

**AJAYI CROWTHER UNIVERSITY,
OYO**



INAUGURAL LECTURE

Title:

**MEDIA, POLITICS AND CONFLICTS IN
NIGERIA: THE FOURTH OR THE RUINOUS
ESTATE OF THE REALM?**



Professor Benjamin Olumuyiwa Popoola

B. A. (UNN), M.Sc. (Lagos), Ph.D. (Ibadan)
Professor of Journalism, Communication and Media Studies
Department of Communication and Media Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
Ajayi Crowther University, Oyo, Nigeria.

◆ THURSDAY, 12TH APRIL, 2018 ◆

AJAYI CROWTHER UNIVERSITY,
OYO



INAUGURAL LECTURE

TITLE:

**MEDIA, POLITICS AND CONFLICTS IN
NIGERIA: THE FOURTH OR THE RUINOUS
ESTATE OF THE REALM?**



Professor Benjamin Olumuyiwa Popoola

B. A. (UNN), M.Sc. (Lagos), Ph.D. (Ibadan)

Professor of Journalism, Communication and Media Studies

Department of Communication and Media Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

Ajayi Crowther University, Oyo, Nigeria.

◆ THURSDAY, 12TH APRIL, 2018 ◆

The 10th Inaugural Lecture was delivered under the
Chairmanship of:

RT. REV. PROF. DAPO F. ASAJU

B. A., M. A., Ph.D (Ilorin)

Vice-chancellor

THURSDAY, 12TH APRIL, 2018

© Professor Benjamin Olumuyiwa Popoola

Without limiting the rights under the copyright reserved above, no part of the publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without written permission of the copyright owner.

First Published 2018

Published by:
Ajayi Crowther University Publishers

Printed by:
Decency Printers and Stationeries Ltd.

Tel: 08033961211



Professor Benjamin Olumuyiwa Popoola

B. A. (UNN), M.Sc. (Lagos), Ph.D. (Ibadan)

Professor of Journalism, Communication and Media Studies

PREAMBLE

The Vice Chancellor
Deputy Vice Chancellor
Registrar
Bursar
Acting University Librarian
Deans of Faculties
Professors, Heads of Departments and Members of Senate
Members of Teaching Staff
Members of Administrative Staff, Non-teaching and Technical Staff
My Lords Spiritual
My Family Members
Students of Ajayi Crowther University
My Dear Students of Communication and Media Studies
Distinguished Guests
Members of the Press
Ladies and Gentlemen

I start by paying homage unto God, so that, my feet, like those of the deer, can be more established on the mountains. I exalt the Lord God Almighty, the Omnipotent, who made my being conceived and my eventual birth very historic and historical to warrant my being christened Oluwamuyiwa, meaning, Child whose birth was God ordained. I thank Him, the Lord of Lords and King of Kings for bringing me this far and making this day possible. To Him be all glory and honour. If not for you God, who am I to stand before this great assembly today to give this inaugural lecture? King David asked the same kind of question when he was overwhelmed by the awesomeness of God: "Who am I, O Lord God? And what is my house, that you have brought me this far?" (2 Sam. 7: 18). I say this because I appreciate where I am coming from and what God has done for me.

WHY THIS INAUGURAL LECTURE TOPIC?

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, permit me to give a little background into why I have chosen to lecture on this subject matter today. Driven by the need to create a niche for myself in terms of being credited to have contributed to scholarship substantially, at the beginning of my Doctor of Philosophy (Ph D) pursuit, I asked myself the following questions: "What should my area of interest be"? "How can the study I intend to carry out hint at a fill of lacuna in scholarship"? "How can the study be acknowledged as heuristically provocative"? The quest to answer these questions prompted me to carry out a bibliographical study of completed doctoral works in Nigeria. These are works firmed up within the spectrum of Journalism and Mass Communication and which have more to do with the extent to which the relationship between the media and the Nigerian society has been functional and dysfunctional on the one hand, and the forms in which the media and the Nigerian society have affected each other in practical concrete terms, on the other. I discovered from the bibliographical study that the nexus of relationship between the media and political conflicts in Nigeria seemed to have suffered neglect and lagged behind conjectures in scholarship compared with apparent adequacy of scholarly works and empirical studies on the media and other genres of development in Nigeria. Inspired by the reality that no sooner had the Nigeria's Fourth Republic begun in 1999 than political conflicts started occurring and spiraling into situations that had negative implications for Nigeria's democracy and political stability, my interest in the media and political conflict interface grew with passion, and an alacrity brew in me to contribute to knowledge in an area that is fundamental and central to Nigeria's political development. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, a submission on my many voyages around how the Nigerian media, particularly the newspaper press, has fared in reportage of political conflicts in

Nigeria is the thrust of this inaugural lecture entitled: Media, Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria: The Fourth or the Ruinous Estate of the Realm? This inaugural lecture is the (tenth) 10th in this University's inaugural lecture series. Excitingly, it is the first to be delivered in Department of Communication and Media Studies. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I am delighted to inform you that in my research endeavours and activities in the strands of political communication on the one hand; and, media, politics and conflicts in Nigeria on the other hand, I have recognized what I call and popularize in the literature: Personality-induced Political Conflicts (PIPCs) as political conflicts in which every other type and dimension of political conflict in Nigeria is rooted and entrenched. Unfortunately, PIPCs have been upsetting Nigeria's political development from the nation's independence till today.

PERSONALITY-INDUCED POLITICAL CONFLICTS

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I have distilled the concept of personality-induced political conflict from the scholarly works and seemingly convergent intellectual paradigms that submit that the personality of an individual is determined, conditioned and structured by his needs, value system, interest and resources, among other factors. It therefore holds that the conflict every individual engages in, arises from clash of the identified factors with those of other individuals, parties and entities. Drawing from this backdrop, personality-induced political conflicts have been recognized by me as political conflicts that are grossly rooted in interactions, associations and relationships between or among individuals, based on political interest and motives.(Conteh-Morgan, 2004; Popoola, 2012a; 2014b; 2014h; 2014i; 2015a;)

The clashing personality factors have occasioned many political conflicts in Nigeria. In the country today are instances of how some individual politicians (often rich and influential), who have sponsored and possibly bankrolled candidates or contributed immensely to the electoral victory of candidates, have personality-induced clashes with their candidates as soon as such candidates win elections, because the benefactors want to dictate to their beneficiaries. This trend substantiates what has been called *prebendalism* and what is often described as *godfatherism* in the typical Nigerian parlance. (Joseph: 1991; Popoola: 2014h; 2014i; 2015a) These phenomena seem to have resulted in several violent political conflicts across Nigeria.

The term prebend was first used in literature as an ecclesiastical term signifying the stipend drawn from land and granted to a canon from a cathedral estate. It was used to mean “allowances in kind” or right to use of land and services where these allowances or rights are not granted on hereditary principles. The term has been expanded to explain what happens in governance and political machinations such that a nation state is understood as a prebendal system when the political offices are allocated and then exploited as benefits and entitlements of political office-holders. Such practice is legitimated by a set of political norms according to which the appropriation of such offices is not just an act of individual greed or ambition but concurrently the satisfaction of the short-term objectives of a subset of the general population. (Joseph, 1991; 2013)

This aptly describes what happens in Nigerian politics when political candidates and public office holders jostle to gain control of public resources for private ends. The phenomenon has become particularly highly developed, entrenched and destructive in Nigeria. Prebendalism is very prevalent In Nigerian politics today, given the sense of entitlement that Nigerian politicians feel they have to the revenues of the Nigerian state. Democratic politics and

prebendal politics are two sides of the same coin in Nigeria; each can be turned over to reveal the other. The system of prebendal politics enables divergent groups and constituencies to seek to accommodate their interests at the expense of other groups. Prebendal politics contributes to the increasing affluence of the relative few, paltry gains for a large number and misery for the great majority of people. Since it is a self-justifying system which grants legitimacy to a pattern of persistent conflict; its modus operandi is to publicize ethnic, religious and linguistic differences, it serves to make the Nigerian polity a simmering cauldron of irresolvable tension over which lid must regularly be clamped and just as regularly removed. Prebendalism seems much prevalent in the political fabric of Nigeria. Apparently, this phenomenon is so stubbornly ingrained in Nigeria that little has been done to address it. Consequently, the extent to which prebendalism has given Nigeria political setback is evident in how the problem continually prevents the nation from being able to practise democracy perfectly. Since the creation of the first Republic, there have been a number of personality-induced political conflicts, which arose from prebendalism, and seem to have thwarted Nigeria's economic and political development. (Joseph, 1991; 2013, Adebawu and Obadare, 2013, Popoola, 2014; 2015a;)

Obviously, a concomitant and direct consequence of prebendalism is political godfatherism, which seems to have led to incidences of some personality-induced political conflicts in Nigeria.

On the Nigerian political scene, it is a common practice for individuals to seek the support and protection of "an oga" (master) or a "godfather", while trying to acquire the basic social and material goods, and this kind of political behaviour manifests itself not only in the allocation of state resources but also in the private sector. The difference between godsons and their godfathers is that the latter have 'a piece of the state' in their pockets, while the former seeks a piece of the state. The power of the godfather lies in his position in government, the number of privileged people he has or has

successfully planted in government, and hence his ability to directly or indirectly manipulate bureaucratic regulations. The Nigerian political environment is highly monetized; it is a cash and carry politics. Politics at all levels are infested with the money syndrome. Winning party nomination, is either by being the party 'sacred cow' backed by a 'godfather' who picks his preferred candidate through arbitrary nomination or through party primary elections which the godfather teleguides. The victorious politician at the polls assumes office and strategizes how to recover his expenditure, and to start the mission of homage paying to his godfather(s). Consequently, prebendalism finds expression in politics of sponsorship to political positions, control of political power, political patronage and the ultimate control of state treasury, personnel and resources. Obviously then, prebendalism is directly linked to political godfatherism. The two phenomena are two sides of the same coin.

