FOURTH ESTATE OF THE REALM OR FOURTH ESTATE OF THE WRECK: IMPERATIVE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

BY

RALPH AFOLABI AKINFELEYE

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS PRESS - 2003
INAUGURAL LECTURE SERIES
FOURTH ESTATE OF THE REALM OR FOURTH ESTATE OF THE WRECK: IMPERATIVE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS
LIBRARY

An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Lagos on Wednesday, 14th May, 2003.

By

Professor Ralph Afolabi Akinfeleye
B.A., M.A., Ph.D., FNIPR

Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication
Department of Mass Communication
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Lagos.

STAFF PUBLICATION

University of Lagos, 2003
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the author.

First Published 2003

By

University of Lagos Press
Unilag P.O. Box 132,
University of Lagos,
Akoka, Yaba – Lagos
Nigeria

ISSN 1119 - 4456
INTRODUCTION AND WHY THE TOPIC

The relevance of the Press in any polity is generally drawn from the fact that information is necessary for effective governance and administration. Lack of information or misuse of information, or hoarding of information will be counter productive in governance and/or administration.

In fact, it will give room for rumour networking. As we already know, rumour has its own very powerful network; its transmission is so fast and rigorous and strongly effective on many people especially those men and women with very weak internal control mechanisms. Rumour network has no identifiable station, or airtime, or anchor man or women and yet it processes its information sometimes faster than the speed of sound or even that of the Cable News Network (CNN).

I am excited about the topic of today's inaugural lecture because of my professional and academic experience, which has made it possible for me to link the Town with the Gown.

In my over two decades of University teaching, I have had the opportunity to lecture in many universities, polytechnics as well as conduct research studies. I have also worked in many media houses both in Nigeria and in the United States of America. I spent one of my sabbatical leaves with the Concord Newspaper as the visiting editorial consultant and Chief-Editor of the Community Concord - Africa's foremost and largest chain of community newspapers. As part of my drive of linking up the town with the gown, I am the current Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Anchor Newspapers and many more.

Therefore, it is my conviction Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that Information is power; information is a propeller for national development. Information is an accelerator for meaningful and sustainable democracy - information is a catalyst for effective governance and administration. Information is also an equivocator, which can provoke and unprovoke. As the adage says in the Yoruba culture - "BI ETI O GBO YINGI, INU KI I IBAJE". That is to say, if you don't hear or know of any negative things affecting you, you are not likely to be annoyed.

We shall regard therefore information as a commodity that needs to be processed by the Press, the politicians and we the people. The logical conclusion here is that the higher the quality of processing information by the Press, the greater the degree of acceptance by the people. On the other hand, the poorer the information is being processed by the Press, the higher the degree of its rejection, or avoidance by the people.
Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, it is therefore my candid opinion to enquire whether the Nigeria Press, since its inception, has processed societal information so well as to be called the "Fourth Estate of the Realm" or the "Fourth Estate of the Wreck."

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, I wish to start this inaugural lecture by quoting some passages from the Holy Bible. The passages are from the First Book of Moses commonly called GENESIS Chapter One verses one, two and three state as follows:

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the earth; and the spirit of God was moving and God said, "Let there be light; and there was light. God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from darkness.

It is therefore our assumption that from the above passage, the very first chapter of the Holy Bible was recorded by someone who was then called a "RECORHER" and now will be called "REPORTER". Consequently, sir, we shall here argue that the genesis of Journalism came from the book of "GENESIS".

Another salient point I wish to stress here is the separation of light from darkness. This is to say that darkness is brought about by lack of communication whereas communication brings about light.

Having said that, let us take a critical note of the uniqueness of the Press in the society as we quote Walter Williams, first Dean of the World's first school of Journalism at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, USA, who gave out what can be aptly described as the "master key" towards effective understanding of the usefulness of the Press in any society when he remarked in one of his numerous essays that:

... In heaven there will be no need for lawyers or magistrates, for the people will not be involved in any court cases - there will be no need for doctors because the people will not be sick. Also, in heaven, there will be no need for policemen because the people will be peaceful and orderly. In heaven there will be no need for immigration and customs officers because each resident of heaven will have permanent and multiple visas for free movement of goods and people. In heaven there will not be any need for the politician because there will be no politics either of bitterness or without bitterness. But in heaven there will be need for journalists and the Press because the people living in the Western part of heaven will want to know what happens to their counterparts in the Eastern part.
of heaven. So also will the people living in the Southern part of heaven want to know what happens to their counterparts in both the North, East or Western parts of heaven.

Thomas Jefferson, one of America's most respected philosophers and former U.S. President brought out the uniqueness of the Press in the society when he noted that:

... Since the basis of democracy was opinion of the people, the very first objective was to keep that... If it were left for me to decide whether we should have a government without the Press or the Press without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to choose the latter.

Kwame Nkrumah, first African President of Ghana and a great pan Africanist of his time, vividly brought out his support for the role of Press in nation-building by asserting that:

... to the true African mass media men and women, their media are collective instruments of education, mobilisation and a collective weapon of fighting illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, and the essential weapon to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to serve as liberation of African Independence and Unity.

He also noted that:

the true African revolutionary Press does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietor or entertaining its readers or listeners alone. It is an integral part of our society with which its purposes are in consonance. Just as in the capitalist countries, the Press represents and carries out the purpose of capitalism, so a revolutionary African Press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose. This is to establish a progressive continent that will free men from want and every form of injustice, and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease.

And on his arrival home to Nigeria, in 1935, Nnamdi Azikiwe, one of Africa's most glamorous politicians and journalists, noted that: "There is no better means to arouse African people than by power of pen and of the tongue." By "power of pen," Azikiwe meant the power of the newspapers and magazines; while by "power of tongue," he meant the power of radio at that time. (Now it would include television, film, etc.)

It is also interesting to note that the establishment of Africa's first television station the WNTV - Western Nigerian Television Services in Ibadan - was as a result of the urgent need for the Press coupled with the protest borne out of the socio-political disagreement between the
Leader of Opposition, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the central government.

Chief Awolowo was denied airtime on the national radio station to express his right-of-reply to a very negative and damaging accusation against the opposition in a speech delivered by the Governor-General.

Consequently a Bill for establishment of the WNTV was processed and passed by the House of Assembly of the Western Region. Thus, the WNTV station began with a joint-venture between the Western Regional Government and the Overseas Redifussion Limited (ORI) on October 31, 1959, just a year before Nigeria's independence in 1960. While these views may sound rather pragmatic, they exemplify the unique role that the Press can play in nation-building.

I also believe that the mass media are "terrible" weapons; as such I feel that their roles should be of paramount importance to politicians and scholars alike because of the fact that the mass media can provide understanding of the different political, social, economic and cultural systems of the society. They can also make events and ideas common knowledge. This, undoubtedly, is crucial to nation-building.

There is no doubt in the minds of communication scholars and politicians alike as to the potency of the Press in nation-building. Just as it is in economic theories of development, where the essence of economic development is a result of an increase in the economic productivity of the society, so also it is in the cause of the roles which the Press can play in nation-building.

However, scholars are not so sure of, whether the Press is the "real" cause of change in nation-building. Inasmuch as nearly all scholars and politicians agree that the Press can aid rapid national development, they are not so sure as to whether the change or the development has been solely caused by the Press. This approach leads us to the question of "the chicken and the egg" - which one comes first. Is it the mass media (i.e. the Press) that are solely responsible for the rapid and/or slow nation-building or is it the nation that is aiding the mass media? - a dialectical phenomenon indeed! But scholars and politicians both see the Press as mediating factors and one of the social forces in the nation's march to maturity.
THE NIGERIAN PRESS
The early Press systems in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular were those owned and exclusively operated by the European settlers. Media scholars agree that most of these mass media did not often, or perhaps never reported on Africa in the true sense. They added that some of the few isolated cases of "reporting Africa" in these European mass media were based more on sensational reporting than information. The European mass media mainly supported the colonial rule and the European economic interest and, in many cases, were very unkind and un-empathetic to African nationalism and the struggle for independence.

One of the basic reasons for the breakthrough in the general African mass media during and after the World Wars is, as William Hatchen puts it:

... The cultural interaction of Europeans and Africans that sparked political aspirations that fermented the development of indigenous African mass media." He added that: "During the period of the most intense political activities after World War II and especially during the decade just before political independence, African mass media were most numerous and most effective.

Rosalynd Ainslie adds: "African mass media often use their ephemeral newssheets to build and cement a political organisation. Most of these early African mass media were papers of protest, agitational in nature and often militant in approach".

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, let me state here that the Nigerian Press is comparatively young in terms of the Press systems of the more advanced countries of the world, but by African standard, it is by far the oldest the most outspoken, and richest in traditions, pluralism and development.

For example, the former WNTV - Channels 3 and 4, founded in 1959, in Ibadan, capital city of Oyo State of Nigeria, were the first of their kind in the whole of Africa. Also, by African standard, Nigerian Press is to be reckoned with in terms of its Press pluralism and unit pluralism in some instances. Opubor, Akinfeleye, Sobowale et al, (1979), wrote in their African Communication Infrastructure, that:

.... with a combined figure of 31 dailies and non-dailies, Nigeria leads 30 African countries being examined in their study. They estimated 6,000,000 combined circulation figures for Nigerian Newspapers.
In one of the tables at the back of the study, Nigerian Press is rated first in all the categories listed. In brief, the study puts for Nigeria, 17 dailies, 16 non-dailies, over 80 periodicals, 29 radio stations, and 20 television stations.

Today, with a combined figure of 65 different newspapers, weeklies and magazines, 95 radio stations and 244 television stations, Nigeria has Africa's most developed and pluralistic mass media system, whose roles continue to be of great significance in Nigeria's development processes.

Putting the above enumerated foundations as the premises, it is of paramount importance to discuss the Nigerian mass media systems.

EARLY NIGERIAN PRESS
Just as the early American mass media system, the early Nigerian Press system was influenced by British journalism. The writing and publishing of newspapers began in Nigeria in 1859 with the publication of Africa's oldest vernacular newspaper, "Iwe Irohin Yoruba". A British missionary, Rev. Henry Townsend founded the newspaper in Abeokuta, Ogun State of Nigeria.

But despite the early British influence in Nigerian Journalism, it may sound ironical to note that the exact origins of Nigerian journalism are somehow unclear, in the sense that it is very difficult to find clear-cut records of its exact beginning.

In their study on State of the Mass Media in Africa, Opobor, Akinfeleye, Sobowale et. al (1979), complained about the dismal lack of information that is so evident in almost every aspect of human endeavour in Africa. In the case of the mass media, they said Nigeria does not have a media organisation that takes interest in the collection of reliable media data. In few cases where such organisation exists, protectionist attitude inhibits media houses from freely disseminating adequate information about themselves and their activities.

Media historians therefore, have argued whether the Europeans brought journalism to Nigeria or that Nigerians had some Journalism before the arrival of the Europeans about 1551.

But notwithstanding the dialectic situation on the origins of Nigerian Journalism, most African historians, journalists and scholars have agreed on the fact that modern journalism, i.e. the regular printing and publishing of newspapers was brought to Nigeria in 1859 by one of the
the early European missionaries, the Rev. Henry Townsend (see Odusanya, Gbenga, (1976) and Fred Omu (1978).

Rev. Townsend, had in 1848 settled down for his religious work at Abeokuta, Ogun State. In addition to his Christian ministry, Rev. Townsend had earlier on worked for some years as a chief printer for the Church Missionary Society Press (The CMS Press) also at Abeokuta, which later resulted in Rev. Townsend’s interest in mass communication. He was also able to speak Yoruba the local language of the Egba people (William A. Hatchen, 1971).

Because of all the significant achievements of Townsend within a short time, he, in December 1859 established a printing Press where "Iwe Irohin Yoruba", Africa’s first and oldest vernacular newspaper was printed.

According to Omu (1978), the full name of Townsend’s newspaper was "Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba" which translated into the English Language means: "Newspaper in Yoruba for the Egba and Yoruba People".

Increase Coker (1970), reports that Rev. Townsend said at the launching of the maiden issue of "Iwe Irohin" that "my object is to get the people to read ... that is to beget the habit of seeking information by reading" - (newspaper) ... I have set on foot a Yoruba Newspaper" (see also George Townsend - the Memoirs of the Rev. Henry Townsend). Suffices it to note also that it was at Rev. Townsend's printing Press that the first Bible in the Yoruba language was printed in 1862. Rev. Townsend had spread his Christian ministry by mass communication all over Badagry and most of Egbaland.

Although Rev. Townsend is today still remembered as the "father" of Nigerian Journalism, evidence exists of irregular, "newspaper" publishing venture before 1859, according to media historians.

STATE OF PUNDITY IN JOURNALISM EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN NIGERIA

Historical foundation of Nigerian journalism education reveals that for many decades in Nigeria, journalism education was regarded as an unnecessary undertaking. This is perhaps the reason why no Nigerian University offered any formal journalism training and education until 1962 when Nigeria's first formal journalism Training institution at the University level was started by the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. This
was followed by the famous University of Lagos Institute of Mass Communication (now Department of Mass Communication) in 1966.

Today, the tendency towards a very low view of journalists and journalism as professionals and as a profession is diminishing. Journalism education and training has now been recognised in Nigeria as one of the most important phenomena in National development and sustainable democracy.

Journalists in Nigeria are now better paid and to a degree, are now being looked upon as trained intellects, whose role as communicators, interpreters, and purveyors of good and bad news, is indispensable in a growing economy where the mass media are expected to promote trade and commerce.

In recent times, the number of media houses and journalism training institutions has tripled. For example, Akinfeleye and Mosanya in their study of media habits and preferences noted that: the number of radio stations increased from four in 1960 to 12 in 1966 and to 39 by 1974. In 1996, they noted that Nigeria had 44 radio stations.

The same trend is being followed by television, which rose from four stations in 1960 to 21 by 1987. Today there are 244 television stations, 95 radio stations, according to the NBC - National Broadcasting Commission.

As to the journalism training institutions, Akinfeleye (1999) in his study of the proliferation of Journalism schools and their impact on professional standards noted that: the number rose from three in 1971 to 33 by 1987, 45 in 1999, and today, year 2003, there are 48 journalism schools in Nigeria out of which only 25 are accredited by either NUC or NBTE and/or other professional organisations such as the Press Council, (NPC), the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON), Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR), and National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). The remaining 23 institutions are neither accredited nor are they accreditable. But they do exist and continue to consolidate the profession of Journalism in Nigeria.

The kind of journalism training is as important as the journalists themselves because the type of training received is reflective of the kind of journalistic performance. How should a journalist be trained? Should there by any conflict between the government and the media institutions about training and education of Nigerian journalists? Should the government in a developing country such as Nigeria own or be allowed
to monopolise the training and education of journalists? Should the education and training of Nigerian journalists be controlled by foreign or local private capital, or by public corporation or even directly by individuals? How can the training and education of Nigerian journalists be conducted most effectively so as to reflect the prevailing socio-economic, socio-cultural and political ideological philosophies, Nigerian and/or African cultural particularities and cultural peculiarities?

All these questions are of particular significance as regards the education and training of Nigerian journalists. But perhaps the most logical approach to finding meaningful answers to these questions is to examine the development of journalism education in Nigeria and to present an up-to-dated survey and analysis of its diversities and contrasts.

EARLY TRENDS OF JOURNALISM EDUCATION AND TRAINING
The profession of journalism suffered seriously in its development in Nigeria not only because of the low literacy rate, but also because Nigeria had been colonised by Britain, a country where there is still little formal journalism education at the university level.

Until 1954, colonial rulers of Nigeria did not organise any local journalism training. Towards the end of 1954, however, a two-week vocation course in journalism for working journalists was conducted at the University of Ibadan.

In 1956, a two-year in-service journalism training was organised for Nigerian radio broadcasters by the news department of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, (FRCN).

Other significant early journalism education programmes in Nigeria included the "Journalism Travelling Workshop" which was sponsored in 1959 by the United States Information Services (USIS) and the Nigerian Journalism Course which was conducted in 1960 by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ).

