



Scanning Good Governance Through the Lenses of Investigative Reporting: The Case of Democracy in Nigeria

Dyikuk J. Justine*

Editor of Bauchi Caritas Catholic Newspaper and the Director of Communications, Bauchi Diocese, Nigeria

Inaku K. Egere

Lecturer and Head of Department of Communication Studies, Catholic Institute of West Africa, Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Abstract

In its bid to ensure good governance, the media often engages in accountability reporting otherwise known as investigative reporting. This is aimed at fulfilling its agenda-setting role towards ensuring checks and balances in governance. This qualitative study, "Scanning Good Governance through the Lenses of Investigative Reporting: The Case of Democracy in Nigeria" sets out to examine the role of investigative reporting in Nigeria through the frameworks of the Libertarian and Social Responsibility media theories. The authors identified inability to bring corrupt public office holders to justice and lack of righteous indignation on the part of journalists as responsible for massive corruption and lack of delivering democratic scorecards. The researchers recommended providing incentives and debuting complete insurance covers for journalists as useful ways of ensuring good governance. The study concluded that as partners in progress with other stakeholders in every democratic process, journalists have the critical role of using the lenses of investigative reporting to bring corrupt public servants to justice even as they contribute to nation building.

Keywords: Government; Investigative; Media; Nigeria; Reporting.

1. Introduction

In Africa the, naming and shaming (Adebanwi, 2012) of those who loot public funds is unpopular. This has led to lack of sanity in public service on the one hand and underdevelopment on the other. Often times, the culture of impunity is the order of the day. This is because state crimes go uninvestigated and unreported. What is partly responsible for this ugly phenomenon is the fact that the potentials of the media as a driver of social and economic development has not been fully harnessed. Suffice it to state that as the fourth estate of the realm, the media interprets policies for the general public. This is why some media scholars hold the view that the mass media in Nigeria sets the agenda for national discourse (Sambe, 2008). Arguably, whatever gathers momentum in the larger society is what the media talks about (Galadima and Goshit, 2013).

Despite this laudable role that the media plays in the society, investigative reporting appears unpopular in this part of the world. Media institutions find it difficult to employ the relevant tools of investigative reporting in addressing hidden anomalies of top government officials in Nigeria - Where it makes attempt, there is risk of fighting back which often leads to threat to life or even the death of the reporter concerned. There were cases where media houses which published what was not palatable to the government were suspended. Many reporters or media firms are scared of uncovering crimes of those in authority. This fear is associated with lack of insurance cover for journalists and manipulation of the media, as an institution of feedback, by the government. This affects accountability, service delivery and democratic scorecards.

As such, this study aims at:

1. Examining the critical role of investigative reporting in ensuring good governance in Nigeria.
2. Highlighting veritable ways of engaging investigative reporters to hold public office holders accountable.
3. Making a case for following up on the prosecution of those in authority who act with impunity in a manner that conspiracy of silence and the culture of secrecy in Nigeria are reduced to the barest minimum.
4. Provoking the media to crusade against crime and other corrupt practices in the country with a view to strengthening democracy in the country.
5. Putting public servants on their toes to deliver on their promises through provision of the dividends of democracy.

1.1. Method of Study

The researchers employed the qualitative method of study. This involves sampling of previous data on the subject matter towards doing a thorough analysis of the views thereof. The data computed would be explained so as to establish the evidence of the study and promote further research.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts the *Libertarian* and *Social Responsibility* media theories as theoretical framework. On the one hand, the *Libertarian Media Theory* is anchored on the surveillance role of the media (Asemah, 2011a). It conceives surveillance as the gathering and sending of information within a vicinity, inside or outside media operations. This theory holds that it is the responsibility of journalists to always monitor the environment in their bid to gather, process and disseminate information to the general public.

The theory favours watchdog journalism as an attempt to carefully watch over something which is done in secret (Sambe, 2008). Premised on the surveillance role of the media, the theory indicates that the mass media is the eyes and the ears of the public which conveys information through newspaper, magazine, television and radio to alert the public about changes or developments that occur in society (Sambe, 2008).