Godfatherism is said in political communication literature to have had its origin in the pre - christian era. It was popularized by the Christian tradition of baptism, which requires, among other things, that an entrant into the faith should have a sponsor who undertakes to oversee his moral and spiritual welfare in line with the baptismal promise. Meanwhile, in political communication and scholarly voyages around political machinations and contestations, godfatherism does not only imply an instrument of moral guardianship. It now connotes a system of socio – political mentorship and apprenticeship of varying sorts. In contemporary Nigeria, the phenomenon of godfatherism has veered in partisan relations, manifesting in the fashion of politics of sponsorship and apprenticeship. Political godfatherism has pervaded the Nigerian political scene. In Nigerian politics today, godfatherism is a form of landlord-tenant relationship between the godfathers and godsons/goddaughters. In this context, the godfather acts as the

power broker because he can deploy his political and commercial influence to affect policies and the decision of others. The implication of this is that although there is a relationship between the godfather and godson/goddaughter, the godfather manipulates the policies of others in order to ensure that the person (godson) of his choice is elected. Realistically in Nigerian electoral system, the godfather has the influence and affluence, the visibility and credibility to get the political godson in office. He goes round with the candidate, raises his hand at campaign rallies as evidence that that is the anointed candidate. The anointed candidate obeys his every command and sometimes both enter into a written agreement of how the spoils of victory will be shared. This may be in the form of sharing offices, or contracts or money straight from the treasury. Politics of godfathers involves the 'anointing' of a protégé who is expected to win an election by using the influence, wealth, political structure and political experience of the godfather. In return, the protege reciprocates with loyalty and regular consultations with the godfather.(Okoye, 2007, Popoola, 2014h 2014i; 2015a)

Thus, a political godfather is a kingmaker, boss, mentor, and principal, while godson/goddaughter is the beneficiary and recipient of the legacy of a godfather. A Nigerian political godfather is someone who has built unimaginable respect and followership in the community, and possesses a well-organized political platform and enjoys general acceptance from electorate. These are assets that could secure victory for the candidates of his choice. Consequently, political godfathers are powerful individuals who determine "who gets what, when and how" in the corridors of power. Put succinctly, Nigerian political godfather is an impervious guardian figure who provides the lifeline and direction to the protégé, perceived to live a life of total submission, subservience and protection of the oracular personality of the godfather who is socially located in the large,

material frame of opulence, affluence and decisiveness. The godfather can be a ruthless, self-seeking individual who often deploys government machinery for personal purposes.

The grounds of contractual relationship between godfathers and their protégés are in all intents and purposes antithetical to democracy. The terms of their operational relationships are made private and secret. However, at the time of implementing them after the elections, the godsons in power often discover that they cannot abide by some of the agreements. Being in direct control of the paraphernalia of power, the godsons often reposition themselves, building their own political surrogates in defiance of their political godfathers. Accordingly, the relationship between political godfathers and their adopted political sons and daughters is transactional in nature; it is a case of 'you rub my back, and I rub your back'. Like businessmen, political godfathers invest in their godsons/goddaughters and expect returns after elections. Troubles start when what a godfather makes from his instrumental relationship with his protégés fall below expectation. As noted earlier, a godfather uses his powers to ensure the electoral victory of his godsons/goddaughters. Once in office, the protégés help to ensure the power base of their patrons. Most political godfather-godson conflicts in Nigeria surface immediately after election. This is when the godson/goddaughter is expected to begin to implement the agreement reached with his godfather. The trouble starts when the godfather becomes so overbearing that the godson is unable to fulfill his mandate to the people. Prebendal conflict tendencies arise when the godfather demands so much from the godson at the expense of his role in governance. The godfather also appears apprehensive when he discovers the godson is trying to be

“ungrateful”. Expatiating on the instrumental nature of the relationship between godfathers and their godsons, the conflict that emerges from breach of prebendal and political godfather-son contracts leads to exposition of some of the secret transactions between godfathers and their godsons. The godson becomes rebellious when it becomes obvious to him that the godfather would not allow him to enjoy anything from their relationship. This conflict of interest for superpower is usually the bone of contention between godfathers and godsons on the Nigerian political scene. Although the concepts of prebendal politics and political godfatherism in Nigeria appear as a recent development, they have gained prominence in Nigeria's political lexicon, because the phenomena have become dominant features of electoral politics and governance in the country. The phenomena are as old as electoral politics in the country. Right from Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has witnessed personality-induced political conflicts that were rooted in prebendalism and political godfatherism. Some of the builders of Nigerian federalism, Obafemi Awolowo, NnamdiAzikwe and Ahmadu Bello became godfathers after independence, and they were lionized, respected, idolized and worshipped. The influence wielded by individuals, identified and recognized as political godfathers, seems total and daunting. Godfathers, have in the most brazen manner, hijacked the political machinery at all levels. It means then that what is called election in Nigeria is nothing but the expression of the narrowly defined will of a few dishonest individuals who feel that they have the power to manipulate the entire electoral process in favour of their anointed associates.(Adeoye, 2005; Joseph, 2013, Popoola 2014h; 2014i; 2015a; 2015e)

The godfatherism phenomenon in the electoral process results from the commoditization of state power, and the struggle to acquire it by the dominant political class. Using Nigeria as a reference, the non-recognition of independent electoral candidates has made political parties a rare commodity to be bargained for by political aspirants. Political candidates that are desperate to capture political offices they crave for, are often amenable to the conditions of those who possess the wherewithal to enable them achieve their political aspirations. The godfatherism phenomenon is unarguably politics of sponsorship to political positions, control of political power, political patronage and the ultimate control of state treasury, personnel and resources. In Nigeria, political godfathers are characters who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins in same elections. (Olarinmoye, 2007; Okoye, 2007; Popoola, 2015a)

Based on the tenets and canons of prebendal and godfather-son political relationships therefore, it follows that there are bound to be peace, unity and tranquility at any time that there is harmony of interests among political players, even at the expense of the governed. Unfortunately, when interests collide, as it is inevitable in politics, what follows is personality-induced political conflicts that may take several dimensions. In democratic Nigeria, there have been instances of personality-induced political conflicts arising from the aforementioned factors, plaguing the country's democracy, given the prominence of the parties involved in such conflicts, and the apparently sensitive positions occupied by such conflicting parties in government. Accordingly, Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, given the expected role of the Nigerian media as a socially-responsible and development-enabling press, most of my research efforts have been

geared towards investigating the gatekeeping and agenda-setting role of the Nigerian press on the occasions of personality-induced political conflicts that have been rooted in prebendalism and political godfatherism in political contestations in Nigeria.

THE EXPECTED ROLES OF THE MEDIA AS THE FOURTH ESTATE OF THE REALM IN POLITICAL CONFLICTS

In its contemporary usage, the fourth estate refers in the main to the mass media as a collectivity. Edmund Burke, the great Anglo-Irish thinker and parliamentarian, is credited with categorizing the field of journalism as constituting a fourth estate in 18th century British society. Burke coined the term in 1787 at a time when the British press was rising to the challenge of providing more intense coverage of the deliberations of the House of Commons. For the staid, conservative British, that moment of transition was rife with possibility and peril. On the one hand, press coverage was going to demystify the legislative process. By beaming a light on the arcane rituals and ceremonial encrustations of lawmaking, the British press was going to bridge the gulf between the people and their legislators, with the added collateral advantage of vitalizing democracy, enhancing transparency and increasing the quotient of public expectations and political accountability. (Gentzkow, Glaeser, & Goldin, 2006; Popoola, 2015a, Popoola and Ntukekpo, 2016) Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I have it on scholarly authorities that Burke was deeply charmed by the prospective advantages of press scrutiny. Burke said that there were three Estates in Parliament; but in the Reporters' Gallery yonder there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important far than the first three Estates-the Lords Spiritual, the Lords

Temporal, and the Commons. In the Burkean social architecture, the press, despite the relative recentness of its mandate, occupies a monumental seat, no inferior to the first three Estates. In Britain's tradition at the time, the two "lorded" groups constituted the upper chamber of parliament whilst the Commons was the lower chamber. Burke emphasized that the "reporters' gallery" was far more important than the earlier listed, and thus, referred to the "reporters" as the Fourth Estate of the realm. (Gentzkow, Glaeser & Goldin, 2006). In contemporary democratic contexts, the term "the Fourth Estate" now has a richer and variegated post-Burkean usage: the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons have translated to the Executive, Legislative and Judicial arms of government as the first three Estates of Realm, while the media are acknowledged as the Fourth Estate of Realm that serves as watch dog to the three arms of government. Given this premise, The Fourth Estate keeps government in check by informing the public duly and accurately. Investigative journalism plays a big role in this light by uncovering ills, vices, abnormalities, maladministration, misgovernance, corruption and constitutional violations. The Fourth Estate describes the journalists as canvassers and protectors of the interests of the citizenry in relation to the players in the three tiers of government who claim to be championing the cause of the masses. A good Fourth Estate serves as a good agent of socialization; it motivates and inspires citizenry towards embracing positive change; it serves as a creditable forum for debates and discussions that bring about national development; it helps in intellectual development through education; it serves as an agent of cultural promotion and entertainment. How do these fourth estate canons speak to media role in political conflicts with particular reference to

how the Nigerian press should report the embers, twists and turns of political conflicts in the country? Media role, as fourth estate of realm in political conflicts, is distilled and inferred from the notion of the socially-responsible media as contained and unveiled in the concepts, assumptions and propositions of a Socially-Responsible and Development Media systems. The two development-driven media systems hold that the media can be used to express ideas, opinions, views and aspirations by both the government and private individuals without any restraint, gagging or censorship aimed at inhibiting press freedom and freedom of expression. However, the media are forbidden to invade private right or disrupt vital socio-political structures in which they operate. Socially acceptable and development media behaviors are thus anchored on self-regulation; but, if the media would not voluntarily behave properly, then there are definite social structures and mechanisms like constitutional prescriptions and professional code of ethics which must be strictly applied, so as to ensure that the media behave in compliance with recognized social standards. Consequently, in reporting conflicts and conflicting situations, the chief duty of a good fourth estate of the realm is to raise conflict to the plane of discussion but with proposals for resolution, realizing that societal peace is a strong condition for development. It suffices therefore that a good fourth estate of realm, is, by implication, a socially-responsible and development-enabling media system which must operate and perform according to certain professional ethical standards. (Kunczick 1988; Folarin, 2004; Mc Quail, 2007; Popoola, 2015a; 2015e; 2015f; Popoola and Olatubosun, 2017) How does this paradigm speak to the role which the Nigerian newspaper press has been playing in the personality-induced political conflicts that have occurred in Nigeria?

MEDIA AND PERSONALITY-INDUCED POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, my investigation of the Nigerian press role in political conflicts in Nigeria dates back to the nation's defunct Republics. I will therefore expose my research outcomes in sequence of Nigeria's Republican experiences.