WHO IS A JOURNALIST?
Just like the situation in the United Kingdom from where Nigerian journalism took most of its cues, it appears that there is no generally and/or commonly agreed definition of whom a journalist is. There had been serious arguments in Nigeria as to whether a columnist, a publisher, a cartoonist, a photographer, a compositor, a proofreader, etc. is or is not a journalist.
The following definitions have been advanced: "A journalist is a person who writes for a newspaper or a magazine"; "A journalist is any person who writes for either newspaper or the magazine and; "A journalist is one who must have had formal training in the business of news gathering and dissemination and continues to receive his/her livelihood by practising the art of journalism"; "A journalist is a person who must have had either formal and/or on-the-job training in news gathering and dissemination for the newspaper and/or magazine and must receive his livelihood from the practice of that trade". So the Accreditation Board of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) brought out its own preferred definition thus: "A journalist is any person who is wholly, solely and exclusively involved in the collection, collation and dissemination of information for use in the media and who has been accredited for that purpose and his/her name listed in the Register of Nigerian Journalists"

In 1996, I argued that Journalism as then practised in Nigeria was not a profession. I then recommended a middle-of-the-road professional-cum craftsmanship status for the Nigerian journalist. This position has now changed due to the efforts of the NUJ and professional regulatory bodies such as the Nigeria Press Council (NPC), National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Advertising Practitioners of Nigeria (APCON) the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) and many more.

According to Tony Momoh, former Federal Minister of Information and Culture, there were 5,700 accredited journalists in Nigeria as at February 1985. Of this total number of accredited journalists, only 2,217 were graduates of various disciplines such as Political Science, Sociology, English, Education, Law, Fine Arts and many more. Only 1,652 of this total were journalism graduates.

In 1999, NUJ official record puts the total accredited journalists in Nigeria as between 7,500 and 8,000, out of which there are 6,050 male while only 1,500 are female. Today the total number of accredited journalists in Nigeria is between 8,500 to 9,000, which is not adequate compared with the number of available media houses to date.

On a comparative basis, it follows logically that within two years, the total number of accredited Nigerian journalists has increased by 1,800 or 86 per cent. It will therefore be correct to say that female journalists in Nigeria represent less than 30 per cent of the total accredited Nigerian journalists.
NUMBER OF JOURNALISM TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

The number of Nigerian Journalism/Mass Communication institutions continues to increase at a very high rate in the same way that the number of Nigerian journalists continues to increase.

Each of the institutions offering Journalism education graduate an average of between 100 and 80 students per year and they are out there competing in the journalism job market which is now striking. In fact, some journalism graduates even from the few accredited universities and polytechnic programmes take teaching jobs with the secondary school system because journalism jobs are very difficult to secure. This situation is brought about as a result of rapid growth rate of journalism schools and the declining growth in journalism job market.

I consider the rapid increase in the number of Journalism/Mass Communication training institutions in Nigeria an achievement but it is regrettable that this proliferation of Journalism schools has drastically affected the quality of Nigerian journalism. Some reporters can no longer write journalism; instead, they continue to write "Journaleses". Many times, straight news writing cannot be differentiated from editorial. In some cases, news items that lack even surface credibility are used as lead stories. The principles of typography, layout and design are no longer respected in our newspaper/magazine layout and design. Most of the ill-trained Nigerian "Journalists" have lost and continued to lose their good sense of news judgement. Facts are no longer differentiated from fiction and/or fallacy. Great disparities are found in news items of the same events by different reporters particularly those journalists who work for government-owned media houses. In most cases little or no attention is paid to accuracy, coherence, truth, clarity, fairness, balance, objectivity, and simplicity of news reporting. Many times objectivity is seen as an impossible task rather than an ideal thing to work towards its achievement in their news writing and presentation.

It is not how many schools of journalism, or journalists but how well trained and how well they perform on the job that matters. Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, let me state here that the old idea that Journalists are born is no longer there in the present-day practice, rather, Journalists are made through adequate training and re-training. With the exception of the University of Lagos, which has been granted a radio licence to operate an educational FM station, none of the programmes can boast of a radio station to strengthen their broadcast sequences. However, UNILAG FM radio is yet to be on the air, a year after it got NBC approval to operate. Mr. Vice-Chancellor may wish to accelerate the process of (UR-FM) being on the air soonest.
MINIMUM CRITERIA TO BE A JOURNALIST

It is regrettable that there is no commonly agreed standard or requirement for becoming a journalist in Nigeria. Although a greater percentage of Nigerian journalists now receive formal journalism training, only few get their training on the job. But in the immediate past, on-the-job system was very common and was more valued than the formal training at that time because formal journalism training was not common.

The Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) has however, brought out a minimum requirement for anybody who would like to be a journalist. The requirement as set by the NUJ is the possession of at least a one-to-two year Diploma/Certificate in Journalism/Mass Communication from any of the accredited journalism schools in Nigeria or from other countries with similar socio-political ideology with Nigeria. This prerequisite is only backed up by professional standard ethics and never by any legal force. Most employers of journalists in Nigeria do not obey the NUJ minimum standard-requirement. In most cases, the media are out to recruit men and women from other disciplines such as Economics, Political Science, History, English Language etc. Sometimes, some of the most reputable Nigerian newspapers such as the defunct Concord, The Guardian, Daily Times, etc. do set even higher minimum requirements for their potential editorial staff. Some of the top editorial staff of these reputable Nigerian newspapers, magazines and broadcast stations, do possess higher degrees in Journalism/Mass Communication.

Just last year, 2002, at the Press Council’s Forum in Abuja the NUJ, the Guild of Editors, the Newspaper Proprietors’ Association and Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria, etc decided to set a higher entry qualification of the possession of the B.Sc. or B.A in Journalism. Enforcement of this high standard remains in its developmental stages. At least it is needed for quality control.

Nigerian journalism and journalists have come a long way in the last decade. Golden (1998) once noted in his study that:

Nigerian journalists tend to enter professional training programmes after initial experience. Of those who had professional qualification, over half had foreign degrees and/or diplomas. Many of the remainder plan to seek foreign journalism education. Many had arrived in broadcast journalism indirectly through a variety of civil jobs, or teaching...
Journalism scholars have noted the variety of entry routes into Nigerian journalism. They see these variations as a clear negation of the past entry routes which were mainly meant for drop outs, ex-school teachers, ex-civil servants, ex-politicians etc., so much so that journalism in Nigeria in the past decade or two could be rightly described as an "all-comers-affair". The bulk of the journalists' work force in Nigeria in the 1970's was made up of "journalists" who lacked relevant journalism qualifications according to media analysts.

The former Minister of Information and Culture, Prince Tony Momoh, himself a former Editor of the Daily Times, once remarked that:

the year 1976 witnessed what has been termed the "journalism graduate programme era" in the Daily Times group. Alhaji Babatunde Jose had believed that Nigeria was expanding fast after the creation of the 19 states structure and that those who were charged with monitoring the goings-on should not be less educated than the performers in the government and industry. Hence Alhaji Jose began a deliberate programme of recruitment of graduates and having them trained for key positions in the Editorial Department.

A few available research findings now show that although entry routes to Nigerian journalism still vary, more entrants into Nigerian journalism go for further journalism education after their initial experience on the job. While not a 100 per cent true representation of a nation-wide situation, an Enugu survey on entry into broadcast journalism in the Anambra State of Nigeria portrays an increase in the number of those who now enter journalism with formal journalism education and training. In part, the survey showed that as many as 72% of the journalists in Anambra State of Nigeria, had some kind of journalism education. At the initial stage of their employment, only 22 per cent of them possessed journalism education. It showed that 50 per cent of them acquired the relevant journalism education after the initial work experience in the media house. The pattern of recruitment is now more of those with adequate and/or some journalism education than those without journalism education at all.

According to the NUJ, there are no clear-cut records of the number of journalists that are recruited from schools of journalism each year in Nigeria. However, the NUJ puts the estimated figure at 80% of the total yearly graduates in mass communication/journalism. The remaining 20% are from other disciplines such as English, Education, Political Science, Economics, Psychology, Sociology, International Relations and Diplomacy, the Pure Sciences, etc.
About 2% of journalism students in Nigeria receive their training by correspondence course from either the London School of Journalism, or from some unaccredited Journalism Centres in Nigeria and elsewhere. Most of these correspondence graduates find it very difficult to secure employment because most of the employers think that journalism is not a correspondence course particularly in our society where communication infrastructures are still in their developmental stages.

TYPES OF JOURNALISM TRAINING
Out of the 48 journalism institutions in Nigeria, 12 are integral parts of Universities while 13 are integral parts of Polytechnics.

UNIVERSITY TRAINING
The 12 which are of the University are located either in the Faculties of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities or Arts and Islamic Studies, Social and Environmental Studies. The Universities are: the University of Lagos (under Faculty of Social Sciences); University of Nigeria, Nsukka (Faculty of Arts); Bayero University, Kano; University of Maiduguri (both in the Faculties of Arts and Islamic Studies); Enugu State University of Science and Technology, Enugu (the Faculty of Social and Environmental Studies). Others are Lagos State University which is in a school of its own, i.e. School of Communication, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago - Iwoye; Nnamdi Azikiwe University Akwa; Benue State University, Makurdi; Delta State University Abraka; Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Covenant University, Ota and Rivers State University of Science and Technology are either located in Faculties of Arts or Human Communication. Nevertheless, Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, the current trend in the profession world-wide is for the establishment of College or school of Mass Communication with different departments. Lagos State University, Ojo (LASU) has joined the current world trend by the establishment of a School of Communication with the following seven departments - Journalism, Public Relations and Advertising, Radio and Television, Photojournalism and Cinematography Communication Technology, Book Publishing and Human Communication.

MEDIA EDUCATION POLICY
Neither the state nor the media industry, the NUJ nor any other group in Nigeria has any special policies on the training of Nigerian journalists. However, the University and some Polytechnics do share a similar pattern of internal self-regulatory policies about the training and education of Nigerian Journalists. The University special policies are deduced from the National Universities Commission’s policies, while
those of the Polytechnics are deduced from the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE).

Major enquiries into University journalism training in Nigeria are mostly internal which serve the institutions as quality control mechanisms and no more. Many times these internal control mechanisms have led to formulation and review of existing curricula in journalism. In the area of the university programme, the National University Commission (NUC) has just completed a nation-wide review and re-assessment of all the journalism programmes in all the few universities that offer journalism education. The result is that some journalism programmes are put on academic probation while some are denied accreditation for lack of the necessary material and human resources to maintain the minimum NUC standard for journalism/mass communication, education. Consequently, only the University of Lagos has full accreditation for its Mass Communication programmes. Others have interim accreditation or denial status. The Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ) was recently set on long closure due to inability to secure the NBTE accreditation. However, we have been told that the NIJ Management Board is finalising arrangements to re-open the school.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF JOURNALISM EDUCATION

The aim and objectives of the journalism programmes in Nigeria are both to train journalists, educate them and make them responsible and useful citizens of Nigeria as they use their journalistic expertise to build a new Nigeria especially in our developmental efforts in which the role of mass media had been recognised by government as a necessary but not sufficient social force towards nation-building and maturity.

More specific objectives according to NBTE and NUC include:

(a.) producing graduates who are to meet the middle-and-higher level manpower communication requirements of Nigeria;
(b.) producing qualified communication/journalism teachers for the Universities, Polytechnics and other similar institutions;
(c.) producing technically qualified graduates who can be self-employed upon graduation; and
(d.) producing socially responsible Journalists and communicators.

ENROLMENT PATTERN

In the AEJMC - Monograph series, Akinfeleye (1978), noted that journalism enrolment lagged behind demand in Nigeria. He reported huge applications to the then few journalism schools. Today, the situation seems to be the same. Although there are now more journalism schools in Nigeria than in 1978, but the journalism schools are still not able to cope adequately with the demand - i.e. the large number of Nigerian students desiring to study Journalism (Mass Communication at various level). For example, at the University of
Lagos more than 4,500 applications are received yearly for rather 85-90 vacancies for the undergraduate programme. The same pattern of huge applications is recorded for the PGD, M.Sc. and even the Ph.D degree programme of the Department.

The Director of the Nigeria Institute of Journalism (NIJ) was quoted to have reported large number of applications for its two-year diploma programme. Of the 600 to 800 qualified applicants, he was able to accept 120 students in one of the admission exercise. The Times Journalism Institute (TJI) once received 900 applications for 80 vacancies, according to the Registrar of the Institute. Even, each of the Polytechnics received more than 1,000 applications for about 100-150 vacancies last year, according to the officials of the Schools. All other accredited journalism schools in Nigeria continue to receive more applications than they can cope with.

STUDENTS-TEACHER RATIO
Akinfeleye (1999) in his baseline study, recorded journalism students-teacher-ratio at 80:1. This situation makes quality teaching impossible particularly in skilled and writing courses such as reporting, sub-editing, public affairs reporting, advertising copy writing, newspaper/magazine layout and production, graphics of communication, photo-journalism and many more.

Today, 2003 the situation has jumped to between 250 and 300 students to one teacher. Whereas the NBTE has set a minimum students-teacher ratio in mass communication courses at 38:1, while the National University Commission (NUC) sets its own at 40:1.

I wish to end this section on Journalism Education and training in Nigeria with the famous Ike Nwosu's models which he calls the NIGERIANISM CONCENTRIC CIRCLE MODEL and the TRIPOLAR COMMUNICATION MODELS of communication training (NCCM), ((TCTM)) as outlined in the figures below:
Fig. 7.1: The Nigerianism Concentric Circle Model of Communication Training and Research

Both Nwosu's Nigerianism Concentric Circle Model (NCCM) and the TRIPOLAR Communication Training Model (TCTM) recommend patriotism, public interest, self-reliance, and cultural traditions. I would also like to add the elements of Ethics, Journalistic integrity and the Nigerian cultural particularities and peculiarities as "a-must-teach" in our mass communication curriculum.

In the TRIPOLAR model, ABC is the biggest Triangle representing all that needed to be included in any journalism training and education. The entire model consists of five triangles - (1.) ABC, (1) ADF, (3) DEF, (4) EFC, (5) DBE all stressing the need for Cognitive (knowledge), Affective (moral) and Psychomotor (skills) content of an effective mass communication training.

PRESS FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY
It is often said that the imperative of Press freedom and responsibility are based on Journalistic autonomy and Liberty.

In the foreword to The Imperative of Freedom by John C. Merrill, my Professor and mentor at the First World School of Journalism - The University of Missouri Columbia, he asked the question

... What do we mean when we say that first we seek LIBERTY? He went further to say
I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws and upon courts. These are false hopes, believe me, these are false hopes.

LIBERTY lies in the hearts of men and women, when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no courts can save it. No constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there, it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it.

Therefore, Press freedom and or Press responsibility or irresponsibility is based on the concept of LIBERTY.

Liberty or no liberty, I wish to state that the socio-political ideology of a nation would determine its level of Press responsibility or irresponsibility.

A nation that is socially responsible both in concept, structure, ideology and governance, its Press would tend to be responsible in their practice of the profession of Journalism. But on the other hand, a nation that is socially irresponsible, its journalists would be contaminated with irresponsible instincts and thus would practise irresponsible journalism, sensationalism, fatherhood bias, outright lies, propaganda journalism and unethical practices which if not quickly checked may lead the Fourth Estate of the Realm to metamorphose into the Fourth Estate of the Wreck. A foremost media analyst Michael O’Niel asserted that

... there has been an astonishing growth in the power of the Press but I doubt if there have been any correspondent increase in the social responsibility on the part of the journalist. The tendency has been to revel in power and we wield it freely rather than to accept any corresponding increase in responsibility.

Max Kampelman also noted that

... an uncontrolled, (Sensationalism), or unrestrained power of the Press may spell doom for democracy.

