

# The Instrumentality of Media in Evolving and Sustaining Political Goodwill for Credible Governance in Nigeria

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#### **Abstract**

Over the years and all over the world, one of the most important components of nation building and development is credible governance. Interestingly, credible governance from observation is, not an independent variable; it logically depends on other important variables for its realisation. One of such variables is political goodwill. In any governance system where political goodwill is entrenched, good governance naturally follows. However, to achieve and sustain political goodwill too, the instrumentality of the mass media cannot be overemphasised. Hence, this study takes a theoretical approach to examine the role of the mass media in achieving and sustaining political goodwill in order to attain good governance in Nigeria. Hinged on social contract theory, the study engages in clear conceptual clarification of relevant concepts and it canvasses for massive political education through the mass media. The study then concludes by enjoining the politicians in Nigeria to see governance as social contract.

Keywords: Mass media. Political goodwill, Good governance, Democracy, Social contract

#### INTRODUCTION

All over the world, the overwhelming influence of politics on the entire polity of any nation or society is no longer a question of debate. Political theorists, development scholars and seasoned administrators have come to term with the fact that, politics is central to making or unmaking of other components of the social system. To say the least, the entire spheres of human life - education, business and economy, social relations, media practice or mass media system, governance, international and diplomatic relations, security system as well as religious life within a social system inextricably takes on the colouration of the political system obtainable in the society. No wonder the late Pan-Africanist and Ghanian leader, Kwame Nkrumah advised that we should seek the political kingdom first and every other thing shall be added unto it.

In the process, variables such as political leadership, political goodwill and credible governance among others are indispensable if politics is to serve the end of rapid and total development of any nation. In view of this, Nwiabu (2011) succinctly emphasises that:

There is consensus among theorists and development practitioners that one of the greatest challenges to the development of nations is political leadership. The progress, development and fortunes of many nations are tied to the type and quality of political leadership that they have had and continue to have.

Hence, it is instructive to note that, we cannot talk of political goodwill and credible governance without recourse to political leadership. In other words, the duo of political goodwill and credible governance are dependable variables to political leadership. The former are direct products of the latter. In a critical analysis, a good political leadership would automatically beget political goodwill which in turn would be a great asset in achieving credible governance. No wonder, Nigerian experience vis-à-vis our political profile and political development clearly shows that we are yet to get it right. Writers and observers like Chinua Achebe all agree that Nigeria's fundamental problem is the poor quality of the country's leadership. Our democratic experience with particular reference to the current Forth Republic clearly shows that our political leaders unarguably do not enjoy political goodwill from the citizenry and as such makes good governance yet a mirage.

The reason is not farfetched. The failure of the Nigerian politicians who are the most visible face of governance in the country to internalise such concepts as social contract, rule of law and other principles of democracy has led us into this problem.

"For a country like Nigeria, which had experienced military dictatorship for many years, the issues that should interest its citizens are that of good governance, change and democracy.

These are issues that affect the foundations of our country and determine the course of our future progress" (Alimi, 2002) regrettably remarks. Importantly too, improper exploration or under-exploration of the media to



positively project good political values inherent in democracy which could accelerate good and credible governance also worsens the situation. No doubt, media in general is a virile instrument in the process of evolving and sustaining political goodwill and good governance.

Therefore, this paper attempts to examine relevant key concepts such as political goodwill, credible governance, media and democracy. It will equally delve into the essential cannons of democracy and why Nigerian politicians need to understand the theory of social contract in order to engender positive feelings from the citizens and build popular support for the country's democracy.

# FRAMING THE CONCEPTS

#### Media

It is important to observe that discussions on media or the mass media from various quarters have always established their paramount importance and centrality as social institution to the development of any nation. Aside from scholars of mass communication, media studies, authorities outside the profession who keenly and closely observe the trends and strategies of development the world over have acknowledged the inevitable roles of the mass media. For instance, cited by Akinfeleye (2008) Thomas Jefferson, one of the most respected America's philosophers and the third President of the United States of America succinctly painted a picture of the centrality of the mass media in national development when he declares;

...since the basis of Democracy was opinion of the people, the very first objective was to keep that...if it were left for me to decide whether we should have a government without the mass media or the mass media without a government, I should not hesitate to choose the latter.