The First and Second Republics

Before the 1965, 1979 and the 1983 elections were held, there had been massive demonization of rival political parties and individual politicians in the press, depending on who owned a newspaper organization. In a way, the psychological and emotional dispositions of the audience were influenced by the images of 'us vs them' conjured in the newspapers as a result of glaring polarization among them. One of the existing political parties was presented as the friend of the poor masses while the other was depicted as corrupt and hostile to the interests of the common people. When examined from the perspective of the influence the mass media could have on the attitude and perception of the people, this political dichotomy among the press certainly provided an attitudinal and behavioral structure within which the audience reacted to the conflicts that accompanied the elections. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, as part of my contributions to knowledge, I have discovered that personality-induced political conflict has been happening in Nigeria since Nigeria's independence in 1960; and that, the conflict has been plaguing Nigeria's political development. Without mincing words, it has been a thorn in the flesh of Nigeria's democracy, and it appears as a perennial problem which seems to have defied solutions since independence in Nigeria.

A major personality-induced political conflict in Nigeria's First Republic was that between Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Ladoke Akintola, in the Old Western Region of Nigeria. From 1960 to the expiration of the First Republic, the newspaper press was very active in the political conflicts that characterized the dispensation. Partisan newspapers had taken root in the national terrain at that time. Except for the *Daily Times* which exhibited some forms of neutrality and objectivity in its coverage of political issues because of its commercial orientation, other newspapers that circulated in the Western Region were blatantly involved in the political struggle of their proprietors and they never hid where their loyalty lay. *The Pilot*, founded by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was pro- National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroun (NCNC) and later extended its support to United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). *Morning Post*, founded by the Northern People's Congress (NPC) that controlled the federal government, was described as an antithesis of what a newspaper should be in a democracy for the role it played during the 1964 and the 1965 elections when it was questionably used to announce falsified results. The AG-controlled *Nigerian Tribune*, *Irohin Yoruba* and *Daily Express* were very active in supporting AG and UPGA. They commanded large readership in the Western Region because of the ingrained sympathy for AG in the region. These papers amazingly survived many intimidations during this period, but they also stimulated the opposition of the AG to venture into newspaper publishing to counter their influence. *Irohin Yoruba* was particularly so popular at the grassroots that by the time the personality-induced political conflict started between Awolowo and Akintola, the latter saw the need for establishing his own medium to counter

the support that *Irohin Yoruba* was giving to the Awolowo faction in the AG, which incidentally were in the majority. He therefore, established *Imole Owuro* which he strengthened to counter the influence of *Irohin Yoruba*. Chief Akintola, himself a veteran journalist, used to write columns and editorials for *Imole Owuro*, though under a pseudonym. The paper was said to be circulating among the Yoruba speaking people throughout Nigeria and was even sold in West African capital cities, such as Abidjan, Accra, Lome, Cotonou and Porto Novo. Shortly before the 1964 federal election, Chief Akintola sought to establish another medium to counter *Nigerian Tribune* and *Daily Express*. He established the *Daily Sketch*. In the personality-induced political conflict between Awolowo and Akintola in that period, the press got involved in bitter power struggles and partisanship that culminated into publishing of virulent headlines, sensational and inflammatory stories that contributed immensely to political tension and instability upon which, among other factors, the military coup of January 15, 1966 was premised. (Babarinsa, 2003; Isola, 2010; Popoola, 2015a) Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I have also been able to discover that some tumultuous personality-induced political conflicts with attendant destructive violence happened in Nigeria's second republic. The conflicts occurred in the South- Western part of Nigeria; most specifically in the old Oyo and Ondo States of Nigeria. The conflicts had their antecedents in intra-party conflicts as a result of the desperate political ambition of politicians to occupy public offices. The chaotic personality-induced political conflicts involved Ajasin and Omoboriowo in Ondo State and Bola Ige and the duo of Busari Adelakun and Michael Afolabi in Oyo State. (Babarinsa, 2003; Popoola, 2015a; Popoola and Ntukekpo, 2016) From my

investigation of the role played by the Nigerian press in the political crises, rather than reconciling the aggrieved peoples, the press took to partisan activities even more intensively. Where a newspaper was not outrightly owned by a top official of a political party, it was owned and financed by any of the two tiers of government. The allegiance of the newspapers was glaringly to their owners and financiers. It was unthinkable to imagine the *Nigerian Tribune* would criticize Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the UPN during the Second Republic. The same goes for *Daily Times* and President Shehu Shagari's government. *Sketch*, which was jointly owned by all the states in the Southwest, had special pages for information and releases from each of its owner-state government in the First and Second Republics. Apart from appointing the key management staff of the newspaper establishments, some form of subventions also came from the owners of the newspapers to cushion their operations in the harsh economic environment in which they were operating. As shown in the evidence provided by content analyses of political issues carried by the newspapers in this period, most of the political stories were favourable to the political parties the owners of the newspapers belonged to, while the unfavourable political stories were used to demonize the rival parties.

The Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was undoubtedly rooted in the South-western states as revealed by the result of the 1979 presidential election. All the states of this region, including Lagos, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun and Bendel, were won by the party. Even though there were allegations of irregularities. The 1979 elections were relatively violence-free, probably because they were conducted by a military administration. However, part of the conflicts that engulfed

and consumed the Second Republic was rooted in the very success of the UPN in the South-Western states. Most propaganda war that accompanied the 1983 elections was fought both in the newspaper press and on the electronic media.

In 1977, the military government of General Olusegun Obasanjo appropriated to the federal government, the television service of Western Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC), which was later inherited by Oyo State from the old Western State. At the inception of the civilian administration in 1979, most of the electronic media belonged to the federal government, especially the Nigerian Television Service in Ibadan and the Radio Nigeria owned by the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). Therefore, at the inception of Governor Ige's administration in 1979, top on his priority list was the establishment of a broadcasting corporation to embrace radio and television services. By 1980, Radio O-Y-O was in place and the Television Service of Oyo State (T.S.O.S) followed in 1982. Governor Ige carefully and deliberately selected the management and key staff of the broadcasting houses to ensure that the corporation was managed by the loyalists of the ruling UPN, even among civil servants in the state. This step was taken after that of the NPN at the federal level which did the same with the national broadcasting organizations namely: the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and Nigeria Television Authority (NTA). Both stations were put under the control of the Federal Ministry of Information with a board consisting of NPN party loyalists. In both the state and federal broadcasting organizations, broadcasters wielding stinging tongues and a gift for uncouth language were positioned on the airwaves to engage in free-for-all propaganda war on behalf of the various political parties before the 1983 general elections. Utterances emanating from the broadcasting stations

ranged from those that were calling for massive participation in the election to dislodge the opposition, to outright incitement to violent actions against those who were perceived to be planning to rig elections.

In order to ensure the victory of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in Oyo State in the general election, the National Chairman of the party, Chief Adisa Akinloye, floated a weekly newspaper, the *Advocate*, in 1983. The paper was published on behalf of Chief Akinloye by Chief Gani Kola Balogun. The content of the paper was fiercely pro-NPN and anti-UPN during its short life span. It was meant to offer opposition to the UPN-controlled *Nigerian Tribune* and *Sketch*, in Oyo state. Most of the other newspapers with a pervasive influence in Oyo State, except *National Concord*, were used in support of the political interests of their owners. The *Daily Times*, which was acquired in 1975 by the federal military government from its private owners, became fiercely pro-NPN by 1983. The privately owned *Punch*, probably due to business expediency, identified with its circulating political environment by supporting the UPN, which dominated the government in all of the states in the Southwest, where it was most popular. The *National Concord* which had hitherto come out supporting NPN, the initial party of its publisher, Chief M.K.O Abiola, retrieved its support for the NPN due to the hostility exhibited by the party to its publisher's presidential ambition. Thus, it became about the only neutral newspaper with some influence on the politics of the South west. There were strong evidences that newspapers circulating in Oyo State carried prominently inflammatory and inciting contents in the build-up to the 1983 election violence, which contributed to aggravation of political violence in the state. (Babarinsa, 2003; Isola, 2010; Popoola, 2015a)

Apart from the UPN controlled *Nigerian Tribune*, *Iroyin Yoruba* and government-controlled *Sketch* and *Gbohun Gboun* newspapers which were prominent at the grassroots in Ondo State during the 1983 Ajasin and Omoboriowo personality-induced political conflict in Ondo State, two other newspapers, the *People's News* and *Premier*, also played important roles in the crises leading to the post 1983 electoral violence in the state. The *Peoples News*, owned by a veteran journalist, Chief Niyi Oniroro, came out initially to attack Governor Ajasin's policies, the removal of the first speaker of Ondo State House of Assembly, and a staunch supporter of Governor Ajasin, Mr Akingbade, whom his colleagues accused of working against their interests by supporting the governor and his cabinet. However, at a point, the *Peoples News* swung allegiance to the side of the governor for unclear reasons. It was speculated that this occurred when the paper began to receive advertisement patronage from the state government.

When it was clear that virtually all the newspapers circulating in Ondo State were hostile to his cause, Chief Omoboriowo decided to establish a newspaper to serve as his own voice, he thus established the *Premier* and deployed a prominent journalist and one of his followers, Mr. Idowu Odeyemi, to edit the paper. The *Premier* proved its mettle by standing up to the attacks of Chief Omoboriowo by rival newspapers, especially the vitriolic *Peoples News*, which was already popular in the state. Both papers deployed strong language in their contents which fueled political tension inflammations in the state. In the midst of the violence that erupted from the aftermath of the 1983 general elections, the newspapers, in circulation at this turbulent time in the South-western part of the country published perilous headlines and conflict- fuelling and political back-stabbing stories as megaphones and amplifiers of the voices of their owners who were players on the political scene.

For instance, while *The Sketch* went to town with a front page editorial following the 1983 gubernatorial election, in which the newspaper asked the people to go on to the streets to fight the injustice meted out on them through alleged falsification of 1983 gubernatorial election results in Oyo state, *Nigerian Tribune*, few days after, complimented the *Sketch* editorial, with another editorial which added more pep to the already exploding political environment. Consequently, violence erupted in the south-western part of Nigeria after the elections. The violence culminated into colossal destruction of lives and property after the elections until the military struck in December 1983, putting an end to Nigeria's Second Republic. (Babarinsa, 2003; Isola, 2010; Popoola, 2015a; Popoola, and Ntukekpo, 2016)

The Third Republic

The military took over the reins of government from the civilians and 'immature politicians', as described by the military, on December 31, 1983.. The military made references to the destruction and insecurity of lives and properties and widespread violence which were rooted in political conflicts to which the press contributed. Meanwhile, sandwiched in-between the collapse of the Second Republic in 1979 and the successive military administrations on the one hand, and the fourth republic on the other, is a Third Republic which appeared to have started in 1992 but which never lasted for two years. An important corollary of this period in the political development of Nigeria is that, perhaps, because of the military administration and the thinkable military apparatus for ensuring peace and tranquility, there were no instances of political conflicts that led to any crises and violence in any part of the country. Conceivably, if any conflicts occurred as a result of political contestations in this period, such conflicts must have operated at a pseudo level.

