

Why Practising Effective Journalism in Nigeria Is Challenging

By

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Media Communications, is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

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Abstract

Journalism does not simply entail providing information. For the function of journalism to be achieved, a journalist must provide the public with objective, useful information that can be used to make decisions. It is only after this happens that journalism is effective or has gotten the desired result. However, some challenges make it difficult for many journalists to practise effective journalism in Nigeria. The purpose of this study is to identify the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria and identify how these factors can be mitigated.

This study is based on an interpretivist research paradigm. A qualitative research approach was adopted because this study required nuanced and detailed data to answer the research questions. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from the five participants who were chosen using purposive sampling. The participants were chosen because they have considerable experience working as journalists in Nigeria.

The findings of the study are similar to the findings gotten from the literature review but are more complex and offer a different perspective. The findings show that inadequate remuneration and funding, brown-envelope journalism, censorship and lack of technological devices are common factors that may affect the ability of a journalist to practise effective journalism in Nigeria. Furthermore, while these factors are common, journalists who are just starting their career are likely to experience these. Lastly, improving the remuneration and allowances of journalists can help to reduce three of the four factors listed. However, the relationship between gender discrimination and effective journalism requires further research to ascertain if gender discrimination impedes effective journalism.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The focus of this research is 'effective journalism'. While researching journalism and journalism in Nigeria, I noticed that the social responsibility theory provides an insight into the functions of the press and the overall aim of engaging in journalism. Hence, I wondered if all acts of journalism actually fulfilled the functions stated in the social responsibility theory. While researching the possibility of journalism not fulfilling its function, I discovered that very few academic materials addressed the possibility of this occurrence. I researched further on what may make it difficult to practise effective journalism. However, most academic literature only addressed the challenges to journalism in Nigeria as a whole rather than the challenges to effective journalism.

1.1 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify the reasons why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is difficult. The role that journalists play transcends supplying information. The information provided by journalists may influence decisions made by the public. This is why journalists must provide truthful, useful and objective information; the quality of the news reports can impact politics, economy and conflicts. Hence, the identification of the factors which may affect the ability of a journalist to do their work is necessary. Identifying these challenges is the first step to finding solutions to them and ensuring that journalistic activities reach their desired end.

This dissertation is of great importance to journalism. This is because a common misconception is that the goal of journalism is the dissemination of information. However, using the social responsibility theory, the goal of journalism is the interpretation and dissemination of information that can be used by the public to make choices. This dissertation highlights the possibility that journalistic activities may not necessarily fulfil the function of journalism. This occurs if the information supplied is not truthful, objective or

provides little value to the public. This dissertation will analyse the challenges of effective journalism, explain how common these challenges are and how they can be mitigated.

Achieving the aim of this dissertation requires using academic literature as well as information gotten from practising Nigerian journalists. This is why interviews were used to get an insight into the common challenges that journalists in Nigeria face.

1.2 Research Questions

The aim of this research is to identify why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is challenging and ascertain how the impediments to practising effective journalism can be mitigated. Answering the research questions listed below will be instrumental to achieving the aim of this research.

1. What factors contribute to the difficulty of practising effective journalism in Nigeria?
2. Are the identified factors a common theme in Nigerian journalism?
3. How can these factors be mitigated?

1.3 Chapter Structure

The first chapter provides a foundation for this research. The second chapter of this research will cover the relevant academic literature used during this study. The literature review provides a background for the subject: effective journalism. Furthermore, these academic works provide an initial insight into the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism and how these factors can be mitigated. In this chapter, the relevant concepts and the theoretical framework will be explained; this is to ensure that the context of the study is understood and maintained throughout this research.

The third chapter is the methodology. In this chapter, the research paradigm and approach that were adopted will be explained and their use in this research will be justified. Also, other methodological choices during this research will be justified. The limitations and ethical considerations will be stated in this chapter as well. This research work employed a constructivist paradigm, qualitative research approach and semi-structured interviews as a

means of data collection. These research methods were chosen because they were best suited for the research questions being answered.

The fourth chapter in this dissertation is the findings and analysis. In this chapter, the data gotten from the semi-structured interviews will be analysed alongside the information gotten in the literature review. The data from academic literature will be used to interpret data gotten from interviews.

The conclusion will provide a brief view of the findings from this research and the answers to the various research questions. Here, the recommendations for future research will be stated. The limitations encountered during this research will also be explained.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Definition of Concepts

‘Effective journalism’ is not a concept that has been given much attention. Few academic works of literature use the term ‘effective journalism’. Hence, the terms effective and journalism will be explained separately to clarify what ‘effective journalism’ refers to.

2.1.1 Journalism

For this research, it is necessary to clarify the concepts that will be addressed. Journalism has slowly evolved from its most basic form and has been theorised, treated as a separate discipline and categorised according to function (Deuze, 2005). Hence, the concept of journalism will be defined in the context being referred to in this research.

According to the Cambridge dictionary (n.d.),

Journalism is ‘the work of collecting, writing, and publishing or broadcasting news stories and articles: broadcast journalism, print journalism’.

This definition is simplistic and describes the activities that are involved in journalism.

However, the American Press Institute (n.d.) offers a different definition:

‘Journalism is the activity of gathering, assessing, creating, and presenting news and information. It is also the product of these activities.’

According to the second definition provided by the American Press Institute, journalism is the result of these activities and therefore journalism is not achieved if these activities are not completed. Agee, Ault and Emery (1979) provide a similar definition of journalism but also add that the journalist reports and interprets the news according to their own opinion. However, this definition contrasts with the tenets of journalism which entail writing and reporting the news with objectivity. Offering an interpretation of events rather than presenting facts could cause the journalist to become unconsciously subjective when

reporting. While the definitions of journalism are slightly different, it can be culled from both definitions that journalism refers to the work of researching, gathering information and disseminating information.

2.1.2 Effective

For this research, the definition of effective found in the (Cambridge dictionary n.d.)'. will be used to define the concept of 'effective journalism'.

'Effective' refers to a situation where an action or item produces the desired result' (Cambridge dictionary n.d.).

For something to be considered 'effective', it means that it has fulfilled its purpose or the desired outcome has been reached. Therefore 'effective Journalism' is journalism that fulfilled its purpose or reached the desired outcome or result. The definitions of these concepts allow us to answer a separate question. What is the purpose of journalism? Or what is the desired outcome of practising journalism?

2.1.3 What is the Purpose of Journalism?

According to the American Press Institute (n.d.), the purpose of journalism is to provide the general public with accurate information that they can apply and use to make the best possible decisions for themselves. Hence, the significance of journalism cannot be understated. The importance of journalism is reiterated by Deuze (2007) who states that journalists perform a public service by gathering accurate, useful information and disseminating this information. Deuze (2007) describes journalists as watchdogs. Abubakar (2012) adds that the media is not just a watchdog but educates people and empowers using information. Hence, if journalistic activities do not produce information that can inform and empower people to make decisions, has journalism been effective?

The purpose of journalism and journalists can also be explained using the social responsibility theory.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This research work is based on the social responsibility theory. The social responsibility theory is one of the four major theories of the press outlined by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963). This theory argues that while the press maintains freedom in reporting, it also has a duty to the public. Due to the power and influence wielded by the press, this theory reiterates that the freedom of the press is accompanied by obligations to the public (Ravi, 2012). The functions of the press under the social responsibility theory do not differ greatly from the functions of the press under the libertarian theory. These functions include;

1. Monitoring the political system and providing the public with information concerning politics for discussion and debate.
2. Providing the general public with useful information that can help them make better decisions.
3. Protecting the public by being a watchdog.
4. Providing a space for advertising, and a platform for the economic transaction to be initiated. Therefore, the press is also responsible for economic growth.
5. Providing entertainment (Adaja, 2012).

A reiteration in the functions listed above is 'the provision of information that can help the public make decisions'. This function is the main purpose of journalism. Providing useful information promptly is important. The information supplied by the press could influence public opinion, policies, national development and may even agitate or placate conflicts (Happer and Philo, 2013). Hence, for this research, the primary purpose of journalism is 'to provide the public with accurate useful information that can be applied to make better decisions'.

Importantly, there have been arguments on who the media must serve: the public, the government itself or the proprietor of the media house. For this research work, the media's duty to the public is being referenced. Obagwu and Idris (2019) assert that social responsibility is achieved when journalists place the needs of the public before their own needs.

The social responsibility theory has remained relevant and is especially important with the creation of contemporary media devices and platforms. Print media is now available on the

internet and is easily accessible. However, the speed with which news is being created and disseminated means that the consumption of information is faster (Sagan and Leighton, 2010). Hence, in a situation where information is easily posted for millions of people to read and share, effective journalism is important. Alternatively, due to the ease with which information can be consumed via online newspapers and blogs, journalists must provide the audience with credible and useful information.

This is where the social responsibility theory applies to this study. The social responsibility theory outlines the function of journalism.

Defining the concepts 'journalism' and 'effective' has helped to establish what 'effective journalism' refers to. The social responsibility theory provided clarification on what the purpose of journalism is. Practising journalism without fulfilling the functions of journalism is ineffective. A plethora of research material addresses challenges to practising journalism in Nigeria. However, there is very little information on the challenges of practising effective journalism in Nigeria. This gap in academic research will be addressed in this research work.

2.3 Why Practising Effective Journalism in Nigeria Is Challenging

Practising journalism in Nigeria can be difficult and many academic papers have analysed this situation and assessed how journalism in Nigeria can be saved.

However, a little literature references effective journalism and why it may be difficult to achieve in Nigeria. Some challenges to practising journalism in Nigeria are reiterated in academic literature. These themes can be analysed to ascertain how they affect effective journalism.

2.3.1 Inadequate Remuneration and Funding

One of the most commonly stated impediments to practising journalism is inadequate remuneration or financial constraints. Jatula (2017) stated that the underpayment of journalists is caused by a massive unemployment rate and lax labour laws in Nigeria. This

situation allows newspapers to hire desperate graduates for less than the ideal salary without the needed allowances or necessary facilities. In Nigeria, journalism is not a career path for the poor. Some new journalists or fresh graduates are paid as little as N18, 000 monthly (\$50). This salary is the Nigerian minimum wage and is insufficient for an individual to live on monthly while performing their duties as journalists (Agbakwuru, 2017). Hence, the journalists who receive this remuneration may be unable to investigate relevant issues and report stories promptly. Rather, the journalist may be in pursuit of more income and consequently become an agent for private individuals or companies who wish to influence the news reported on. For this reason, much of the academic literature on the challenges faced by journalists in Nigeria states 'lack of funds' as the main challenge. Aside from receiving inadequate remuneration, Nigerian journalists may go months without receiving their salaries due to the low sales of newspapers (Ajaegbu et al, 2015). During this time, journalists are still expected to bear welfare expenses and other costs incurred while working. In such a situation, practising effective journalism becomes an impossible task and this is buttressed by Akinyele (2010) who states that the performance of a journalist is influenced by their welfare package.

Yusha'u (2009) provides a different perspective on how inadequate remuneration affects the ability of a journalist to do their job. While he focuses on investigative journalism and scandal reporting in Nigeria, this view is still relevant. Investigative journalism is necessary for journalists who wish to uncover hidden truths, report helpful and insightful news but it requires effort and funding. Also, investigative journalism may require that the reporter put themselves at risk and without adequate remuneration and protection; many reporters may not be willing to engage in investigative journalism (Apata and Ogunwuyi, 2019).

Yusha'u (2009) adds to the argument on the impact of inadequate remuneration on practising effective journalism. He asserts that journalists may only receive funding if the news story will have commercial success. This leads to a situation whereby relevant news that may not be commercially successful is abandoned for news stories that may be less useful to the public but likely to have more commercial success. This is supported by Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) who argue that finances may impede practising journalism. However, they do not solely examine the impact of poor remuneration for journalists.

Instead, they state that poor funding is a problem suffered by media houses as a whole. From this view, the increased commercialisation of the news may be attributed to the lack of funding of media houses. Even in the case of development journalism, Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) state that editors and media house owners in charge may choose to publish less useful, trivial stories that will attract readers, appeal to the wider audience and improve revenue from advertisements. Then, the stories that require more money to investigate and write are ignored in this process. While a journalist is working, they may be ineffective as they are unable to fulfil the purpose of journalism and serve as a watchdog for the public. Even though Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) focused their study on the challenges of development journalism, this is not a limitation. Rather, it creates a link between inadequate funding of media houses and the commercialisation of news which is another factor that has led to the difficulty in practising effective journalism in Nigeria.