In their FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm note that

... the Press always takes the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. They added that:
... to see the difference between Press systems in full perspective then one must look at the social systems in which the Press functions. To see the social systems in their true relationship to the Press, one has to look at certain basic beliefs and assumptions which the society holds the nature of man, the relation of man to the media and nature of knowledge and TRUTH.

THE INVERTED PYRAMID OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

THE PRESS P1

THE PUBLISHER P2

THE POLITICIANS P3

THE PEOPLE P4

P1 + P2 + P3 + P4 = SSRP

(Sustainable social responsibility of the press)


The thesis in my inverted pyramid of social responsibility of the Press here is that all the FOUR Ps - (i.e., the Press, the publishers, the politicians and the peoples) must work seriously without bitterness to achieve pure social responsibility of the Press.

If the other three are socially irresponsible as we witnessed in the performance of the outgoing legislators who for four good years were not "living for the sake of others," but were so selfish, and remained there fighting for power, money and other evil forces.
Perhaps, it is because of their acts of social irresponsibility during their time that the electorates decided to send more than ninety (70%) of them back to their villages.

Preliminary election results indicate that less than 30 of the senators will be going back for the second term.

I wish to restate my earlier position about the out-going National Assembly men and women that based on their poor performances, they have collectively turned the National Assembly to what I have called the National Amusement Centre. Indeed they have amused us for four years. It was just like a circus. The incoming members should aspire to bring back the National Assembly to its true glory so that the people can respect them.

The summary in this inverted pyramid typology, of the social responsibility of the Press is that a symbiotic relationship should exist among all the Four Stakeholders in order for the Press to be socially responsible.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, based on my professional and academic experience on the Press and social responsibility, I see this relationship among the FOUR P's as that of "LOVE ME OR LEAVE ME BUT DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE."

FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS
During the early 1970s, three great mass media scholars, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm came out with four typologies or ways of looking the mass media systems in terms of their functions, ownership, control, direction, intensity and responsibilities. They called these four typologies the FOUR THEORIES of the Press.

They classified the world Press systems into the following groupings and/or typologies:

1. AUTHORITARIAN THEORY OF THE PRESS
2. LIBERTARIAN THEORY OF THE PRESS
3. SOVIET-TOTALITARIAN OR THE COMMUNIST THEORY OF THE PRESS
4. THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY OF THE PRESS

Their basic assumption then was that -
.. the Press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates
They added further that
... it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of
individuals and institutions are adjusted.

These three gentlemen of the Press believed that "an understanding of
these aspects of society is basic to any systematic understanding of the
Press.

In explaining the philosophical and political foundations or typologies of
the world Press systems, Fred S. Siebert et al. argued that in actual
sense, there are only two basic THEORIES of the Press - which are:-
(1) Authoritarian Theory of the Press; and
(2) Libertarian Theory of the Press

The other two, i.e. the Soviet Totalitarian or the Communist theory and
the Social Responsibility theory are just "modifications" of the
Authoritarian and Libertarian theories respectively. The oldest of them is
the Authoritarian theory, which was developed in the 16th and 17th
century England. This was followed by the Libertarian theory, which was
adopted in England and used after 1688. The Soviet totalitarian was
adopted in the former USSR during the reign of the Tsars.

But the Social Responsibility theory is a product of the 20th Century
which came out of the W.E. Hocking Commission or the freedom and
responsibilities of Press in the United States of America.

**SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY OF THE PRESS**
The social responsibility theory of the Press came into being as a result
of pluralism in media ownership and content of the media, which created
an uneasiness on the part of the public according to Siebert et al.

The power of media owners then was much that "... they (the Press)
determined which persons, which facts, which opinion, which voice,
which version of the story shall reach the public." The Press was no
longer the "free and-open-market of ideas as preached by Mill and
Jefferson.
The editors no longer determine the news worthiness of a story but this
was left for the media owners, advertisers, vendors and other even
forces.

Consequently, a commission on Freedom of the Press was established
to proffer solution to the irresponsible activities of the Press.
In their report, the Commission asserted that "... protection against government is not now enough to guarantee that a man who has something to say shall have a chance to say it". They added that ...

... the power and near-monopoly position of the media impose on them an obligation to be socially responsible, to see that all sides are fairly presented and that the public has enough information to decide and that if the media do not take on themselves such responsibility, it may be necessary for some other agencies of the realm (i.e. the Court) to enforce it.

The four theories of the Press is better understood and appreciated through table No. A below.

**FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS**

**FOUR RATIONALES FOR THE MASS MEDIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authoritarian (1)</th>
<th>Libertarian (2)</th>
<th>Social responsibility (3)</th>
<th>Soviet totalitarian (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 16(^{th}) and 17(^{th}) century England; widely adopted and still practised in many places</td>
<td>adopted by England after 1688 in U.S.; influential elsewhere</td>
<td>in U.S. in the 20(^{th}) century</td>
<td>in Soviet Union, although some of the same things were done by Nazis and Italians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philosophy of absolute power of monarch, his government, or both.</td>
<td>writings of Milton, Locke, Mill, and general philosophy of rationalism and natural rights.</td>
<td>writing of W.E. Hocking Commission on Freedom of Press, and practitioners; media codes</td>
<td>Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought, with mixture of Hegel and 19(^{th}) century Russian thinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Purpose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to support and advance the policies of the government in power; and to service the state</td>
<td>to inform, entertain, sell—but chiefly to help discover truth, and to check on government</td>
<td>to inform, entertain, sell—but chiefly to raise conflict to the plane of discussion</td>
<td>to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, and especially to the dictatorship of the party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who has right to use media?</td>
<td>whoever gets a royal patent or similar permission</td>
<td>anyone with economic means to do so.</td>
<td>everyone who has something to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How are media</td>
<td>government patents, guilds</td>
<td>by &quot;self-righting process of truth&quot;</td>
<td>community opinion, consumer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>controlled?</td>
<td>licensing, sometimes censorship</td>
<td>in &quot;free market place of ideas,&quot; and by</td>
<td>action, professional ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.iat forbidden?</td>
<td>criticism of political machinery and officials in power</td>
<td>defamation, obscenity, indecency, wartime sedition</td>
<td>serious invasion of recognised private rights and vital social interests.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ownership**

| private or public | chiefly private | private unless government has to take over to insure public service. | public or government |

**Essential differences from**

| instrument for effecting government policy, though not necessarily government owned | instrument for checking on government and meeting other needs of society | media must assume obligation of social responsibility; and if they do not, someone must see that they do. | state-owned and closely controlled media existing solely as arm of state. |

Source: Fred S. Siebert *et al.* FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS

**MEDIA POLICY**

In his *Contemporary Issues in Mass Media for Development and National Security*, Akinfeleye (1988) states that the socio-political ideology of a nation is reflective of the type of the Press system that operates in that society. That is to say that a nation that practises the democratic system of government, it is assumed that its Press will be free - that is to say, they will be moving towards the basic concept of rationality, freedom, liberty, and open-market of ideas and so on.

On the other hand, a nation that operates the authoritarian and/or Dictatorial system of government, the Press system will be moving toward some absolute control, irrationality and censorship. The people will not have the Right-to-Know.

In most countries of the world, basic philosophical foundation of the Press includes but not limited to the following - INFORMATION, EDUCATION, ENTERTAINMENT, PERSUASION and the like.

For an example, in Great Britain and in the United States of America the Press is referred to as the - "FOURTH ESTATE of the REALM" and "FOURTH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT", respectively.

The above sentiment aptly describes the significant roles of the Press in any nation.
The Press being generally referred to as the "Fourth estate of the realm" - i.e. coming after the other three "Estates" i.e. - The EXECUTIVE - to execute laws for the land, the LEGISLATURE - to make laws for the land and the JUDICIARY - to interpret the law and adjudicate while the "Fourth Estate" i.e. the Press is to watch-dog, check-on - to uncover and never to cover up corruption and/or wrong doings by the other three Estates. They (the Press) are also to monitor governance and make the other three Estates accountable to the people at all times. In performing these functions, the Press can remain as the real FOURTH ESTATE OF THE REALM if it adheres strictly to its professional codes of ethics at all times. But if otherwise, the Press will and can do a lot of irredeemable damage to the corporate existence of the society it serves and thereby may transform from being the Fourth Estate of the Realm into the Fourth Estate of the Wreck. In addition, it may wreck the society it serves.

THE PRESS AS THE ENGINE ROOM THAT LUBRICATES THE HEART OF DEMOCRACY

Wilbur Schramm once noted that:

the structure of communication/Press reflects the structures and development of any society. The size of communication, the volume of communication, the direction of communication, the objective of communication, the development of communication, the role of communication to the society - the ownership of instrument of communication, (i.e. the Press), the audience of communication, the transfer of the individual communication roles, the stretching out and multiplicity of society, the facilities and the purposeful use and/or misuses of communication - the content of communication network at any given time reflects the value pattern of the society it serves. The pattern of communication network which determines WHO shares it with WHOM reflects the homogeneity of the culture and geography within the society.

THE NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE PRESS

Under the fundamental objectives and directive principles of the state policy, the Constitution says that:

"The state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power - (by public officers, public officials, public figures and other in the protection and presentation of National interest)".

"The Press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be Free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in chapter two and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people".

Simply put here, government is saying that it is the duty of the Press to monitor governance and make public officers accountable to the people.
at all times. While on the other hand, the government is empowered to abolish corruption and abuse of power by the public officials, thereby making government to be socially responsible to the people.

It is therefore very clear in the Nigerian Constitution that the Press is not given the power of irresponsibility or the trial of public officers on the pages of the newspapers, magazines, or on radio or television screens, rather constitutional duty give to the Press is that of MONITORING and making the public officers accountable to the people at all times.

But in monitoring and making the public officers accountable to the people, some corrupt media organisations and practitioners generally misconstrue monitoring to be media trial of public officers on the pages of newspapers, magazines, on radio or television.

NATIONAL INTEREST; PUBLIC OFFICER; PUBLIC FIGURE; PUBLIC INTEREST AND THE PUBLIC RIGHT TO KNOW
For us to have a better understanding of the basic impetus in this lecture, it is necessary for us to explore the full meaning of the following concepts - (1) Public Office, (5) Public Officers, (6) Public Officials, (4) Public figure, (5) National/interest, (6) Public opinion, (7) Public trials, and (8) Public/right to know.

Public Office, simply put, is the office created by government at any level giving specific remuneration, rights, privileges and responsibilities to the holder of that public office.

A public officer or public official therefore is the person who derives his livelihood from the taxes paid by the public. He holds the office in trust for the public. So, whatever he/she does in that office is generally of public interest, and the Press must report him because of the theory of the right to know under sustainable democracy.

The logical conclusion here is that a person who has accepted a public office, such as the President of the nation, Senator, Governor, Local Government Chairman, Counsellor, Vice-Chancellor, Pro-chancellor, Chancellor, Registrar, Ambassador etc, has lost a part of his/her privacy i.e. the right to be left alone.

No matter the mode of appointment to that public office - either by election, selection, appointment etc, he/she has become a newsmaker for the journalists - (the Press) and therefore must be monitored and made accountable to the people at all times.
On the other hand, a public figure is a person who does not receive any salary from the public fund but whose activities, pronouncements, comments on public issues within the community which are of public interest, and thus subjected to some monitoring by the Press but never in the same manner or intensity as those of public officers and/or public officials.

Whether you are a public officer, or public official or a public figure, the Press has the obligation to say something about you which is of public interest. But in saying that "something" about you, the Press has the obligation to be socially responsible. If he/she fails to be socially responsible in reporting you and/or your activities, then you have the right to take him/her to the other Estate that is to say the COURT of law which may sanction him/her or the Press organisation.

WHO MONITORS THE MONITOR?
The very first question to ask here is to ascertain whether or not the Press monitors itself. Does the Press put itself on trial?

William H. Thomas, former Editor of the New York Times, noted that: "The one thing the Press covers more poorly today than anything else is the Press itself" He added:

We don't tell our readers/viewers or listeners what we do or how we do it. We don't even admit our mistakes unless we are virtually forced to under threat of court action, advertiser, public opinion or public embarrassment. We do not attempt to explain our problems, our decisions, our news coverage and presentation, our fallibility, our procedures of monitoring governance and making them acceptable to the public. Yet we try to put corrupt public officers on trial!

In America for example, we can still recall how President Richard Nixon was put under intense media trial during the Watergate Scandal. The O.J. Simpson saga, and not quite long ago, the President Bill Clinton's "Inappropriate action" saga are typical examples of the Press trial of public officers. In the Nixon's case, we are told that some Americans felt that the media trial of Nixon had badgered him from office before trial judgement. Thomas added that ... "Bill Clinton was lucky in his own case by the court of public opinion which was favourable - the same thing for the O.J. Simpson".
FREE PRESS AND THE SOCIAL IRRESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME IN NIGERIA

Walter Lippmann once noted that the theory of a free and responsible Press is that TRUTH will emerge from free reporting and discussion.

Since May 29, 1999 the Nigerian Press under a democratic rule, has not reported too many official harassments of the Press. We thank God and President Obasanjo Administration for this near-free-market place of ideas created, but still appeal to him for the continuity of mutual tolerance and respect for the Press.

As he talks about the DIVIDEND of democracy, let us allow all the birds to fly without collusion with one another, let all the fish continue to swim without collusion with one another during this period of continuity 2007, so as to enjoy the dividend of the press in a democracy.

Whereas under the military government, more than 13 specific official harassments of the Press were recorded by Article 19 (XIX). They ranged from arbitrary detention of Journalists for publishing stories which the military termed as against "PUBLIC GOOD" and "National interest and/or National security."

The Journalists could be detained for a very long period under the State Security - Detention of Persons - Decree No. 2, 1984. Those that had a good taste of this decree include but not limited to the following - Tell Magazine editor-in-chief - Nosa Igiebor, Onome Osifo-Whiskey, Managing Editor of Tell, Kolawole Ilori and Ayodele Akinkuotu, Executive Editor and Associate editor of Tell, respectively.

Other people cited in this report include, Chris Okolie of the defunct Newbreed, Newswatch magazine executives, including Ray Ekpu, Yakubu Mohammed, Dan Agbese, Soji Akinrinade and more.

From the News Magazine are Bayo Onanuga (Editor-in-Chief), Dapo Olorunyomi who fled to the United States through the "peoples highway" when he was alleged by the military government of Abacha to have been involved in "Planning coup" to overthrow Abacha.

Mr. Soji Omotunde then of Tell Magazine was also not so lucky during this period when he was "captured" in commando style on his way to church.

According to Article 19, another category of Nigerian Journalists who were punished under the misuse of criminal charges and unfair trials
include but not limited to the following - Mrs. Chris Anyanwu who happens to be my school mate at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, Columbia; USA, and was the Editor of (TSM) - The Sunday Magazine; Kunle Ajibade of the News Magazine; George Mbahe, Tell magazine; Ben Charles Obi of the defunct Weekend Classique and Niran Malaolu, then of the Diet Newspaper who told me he was appointed the "Editor-General of the Nigeria Prisons" during his unlawful detention. These Journalists were detained and harassed under what the military called Treason and other offences - (Special Military Tribunal) Decree No. 1 of 1986.

Many of the journalists were detained in prisons, across the land from Gombe, Gusua, Makurdi, Agodi, Kirikiri etc., where they had no access to their families and solicitors.

It was even reported that Mr. Osai, a former Kano correspondent, was quoted as saying that the prison's authority told him when he was eventually captured that "... you have been remanded in detention custody twice in absentia." - what an irony!!!

Article 19, also added that other unorthodox methods used by the military to punish the journalists include - oppressive use of defamation proceedings, torture and ill-treatment, suspected assassination attempts, disappearances of journalists - (i.e. BAGUDA KALTHO who was then the senior correspondent of the News Magazine). Today, either dead or alive, nobody can locate BAGUDA KALTHO, perhaps the military can still provide answers to the whereabouts of this journalist.