Similarly, Akinfeleye (2008) equally cites Pope John Paul II during his last visit to Nigeria and Africa when he told Nigerian journalists that the mass media are agents of national development. He therefore urged journalists to follow the social responsibility theory of the press as a means of advocating African society on developmental issues.

In his words, the world spiritual leader submits;

Here you are in the initial stages of development while the more industrialised countries have already attained a high level of development in this sector. The situation increases your responsibility, while giving you a unique opportunity through your mass media systems to contribute decisively to the existence of man and total development in Africa.

With little or no analysis, the above submissions have classically underscored the importance of the mass media in the process of national development which practically involves the political life of the citizenry. Essentially however, what then are mass media? 'The term mass media refers to as any form of communication that simultaneously reaches a large number of people including but not limited to radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, the internet, billboards, films, recordings and books' (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006).

Mustapha (2008) defines thus; "Mass media are the communication channels that facilitate simultaneous diffusion of information, ideas, facts, data etc to a mass audience that are situated in far flung locations". Daramola (2008) equally defines mass media "as the contemporary means of circulating information to a multiple of people in a diversified society such as Nigeria. They include but not limited to publications such as books, magazines, newspapers and other periodicals as well as electronic channels such as radio and television". These definitions and other ones automatically confer certain distinctive roles or functions on the mass media as postulated by the great Harold Lasswell. These are surveillance of the environment (watch dog role), transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to another and correlation of the society. Charles Wright later added the entertainment role (Cited by Aina, 2003, p,154).

From these roles emanated different descriptions of mass media in relation to national development or the society in general. "...indices of the participant society...major instrument of social change..." (Dan Lerner), "... mediating factors and one of the social forces in the nation's march to maturity" (Akinfeleye, 2008), mass media are institution of opinion-moulding, societal integration, channels of democratic survival, vanguard and tribune of people's interest, projectors and promoters of desirable image, information bank etc (Yusuf, 2009). To this end, the import from all these rhetorics about mass media ultimately showcase their core values and how these can be explored in evolving and sustaining political goodwill for good and credible governance.

# **Democracy**

Beyond the general framing and conception of the term democracy is the classic postulation of Robert A. Dahl, who made numerous contributions to the study and theory of democratic politics. According to him,

. . . a key characteristic of a democracy is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens,



considered as political equals... I should like to reserve the term 'democracy' for a political system, one of the characteristics of which is the quality of being completely or almost completely responsive to all of its citizens (Dahl 1973), cited by Richard (1991, p 15).

From a liberal perspective, Dennis *et al* (1980) note that, democracy is any form of system premised on four elements; popular consent, political equality, majority rule and popular consultation (p.16). Also, "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at a political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Schumpeter 1942, cited by Richard 1991, p, 18).

However, from an etymological view point, the democracy is derived from two Greek words: *demos* - people and *Kratein* - to govern or to rule. It logically follows that democracy is the government of the people or government of the majority hence; the most common definition of democracy by Abraham Lincoln- "the government of the people, by the people and for the people". This connotes that the citizens must participate actively, freely and voluntarily in the process of choosing their leaders and participating in public affairs as they affect them.

Popular participation is the hallmark of any democratic system of governance. The most manifest evidence of this is voting during election. The willingness and enthusiasm of the people during election will demonstrate their level of acceptance and feeling toward the process of governance. How we approach the electoral process is a function of many factors. The process must be open, fair and transparent. It must be able to guarantee one man, one vote ensuring that those elected genuinely won.

When the electoral process cannot guarantee such conditions, the people are more likely to withdraw from the political process. Election and voting become an empty ritual cynicism and for scepticism also become the order of the day. If the government cannot guarantee the sanctity of the ballot box, how can the system engender political goodwill? How can we talk of sustaining political goodwill when those expected to display such goodwill do not see the products of the electoral process as their true representatives. Importantly however, for democracy to thrive, certain cannons are essential. These are not only widely accepted, they are universal. They include.