On the other hand, the *Social Responsibility Theory* which is a modification of *Libertarian Media Theory* p.8 (Egere, 2018), emerged as a result of the proceedings of the Hutchins Commission (1947) on Press Freedom which was established in the United States of America. According to Adaja (2012), the theory seeks to preserve press freedom and ensure professionalism among media workers. The author maintains that the *Social Responsibility Media Theory* seeks to : a). Serve the political system by making information, discussion and consideration of public affairs generally accessible; b). Inform the public to enable it to take self-determined action; c). Protect the rights of the individual by acting as the watchdog of government; d). Serve the economic system like bringing buyers and sellers together through advertising; e). Provide good entertainment, whatever “good” may mean in the culture at any point in time; f). Preserve financial autonomy in order not to become dependent on special interests and influences (Adaja, 2012).

Accordingly, Moemeka (1980) contends that it leverages on the maturity of stakeholders in the media industry such as proprietors, editors and reporters to perform their task with utmost maturity as laid down in the required norms. Some of these norms include: Promotion of the universal principles of human rights, democracy, justice, equity, peace and international understanding (Galadima and Embu, 2000). The theory emphasizes the moral and social responsibilities of those who own media outfits and their institutions (Dyikuk, 2015). These responsibilities include, the duty of providing the public with information on issues which leads to the welfare of the state and does not cause harm to peace and security. Under this theory, the media is controlled by professional ethics, government regulatory bodies and public opinion p.8 (Egere, 2018).

With the *Freedom of Information Act* (FOI) in place in Nigeria, both the *Libertarian* and *Social Responsibility Media Theories* create possibilities for an open market of ideas otherwise known as free press while urging media workers to act responsibly. In a free press, journalists are able to reach their potentials in terms of exclusive reportage without fear or favour. It means that these theoretical frameworks serve as a backup for journalists to ensure that public office holders are held accountable in the discharge of their duties. Therefore, as far as scanning good governance in Nigeria through the lenses of investigative reporting is concerned, these theories are apt.

2. Conceptual Clarification

2.1. Good Governance

In this paper, good governance is viewed as the act of managing people and resources efficiently and effectively. It is the deliberate attempt at providing opportunities for representatives of the people to have their say about what affects those they represent. As a representative form of leadership, good governance creates an opportunity where leaders chosen by the people act as facilitators and not dictators in matters that affect those whom they represent. Good governance is the process of implementing good decisions by representatives of the people (United Nations Organisation UNESCAP, 2009) for the common good of all.

2.2. Investigative Reporting

For the purpose of this paper, we shall understand investigative reporting as digging deep into crimes p.20 (Dibia, 2004) which the perpetrators would not want the public know about. It is the art of making hidden facts known to the public for the sake of the common good or public interest p.127 (Ganiyu, 2010), p.167 (Dyikuk, 2017a). Investigative reporting creates a platform for journalists to unravel things that were not visible to the eyes of the public p.235 (Asemah, 2011b; Hasan, 2014).

It is a kind of journalism which involves digging deep to “nose” for news – that is, taking the “more than meets the eye” perspective or going the extra mile to cross-checks facts and figures from credible sources. It is a service-driven type of journalism which does not end at finding out who did what, where, when, why, and how but attaches righteous indignation to the prosecution of looters or those who abuse public trust.

2.3. Democracy

Democracy is a system of government, based on the constitution, which gives frequent opportunities for people to either choose or change those who represent them in public offices. Democracy also provides a social mechanism which provides leverage for the majority to have their way, while the minority have their say p. 526 (Haralambros and Holborn, 2008).

The common basic contemporary criteria for identifying national democracies globally are: The wishes of the people, frequent elections, involvement of adults in the electioneering campaign, free and fair elections and freedom of speech, assembly, press or organisation p.3 (Powell, 1982). Democracy has to do with representative governance.

As government of the people, by the people and for the people, democracy is a distinct system of government which enjoys global appeal.

3. Literature Review & Discussion

3.1. Overview of the Democratic Experiment in Nigeria

The road to independence for Nigeria was not rosy. After series of agitations and parliamentary meetings by the nationalists, Nigeria got her independence from the British Colonialists on October 1, 1960. Upon getting independence, the country began her democratic experiment.

In the period leading to Nigeria's independence, the nation fared well because of its prospects. For instance, the indirect rule system in the north through the *Sarauta* system of government saw Emirs wielding traditional, religious and political power. The Emirate system flourished because of the extended family system among the Hausa/Fulani in northern Nigeria. The South West appeared content with monarchical orientation. This gives an idea of the practice of some sort of democracy in the indigenous or pre-colonial Nigeria.