Throughout the military period of governance in Nigeria, the media operated with little or no freedom. Invariably, the press was gagged. Possibly, the press could not have engaged in any reportage of the political activities in the period that were capable of erupting and escalating any political crises and violence. (Popoola, 2015a; Popoola and Ntukekpo, 2016)

The Fourth Republic

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, my 'crusading' research into the Nigerian press role in PIPCs and implications for Nigeria's political development started with an empirical investigation I carried out in respect of reportage of PIPC's in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. In 2015, I published the outcome of the study in a book I entitled: A Discourse on Personality-induced Conflicts in Nigeria's Politics – the Media and their Narratives.

The Fourth Republic started on May 29, 1999, when Abubakar handed over political power to Olusegun Obasanjo, as a democratically elected president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, having won the presidential election on the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). No sooner had the Fourth Republic begun than the Nigerian political scene became heated up and enchanted with personality-induced political conflicts that were embedded in prebendalism and political godfatherism. Consequently, I examined the extent to which some prominent and popular Nigerian newspapers reported and slanted the conflicts. The conflicts examined in this regard involved seven pairs of prominent individuals. The conflicting parties included:

- (i) Obasanjo versus Atiku
- (ii) Ladoja versus Adedibu
- (iii) Ngige versus Uba
- (iv) Attah versus Akpabio
- (iv) Lawal versus Saraki
- (v) Kwakwanso versus Rimi
- (vii) Kachalla versus Ali Sherif

All these conflicts took place at various times in the Fourth Republic. The seven pairs of conflicts appeared as the most turbulent personality-induced political conflicts across Nigeria in the Fourth Republic. The Obasanjo and Atiku prebendal face-off happened at the federal level, the Ladoja- Adedibu godfather-son conflict took place in Oyo State, which is in the South-Western part of Nigeria, while the Ngige-Ubagod father-son conflict was in Anambra State, located in the South- Eastern part of the country. Also, the Attah - Akpabioprebendal and godfather-son conflict took place in Akwa-Ibom State, which falls within the South-South geo-political zone. The Lawal-Saraki prebendal and godfather-son conflict occurred in Kwara State, which is in the North-Central geo-political zone of Nigeria; the Kwakwanso -Rimi prebendal conflict happened in Kano State, which is in the North-Western part of Nigeria, while the Kachalla and Sherif prebendal conflict happened in Borno State, located in the North-Eastern geo-political zone. Worrisomely, Olusegun Obasanjo was the President of Nigeria while Atiku Abubakar was his Vice during the period of their conflict. Also, Ladoja, Ngige, Attah, Lawal, Kwakwanso and Kachalla were serving as governors of Oyo, Anambra, Akwa-Ibom, Kwara, Kano and Borno States of Nigeria respectively during the period of study. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, in the course of establishing my recognition as a scholar in the fold of Media, Politics and Conflict genre of political communication, I examined how five Nigerian national newspapers reported these conflicts. The newspapers were: *Daily Champion*, *Daily Trust*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *The Guardian* and *The Punch*. (Popoola, 2015a).

There was a strong and indisputable relationship between the reportage of the conflicts by the newspapers and the escalation of the conflicts to violence and civil disorder, and destruction of lives and properties; the newspapers devoted very little and insignificant attention to resolution of the conflicts. Ever before the beginning of

the fourth republic in 1999, there had been massive demonization of political gladiators and influential political godfathers and godsons in the newspapers. In a way, the psychological and emotional dispositions of the audience had already been influenced by the images of 'he' 'him' 'them' conjured in the newspapers as a result of power struggle and political machinations that heralded the return to civil rule in Nigeria on May 29, 1999. The lauded political godfathers and benefactors were able to garner and win supporters and loyalists who did not help matters in the political conflicts that ensued between the godfathers and the godsons later. This pool of supporters readily served as foot soldiers that participated in the subsequent personality-induced political conflicts. When examined from the perspective of the influence the mass media have on the attitude and perception of their audience, the undue emphasis on political toughness of politicians by the newspapers certainly provided an attitudinal and behavioural structure within which the audience could have reacted in the personality-induced political conflicts and the violence that accompanied them.

It is evident in the data obtained from the previous analysis of latent and manifest contents of the selected newspapers that the newspapers were completely immersed in the pervading personality-induced political conflicts. Ever before the conflict between each pair of the conflicting parties came to the knowledge of the public, the newspapers aroused the consciousness and whet the appetite of the public in respect of the conflicts by carrying stories and reports that unveiled the conflicting parties. The newspapers even predicted the violence and the attendant cataclysmic consequences of the conflicts, thus setting negative agenda for the public. The manner in which the newspapers reported the conflicting parties and their utterances was conflict-provocative, and at best inciting because of the rivalry imagery conveyed through the newspapers' contents to the public.

Many of the analysed latent and manifest contents confirm the strong relationship between the contents of the selected newspapers and the public violence that accompanied the conflicts. An overwhelming percentage of all the contents of the analyzed newspapers did not reflect fairness and professionalism. Preponderantly, the newspapers reported accusations, counter accusations, assaults, indictments and disagreements attributed to the conflicting parties verbatim and without any editing. In fact, in many instances, there were intense struggle and pervasive willingness among the newspapers to support their preferred conflicting parties and political patrons, whose utterances and interests were reported verbatim in spite of the tendency of such utterances to inflame public passion in the sensitive political environment. This, no doubt, contributed to the escalation of physical conflicts and violence that ensued among the political public office holders during the period of study. The papers seemed to have reported from the prism of the conflicting parties they supported, and so no effort at all was made to verify some of the stories that the newspapers published just because such stories were perceived to favour such patrons. It is also evident that, none of the newspapers, for example, ever reported that the conflicting party it supported engaged thugs and unleashed violence, as were the cases during the conflicting periods. To the papers, it was only the conflicting parties that the newspapers did not use their reports to support that engaged in such misdeeds, while the conflicting parties they supported and their loyalists were often victims. In essence, most of the time, objectivity was sacrificed on the altar of partisanship. Expectedly, this fuelled the conflicts and accounted for the violence and destruction of lives and property that accompanied them. Evidently, ownership influence has greatly accounted for the negative role of the press in PIPCs in Nigeria. It is also obvious that Nigerian newspaper houses do publish stories written by individuals outside the folds of newspaper organizations.

Such individuals, who masquerade as columnists, are party stalwarts, loyalists and supporters of conflicting parties. These columnists write opinionated articles which are accepted and published by the newspapers without bothering to investigate the truthfulness in such articles. Some columns and feature articles carried by lines that show the affiliation which the writers and even the newspapers that publish such stories had with the conflicting parties. Consequently, interpretative articles and opinions, which are usually strong instruments of objecting to anti-social issues, are thus relegated to instruments of political maneuvering and propaganda by the press.

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, further to this outcome, while I have in the course of my career examined the performance of the Nigerian press in political campaigns and contestations that have characterized the presidential elections of 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 in Nigeria; I have also been involved in investigation of the gatekeeping and agenda setting role of the Nigerian press in gubernatorial elections matters of conflict in Nigeria till date. In all these studies, the Nigerian press has engaged in intrigues, political back-stabbing and unprofessional conducts which widened the gulf of hatred and animosity among contestants for political power. Many of the newspapers whose contents have been analyzed favoured one or the other of the contesting political candidates and their political parties, and published inciting and incriminating reports that set repressive and negative agenda for the public in terms of calumnies, hate speeches, vituperations and outright political campaign abuses. (Popoola, 2015a 2015b 2015e; Popoola and Azeez, 2016b; Popoola and Adegoke, 2016; Popoola and Olatubosun, 2017)

NIGERIAN PRESS IN PIPCS: THE FOURTH OR THE RUINOUS ESTATE OF THE REALM?

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, because of the reality that societal peace is a strong condition for development, a major expectation from a good Fourth Estate of Realm is that such a press is socially-responsible and development driven in reporting political conflicts by raising conflicts to planes of discussion but with proposals for resolution. It suffices therefore that a ruinous fourth estate of realm, is, by implication socially-irresponsible and development-stagnating media system which defies adherence to professional ethical standards. (Kunczick 1988; Folarin, 2004; Mc Quail, 2007; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d; Popoola and Adegoke, 2016; Popoola and Olatubosun, 2017)

The Nigerian press performance in PIPCs in Nigeria does not connote any serious commitment to protection of the political system. The performance thus accounts for perceived loss of credibility by the newspaper press among segments of the reading public who might not support some political views expressed in some newspapers. In this situation, the media are no doubt failing to use their agenda-setting power to direct the attention of the general public to salient issues that can determine the survival or otherwise of the democratic system. Evidently, there are situations in which Nigerian newspapers, in their own capacities, serve as shadow parties to political conflicts; thus having pervasive influences on journalistic contents and reportorial directions. The Nigerian press, as Fourth Estate, is presumably ruinous of Nigeria as a Realm, when in reporting PIPCs, there is recklessness in the political reportorial process, when partisan political considerations are given priority over the social responsibility roles of the press, and when little thought is given to the likely effects of unprofessional reportage on the reading public to the extent that what is uppermost in the minds of media gatekeepers are the political interests of the conflicting parties that are being supported. All these point to the fact that for

the Nigerian press to be acknowledged as a Fourth Estate of the Realm indeed in political conflicts, its reportorial approach must change. Inevitably, an explanation for the somewhat subversive role of the press in a democracy is anchored on the political economy of the media. Political economy of the media is an approach to studying the ways in which media products are produced, distributed and consumed, rather than analyzing the interpretations of the signs and symbols found within texts. Political economy of the media is a reference to the fact that media organizations are business organizations and profit-making commercial outfits that exist to generate income and serve the financial and other attendant interests of their owners. Political economy of media production tenet holds that the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial entities which produce and distribute commodities. (Murdock and Golden, 2000; 2016, Oso, 2014, Wasko, 2014) Consequently, in capitalist societies like Nigeria where public communication systems are both public and privately owned and are dedicated to generating maximum returns (both intrinsically and extrinsically) to shareholders, and where media ownership strategies shape the Nigerian communication landscape in fundamental ways, it is inescapable that media content stake on the colouration of Nigeria media owners and financiers. This paradigm shapes news construction and other media content directions in particular ways. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, this reality has prompted our Department of Communication and Media Studies, under my humble watch, to introduce a course titled: *Political Economy of Media Production*. The course is offered at 300 level of studentship. The addition of this course has made our undergraduate programme curriculum more robust and unique. Not with standing, a good fourth estate of the realm, which by expectation, is a socially-responsible and development-enabling media system, must maintain harmonious balance between political-economic driven interests and professional ethical standards. Then, what approach to reportage of political conflicts should the Nigerian press adopt?