By conducting 22 interviews of media workers in three Nigerian states, Yusha'u (2009) gathered data that supported most of the arguments above. Many of the journalists interviewed reported that news houses did not pay a substantial amount that encouraged investigative journalism. Another journalist provided a different perspective; media houses did not see investigative journalism as worth the cost of sponsoring it. While the focus of this interview was on investigative journalism, it offers insight on how journalism may be impeded by a lack of funds.

From the arguments above, the impact of the lack of adequate remuneration and funding includes an inability to work as a journalist and the abandonment of useful but commercially unappealing stories. Both of these outcomes make it difficult to achieve the purpose of journalism. Hence, inadequate remuneration and lack of funding for media houses make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria.

2.3.2 Patronage and Brown-envelope journalism

Brown-envelope journalism has existed for decades and is one of the major challenges to practising effective journalism. Brown-envelope journalism is used to refer to a situation where the money is provided as a gift or reward to influence news reports or activities of

the journalist. In Nigeria, the brown envelope is described as a 'transport fare' or 'thanks for coming' (Kperogi, 2020). However, this gift is usually given to a single individual for personal use, kept secret and used as an unspoken agreement between the person giving the gift and the reporter (Skjerdal, 2010).

Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) examined the use of brown-envelope journalism in the field of development journalism. They state that development journalism is a means through which developing countries can be improved. So, the effectiveness of development journalism is measured not just in how much useful information is provided but also on the impact journalism has on national development. Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi identified some challenges to development journalism. Some of these challenges include financial constraints, lack of appropriate technologies or inability to use new technologies, pluralisation, and commercialisation of the news and media ownership. However, an issue mentioned in passing is clientelism and patronage. Importantly, the problem of insufficient funding and clientelism are linked. This is because journalists who are lacking funds may resort to writing for individuals who want to pay them. In 2017, many media houses in Nigeria paid new journalists about N10,000 Naira (\$27) monthly which is grossly insufficient to cover the cost of work and living. Hence, a journalist may be tempted to accept or search for wealthy patrons who will provide them with financial support. While Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi's paper is relevant to current research, it has a limitation; the focus of this work is on development journalism. Hence, it provides a thematic view of the challenges of practising development journalism in Nigeria. However, this paper is important as it establishes the link between the underpayment of journalists and patronage in journalism.

A broad analysis of brown envelope syndrome and how it impacts objectivity in reporting is provided by Apuke (2016). Apuke (2016) argues using the social responsibility theory that collecting compensation for journalism can compromise objectivity in journalism and cause some to ignore the ethics of the profession. While this work supports assertions made by Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017), Apuke (2016) provides even more detailed information on how brown envelope syndrome affects effective journalism. Questionnaires were used to collect data from 70 journalists in Jalingo, Nigeria. The data collected showed that 79% of the journalists knew what brown-envelope journalism meant. Furthermore, the

majority of the journalists saw receiving a brown envelope as receiving payment or compensation for their work. Only 17% of the sample population saw this act as receiving a bribe while 11.4% perceived a brown envelope as affecting their ability to do their work as journalists. Importantly, 75.7% of the journalists who filled the questionnaire stated that receiving a brown envelope affected objectivity when reporting the news.

Significantly, the answers from the survey provide a contrasting view of what causes brown-envelope journalism. All the other papers examined earlier argue that poverty encourages patronage and clientelism. The findings from the questionnaire filled by 70 journalists showed that this may not be the case; 85% of the journalists stated that brown envelope syndrome and clientelism are not caused by poverty and small salaries (Apuke, 2016). Instead, it is argued that clientelism is caused by poor professionalism and greed. The main limitation of this paper is that it focuses on journalism in Jalingo state. So, it may not provide an adequate view of the challenges of practising effective journalism in Nigeria. Importantly, brown-envelope journalism could make it hard to maintain objectivity while writing or reporting and consequently, the information provided may not be useful to the public or the journalist may be unable to fulfil their role as a watchdog.

Significantly, Ciboh (2017) expands on this analysis of how journalists are influenced using monetary rewards. He states that political officials opt to use threats and intimidation to influence how journalists in Nigeria work. This academic work was written using content analysis and interviews. The finding showed that especially in cases of political journalism, reward or threat was used to influence journalists. Hence, the news report may not be truthful, or useful to the public. The reports may omit information or frame it subjectively (Acheampong, and Babangida, 2017). Thereby, the journalist fails to achieve the objective of journalism thus rendering journalism ineffective. Ciboh (2017) highlights the fact that brown-envelope journalism is not the only way that news reports are influenced.

Kpazop (n.d.) maintains a very different stance on how clientelism and brown-envelope journalism are bad for journalism. Notably, Kpazop (n.d.) agrees with Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) and Apuke, (2016) that brown-envelope journalism is caused by poor salaries and lack of professionalism but goes on to add that corruption is rife In Nigeria and the media houses are not exempt.

Ekeanyanwu and Obianigwe (2012) refer to the above described situation as brown-envelope syndrome and they provide a slightly different perspective on the nature of brown-envelope journalism. They state that brown-envelope syndrome can be likened to a business transaction or a bought advert. This is because the journalist receives payment and produces or provides a service; they also assert that this is a reason why journalists engage in this act freely. This is supported by Omenugha and Oji (2008) who add that a lot of the news provided by the Nigerian press has been paid for by private individuals, the government, political parties and so on. Hence, the news is used to further the interests of the people paying for it but does not provide the public with objective, truthful and useful information. Another fact highlighted here is that journalists are not the only recipients of brown envelopes. The owner of the media house as well may choose to receive these settlements from different individuals at the expense of the news and the individuals that rely on the news for information.

The academic works examined above argue that brown-envelope journalism leads to reporting falsities or omitting information. However, that is not the only consequence of brown-envelope journalism. Dyikuk (2015) argues that brown-envelope journalism robs the credibility of the press. News distortion becomes a norm where journalists are dependent on wealthy clients for financial support.

Therefore, even if a story is written to inform the public, it may not be received if the public feels the source is not credible or if the public believes that the story is misinformation. In such a scenario, it is questionable if journalism has been effective. Kpazop (n.d.) goes further to assert that the loss of credibility also makes the public unwilling to buy newspapers; this results in a loss of revenue and continues the cycle of brown-envelope journalism. Brown-envelope journalism does make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria and has the potential to destroy journalism in Nigeria.

Brown-envelope journalism is one of the main challenges to practising effective journalism in Nigeria. Brown-envelope journalism or reliance on patronage puts journalists at the mercy of paying individuals. Consequently, the journalists begin to serve the paying individuals. News reports may not be of use to the general public since they have been

framed or tailored by the patrons. The damage of brown-envelope journalism has also affected the credibility of the press. Hence, even if valuable information is provided by journalists, the public may be unwilling to accept the provided information.

A common assumption is that poverty and poor remuneration has been responsible for the proliferation of brown-envelope journalism. However, greed is a factor in the growth of brown-envelope journalism. For this reason, poor finances are not the sole or major challenge to practising effective journalism in Nigeria.

2.3.3 Government Suppression

When assessing the challenges to practising journalism in Nigeria, clientelism is used to explain the role the elites, media owners and some government officials play. However, another factor that makes practising effective journalism difficult is 'government suppression or interference' (Suntai and Shem, 2018). The role of journalism entails providing the truth and useful information that can inform the public. The information provided may be detrimental to the strength of an administration or could expose the failures of the government. This could cause the government to restrict media houses from reporting on certain issues, thereby forcing journalists to ignore important stories or report half-truths (Obagwu and Idris, 2019). Akinwale (2010) buttresses this point stating that the press is considered the fourth estate. However, in Nigeria, the press does not play the surveillance role; so, instead of the press to monitor and report on the activities of the government, the government monitors the press. Hence the freedom of the Nigerian press when reporting is repressed.

Asemah (2011) supports the view that the government may be involved in the suppression of news stories but states that this may be done without threat or force. Rather media house owners or publishers who are affiliated with the government may limit or prevent the publication of articles that are critical of the government. In this case, brown-paper journalism and government suppression are factors that are limiting the practise of effective journalism. Importantly, even when the government is not affiliated to the media house owner, the media house owners may choose to suppress news stories that criticise their partners or stakeholders.

Using the social responsibility theory, it can be argued that the purpose of journalism has not been achieved in this instance. While the social responsibility theory provides an outline of the purpose of journalism, critics have argued that the journalists need to report responsibly especially in regards to national interest and security.

This leads to the question: if the truth to be reported is detrimental to national interest or the stability of the government, is government suppression of the journalist an affront to effective journalism? Kadiri et al. (2015) argue that while the media may be restricted in reporting, suppressing media reports or requiring them to tell half-truths challenges the effectiveness of journalism.

Omenugha and Oji (2008) provide a different perspective on how the government may cause ineffective reporting. They argue that Nigerian journalists may be unwilling to report truthful but unfavourable news to avoid any fallout from government officials. Furthermore, the journalist may also fear being labelled an enemy of the government. In the last year, there have been over 30 cases of journalists being arrested with charges such as treason, cyberbullying, terrorism, and cyberstalking.

A popular case was that of Agba Jalingo. On July 12, 2019, Jalingo published a story titled 'How Ayade Approved And Diverted N500 million For Cross River Micro-Finance Bank' on the *CrossRiver Watch*, a Nigerian news website. In the news article, the author questioned how the N500 million Naira allocated to a Micro-Finance Bank in Cross River State was spent. In the article, Jalingo also accused the governor of Cross River State of embezzling N500 million Naira. A few weeks after the article was published, Jalingo was arrested by Cross River state government. He was charged with treason and disturbing the public peace (Sherifat, 2020). These charges were seen as outrageous by the public and eventually, the charges were changed to conspiring to remove a legal governor and terrorism. Jalingo was eventually granted bail after being imprisoned for 174 days (Erezi, 2020).

Similarly, Jones Abiri, a publisher and writer for a newspaper in Bayelsa (the weekly source) published a series of articles criticising the activities of oil companies in Nigeria. Abiri criticised the Nigerian government in the past as well. However, in July 2016, Abiri was arrested and imprisoned without any charges. After being imprisoned for two years, Abiri

was charged with treason, pipeline vandalism (Erezi, 2019). In September 2018, Abiri was released but was rearrested by the Department of State Services (DSS) on March 30, 2019 (Omilana, 2019). These are a few examples of how journalists may be thwarted while doing their job.

Alternatively, the Nigerian press is limited in reporting using the federal constitution. Elebute (2015) provides another perspective on how practising effective journalism may be impeded by the government. He argues that unfavourable reports by journalists may be qualified as unlawful. The Newspaper (Amendment) Act 1964 is a decree that censors the media as it threatens the freedom of anyone involved in the creation, production, distribution and sale of newspapers with 'rumours'. Therefore, it can be argued that some of the decrees in the Nigerian constitutions are passive attempts by the government to limit what the media says and are consequently an impediment to practising effective journalism. Similarly, Basse-Duke (2017) argues that some laws are made to limit the excesses of the press but that is not their true intention. Rather, some of these laws make it difficult to investigate and publish critical articles on the Nigerian government. Despite the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), journalists are still restricted in the information that can be easily acquired as there are many exemptions and restrictions in this Act (Apuke, 2017). Furthermore, if a news publication or an article is seen as seditious, the journalist who wrote it can be persecuted and convicted under the Seditious Publication and Criminal libel Laws (Basse-Duke, 2017). There are still many other laws that limit the information that journalists can publish.

While all the literature examined above explains how the government may use threat of arrest or the law to stifle effective journalism, Stern (2010) provided a different perspective. Stern (2010) asserted that the acts of the Nigerian government to intimidate and restrict journalists led to self-censorship or encouraged it. Here, Stern does not state that the government censorship leads to ineffective journalism. But self-censorship, a by-product of government suppression may make it difficult to practise effective journalism. This is buttressed by Dafiaghor (2011) who stated that the Nigerian government may engage in censorship using intimidation. The threat of government interference makes individuals and journalists unwilling to speak freely.

Ali (2013) shared a similar perspective on self-censorship but stated that self-censorship may also occur if the newsmen are afraid of the owner of the office or someone affiliated to the owner. Hence, the individuals may reframe their articles to a way preferred by the owner to maintain their position and avoid being fired.

Unlike other instances where censorship or suppression is driven by protecting the interest of the government, self-censorship is caused by fear and the need for self-preservation. Self-censorship may limit a journalist's ability to practise effective journalism because it entails a journalist altering a story or removing the parts from it that the government may not approve of. This may deprive the public of the truth or information that they can use to make informed decisions.