- Fundamental freedom and fundamental rights
- Elections
- Rule of law
- Separation of powers
- The parliament
- Democratic pluralism
- The government and the opposition
- Public opinion and freedom of the media (Paula and Jean-Aime, 2008)

Other important elements of democracy include and not limited to

- Sovereignty of the people
- Government based upon consent of the governed
- Majority rights
- Guarantee of basic human rights
- Equality before the law
- Due process of law
- Constitution limits on government
- Social, economic and political pluralism
- Values of tolerance, pragmatism, cooperation and compromise
- Open, transparent and accountable government

Democracy is "an ideal instrument of mutual coexistence in sovereign states which has come to replace totalitarianism as an acceptable platform in civilized, modern and progressive societies. Perhaps its beauty stems from its uniqueness, flexibility, dynamism, accommodation, tolerance, liberalism, rejuvenation and durability (Jonathan 2004). "These features and benefits are so juicy and obviously meritorious for any contemporary society to ignore. Indisputably, this informs the almost uncontrollable euphoria and high expectations with which Nigerians and indeed the world greeted Nigeria's return to democratic governance on May 29, 1999".

#### **Political Goodwill**

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, goodwill means "friendly or helpful feelings towards other



people or countries." It connotes friendly relationship between two or more entities, be it humans or institutions. Political goodwill could therefore be interpreted to mean the totality of the process of political performance through which political leadership enjoys support, trust and confidence, cordiality, fellowship, cooperation, interest and concern from the governed. Simply put, it is the process through which political leadership achieves good reputation among its subjects. Hence sustainable political goodwill leads to credible or good governance. To achieve political goodwill however, the essentials of democracy must flourish and the media must be fully utilised. For the average citizen to display any affection to the government i.e. political goodwill he or she must be convinced that the government is working in the interests of the majority of the people in terms of provision of qualitative and affordable social services, security of lives and property and adherence to such intrinsic values

In particular, political goodwill is tied to such values as accountability, openness and transparency, protection of fundamentals human right, selfless public delivery, sovereignty and the consent of the people. With specific reference to accountability, Osakwe (2010) observes that, "accountability has to do with the institutionalising of the system of checks and balances in order to check excesses and abuse". He further submits that:

like obedience to rule of law and what the Yoruba term *Omoluabi* in personal and official conduct.

Accountability is all encompassing concept which has to do with the full and faithful discharge of assignment, responsibility, covenant and trust. This is considered central in all social relations, whether between individual or between the servants of the state government or between public servants and the people they are meant to serve".

In the Nigerian context, the scholar equally asserts that, "accountability is noticed more by its absence that is, the failure of the government or an agent of government or an elected or appointed officer to discharge official trust as given". Today in Nigeria, accountability is practically missing among the political class. Consequently, it becomes a corollary to lack of good political leadership which still remains the bane of our political and economic development. A very good and comprehensive analysis of the situation was attempted by Osakwe (2010) that:

Lack of accountability manifests in a number of ways, for example, uncompleted projects. Nigerian physical environment is dotted with abandoned projects; some are as old as the first republic and nonfunctioning industrial establishments. This may explain why Nigeria, the 6<sup>th</sup> biggest world producer of oil are having four lame oil refineries, cannot meet domestic demands for petroleum products. The steel sector has also suffered severe knocks from political recklessness. A country with two major iron and steel industries and inland rolling mills cannot produce 10% of domestic iron needs. Nigeria has the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest bitumen deposits in the world; yet up to 2010, exploitation has not commenced. Nigeria instead spends billions of dollars to import bitumen annually.

Worrisomely, he laments further:

Lack of accountability also manifests itself in other areas like poor quality of jobs executed and certificate of completion issued, political antagonism/vendetta and discrimination. Funds are denied or withheld to some areas because of their perceived lack of political goodwill towards the government in power. As a result, location of industries, territory and health institutions are denied to deserving communities. In addition, political office holders name institutions and establishments after themselves. The latest dimension is that some serving public officers now own and run universities and huge public funds are spent to fund their private programmes like burial of parents and relations.