The first straw that broke the Carmel's back in Nigeria's polity were the coup d'états by various military juntas which truncated justice and good governance in the country. Coups and counter-coups became the order of the day leading to the civil war which lasted from 6 July 1967 to 15 January 1970.

The incessant cases of military interventions in the polity *militarized* the Nigerian people. What is supposed to be used for the common good was siphoned to overseas' or crony's accounts. As it were, the social contract between leaders and the led was circumvented.

When Nigeria returned to civil rule on May 29, 1999, in no time, the country's polity was marked by highhandedness, money bag/Ghana-must-go politics, rigging of elections and political gangsterism. Corruption became the order of the day as bribes and kick-backs were openly transacted. In its quest for a true and lasting democracy, there were various miscarriages of justice some of which include the alleged killing of - Ken Saro Wiwa, Bola Ige, Dele Giwa, Kudirat Abiola, Moshood Abiola. Between the *LawanGate* and *MainaGate*, the story is the same – lack of thorough investigation and conviction. The perpetrators of these arbitrary acts are yet to be brought to justice.

In the wake of various injustices and bad governance by the military regimes in the country, various ethno-political militia groups arose to fight perceived marginalisation. Some include: Afeni fere/O'odua People's Congress, Bakassi Boys/Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra, Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People in the South and Niger Delter Volunteer Force. Commentators have pointed out that the emergence of Maitasine, Kala Kato and Boko Haram is as a result of these agitations. It took the intervention of various Truth and Reconciliation Commissions like the Oputa Panel to attempt rewriting the wrongs against good governance in Nigeria.

After the most free and fair elections ever held in the history of its nationhood, General Ibrahim Babangida, the head of the then military junta annulled the Presidential Election on 12 June, 1993. The supposed winner of that election, Moshood Kashimawo Olawale (MKO) Abiola, an Egba-Abeokuta born publisher, politician and philanthropist ran for the position of the presidency under the auspices of the defunct Social Democratic Party (SDP) with his running mate, Maiduguri-born, Ambassador Baba Gana Kingibe. Despite the Muslim/Muslim ticket, Nigerians came out en mass to give the two their mandate. By defeating their rival Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (NRC), Abiola and Kingibe clinched the Presidential elections by a landslide victory.

However, General Babangida cancelled the elections on the grounds of perceived irregularities. This raised tensions and agitations from the international community, civil society organisations and human rights activists. While this was on, Abiola declared himself as the winner of the election. This led to his arrest and incarceration by the Sani Abacha military junta. On July 7, 1998 when he was due for release, the philanthropist died in Abuja under suspicious circumstances at the age of 60 (Dyikuk, 2012). By annulling the June 12 general elections, the people's mandate was stolen and democracy came under attack. Nigeria's path to democracy was truncated. The June 12 annulment remains an appalling dent on the country's conscience.

The democratic process took a combination of both the presidential system of government and federalism. The country has executive, legislative and judicial arms of government. With three tiers of government - Federal, State and Local Government Councils and 36 states plus Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory and the seat of government, Nigeria has 774 Local Government Areas. Interestingly, the National Assembly constitutes the legislative branch of government. As both head of state and head of government, the President of Nigeria exercises executive authority.

3.2. Abortive Investigative Stories Involving Alleged Cases of Corruption in Nigeria

Bribery and corruption seems to be a recurrent decimal in Nigeria. With the culture of impunity in place, there is massive outcry by Nigerians about selective fight against corruption. Besides government's insensitivity to the plight of the masses, which falls on deaf ears, the Nigerian people are often short-changed. Despite the total war on corruption and anti-graft institutions like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and the Related Commission (ICPC) and the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), many alleged cases of corruption are still in the cooler.

In 2015, there were 12 alleged cases of corruption in Nigeria which were either not investigated or glossed over by the media. These include: N195 Billion Maina Pension Scam, Kerosene Subsidy Scam, \$6bn Fuel Subsidy Scam, 123bn Naira Fraud, Police Pension Fund Fraud and Stella Oduah car purchase scandal; others are: NNPC missing \$20billion naira, \$15 million in Private Jet Arms Scandal, Crude Oil Theft Scandal, Ekiti Gate, Mohammed Abacha N446 Billion case and N7Billion Bribe to Christian Religious Leaders (Ajomole, 2015).