The interference of government in deciding what news reports should be given to the public may be an impediment to practising effective journalism

2.3.4 Absence of New Technologies and Training on How to Use Them

Technology has changed how journalism is practised, from the preliminary stages such as communication to gathering information, conducting research and publishing. Technological advancements have made journalism a fast process and have also made the consumption of the news faster as well (Pavlik, 2000). So, for news to be deemed useful, it has to be available for the public to use it as soon as possible. The problem, however, is that many Nigerian journalists are unable to afford the technology needed to work effectively. A journalist without a computer or internet may be unable to work and so practising effective journalism becomes a challenge. Also, even if the technology needed is available, some Nigerian journalists do not have the education on how to use them. Hence, the lack of equipment or the inability to use the equipment is a challenge to practising effective journalism.

A common theme in academic literature is that the lack of proper equipment has made it difficult for journalists to fulfil the obligations stated in the social responsibility theory. Okon and Eleba (2013) support the stance that lack of equipment and knowledge of how to use

them is a challenge when practising journalism. In an academic paper, Okon and Eleba (2013) examined the extent to which journalists in Port-Harcourt, Nigeria have adapted to using IT for work. For this research, the survey research method was used. 120 individuals who work in media houses within the city filled the survey. From the survey, it was discovered that 67% of the journalists used IT daily for their work. However, when asked about the challenges journalists had when working with IT, 33.3% answered that there was a lack of equipment while 58.3% cited a lack of training on using information technologies. While this survey detailed the impact and importance of IT in practising journalism, it focuses on journalists in Port-Harcourt. Hence, it could be argued that this sample population cannot adequately represent the rest of the journalists in the other 35 states in Nigeria. There is a possibility that journalists within Lagos and Abuja have access to the technology needed to work efficiently and effectively. Obijiofor (2003) fills this gap in the survey provided by Okon and Eleba (2013). Obijiofor (2003) examined the impact of new technology on journalistic practice in Nigeria and Ghana. This paper is of significance when looking at this area of research as it provides data gotten from qualitative research on how journalists perceive new technologies. Using questionnaires, journalists in three major Nigerian newspapers (*The Guardian, This Day and Daily Champion*) were asked questions on how advanced technology and equipment were beneficial to them. 96.2% per cent of the journalists stated that new technologies improved newspapers in Nigeria. 88% of the journalists also said it made their work easier. However, many of the journalists interviewed in Nigeria and Ghana stated that problems faced while working include insufficient computers, equipment and an inability to use current equipment. This data emphasises the importance of new and advanced technology for practising effective journalism. However, there is no clarification on the location or states the interviewed journalists reside in. Obijiofor (2003) highlights the limitation of this paper stating that the findings of this study are preliminary and that further research is needed.

Dunu, Ukweze and Ekwugha (2017) counter the limitation of Okon and Eleba's survey with a larger sample population and participants from a wider geopolitical area. Similarly, Dunu, Ukweze and Ekwugha (2017) argue that new media technology has changed journalism and enhanced journalism. To reach this conclusion on the importance of new media for effective journalism, 1,527 journalists from six geo-political zones in Nigeria responded to

questionnaires and the answers provided were analysed. This survey showed that 97.2% of the sample population had access to the new media technology and 44.6 % of the sample population used their laptop to access the internet. 92.8% of the sample population stated that they used new media technology at various stages while working. This survey shows the importance of new media in journalism but also highlighted the challenges of effective journalism.

Nwanne (2016) asserts that a link exists between the absence of funds and the inability to acquire modern technology for work. This re-emphasises the major role that inadequate remuneration of journalists and a lack of funding play in impeding practice of effective journalism in Nigeria. While the absence of equipment and how to use this equipment is a problem, Nwanne (2016) argues further that without power supply, any attempt at journalism using the internet and modern technology will be fruitless. In 2017, Nigeria has ranked the second-worst country with electricity supply in the world (Okafor, 2018). If journalists wish to work in this condition, they have to use an alternative power supply which costs more money and consequently compounds the problems faced by journalists in Nigeria.

Many Nigerian journalists are paid a little over minimum wage and this is insufficient for them to acquire proper equipment. Even if the technology is available, older journalists may not have the knowledge required to use this technology.

The academic works and literature reviewed above support the argument that the lack of or inability to use modern equipment may pose a challenge to practising effective journalism. However, the recurring theme is that financial difficulty or insufficient remuneration is partly or fully responsible for the inability to get the equipment required to practise journalism effectively. Therefore it can be argued so far that the lack of adequate remuneration or funds is the main challenge to practising effective journalism. Significantly, even with the necessary equipment and adequate training, the epileptic power supply in Nigeria still makes it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria.

2.3.5 Gender Discrimination as an Impediment to Practising Effective Journalism

Much of the literature that addresses the challenges to practising journalism in Nigeria focuses on the lack of funds, equipment, government interference or brown-envelope journalism. However, a less commonly stated challenge is gender discrimination.

Gender discrimination refers to a situation whereby bias or preferential treatment is shown to an individual or group of people due to their gender. Gender discrimination and inequality in the workplace are issues faced by female journalists as well.

Gender discrimination is arguably one of the major yet understated impediments to practising effective journalism. Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) argue in support of this stance. Nigerian society is patriarchal and this has infiltrated the Nigerian workplace. In some cases, the discrimination against women is unconscious but at another time it is done deliberately as some men see women as inferior and not in a position to lead. Furthermore, women are seen as helpers or assistants to the men of the home. Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) argue that this discrimination manifests in the workplace in different forms. In some media houses, women are paid less than their male counterparts. In other cases, women are treated as expendable staff, subjected to unfair working condition or harassment from their male colleagues (Safa and Akter, 2015). Using qualitative and quantitative research methods, Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) discovered that many female journalists in Rivers state, Nigeria were restricted in the work they could do at media houses. Female journalists were assigned jobs like typing and office clerks which put them at the lower levels in media houses. In such a case, even women with education or talent are unable to practise journalism. Furthermore, women were also deprived of the leadership position because it was thought that women would be unable to handle the responsibilities. Hence, it can be seen that gender discrimination may result in the loss of output and a shortage of qualified employees. In a media house, this means a loss of female employees who are not given the opportunity to practise journalism or effective journalism.

Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) provide a useful analysis of the challenges female journalists in Rivers state face and, these challenges show how practising journalism can be difficult for women in Nigeria. However, this study focuses on Rivers state and may not adequately represent other states in Nigeria.

The gender-based limitations faced by female journalists in Nigeria are also highlighted by Apuke (2016). Apuke (2016) used a survey to collect data from 100 female journalism students in Taraba state, Nigeria. The findings from the survey showed that there were more women than men who studied journalism but most of the women did not follow the career path. Also, 80% of the people involved in the survey believed that gender discrimination was rampant in Nigerian journalism. This discouraged potential female journalists. Hence, it can be argued using this literature that gender discrimination discourages women from pursuing careers in journalism. The result of this research is supported by Enwefah (2016) who used content analysis to examine the representation and ratio of male to female staff in four Nigerian newspapers. The findings of the content analysis showed that 116 out of 564 of the newsroom staff in these four newspapers were women. Also, only three out of 43 editorial staff were women and 97 of 458 reporters were women. These results emphasise the domination of the males in the top Nigerian newspapers and support the argument that women are given fewer opportunities as journalists after graduation.

In contrast, Sanusi and Adelabu (2015) adopt a different stance. They argue that in Nigeria, female journalists have achieved great things despite a shaky beginning. There are prominent women in the history of Nigerian journalism such as Adaora Lily Ulasi and Ronke Ajayi. Admittedly, when women got involved in journalism, they were tasked with writing or reporting on homemaking related topics. However, women have gone on to become business journalists, investigative journalists and even editors. While this paper explains the role that women have played in developing Nigerian journalism, there is no mention of the challenges women face as journalists.

After examining the academic work on how gender discrimination affects journalism, it can be argued that gender discrimination is not a factor that impedes practising effective journalism.

Gender discrimination in Nigerian media houses limits the opportunities available to women and discourages women from pursuing careers in this field. However, there is little evidence to show that gender discrimination affects the ability of a working journalist to fulfil or

achieve the purpose of journalism which is ‘to promptly provide the public with useful information that can be used to make decisions’.

The literature analysed in this chapter helps to establish what challenges exist while trying to achieve effective journalism. These challenges include inadequate remuneration and poor funding, brown-envelope journalism, government interference and lack of technologies needed. Poor remuneration is linked to brown-envelope journalism and lack of technologies needed. This emphasises the role of funding in practising effective journalism.

Importantly, while the literature review was instrumental in identifying the factors that make it difficult to practice effective journalism, the literature review also highlighted the factors that are common.

A recurring theme in most of the academic material examined above is that inadequate remuneration and allowances makes it difficult to practise effective journalism. Another recurring theme is that bribery and brown-envelope journalism impedes practising effective journalism. The academic literature provides an insight into how common the challenges to effective journalism are. However, the data collected using semi-structured interviews will provide a detailed view on how common these challenges are in Nigerian journalism.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology used in this research will be addressed and the justification for the methodological choices will be provided. Here the research paradigm, research approach and data collection method used will be explained. Also, the limitations of this research and ethical issues that the researcher had to take into consideration will also be explained.

3.2 Research Paradigm

When undertaking any research, it is important to clarify the research paradigm. The research paradigm refers to a researcher's perspective, beliefs and worldview (Lather, 1986). The researcher's perspective or world view influences how actions are seen and interpreted. The research paradigm can influence the research methods that the researcher will use and how the collected data is analysed (Makombe, 2017). Furthermore, the selected paradigm can help scholars understand the decisions made during the research. Paradigms can provide insight on how to use personal experiences to create meaning from collected data (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017).

For this research, the constructivist research paradigm also known as Interpretivism will be adopted. Interpretivism is also viewed as the direct opposite of the positivism or anti-positivist (Mack, 2010). Interpretivism has a relativist ontology which means that a single phenomenon can have multiple meanings depending on the variety of factors or circumstances, some of which include history, culture, beliefs (Levers, 2013). Furthermore, there is no single way to find answers or a single truth. The fact that there are different answers and perspectives provides the researcher with a better understanding and perspective of the research question or subject of study. However, the outcome of the interpretivist research paradigm is that the researcher acquires an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in a certain context which may not be applicable to other research (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore scientific procedures cannot be used to verify the validity of the data; this reemphasises why the findings cannot be generalised (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

Interpretivism is the chosen paradigm for this research because it recognises the changing nature of socially constructed reality (Neuman, 2014). This research examines the factors that make practising effective journalism difficult. These factors are not exact and may vary according to the circumstances; so there is no single answer to the research question. Hence, interpretivism is the ideal paradigm to adopt for this research.

The ontological position of interpretivism is relativist. This means that every individual's reality differs. The reality, environment and interpretation of an experience or an event produce different outcomes. Hence, it can be argued that there is a different reality for each individual (Levers, 2013). For this reason, the interpretivist paradigm is useful for research where the outcome is not finite or where there is no single truth. In examining why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is difficult, it is necessary to consider a plethora of factors that may affect the ability of journalists to practise effectively. Furthermore, all Nigerian journalists are not all in the same scenario and so the reasons why practising effective journalism is difficult may vary. Having established the ontological position of this paradigm, the epistemological position of the interpretivist researcher can be established. The interpretivist researcher acquires knowledge by collecting data on how individuals experienced a particular phenomenon and the circumstances that surrounded the occurrence. Therefore, the phenomenon may be studied using the perspective of the participants (Rehman and Alharthi, 2016). Thanh and Thanh (2015) reiterate this by stating that the participants will be involved in the research or may interact with the researcher during the research and data collection process. Furthermore, the researcher plays a role and is involved in the acquisition of data from participants in the research. The researcher may interact with the participants, urge them to provide more information and consequently interpret the finding. This is unlike the case of a positivist researcher searching for a single truth.

While the interpretivist paradigm is suitable for this research, it is important to note the limitations and criticisms of interpretivism. Mack (2010) states that results or findings acquired during the study may be affected by the researcher's views or bias and lead to a loss of objectivity. Hence, while the findings from positivist research can be generalised, these findings cannot be generalised easily.

The interpretivist paradigm was adopted during this research. This is because I believe there is no single reality and this paradigm will be useful in the course of answering the research questions which will require collecting subjective knowledge from participants.

3.3 Research Approach

The research approach chosen for a study plays a huge role in the outcome and validity of the research work (Creswell, 2007). The research approach used by the researcher is influenced by the topic of research, the researcher's paradigm, the questions that will be answered with this research, and the possible need data based on personal experience. However, the research paradigm also plays a role in determining which research approach the researcher should employ. There are three research approaches; they include the quantitative, qualitative and the mixed approach.

