:

To find the percentage of least average or expected monthly publications for Vanguard:

$$46 \div 313 \times 100 = 14.7\%$$

To find the percentage of least average or expected monthly publications for Guardian:

$$58 \div 398 \times 100 = 14.6\%$$

Total Average Percentage for both newspapers:

$$14.7 + 14.6 = 29.3\%$$

Note: The term least denote that the expected monthly publication on deregulation of the power sector per month should not be less than 313 for the Vanguard and 398 for the Guardian but could be more.

## Bibliography

- Aremu I (2003). Development and Political Stability in Kwanashie (ed) *Politics and Political Power Relations in Nigeria*. Lagos. Dat and Partners Logistic Ltd, 12: 248-262. Baran, S. & Davis, D. (2006). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future*. (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Beder, S. (2004), *Molding and Manipulating the News in Controversies in Environmental Sociology*; Edited by Roy White, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne. Pp.204-220.
- Benkler, Y. (2011). *Free Irresponsible Press. Wikileaks and the Battle over the Soul of the Networked Fourth Estate*.
- Berger, A. A. (1982), *Media Analysis Techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage (Chapter 2, Marxist Analysis') [easy, but largely too easy].
- Borenstein, S. (2008). *Equity Effects of Increasing-Block Electricity Pricing*. Paper CSEMWP180, Centre for the Study of Energy Markets, University of California, Energy Institute.
- Boyd – Barret, O. (1980). *The Politics of Socialization: Recruitment and Training for Journalists*. In H. Christian (Ed.), *The Sociology of Journalism and The Press*. Sociological Review Monograph 29, pp.307-340.
- Briceno-Garmendia, C. & Shkaratan, M (2011) *Power Tariffs: Caught between Cost Recovery and Affordability*. Africa Region Sustainable Development Unit .The World Bank WPS5904
- Carlyle, T. (1905), *Lecture V: The Hero as Man of Letters; On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*. Reported with Amendment and Additions: James Fraser. P.392. OCLC.
- Cohen, B. (1963). *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, E. (2013). *Digging Deeper: Politico-Corporate Media Manipulation. Critical Thinking and Democracy*. Chapter from Project Censored.
- Creswell, J. (2002). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. New Jersey. Pearson Education Inc.
- Daily Trust Newspaper. Friday, June 3, 2016. Vol. 40. No. 10. Pp. 42. By Mohammed D. Eibo Adanu.
- Daily Trust Newspaper. Monday, June 13, 2016. P.8. Vol. 40, No. 16. By Ismail Mudashir.
- Eapen, k.E. (1973). *The Media and Development: An Explanatory Survey in Indonesia and Zambia*.

- Edeani, D. (1993). Role of Development Journalism in Nigerian's Development: Gazette 52, 123-143. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Edeani, D. (1994). Nigerian mass media handling of conflict situations in the West African sub-region. *Africa Media Review*. Retrieved May 18, 2014 from: <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/africa%20media%20review/vol8no1/jamr008001003.pdf>.
- Emery, E. Ault, P.H. and Agee W. K. (1973). Introduction to Mass Communication, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. Dodd, Mead and Co. New York, p. 464.
- Eze, N.C. (1995). Journalism and Christian Writing. Evangel Press Limited. Aba, pp. 120.
- Fowler, F.G. and Fowler, H.W. (2001), eds. *The New Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition.
- Frankfort, N. C and David, N. (1992). Research Methods in the Social Sciences. St. Martin's Press, Inc, UK.
- Franklin, B. Hamer, M. Han, M, Kinsey, M. and Richardson, J. (2005). *Key concepts in journalism studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Guardian Newspaper. Friday, June 10, 2016. Vol. 32, No. 13, 678.P.1. by Karl Tsokar, Nkechi Onyedika – Ugoeze, Chukkah Odita & Otei Oham. Abuja.
- Godwin, D. T and Dagogo, D. (2014). Deregulation of Nigerian Economy: The Theoretical Milieu.
- Ijioma, C.I. (1998). *Essential Readings in Mass Communication*. Onek Company Nigeria, Aba, pp. 155.
- Isa, M.I. (2007). Role of Media in National Development. A paper Presented at a Workshop on The Event of 27<sup>th</sup> Youth Leadership Programme Organised by LEAP Africa, on 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2007 at British Council Kano Nigeria.
- Jensen, B and Jankowski, W (1991). *Handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research*. London: Routledge.
- Jimada, U. (2006). *The Development News*. Ibadan, Evans Publishers.
- Jimoh, A.S.M. (2013), Prelude to Baga Genocide: The Subsequent media Silence and the Cover Up.
- Jonah, A.A. (2014). The Role of Broadcast Media as a Purveying for Setting Democratic Agenda.