Other methods we are told, include, barring of publications, misinformation, arson, attacks on newspaper offices and agents/vendors outlets; seizures of independent newspapers and magazines, disruption of printing and distribution of newspapers and magazines, withholding official patronage and advertising from independent publications and finally, official interference in editorial decision-making processes.

But in recent times the Nigerian Press, has been at loggerheads with some disgruntled and chronically corrupt politicians, and businessmen and women.

In its attempt to enforce its constitutional role of monitoring the public officers and making the government accountable to the people, the Nigerian Press have been commended by some sections of the public particularly in the coverage of the on-going elections while other sections of the public have seriously indicted and condemned the
Nigeria Mass Media for irresponsible, reckless, and sensational journalism. They have accused the Nigeria mass media of going beyond their assigned mandate of monitoring and have gone to the level of putting public officers and others too on TRIAL. They have openly accused the Nigerian Press of constituting itself into a court of law, and even giving judgement before that of the court of law. Some of the recent events that readily come to mind include those of the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, former Senate President, some Speakers of States House of Assembly, some Deputy Governors, Majority, Minority Political leaders, and even the Executive Arm of Government, the Judiciary, the Labour Union (NLC), ASUU, NASU, the Ministers, Commissioners, Religious leaders, youths and some politicians who have either lost their first election and/or their second coming. Please don’t blame the Press for your failure. The Press does not deal, but they report about the deal, they look for scoop in the deal. Therefore, the politicians should learn how to deal out the Press from the deal; this will be in line with expected social responsibility.

Mr. Vice - Chancellor sir, today, May 14, 2003, we are exactly in the threshold of the new millennium. Africa's most populous nation, Nigeria continues to ponder on what specific roles should be given to the Press in our match toward a sustainable democracy. The Nigerian Press has asked for unadulterated Press Freedom and clear-cut Freedom of Information Act so as to play their constitutional role of monitoring governance. The government on the other hand, has said that the Press already has the freedom of expression and ownership of the Press as contained in the Constitution. But the public has continued to tell the Press to do more on monitoring and making the government accountable. Dialectics this may be, and as discussed earlier, it is interesting to know that under the general heading of the fundamental objectives and Direct Principles of State Policy, the Constitution compels the Nigeria Press to monitor governance and make the government accountable to the people.

Unfortunately, not much has been done in this very important area because of the long period of "Militocracy" and not democracy in Nigeria. For example, more than 25 years out of forty-three (43) years of independence have been in the practice of "Militocracy".

At some stages of the period of Militocracy, the Military had involved some civilians to serve in various governments and therefore, misconstrued that as a form of "Democracy". In my opinion, this arrangement is not and cannot be Democracy. At best, it is an adulterated form of "democracy".
THE PRESS AND SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY - THEORETICAL IMPERATIVES

Theoretical formulations of the mass media as tools for national development and sustainable democracy have varied from mass media as having some significant effects on the people to some little effect. While some social scientists acknowledge mass media effects on national development and sustainable democracy, others say that the mass media are highly powerful at least from their persuasive tendencies. Dialectics these may sound, suffices it to acknowledge the famous conclusion of Joseph Klapper when he said that: "the mass media have some kinds of effects on some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, with some kinds of consequences." Discussing the mass media as instrument of national development, Lucian Pye noted that the mass media are amplifying factors in the society which inform the people about happenings in and around them.

Karl Deutch added that the mass media are to raise the level of people's consciousness in matters relating to national interest and development. With the above, there is no doubt on the role of the mass media in national interest, development and sustainable democracy.

IMPERATIVES OF THE PRESS IN SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY

Mr. Vice - Chancellor sir, in my judgement, the basic imperatives of the Press in the promotion and preservation of national interest and sustainable democracy will include but not limited to the following -

- Common carrier of ideas
- Representative picture of the society
- Truth and meaning of truth in a democracy
- Classification of the values and goals of the society.
- Uncover and never to cover-up
- Monitor the government
- Make the government accountable to the people
- Inform, educate and entertain the people
- Promote the concept of accountability; integrity, honesty, fairness and equity.
- Give voice to the voiceless in the society
- Society Agenda - setter
- Forging National Unity and Integration
- Promotion of society cultures, and the moral value systems.
- Promotion of sustainable National interest at all times.
- Promotion of Journalistic integrity. (The Journalists should now promote themselves from being called "Press Boys" to be called THE PRESS Executives) or the captains of the Fourth Estate of the Realm.

At the launching of the Lagos State newspaper - The Lagos Horizon, former Nigerian military president, Ibrahim Babangida, said that:
there is need for effective communication linkages between the government and the governed. I believe that the absence of communication gap which should include the freedom to get the information between the people and authority is the essence of good government.

He added:

... I am proud to note that the Nigerian Press is by far the most outspoken, competitive, largest and freest in the African Continent.

Babangida saw the Press as the fourth estate of the realm whose role in any body polity is most significant. He agreed with the partnership approach between the Press and the government in our developmental process and total emancipation of our human and material resources at all times. (The Punch, Daily Times, The Tribune of June 6 1988).

Good political talk, but is the Nigerian Press the 'Freest' Press in Africa today or has it even been the freest? My answer is capital NO! though subject to some evil forces which are inherent in the military regimes and young democracy.

**PURE PRESS FREEDOM Vs ADULTERATED PRESS FREEDOM**

Nigeria has undergone many types of regimes varying from the Colonial to the First Republic, Military regimes, the Third Republic and now preparing for the 4th Republic etc.

In all these regimes, none has explicitly guaranteed "pure" Press freedom; the nearest is an "adulterated" Press freedom written in the 1999 Constitution.

If the Nigerian Press is to continue to play the watchdog role as preferred by nearly all the regimes, then, there should be pure and not adulterated Press freedom. It needs to be admitted however, that no government no matter how democratic can give absolute freedom to its Press.

Various Nigerian governments have told the Press that it is asking for "too much" by demanding for Press freedom in addition to the Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression. The public in Nigeria has been asking the different governments in Nigeria to set the boundaries of "too little" and "too much" Press freedom. In other words, the thesis of the Press is for pure freedom while the antithesis of the government is for adulterated Press freedom and synthesis of the general public lies on a balance of power between pure and adulterated Press freedom, all these have focussed on how much is "too much"
Press freedom - the question that has remained unanswered by the different regimes which Nigeria has passed through.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION vs FREEDOM OF THE PRESS
In differentiating between freedom of expression and freedom of the Press, Ralph Okonkwo (1990) said that:

Most developing countries including Nigeria, apart from believing in the European age-old aims of saving their populace from impiety and chaos, have added some other reasons for supPressing freedom of expression through various forms of censorship. The aims have been veiled in development communication which is the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of the country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic social equality and the larger fulfilment of the human potential.

He added that the extent of freedom of expression in a given society could be a good measure of the states, which an individual enjoys in that society. But I believe that the freedom of the Press is not an individual freedom but the freedom of the masses to be liberated from secrecy and doubts which is essential to the society positive development.

The import here is that freedom of expression is not the same thing as freedom of the Press. While the freedom of exPression is individualistic, the freedom of the Press is collective. Freedom of expression is an inalienable right of an individual which is guaranteed by the UN Charter of Human Rights, while freedom of the Press represents the strong internal control mechanism i.e. check-and-balance or the societal scale for achievement and development which should be enjoyed by the masses through the media professionals who are themselves accountable to the society in which they serve in, live with their conditionalities of the societal responsibility of the Press.

Prevention of that right or preference of freedom of expression to it is an incomplete expression of the masses' viewpoint and can hinder horizontal development while it can also continue to support the monolithic arrangement of the society in which pure Press freedom is either denied or not guaranteed, or misconstrued as freedom of expression.

GENERAL LOOK AT PRESS FREEDOM
Like the profession of journalism, media specialists have asserted that Press freedom all over the world has remained controversial and confusing. It is a confusing term even when analysed in any type of political or philosophical system. Nevertheless, freedom of the Press
has been, still is, and will continue to be a matter of serious concern to all the nations of the world. A look at the state of affairs from nations' constitutions reveals that Press freedom is important, and is guaranteed at least on paper by most countries of the world.

THE NIGERIAN EXAMPLE

In Nigeria for example, Chapter II, of the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression. It states in part that:

Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression [not Press freedom] including freedom to hold opinion and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.

The former Constitution Review Committee received a lot of protests for the inclusion of Press freedom in the Constitution, but the committee concluded by saying that "the Committee believes that the provisions of the 1979 Constitution on the freedom of the Press are adequate".

But as the role of the mass media becomes significant in our development processes during the next decade, we submit that the freedom of the Press as contained in the 1979/1999 Constitution is still inadequate if the Press is to play its essential roles as one of the necessary social forces in our march towards economic and technological heights.

OTHER CONSTITUTIONS

The United States Of America

The United States of America as a model democracy, specifically guarantees freedom of the Press in its Constitution. The freedom of expression is also guaranteed and separated from that of the Press. In parts, and under the First amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the Press freedom is guaranteed thus:

... Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of the Press and expression ...

We see this as pure constitutional guarantee of freedom of the Press because it compels the U.S. Congress never to make any law to hinder Press freedom, which they consider as an essential tool for meaningful democracy.
THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
Even though the former Soviet Union did not pretend to have or operate a democracy, Article 50 of the then USSR Constitution guaranteed the Press freedom (at least on paper). However, in true application, the state continued to restrict the Press in one way or the other until the current structure.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS Vs FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
Freedom of the Press (when guaranteed in the Constitution), is freedom or right to publish or not to publish any information without hindrance from the government. It guarantees against prior restraint, censorship, gagging of the Press, or arbitrary arrest and detention of journalists.

The freedom of information on the other hand, is the freedom or the right to get or gain access to the source of information to be published without hindrance. Both of these are essential to the journalist in the performance of his job so as to be socially responsible to the society. None of these has been guaranteed by our Constitution and as a result of the non-inclusion to suffer all kinds of prosecution by the different regimes - military or civilian.

The Secrecy Act has also made the achievement of an ideal social responsibility by the Nigerian Press so difficult. For the 4th Republic to be meaningful and to be attuned with the concepts of democracy which is the foundation of our new Constitution, inclusion of both freedom of the Press and freedom of information is essential.

TERMINOLOGIES OF PRESS FREEDOM
Basic terminologies that have been associated with Press freedom world-wide include: freedom of information; public access to the Press and information, people’s right to know, free-flow of information, open market place of ideas, and many more. Of all these, the only universal concept of Press freedom is that it is always on the continuum. No wonder then that Carter R. Bran, and John C. Merrill, (1970) stated that freedom of expression is the continuation of freedom of manifestation of freedom of thought and it is therefore, one of the fundamental human rights in any democracy.

Bryan A. et. al. (1978) added that nevertheless, throughout the world "... regardless of what Press theory a country might accept, the right to publish the news or own media establishment is either denied or under constant attack". Here in Nigeria, at a recent symposium on Press freedom, it was concluded that Press freedom is the freedom of its citizen to know the truth via the Press and to express opinion on current
societal affairs. It concluded its submission by noting that Press censorship exists in many parts of Africa including Nigeria - and that Press freedom is fading away in most African countries and that in spite of the vigilant activities of the International Press Institute, IPI and Amnesty International, the detention and/or imprisonment of journalists is still the order of the day. Akinfeleye (1990) cited some local examples thus: Ray Ekpu for writing an article titled "Sodom and Gomorrah" on the burnt NECOM House and his NewsWatch article on the Committee on transition programme; Alhaji Jimoh, formerly The Punch editor on Lawyer Fawehinmi's case about late Dele Giwa; and Nduka Obaigbeni, then Editor of This Week Magazine for the publication of an article in the magazine, June 27 1988, vol. 0, No. 4, entitled "Inside Dodan Barracks - The Power Game". The writer explained that he called for "the manipulation of the balance of power and spheres of influence by the astute presidential prince within the Dodan Barracks. The rest is history Mr. Vice-Chancellor.

Certainly, the government needs a free Press for the diffusion of its developmental information to the governed. The Press owes it a duty to be responsive and responsible to the society it serves. Therefore, the inclusion of the Press freedom and freedom of information in our Constitution should bring out the expected attitude of mutual respect and appreciation in order for both to remain credible to the public at large. Unfortunately, this has not been the case.

For the past years, particularly during the military regime, both the government and the Press have shown dislike to each other to the extent that both have suffered some losses of credibility. The Nigerian government and the Press should create the necessary social condition for the inclusion of pure Press freedom, freedom of information in our Constitution, which will allow the Press to be free to publish and report Nigeria with all fairness, accuracy, intelligence and objectivity, for freedom of the Press in itself requires responsibility.

We need Press freedom to articulate the Dividends of Democracy. We require free Press to cover the National Assembly, the local governments and elections. For posterity, we consider the inclusion of Press freedom, freedom of information in our Constitution as an extension of our Fundamental Human Rights, which the present Obasanjo administration has been following religiously. We suggest here that the inclusion of Press freedom should form our own first amendment to the Constitution because it is and continues to be one of our continental undigested past and Nigeria should take the lead as the first African nation to have freedom of the Press and freedom of
information explicitly written in its Constitution. Thus that "... The National Assembly shall make no law abridging the freedom of the Press and freedom of information".

CURRENT STAGE OF FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN NIGERIA
The Media Rights Agenda (MRA) working with concerned individuals and other professional and non-government (NGO) organisations including the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), the Nigerian Newspapers Proprietors' Association (NPAN) the Guild of Editors, the Nigerian Press Council, the Civil Liberties Organisation, Mass Communication Institutions and many more began serious campaign for Freedom of Information in Nigeria.

This effort climaxed into the introduction of the Freedom of Information Bill, jointly sponsored by Dr. Jerry Sonny Ugokwe, representing Idemili North South Federal Constituency of Anambra State, Hon. Tony Anyowu and Hon. Nduka Irabor (himself a journalist). The functions of the Bill, according to the Federal Government of Nigeria official Gazette, Vol. 86, No. 91 dated December 8, 1999 stated thus: -

... An act to make Public Records and Information more freely available. Provide for Public Access to Public Records and information, protect public records and information to the extent consistent with the public INTEREST and the protection of personal privacy, protect serving public officers from adverse consequences for disclosing certain kinds of official information and establish procedures for the achievement of those purpose and related purposes hereof.

THE KEY ISSUES IN FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT
The Media Rights Agenda outlined the eight key issues in the Freedom of information Bill as follows: -

1. Maximum disclosure: This encapsulates a presumption that all information held by public bodies should be subject to disclosure and that these presumptions may be overcome only in very limited circumstances.

2. Obligation to public: This establishes that apart from acceding to requests to publicly held information, public bodies are obliged to publish and disseminate widely, documents of significant public interest, subject only to reasonable limits based on resources and capacity.

3. Promotion of open government: The Bill seeks to provide for public education by government agencies regarding the scope of information which is available and the manner in which such rights may be exercised.
4. Limited scope of exemptions: In the event that a request for information from a public body is denied, such refusal to disclose information must be justified by passing the three-part test. These are that:
- the information must relate to legitimate aim listed in the law.
- Disclosure must threaten to cause substantial harm to that aim; and
- The harm to the aim must be greater than the public interest in having the information.

5. Process to facilitate access: The Bill outlines the process of a rapid and fair access to information. In the event of a denial of right of access, the Bill provides that an independent review of such refusal should be sought at two levels: within the public body; and appeals to the court.

6. Costs: The Bill outlines the costing process of gaining access to information to ensure that it is not so high as to deter potential applicants, given that the whole rationale behind freedom of information laws is to promote open access to information.

7. Disclosure takes precedence: The Bill outlines the extent that a law shall conflict with the principle of maximum disclosure to merit being set aside.

8. Protection for whistle-blowers: Notwithstanding provisions in the criminal and penal codes, and the Official Secret Act, individuals should be protected from any legal, administrative or employment related sanctions for releasing information on wrongdoings; commission of a criminal offence, negation of legal obligation, miscarriage of justice, corruption or dishonesty or serious maladministration regarding a public officer or body.

Since 1999, many workshops, seminars, roundtables including public hearing on the Bill have been carried out.