The most crucial of these cases are the Malabu \$1.1 billion oil and the 2016 budget padding scandals. Commentators contend that over the years, there have been several alarming and scandalous cases of corruption in Nigeria. They note that some perpetrators have been taken to court but that some cases were never even investigated as many of the cases remain unsolved (Ajomole, 2015). As it is, many of the arrowheads in these seeming scandals are walking the streets freely as Nigerians are still in the dark on the story behind the story.

Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics' reported that N400 billion is spent on bribes each year since 2015. From the issue of ghost workers in the civil service by senior officers to connivance of politicians with crony-contractors to "pad" the federal budget, (Buhari and Omisore, 2018) corruption persists in the country. EFCC is said to have about 3,800 cases of corruption in courts in a society where those who are corrupt use their entire arsenal to fight against the agency's staff (Ojo, 2018).

The mind boggling cases of monies either discovered or reportedly stolen include: Diezani Alison Madueke, a former minister of petroleum was alleged to have looted over \$20b which was part of proceeds from crude oil; Patrick Akpobolokemi, a former boss of the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) reportedly used various companies to chart away over N12b from NIMASA and Sambo Dauki, the former National Security Adviser is accused of diverting and disbursing over \$2.1b to various individuals and also sponsoring the second term bid of former president Goodluck Jonathan.

In the list are: Olisa Metuh, the former spokesman of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) who reportedly got N400m from the Dasuki loot; Alhaji Abdullahi, the former boss of the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) is said to have taken N40b from the NCS; Alex Badeh, the former Chief of Defence Staff is accused of stealing N320m, N260m and N800m respectively from the military coffers. Femi Fani-Kayode, the former Minister of Aviation and Senator Nenadi Usman, the former Minister of Finance are accused of siphoning N1.5b. Fani-Kayode also has a charge of fraud amounting to N4.7b to answer; Patience Jonathan, the former First Lady is accused of having 5 Skye Bank accounts with billions of Naira in them as well as several houses worth billions of Naira in choice locations across the country and Raymond Dokpesi - the Chairman of Africa Independent Television (AIT) is accused of gulping N2.1b out of the Dasuki loot (Ebuzor, 2016).

In 2016, the former Governor of Rivers State, Hon. Rotimi Amaechi was pinned for investigation over bribery allegations against him by Justice Sylvester Agwata (Adebusuyi, 2016). He reportedly diverted £140m belonging to Rivers State to sponsor Gen. Muhammadu Buhari and APC in the 2015 general elections (Odunsi, 2016). In like manner, three years ago, the Civil Society Network against Corruption in a petition dated August 10 and addressed to the EFCC Chairman, called for the probe of the governor of Lagos State and current Minister of Power, Mr. Raji Fashola for spending N78m on a controversial personal website (Ezeamalu, 2016).

It would be recalled that the former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir Lawal reportedly awarded a spurious contract of N220m for the removal of grasses and provision of 115 hectares of village irrigation in Yobe State and eventually transferred the funds to another firm, Rholavision Engineering Limited (Umoru, 2016). It was it the news that the CCB would investigate the Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Tukur Buratai over asset declaration (Okakwu, 2017) in the wake of alleged ownership of illegal property in Dubai.

Nigerians recently woke up with a new vocabulary in the news namely, "padding." The alleged padding of the 2016 appropriation bill left the country in economic comatose as implementation of the budget was way out in the woods (Dyikuk, 2016). The actors in the padding are yet to be prosecuted.

The lack of thorough investigation into the reported breach of due process in the \$25b contract award involving the Group Managing Director (GMD) of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Dr. Maikanti Baru has also come under heavy criticism (Yakubu, 2018). Meanwhile, four months ago, the Buhari led-administration was accused of attempting to pilfer \$1bn from the Excess crude Account (Jannah, 2018).

About six months ago, the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Walter Onnoghen disclosed that he received 1,124 corruption cases from heads of courts of the various jurisdictions across the country (Aytogo, 2018). Sadly, most of these alleged cases of corruption are either swept under the carpet or end up as media trial.