CONFLICT SENSITIVE REPORTING TO THE RESCUE

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, it is my pleasure to inform you that as part of my contributions to knowledge in the area of Media, Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria, I have popularized what has been recognized and named Conflict Sensitive Reporting (CSR). CSR is the style to be adopted and used for reporting political reporting by the Fourth Estates of the Realm in today's democracies. (Howard, 2002, 2004a; 2004b; 2009; Jimoh, 2014; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d)

CSR has its antecedent in the propositions and submissions on Peace *Journalism which canvasses for totality of activities involved in journalism practice that* fosters minimization of violence and promotion of peaceful behaviours in the society. (Galtung, 2002, Okunna and Popoola, 2017; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2016a) A peace media system orientates its culture and the cultural development of the society within which it operates towards peacefulness. It is a system that has developed ideals, ethnics, mores, value systems and institutions that minimize violence and promote peace within it and among the audience. The cultural orientation of the media and how they are able to minimize the impacts and spread of violence in the society in addition to preventing the culture of violence ingrained in reporting are the most important factors that determine the virility of peace media. In essence, the cultural dynamics of a peace oriented media are towards peacefulness. The success of a peace media system is in how they deal with conflicts and violence when, for whatever unfortunate reasons, such occur in the society. (Okunna and Popoola, 2017, Popoola, 2015a)

The Nigerian mass media system can be transformed into a peaceful media system whereby it plays a central role in the promotion of peace in our multicultural and diverse socio-political environment. It can emphasize the benefits of peace by raising the legitimacy of groups and political leaders that are working for peace.

It can help transform the images of the enemy among rival political and social groups that are involved in the country's recurrent social and political conflicts. In the midst of most social conflicts, the media are privileged to be in a position to contribute to peace initiatives, especially in reconciling various factions after political turbulence because:

- (1) They help in defining the atmosphere in which peace negotiation takes place in political processes.
- (2) They have active influence on the strategy and behaviour of stakeholders in political and social conflicts in conflict environments.
- (3) They have important influence on the nature of debates during peace processes and negotiations.
- (4) They can buttress or weaken public legitimacy of the stakeholders involved in peace processes.

However, the principles of conflict reporting enunciated in peace journalism have been criticized and therefore regarded as over prescriptive and consequently gagging accuracy in reporting conflicts, since peace journalism only encourages coverage of only aspects of conflicts that foster peace and discarding issues in a conflict that may promote violence and escalation of conflict. Peace journalism seems difficult to practisedue to how it limits objectivity and accuracy in reporting conflict, because, issues of conflict left out in reportage of a conflict may not only be germane to the understanding of such conflict, but more importantly may be useful for reconciliatory and peace moves in conflict situations. (Howard, 2002, 2004b, 2009; Jimoh, 2014; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d)

CONFLICT SENSITIVE REPORTING TO THE RESCUE

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, it is my pleasure to inform you that as part of my contributions to knowledge in the area of Media, Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria, I have popularized what has been recognized and named Conflict Sensitive Reporting (CSR). CSR is the style to be adopted and used for reporting political reporting by the Fourth Estates of the Realm in today's democracies. (Howard, 2002, 2004a; 2004b; 2009; Jimoh, 2014; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d)

CSR has its antecedent in the propositions and submissions on Peace *Journalism which canvasses for totality of activities involved in journalism practice that* fosters minimization of violence and promotion of peaceful behaviours in the society. (Galtung, 2002, Okunna and Popoola, 2017; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2016a) A peace media system orientates its culture and the cultural development of the society within which it operates towards peacefulness. It is a system that has developed ideals, ethnics, mores, value systems and institutions that minimize violence and promote peace within it and among the audience. The cultural orientation of the media and how they are able to minimize the impacts and spread of violence in the society in addition to preventing the culture of violence ingrained in reporting are the most important factors that determine the virility of peace media. In essence, the cultural dynamics of a peace oriented media are towards peacefulness. The success of a peace media system is in how they deal with conflicts and violence when, for whatever unfortunate reasons, such occur in the society. (Okunna and Popoola, 2017, Popoola, 2015a)

The Nigerian mass media system can be transformed into a peaceful media system whereby it plays a central role in the promotion of peace in our multicultural and diverse socio-political environment. It can emphasize the benefits of peace by raising the legitimacy of groups and political leaders that are working for peace.

It can help transform the images of the enemy among rival political and social groups that are involved in the country's recurrent social and political conflicts. In the midst of most social conflicts, the media are privileged to be in a position to contribute to peace initiatives, especially in reconciling various factions after political turbulence because:

- (1) They help in defining the atmosphere in which peace negotiation takes place in political processes.
- (2) They have active influence on the strategy and behaviour of stakeholders in political and social conflicts in conflict environments.
- (3) They have important influence on the nature of debates during peace processes and negotiations.
- (4) They can buttress or weaken public legitimacy of the stakeholders involved in peace processes.

However, the principles of conflict reporting enunciated in peace journalism have been criticized and therefore regarded as over prescriptive and consequently gagging accuracy in reporting conflicts, since peace journalism only encourages coverage of only aspects of conflicts that foster peace and discarding issues in a conflict that may promote violence and escalation of conflict. Peace journalism seems difficult to practise due to how it limits objectivity and accuracy in reporting conflict, because, issues of conflict left out in reportage of a conflict may not only be germane to the understanding of such conflict, but more importantly may be useful for reconciliatory and peace moves in conflict situations. (Howard, 2002, 2004b, 2009; Jimoh, 2014; Popoola, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2015d)

Stemming from this perceived deficiency of peace journalism is the Conflict Sensitive Reporting approach to handling conflict. Unlike peace journalism, CSR gives the media the latitude to cover all aspects of a conflicting issue, but it emphasizes and gives prescriptions on careful use of language in reporting the conflict, in such a way that the reportage will focus on de-escalation of the conflict, rather than the escalating of conflict to violence and disorderliness. The conflict sensitive approach to reporting is rooted in the belief that the news media in many societies can be a powerful force to reduce the causes of conflict and to enable a conflict-stressed society to better pursue conflict resolution. The media can do this by training their journalists to better understand conflicts and media role in them. The journalists can strengthen their reporting to avoid stereotypes and narrow perspectives on the causes and processes of conflict. The media can contribute to a wider dialogue among disparate parts of the community in conflict, through improved reporting. They can explore and provide information about opportunities for resolution. At the same time, the media must maintain its essential standards of accuracy, fairness, balance, and responsible conduct.

Evolving from the role of a socially responsible and development-oriented media system which the Nigerian media should assume in the coverage of political conflicts in the country, is the use of appropriate reportorial and journalistic slants. This is done in such a way that the coverage focuses on the careful use of temperate language which creates attitudinal structure for peace, rather than incitement and promotion of hostility, violence and chaos in political conflict coverage. Consequently, in reporting PIPCs and other political conflicts in conflict sensitive manner by a good Fourth Estate which the Nigerian press should be, Nigerian journalists covering the political beat must:

- ∅ Avoid only reporting what divides the sides in the conflict-prone political environment.
- ∅ Endeavour to ask the opposing sides certain questions that may reveal common ground, so that the report could focus on interests or goals shared by opposing parties;
- ∅ Maintain balance: it is inappropriate to focus on the suffering and fear of only one side; treat all sides' sufferings as equally newsworthy;
- ∅ Be temperate in the use of words: words like 'devastated', 'tragedy' and 'terrorized', among others should be avoided in describing what has been done to one group; these kinds of words put the reporter on one side of the conflict;
- ∅ Adopt conflict-sensitive language by avoiding emotional and imprecise words; do not minimize suffering, but use strong language carefully: 'assassination' is the murder of a prominent person and no-one else; 'massacre' is the deliberate killing of a lot of people;
- ∅ Be the 'peace advocate': avoid waiting for leaders on one side to offer solutions; explore peace ideas wherever they come from; put these ideas to the leaders and report their responses;
- ∅ Avoid accepting stark distinctions between 'self' and 'other'; these can be used to build the sense that another party or group is a 'threat' or 'beyond the pale' of civilized behaviour - both being the key justifications for violence; instead, seek the 'other' in the 'self' and vice versa;

- ∅ Be inquisitive: if a politician is presenting himself or herself as 'the goodies', ask questions about how different his/her behaviour really is from the behaviour it is ascribing to 'the baddies'.
- ∅ Do not 'localize' a political conflict by treating it as if it is only going on in the place and at the time that violence is occurring; try instead to trace the links and consequences for people in other places now and in the future. Ask: Who are all the people with a stake in the outcome? What lessons will people draw from watching the political conflict unfold as part of a global audience? How will they enter the calculations of parties to future conflicts near and far?
- ∅ Avoid assessing the merit of a violent action or policy of violence in terms of its visible effects only; instead, try to find ways of reporting on the invisible effects, for example, the long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma, perhaps increasing the likelihood that those affected will be violent in future, either against other people or, as a group, against other groups;
- ∅ Do not let political conflicting parties define themselves by simply quoting their restatement of familiar demands or positions; instead, inquire more deeply into goals: How are people on ground affected by the conflict in everyday life? What do they want changed? Is the position stated the only way or the best way to achieve the changes desired?

- ∅ Avoid only reporting the violent acts and describing "the horror". If you exclude everything else, you suggest that the only explanation for violence is previous violence (revenge); the only remedy, more violence (coercion/ punishment). Instead, show how people have been blocked and frustrated or deprived in everyday life as a way of explaining the violence.
- ∅ Do not blame someone for starting it; instead, try looking at how shared problems and issues are leading to consequences that all the parties say they never intended.
- ∅ Avoid focusing exclusively on the suffering, fears and grievances of only one party; this divides the parties into 'villains' and 'victims' and suggests that coercing or punishing the 'villains' represents a solution. Instead, treat as equally newsworthy the suffering, fears and grievances of all sides.
- ∅ Watch your use of language and avoid 'victimizing' words such as "destitute", "devastated", "defenseless", "pathetic" and "tragedy", which only tell us what has been done to and could be done for a group of people. This type of language dis-empowers them and limits the options for change. Instead, report on what has been done and could be done by the people. Don't just ask them how they feel, also ask them how they are coping and what do they think? Can they suggest any solutions?
- ∅ Avoid demonizing adjectives like "vicious", "cruel," "brutal" and "barbaric. These always describe one party's view of what another party has done. To use them puts the journalist on that

side and helps to justify an escalation of violence. Instead, report what you know about the wrongdoing and give as much information as you can about the reliability of other people's reports or descriptions of it;

- ∅ Avoid demonizing labels like "terrorist", "extremist", "fanatic" and "fundamentalist". These are always given by "us" to "them". No one ever uses them to describe himself or herself, and so, for a journalist to use them is always to take sides. They mean the person is unreasonable, so it seems to make less sense to reason (negotiate) with them. Instead, try calling people by the names they give themselves. Or be more precise in your descriptions;
- ∅ Do not focus exclusively on the human right abuses, misdemeanours and wrong doings of only one side. Instead, try to name ALL wrongdoers and treat equally serious allegations made by all sides in a conflict. Treating seriously does not mean taking at face value, but instead making equal efforts to establish whether any evidence exists to back them up, treating the victims with equal respect and the chances of finding and punishing the wrongdoers as being of equal importance;
- ∅ Avoid making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact. (Politician A said to be responsible for the murder of Politician B in – state of Nigeria") Instead, tell your readers or your audience who said what. ("Politician A, accused by of ordering the murder of Politician B in –

state of Nigeria") That way you avoid signing yourself and your news medium up to the allegations made by one party in the violent act against another.