A qualitative research approach was used for this study. The qualitative research approach is suitable if the researcher wants to understand a phenomenon or get in-depth information that can improve their understanding of the problem (Queiros, Faria, Almeida, 2017). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) qualitative research refers to research whereby the findings are not a product of numerical quantification. The qualitative research method is also ideal if numerical data is not necessary for the study (Rahman, 2017). In scenarios where the goal is to learn from participants about their experiences and interpretation of these experiences, the qualitative research method is a justified choice. This is why the qualitative approach is suitable for this thesis 'Why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is challenging.' This is because the research seeks to answer questions such as

1. What factors contribute to the difficulty of practising effective journalism in Nigeria?
2. Are the identified factors a common theme in the Nigerian media industry?
3. How can these factors be mitigated?

These questions do not require a numerical or single response. Rather, they require multiple in-depth answers that explain from an individual's perspective why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is difficult.

There are some advantages to the qualitative research approach. This approach is useful for data collection and management. In-depth information on the subject of research can be

gotten from multiple participants in the research. This can enhance the way that a certain phenomenon is understood and also provide a solid foundation for analysis. However, there are also certain limitations of the qualitative research approach. Silverman (2010) stated that less attention is given to 'context', and how the context used by the participants in this research may influence the finding. Rahman (2017) also states that because of the nature of qualitative research, the findings which may enhance the understanding of a phenomenon cannot be generalised. Qualitative research tends to have smaller sample sizes, which makes generalisation to a larger population unlikely. Importantly, for proper analysis using the qualitative approach, detailed and nuanced data is needed. This will allow the researcher to extract patterns, themes and unique findings from the data (Barrett and Twycross, 2018). Furthermore, unlike a quantitative approach where figures and data are measured, the findings and collected data from using a qualitative approach cannot be measured or tested for accuracy. To effectively use the qualitative approach for research, the proper data collection technique must be used. Lastly the findings from qualitative research are usually complex or nuanced and cannot be simplified or converted into numerical value. Hence the explanation and understanding of the findings may vary from researcher to researcher; this makes it difficult to replicate the research (Eyisi, 2016).

3.4 Data Collection Methods

A qualitative approach was used for this research and interviews were used for data collection. There are three types of interviews: the structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Gill et al., 2008). Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data for this research. This is because a structured interview is rigid and will provide limited information concerning the research questions. Unstructured interviews may provide detailed information and varying opinions and experiences concerning a situation. However, the unstructured interview is time consuming and the time provided for this research work is not suitable for the use of unstructured interviews (Klenke, 2016). Hence, I used semi-structured interviews for this research work.

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to ask the participant pre-determined questions and ask further questions based on the participant's response. This ensures that the researcher acquires the basic information that is needed and detailed information based

on the personal experiences of the participants (Jamshed, 2014). However, the questions that the researcher asks each participant may vary because of their response; this needs to be taken into consideration when constructing semi-structured interviews. A semi-structured interview was beneficial when interviewing participants about their experience as practising journalists in Nigeria and if they faced any difficulties while working.

Open-ended questions were used during the interviews to ensure that participants in the research provided detailed information that could be analysed and a theme extracted from the data (Creswell, 2014). Because this research seeks to reveal the factors that may lead to ineffective journalism and how these factors can be mitigated, open-ended questions were the ideal choice for interviewing research participants. Open-ended questions allowed participants in this study provide detailed data, respond freely and in a manner where the answers they provided were not misunderstood. However close-ended questions limit what the participants can say, misinterpretation may occur and some questions which require complex answers may not be given the necessary attention. The semi-structured interviews were conducted over the phone and the interview was recorded to ensure that the viability of the findings was not lost. Each of these interviews lasted for 30-45 minutes.

3.5 Sampling

This research work aimed to identify the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria and identify ways to mitigate these factors. The best method of sampling for data collection, in this case, was purposive sampling. This is because purposive sampling entails choosing participants who meet a certain criteria or have the experience and qualities desired by the researcher. Hence, the data gathered from the selected participants will be able to provide information relevant to the research (Etikan, 2016). This sampling method is deliberate and instrumental when trying to answer research questions within a certain context or questions that apply to a certain demographic (Cleary, Horsefall and Hayter, 2014).

Using the purposive sampling strategy, the criteria for choosing participants in this research were selected. These were individuals who are currently working as journalists. These journalists had to have been working in a Nigerian media house for at least five years. These requirements were set to ensure that participants understood the concept of effective

journalism and had experience working as journalists in Nigerian media houses. Hence, they had sufficient experience to provide insight into the challenges of effective journalism in Nigeria. Three men and two women were also selected as participants of this research to ensure that the information acquired was from the perspective of male and female journalists.

Qualitative research does not require a large sample size or large number of participants. This is unlike quantitative research which relies on large sample sizes to provide a single answer or represent a population (Boddy, 2016). However, qualitative research methods entail getting detailed information that can be used to understand a phenomenon. Furthermore, the provision of in-depth information is useful when trying to extract a theme or multiple themes from the data collected (Gentles et al, 2015). Hence, five participants were chosen for this research. Five participants are sufficient for getting in-depth information on practising effective journalism in Nigeria. Furthermore, it is a sufficient sample size to identify a theme or multiple themes on the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria within the time allotted for this research.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

The chosen research approach and data collection methods are useful for answering the research questions and identifying the reasons why practising effective journalism in Nigeria are challenging. However, there are some limitations to using this research approach for this study. First, conducting qualitative research is time-consuming. Furthermore, the use of semi-structured interviews with open-ended and close-ended questions will make the data collection process even longer. (Anderson, 2010). Hence, five participants were used for this study. The small sample size is needed with the qualitative research approach; however, it affects the generalisation of the findings and limits the application of the findings. The limited application of the findings is reiterated when a participant provides a unique response. Lastly, there is a risk of researcher bias with the use of a qualitative research approach. During the research process, there are many opportunities for research bias to occur. Commonly, this may occur if the researcher already has a pre-determined conclusion. To avoid bias, participants in the research should be chosen carefully and the research process should be stated clearly (Anderson, 2010).

3.7 Data Analysis

After assessing other methods of data analysis, the thematic analysis was deemed the best choice for this research. This is because it can be used to summarise the important features in a large amount of data through which the researcher can create detailed reports (Nowell et al., 2017). Also, thematic analysis can be used by researchers without knowledge of other methods of data analysis. There are six clearly stated phases in a thematic analysis which an amateur researcher can apply.

To properly conduct a thematic analysis, the researcher needs to follow the six steps. First, the researcher needs to study the collected data and become familiarised with the data. This can happen when the data is being transcribed. Secondly, the researcher creates codes based on the features found in the data collected. The third step entails collating the codes into themes; the data gathered under a certain theme should be similar or related (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Fourth, the themes will be reviewed and revised if necessary. If the theme is too broad, it may be further divided into other themes (Nowell et al., 2017). The fifth step is to rename the themes appropriately to represent the content that they cover. Lastly, the extracted themes can be analysed, the analysis can be related to the research question and an academic report created from the analysis (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). These steps were followed when analysing the data provided by the participants in this study.

While the steps to be taken when conducting a thematic analysis have been outlined, there are a few limitations associated with the use of thematic analysis. A critical thematic analysis is dependent on the analytical skill and knowledge of the researcher. Hence a novice researcher may find it difficult to focus on a certain theme or may focus on a theme that is too broad (Javadi and Zarea, 2016). Furthermore, there is a risk that the researcher may provide insufficient analysis and focus on descriptions instead.

For this research, a deductive thematic analysis was used. Deductive thematic analysis entails engaging in research with an idea of what themes exist due to reading extensively or analysing data from a literature review (Pearse, 2019). Using this method, the initial codes are formed by analysing the data provided by participants, then they are categorised under the themes that were found during the literature review. Hence data analysis begins while

writing and analysing the literature review. Using deductive thematic analysis is beneficial as the themes identified in the literature review provide a guide for the analysis. Furthermore, due to the existence of themes, the researcher will be able identify anomalies or unique data easily while coding the data provided by participants (Roberts, Dowell and Nie, 2019).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

In any research study, it is necessary to abide by ethical practices. This ensures that the participants are protected and the validity of the research work is not questioned (Dilmi, 2012). This research process entails interviewing journalists and this raises issues that were addressed for this study to be considered ethical.

3.8.1 Informed Consent

Participants of the study were first provided with an information sheet which provided details of the study. The aim and nature of the study were stated on the information sheet. Then, participants were provided with a consent form which stated their rights as participants. The consent form also informed participants that they were free to withdraw from the study at will (Burles and Bally, 2018).

3.8.2 Privacy

Privacy and confidentiality is another ethical concern. While the researcher knows the identity of the participants of this study, measures were taken to ensure that the identity of the journalists was not linked to the interviews. Participants in this research were referred to using pseudonyms. Participants in qualitative studies risk their identity being exposed and their privacy being invaded. This could make individuals unwilling to continue with the study (Peled and Leichtentritt, 2002). Hence, participants must be confident that their identity and personal details such as place of work are not discovered.

3.8.3 Data Protection

Another issue of concern is the protection of data provided by participants in the research study. Researchers have an obligation to protect the data provided by participants (Goodwin, Mays and Pope, 2019). In the information sheets given to the participants, the

measures taken by the researcher to protect their data was stated. After the study is over, the collected data in all its forms will be deleted.

3.9 Establishing Trustworthiness

The qualitative research approach is widely accepted and commonly used. However, this research approach has been criticised by positivists. Two criticisms of the qualitative research approach are its flexibility which may give room for inaccuracy and the role of the researcher which could lead to bias during the research process. This is why it is necessary to establish the trustworthiness of the research. Establishing the trustworthiness of research reassures other researchers and readers that the proper research procedures were taken and the findings from the research are genuine and accurate. This allows other researchers to use the original work in their research. The trustworthiness of research work can be placed in four categories; transferability or generalisation, credibility, confirmability and reliability or dependability (Shenton, 2004).

3.9.1 Dependability

To show the dependability of research, a researcher needs to document the steps taken during the research process. If the steps in the research are repeated in the same context and setting, then the findings need to be the same as the original research for dependability to be established (Tobin & Begley, 2004). Some ways a researcher can show the dependability of research include an inquiry audit, overlap, or stepwise replication. Therefore, a researcher needs to document all the steps are taken and decisions made (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). This will allow readers or researchers to assess the documented process, understand the decisions made and judge the dependability of the research.

3.9.2 Credibility

This refers to how truthful the findings got from participants are. The credibility can also be likened to how close the findings from the research are to reality. According to Lincoln and Guba (1989), credibility is one of the most important components when establishing the trustworthiness of research. A researcher can apply different strategies to guarantee the credibility of their research findings. These strategies include triangulation, prolonged

engagement, observation and member check (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). In this case, the member check will be used. With a member check, the data gotten from interviewing the participants will be transcribed. The participants of the research will then be provided with the document to confirm that the details and context of transcription is an accurate interpretation of the information they wished to convey during the interview.

3.9.3 Generalisation/ Transferability

This refers to the extent to which research findings can be applied to different cases or generalised (Payne and Williams, 2005). Qualitative research is usually conducted with a small sample and this is why the findings from qualitative research cannot be generalised easily. In most cases, the sample represents only a small percentage of the population (Rahman, 2017). However, it is possible to apply or transfer the findings gotten to a similar study or scenario. While the researcher has a responsibility to provide trustworthy data, the researcher does not determine where the data is applicable or can be generalised. The reader or other researchers can decide if the findings can be used. To ensure that the findings from the original research can be transferred, the researcher can provide a thick description. This entails providing detail descriptions of everything that the research entailed. The context, setting, details on the sample, behaviour and other details of the study can help other researchers determine if the findings apply to their work (Shenton, 2004).

3.9.4 Confirmability

Confirmability has to do with proving that the researcher's interpretations and findings are a product of the data that they got from the data collection method (Shenton, 2004). With the qualitative approach to research, there is a risk of the research being influenced by the personal opinion of the researcher. Guba and Lincoln (1989) stated that confirmability is reached when dependability, transferability and credibility have been achieved. This is because all these show that logical steps and decisions were taken during the research to reach the stated findings. An audit trail can be used to ensure the confirmability of research findings (Nowell et al., 2017).