3.3. Between Failures and Successes: Entrenching Democracy in Nigeria through Investigative Reporting

Transparency International (TI) reported that the perception of corruption in Nigeria worsened between 2016 and 2017. In the annual Corruption Perception Index (CPI), out of 180 countries assessed in 2017, Nigeria ranked 148 on the perception of corruption. In 2016, Nigeria ranked 136th in the ranking of countries having scored 28 points. This showed that the country slipped in the country-ranking by 12 positions - From 136 in 2016 to 148 in 2017. The ranking placed Nigeria as the second worst country out of 17 countries in West Africa, leaving only Guinea Bissau behind (Olawoyin, 2018).

From the summation of Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), the national contact of Transparency International in Nigeria, the country's ranking in corruption worsened because of several reasons. We are itemized and explained as follows:

3.3.1. Selective Fight against Corruption

In the report by Transparency International, CISLAC decried the new style of fighting corruption in the country describing it as an unfavourable trend.

3.3.2. Systemic Corruption

The report indicated that corruption in country is both systemic and endemic. It noted that the new setback in the fight against graft is that the menace is grand leading to political corruption, nepotism, favouritism and persistent cases of corruption at all levels in the country.

3.3.3. Lack of Will-Power to Fight Grand-Corruption

CISLAC' believes that the negative perception of the menace is mostly as a result of lack of will-power to stamp out massive corruption and astronomical pilfering of public funds which costs tax payers in the country around 25 percent of annual GDP. Often times, the commitment to fight corruption goes unfulfilled.

3.3.4. Lack of Prosecution

The organisation decried that no political stalwart has been exposed and sentenced on corruption charges, since the current administration came on board with the change mantra of fighting graft.

3.3.5. Lack of Results and Good Public Relations

Although anti-graft agencies like the Economic Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) brought 286 cases, CISLAC observes with dismay that despite the fact that the rate of convictions on anti-corruption charges have been accelerated, most of them have yielded little or no returns to the national coffers. Also, there is no favourable public opinion about the loot or alleged looters.

3.3.6. Compromise by the Judiciary

The organisation blamed the judiciary for its inability to prosecute high profile individuals, especially senior public servants and elected politicians, who have squandered public funds or are responsible for lack of foresight to superintend over public funds as required by the law.

3.3.7. Proscription of the Press through Military Decrees

The proscription of the press through various decrees during the military juntas in Nigeria did not help exclusive reportage p.33 (Dyikuk, 2017b),. Some media organisations were forced to close even as journalists were jailed.

With many malpractices in both the private and public sectors, the media began to gain momentum in unravelling crime across the country. Without much ado, the following investigative stories made headlines:

- ✓ In 1999, *The News Magazine*, published the story of the certificate forgery scandal of a former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. of Salisu Buhari. This led to his removal from office although the Olusegun Obasanjo led-administration granted him presidential pardon p. 13 (Ganiyu, 2010).
- ✓ *Newswatch Magazine* trailed the blaze in terms of unravelling the atrocities of both Generals Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha. This was what led to the alleged murder of two veteran journalists, Dele Giwa and Bagauda Kaltho (Kukah, 2011).
- ✓ The investigative story and documentary by Channels TV five years ago of the overcrowded (housing 3,000 people instead of 750) nature of the Nigeria Police Collage, Ikeja, Lagos made a civil society group, Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) to call for the probe of the spending for the police trainees' welfare in the last 10 years (Premium Times, 2013).
- ✓ During the Olusegun Obasanjo administration, the press exposed many substantiated fraudulent practices in the political realm such as cases involving Alamiyeseigha Diepreye, Ayodele Fayose, Joshua Dariye et al (Uwakwe, 2015).
- ✓ In its first *Africa Eye*, a new TV investigations strand titled *Sweet Sweet Codeine*, investigative documentary, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) disclosed that in two states of Nigeria, government said 3million bottles of Codeine are consumed every day. This story opened the eyes of both government and the general public about the dangers of substance abuse. This led to the ban of the substance by the government (BBC, 2018).