This is exactly the state of the nation and "all these forms of political misbehavior are very serious breaches of accountability that could lead to poverty, suffering and depressed economy. These may be responsible for the current high rate of inflation in Nigeria that has been put at 19.5 percent, plus the high level of criminality. Aspirants to public office must be prepared to be scrutinized by the electorate both before and after leaving office. All political failures should be blacklisted by the court of public opinion, fundamental human rights of every citizen of the society and where people are allowed to enjoy the good things of life while actively participating in planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation of social responsibilities".

Good governance as it were, is the golden treasure democracy stands on anywhere it is practised. In this vein, the four mandates of global good governance as espoused by a great thinker and founder of the inter-religious and



international Federation for World Peace, Rev. Sun, M. Moon are germane viz:

- To live for the sake of others
- To dissolve man-made boundaries and barriers and in particular to promote inter-religious cooperations
- To integrate vertical spiritual values, on the one hand, and their horizontal application in human affairs carried out through institutions of governance, on the other hand.
- To lead with the heart of a true-parent, a true teacher and a true politician etc. (cited by Akinfeleye 2004).

Looking at all these imperatives upon which good governance is premised, two fundamental questions arise: where do we find them in Nigeria or Africa as a whole? And who will provide us with a model of good governance in Nigeria? A system of government that would put the citizens first, where public and political office will be seen as a call for patriotic service to the nation in order to better the lots of the entire citizenry.

# SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY AND OUR DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE: AN APPRAISAL

Any discourse on credible governance, democracy, and political goodwill among others might be adjudged deficient without consideration to the theory or concept of social contract. This concept had long ago attracted the attention of ancient political philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1651), John Locke (1689) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762). These are the most famous social contract thinkers. Literature reveal that each of them drew or espoused quite different but unique standing about the concept vis-a vis political authority. For instance, Hobbes advocated absolute monarchy, Locke advocated natural rights and Rousseau advocated collective sovereignty in the name of "the general will".

Basically, the underlying philosophy behind social contract is that which explains the appropriate relationship between individuals and their governments. Social contract exponents assert that individuals unite into political societies by a process of mutual consent, agreeing to abide by common rules and accept corresponding duties to protect themselves and one another from violence and other kinds of harm.

Wilson (2000) notes that, "social theory played an important historical role in the emergence of the idea that political authority must be derived from the consent of the governed. The starting point for most social contract theorists is a heuristic examination of the human condition absent from any political order, usually termed the "state of nature which was popularized by Thomas Hobbes. In this condition, individuals, and their actions are bound only by their personal power and conscience. From this shared starting point, social contract theorists seek to demonstrate in different ways, why a rational individual would voluntarily give up his or her natural freedom to obtain the benefits of political order.

As defined by Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary (2003), a social contract is a voluntary agreement in which mutual benefit occurs between and for individuals, groups, government or a community as a whole. According to any of the theorists and writers organized society is brought into being and invested with the right to secure mutual protection and welfare or to regulate the relations among its members Also, as postulated by Roland (2004)

Social contract theory is almost as old as philosophy itself, having sited as the fundamental basis of the development of government and law, especially democratic theory and application. Central to social contract theory is the idea that moral and political obligations are dependent on an agreement or covenant between people to form a society. In this agreement, people surrender some of their natural freedoms (state of nature) for the good of an ordered and safe society (state of society). A sole ruler or political body enforces the restrictions of freedom. The contract involves parties keeping some natural rights, while accepting restrictions of some liberties as well as assuming some obligations.

Explicating the concept of social contract, Professor John Martin of *La Trobe* University, Australia recounts that "the concept of 'social contract' underpins 21<sup>st</sup> century western democracy. The social contract out-lined by the Swiss-French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) heavily influenced the French revolution, which began a decade after his death in 1778.

Rousseau's experience of being born into a family which provided a privileged education early in his life before the family became destitute with the untimely death of his father and then becoming part of the servant class of the time created his interest in *institutions politique* which led to the publication of the *Social Contract*" (John, 2011).

"A central idea in his writings was that by joining together into civil society through the social contract and abandoning their claims of natural right, individuals can both preserve themselves and remain free.