Chapter 4

Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters; the literature review and the methodology have provided the foundation for this chapter. The literature review provided insight on the challenges of practising effective journalism. The literature review was also instrumental in identifying gaps in research concerning effective journalism. In the methodology, the methodological choices made during this research were explained and justified. The qualitative research approach was used and five participants were interviewed to acquire data that could answer the three research questions in this dissertation. Using the findings from the interviews, a thematic analysis was conducted. In this chapter, the findings from the interviews will be stated and analysed. Furthermore, the findings will be compared to the data found in the previously examined literature.

The research questions of this dissertation are:

1. What factors contribute to the difficulty in practising effective journalism in Nigeria?
2. Are the identified factors a common theme in the Nigerian media industry?
3. How can these factors be mitigated?

4.2 Factors That Contribute to the Difficulty in Practising Effective Journalism in Nigeria

4.2.1 Inadequate Remuneration and Allowances

When examining the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism, inadequate remuneration and allowances or monetary problems are a common factor in reviewed literature. However, this factor was cited by all five participants in the research as one reason why practising journalism in Nigeria is a challenge. Notably, there are a few facets to this problem which include; too small salaries, non-payment of salaries, non-payment of allowances and inadequate allowances. Anna stated: *'Even when I got the job, I had to work overtime without being paid extra... It was hard for me as a fresh graduate to transport myself to work, feed myself, pay rent and also handle work activities with the salary. There were other small things for work that I had to use my money for, so the salary*

was not enough'. This account only highlights the difficulty of living on the salary paid to some journalists, and that is without considering work-related expenses.

James shared a similar perspective on how remuneration and allowances were a challenge to practising effective journalism stating: *'Insufficient resources are the problem that I have found hinders my work the most. Most of the time, I receive my salary and other allowances when they are due, but the amount that I am paid limits what work I can do'*. Significantly, James explained that the amount he was paid determined the work he could do. Hence, a small salary may cause a journalist to work with the intent of doing the bare minimum. This may result in a situation where minimal research is done, information is culled from already available data and there is no new or useful information that can be relayed to the public. This finding fits the assertion made by Akinyele (2010) that the performance of a journalist at work is influenced by his welfare package; this could be the salary or allowances. Furthermore, James's experience showed how effective journalism was stifled due to inadequate remuneration and allowances. A similar view shared by Chris who said, *'Money is very important for my work. Without money it is hard to move around, travel and even do research. Even if I have the zeal to work, the limited funds I have make me less willing to work.'*

To properly assess how inadequate remuneration and allowances have made practising effective journalism difficult, it was necessary to inquire further about the effect of inadequate remuneration on these journalists work. Anna stated: *'Initially, I would do more research but when I was a baby journalist, I tried to get away with doing the bare minimum to save my money. I remember the second or third time I was asked to travel for a story, because they did not reimburse me for the last travel expenses, I refused'*. Hence, we can see that there is an avoidance of journalistic activities that could ensure truthful and useful information is acquired. A similar sentiment was also shared by James: *'If I am given an assignment, I work with what I have but if I have to research a possible story, if I see that travelling, or money-intensive activities are involved, I withdraw.'* This sentiment is similar to that of Beth who explained that a small salary lessened her mental resolve when working. Beth said: *'In my experience, an insufficient salary lessens your resolve when doing extensive*

research on a story. When I was still earning a small salary, I found that I would try to avoid doing strenuous work; I did not go all out'.

She implied that a small salary made her less dedicated to finding the truth and practising effective journalism. This is supported by Ajaegbu et al. (2015) who linked the relationship between journalists' welfare package and their productivity at work. They argue that the remuneration provided to employees and other non-financial provisions were incentives for journalists. These incentives are instrumental in creating a scenario where the journalists are willing to work and their can increase.

Anna and Beth share a similar experience on how inadequate remuneration affected their ability to practise journalism effectively.

Alternatively, when asked how inadequate remuneration posed a challenge in trying to practise effective journalism, Daniel said: *'So the allowance and the salary are not enough for me to live a comfortable life, take care of my bills, so I also work as a freelance journalist'.* This is similar to another statement made by Beth. She said: *'If I didn't have another source of income, I am sure I would have quit my job as a journalist'.* Both statements reiterate the argument that the payment given to journalists may be insufficient to cover their living expenses and necessitates their getting a secondary source of income. However, it is possible that the second job may have an impact on their performance as journalists. Buttressing this, Ajaegbu et al. (2015) asserted that journalists who are underpaid are forced to seek an alternative source of income and consequently may become tools for other parties interested in influencing the news. This situation has provided a link between inadequate remuneration and brown-envelope journalism or bribes. Both of these are factors that affect the ability of the media to practise effective journalism.

Significantly, the monetary challenges are not limited to the inadequate salaries and allowances. The monetary challenges are also not experienced by the journalists alone but could impact a newspaper as a whole. This is the view shared by Chris who said: *'There are some databases that I wish I had access to because they would help me work faster, but these require a membership fee. Once, I talked about it with my boss, but they told me that the company did not have the money at the time'.* From this statement, it can be seen that

while access to various databases would improve the work of the journalists in a newspaper, the company declined to purchase memberships to any of these due to lack of funds. The use of databases can ease the process of researching and will allow journalists access to the past works of other journalists. Therefore, without access to databases, the journalist may expend more time and energy on research and consequently may be unable to achieve the overall objective of providing the public with truthful and useful information.

The varying responses gotten from the participants in this research have reaffirmed the fact that inadequate remuneration and allowances are a challenge to practising effective journalism.

4.2.2 Use of Bribes or Brown-Envelope Journalism

The prevalence of brown-envelope journalism and bribery in Nigeria has been linked to the inadequate remuneration paid to journalists. This link was explained by Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) who stated that underpayment of journalists led to patronage. The dangerous nature of bribery to effective journalism was better explained by Anna. *'Bribery makes it nearly impossible to achieve effective journalism because here you are paying journalists or providing monetary compensation so that they twist information or disseminate information that may be profitable to one party or a company but not the public. The point of it is that the public is not the priority.'* Anna's statement not only explains why bribery poses a danger to effective journalism, she also highlighted the fact that journalism should be engaged in with the public being the priority rather than one person or a group. In a scenario where the news is made to suit a person or group, Kpazop (n.d.) states that the outcome could be that the journalist or newspaper will lose credibility.

While Anna focused on the provision of a bribe and the consequent need to alter or hide information, Chris provided a slightly differing perspective on how brown-envelope journalism or patronage could make it difficult to practise effective journalism. According to Chris, *'I think collecting transport fare is a less harmful name for a bribe or settlement so I think that it can affect a journalist's ability to provide useful information to the public. If someone is always giving you transport fare, it will be difficult to write and publish bad*

things about the person'. Hence, Chris argues that even if a journalist is not offered a bribe, having a patron or someone who provides a brown-envelope is still to the detriment of effective journalism. This is supported by Asemah (2011) who states that collecting brown envelopes compromises the objectivity of a journalist and makes them more cautious when reporting on the individual that gave them the brown envelope.

Significantly, Anna and Chris conclude that brown-envelope journalism makes it difficult for a journalist to work objectively and effectively. Despite the manner in which a brown envelope is given, it may be to the detriment of objective and effective journalism. It can be seen that brown envelopes may be collected with the aim of manipulating news stories. The brown envelope may also be collected innocently but will still affect the journalist's ability to report objectively when their patron is involved. This view is similar to that of Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) who stated that the Nigerian media may be forced to report on matters that are relevant to the elites rather than on other important matters. This compliance with reporting on the issues, they argue may be because many media houses rely on patronage for survival. Hence, Bassey-Duke, Brown, and Talabi (2017) reiterate the fact that patronage or brown-envelope journalism may allow the patrons dictate the news.

There are other perspectives, however, that does not support the stance that brown-envelope journalism causes subjective reporting and consequently ineffective journalism. Furthermore, the brown envelope is not seen as a bribe by some journalists. James stated: *'Since I started working as a journalist, I have been offered quite a few envelopes to provide coverage for events. I don't think that is bribery, though. That is just incentive for me to go to these events and write about them. I do not allow these to influence what I write about my host'*. This statement demarcates bribery from brown-envelope journalism. It very slightly differs from Beth's stance. Beth argued that the purpose for which the brown envelope was provided determined if it is a bribe or a gift. The purpose also determines if the brown envelope is preventing effective journalism. She stated: *'I think it depends on what the journalist is being given a brown envelope for. If the people giving the bribe want publicity, then I don't think the bribe has any impact on effective journalism. But, if the bribe is given to the journalist to bury a story or manipulate the story, it does affect the ability of the journalist to provide the public with useful information'*.

James explained that being given a brown envelope to provide media coverage for an event is not bribery and does not affect the effectiveness of journalism. However, Beth explained in more detail why brown-envelope journalism did not always cause a loss of objectivity. In this case, the intent for providing the brown envelope helped determine if it was a bribe or an incentive. From the data acquired from these two participants, it could be argued that brown-envelope journalism is not a constant factor that makes it difficult to achieve effective journalism.

Like Beth and James, Daniel reiterated the stance that not all brown envelopes may result in ineffective journalism *'I do think it can affect the journalist's work. If we are talking about politics, there are a lot of things that can be said about politics that will affect how the public will view a political figure and that is deemed useful information. If they bribe the journalist, they won't say it'*. In this case, Daniel shared the view that brown-envelope journalism may lead to ineffective journalism in some situations (when reporting on politics) but not in other instances.

4.2.3 Censorship or suppression

Practising effective journalism may involve engaging in investigative journalism and eventually providing the findings from the investigations to the public regardless of the person, group or event being talked about. However, there are instances where journalists are restricted from talking about certain people or subjects; this theme was identified in the responses provided by participants. Three of the five participants in this research stated that they had experienced censorship since they started working as journalists.

When asked about his experience with censorship at work, Chris stated that he had not experienced censorship but also made the following comment when asked about the difficulties in providing useful information to the public. He said: *'I have read stories of journalists being kidnapped, arrested and even killed, so I think this is one thing that stops me from writing freely'*. From this statement it can be seen that the threat of being arrested or killed has forced self-censorship. The fear of being arrested is understandable as there have been multiple instances where Nigerian journalists have being arrested and

imprisoned indefinitely. Some examples include Agba Jalingo and Jones Abiri who were arrested for articles written about various Nigerian leaders (Erezi, 2019). Yusha'u (2009) provided more insight on the dangers journalists may face especially in government-owned newspapers; journalists are cautious when writing to avoid suspension or even being sacked. This buttresses the fact that self-censorship due to fear may limit the ability of a journalism to practise effective journalism.

Unlike Chris, James stated that he has experienced censorship at work. James said: *'It has happened to me before. Twice I have mentioned a certain politician in an article that concerned a bribery and corruption scandal. I was told later that I should not mention this politician to avoid problems with this person. I think it was because the politician is quite popular and well connected. After the talk, I was told to revise the article and remove the name of the politician'*.

Daniel stated he had experienced censorship as well. Daniel stated: *'It's been years now...but I remember that I was assigned to write an article and after writing it, I was called in by the editor and told that I said something or certain things that, you know, was not appropriate. At the time, I thought my work was not inappropriate in any way; I was talking about a popular topic at the time and was just expatiating on what journalists were saying and providing more information. So, yes, I have experienced censorship a few times. Not so much anymore as I do not cover politics anymore. So, I have not experienced censorship lately. It is something that if your editor or a senior journalist has any affiliations with the person or people being mentioned, definitely, you will experience some censorship'*. Here Daniel stated that he had experienced censorship but also went on to clarify that he did not experience this as much since he stopped writing about politics. Furthermore, he stated censorship could occur when a superior at a newspaper is affiliated with the person being talked about. This is similar to the Obagwu and Idris (2019) stance that the government may restrict the information that media houses can make available to the public and consequently prevent effective journalism.

Beth did not say that she had experienced censorship after submitting an article. However, she experienced censorship even before working. Beth said: *'When I just got my job, I was*

cautioned often about what I could say about certain people. I found it quite annoying because by the time the information on the person had been carefully written, I felt the story was less wholesome and lacked some objectivity'.

Significantly, while three participants in the research have experienced censorship when talking about a politician, politics or an event, it is unclear what or who demanded censorship: the government, political party, media house owner, the individual in question? This situation highlights the varying levels in which censorship may occur. This is buttressed by Dafiaghor (2011) who explained that there are different types of censorship, some of which are political censorship and corporate censorship. But, self-censorship is also acknowledged as a method of censorship.