MY CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARSHIP

Ordinarily, politics should be a platform on which politicians test the popularity of their programmes, desires and aspirations for improving the lives of the people. However, politics in Nigeria has become a recurrent battle in which politicians and their supporters display physical prowess and test dubious and naked violent tactics in the process of contestation for political power. Most of these tendencies manifested in post-independence politics in Nigeria. There have been scholarly works on the gate-keeping and agenda setting role of the media in political conflicts generally, but the actual role the Nigerian media play in characterizing and popularizing various shades of political conflicts in the country is inadequate in extant literature; very few empirical studies in this regard have only hinted that unethical practices of Nigerian media have occasioned reportage that seemingly escalated political conflicts in generic terms; unfortunately, these studies have not adequately focused on how media reportage of conflicts in Nigeria's politics has contributed to escalation of such conflicts and consequent political unrest in concrete terms. Consequently, I have contributed to scholarship notably by filling considerably this gap in knowledge through some of my publications in national and foreign scholarly outlets. (Popoola, 2009a; 2012a; 2014b; 2014c; 2014h; 2014i; Azeez & Popoola, 2015; Isola & Popoola, 2015; Okunna & Popoola, 2015; Popoola, 2015a, b, c, d, e and f; Popoola & Azeez, 2016b Popoola & Adegoke, 2016; Popoola & Ntukekpo, 2016; Okunna & Popoola, 2017; Popoola & Olatubosun, 2017)

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I have to my credit a book, entitled: *A Discourse on Personality-induced Conflicts in Nigeria's Politics: the Media and their Narratives*. The book is a product of an empirical investigation meant to fill part of the identified lacuna in knowledge. In the book, *prebendalism* and political *godfatherism* were identified and conceptualized as conspicuous catalysts of what I have recognized in the political communication literature as Personality-induced Political Conflicts (PIPCs).

I have exposed through several other works, how the Nigerian press, particularly the newspaper press has fared in reporting the bitter power struggles of the political class across the country right from 1999 till the last general election in 2015.; and I have popularized *Politico-personal, Prebendal, Interpersonal, Godfather-son* and *Personality-induced Political Conflicts* as evident in Nigeria's democracy. I have raised in my works the need for the Nigerian media to be socially responsible and development oriented in reporting political conflicts in Nigeria by adopting the canons of Conflict Sensitive Reporting.

Also, I co-edited a book entitled: *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*. The book has been used to contribute to scholarship in respect of Terrorism reporting in Nigeria. The book aptly contextualizes the practice of terrorism within Nigeria where Boko Haram has unleashed terror, leaving in its wake, wanton destruction of lives and property, as well indeed, a blighted landscape and hordes of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Given the importance and timeliness of the issues raised in the edited work, the book earned the acceptance and commendation of the National Secretariat of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ). Therefore, the national body of the NUJ organized a public presentation of the said book which held on Thursday, the 23rd July, 2015 at the Ladi Kwali Conference Centre, Sheraton Hotels

and Towers, Abuja. The public presentation was well attended by the political class and policy formulators. The Chairman of that occasion was the Executive Governor of Kano State, Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje. Through some other publications, I have addressed topical issues in Journalism, Communication and Media practices in Nigeria. My contribution to scholarship in this regard covers a general introduction to journalism, reporting and news writing, journalism education, mass media paraphernalia, media production and how all these play out in Media and Society relationship equations. A work of note is my book entitled: *Reporting and Newswriting: A Professional Handbook*. The book has assisted in filling an important gap in the provision of valuable resource materials for journalism education in Nigeria and in the entire English-speaking parts of the African continent. Most of the texts that have been used in teaching journalism and allied disciplines have come from outside the continent, and particularly from the United States of America. The challenge with such an experience is that those texts do not speak to the peculiar needs of Africa. This is one gap that I have attempted to fill with this book. I have used several other publications to popularize the paradigm that journalism and the media are strategic tools of either national development on the one hand or national disaster and underdevelopment on the other hand; given the images and messages that journalists and media professionals churn out daily to the public. While I have particularly provided a foundation for embracing the theory, incidence, importance and practice of journalism in Nigeria, I have as well demonstrated what journalism and media do to the audiences in terms of audiences' uses and gratifications, drawing scholarly attention to missing foundational links in journalism and mass communication literature on affective relationship between journalism and media and some very topical global issues. (Ayodabo and Popoola, 2009; Popoola, 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; 2009b; Popoola, 2010a; 2010b; 2011a; 2011b; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2014a, d, e, f, & g; Popoola & Adeyeye, 2014; Popoola & Azeez, 2015; Popoola, 2016a; 2016b)

Likewise, I have demonstrated my positive bias for Public Relations (PR) and Advertising.

My contribution to knowledge is extant in respect of these areas. My book: *Public Relations: Fundamentals and Media Campaigns* was written to meet the need for capacity building of professionals in the expanding field of PR. The book addresses a core and indispensable, but apparently neglected aspect of PR, by taking an in-depth and comprehensive look at a wide variety of relevant concepts and issues in PR and Media Campaigns. In my works on Advertising, I have drawn attention to online political advertising; and, I have also provided bases for advertising creativity and message development as the essence of advertising. (Popoola, 2008b; 2016b; Popoola & Azeez, 2016a; Popoola, *forthcoming*; Popoola and Azeez, *forthcoming*)

My scholarship has been recognized by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) West Africa Regional Office, Abuja, Nigeria. I and the distinguished first female Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication in Nigeria, Chinyere Stella Okunna, Ph D, of the Department of Mass Communication, at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, were engaged as Consultants on *Media, Conflicts and Safety of Journalists in Nigeria* by the agency in 2014. While we were commissioned to produce a handbook on Safety of Journalists in Nigeria, in relation to the electoral process, and with focus on the 2015 general elections; we were equally saddled with the responsibility of organizing nationwide capacity building workshops on safety of journalists in Nigeria. I and Professor Mrs. Okunna, organized three zonal workshops at: **Kaduna**, 18th to 21st November 2014; **Calabar**, 14th to 16th January 2015; and, **Ibadan**, 21st to 23rd January 2015. At the workshops, the paper I delivered at each of the three workshops is entitled: Freedom of the Press and Conflict Sensitive Reporting: Perspectives on Safety of Journalists in the 2015 General Election in Nigeria. It is exciting to note that the handbook we were commissioned to produce was released by the UNESCO to the global audience in 2015.

Also, the National Secretariat of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) has recognized my scholarship. I am in the fold of the national body as a Consultant on Press Freedom and Political Communication. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, my scholarship has also been acknowledged by the Media Programme of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Sub Saharan Africa. I am on the roster of the German Foundation as a Media Scholar and a prime mover of the Foundation's mandate in Nigeria. Through my association with the Foundation, a Memorandum of Understanding on Economics Journalism and attendant exchange programme has been signed between the current administration of Ajayi Crowther University and the Foundation.

Gladly, I have been teaching Journalism and Mass Communication for 19 years. My heart is filled with joy that I have trained positively-referenced, successful, distinguished, award-winning, resilient and progressive journalists, media professionals, media scholars and media entrepreneurs who are thriving in Nigeria and foreign countries. I am proud of them all just as any teacher will be.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The Nigerian press needs to examine its status-conferral function by giving journalistic attention to credible individuals, who are peace-oriented, peace-loving and good political mentors in the political process. Such individuals must have the interest of the masses and the Nigerian society at heart, rather than money bags, rich and influential patrons and questionable characters who take politics as a zero-sum game and are accorded the status of political godfathers. Such individuals who exhibit the tendency of capturing power by all means by being bankrolled by political godfathers must be exposed and discouraged from capturing power by the press in the interest of the society and for the survival of democracy.

The Nigerian press should awaken and arouse the consciousness of Nigerian citizens in respect of the credentials and antecedents of political aspirants and the affiliations which such individuals have with politicians and political actors. Nigerian citizens must be able to ask questions on how such aspirants propose to govern them. This involves providing citizens and civil society groups with access to the media to articulate their views and opinions, especially during emergence of political candidates.

In reporting political conflicts, especially PIPCs, the press must be non-partisan and should maintain an attitude of impartiality towards all the conflicting parties. During personality-induced political crises, the press should devote attention to proposals for resolution and report more of areas of common interests among the conflicting parties, instead of publishing inciting and acrimonious statements of the conflicting parties.

When it is obvious that political conflict is brewing, the Nigerian press should perform its traditional function of surveillance of the environment by reporting Early Warning Signals on the conflict. These signals must be directed at nipping the conflict in the bud.

Conflict resolution should be the paramount thing on the minds of editors, reporters, correspondents and columnists on the political beat. This will ultimately lead to peace building. Conflict inciting advertorials and commercial messages should be avoided, as publishing such because of economic reasons, militates against peace and mediation which should be paramount in fostering development.

In reporting political conflict, the Nigerian press must maintain a balance between adherence to professional ethics and standard on the one hand, and economic pressure and ownership influence on the other hand. Ultimately, the consciousness that the Nigerian press is expected to be socially responsible and development oriented at all times must override political economic driven interests while reporting political conflicts. This is because societal interest is superior to any individual or group interests. The prosperity of the media is often linked to the credibility, trust and goodwill they are able to generate in the society. Although the Nigerian press will inevitably come under pressures from political actors and players, seeking to manipulate them to gain political advantage, the press must use professionalism to resist such pressures at all times..