This lecturer, told the House Sub-Committee on Information during the Public Hearing of the Bill in Abuja last year the need to accelerate its passage. I told them that both the legislature, the executive and the judiciary (all the three other Estates of the Realm need the Freedom of Information Act more seriously than the Press - the Fourth Estate of the Realm. So, it is in their own interest to accelerate the passage of the Freedom of Information Bill.

We were assured of the quick passage of the Bill in 2002. But today, after passing through the Committee stage, the first and second readings, it remains a mystery as to ascertain the current stage of the Bill.
With less than 14 days to the exit of the current legislators, our conclusion is that they have failed woefully to pass this important Bill, which should have made it possible for us the people, to write their names in the "Guinness Book of Records". Now for their failure, perhaps their names should go into the "Gulder's Book of Records", instead of the "Crimes Book of Records".

My appeal to the in-coming legislature is to help us resurrect the Bill and make its passage as one of the top priorities for the first two weeks in office. The Press and we the people shall thank them and support their second term wherever it is applicable.

THE PRESS, DEMOCRACY, MORAL VALUES, ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE JOURNALISTIC INTEGRITY

If I was asked to say which one of these terms comes first and which of the concepts can promote and sustain meaningful democracy and an enduring and incorruptible Fourth Estate of the Realm, during the 21st century Nigeria, I will not hesitate a moment to say that MORAL VALUES and Journalistic integrity, come first and they should be preconditions for the attainment of the other concepts for the sustenance of a free, responsible and responsive Press. Moral values determine what you genuinely do or feel should be done with absolute Truth and Honesty. It commands your inner-self to do the right thing, be socially responsible, and do well for the betterment of tomorrow. Its foundation is based on MORALITY. But when moral values are thrown aside for selfish consideration, e.g. LTP - Let-them-pay concept of the electronic media in Nigeria, and not living for the sake of others by the politicians, then corruption steps in and it completely destroys integrity and makes accountability and responsible journalism unattainable.

So, in the New Millennium, the mass media, government, parents, teachers, pastors, imams, and the society in general should put more emphasis on the reward of Morality, which can stop, or at least reduce corruption in our society. They should teach them to be responsive and responsible citizens so as to have integrity, respect, honour and meaningful National interest.

The Fourth Estate of the Realm can create the awareness but only the change Agents, i.e. government, Federal, State, Local Government, the Churches, Mosques, etc. can bring about the necessary change from immorality to morality where accountability and integrity are the end products in a sustainable democracy.
THE NEW NATIONAL RE-REBIRTH
The new federal government programme termed NATIONAL RE-BIRTH should concentrate more on our African MORAL VALUES. They should start from the beginning, i.e. teach moral value concepts from the primary schools up to the University and Polytechnic level. It should be institutionalised and codified as for employment and contracts. It should no longer be based, like the previous government programmes, on the concept of "DO WHAT I SAY" and not "WHAT I DO". The government should not just TELL us but should SHOW us the dignity in morality, accountability, and Press freedom.

The politicians, civil servants, contractors, customs officers, immigration, banks, the police, army, airforce, navy and other government and non-government agencies should be compelled to render periodic account of their activities. There should be adequate monitoring, evaluation and sanctions for defaulters. The concept of "WATIN YOU CARRY OGA", "HOW ABOUT KOLANUTS" - "TEN PERCENT MOBILIZATION FORCE" abuse and indiscriminate use of sirens on our highways should be stopped forthwith. It is an act of social irresponsibility of the political leader, the President, Governors, Senators, Representatives, LGA bosses and the other evil forces to continue to use the siren to drive away the tax payers out of the road the politician promised to be free of accident and undesirable people.

In the past years, particularly during the military regimes reckless disregard to accountability, moral values had been the order of the day. They looted our treasury, with impunity. I don't need to give you any figures because several figures have been given and by the time the present government comes out with the near-final figures, you should not be surprised that it will be in TRILLION NAIRA and not BILLION NAIRA. In fact, it will be as that Omega Bank advert, which says - Beyond your imagination.

To guarantee integrity and accountability in the new Millennium, government should set a monitoring mechanism in each of the local government areas, parastatal, Central Bank, etc, to investigate and sanction anybody who donates money which are significantly far more than his/her assessable and legitimate total income. Even when found to be within his/her total income, such a person should still pay some tax to the Internal Revenue Department and be given yellow card because such actions encourage corruption and make accountability a worthless phenomenon. A free and responsible Press must report this objectively. Also a free and responsible Press must stop prostitution of the profession by the creation of what is called BEAT Associations, such as
the Airport - Sea Port, Port Harcourt correspondents, sports writers, Aviation, Energy, Education, Health, Hospital, Mortuary correspondents association and many more.

All these Beat Associations belittle the profession and inhibit journalistic integrity. We thank the President of the Newspapers Proprietors Association, Mr. Ray Ekpu and the President of the Guild of Editors, President of Broadcasting Association of Nigeria (BON), the Press Council and other stakeholders for reaffirming their stand on the imposed ban on Beat Associations at the Abuja Forum last year. Let us continue to practise journalism and not Beat journalism. To be socially responsible journalists, we must continue to protect our journalistic integrity so as to be respected by the public and other professional associations in Nigeria.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, if Nigeria is to take its rightful place in the comity of nations, if Nigeria is to have integrity, if Nigeria is to be respected, if Nigeria is to lead Africa during the new millennium, if Nigerian businessmen/women are to participate meaningfully in the emerging favourable global economy in the 21st century, if the Nigerian Press should continue to be relevant in our development efforts, now is the time for Nigerian politicians, the public and the Press to set out the national framework for the preaching and teaching of African moral values in all our activities including - training journalism institutions and the National Assembly. If and when seriously pursued by the Press and government of all levels, it can bring about our deserved respect and more valued traditional honesty, moral values, integrity and accountability which, in my own opinion, are essential pre-conditions for any meaningful and sustainable democracy as we march along in the new millennium.

PRESS OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL - WHAT THE CONSTITUTION SAYS ABOUT OWNERSHIP

Deregulation particularly of the electronic media in Nigeria constituted a major breakthrough in the Nigerian Constitution. It states that:

Every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for dissemination of information, ideas and opinions, provided that no person other than the government of the federation, or of a state OR any other person or body authorised by the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any public whatsoever.
Until the media deregulation policy came into being in 1992, all the Radio and Television stations in Nigeria (without any exception), were owned and controlled by either the Federal government or state governments.

The stations were guided by the government definition of social-responsibility of the Press and not the professional definition of social responsibility. They were funded mainly by government through subventions. They, therefore, danced to the tune of the piper. There is the new need for balance of power between government ownership of the media and private ownership of the media in Nigeria.

For example, under Abacha, we can still remember the promotion on the NTA on the issue of:

a.) "HE WHO THE CAP FITS" and there were some samples of the cap and they all fitted one man and no other.
b.) "THE TWO MILLION MARCH SAGA:
c.) THE YOUTH EARNESTLY ASK FOR ABACHA and
d.) THE MAGIC KEY.SAGA of Abacha campaign on NTA to succeed himself in office.

Certainly, the NTA management knew that it was not socially responsible for them to run such insulting political campaign freely on our national television service which is financed by our tax payers, but they were helpless and I guess their hands were tied under that circumstance. Perhaps, they could be pardoned today - but indeed it was socially irresponsible, and a compound disgrace to the ethics of free and responsible journalism.

THE OBSERVER AND FIRST LADY PLC SAGA

How about the case of the Nigerian Observer, where an editor was fired for publishing a picture of a First lady which the Military Governor of that state considered to be "a non-glamorous" picture of a first lady - An act of irresponsibility and abuse of power of a publisher and a government.

How can a sub-editor and or a producer be socially responsible when his boss or owners are irresponsible? This leads to self-censorship and cover sensationalism and unnecessary interference by the publishers and/or owners of the media organisation. Both government and privately owned media must protect and guarantee the editorial independence of the publication or the station at all times, for credibility and social responsibility.
Until recently most of the Nigerian mass media systems were distressed financially. Therefore, they concentrated on the concept of let-them-pay (L.T.P).

In this LTP concept, truth as the basis of good and responsible journalism was thrown out and the love for overt and covert advertising revenue from brown envelopes demanding and receiving became the order of the day. This led to reckless sensationalism of the news coverage, features, editorial and even placement of pictures.

MEDIA OWNERS AND MEDIA PROFESSIONALS
For effectiveness and credibility, the media owners must be compatible with the media professionals. In fact, there should be an effective interconnectivity between them for excellent professional performance. If the publishers or owners of the electronic media are not compatible with the media professionals, this may lead to irresponsible journalism.

This is because of the fact that while the editor, the producers or the presenters would be seeking for TRUTH in their News coverage, the publisher or owners would be looking for PROFIT. He would tell the editor that he could not and does not use TRUTH to buy newsprint, or tapes, films, cameras, microphones, and other essential tools for production.

It is because of the love for commercial instincts over the above truth in journalism that editors determine the news worthiness of an event. But today, in nearly all the media houses in Nigeria, News is no longer determined by the sub-editor, the news-editor or the editor but is now being determined by the publishers, owners of the electronic media, the advertisers, circulation managers, the vendors, friends and/or families of the owner, and now by some other evil forces within the system.

SHOULD GOVERNMENT BE A PUBLISHER OR OWNER OF THE ELETRONIC MEDIA?
Based on the events of the past years or so, coupled with the poor state of government owned newspapers i.e. the New Nigeria, Daily Times and all the state government owned newspapers and radio/TV, it is my opinion that government at all levels should hands-off the ownership of all the newspapers, radio and television stations currently owned and controlled by them. However, they could retain the ownership of the Voice of Nigeria (VON) for our external publicity and propaganda. This would be in line with the democracy and deregulation of the media ownership. Let them sell their shares to the current staff in each of the establishments.
They are the ones that are perpetually encouraging and sensationalism irresponsible journalism in Nigeria and not the journalists per se.

For example, what are the NTA and its empire doing with 148 stations? How about 37 stations of the FRCN? What is the exact mission of the FRCN for establishing 32. Stations within one year? - when there is already a deregulation of the air? - This constitutes a negation of the deregulation policy and encourages media (Air waves monopoly by the Federal Government).

SHOULD THE NIGERIAN PRESS CONSTITUTE ITSELF AS A TRIAL COURT FOR PUBLIC OFFICERS?
As a journalist and media educator, I wish to commend the Nigerian Press for a job well done in its constitutional role of monitoring governance and making public officers accountable to the people. I give them "locomotive" pat on the back for the social responsibility displayed in their coverage of the on-going elections notwithstanding the arrogance of some of the foreign journalists who covered and wrote negatively about the elections. I am told that they were reporting from the level of ignorance and that they should try to understand the Nigerian cultural particularities and peculiarities.

But I hasten to say the Press is and cannot be a Court of Law. Adjudication is not part of the constitutional role of the Press. Therefore let us leave that aspect to the other Realm to the Court of the land. Our role is to watchdog, and check on, gate-keep, to uncover and never to cover-up.

STATE OF MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL
Nigeria with an estimated population of more than 120 million people is serviced by 244 electronic media - Radio and television.

Television
According to my latest interview with the officials of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Nigeria has 244 existing television stations. They are distributed as follows: -
- Government owned:
  148 NTA stations.
- States Government: 64 stations
- Private TV Stations - 32

Radio Stations
There are (95) Ninety-five radio stations in Nigeria according to my latest interview with the officials of FRCN and NBC.
The 95 radio stations are distributed as follows -
Federal Government owned radio - 37 stations.
FRCN - (5 Network stations located in Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna,
and Abuja. They are both AM and FM stations.
And 32 New FM stations making a total of 37 radio stations for the
Federal Government.

State radio stations are (36) Thirty-six in number. While private radio
stations are 22 in number with the following classification -
18 - Private radio stations
Four - private but specialised radio stations.

The Four private but specialised stations in Nigeria are:
- 1. Atlantic FM station - For French programmes.
- 2. Spectrum FM Station - For Hard News
- 3. BRILLA FM - Mainly for sports
- 4. UNILAG FM radio station - for education and academic
programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for Govt. (Fed. & States) = 212
Total for Private = 32