Furthermore, the end result of censorship in these cases was editing already written articles to remove information or carefully word it. Hence, the objectivity of these articles comes into question as the facts are not presented as they are for the public to assess. Hence, censorship from whatever level it stems from can make it difficult to achieve effective journalism. Akinwale (2010) supports this assertion as he states that limiting the freedom of the press denies the public of correct information. While Akinwale (2010) focused on the limitation caused by the government, the effect of censorship is similar regardless of the level on which it occurs. The outcome is the loss of effective journalism.

4.2.4 Lack of the Necessary Equipment and Lack of Training in Using It

Another theme identified from analysing literature, and the data collected using interviews is 'lack of necessary equipment and poor training'. The data collected from the participants in this interview provide an insight on how the lack of the necessary equipment can impede a journalist's ability to find and disseminate useful information.

The importance of the technology to a journalist is best explained by Daniel. He said, *'I feel that if you have the right equipment, then most of your work can be done easily, The work of corresponding with people, finding out information, researching. But if you work for a paper where they do not have their own equipment, they do not assign any allowances for that and you are left to buy your own equipment, then it becomes very difficult to provide any*

useful information'. This statement not only confirms the role of technology in journalism, it also highlights some tasks that could become strenuous without the right equipment. This is in line with Okon and Eleba's (2013) view that technological devices have eased the activities usually undertaken by journalists. However, while Daniel states the use of equipment include correspondence and research, Okon and Eleba (2013) further explain that tasks such as correcting grammatical errors and submitting articles are achieved using technological devices.

Anna also confirmed this stance when questioned on how much inadequate technology or equipment affected effective journalism. Anna stated: *'when I just started working I did not have a desktop computer, so I was working with the general office computer which was slow. Not having my own computer meant that I had to rush when writing because other people were waiting to use it'*. This shows that the absence of adequate technological devices led to a situation where she (a journalist) was rushed to do her job and the out-dated computer slowed down or reduced productivity. Thus further confirming the lack of or inadequate technological devices can make it difficult to provide the public with useful information that they can use to make decisions.

Chris shared a similar sentiment but also explained that from personal experience, even with the devices, other factors such as power supply may also affect your ability to work. Chris explained: *'The main issue I have in this case is light. The power supply is not steady, and this makes it expensive to work with a generator'*. Nwanne (2016) shares a similar stance and states that the poor power supply in Nigeria has posed a constraint to practising journalism effectively, stating that power outages could hamper the activities of journalists using the internet for research. However, Obajuluwa et al. (2019) provided a better insight on how the erratic power supply affects journalists and their ability to practise effective journalism. Obajuluwa et al. (2019) stated that while many media companies (television and radio) are integrating information and communication technology to improve their performance, power supply still remains a serious challenge.

Unlike the other participants who cited the lack of technological devices as one of the challenges of practising effective journalism, Beth stated a difficulty in learning how to use

new equipment was the problem. Beth stated: *'Technology and new devices have made my work so much easier... I think the only problem I have had is learning to use the new equipment. I can say that it has affected my ability to provide the public with useful information only a little'*. Notably she clarified that this problem had only affected her ability to practise effective journalism a little. So, it may be argued that the absence of the technological devices has more impact than the lack of training on how to use these devices when trying to practise effective journalism.

The data gotten from the academic literature show that one problem that makes it difficult to practise effective journalism is the lack of technological devices. The lack of training on how to use these technological devices is a challenge that slows down and makes it more difficult to practise effective journalism; Nwanne (2016) asserted that because of the advancements in information and communications technology, journalists require constant training and retraining on using these devices. These above-stated facts were further confirmed when the participants in the interview were asked how the lack of technological devices affects them or affected them in the past.

4.2.5 Gender Discrimination

Another theme that was identified as a challenge when practising journalism is gender discrimination. The academic literature examined during this research provided insight on how gender discrimination may affect a female practising journalism. However, the literature did not provide any instance or explanation that led to the conclusion that gender discrimination makes it difficult to practise effective journalism. Hence, the two female journalists interviewed were asked if they had ever experienced gender discrimination in the workplace. Furthermore, they were also asked the extent to which it affected their ability to practise effective journalism. Both journalists agreed that they had experienced gender discrimination, albeit differently.

Anna said, *'I first noticed that I was being singled out when I was not getting the same opportunities as my male colleagues. A lot of the time, they are given an opportunity to travel for training or conferences. I rarely travel for such, even for stories.... I once*

complained, but the xxxxx editor told me that they were being considerate for me and that they did not think I would be able to handle the constant travel with my home life’.

In Anna’s case, gender discrimination occurred through a loss of work opportunities. However, her statement did not indicate that she was unable to fulfil her duty while working. If she was able to provide the public with truthful and useful information despite a lack of work and training opportunities, then effective journalism was still practised. Furthermore, she explained that the outcome of fewer opportunities was that it affected her promotion in the office. Anna further explained that her editor’s reasoning for the denial of work opportunities was that they did not think she could handle the responsibilities at work and home. Notably, Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) made a similar point that women were denied positions of power because of the assumption that they would be unable to handle the workload. Anna’s experience provides valuable insight on how gender discrimination causes female journalists to lose opportunities. However, her experience does not reflect a difficulty in achieving effective journalism.

This case is unlike Beth’s. When asked about her experience with gender discrimination at work, Beth stated: *‘Most of the stories I covered were in areas such as entertainment, home care and health. Most of my male colleagues were assigned stories on politics and business... Another way I have experienced gender discrimination is outside the office. Sometimes when I went to interview people, they did not take me seriously’.* Beth’s experience with gender discrimination occurred in the office and in the field. Her experience is one that many Nigerian female journalists have been through; being restricted to certain jobs and niches in a media house. This view was shared by Njoku, Dike, and Vincent (2018) who argued that some female journalists in Nigeria were limited in their job choices and were at low levels in their offices. This does not provide enough proof that gender discrimination makes it difficult to practise effective journalism.

However, Beth went on to explain the impact gender discrimination has in the field saying *‘... because when you are writing some stories, you need to interview multiple people. When a few of these people see that I am a woman, they take me less seriously and I think this affects the resulting article’.* Here Beth provided justification for why gender discrimination may impact practising effective journalism. Here, she states that while conducting

interviews, sometimes she is not taken seriously and this consequently affects the resulting work. From this perspective, it can be seen that gender discrimination made it challenging for Beth to conduct interviews, and this may have affected the quality of information she got during interviews. Hence, it may be argued that gender discrimination made it difficult to practise effective journalism. Gender discrimination is a challenge to practising effective journalism. This is an area that requires further research.

Using a thematic analysis, it was possible to identify the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism in Nigeria. These factors include: inadequate remuneration and allowances, bribes or brown-envelope journalism, censorship, lack of necessary equipment and lack of training in using them and gender discrimination. From the interviews, the way these factors have affected the ability of journalists to provide objective and useful information has been identified. However, this analysis has also helped to identify areas where further research is needed; this includes the relationship between gender discrimination and ineffective journalism.

4.3 The Identified Factors, a Common Theme in Nigerian Journalism

There are five factors that have been identified as challenges to practising effective journalism. It is important to ascertain how common these factors are and if they are a common theme in Nigerian journalism. If they are a common theme, then these can be identified as factors that need to be addressed immediately; this is to ensure that the public are well informed and armed with the information required to make choices. Hence, the participants in the interview were asked if the factors identified in this research were common in Nigerian journalism. The five participants in this research agreed that the factors identified in the research are common. However, each participant had a different opinion on how common these factors were and the level at which a journalist experienced these challenges. Still, all these varying answers reaffirmed the fact that these factors are a common theme in Nigerian journalism.

Beth stated that she felt these were common occurrences as her colleagues had also complained about these problems. She said, *'I think they are common because these are*

issues that some colleagues still complain about. At many of the conferences and seminars I have attended in the past, these were hot topics’.

While Anna agreed that these challenges were common, she also highlighted the fact that a certain demographic of journalists was likely to experience these challenges. Anna stated, *‘Yes, I think these challenges are not peculiar; many journalists I know have faced these challenges earlier in their career and some are still experiencing these problems. I feel that these challenges are set in the media industry; in fact they can now be seen as a norm. When you meet a junior journalist, these are things you advise them on because they are the things you have probably experienced yourself’.* Anna agreed that these challenges are normal and states that these are things that junior journalists are warned about. However, she also states that these are things that some journalists may experience early in their career. So, from her experience, it can be argued that many journalists experience these challenges as novices. This is supported by Jatula (2017) who stated that the Nigerian media takes advantage of mass unemployment to underpay journalists; hence the journalists who just started their career are likely to experience these challenges. The only people who are able to avoid being underpaid are experienced journalists who can negotiate for larger salaries.

Like Anna, James had a similar opinion. James stated, *‘I think they are things that most Nigerian journalists experience, especially if you are working in one of the small newspapers. At smaller newspapers, there are fewer resources and that leads to the challenges that journalists encounter while trying to function properly. In some larger newspapers these thing still happen but really not to the degree I have witnessed in smaller places. In large newspapers, the people who experience these challenges are usually the interns and newly employed graduates. The journalists that get the best deals are usually the senior journalists with decades of experience’.*

James agreed that these factors are quite common and are experienced by interns and new graduates, especially junior staff at large newspapers. However, James stated that these factors were dominant in small newspapers due to the small budget they had.

He further highlighted that older and more seasoned journalists were unlikely to experience these challenges.

Alternatively, Chris stated that while the challenges are common, the type of journalism and the sort of articles being written determined the challenges faced by the journalist.

Chris said, *'I am not sure if I can call all these challenges common. Issues like poor, irregular payment of salary and poor power supply are quite common complaints that journalists have. However, I think that danger or being afraid for your life is not as common. Facing danger because of your work as a journalist will depend on the kind of articles you write and the level of influence you have. But, the others I talked about earlier are quite common. It is difficult to find a journalist that has not experienced these challenges'*. From this, we can see that Chris stated that some challenges were more common than others. According to him, being in danger or having your life threatened was not a challenge faced by most journalists and was determined by what sort of articles they write.

Daniel agreed that many of the identified themes were common and went further to explain the reason why they were so common in Nigerian journalism. Daniel said, *'Yeah... A lot of journalists complain and depending on where you are in Nigeria, different journalists experience different issues but these ones that we talked about now, money, we talked about censorship and equipment. These are things that are very common in Nigeria. A lot of journalists are experiencing this and I think it has a lot to do with the fact that there is minimal regulation. Newspapers and magazines are popping up everywhere, and journalism graduates are fighting for available job opportunities. So, all these newspapers know that they will always have people to hire, so they treat journalists anyhow. That is why I feel these difficulties are common'*. He argued that the reason why these challenges were so common in Nigeria had to do with the lack of regulation. Also, he said that the uneven job vacancy to applicant ratio allowed newspapers to employ workers even with unsavoury conditions. Daniel provided valuable insight on the reason for the prevalence of some of the challenges faced by journalists.

The data provided by the participants in this research support the stance that the challenges identified in this research are common. However, from the data gathered, these challenges may be experienced early in a journalist's career or if they work in a small newspaper.

4.4 Recommendations for the Mitigation of the Challenges that make It Difficult to Practise Effective Journalism

Effective journalism is important; however, it is not given adequate attention. Having identified the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism, it is also important to identify the measures that can be taken to mitigate these factors. Using data gotten from interviews, and a thematic analysis, two themes were identified. These were reiterated as ways that some of the challenges of effective journalism could be countered. Significantly, the solutions proffered by the participants in this research were centred heavily on the provision of more funds and allowances to journalists. Each participant managed to tie three of the factors that lead to ineffective journalism with inadequate remuneration and allowances.

When asked how the factors that lead to ineffective journalism could be countered, Anna said, *'These are problems I think can be solved by increasing journalists' salaries and allowances for the necessary equipment. If my salary is increased, and my equipment or travel allowance is increased, I will be able to do more research and investigation when working'*. In this case, Anna states that an increased salary would enable her do more research and get better equipment which will be beneficial for her work. James, however, focused more on the journalists that would benefit from a salary increase and not what they would use it for. According to James, *'I think the key to solving this problem is providing adequate remuneration and increasing the allowances given to journalists. The first step though should be increasing the amount paid to trainee and junior journalists. What they pay these people is not encouraging at all'*. While James mentioned the need for an increased salary, he specifically stated that junior journalists were the priority and should receive better salaries. This can be attributed to the recurring theme where some of the participants noted that the challenges of effective journalism often affect newly employed and junior journalists.