Journalists should undergo training and attend regular workshops on how to report political conflict issues responsibly by embracing the canons of Conflict Sensitive Reporting. The skills and knowledge acquired from such capacity building workshops must be used in reporting political conflicts in Nigeria.

Conflict Reporting and Conflict-Sensitive Journalism as a course should be included in the curricular of all Universities, Polytechnics, and other institutions that offer journalism and mass communication in Nigeria. This will furnish the students with the required CSRskills.

Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, distinguished audience, my conclusion is that a good Fourth Estate of the Realm is expectedly a socially responsible and development-oriented media that adopt the Conflict Sensitive Reporting approach to reportage of political conflicts. In their gate keeping and agenda setting role in political conflicts, Nigerian media should assume the status of a good Fourth Estate of the Realm that is driven by professionalism and ethical standards. There are political machinations already in respect of the 2019 general elections. Nigerian media should help, more than before, to foster and stabilize Nigeria's democracy and political development so as to continually prevent any unwarranted and retrogressive interventions in the nation's political life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Again, I give my unalloyed and total praise to God the Almighty, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent and the Omnipresent, whose release of enablement, divine favour, metaphysical endowment and intellectual prowess is the substance of my being, and the anchor of any successful height. I give Him, the owner of life and the source of knowledge, and the fountain of wisdom, a holistic credit for this feat.

I appreciate the people who brought me into this world. Posthumously, I thank my late dad – Pastor James Olayiwola Popoola, a mentor, a teacher, a friend and an accomplished priest, baba rere (good father). In line with Biblical injunctions, his training has put me on the path of wisdom; his counsels have established my feet on the verge of greatness. Little did I know that he was speaking in metaphysical terms, when in April 2007, (the last time I saw him hale and hearty before his transition to glory in August that year) when he said: “Muyiwa on the day that you will be celebrated as a Professor, I will be in white flowing agbada (complete native Yoruba dress). How I wish he were here today! Notably, his spiritual calling hovers around me like a commissioned dove. I also thank my mum, Christiana Mojisola Popoola for her motherly care, prayers and watch over me. Her supplications unto God for me have been ceaseless. I thank you Ajike.

A thousand tongues to sing are not enough to thank the Vice Chancellor of Ajayi Crowther University – the Rt Rev. Professor Dapo Folorunsho Asaju, who, by the support of other principal officers of the institution, runs an ideal University that keeps established academic traditions in tune with best global practices. Mr Vice Chancellor Sir, I thank you for being a goal-getter, a spirited leader, a pathfinder, a rare specie, a merit-driven person, a motivator and a rewarder of productivity and service. Equally, I wish to thank all other principal officers of the University for their various contributions to my career success.

I must thank the pioneer Vice Chancellor of Ajayi Crowther University – Professor Olajire Olaniran and the second (2nd) Vice Chancellor in the history of the University, Venerable Professor Kolawole Timothy Jaiyeoba for the encouragement, warmth, dedication, love and attention I received from them at various times during their administrations. I am very grateful to them.

I must acknowledge the efforts of my Ph D Supervisor – Dr Sola Olorunyomi (Ba a mi). My heart is full of thanks and gratitude to him for the intellectual navigation and guidance he provided for me. Without showing in his demeanour, he contributed to the shaping and fine-tuning of my scholarship with décor. May the Almighty God continue to bless him.

I wholeheartedly express my gratitude to a benefactor, nice, kind, and supportive father and a source of benefaction- The Rt. Rev. Dr. Jacob Ajetunmobi, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Ibadan South, Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion. He has adopted me as his precious son and has taken keen interest in the totality of my well-being. His prayers, encouragement, financial support and ecclesiastical guidance have been a pedestal upon which the feat I have recorded today is placed.

I acknowledge the support, warmth and love of my wife – Elizabeth, Oluwatumininu Enesezei Popoola. She has demonstrated continually a lot of confidence in me and in my intellectual ability. She has been a very rich and enriching source of inspiration. Fortunately, I am married to a God-fearing, tolerant, devoted, nice, beautiful, loving and understanding woman. I also thank with much love, my angel, Beulah Ohuntimonidara and my princely running mate, Baruch Ohuntimofedara Popoola. Beulah and Baruch, this feat is a challenge to you; and you must surpass it in your chosen careers; so shall it be in Jesus name – Amen.

I express my profound gratitude here to a brother, Noah Olaoluwa Ademola Gbenro, from whose well of pleasantness, benefaction and experience, I have drawn soothing waters of resilience and chivalry. I appreciate him. I also wish to express my appreciation to my siblings: Ibukun, Seye, Sanjo and Bola, for their affection, passion and love. I thank them for the strong belief they have in me.

Also, I acknowledge here the love and support of my in-laws – the Sheiduns, most especially my mother-in-law, Mrs Stella Sheidun, whose passion for education and academic excellence has been so exciting to me. I thank her for her display of tremendous interest in my career. I must thank specially Funmi, Wale, Tayo, Ozav and Ola; they have been very wonderful and supportive in-laws.

I am grateful to all my teachers from primary school till date. In various dimensions and shades at various times, they have all molded me into a desired image. I am grateful to academic giants and icons, mentors, role models and well-wishers from whose spectra of expertise and depths of intellectual acumen I have drawn scholarly inspirations and academic craftsmanship. I thank the following: Professor Silvanus Ekwelie, Professor Chuba Agba, Professor Ralph Akinfeleye, Professor Idowu Sobowale, Professor Lai Oso, Professor Mrs Chinyere Stella Okunna, Professor Innocent Okoye, Professor Victor Ayedun-Aluma, Professor Adidi Uyo, Professor Isaac Albert, Professor Abiodun Salawu, Professor Nnanyelugo Okoro, Professor Dayo Alao, Professor Umaru Pate, Professor Nosa Owens-Ibie, Professor Olufemi Onabajo, Professor Bayo Oloyede, Professor B. O. Oloruntimehin, Professor Kunle Adeniran, Professor T. Adewoye, Professor J. O. Ayodabo and Professor O. S. Akano (the pioneer Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences)

My gratitude will be incomplete without acknowledging the love and goodwill of somebody who is more than a colleague but a fore bearer, a social engineer and a custodian of virtues of trust- Chief Dr. Olisa Sunny Ndekwa, an Associate Professor in the

Department of Communication and Media Studies, and the Ojunwa of Ubulu-Ukwu Kingdom, Nigeria.

I am grateful to all my colleagues in the Department of Communication and Media Studies, ACU, Oyo. I have been blessed with a cream of dedicated, committed, resilient, hardworking and trustworthy colleagues. I thank you all – Dr. O.F. Alabi, Dr G. Oboh, Dr O. Okidu, Dr A. O. Alabi, Dr. A Aderibigbe, Mr S.S. Ntukekpo, Mr. M. O. Udejinta, Mr T. L. Babatunde, Miss O. Okeya, and Mr C.A. Oguntoye. Equally, I appreciate Mr J. A. Akinola and other non-teaching staff of the department.

I thank the current Dean of the Faculty, Professor S. O. Titilola, distinguished colleagues in the Faculty, Faculty Officer and other non-teaching staff of the Faculty. Overall, I thank the entire Ajayi Crowther University community.

I must thank the UNESCO, West Africa Regional Office, Abuja, Nigeria, the National Secretariat of the NUJ and the Media Programme of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Sub Saharan Africa for the privilege the entities gave me to serve them in various capacities.

I am grateful to the leadership, Parish Church Council (PCC) and the entire congregation of the Adeyinka Adegbite Memorial Anglican Church (AAMAC) for providing a spiritual fold for love, companionship and edification. Specially, I thank the members of AAMAC Morning Star Society for their camaraderie.

I will never forget to thank all my students both in the past and at the present. I am very grateful to you all for the opportunity your presence has afforded me to interact with you. You have been very priceless sources of intellectual gain and experience.

TO GOD BE THE GLORY

REFERENCES

- Adebanwi and Obadare (2013) *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria: Critical Interpretations* Palgrave Macmillan
- Adeoye, A. (2005). Godfatherism and the Future of Nigerian Democracy *African Sociological Review* ix..ii: pp.79-105.
- Ayodabo, J.O. and Popoola, B.O. (2009), "The English Language in Nigeria: Issues of Competence and Acceptability in Newspaper Reporting", in *Lagos Journal of Humanities* Vol. 5, pp 107-121
- Azeez L. A. and Popoola B.O. (2015) "Contagion Effects of Journalists' News Frames on People's Perception of Social Realities: An Explanation of the Convergence of Journalism and Terrorism in Modern Society", in *Insola and Popoola (eds) Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*, Ibadan: John Archers, pp 63-77
- Babarinsa, Dare (2003). *House of War*. Ibadan: Spectrum books and Tell Communication.
- Conteh-Morgan, Earl (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts*. New York: Routledge
- Folarin, B. (2004), *Theories of Mass Communication, An Introductory Text*, Ibadan: Stirling Horden Publishers (Nig.) Ltd.
- Galtung, John, (2002) "Peace Journalism: A Challenge". In Kempf, Wilhelm & Heikki Loustarinen (eds.) *Journalism and the New World Order, Vol. 2. Studying the War and the Media*. Nordicom, Gothenburg.

Gentzkow, M. Glaeser, L. E & Goldin, C. (2006) *The Rise of the Fourth Estate (How Newspapers Became Informative and why it mattered) Corruption and Reform: Lessons from America's economic history*. Retrieved from <http://papers.nber.org/books/glac06-1>

Howard, Ross (2002), *An Operational Framework for Media and Peace building*, IMPACS/CIDA. Vancouver

Howard, R. (2004a) *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: A Handbook* Denmark: IMS and IMPACS

Howard, R. (2004b) *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: State of the Art A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators* Denmark: Paris: UNESCO

Howard, R. (2009) *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: State of the Art*: Paris: UNESCO

Isola, O. and **Popoola, B.O.** (2015) *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*, Ibadan: John Archers

Isola, O. (2010) *Mass Media and Election Violence: 1965 and 1983 Experiences in Western Nigeria* Ibadan: John Archers.

Jimoh, Jide (2014) "Conflict Sensitive Journalism in the Nigerian Context", in Oso, Olatunji and Owens-Ibie (eds) *Journalism and Media in Nigeria: Context, Issues and Practice*, Ontario Canada: Canada University Press

Joseph R. (1991) *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of The Second Republic*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Joseph R. (2013) "Prebendalism and Dysfunctionality in Nigeria" retrieved from: <https://africaplus.wordpress.com>

Kunczik, M. (1998), *Concepts of Journalism: North and South*, Bonn: FriedrichEberstStiftung.