- Kohut, A. (2003). Public Support for the Watchdog is Fading. *Columbia Journalism Review*.
- Kovach, B. (1998). The Daily Work of the Media. *NiemanReports*. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University. Vol.52, No.2. Ibid.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York, MacMillanpress.
- Littlejohn, S.W. (2002). *Theories of Human Communication*. 7<sup>th</sup> edition. Albuquerque, New Mexico. Wadsworth.
- McCombs, M and Shaw, D. (1972). The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, pp. 176-185.
- McCombs, M. and Shaw, D. (1977). *The Emergence of American Political Issues*. New York. West Publishing Co.
- McNabb, D. (2004). *Research Methods for Political Science, Quantitative and Qualitative Methods*. M. E. Sharp, inc, NY 10504, USA.
- McQuail, D. (1983). "Mass Communication Theory": An Introduction. London. Sage Publication.
- Media in a Civil Democracy: Thoughts & Perspectives (pp.1-21). Lagos: International Press Centre and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Mimiko, O. (1998). The State and the growth/Development Agenda: Africa and East/Asia in Context in Kolawole, D. (ed). *Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics*. Ibadan, Dekal Publishers. 18: 163-166.
- Momoh, T. (2005). *Media Ownership and Editorial Judgement*. A paper delivered at the Nigerian Press Council Workshop for Politics and Economics Correspondents, Lagos. October 18-21.
- Nash, K. (1994). The Media Role in Society: "The Media Viewpoint". *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1993-1994*, Toronto, Canada, The Empire Club Foundation. Pp. 402-411.
- Nnaemeka, T, Uvieghara, E. & Uyo, D. (1989). *Philosophy and Dimensions of National Communication Policy*, vol.2. Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization.
- Odozi, E. and Nyam, I. (2014). *Development Journalism and Press Coverage of development Millennium Goals in Nigeria*, Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journalism of Business and Management Review. Vol.3, No.6.
- Odunewu, A. (2000). *Ethics and Professionalism*. In L. Arogundade & B. Eitokpah (Eds.).

- Ogwumike F (1995). The Effects of Macrolevel Government Policies on Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation in Nigeria. *Ibadan J. Soc. Sci.*, 1(1): 85-101.
- Ohaja, E. U. (2003). *Mass Communication Research and Project Report Writing*. Lagos: John letterman publishers.
- Olutokun, A and Seteolu, D. (2001).The Media and Democratic Rule in Nigeria.*Development Policy Management Network Bulletin, XIII(3)*.
- Oso, L. (2003). *Community Media: Voices of the Oppressed*. Abeokuta, Jedidah Publishers.
- Oso, L. (2012). News for Sale! *The Challenges and Implications of the Commercialization of News in Nigeria* Lagos, Lagos state University publication.
- Qadri (2010).Role of Media in Policy Formulation. Retrieve on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 from [www.academia.com](http://www.academia.com)
- Rogers, E. M. and Dearing, J. W. (1997). “Agenda Setting Research: Where has it been? Where is it going?” in J. A. Anderson, ed. *Communication Yearbook II*, Newbury Park, Sage Publication.
- Schuepp, C. (2002). The Role of Media in Civil Society.Paper Presented at the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) Conference, Bishkek, Kyrgyz.
- Scott, M. (2010). Media for Development: Does Good Journalism Promote Transparency? Global Development Professional Network.
- Servaes, J (1995). *Media and Development: An Alternative Perspective*, Module Four, Unit 23, University of Leicester, Centre of Mass Communication Research.
- Shoemaker, P. J. (1991). *Media Gate keeping Function*.Newbury Park, Sage Publications.
- Silverman, D. and Marvasti, A. (2008).*Doing Quantitative Research: A Comprehensive Guide*.Sage Publications.
- Sogolo, G. (1995). Imperative of a New National Information Order, (A paper Presented at the Seminar on Moral Image of Nigeria), jointly organized by Nigerian Television Authority, New Nigerian Newspaper and Kaduna State Government, in Kaduna.
- Thusu, D (1996).*Development News*.England, Leicester University press.
- Wimmer, R. D and Dominick, J. R. (2011).*Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Wardsworth.Cengage Learning. 154.
- Woods, P. (2006). *Qualitative research method*. Nick Pratt (ed). Open University and University of Plymouth publishers.