Chris went further and expatiated on James's perspective. He also stated that the inadequate salaries led to half-rate journalism as well as the proliferation and normalisation of bribery and brown-envelope journalism. Chris said, *'I think there should be a regulation of*

salaries for journalists because fresh graduates are being paid peanuts... I heard of a big newspaper that's sold all over Nigeria that was using freelance journalists and paying them one Naira per word. So that ends up being 1000 Naira per 1000 words. If journalists are paid that, how much research can you expect them to do eh? They just copy, paraphrase and submit. The NUJ needs to sponsor a bill for the regulation of journalists' salaries. If anything, this should reduce the way bribe is seen as normal'.

Chris suggested that salaries for journalists all over Nigeria be regulated to ensure they are paid well enough to practise effective journalism without resorting to collecting bribes or brown envelopes. Like Daniel, Chris stated that there was a need for regulation of salaries but did not specify that the regulation was for only the junior journalists. Chris also stated that the existence of a standard salary range would ensure that the journalists who work in small newspapers are not overworked and underpaid.

Like other participants in this research, Beth said that resolving the monetary challenges journalists were faced with was also the key to reducing bribery and brown-envelope journalism. She said *'Journalists in Nigeria are not paid well, in my opinion; this is why bribery is so popular. Also, the individuals offering bribes know that many journalists are not well paid. If salaries are increased, then bribery will not be as serious'*. Apuke (2016) supported the stances adopted by Chris, Daniel and Beth. Similarly, Apuke stated that salaries paid to 'cub journalists' should be improved; this is because the unsatisfactory salary received by journalists made them susceptible to lobbying and brown-envelope journalism. Apuke (2016) focuses on the improvement of salaries paid to cub journalists and seasoned journalists to improve their effectiveness and curb brown-envelope journalism.

From the proposed recommendations, it can be argued that improving the remuneration and allowances that journalists are provided will help to reduce the occurrence of bribery and brown-envelope journalism. Also, the increased remuneration will be useful in helping journalists acquire the necessary technological devices needed to work. Notably, Nwanne (2016) advocated that journalists should be provided with government loans to enable them buy the equipment they need, thus emphasising the need of funding for journalists (even in government-owned media) to buy technological devices.

One challenge that cannot be resolved with increased remuneration and allowances is gender discrimination. However, Beth proffered the use of gender-equality policies as a solution to this challenge. She said: *'I think media houses should put policies in place to ensure that everyone is given equal opportunities'*. Anna offered a similar recommendation as a way to tackle gender discrimination and consequently ensure effective journalism. Anna said, *'I think that women should be considered as capable and equal contributors in the office. We should be given the same opportunities as our male colleagues'*.

Significantly, one area where no recommendations or solutions were provided was 'censorship or suppression'. However, it is necessary that this challenge be countered for journalists to practise effective journalism. Ali (2013) asserts that censorship and suppression have an overwhelming impact on the objectivity shown by the Nigerian media.

The participants of the research provided a plethora of recommendations on how the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism can be countered. However, the most common recommendation and noticed theme are 'the improvement of remuneration and allowances of journalists in Nigeria'.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to identify the factors that made practising effective journalism in Nigeria difficult. This is because for journalism to be complete, it must have achieved the final result which is providing the public with truthful, useful information that can be used to make decisions. To successfully achieve the aim of this research, the following questions were answered during the research process:

- What factors contribute to the difficulty of practising effective journalism in Nigeria?
- Are the identified factors a common theme in Nigerian journalism?
- How can these factors be mitigated?

To answer these research questions, a qualitative research approach and a constructivist paradigm were adopted. In line with the research approach and paradigm, semi-structured interviews were used to get the information used in this research. This adopted research method was useful in acquiring detailed information and varying perspectives that contributed to the answer of the research questions. The information acquired from the journalists that were interviewed was used to conduct a thematic analysis. The findings of the research questions were gotten through the thematic analysis.

From the interviews and literature review, it was discovered that the phrase 'effective journalism' was uncommon. Furthermore, there was a gap in research on the subject of effective journalism in Nigeria. While much academic literature talked about journalism and the challenges of journalism, very few talked about the end product of journalistic activities. However, the information gotten from the interviews shows that despite the unpopularity of the phrase effective journalism the journalists interviewed consider the end product of journalism before and while writing an article.

The first research question addressed the factors that make practising effective journalism challenging. The findings from this study did not differ greatly from the findings gotten from the literature review. The factors that impede practising effective journalism are inadequate remuneration and allowances, brown-envelope journalism, censorship, lack of equipment

and training on how to use newer technological devices. A discovery of significance is that a single factor which is 'inadequate remuneration and allowances', may be responsible for the birth of three other challenges to effective journalism. This is because insufficient funds lead to an inability to purchase necessary equipment, encourage brown-envelope journalism and may lead to monetarily motivated censorship. Hence, a major challenge to effective journalism is the poor salary and allowances given to the journalists. While gender discrimination is a factor identified using thematic analysis, there is insufficient academic material that addressed the relationship between gender and ineffective journalism. Hence, further research is needed in this area.

The second research question was aimed at determining if the factors that make it difficult to practise effective journalism are common in Nigerian journalism. The findings from the thematic analysis and analysis of the academic literature show that the factors are common in Nigerian journalism. Importantly, while these factors are common, they tend to affect younger journalists who are just starting their career or individuals who work in smaller newspapers.

The third research question addressed how the factors that made it difficult to practise effective journalism could be mitigated. The findings from the first and second research questions were instrumental in answering this research question. First, the literature and interviews provided data that showed that increasing the remuneration and allowances of journalists could help to mitigate these challenges of effective journalism. A larger salary and allowance would eliminate the problems caused by low remuneration: problems such as brown-envelope journalism, inadequate equipment and unwillingness to work due to insufficient remuneration.

Discovering if the factors that made it difficult to practise effective journalism were common made it possible to identify the people who were likely to be affected by them. By doing so, it was possible to determine that these challenges to effective journalism should be addressed with the journalists who are just starting their career as a priority. Hence, reviewing the salaries paid to journalists may have to be considered from the lower levels first. Also, the regulation of journalists' salaries will ensure that even journalists in smaller Nigerian newspapers are paid fairly. Significantly, the participants in this research could not offer any

suggestions for how censorship and suppression could be mitigated as factors that affect effective journalism.

An area of significance noted in this research was the impact of gender discrimination on effective journalism. The academic material that was reviewed did not provide sufficient evidence to support the argument that gender discrimination is a factor that makes practising effective journalism difficult. However, one of the participants in the interview described how gender discrimination hindered effective journalism. For this reason, gender discrimination may be considered as a factor that makes it difficult for women to practise effective journalism.

5.1 Recommendations

To ensure that journalism is effective, more journalists need to be informed on the intended result of journalism. Furthermore, journalists need to take the result of ‘providing people with useful, objective information that can be used to make decisions’ into consideration when working. Also, Nigerian journalists need to be paid adequate remuneration that allows them to equip themselves and work effectively without compromising the quality of their work or collecting brown envelopes.

5.2 Recommendation for Future Research

This research identified five factors that make it difficult to achieve effective journalism. In future research, a larger sample size will be useful for identifying other challenges that make it difficult to practise effective journalism. Also, while conducting this research, it was observed that there is a notable gap in existing research on the relationship between gender discrimination and effective journalism. This is an area that requires further research.

A factor that hinders effective journalism is censorship and suppression. However, there was little academic material that addressed how this problem could be mitigated. Further research is needed to ascertain how censorship and suppression can be countered.

5.3 Limitations of the Research

While conducting this research, two limitations were identified; first, this qualitative research approach was employed with interviews being the method of data collection. Five

participants were interviewed to get the data used. However, five is the minimum recommended sample size, and this is a small number considering that this research talks about the challenges of effective journalism in Nigeria. Also, each of the journalists interviewed for this research was not from different geo-political zones. Hence, they may have had similar experiences working as journalists. This sample size cannot be said to represent the entire population of Nigerian journalists. While this sample size is sufficient for gathering the data used to get the findings, the acquired findings cannot be easily generalised or transferred.

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Appendices

Consent Form

Researcher: Elohor Ishaka

- The aim of this study is to examine why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is challenging.
- You will be asked 15 questions concerning your work as a journalist in Nigeria. The interview should last around 30-45 minutes.
- This research is important as it explores the challenges that journalists in Nigeria encounter. This research also assesses how the challenges affect the ability of Nigerian journalists to practise effective journalism. There is some existing research on the challenges of journalism in Nigeria but they are not detailed. This research will provide insight from journalists that work in Nigeria.
- All information will be anonymised with the key kept in a password protected computer.
- Personal participant information will not be used for any reason and participants will not be identifiable in any published material.
- Participation in this research is voluntary and you will be able to withdraw at will. If you withdraw from the research, any supplied information will be deleted.
- If you have any questions about this research, please contact:
 - Elohor Ishaka: elohorishaka1@gmail.com (researcher)
 - Brian Maye: brian.maye@griffith.ie (research supervisor)
- This project has been approved by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

Participant Signature _____

Researcher Signature _____

Information Sheet

Title of Research Study:

“Why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is challenging”

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Dear interviewee,

You are invited to take part in a research study to examine why practising effective journalism in Nigeria is challenging. During this research I would like to interview you to ask about your experience working as a journalist in Nigeria. This research is part of a Master’s Thesis in Journalism and Media Communications for Griffith College, Dublin.

Before you decide whether to take part in the study it is important that you understand what the research is for and what you will be asked to do. Participating in this research is voluntary. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep. You will also be asked to sign a consent form. You can change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study without giving a reason. If you choose to withdraw from this study, any information you previously supplied will be deleted.

The purpose of this research is to get an insight into the challenges of practising effective journalism in Nigeria and see if there is a recurring theme.

You have been chosen because of your experience working as a journalist in Nigeria. If you choose to take part, the interview will last for 30- 45 minutes and will be arranged at a time to suit you.

Information from the interview will be used to analyse what issues journalists encounter when working in Nigeria. The information will also be used to narrow down the challenges of effective journalism.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed. Each of the five interviewees will be assigned a number and the key to real names and organisations will be kept in a password-protected folder.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you need further information

Yours sincerely,

Elohor Ishaka

0879383209

elohorishaka1@gmail.com

Sample of Interview

Beth

Q- Had you heard of effective journalism before participating in this interview?

Beth: No, I know what both terms mean, but I have not heard them used like this. What does it mean?

Q- Journalism is deemed effective when the end result of journalism is achieved. This end result is providing the public with useful information that they can use to make decisions.

Q- Do you take the end product (providing the public with useful information) of journalism into consideration when you work?

Beth – Yes, if I am not providing useful information then why bother writing?

Q- How easy or difficult has it been to provide useful information to the public?

Beth: It has been quite challenging for me, I won't lie. But God has been faithful and seen me through many problems.

Q- You mentioned providing useful information to the public has been difficult, what challenges or difficulties made it difficult to provide the public with useful information?

Beth: Ummm... I have worked in 2 newspapers. Should I answer this question based on my experience with both or just my current employer?

Q- Please answer the question based on all your experience working as a journalist in Nigeria.

Q- What challenges or difficulties have made it difficult for you to provide the public with useful information?

Beth: I was and am still micromanaged to some extent.⁷ When I just got my job, I was cautioned often about what I could say about certain people. I found it quite annoying because by the time the information on the person had been carefully written, I felt the story was less wholesome and lacked some objectivity.⁸ Now, there are fewer instances where I am told not to write negatively about a certain person. I think that is a move in a good direction.

Q- Are there any other challenges you have experienced while trying to provide the public with useful information in a timely manner?

Beth: Something that has made it difficult for me to work properly is the salary.⁹ I wish most newspapers would review their salaries in consideration of the work that journalists do.

Surviving in xxxxx on a journalist's salary is not easy at all. If not, I have another source of income, I am sure I would have quit my job as a journalist.¹⁰

Q- How did the insufficient salary affect your ability to provide the public with information?

Beth: In my experience an insufficient salary lessens your resolve when doing extensive research on a story. When I was still earning a small salary I found that I would try to avoid doing strenuous work, I did not go all out. Maybe it was a mental thing but I had that 'I can't kill myself' feeling. I feel like I was more encouraged and determined to do better after my salary increased significantly at the newspaper I work for now.

Q- To what extent do you think bribery or brown-envelope journalism is popular in Nigeria?

Beth: This is very popular. Once you become a senior journalist or popular journalist, you will be contacted by people who want you to give them publicity or talk about them in a good way.

Q- To what extent does bribery or brown envelope journalism affect a journalist's ability to provide the public with useful information?

Beth: I think it depends on what the journalist is being given a brown envelope for. If the people giving the bribe want publicity, then I don't think the bribe has any impact on effective journalism. But, if the bribe is given to the journalist to bury a story or manipulate the story, it does affect the ability of the journalist to provide the public with useful information.¹⁴

Q- To what extent does the availability or lack of technological equipment affect your ability to work effectively?