This of course obligates both civil society and individuals to reciprocate such that governments ensure basic services across the nation and that individuals support these efforts as best they can, especially through lawful behaviour including the payment of taxes levied by governments for the provision of these service".

The Constitutional Rights Foundation (USA) concludes that "social contract theory sets foundation concepts that became the underpinnings of democratic government. The social contract philosophy influenced the implementation of democratic government in many countries and had particular influence on the framers of the US constitution. An early example of this is the *Mayflower Compact* which bound the signers into a "Civil Body Politic" for the purpose of passing "just and equal Laws... for the general good of the Colony". Those words expressed the idea of self-governance for the first time in the New world" (Constitutional Rights Foundation cited by Barbara 2004).

Against this backdrop, it holds that the conception of democracy from time immemorial is premised on the principle and theory of social contract. It is a contract between the government and the governed whereby the latter should be better represented and have certain social services and benefits accrued to them.

Unfortunately, our democratic experience in Nigeria particularly since May 29, 1999 has shown that we are far from the reality. The polity has been dominated by selfish individuals, political opportunists who never understand what social contract or democracy actually holds. Hence, we cannot, as of today, talk of political goodwill or good governance in Nigeria.

The failure of political players in the country over the years has successfully led to political apathy and mistrust from the electorate. The average Nigerian is disconnected from the process of governance. He sees government as an exploitative and oppressive alien institution. It is an undisputable fact that the citizens generally do not trust their governments at all levels in the country. The political performance of our leaders is generally poor and uninspiring. This situation calls for serious efforts toward sustaining our democracy.

#### WHY POLITICAL GOODWILL AND CREDIBLE GOVERNANCE ARE MISSING IN NIGERIA?

There would neither be political goodwill nor shall we have credible governance as long as corruption continues to thrive with its multifarious tentacles in our political life. "Corruption is the unlawful, illegitimate and fraudulent acquisition of status, goods, services, position/privilege, that is, obtaining rights and privileges through methods and procedures that contravene existing laws and accepted procedures. When applied to public life, it means abuse of official trust for selfish and illegitimate personal, group or party gain. Corruption thrives on nutrients such as money, power fear, insecurity and sex" (Osakwe 2011).

Aminu (2002) equally notes that:

Money is the most persuasive means of power and comfort, and that plays a great role in the endemicity of corruption in Nigeria. The struggle for power in Nigeria has, to a great extent, been achieved through the corrupt use of money. And when these corrupt individuals get to power, corruption is adored and glorified.

Corruption in the name of misappropriation of public fund, embezzlement, inflated contract deals, reckless and insensitive financial package for political office holders, dubious creation of political appointments for cronies and political jobbers, manipulation and rigging of elections commissioning of uncompleted projects to mention a few are the bane of the country's politics. It is nagging to note that corruption now permeates all aspects of our lives in Nigeria. Every section has been corrupted and corruption has been established as a core value in our social system! No wonder, Nigeria has over the years been rated as one of the most corrupt nations in the world. How can anyone hear or read the revelations coming out from the oil subsidy probe in the National Assembly and still nurse any goodwill towards the government. If according to Walter Rodney, "Europe Underdeveloped Africa" during colonialism it is our political elite who are now under-developing Nigeria.

Other issues impeding political goodwill and credible governance include lack of patriotism/nationalism, inadequate political education and training, the question of political god-fatherism, ethnocentrism and religious bigotry, mediocrity and sycophancy. All these as well as the question of corruption are direct consequence of lack of good political leadership.

The high level of poverty in the country is another major disincentive and de-motivating factor in any attempt to engender political goodwill towards the government by the citizenry. It is a great paradox that the citizens of a country like Nigeria so blessed by God can be so poor. Yet there is so much opulence amidst the squalor within which the mass of the people live. Nigerians are the proverbial children of the butcher who eat bones. A country that can count some of its citizens among the richest in the world has some of the worst statistics on the Human Development Index. Latest figures show that Nigeria is in the 156<sup>th</sup> position out of 187 countries



surveyed in 2011. As one writer, Alefun Oluwatayo observed this depressing poor condition of development in the country was before the removal of oil subsidy. "By the time the removal is affected, the result will be better imagined than experienced" one can only add that it is no more a matter of imagination, we are already experiencing it.