T.V. OWNERSHIP PATTERN
Title: Distribution of electronic media in Nigeria by ownership pattern.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
<th>TELEPHONE</th>
<th>FAX</th>
<th>EMAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>African Newspaper of Nig. (Tribune)</td>
<td>Imalefalafia Street, Oke-Ado, Ibadan Plot 16 Oluyole Industrial Estate, off Ring Road Ibadan 68 Breadfruit Street, Lagos</td>
<td>02-2310886 022310000 2666770</td>
<td>02-2317573 262768</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Tribune@hyperia.com">Tribune@hyperia.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Bendel Newspapers Company, (The Observer)</td>
<td>12 Airport Road, Benin City, 51 Opebi Road Tosil House, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Courier Nigeria Limited - (Kwara Weekly)</td>
<td>57 Gaa Akanbi Road Box 2408, Ilorin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Crossan Publishing Limited (Megastar)</td>
<td>38 Cow lane P.M.B. 52947 Falomo Ikoyi, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Champion Newspaper Limited</td>
<td>Champion House Ilaamaja 156/158 Apapa Oshodi Expressway P.O. Box 2276, Oshodi, Lagos</td>
<td>4525983, 4525807 4526017</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:Letter@championnews.com">Letter@championnews.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Citizen Communication Limited</td>
<td>4 Sultan Road, P.M.B. 2334 Kaduna, 12A Acme Road Isheri Road, Agidingbi Lagos</td>
<td>062-244165</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Concord Press of Nigeria Limited</td>
<td>Concord way, Off Muritalal Muhammed Airport, P.O.Box 4483 Ikeja</td>
<td>4901010-19 4960096</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Cross River Newspaper Corporation, (Chronicle)</td>
<td>Barrack Road, P.M.B. 1074 Calabar 14 Adisa Bashau Street, Adelabu, Surulere, Lagos.</td>
<td>087-234975</td>
<td>087-234975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Daily Times of Nigeria Plc</td>
<td>Tel/Fax</td>
<td>Email</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Fesmed Press Limited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Gongola Press Limited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Imo Newspaper Limited (Statesman)</td>
<td>4524111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>John West Newspaper Limited (Lagos News)</td>
<td>4524118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Kwara Publishing Corporation (Herald)</td>
<td>4920510</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Magnet Media (Nigeria)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Monthly Life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>New African Holding Limited (Democrat)</td>
<td>4920513</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>New Nigeria Newspaper Limited</td>
<td>4920514</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>NewsWatch Communication Ltd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table contains contact information for various entities, including newspapers and other media companies, with details such as addresses, telephone numbers, and email addresses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Zip Codes</th>
<th>Email Addresses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Newswave Limited</td>
<td>7 Alabi Street P.O.Box 55374, Ikeja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Panache Communications Ltd (Classique)</td>
<td>3 Allen Avenue P.M.B. 21257 Ikeja</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:satpunch@punch.com.ng">satpunch@punch.com.ng</a>, <a href="mailto:sunpunch@punch.com.ng">sunpunch@punch.com.ng</a>, <a href="mailto:editorial@punch.com.ng">editorial@punch.com.ng</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Plateau Publishing Company</td>
<td>Gomwalk House, Jos, Sulu Bodija St Lagos</td>
<td>53070, 55010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Prime Publication</td>
<td>30 Alahaji Bakara Street, Ojodu, Isheri Road, Lagos.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Punch Nigeria Limited</td>
<td>1 Kudeti Street, off Lagos Abeokuta Expressway P.M.B., 21204 Ikeja, Lagos</td>
<td>4972815, 4972816, 4972817, 962350</td>
<td><a href="mailto:satpunch@punch.com.ng">satpunch@punch.com.ng</a>, <a href="mailto:sunpunch@punch.com.ng">sunpunch@punch.com.ng</a>, <a href="mailto:editorial@punch.com.ng">editorial@punch.com.ng</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Republic Express Limited</td>
<td>11 Bisi Oladipo Street Mafoluku Oshodi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Rivers Newspaper Corporations (Tide)</td>
<td>4 Ekwere Road Portharcourt</td>
<td>084-230298, 230299</td>
<td><a href="mailto:the-tide@phca.linserve.com">the-tide@phca.linserve.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Satellite Press Limited</td>
<td>Enugu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sidewell Communications Ltd (Complete Sports)</td>
<td>13 Adeniyi Adefioye, Masha Surulere - Sportnews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sketch Press Limited</td>
<td>Oba Adetimir Road, Ibadan Banuso House, 88/92 Broad Street Lagos</td>
<td>02-2412988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Star Printing &amp; Publishing Co.</td>
<td>4 Works Road, GRA Enugu ACB House Martins Street, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Telex Publications Limited</td>
<td>Zaria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>TSM</td>
<td>2 Isiolo Street, Ilupeju P.M.B. 21687, Ikeja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>The Broom</td>
<td>Oregun Road, Alausa Ikeja Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Third Eye Publications</td>
<td>19 Alhaji Babatunde Kajola Street off Odejaye Crescent, Old Ife Road P.M.B. 5080</td>
<td>02-8101911</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>This-Day</td>
<td>35 Creek Road Apapa Lagos</td>
<td>4702827, 5871868, 5872802, 5452730, 5811868, 5871807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Phone Numbers</td>
<td>Email Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Today Communications</td>
<td>8 Alli Balogun Street</td>
<td>062-311187, 243860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lagos Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1B Liberia Rd, Kaduna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>True Tales Publications Limited (Hints)</td>
<td>6 Omolaran Close</td>
<td>4925188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>off Shofola St Ojodu Estate Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Triumph Publishing Company</td>
<td>Alaka Bus Stop</td>
<td>(Kano) 064-630273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Western House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Vanguard Media Limited</td>
<td>Vanguard Avenue</td>
<td>5871200, 2645241</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Vanguard@linkserve.com.ng">Vanguard@linkserve.com.ng</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kirikiri Canal</td>
<td>2645227, 5872662</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.M.B. 1007 Apapa, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Vintage Publications</td>
<td>Adeniyi Jones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ikeja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Abia Newspaper Corporations (Ambassador)</td>
<td>Western Avenue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ojuelegba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lagos Horizon Publishing Ltd (Eko Today)</td>
<td>1A Rev Ogunbiyi Street</td>
<td>4966399</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GRA Ikeja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Post Publishing Limited (The Post Express)</td>
<td>7A Warehouse Road</td>
<td>5453351-2, 5453436</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Postexpress@nova.net.ng">Postexpress@nova.net.ng</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apapa, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Turning Point Newspaper Ltd (Comet)</td>
<td>23/25 Ijora Causeway</td>
<td>5455627-9, 2882726</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Cometnes@beta.linkserve.com">Cometnes@beta.linkserve.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ijora, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>World Information Agent Ltd (Alaroye)</td>
<td>13 Ize Iyamu Street</td>
<td>7742003, 7744887</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Alaroye@alaroye.com">Alaroye@alaroye.com</a>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>off Billings way Oregun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ikeja, Lagos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Independent Communication Network Ltd (The News)</td>
<td>27 Acme Road</td>
<td>4922499, 4924314</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agidingbi, Ogba, Lagos</td>
<td>4922983, 02-2318545</td>
<td><a href="mailto:monitomes@skanet.com">monitomes@skanet.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibadan, Oyo State</td>
<td>02-2318668-9, 02-2318611</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Daily Monitor</td>
<td>Lister House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M. K. O. Abiola Way</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibadan, Oyo State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Email</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>52. Adeniyi Jones Avenue 53. Plot 24 Wamco Road, Ogbia, Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:email@email.com">email@email.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>54. 22 Lusaka Street 55. News Agency of Nigeria Annex 56. Gwammi, Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:email@email.com">email@email.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>57. 100 Oregun Road, Ikota</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:email@email.com">email@email.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>58. 24 Adoloku Street, Victoria Island</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:email@email.com">email@email.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>59. 30 Emina Crescent off Toyin Street</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:email@email.com">email@email.com</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NPAN - Profile 2002
NEUspapers AND MAGAZINES
Unlike the electronic media, (radio/TV), Newspapers and magazines are mostly owned by private organisations who are members of the Newspapers Proprietors Association of Nigerian (NPAN). Total members of registered members is put at 67 as of December, 2002.

MASS MEDIA REGULATORY BODIES/AGENCIES IN NIGERIA
In a democracy, it is assumed that the people have "the right to know". The Right-to-know what? Only what the government feels that should be disclosed to the people for the public good. In spite of this, some important information about some critical issues which the people have the right to know are often withheld under such camouflage as - the Official Secret Act, National Security and Constitutional Regulations of Media Ownership and Control.

THE REGULATORY AGENCIES IN NIGERIA
The following Regulatory Agencies have been established by the Nigerian Government to regulate media practice in Nigeria and make the Press socially responsible to the people. They were established mostly in the eighties and nineties, after the adoption of a national Communication Policy under the then Minister of Information, Journalist, Prince Tony Momoh.

THE NIGERIAN PRESS COUNCIL (NPC)
The enabling Law of the Nigerian Press Council was enacted in 1992, popularly called the Decree No. 35. The Council was inaugurated on December 29, 1992 with 17 members. The 17 members represented various institutions and agencies such as the NGE - Nigerian Guild of Editors, NPAN - Newspaper Proprietors' Association of Nigeria, BON - Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria, Journalism Training institution, NAN - News Agency of Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Information, the public and many more.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESS COUNCIL
As contained in the enabling Law, the objectives of the Press Council include:
1. Fostering the achievement and maintenance of high professional standards by the Press.
2. Accrediting and/or dis- accrediting Journalism/Mass Communication programmes in Nigeria.
3. Ensuring the protection of the rights and privileges of journalists in the lawful performance of their professional duties.
4. Reviewing developments likely to restrict the supply through the Press, of information of public interest and importance or which are
liable to prevent free access of the Press to information and advising on measures necessary to prevent or remedy such development.

5. Enquiring into complaints about the conduct of the Press and the conduct of any person or organisation towards the Press.

The Press Council, according to Godwin Omole, the Executive Secretary of the Council, operates through FOUR (4) major standing committees -
1. The Complaints Committee
2. The Research and Documentation Committee
3. Rights and Privileges Committee and
4. Registration and Disciplinary Committee.

THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMMISSION (NBC)
The NBC is mainly to regulate the Broadcasting Industry in Nigeria. Again, the enabling Law, - Decree No. 38 was enacted in 1992. The NBC is composed of 10 membership representing the Mass Media, Business, Law, Educational Institutions, Performing Arts, and the Public.

OBJECTIVES OF THE NBC
The basic objectives of the NBC among others include -
1. To receive, process and consider applications for the ownership of Radio and Television stations including cable television, services, direct satellite broadcasting, and any other medium of broadcasting.
2. Recommend application through the Minister of Information to the President of Nigeria for the granting of radio and television licences.
3. Regulate and control the broadcast industry in Nigeria.
4. Advise the Federal Government or the National Mass Communication Policy with particular reference to broadcasting.
5. Undertake research and development in the broadcasting industry in Nigeria.
6. Receive, consider and investigate complaints from individual and bodies corporate or incorporate regarding the contents of a broadcast and conduct of a broadcasting station.
7. Uphold the principle of Equity and Fairness in broadcasting.
8. Establish and determine a national broadcasting code and set standards with regards to the contents and quality of materials for broadcast.
11. Initiate and harmonise government policies on trans-border direct transmission and reception in Nigeria.
12. Regulate ethical standards and technical excellence in public, private commercial broadcast station in Nigeria.
14. Determine and apply sanctions including revocation of licences of defaulting stations, which do not operate in accordance with the broadcasting code and in the public interest.
15. Approve the transmitter power, the location of stations, area of coverage as well as regulate types of broadcast equipment to be used and
16. Carry out such activities as are necessary or expedient for the full discharge of all or any of the functions.

THE ADVERTISING PRACTITIONERS' COUNCIL OF NIGERIA - APCON
Just like the other regulatory bodies earlier discussed in this module, the APCON is the major regulatory Agency for the practice of Advertising in Nigeria.

The directives are very similar to the NPC, NBC with special attention to the Advertising industry in Nigeria.

THE NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS - (NIPR)
This is another Regulatory Agency whose work is primarily focused on the practice of Public Relations in Nigeria.

The objectives are similar to the other regulatory agencies but with particular reference to the professional Public Relations practice.

MEDIA PROFESSIONAL BODIES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS IN NIGERIA
Mass media professional bodies in Nigeria are different from the mass media regulatory bodies/agencies and institutions.

Unlike the Regulatory Bodies, which were established by laws, the professional bodies are assemblage of people who practise same profession and are often guided by peer control and professional ethical practices. Although they are registered but they do not receive regular subvention from government. In many cases, they operate and serve as quality control mechanisms for the attainment of professional excellence which must include the social responsibility of the Press at all times.

Among notable mass media professional bodies in Nigeria are:
1. Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ)
2. The Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE)
3. The Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN)
4. The Nigerian Press Organisation (NPO)
5. Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON)

NIGERIA UNION OF JOURNALISTS (NUJ)
The NUJ is a union of practising Journalists in Nigeria. It was established on March 15, 1955.

It is said to be both a professional and trade union body. I am of the opinion that this dual situation cannot allow for meaningful growth for the attainment of professional excellence. So, it is my candid opinion that the NUJ should try to de-emphasise Trade Unionism so as to attain the most desired professional excellence and recognition.

NUJ basic pre-occupation includes but is not limited to:
(a.) Promoting professional excellence in journalism in Nigeria
(b.) Registration and keeping the register of journalists in Nigeria.
(c.) Fighting for the welfare, good working condition for its members, and
(d.) Training and retraining its members, etc.

One very strange phenomenon in the NUJ is that senior members of the rank of Editors and above cannot vote or be voted for as executive members of the Union. Only those below this rank can become the President of the NUJ. This is very strange!!

THE NIGERIAN GUILD OF EDITORS (NGE)
This is a professional organisation for senior Journalists of the rank of Editors and above. It was established in 1961 for Editors of daily or weekly newspapers/magazines, radio, television and News Agency in Nigeria.

Eligibility for membership also includes other senior journalists who must have a minimum of Five years of media practice.

OBJECTIVES of the NGE include - promotion of high standard of professional practice, enforcing (with other bodies), the Code of Ethics for professional practice, representing the Nigerian Editors as a group.

The NGE works through Standing Committees and the Annual General Meeting (AGM).
THE BROADCASTING ORGANISATION OF NIGERIA (BON)
The Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON) is a professional
broadcasting body in Nigeria comprising all the Federal, State and
Private Broadcasting station managers.

Its objectives include - promotion of professional excellence and
advising government on broadcasting issues and setting the agenda for
a more co-operative linkage among all stakeholders at both the federal
and state levels.

THE NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS’ ASSOCIATION
(NPAN)
This is an association of owners of functioning Newspapers/Magazines
in Nigeria. The NPAN is an assemblage of businessmen and women
who own newspapers and magazines in Nigeria. Although some
members of the NPAN are journalists by themselves but the emphasis to
become a member is that you must own and operate a newspaper
and/or magazine in Nigeria.

NPAN was established on December 16, 1962. The current president of
NPAN is Ray Ekpu of The Newswatch.

THE NIGERIAN PRESS ORGANISATION (NPO)
The NPO is the umbrella Association of All the Mass Media Associations
in Nigeria. These include the NUJ, the NGE, and the NPAN.

In general, NPO is expected to crown the efforts of ALL the media
professional associations in Nigeria. But regrettably enough, this
association is not as active as one would like it to be at the moment.

MEDIA CODES OF ETHICS FOR PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE IN
NIGERIA
It is of great significance for any profession to have its own code of
ethical practice for professional recognition.

The code of ethics for professional practice provides the practitioners
with the necessary guidelines to prevent mal-practice. It also allows the
practitioners to assess themselves and be judged by the public at large.

The F.O.B.A - Fairness, Objectivity, Balance, and Accuracy - of News
reporting make the code of ethical practice a SINE QU A NON in any
society.
It is from this point of view that the collective efforts of the Nigerian Press Organisation (NPO), and the Nigeria Press Council (NPC) organised the OTA media workshop for the purpose of drafting a revised edition of the NUJ Code of Ethical Practice.

In a Joint Venture workshop at Ilorin in March 1998, the NPC, NPO, NGE, NUJ launched what has been called the ILORIN DECLARATION (i.e. THE Code of Ethics for the Nigerian Journalists.

PRESS PHILOSOPHY AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS
A Press philosophy study conducted in December 2002 by some UNILAG doctoral students in Mass Communication under my supervision, interviewed Sixty-four (64) Journalists in twenty one (21) media houses in Nigeria to ascertain their level of knowledge of the philosophy of the media houses they work with. The respondents were Senior Editors and News Editors in print media and officers of equivalent status in the electronic media in 11 government and 10 privately owned media houses.

The years of media experience, range between Six (6) years and twenty-nine (29) years. In terms of Journalism education, Sixty 60 percent of respondents have Journalism/Mass Communication qualifications while forty (40)% percent have non-mass communication experience but on-the-job training.

Part of the findings revealed that most of the respondents have some knowledge of the philosophy of their media houses but they seldom do promote the philosophies and/or enforce the Press social responsibility.

Now, let me paraphrase major statements made by the respondents on the philosophies of their media houses:

PHILOSOPHIES OF THE MEDIA HOUSES
1. Voice of Nigeria (Federal Government Owned)
   Philosophy: To project Nigerian and African perspectives by giving a voice of the country and the continent on international issues and discourse.

2. DBN International (Private Television)
   Philosophy: To be the viewer's and advertisers' first choice through the provision of quality programmes and news from international perspective.
3. **Source Magazine** *(Private Magazine)*
   *Philosophy:* To uplift its readers and the public in general through incisive, factual and objective reporting of events and issues that affect life.

4. **Champion Newspaper** *(Private Paper)*
   *Philosophy:* To strive to provide the most incisive news, articles, commentaries and editorials that would inform, educate and entertain the readers for a better society.

5. **FRCN (Radio Nigeria) (Federal Government Owned)**
   *Philosophy:* To provide education, development and foster national unity through objective and impartial reporting of events - political, cultural, social, religious etc.

6. **Minaj Broadcasting International -MBI (Private TV)**
   *Philosophy:* To bridge the imbalance in the information flow between Africa and the advanced world, with the aim of bringing about better social leverage for the individual African on the basis of MBI - inspired enlightenment.

7. **The Guardian** *(Private Newspaper)*
   *Philosophy:* To provide detailed reporting of events with unbiased analyses of policies, and upholding of truth, as enshrined in its motto that "Conscience is an open wound, only truth can heal it".

8. **The News** *(Private News Magazine)*
   *Philosophy:*
   (a) To report people-based events, giving special attention to truth and integrity, in line with its motto, which is "defining the present, shaping the future".
   (b) To break news and not to recycle it; to report news fearlessly without any bias and to shape the society for the general good of the country.

9. **NTA 10 (Federal Government Owned Television)**
   *Philosophy:* To cover at a broad level all government activities in Lagos State, including social responsibilities of covering all public assignments deemed fit for consumption. Its guiding principle is to be fair, just and truthful to all parties concerned.
10. Punch (Private Newspaper)
   
   Philosophy:
   
   (a) To deliver news straight as it is and at the same time entertain as much as possible.
   
   (b) To be first and foremost a defender of the people in all matters; to protect the tenets of democracy and report with fairness and objectivity in line with the cradle of journalism.
   
   (c) To be a liberal, objective, populist newspaper, with commitment to promoting the course of justice, democracy, equity, free enterprise and equal opportunities for all.

11. Tell (Private News Magazine)
   
   Philosophy:
   
   (a) To be fair to all irrespective of tribe, religion or status as well as to uphold the fundamental human rights of all democratic principles and the rule of law.
   