## Articles/Journals/Thesis

- Adaja, T. A. (2012). Nigeria journalism and professionalism: Issues and challenges. *Journal of mass communication*. Vol.5. (online).
- Akpan, S. C. et al (2012), Newspaper Coverage of the Polemics of Deregulation of the Downstream Sector in Nigeria: *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol. 2, No 2, Nov. 2012.
- ALP Seminar Series on Transforming the Nigerian power Sector: Challenges and Solutions. Moderated by Patrick Mgbenwelu, 2013.
- Anyadike, D. O. (2013), problems and prospects of investigative journalism in Rivers state, Nigeria: A study of the Tide and Hard Truth Newspapers.
- Djankov, S. et al (2003). "Who Owns the Media?". *Journal of Law and Economics*. Vol.46.No.2. Published by the University of Chicago and the University of Chicago Law School.
- Eregare, E. A. & Afolabi, A. O. (2009). *The effect of globalization and deregulation of Nigerian culture industries*. *Journal of social science*, 21 (2). P. 145-151.
- Eregare, E. A. (2002). Values, Standard & Censorship: *A study of Nigeria film and Video censors board (NFVCB)*. An unpublished M.A. thesis, submitted to the University of Ibadan.
- Ezell, M. P. (1989). Communication – age trends affecting extension: future technological and organizational trends. *Journal of Extension*; USA P. 22.
- Galadima, D. and Soola, E. (2012). The Press and Group Identity Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Newspapers Framing of the 2003 and 2007 Presidential Elections. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication*.
- Ifeoma, D. (2013). Good governance in Nigeria: What role for the media. *European scientific journal*. Vol. 9.no 32. Nov 2013 edition. NnamdiAzikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.
- Ifenkwe, G. E. (2008). Assessment of Newspaper Advocacy for Rural Development and Environmental Education in Nigeria. *Journal of Extentio*; Vol. 12(2) December 2008.
- Ise, O. O. J. (2014). Issues and challenges in the privatized power sector in Nigeria. *Journal of sustainable development studies*. ISSN 2201-4268. Vol. 6, number 1, 2014. Pp. 161- 174.
- Jibo, M and Okoosi-Simbini, A. T (2003). The Nigeria Media. An Assessment of it role in achieving transparency and accountable government in the fourth republic. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. 12(2): 180-195. University of Jos, Nigeria.

Kayode, J. and Adeniran, R. (2012). Nigerian Newspaper Coverage of the Millinium Development Goals; *The Role of the Media*. Otupale Online Journal of African Studies, Vol. IV.

Rauf, A. A. et al (2013). Deregulation of broadcast media in Nigeria: An appraisal. *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review Vol. 3, No.3; Nov. 2013*.

Who'll Cleanthis Dirty Mirror? By Onabanjo, Dapo. TELL (Magazine). January 24, 2011. P. 3.

### **Webnography**

Ekwureke, H. (2012). Oil Price Saga in Nigeria.

(<http://youthmedia/panorama/article.html?start=5012contentID=4548>).

Freedom of Expression is Essential Says Newspapers Readers. Press Release, *MediaHubAsia, Bangkok, 1 Jan, 2002*. <http://mediahubasia.com/pages/pressreleases/PR-4.html>.

Hoffa (2012). Media as a Policy Maker. Retrieve on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 2015 from [www.academia.com](http://www.academia.com).

Hoffman, D. (2014). Citizens: The New Fourth Estate. Retrieve on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2015 from [www.academia.com](http://www.academia.com).

Media Ownership and Control. World Bank Report, 2002. Retrieve on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 2015 from [www. Academia.com](http://www.academia.com).