These few attempts at investigative reporting bring to the fore the indefectible role of investigative journalism in bringing sanity to Nigeria which this study attempts to explore. There is no doubting the fact that investigative reporting often leads to public betterment and is connected with agenda building p.166 (Ismail et al., 2014), It is safe to conclude that overtime, the Nigerian press has demonstrated evidences of social responsibility pp.117-18 (Okeke, 2007)

Table of Findings

1. A. Why Corruption Demeans Good Governance and the Role of the Media in Reducing it

Possible Causes of Lack of Good Governance		Possible Remedies to Lack of Good Governance	
1.	Selective fight against corruption	1.	Synergy between media and government and ensuring zero tolerance to sacred cows
2.	Systemic nature of corruption	2.	Stamping out the culture of secrecy and conspiracy of silence in the face of evil in the country
3.	Lack of will-power to fight grand-corruption	3.	Commitment by all stakeholders to ensure good governance through fighting corruption
4.	Lack of prosecution	4.	EFCC, ICPC and CCB must work hand in hand with the media to ensure prosecution and reportage of cases
5.	Lack of results and good Public Relations	5.	Thorough investigation and media education
6.	Compromise by the Judiciary	6.	Media to serve as check and balance to the Judiciary
7.	Proscription of the press through military decrees	7.	Activating the Freedom of Information Act (FOA) and ensuring media responsibility

Source: Authors

3.4. Limitation of the Study

This study is not exhaustive about the role of media in ensuring good governance in Nigeria. In particular, a major criticism of the *Libertarian Media Theory* which the researchers used as theoretical framework is that journalists, like everyone else, can abuse freedom. While getting a platform which guarantees freedom to the media practitioner to carry out his or her job is necessary, it should be noted that at times, journalists can invade other people's privacy or publish sensational or seditious stories to either please their medium or for money.

This means that the indicator which favours the *Libertarian Media Theory* is that freedom goes with responsibility. It is taken for granted that journalism is such a noble profession and that journalists would do the needful. Whether the Nigerian mass media is a libertarian media or it checkmates government p.38 (Sambe, 2008) is an ongoing debate.

This is why the authors used the *Social Responsibility* as a second theory to support the study. Since the *Social Responsibility* theory indicates that the media is mostly controlled by media ethics, government agencies and public opinion p.8 (Egere, 2018), it means that these principles and institutions may grow beyond checks and balances and actually sanction media operations. In that way, the press would be limited in performing its rightful duty of being the watchdog of society.

4. Recommendations & Conclusion

4.1. Recommendations

First, journalists in Nigeria should be motivated to do their job by way of providing them with incentives. This motivation would serve as a booster to journalists to be daring and bold in reporting crime.

Second, since their job involves unmasking hidden crimes (Dominick cited in p.111 (Asemah, 2009),) which perpetrators prefer no one knows about, it is important for media institutions to provide complete insurance covers for journalists. This is because their job is often associated with threats to job and life p.50 (Anyadike, 2013),

Third, the general public must be educated to provide tip off which would lead journalists to uncover crime in the society. The citizenry must be mindful that investigative reporting works for the interest of the general public. This requires media education and mobilisation. Dibia holds the view that: "The media's role in reporting crime and her exposure to crime related events has helped in the formulation of affective crime prevention strategy and serves also as a useful tool for sensitizing and educating the public on underestimated or overlooked social problems" (2004, p.20).

Fourth, it behoves media organisations and institutions of journalism in Nigeria to inculcate in upcoming journalists the need to see media practice as a lifetime job not a mere pastime. The tendency to view journalism as only a part-time job is often blamed for the dearth of investigative journalists in the country.

Fifth, to give the media its rightful place in Nigeria's democratic process, all stakeholders in the media industry must join hands to ensure media independence. This is because the media in Nigeria is owned and controlled by the government, religious organisations and businesses men and women. Since, it is said, he who pays the piper calls the tune, it is difficult for investigative reporting to thrive.

Sixth, the media in Nigeria must be up to its game of reporting the prosecution of looters of the common wealth no matter whose ox is gored so as engender good governance. This involves reporting high profile cases of bribery and corruption as well as stamping out the culture of secrecy and conspiracy of silence in the face of evil in the country.

Seventh, since traditional rulers play a critical role in establishing law and order in the country, it is not out of place to enshrine their role in the constitution. As repertoires of culture and mores, part of their work would be to ensure the entrenchment of African traditional values in their domains. This will serve as a panacea to our myriad problems and establishing a society where there is justice.

Eight, good as the traditional institution is in enabling good governance in Nigeria, religious leaders too can help the society move in the right direction. Part of religious development is giving way to religious education. In the quest for democracy and justice in Nigeria's New Social Order, religious leaders can complement government's effort through providing quality education. Where religious leaders serve as moral compass for public office holders, economic and social development is made possible.