   (b) To provide a platform to hold government accountable to the governed, which explains the concept of "The People's Parliament.
   
   (c) To Tell the news as it is.

12. Daily Times (Largely Federal Government Owned)
   
   Philosophy:
   
   (a) To serve public interest and to do everything to support the government of the day.
   
   (b) To report issues accurately and be a stabilising agency for national development.

   
   Philosophy:
   
   (a) To promote the activities and programmes of the State government and also to promote the culture and norms of the people of Lagos State.
   
   (b) Commitment towards evolving a better society and sustaining the culture of excellence and to be the preferred reference point.

14. MITV/Star FM (Private TV and Radio)
   
   Philosophy:
   
   (a) To be a socially responsible media organisation, devoted to entertaining, educating and informing the masses.
   
   (b) To protect the dignity of the Nigerian people.
15. **Lagos Television LTV (Lagos State Government Owned)**
*Philosophy:* To publicise government activities and programmes as well as to obtain the views of the people on such programmes.

16. **Ondo State Radio-Vision Station (TV) (Owned by Ondo State Government)**
*Philosophy:*
(a) To educate, entertain and inform the public.
(b) To do in-depth reporting of events for public consumption.

17. **Hope (Ondo State Government Newspaper)**
*Philosophy:* To pursue truth at all times.

18. **Ondo State Radio-Vision Station (Radio) (Owned by the Ondo State Government)**
*Philosophy:*
(a) To pursue truth, fairness and objectivity
(b) To give 65% access to government information and 35% to the opposition.

19. **Insider (Private News Magazine)**
*Philosophy:* To promote and defend the general interest of the nation within the context of democratic norms and values through in-depth analyses of socio-political and economic events.

20. **Vanguard (Private Newspaper)**
*Philosophy:* Towards a better life for the people.

21. **Cool FM (Private Radio Station)**
*Philosophy:* To entertain the urban adults in music.

The argument in Nigeria today is to determine whether the Press in their headlines, newswriting, news presentation, picture placements, features, editorial and the entire packaging of their newspapers, magazines, radio/TV programme writing and production, have been bought over by the economic/profit, business making function of their outfits rather than seeking for truth and adhering strictly to their professional ethics which are the cornerstone of responsible Journalism.

In the foreword to the 1998, *Code of Ethics for Nigeria Journalists*, it is stated among other things, that:

... An Ethical code is without doubt a **SINE QUÂ NON** in any profession. Journalism today in Nigeria faces an increasing need for ethical reporting, accuracy, fairness and objectivity. The code of Ethics should therefore be the companion of the practising
Journalist as well as the informed public in providing ethical guidelines which practitioners should judge and be judged (in order to prevent or at least reduce the cases of unnecessary sensationalism in Nigeria journalism).

The Code of Ethics also affirms that self-regulation through code of ethics and other structures drawn by professionals would best serve the interest of the profession, the professionals and the public. So that we can maintain the minimum standard of 80% for news and 20% for commercials in our practice. This has become unattainable. But why?

Furthermore, part of the preamble to the code of Ethic states that "Journalism entails a high degree of public trust. To earn and maintain this trust, it is morally imperative for every Journalist, and every news medium to observe the highest professional and ethical standards in the exercise of these duties. A Journalist should always have a healthy regard for the public interest and public good and social responsibility. Truth, it added, is the cornerstone of good and responsible Journalism.

The pertinent question here is to ask how far and how well has or is the Nigerian Journalist keeping to this code of ethics in order to have a good and responsible Journalism? Is it possible to have a responsible Journalism in Nigeria in the situation where the government - Federal and states - control and indeed monopolise the ownership and control of the majority of Nigeria's media system?

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, permit me to say that the Nigerian Press should urgently fashion out a new Agenda for the 21st century in order to be relevant in their assigned task of social responsibility. I call for a new sociology for the Nigerian Press, a new psychology, and of course a new philosophy for the Nigeria Press in their news coverage and presentation. Our efforts should move more into development journalism and/or journalism of conscience and not cocktail journalism, or Gin and Lime journalism, or Journalism of the General Order or Protocol journalism as outlined by (Akinfeleye 1987, 1988) in his famous book - The Essentials of African Journalism. In the book, I submitted that the Nigerian Journalist practises one or a combination of the above categories with more in the last three categories, i.e. - Cocktail Journalism, Gin and Lime Journalism, Journalism of the G.O, or Protocol Journalism and today will include the Parachute Journalism for some foreign journalists who will arrive Nigeria and cover or report Nigeria with absolute biases as exhibited by some of them during the recent General elections.
I challenge the Nigerian journalists of the 21st century, to first scrub the dirt in their pots before they can be talking of the dirt in the pots of others including the public officers, public figures, politicians, the publishers and we the peoples. (UN language).

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, the Press would be living in a fool’s paradise if as the Press celebrates this year’s World Press Freedom Day and still believes that they could continue to enjoy public support for their constitutional obligation of monitoring and making government accountable to the people, they forget their implied social responsibilities which include their obligation to the readers, viewers, and listeners in the coverage of news and other public interest events and activities in our young democracy.

In my opinion, the immediate battle which the Press should be concerned with in the new millennium and post-general elections in Nigeria, is not and should not always be a battle with the public officers, legislators, the executive and others but to a large extent, the battle with themselves - with adherence to their code of professional ethics as outlined in the NUJ code of professional practice earlier discussed in this lecture.

If the Nigerian Press will continue to play a significant role in our political, social and economic transformation, if the Nigerian Press is to be given the well deserved respect by the publics, if the Nigerian Press is to be truly the Fourth Estate of the Realm and not the Fourth of the wreck, this is the time to respect and work out a new agenda for adherence to the social responsibility of the Press.

Let the Press focus their activities and news coverage and presentation in the new millennium more on the promotion, protection and preservation of our National Interest and sustainable Democracy.

My argument is borne out of the following theory - that is to say that the Nigerian society particularly the politicians, businessmen and women, the law enforcement agencies, the religious leaders, traditional leaders etc. must first of all be socially responsible before they can expect the Press to be socially responsible, after all, the Press is a product of its society.

Now let us examine the level of social responsibility demonstrated by the Press and the Politicians in the underlisted Headlines from some Nigerian media houses:
CASE STUDY OF SOME SOCIALLY IRRESPONSIBLE NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

Our task here is to determine from these headlines whether the writers and/or the authors are socially responsible.

But before that, let me go to our course, MAS 101, where we are told that the functions of the Headline will include but not limited to the following - to sell the news, to summarise the news, grade the news, attract readership, must say what the story is all about, in a nut-shell, must be punchy, provocative, written in short and precise format, written in the active voice, and in the present tense, make complete sense and never a LABEL.

CASE NO ONE
Headline No. 1
ZAMFARA ADOPTS SHARIA

Headline No. 2
ZAMFARA GOES ISLAMIC

Headline No. 3
ZAMFARA LUNCHES SHARIA

Headline No. 4
ISLAMIZATION OF ZAMFARA
A REALITY

Headline No. 5
FG - SULTAN ABSENT AT SHARIA LAUNCH

CASE NO TWO
Headline No. 1
HORROR AS OPC AND IJAW YOUTH CLASH

Headline No. 2
ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AJEGUNLE

Headline No. 3
FIVE KILLED IN AJEGUNLE MAYHEM

Headline No. 4
OPC Vs IJAW YOUTH CLAIMS FIVE
Headline No. 5
YORUBA AND IJAW IN ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Headline No. 6
SIX KILLED IN YORUBA AND HAUSA MAYHEM AT IDI-ARABA

Headline No. 7
O'DUAA REPUBLIC EMINENT - IGBO SHOULD ASK FOR BIAFRA - OPC CHIEFTAIN

CASE NO THREE
Headline No. 1
SHARIA UNCONSTITUTIONAL
- OBASANJO

Headline No. 2
SHARIA IS CONSTITUTIONAL
- ZAMFARA GOVERNOR

Headline No. 3
ZAMFARA GOVERNOR DARES OBASANJO

CASE NO. FOUR
Headline No. 1
RELIGIOUS FANATICS INVADE IBADAN SCHOOLS ON ISLAMIC DRESSING

Headline No. 2
MUSLIM FAITHFULS REACT TO DRESS CODE IN IBADAN SCHOOLS.

Headline No. 3
AT LAST HIV/AIDS IS HERE

CASE NO. FIVE
Headline No. 1
LAWMAKER - ELECT RAPES DAUGHTER FOR ELECTION RITUALS

Headline No. 2
UNILAG V.C. ARRESTED (SHOULD BE FAKE UNILAG V.C...)

Headline No. 3
DEBBIE OGUNJOBI PREGNANT AGAIN!
CASE NO. SIX
Headline No. 1
THERE WON'T BE GOVT.
MAY 30 - BUHARI THREATENS

Headline No. 2
IT WILL BE FIRE-FOR-FIRE
- OGBEH

Headline No. 3
THERE WILL BE TROUBLE - OJUKWU WARNS

Headline No. 4
TINUBU LAUGHS OFF NIGERIA'S WORLD CUP BID.

Headline No. 5
WAHALA LEKO AWON MALA DUNBU EYEYAN NI KETU

English Translation
TROUBLE IN LAGOS AS THE HAUSA ARE SLAUGHTERING PEOPLE IN KETU

Headline No. 6
WAHALA LEKO: AWON HAUSA ATI YORUBA WO IYA IJA

English Translation
TROUBLE IN LAGOS: HAUSA AND YORUBA ENGAGED IN BLOODY FIGHT

Headline No. 7 and Story
MISS WORLD 2002 - THE WORLD AT THEIR FEET

Story
Agbani Darego, the 19-year-old who rendered the greatest underdog-comes-up-top feat in any competition, had given the Nigerian government and Silverbird Productions, the company who holds the Most Beautiful Girl in Nigeria competition that birthed Darego, Ideas. If the Miss World judges could find beauty in a black African, then maybe they would open their hearts to the idea of hosting the competition in Nigeria. In a way it almost seems as though Nigeria was playing Oliver Twist- after winning the crown, she now wanted the kingdom.
And she got it.
As the idea became a reality, it also aroused dissent from many groups of people. The Muslims thought it was immoral to bring 92 women to Nigeria and ask them to revel in vanity. What would Mohammed think? In all honesty, he would probably have chosen a wife from one of them. The irony is that Algeria, an Islamic country, is one of the countries participating in the contest.

The questions to ask here, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, sir are:

1. Did the writer demonstrate any kind of social responsibility in the piece?
2. How about the reaction to the piece that led to the killing of more than 100 people in some parts of Nigeria which eventually led to the change of venue of Miss World Beauty Contest 2002 from Nigeria to London, England, thereby putting the competitors, organisers and vendors in a lot of unplanned expenses.
3. Have the people shown any kind of social responsibility in their reaction to the piece?
4. Where is the journalistic integrity and professional ethics of the editor who approved the publication?

The answers are yours and I beg to rest my case.
Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, from the case study of the Headlines above it is left for us to determine the social responsibility or otherwise of the headlines which in my opinion will depend on what I have called "Individual-self determinism."

SOME OTHER SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS
My other specific suggestions and recommendations include the following:

- Journalism/Mass Communication should begin from the secondary school level. If secondary school pupils are required to learn and study French, calculus, Algebra, additional maths, modern and ancient mathematics, trigonometry etc., and if the 6-3-3-4 educational policy is to be meaningful, the senior secondary school student should be given the opportunity (as practised in the United States and other more developed countries of the world) to take journalism as a subject for the West African School Certificate Examination or the General Certificate of Education O’Level or NECO. An earlier exposure to journalism will not only add to the intellectual development of secondary school students, but it will
also make the potential journalist a better communicator and analyst.

- NUJ, or the Guild of Editors should establish re-training centres for older journalists who have not benefited from any professional/academic training.

- Encourage and admit working journalists for refresher courses, particularly senior journalists who have had no relevant academic or professional certificate or diploma.

- Organise long-vacation journalism workshops for young secondary school leavers.

- Close down all unaccreditable institutions of journalism/mass communication.

- Establish more community-based newspapers and rural radio stations.

- Allow journalism/mass communication institutions to operate educational radio and television stations.

- More interactions between journalism lecturers and media houses, i.e. linking Town with Gown.

I believe that journalism education in Nigeria is enslaved at non-university level by the tyranny of a rigid, narrow and irrelevant curriculum, unreasonable tasks, demands, and contradictory philosophies.

It is time for Nigerian journalists, journalism educators and communication planners to get together to design a relevant curriculum for national development in the communication sector.

- For professionalism and also to be in line with the current trends in world-wide journalism/mass communication education and training, restructure all mass communication programmes in Nigeria into school of, or college of or Faculty of Mass Communication as already done in the Lagos State University (LASU) programme where they have seven departments under the School of Communication.

- Adopt a more rigorous multi-media approach including advocacy, lobbying and public enlightenment from the grassroots to the top of
the grass; for the quick passage of the Freedom of Information Bill now before the National Assembly.

- Initiate a Bill to the National Assembly. Stop the Federal/State governments' monopoly of the Airwaves, i.e. the ownership of Radio and Television stations. More than 90 percent of these are owned by the federal government and state governments. Out of 244 radio/TV stations in Nigeria, the Federal and States own 202 stations with Federal Government alone owing a total of 148 radio/television stations.

- Federal Government to give more power of quick approval of radio/TV licences by the National Broadcasting Commission - NBC, so as to reduce the long period of approval of application for licence.

- Approve more Education/Radio/TV stations for Nigeria universities where Mass Communication/Journalism is mounted. (UNILAG FM - Radio remains the only educational radio in Nigeria while there is yet to be an educational Television station in any of the more than 20 accredited Mass Communication/Journalism institutions in Nigeria.

- Government to strengthen the function of the Nigerian Press Council so that it does not remain a dog that can only bark and not bite.

- Media owners should establish joint media houses and do not leave the establishment only to businessmen alone. Just as the doctors establish their clinics and lawyers their chambers, the media professionals should do likewise.


- Abolish without further delay the BEAT Associations. They do more harm than good to journalistic practice and integrity. NUJ, Guild of Editors, Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN) and similar bodies should de-robe erring journalists.

- In line with the Federal Government policy on Education for ALL in the new dispensation, government should grant Value Added Tax (VAT) and duty free exceptions to newsprint so as to stop the incessant increases in the cover price of newspapers and magazines.
As the Iwopin Newsprint Company was sold to private concern early this year, Federal Government should accelerate the sale of its counterpart - Oku-Iboku Paper Mills in Akwa Ibom State or re-activate it to the level of constant productivity, so as to save the country the foreign dependency scenario and millions of dollars spent annually on the importation of newsprint.

Federal Government should accelerate the passage of the amended version of the Nigerian Press Council Act so as to give the Press Council the power to bite and not to continue barking. It should be given the power to apply sanctions for media malpractice by the Press.

In what has been called 'the Federal declared war' on corruption, Government should accelerate the passage of the Freedom of Information Bill now before the National Assembly.

Government, should stop the Federal Inland Revenue Services (FIRS) from enforcing its current MULTIPLE taxation on the members of the Newspaper/Magazines Proprietors' Association of Nigeria.

Why should the (FIRS) impose VAT on the finished products (the newspapers and magazines), when they have already paid VAT on all the raw materials such as Newsprint, Plates, Ink, Films, Art paper for the production of Newspaper/Magazines.

Imposition of multiple taxation on the media houses creates a very serious impediment to the free flow of information and the concept of open market place of idea in a democracy.

** The current situation whereby newsrooms are leaving Mass Communication Institutions behind in terms of advanced Media technology should be seriously checked by government accrediting organisations such as the NUC and NBTE. Government should stop forthwith the idea of setting up mass communication institutions without meeting the minimum standards. Mounting a Mass Communication programme is capital intensive and should not be seen in the same way approvals are given to the setting up of petrol stations in every corner in Nigeria.