Oketola, D. (2013, December, 26) Funding infrastructure, gas supply problems plague power sector Punch. Retrieved from <http://www.punchng.com/business/energy/funding- infrastructure- gas- supply- problems- plague- power- sector>.

Olusegun, F. (2010). Nigerian media – The fourth estate of graft. Retrieve on 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2015 from [googlesearch.com](http://googlesearch.com)

Oyebola, O. (2003). *Deregulated broadcasting as a catalyst for media creativity*- A study of “OGBC”, an unpublished HND final year project submitted to the department of mass communication, MoshoodAbiola polytechnic, Abeokuta. Retrieve on 7<sup>th</sup> May from [googlesearch.com](http://googlesearch.com).

Oyero, O. (2011). How Children are reported in Nigerian Newspapers: Implication of the realization of the rights of the child. *International Journal of Science and Management Sciences*, Retrieved July 24<sup>th</sup> 2014 from <http://www.ijosams.com/home/index.php?option=comcontent&view=articlesid=114:ho>

Silva, D. (2014), The Pope Said What?: 3 Quick Tips to Help You Avoid Media Manipulation. Retrieve on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 from [www.jstor.com](http://www.jstor.com).

Synopsis on the role of media in National Development; Media and Development 2014. Retrieved on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 from [www.jstor.com](http://www.jstor.com)

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Investment Incentives in Nigeria, 2004. [www.googlesearch.com](http://www.googlesearch.com).

Tolu, L. and Abe, O. (2011). National Development in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of public Administration and Policy Research*. Vol. 3(9), pp. 237-241. November 2011. <http://www.academicjournal.org/jpapr>.

Ugwu, (2010). The dearth of investigative journalism in Nigeria. Retrieved June, 11, 2010 from <http://www.nigerianmuse.com>

United Nations Development Programme (2002). Human Development Report. <http://hdr.undp.org/mdg/>

www.CNN online report. "20 most corrupt Nigerians". Retrieved June 3, 2016.

[www.googlesearch.com](http://www.googlesearch.com). Retrieved May, 29<sup>th</sup> 2015 from [http://changingminds.org/explanations/research/sampling/purposive\\_sampling.htm](http://changingminds.org/explanations/research/sampling/purposive_sampling.htm).

[www.guardiannewspaperonline.co.ng](http://www.guardiannewspaperonline.co.ng) Retrieved on 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> June, 2015.

[www.nigeriannewspaper.com.ng/2016/06/cnn-release-list-of-20-most-corrupt.htm/?m=1](http://www.nigeriannewspaper.com.ng/2016/06/cnn-release-list-of-20-most-corrupt.htm/?m=1)

[www.vanguardngr.com/2015/09/power-obasanjo-yaradua-jonathan-spent-n2-74trn-in-16-years/](http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/09/power-obasanjo-yaradua-jonathan-spent-n2-74trn-in-16-years/)

[www.vanguardnewspaperonline.co.ng](http://www.vanguardnewspaperonline.co.ng) Retrieved on 6<sup>th</sup> June, 2015.

Yishak, Y. (2012), Media manipulation and distortion. Retrieved on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 from [www.academia.com](http://www.academia.com).

## **Interviews**

Interview held with Engineer Abdulsalam Bashiru Danimo. (16<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Senior Engineer. Division of Agricultural College, Faculty of Agricultural Sciences, A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Mallam Garba Wada. (18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Librarian. Centre For Democratic Development Research and Training (CEDDERT), Zangon Shanu, Zaria.

Interview held with Sylvester Adakole. (18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Lecturer. Department of History, Faculty of Arts, A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Ogbonyomi Abel. (16<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Librarian. Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Vincent Ejamah. (19<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), M.A student. History Department. Faculty of Arts, A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Amos Anihi. (18<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Staff. A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Ogbado. D. Suleiman. (21<sup>st</sup> June, 2015), Secretary to the Vice chancellor. Federal University, Gashua, Yobe.

Interview held with Abdulrasak Abdullahi Yusuf. (16<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Student. Department of Biochemistry, Faculty of Sciences, A.B.U, Zaria.

Interview held with Arhe Ayuba Shedrach. (19<sup>th</sup> June, 2015), Student. Department of Biochemistry, Faculty of Sciences, A.B.U, Zaria.