Ninth, the synergy of all stakeholders is required. This why Transparency International stresses that: "Unless the justice system expedites politically exposed cases and forfeits meaningful amounts of recovered assets; unless the National Assembly stops political boycott of key appointments and passes much needed legislation and unless there is a tangible strategy of the government to damage-control shocking plundering of public resources, public perception on anti-corruption is unlikely to improve" (Olawoyin, 2018).

Tenth, all anti-graft agencies like the EFCC, ICPC and CCB must work hand in hand with the media to educate the public about cases of corruption (Ojo, 2018). This will aid in avoiding media trial.

4.2. Conclusion

We have seen that the essential role of investigative reporting in Nigeria is to checkmate bad governance on the one hand and promote good governance on the other. It has also been established that journalism involves uncovering hidden practices to the eyes of the public. The *Libertarian* and *Social Responsibility* theories upon which this paper is weaved provide a leeway for journalists to engage in responsible and objective reportage which holds those who abuse power or public trust accountable. Activating the Freedom of Information Act (FOA) and ensuring media responsibility is crucial in this task.

It is the estimation of this paper that both the media and government should act as partners in progress. This calls for synergy and transparency between government and the media. While it is the responsibility of the citizenry to ensure that democracy survives in the country, it is a double responsibility for journalists to always use the lenses of investigative reporting to scan good governance towards a sustainable democratic process in Nigeria.

References

- Adaja, A. T. (2012). Nigerian journalism and professionalism: Issues and challenges. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 5.
- Adebanwi, W. (2012). Global naming and shaming: Toponymic (inter) national relations on Lagos and New York's streets. *African Affairs*, 111: 640-61.
- Adebusuyi, D. (2016). PDP urges probe of corruption charges against amaechi. Available: www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/pdp-urges-probe-of-corruption-charges-against-amaechi/168352.html
- Ajomole, H. (2015). Top 12 corruption cases in Nigeria. Available: www.politics.naij.com/402850-top-12-corruption-cases.html
- Anyadike, D. O. (2013). Problems and prospects of investigative journalism in rivers state, nigeria: A study of the tide and hard truth newspapers new media and mass communication. 17:
- Asemah, S. E. (2009). *Principles and practice of mass communication* 1st Edition edn: Great Future Press: Jos.
- Asemah, S. E. (2011a). *Principles and practice of mass communication*. 2nd edn: Great Future Press: Jos.
- Asemah, S. E. (2011b). *Mass media in contemporary society*. University Press: Jos.
- Ayitogo, N. (2018). I received list of 1,124 corruption cases before Nigerian courts *CJN Onnoghén*: Available: www.premuimtimesng.com/news/top-news/248020-i-received-list-1124-corruption-cases-nigerian-courts-cjn-onnoghén
- BBC (2018). Nigeria bans cough syrup with codeine after addiction outcry. Available: www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43961738
- Buhari, M. and Omisore, T. (2018). A nation saddled by corruption and stealing. Available: www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2018/03/16/a-nation-saddled-by-corruption-and-stealing/
- Dibia, E. (2004). The media and us: investigative journalism and crime control in Nigeria. *International Academic Journals*, 26(1): 17-26.
- Dyikuk, J. J. (2012). June 12 and the Challenge of nationhood. Available: www.saharareporters.com/2012/06/12/june-12-and-challenge-nationhood-justine-john-dyikuk
- Dyikuk, J. J. (2015). The Nigerian media space and the cost of a bribe. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 40: 13-22.
- Dyikuk, J. J. (2016). The scandal of padding & a call to faithfulness. Available: www.frjustinejohndyikuk.blogspot.com.ng/2016/09/shitrot-mpwi-sunday-synopsis-with-fr-16.html?1#more
- Dyikuk, J. J. (2017a). Towards improving governance in nigeria through the media. *International Journal of Journalism and Mass Communication*, 3(1): 29-42.
- Dyikuk, J. J. (2017b). Investigative reporting and the investigative reporter: From concept to implementation. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Advanced Studies (IJIRAS)*, 4(6): 160-67.
- Ebuzor, C. (2016). 11 corruption cases that shocked Nigerians in 2016. Available: www.pulse.ng/news/local/pulse-list-11-corruption-cases-that-shocked-nigerians-in-2016-id5888122.html
- Egere, I. K. (2018). Media ethics and social responsibility for professional best practices in Nigeria: A battle against fake news. *Port Harcourt Cathan Proceedings*.