In addition to the underlisted recommendations, I wish to present to this important audience the MISSOURI - Journalism creed. It is an important document given to all graduates of the first World School of Journalism,
the University of Missouri, Columbia, to be framed or hung in their various offices and homes.

It says thus -

THE JOURNALIST’S CREED
I BELIEVE IN THE PROFESSION OF JOURNALISM
I believe that the public journal is a public trust, that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trusted for the public; that acceptance of a lesser service than the public service is betrayal of this trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy, and fairness are fundamental to good journalism. I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true.

I believe that suppression of the news for any consideration other than the welfare of the society, is indefensible. I believe that no one should write as a journalist what he would not say as a gentleman, that bribery by one's own pocketbook is as much to be avoided as bribery by the pocketbook of another, that individual responsibility may not be escaped by pleading another's instructions or dividends.

I believe that advertising, news and editorial columns should alike serve the best interests of readers, that a single standard or helpful truth and clearness should prevail for all; that the supreme test of good journalism is the measure of its public service.

I believe that the journalism which succeeds best - and best deserves success - fears God and Honours man, is sturdily independent, unmoved by pride of opinion of greed of power, constructive, tolerant but never careless, self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid, is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamour of the mob; seeks to give every man a chance, and, as far as law and honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance; is profoundly, patriotic while sincerely promoting, international good-will and cementing world-comradeship; is a journalism of humanity, and for today's world.

[By] - Walter Williams
(1908), First Dean, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, I wish to conclude that if all these suggestions/recommendations are implemented, indeed, the Nigerian Press, the Politicians, and the public will be responding adequately to
their social responsibility. And indeed, the Nigerian Press will continue to be the Fourth Estate of the Realm and never the Fourth Estate of the Wreck.

I thank you most sincerely for your patience and kind attention. God bless us ALL.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
This is the day that God has chosen; this is the day that the Lord has blessed; this is the moment of opportunity that the Lord God has given to his son, AFOLABI, to publicly acknowledge His work and protection over him all the years.

Consequently, Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, I must first of all thank the ALMIGHTY FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY SPIRIT for guiding me and my career and also for making it possible for me to deliver my INAUGURAL Lecture today, the fourteenth day of May in the Year of our Lord 2003, in this distinguished University located in the city of Lagos, the Centre of Excellence, and the land of aquatic splendour.

My parents, Chief and Chief (Mrs.) Akin Akinfeleye (the MALU and JISANBOKUN of Idanre kingdom) respectively, have sacrificed a lot for me both financially and otherwise, in moulding me for LIFE particularly during the turbulent years of my struggle to become somebody in life.

My parents, Chief & Chief (Mrs) Akinfeleye like education, they love good things, they love their children, they appreciate hard work and they are stickler to orderliness, respect, humility, honesty, comradeship, hardwork and church work.

Some years ago, they both travelled to the United States of America to celebrate the graduation of one of my brothers. They enjoyed the trip so well that upon their return to Nigeria, they promised that all their sons and daughters would be exposed to the Western type of education. With this wish in mind, they continued to pray for the actualisation. And at last, the good Lord blessed them and answered their prayers.

Today, most of PAPA's admirers continue to ask him the question - whether the Akinfeleyes now in the United States of America, Canada and United Kingdom are not just enough to form a local government area. We thank God for this achievement.

MAMA and PAPA, I thank you very much: -
"Ewon gbo, Ewon to;
ewon tunjeu omo pe O"
- Ewon ma se o".

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, as expected, there are numerous important individuals, institutions, and organisations that have made invaluable contributions to the continued growth of my academic and professional
development. Unfortunately, time and space allocated to this lecture would not permit me to thank them one by one.

But as a worthy ambassador and representative of ALL the Six Vice-Chancellors including you that I have worked with in this University, allow me to extend my profound gratitude to them through your very self, Prof. Oyewusi Ibitapo-Obe.

For their inspiration and encouragement, I also wish to thank all the former Deputy Vice-Chancellors through the current Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Jerome Adepajo, all the former Registrars through the current Registrar, Mrs. Folasade Olumide and all the former Deans of Social Sciences through the current Dean, Prof. Michael Adebayo Adejugbe and, of course, all former Deputy Registrar (D/R) through Mrs. R. Abegunde and Mr. B.K. Momodu (Esq.)

I must not forget to thank Mr. Segun Ogunsolu Ag. D/R Information, for the excellent networking he has put into the success of the lecture.

And to the staff and management of the University of Lagos Press, particularly the Managing Director, Mrs. B.A. Awere, her lieutenants Mr. Bukola Olugasa, Mr. I.O. Atanda and their MD's highly professional Secretary, Ms. Bisi Taiwo, I salute you all for the professional help rendered to me at various stages of this inaugural lecture.

Special thanks go to all my colleagues and students (undergraduate and post graduate) in the Faculty of Social Sciences and in particular, the Department of Mass Communication, Centre for professional excellence, the home of the great communicators, first in Africa and second to none - in the world. In particular, I say BRAVO to the men of the "Situation Centre" under the command of Mr. Innocent Okoye for adding pomp and pageantry to this occasion.

A debt of gratitude goes to all my mentors and benefactors including but not limited to the following: - Professor Ayo Ajomo, former Dean of Law (Unilag.) and former D.G., Institute of Advanced Legal Studies; Professors Alfred Opabor, Onuora E. Nwuneli, Adeyemi, A. Fajemirotun A; late Chief M.K.O. Abiola, (former publisher of Concord Newspaper, who would have loved to be here today if he were alive), Alhaji Babatunde Jose, Alhaji Alade Odunewu; Ambassador Segun Olusola and many more.

I owe a great deal of appreciation to the great Mass Communication scholars who taught me the "Nuts and the Bolts" of Journalism/Mass
Communication. They include my major professor at the first world school of Journalism - the University of Missouri - Columbia, Profs. John C. Merrill [I was his Graduate Assistant (GA)], Ralph Lowenstein, Amstead Pride, A. Wilson, Robert Knight, M. Moore, A. Morgan and many others.

For their words of encouragement, tender enthusiasms, and genuine concern for my career goals and development, I pay tribute to my entire brothers, sisters, uncles, cousins, nieces, nephews and grandmother: High Chief (Mrs) Abigail Owoseni - 90 years old now, others include late Chief Akinyoku Owoseni, his widow, Princess (Mrs) Agnes Owoseni, Mr. Adelakun Owoseni, Chiefs Pius Oluwole Akinyelure, Clement Olowokande, Biodun Olowoniyi, Jetty Ajisogun, Akin Akingbesote (SCON), Drs. Adex Adegbeyemi, Jones Akinbobola, Prince Andy Aroloye, Chief Folajoye Awosika, Yemi Akinseye-George (Esq.), Envgr. Babatunde Ogundarahun, Engr. Isaac Adegeye, High Chiefs Agbo Akintan - the Ojomo of Idanre kingdom, Afolabi Abimbola (the LIJOFI of Idanre kingdom) and many others.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor sir, let me respectfully pay a Royal tribute to the OWA of Idanre kingdom - His Royal Majesty, OBA Fredrick Adegunle Aroloye, ARUBIEFIN the IV; (J.P.), the OWA of Idanre kingdom for his presence here today with some of his high chiefs. KABBIESIO!

A very BIG-THANK you goes to all my very close friends, relatives, club members particularly the Idanre Highlanders Club, the Unity Estate Landlords Association, as well as my friends and professional colleagues, Prince Tony Momoh (former Minister of Information and Culture), Prof. Idowu Sobowale, Femi Falana (Esq.), Capts. R. Adegbulugbe, Olu Olumogba, Mr. Bismark Fleischer, Mr. Bello W., Mr. F. Ozabor, Ray Ekpu, President of the Newspaper Proprietors Association (NPAN), Mrs Remi Oyo, President Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE), Godwin Omore, Executive Secretary, Nigerian Press Council, Dr. (Mrs) Doyinsola Abiola CEO/Editor-in-Chief Concord Newspaper, Chief Taiwo Alimi Director-General (DG), Voice of Nigeria (VON), Malam Wada Maida DG., News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Eddie Iroh DG, Radio Nigeria (FRCN) and others present on this occasion.

For their continued support and encouragement over the years, I would also like to thank the following Institutions and organisations - Nestle Nigeria Plc., UAC Nigeria Plc, Media Houses in Nigeria, Inter-religious International Federation for World Peace (IIFWP), of which I am the current president for the Nigerian chapter. The Nigerian Press Council, (NPC), Nigerian Institute of Public Relations, (NIPR), Advertising
Practitioners Council of Nigeria, (APCON), Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), Newspaper Proprietors' Association of Nigeria (NPAN), the Guild of Editors, (NGO); Nigerian Press Organisation (NPO), National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Media Right Agenda and the Centre for Free Speech.

Finally Mr. Vice-Chancellor, these acknowledgements will be "Left-footed" if I fail to pay homage and special tribute to members of my nuclear family who have continued to provide the most conducive "home-front" environment for my career. I appreciate the enormous contributions of my "BETTER-HALF", Chief (Mrs.) Carol, A. Akinfeleye, Vice-Principal (Acad.) CMS - Lagos, she deserves a "locomotive" applause. And to our lovely children, Tope (Howard University, USA), Tolu (John Hopkins University, USA) and Tiwa (Unilag International School). I say thank you very much - I love you all.

To you all that have been mentioned OR not mentioned in these brief acknowledgements, I have nothing to offer you than to say it loud: "...MORE IS THY DUES, THAN MORE, THAN ALL CAN PAY".

Prof. Ralph A. Akinfeleye  
B.A, M.A, Ph.D, FNIPR  
Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication  
REFERENCES


Ajibade, A., Onwubere (et al) - "Press Philosophies in some Selected Media Houses in Nigeria" - Unpublished research work, Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, 2002.


- Ethics and the Press Readings in Mass Media Morality, Hasting House, Publisher, N.Y. 1975.


Oseni, Tunji, et. al. (Eds.) “140 Anniversary of the Nigerian Press, Lagos, Tosen Consult - 2000.

-- The Media Transition and Nigeria, Lagos, Tosen Consult Ltd. 1999.


Broadcasting Stations In Nigeria

A. RADIO:

FEDERAL
1. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Lagos
   National Station SW, MW, AM FM
2. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Enugu
   National Station SW, MW
3. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Ibadan
   National Station SW, MW
4. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Kaduna
   National Station SW, MW, FM
5. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Abuja
   National Station MW
6. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Network,
   Abuja (SW)
7. Voice of Nigeria (VON) Abuja SW

STATE
1. Aso FM, Abuja
2. Broadcasting Corporation of Abia State (BCAS), Umunna
   FM
3. Adamawa Broadcasting Corporation, Yola AM, FM
4. Anambra Broadcasting Service, Uyo MW, AM, FM
5. Anambra Broadcasting Service (ARS), Awka AM
6. Bauchi Radio Corporation, Bauchi MW, FM
7. Bayelsa Radio Corporation, Yenagoa
8. Benue Radio, Makurdi FM, AM
9. Benin Radio, Maiduguri FM
10. Cross River State Broadcasting Corporation (Radio), Calabar
    AM, FM
11. Delta State Broadcasting Service, Asaba AM
12. Edo State Broadcasting Service, Benin City AM, FM
13. Gombe State Broadcasting Service, Gombe
14. Ekiti State Broadcasting Corporation, Ado Ekiti
15. Enugu State Broadcasting Service, Enugu, MW, FM
16. Imo State Broadcasting Corporation (IBSC), Owerri MW, AM, FM
17. Kaduna State Media Service (KSMMC), Kaduna AM, FM
18. Kano Broadcasting Corporation, Kano AM, FM
19. Katsina State Broadcasting Service, Katsina FM
20. Radio Kebbi, Birnin Kebbi AM, FM
22. Kogi Broadcasting Corporation, Lokoja AM, FM
23. Kwara State Broadcasting Corporation (Radio Kwarz), Ilorin
24. Lagos State Broadcasting Corporation, Ikeja, Lagos AM, FM
25. Broadcasting Corporation of Niger State, Minna
26. Ogun State Broadcasting Corporation, Abeokuta AM, FM
27. Ondo State Radio Corporation, Akure MW
28. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation, Osogbo, AM, FM
29. Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State, Ibadan, AM, FM
30. Plateau Radio Television (Radio), Jos AM, FM
31. Rivers State Broadcasting Corporation, Port Harcourt
    AM, FM
32. Sokoto State Broadcasting Corporation (Rima Radio), Sokoto
    MW, AM
33. Taraba State Broadcasting Corporation, Jalingo, FM
34. Yobe Broadcasting Corporation, Dumararu
35. Jigawa Broadcasting Corporation, Dutse
36. Zamfara Radio, Zamfara

PRIVATE
1. RayPower, 100.5 FM, Lagos
2. RayPower 2
3. MINAJ Radio, Oshin FM
4. IBW Radio, Benin, FM
5. Radio Jeremi, Effurun
6. Rhythm 93.5 FM, Lagos
7. Cool FM, Lagos
8. Star FM, Lagos

PRIVATE RADIO STATION ON SATELLITE TRANSMISSION
1. RayPower, Lagos

From the foregoing, there are seven federal radio stations, thirty-seven state radio stations, and nine private radio stations around Nigeria, making a total of 53 radio stations on air.

B. TELEVISION STATIONS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:
   (NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY)
1. NTA Network
2. NTA Bauchi
3. NTA Maiduguri
4. NTA Makurdi
5. NTA Katsina
6. NTA Minna
7. NTA Benin
8. NTA Lokoja
9. NTA Kaduna
10. NTA Yola
11. NTA Jos
12. NTA Uyo
13. NTA Port Harcourt
14. NTA Ijebu
15. NTA Kaduna
16. NTA Calabar
17. NTA Akure
18. NTA Jalingo
19. NTA Sokoto
20. NTA Ilorin
21. NTA Kano
22. NTA Enugu
23. NTA Lafia
24. NTA Duna
25. NTA Abuja
26. NTA Abeokuta
27. NTA Ibadan
28. NTA 10 Lagos
29. NTA 2 Channel 5, Lagos
30. NTA Abuja
31. NTA Gusau
32. NTA Angwa

STATE
1. Broadcasting Corporation of Abia State, Umuahia
2. Adamawa Television, Yola
3. Alawa Iloko Television, Uyo
4. Anambra Broadcasting Service, Awka
5. Bauchi Television Authority, Bauchi
6. Benin Radio Television Corporation, Madinagi
7. Cross River State Broadcasting Corporation, Calabar
8. Edo State Broadcasting Service, Benin
9. Enugu State Broadcasting Service, Enugu
10. Ekiti State Television, Ado Ekiti
11. Ekiti State Television, Ile-Ife
12. Gombe State Television, Gombe
13. Imo TV Broadcasting Corporation, Owerri
15. Kaduna State Television Service, Kaduna
16. Katsina State Television
17. Kebbi State Television, Birnin Kebbi
18. Kwara State Television, Ilorin
19. Nasarawa BS
20. Lagos State Broadcasting Corporation (TV), Ikeja
21. Osun State Television, Akure
22. Ogun State Television (OCTV), Abeokuta
23. Ondo State Television, Akure
24. 25 Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State, Ibadan
25. Plateau Radio Television, Jos
26. Taraba Television Corporation, Jalingo
27. Rivers State Television, Port Harcourt
28. Yobe State Television, Damaturu

PRIVATE
1. Danse Television Network (DBN), Lagos
2. MINAJ Systems Ltd., Oshin
3. Galaxy Television, Ibadan
4. Demnina Independent Television, Kaduna
5. Channel Television, Lagos
6. Independent Television, Benin
7. Universal Broadcasting Service, Lagos
8. Musiri International Television, Lagos
9. African Independent Television (AIT), Lagos

PRIVATE GLOBAL TV SERVICE OPERATIONS
1. Minaj Broadcasting International (MBI), Oshin
2. African Independent Television (AIT), Lagos

In effect, there are thirty-two federal television stations, twenty-nine state television stations, eleven private television stations adding up to a total of seventy-two television stations nation wide.
The World at their Feet...