Beth: Technology and new devices have made my work so much easier. Sometimes I wonder how I managed without the equipment, apps and other things I have now. I think the only problem I have had is learning to use the new equipment.¹⁵ I can say that it has affected my ability to provide the public with useful information only a little.

Q – Have you ever experienced gender discrimination at work?

Beth: I did experience this when I just started working.

Q- Please can explain further your experience with gender discrimination at work?

Beth: Most of the stories I covered were in areas such as entertainment, home care and health. Most of my male colleagues were assigned stories on politics and business. I noticed this early on, but I could do nothing about it. However, I have not had the same experience with the second newspaper I write for. I am blessed in this aspect. Honestly, before I started working, I was told that gender discrimination was popular, and I expected it. Another way I have experienced gender discrimination is outside the office. Sometimes when I went to interview people, they did not take me seriously.¹⁸ At times; they even made advances towards me.

Q- Do you think gender discrimination has affected your ability to inform the public?

Beth: It has because when you are writing some stories, you need to interview multiple people. When a few of these people see that I am a woman, they take me less seriously and I think this affects the resulting article.¹⁵

Q. How do you think gender discrimination can be countered?

Beth: I think media houses should put policies in place to ensure that everyone is given equal opportunities.³

Q- You mentioned that insufficient salary and brown envelope journalism can affect the ability a journalist to practise effective journalism; how do you think these problems can be mitigated

Beth: Both of these issues are linked. I think if you can solve one, you can solve the other problem. Journalists in Nigeria are not paid well, in my opinion; this is why bribery is so popular. Also, the individuals offering bribes know that many journalists are not well paid. If salaries are increased, then bribery will not be as serious.⁴

Q. Do you believe these difficulties you face are a common occurrence?

Beth: I think they are common because these are issues that some colleagues still complain about.³ At many of the conferences and seminars I have attended in the past, these were hot topics.

Daniel

Q- Had you heard of effective journalism before agreeing to this interview?

Daniel: Um, i hadn't heard of effective journalism. It's not something I can say I've heard of. I know different types of journalism, but I have not heard anyone use this phrase before. I think I know what effective journalism means, though.

Q- Okay, Journalism is deemed effective when the end result of journalism is achieved. This end result is providing the public with useful information that they can use to make decisions.

Daniel: Yeah, that was what I thought

Q- Do you take the end product of journalism into consideration when you work?

Daniel: Definitely, I do. I take the public into consideration and I take the information I supply the public into consideration when I work because that is my job, that is what journalists do. When I work, I must work with intention.

Q- How easy or difficult has it been to provide useful information to the public in a timely manner?

Daniel: That is, you are trying to ask how easy it has been. How easy my work has been to try and provide information? It's not easy, it's not very easy. Journalism is not just hearing something and writing it, there is a long and sometimes tiring process. You have to do research and determine what angle to approach your assignment from. I think people have this idea that journalists just write from what they have heard, but there is a lot of verification entailed in the process. So yeah, the process is not easy as many people think.

Q- Can you explain some difficulties you have experienced trying to acquire and disseminate useful information or trying to do your work effectively?

Daniel: The first challenge that I have and I think many journalists in Nigeria will agree with is the monetary part of things aspect. That is the salary, allowance, all these things. It makes it hard to do the work that I want to do.

Q- Can you please expatiate on how the monetary aspect and finances affect your ability to do your work?

Daniel: Okay, a lot of expenses can be incurred when working and the salary is not enough for most journalists to live on. I have been working for over 5 years now and I can say that my salary is not where I hoped it would be. It's not up to standard and I actually work for a good newspaper. It's not one of the top three newspapers in Nigeria, but at least it's a reputable newspaper. And you know, the work I do entails travelling to the surrounding area to do research, part of my allowances is also for travelling. I have to buy my data plan; I have to join different journalism associations; I submit articles for publication. So the allowance and the salary is not enough for me to live a comfortable life, take care of my bills so I also work as a freelance journalist.²² So when the money is not enough, because you asked how it affects my ability to provide useful information. When the money is not enough, you are less willing to go the extra mile to get information. If I can get information from another friend who is in a certain area, why should I travel there to do the research and get the information myself? That is one way it impacts it. On top of that, even the salary is not regular, and the allowance is often paid late. All these things make it difficult to fulfil my duty. That's it.

Q- Have you heard of brown-envelope journalism or encountered it?

Daniel: I have heard of it, this is one of those things that you hear about really quickly. You either hear about it because you are hoping to experience it or just when you start working, they warn you about it. That kind of thing.

Q- To what extent do you think bribery or brown-envelope journalism is popular in Nigeria?

Daniel: Like I said, it's something you hear about when you start working, it is quite common. This is my experience though, as I have only worked for one newspaper.

Q- To what extent does bribery or brown-envelope journalism affect a journalist's ability to provide the public with useful information?

Daniel: You are talking about how bribery affects the journalist's ability to provide useful information? I think it depends on the situation. I do think it can affect the journalist's work. If we are talking about politics, there are a lot of things that can be said about politics that will affect how the public will view a political figure and that is deemed useful information. If they bribe the journalist, they won't say it. So yes, bribery can affect how a journalist can present information, it can make the journalist hide useful information.²³ It is something of concern.

Q- Have you ever received a brown envelope for favours?

Daniel: I have received a brown envelope, but it was not said that I had to do anything. It was more of a 'thank you'. Once, i was asked to write a feature article about a top personality in xxxxx state. Afterwards, I encountered the person, and I was given a thank you envelope. This has happened a few times, but it does not happen every day. It was just a thank you; I was not asked to do anything that I did not want to do.

Q- To what extent does the availability or lack of technological equipment affect your ability to work effectively?

Daniel: This is a very important issue, but funny enough, it is an issue that most newspapers do not handle properly. I feel that if you have the right equipment, then most of your work can be done easily, The work of corresponding with people, finding out information, researching. But if you work for a paper where they do not have their own equipment , they do not assign any allowances for that and you are left to buy your own equipment, then it becomes very difficult to provide any useful information. In fact I feel this is one of those things they ought to make a priority. That is a lot of newspapers, when you hire a journalist, one of the first things you do is to ensure that they have the necessary equipment.

Q- Have you ever experienced censorship at work?

Daniel: I have actually, but it is not so common that I can say it happens to me every day. It is just one of those things that I think happens sometimes.

Q- Can you describe your experience with censorship at work?

Daniel: hmmm... It's been years now so I cannot tell you exactly what happened but I remember that I was assigned to write an article and after writing it I was called in by the editor and told that I said something or certain things that, you know was not appropriate. At the time, I thought my work was not inappropriate in any way; I was talking about a popular topic at the time and was just expatiating on what journalists were saying and providing more information. So, yes, I have experienced censorship a few times. Not so much anymore as I do not cover politics anymore. So, I have not experienced censorship lately. It is something that if your editor or a senior journalist has any affiliations with the person or people being mentioned, definitely, you will experience some censorship. That is normal. If you are writing for a small newspaper, it is unlikely that you will experience it because they do not have the reach that the bigger newspaper has.

Q- Are there any other challenges you have experienced while trying to provide the public with useful information in a timely manner?

Daniel: The other challenges I have experienced are more of office matters and I cannot say that they affect my ability to provide the public with useful information. These are just disagreement with colleagues, office matters. I think that in the time that I have been working, my main problem is the pay. That is my main issue. I wish that in Nigeria they would give journalists the payment they deserve for the work that they do, it is not easy.

Q- The challenges you mentioned, how do you think they can be countered or mitigated?

Daniel: The monetary aspect, I feel like this is a situation where they need to find a standard salary for journalists, an agreed salary. So journalists who work in small newspapers are not suffering or in a situation where they are underpaid, because this is very common in Nigeria. We also talked about bribery, the bribery own, I don't think it is so common but I don't think

it is easy to guard against it because it is common in higher positions and you can't do anything about it then.⁶ What was the last challenge we mentioned, please?

Q- Are you referring to the lack of technology and equipment?

Daniel: Yes, when newspapers employ people, they should provide the equipment that can be used and people can work better.⁷ However, if you pay people small amounts but still expect them to upgrade their equipment themselves, it won't work. These are the ways I think you can guard against these issues that journalists in Nigeria face because the work of providing useful information quickly is not easy at all.

Q. Do you believe these difficulties you face are a common occurrence?

Daniel: Yeah, I work with journalists; I work as a freelancer; I attend all these conferences and all that. A lot of journalists complain and depending on where you are in Nigeria, different journalists experience different issues but these ones that we talked about now, money, we talked about censorship and equipment. These are things that are very common in Nigeria.⁵ A lot of journalists are experiencing this and I think it has a lot to do with the fact that there is minimal regulation. Newspapers and magazines are popping up everywhere, and journalism graduates are fighting for available job opportunities. So, all these newspapers know that they will always have people to hire, so they treat journalists anyhow. That is why I feel these difficulties are common.

Thematic Analysis

Research questions

Q1. What factors contribute to the difficulty in practicing effective journalism in Nigeria?

Q2. Are the identified factors a common theme in the Nigerian media industry?

Q3. How can these factors be mitigated?

Initial Codes in relation to Research Q1: Factors that contribute to the difficulty in practicing effective journalism in Nigeria

1. Monetary problems
2. Inability to find well-paying employer
3. Absence of necessary equipment
4. Inadequate remuneration to cover miscellaneous work expenses
5. Fewer work opportunities (gender based)
6. Insufficient resources
7. Micromanaged by superiors
8. Inability to report freely on certain people
9. Small salary
10. Need for supplemental income
11. Out-dated office equipment
12. Poorly equipped staff
13. Refusal of request for extra work allowances.
14. Use of bribe to bury and manipulate stories.
15. Lack of training on using new equipment
16. Journalism is fast paced
17. Threats or danger of profession
18. Inability to access databases because of cost
19. Bribery influencing journalist's judgment
20. Erratic power supply
21. Inadequate salary and work allowances
22. Inadequate salary necessitates supplementing income
23. Bribery as an incentive to hide useful information
24. Bribery encourages the dissemination of information to favour one party not the public
25. Censorship limits information available to the public

Initial Codes in relation to Research Q2: Are the identified factors a common theme in the Nigerian media industry?

1. These challenges are especially common in early career
2. These challenges are especially common with small newspapers
3. These challenges are common
4. Some challenges are common
5. Experiences may differ but these challenges are common.

Initial Codes in relation to Research Q3: How can these factors be mitigated?

1. Workers' salaries and allowances should be increased
2. Increase salaries of trainee and junior journalists
3. Equal opportunity policies (gender)
4. Salary increase to combat bribery
5. sponsor bill to regulate salaries
6. Difficult to tackle bribery
7. Provision of equipment for workers
8. Women should be given the same opportunities as our male colleagues

Associating Codes with Themes from the Literature Review

Q1

Monetary problems	
Inability to find well-paying employer	
Inadequate remuneration to cover miscellaneous work expenses	
Insufficient resources	
Small salary	
Need for supplemental income	

Refusal of request for extra work allowances	Inadequate remuneration and allowances
Inadequate salary and work allowances	
Inadequate salary necessitates supplementing income	
Absence of necessary equipment	Lack of necessary equipment and lack of training on using them
Insufficient resources	
Out-dated office equipment	
Poorly equipped staff	
Lack of training on using new equipment	
Inability to access databases because of cost	
Micromanaged by superiors	Censorship
Inability to report freely on certain people	
Censorship limits information available to the public	
Threats of arrest	
Use of bribe to bury and manipulate stories	Use of bribes or brown envelope journalism
Bribery influencing journalist's judgment	
Bribery as an incentive to hide useful information	

Bribery encourages the dissemination of information to favour one party not the public	
Fewer work opportunities because of gender	Gender Discrimination
Journalism is fast paced	
Erratic power supply	

Q2

These challenges are common	The identified challenges to practising effective journalism are common
Experiences may differ but these challenges are common.	
Some challenges are common	
These challenges are especially common in early career	The identified challenges to practising effective journalism may occur in certain circumstances
These challenges are especially common with small newspapers	

Q3

Workers' salaries and allowances should be increased	Regulation and increment of salaries to ensure effective journalism and to tackle bribery
Increase salaries of trainee and junior journalists	
Salary increase to combat bribery	
Sponsor bill to regulate salaries	
Women should be given the same opportunities as our male colleagues	Use of policies to ensure gender equality and provision of equal opportunities
Equal opportunity policies (gender)	