- Ezeamalu, B. (2016). Nigerian anti-corruption activists drag Fashola to EFCC over N78 million website scandal. Available: www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/188248-nigerian-anti-corruption-activists-drag-fashola-to-efcc-over-n78-million-website-scandal.html/amp
- Galadima, D. and Embu, R. (2000). *Laws and ethics of the Nigerian press*. Satoph graphics press: Jos.
- Galadima, D. and Goshit, R. (2013). *The media and the challenges of institutionalising the culture of dialogue in Nigeria democracy*. In Pate, U., Nwabueze, C. & Idiong, N. (Eds.). *Politics, culture and the media in Nigeria*. Stirling-Horden Publishers: Ibadan.
- Ganiyu, M. (2010). *The reporter's companion*. 2nd Edition edn: Emgee Publishing: Ibadan.
- Haralambros, M. and Holborn, M. (2008). *Sociology themes and perspective*. 7th Edition edn: Harper Collins Publishers: London.
- Hasan, S. (2014). *Mass communication: Principles and concepts*. 2nd Edition edn: CBS Publishers & Distributors: New Delhi.
- Ismail, A., Ahmad, M. K. and Mustafa, C. S., 2014. "Conceptualization of investigative journalism: The perspectives of malaysian media practitioners. The international conference on communication and media 2014 (i-COME'14), 18-20 October 2014. Langkawi: Malaysia. Procedia." In *Social and Behavioral Sciences*. pp. 165-70.
- Jannah, C. (2018). Fuel crisis Buhari covering monumental frauds of APC members – PDP. Available: www.dailypost.ng/2017/12/27/fuel-crisis-bauchi-covering-monumental-frauds-apc-members-pdp/
- Kukah, M. H. (2011). *Witness to Justice: An insider's account of Nigeria's truth commission*. Bookcraft: Ibadan.
- Moemeka, A. A. (1980). *Reporter's handbook: Notes on reporting and interviewing*. Department of Mass Communication Press: Lagos.
- Odunsi, W. (2016). Amaechi is fantastically corrupt, donated £140m to Buhari, APC – UK Mail. Available: www.dailypost.ng/2016/05/16/amaechi-is-fantastically-corrupt-donated-140m-to-buhari-apc-uk-mail/
- Ojo, J. (2018). Halting the wheel of corruption in Nigeria. Available: www.punchng.com/halting-the-wheel-of-corruption-in-nigeria/
- Okakwu, E. (2017). Bureau to investigate Army chief buratai for alleged false asset declaration. Available: www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/217682-bureau-investigate-army-chief-buratai-alleged-false-asset-declaration.html
- Okeke, M. (2007). *Corruption, national development and communication strategies* In O. Uwakwe (ed.) *Communication and national development*. Africa-Link Books: Enugu.
- Olawoyin, O. (2018). Perception of corruption worsens in Nigeria – Transparency International Report. Available: www.premiumtimesng.com/
- Powell, G. B. (1982). *Contemporary democracies, participation, stability and violence*: Sunray Publications: Lagos.
- Premium Times (2013). Serap seeks probe of Nigeria police training funds. Available: www.premuimtimes.com/news/116114-serap-seeks-probe-of-nigeria-police-training-funds.html
- Sambe, J. A. (2008). *Introduction to mass communication practice in nigeria*. Spectrum Books: Owerri.
- Umoru, H. (2016). Revealed: SGF, Babachir Lawal awarded N220m grass removal job to his firm – Senate Report. Available: www.vanguardngr.com/2016/12/revealed-sgf-awarded-n220m-grass-removal-job-to-his-firm-senate-report/. Accessed
- United Nations Organisation UNESCAP (2009). What is good governance? : Available: www.unescap.org/resources/what-good-governance
- Uwakwe, O. (2015). Investigative journalism in Nigeria: The press and responsible governance. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, 4(2): 136-39.
- Yakubu, D. (2018). \$25b NNPC scam: Nigerians can now see the hypocrisy in Buhari's anti-corruption fight – PDP. Available: www.vanguard.com/2017/10/25b-nnpc-sacm-nigerians-can-now-see-hypocrisy-called-anti-corruption-fight-pdp/