Mc Quail, D. (2007), *Mass Communication Theory* 6th ed., London: SAGE Publications

Murdock, G. and Golding, P. (2016) "Political Economy and Media Production: A Reply to Dwyer", in *Media, Culture and Society* SAGE Journals Online ISSN: 1460-3675 retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716655094>

Murdock, G. and Golding, P. (2000) "Culture, Communications and Political Economy" in Curran and Gurevitch (eds) *MassMedia and Society* London: Edward Arnold, pp 70-92

Okoye, I. (2007) "Political Godfatherism, Electoral Politics and Governance in Nigeria", Presented at the 65th Annual Conference of the MPSA Held In Chicago, USA.

Okunna, C.S. and **Popoola, B.O.** (2017) "Role of the Media in Building the Culture of Peace". In Pate and Oso (eds) *Multiculturalism, Diversity and Reporting Conflicts in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Evans Publishers Limited

Okunna, C.S. and **Popoola B.O.** (2015) *Handbook on Safety of Journalists in Nigeria* UNESCO, West Africa Regional Office, Nigeria & NUJ, Abuja, Nigeria

Olarinmoye, O. (2008) "Godfathers, Political Parties and Electoral Corruption in Nigeria", in *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* ii (4), pp. 066-073

Oso, Lai (2014) "Power, Sources and the News", in Oso, Olatunji and Owens-Ibie (eds) *Journalism and Media in Nigeria: Context, Issues and Practice*, Ontario Canada: Canada University Press

Popoola, B.O. (forthcoming) "Outdoor Political Advertising Creativity: The Necessities" in Daramola and Tejumaiye (eds) *Issues and Trends in Outdoor Advertising in Nigeria*, Lagos: Unilag Press.

Popoola, B.O. (forthcoming) "Outdoor Advertising for Political Marketing: An Advocacy" in Daramola and Tejumaiye (eds) *Issues and Trends in Outdoor Advertising in Nigeria*, Lagos: Unilag Press.

Popoola, B.O. and Olatubosun A (2017) "Socially-responsible or Calumnious Campaigns in the Press: Perspectives on the Coverage of the 2013 Governorship Electioneering Campaigns in Anambra State Nigeria", in Benin *MEDIACOM Journal*, No 10pp 1-18

Popoola, B.O. (2016a) *Reporting and Newswriting: A Professional Handbook* Ibadan: Prudent Publishers

Popoola, B.O. (2016b) *Public Relations: Fundamentals and Media Campaigns* Ibadan: Prudent Publishers

Popoola, B.O. and Azeez, L.A. (2016a) "New Media Use for Political Communication: A Research Agenda for Online Political Advertising in Nigeria. in *NOVENA Journal of Communication*. Vol 1 pp 1-19

Popoola, B.O. and Azeez, L.A. (2016b) "2015 Combative Presidential Campaigns of Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari in Selected Nigerian National Newspapers" in *Review of Communication and Media Studies (RCMS)*. Vol 1 No 3, pp 22-42

Popoola, B.O. and Adegoke, R. (2016) "Political Rivalry Signification in Newspaper Reportage of the 2015 Presidential Elections" in *International Journal of Media, Security & Development (IJMSD)* Vol 2 No 1 pp 42-53

Popoola, B.O. and Ntukekpo S.S. (2016) "Political Conflicts in Nigeria's Defunct Republics: Nigerian Press as Fourth Estate of Realm? *UNILAG Communication Review*. Vol. 7 No 3, pp 176-205

Popoola, B.O. (2015a) *A Discourse on Personality-induced Conflicts in Nigeria's Politics: The Media and their Narratives* Ibadan: John Archers

Popoola, B.O. (2015b) "Terrorism in Nigeria: A Content Analysis of Boko Haram Activities", in *Communicating Peace and Conflict: Genres, Practices and Challenges in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Book Builders, pp 190-199

Popoola, B.O. (2015c) "Media and Terrorism: An Exposition of Relationship Drives" in Isola and Popoola (eds) *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*, Ibadan: John Archers, pp 43-62

Popoola, B.O. (2015d) "Conflict Sensitive Reportage of Terrorism in Nigeria: A Development Media Imperative" in Isola and Popoola (eds) *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*, Ibadan: John Archers, pp 196-205

Popoola B. O. and Azeez L.O. (2015) "Global Documentation on Press Freedom and the Safety of Journalists in Reporting Terrorism: The Imperatives of a Safety Mechanism for *Journalists in Nigeria*", in Isola and Popoola (eds) *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*, Ibadan: John Archers, pp 4-17

Popoola, B.O. (2015e) "Reportage of the 2012 Gubernatorial Election Matters of Conflict in Ondo State, Nigeria: A Conflict Sensitive or Conflict-Inducing Press", in *Journal of Media Practice and Research* Vol. 1. Pp. 52-73

Popoola, B.O. (2015f) "Critical Issues in Building Capacity for Election Reporting in Nigeria", in Albert, Ololajulo and Aremu (eds) *Knowledge Economy and Nigeria's National Security:Essays in Honour of BashorunSeinde Arogbofa*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd., pp 85-98

Popoola, B.O. (2014a) "Reportage of Rurality by the Nigerian Press: Perspectives on Domestic *Communication for Development*", in *Journal of Humanities And Social Science*.Vol 19

Popoola, B.O.(2014b) "Reporting Political Conflicts and Violence in Nigeria: A Shift of Paradigm, in Popoola T. (ed) *Specialized Reporting: A Global Trend in Media TrainingVol II*

Popoola, B.O. (2014c) "Social Responsibility: Reportage of Boko Haram Terrorism Activities in Nigeria", in *Journal of Media and Communication*.Vol 6 (1), pp 25-44

Popoola, B.O. (2014d) "Content and Hermeneutical Analysis of Selected Newspapers' Reportage of Environmental Issues in Nigeria", in *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* Issue 3, Ver. II, 2279-0845.www.iosrjournals.org

Popoola, B.O. and Adeyeye T.C. (2014) "Internet Advertising and Service Subscription: A Study of University Undergraduates in Lagos State Nigeria", in *Journal of Development Administration* Vol. 5, No.1 ISSN 2006-8484, pp 254-276

Popoola, B.O. (2014e) "The Language Factor in Nigeria's National Development: a Development Communication Perspective", in *Journal of Humanities And Social Science*. (JHSS), Vol.19

Popoola, B.O. (2014f) "New Media Usage for Communication and Self Concept among Journalism and Mass Communication Students in Oyo State, Nigeria", in *Journal of New Media and Mass Communication*.Vol. 26,ISSN 2224-3267 (Paper) www.iiste.orgpp 22-34

Popoola, B.O. (2014g) "Influence of Advertising Sex Appeal on the Pre and Post Consumption Behaviours of Consumers in Lagos State, Nigeria", in *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol. 4, No.13, ISSN (Paper)2224-5766 ISSN www.iiste.orgpp 37-50

Popoola, B.O. (2014h) "Political Godfather-Son Conflict in South-Western Nigeria, 2004-2006: The Role of the Press", *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism* Vol 4 (7) www.omicsgroup.org

Popoola, B.O. (2014i) "Journalistic Slanting of the Governor Chris Ngige and Chris UbaPebendal Political Conflict in South Eastern Nigeria", *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism* Vol 4 (9) www.omicsgroup.org

Popoola, B.O (2013a) "A Review of Entry Requirements and Selection Procedures of Journalism Programmes in Nigeria", in *Journal of Communication and Media Research* Vol.5 (1) pp 93-100

Popoola, B.O (2013b) "Historical Study of the Indigenous Communication Systems among the Ibadan People of Nigeria Prior the Emergence of Mass Mediated Channels of Communication", in *AFRICA Journalism and Communication Review (AJCR)*, Vol. III, pp 47-56

Popoola, B.O. (2012a),"Newspaper Reportage of President OlusegunObasanjo and Vice President Atiku Abubakar Politico-Personal Conflict in Nigeria," in *Journal of Media Sociology*, Vol. 3,

Popoola, B.O (2012b) "Television Programming for Development: A Study of the Impact of 'Sunrise' a Television magazine Programme of Channels Television on the Audience", in *JOCMAS – Journal of Communications, Media and Society*, Vol.2, (1) pp 20-47

Popoola, B.O (2011a) "Perspectives on Public Relations and Advertising in the Process of Nigeria's Development", in *African Journal of International Affairs and Development*, Vol. 15 (1) pp 1-17

Popoola, B.O. (2011b) "Influence of Newspaper Ownership Identity on Readership among Residents of Ibadan, Nigeria" in *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, Vol. 3 No. 2 pp 119-130

Popoola, B.O.(2010a), "An Analysis of the Concepts, Assumptions and Propositions (CAP) of the Spiral of Silence Theory of Mass Communication", in *StirlingHorden Nigerian Encyclopedia of Media and Communication- Historical and Theoretical Perspectives*, Ibadan: StirlingHorden (Nig) Ltd., Vol. 2, pp 91-100.

Popoola, B.O (2010b), "The Uses and Gratifications Theory of Mass Communication: An Expository Discourse", in *StirlingHorden Nigerian Encyclopedia of Mass Media and Communication- Social Entrepreneurial Imperatives* Ibadan: StirlingHorden Publishers (Nig) Ltd., Vol.3, pp 261-272.

Popoola, B.O. (2009a), "Politico-Personal Conflict Reporting in the Nigerian Press", in *Journal of Media and Communication*, Vol. 2, pp 104-120

Popoola, B.O (2009b), "Teaching Investigative Journalism and the PUNASOW Inclusion: Towards a Model Curriculum", in Focus on FAME, an RJR Special Feature, *Rhodes Journalism Review* (Rhodes Journalism Review is a Journal of the School of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa)

Popoola, B.O. (2008a), "Journalism, democracy, stability and national integration in Nigeria", in *Journal of Media and Communication*, Vol. 1 No. 1. Pp42-50

Popoola, B.O (2008b), "Creativity and Advertising Message Development, in Akinfeleye, (ed.) *Mass Media and Society: A Multi-Perspective Approach*, Lagos: Integrity Press Limited, PP 57-78

Popoola, B.O (2007a), "Newspaper Contents Report Programme in the Broadcast Media: Implications for Newspaper Readership and Circulation in Nigeria", in *Babcock Journal of Mass Communication*, Vol. 3 pp 110-123

Popoola, B.O. (2007b), "An Exposition of Mass Communication Obstacles in Nigeria; a Lasswellian Model Diagnosis Approach" in *Quill Pen: A Journal of Communication, Issues and Events*, Vol. 6. Pp 119-129

Wasko, J. (2014), "The Study of the Political Economy of the Media in the Twenty-first Century", in *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* Vol 10 No 3