The Human Development Index report also shows that 70% of Nigerians are living below poverty line. There is no doubt that the mass of the people have, to borrow the words of Sanya Oni in the Nation (20/12/2012), been alienated and consigned to the development fringe. The neo-liberal economic policy imposed on the country by the Bretton Wood Institutions and their local agents will further impoverished majority of Nigerians.

By the time we add to the high level of economic deprivation that the vast majority of Nigerians go through, the army of unemployed youth, the collapse of social infrastructure and the heightened level of insecurity in the country among other debilitating factors, we can then imagine the state of mind of the average Nigerian towards the government and the political class.

#### SUSTAINING OUR DEMOCRACY: THE NEEDFUL

There is dire need for all stakeholders in the country to ensure that our democracy is sustained. A good effort to restructure on the existing democratic edifice might give us the lee-way into a desirable democracy premised on worthy democratic cultures, political goodwill and ultimately; good and credible governance. In the process, the role of the media cannot be overemphasised. The media in this regard would be involved to inculcate good political norms and values into the general citizenry as well as holding the political players accountable to the populace. To sustain our democracy, it is pertinent to take a clue from the exposition of contemporary political scientists. In view of this, Bratton (1997) and Wayande (1995) notes that sustainable democracy is premised on the following:

- Citizens' empowerment to choose and change their leaders through free and fair competitive elections which should also be the means to remove unwanted leaders.
- Respect for civil liberties, freedom of expression, association, worship and property ownership
- Respect for the rule of law: every citizen without exception is controlled by the same set of laws.
- Decentralization and depersonalisation of power. This means that the state should widen the avenues for popular participation in decision making.
- Tolerance of opposition view and the spirit of compromise. This is clearly stressed by Folarin (2002) that "democracy is a conversation not a monopoly conducted by some all-knowing teachers.
- Open, transparent and accountable government
- Established institutions such as independent legislative houses and courts, and civilian control over the military. Also, viable opposition parties, voluntary association and a free press system and prompt service delivery based on the yearnings of the citizens.

# **CONCLUSION**

In order to evolve and engender political goodwill in the country, there should be seriously political education through the various mass media. In the same vein, we must return to certain fundamental principles. For now, politics has been given a bad name in the country. It is often said, "Politics is a dirty game." A writer once observed, "In an environment where politics is routinely denigrated, however, the mechanisms of social transformation, are undermined, that is, anger is depoliticized, often being channelled in starkly antisocial directions" (Boggs, 2000, p.39). Politics must be made more noble and; an instrument of popular empowerment through which a larger and broader spectrum of the citizenry can engage with vital issues of public life, to enable them participate as committed stakeholders in decision-making.

We must give a new and more humane meaning and social purpose to politics, a politics that, in the words of Carl Boggs (2000, p.96) will "transcend the whole range of parochial, competing fragmented, and selfish interests that necessarily clash with the public good."

The public good must be paramount. The people's sense of political efficacy, i.e. a sense or realization that through individual and/or collective action their voices and actions can make a difference in the way they are governed, must be restored. For now the majority of Nigerians feel powerless and irrelevant in the scheme of things. They have been marginalized in every sense of the world. They exist on the fringe of the country's development.

For us to make progress, have credible governance, they must be restored to the mainstream of the country's political economy. The country must embrace a more people-centred socio-economic policy to guide its development. Power must be democratized. Civil society must be re-invigorated for more act we interventionist role in the political and economic process. The last anti-oil subsidy protest has demonstrated that if well organized the people can be a positive force in refocusing our ruling elite towards a more purposive people-oriented governance.



It is time for political actors and gladiators in Nigerian society to begin to see the business of governance as a social contract between them and the governed. In the same vein, they should realize that government is basically a "Management consultant" as once postulated by Osakwe (2011). Osakwe (op cit) asserts that "Government is put in place to do those things the people cannot do cheaper and more easily. Government and its agencies will be judged by their management performance according to the contract document, in this case; the constitution of the country. Government and its functionaries must maintain liberty, freedom, rule of law, justice to everyone; fundamental human rights and general good governance".

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