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The journal which is multi-disciplinary in nature, aims to inspire robust intellectual and scholarly debates, theorizing and research on issues in the gamut of the social and management sciences. The journal aims at the promotion of innovative research in the field of social and management sciences as well as providing a platform for the sharing and dissemination of information between the academic, professional and business world.

Each issue of the journal is designed to inform researchers and practising managers and policy makers on current and emerging developments in the social and management sciences and their practical applications to problems of the global world. Papers are carefully selected to provide readers with analytical, application-oriented approach to managerial problems.
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An Appraisal of Democracy and Press Freedom in Nigeria

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Abstract
Press freedom is an essential ingredient of the democratic culture. The higher the degree of press freedom allowed in any country, the higher the degree of democracy its citizens enjoy. This paper argues that there is a link between democracy and the extent of press freedom in any society but years of military rule had strongly hindered press freedom in Nigeria. The paper further argues that government across all eras be it colonial, military and democratic has been plagued with mistrust and hatred for the press. Successive governments churned out malicious press laws to emasculate the press which offer a potent and enduring platform for a healthy democracy. The paper concludes that obnoxious press laws by successive governments have hindered press freedom, and that despite the democratic rule in Nigeria today, some of these press laws still exist in our legal statutes that infringe on press freedom. The paper recommends that the atmosphere of military hangover which pervades in our environment should be completely eliminated, thus, all anti-press laws that have colonial or military rule history should be expunged from our laws to pave way for a democratic press that operates according to democratic tenets.

Keywords: Act, Amendment, Democracy, Press Freedom, Rule of Law and Obnoxious Laws

Introduction
Press freedom has always been an issue between those who run countries and those who live under their rule. Today, rulers are often unease with media coverage, whether that coverage be about wrong political decisions, about countries being dragged into war and destruction, or about corruption dragging economies into crises and causing social disintegration. There have been many leaders who have complained about the use of this freedom, acknowledging that it may create problems for them but also acknowledging its indispensable importance for a healthy government and society.
Freedom of press is an indispensable component of a democratic society. Respect for freedom of expression and the right of the public to express and receive information result to transparency and accountability of governments. Bruns (2008) maintains that, critical independence, democratic constructiveness and commercial viability are the cardinal principles of press organization. He further argues that governments have been using license and censorship to control the power of mass media and curtail its immense contribution and defense of fundamental human rights. As a fourth estate of the realm, the press holds the executive, legislature and judiciary accountable to the public by exercising functions of watchdog and surveillance. Ideally, media has three essential roles to play in democratization process and good governance: as a watchdog over the powerful, civic forum (for political debate) and agenda-setter (Norris, 2006). In this light, of these three basic functions of media, the first has been the most difficult to exercise in third world such as Africa, due to political manipulation, conglomerates and repression of journalists.

Historically, Nigerian press had kept changing direction from nationalism and a democratic culture to instrument of propaganda for the regional, ethnic and religious bigotry (Oyeleye, 2004). Democracy requires an active media to thrive. This is because the parameters that constitute good governance, which is a common feature of a vibrant civil rule, can be measured by the level of accountability, transparency and rule of law that exist in a country. Ordinarily, it is a difficult task for many governments to appraise itself whether it is doing well or not. Hence, the importance of the media in serving as the prism to review the performance of democratic rule parameters is ever relevant. An attempt to stifle the media in carrying out these functions would bring about dire consequences for good governance.

The press remains an indispensable component of democracy. In his speech on the 2008 world press freedom day, former American President George Bush emphasized importance of the role of the press and mentioned that press freedom was enshrined in the United States constitution. The provision of Press Freedom is enshrined in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended sections 39(1) which states: “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference”. Section 39(2) guarantees that, “…every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions.” Section 22 gives the press the right to hold the government accountable to its citizens, it guarantees, “The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the
fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people.”

The notion is that, independence of press from the state is an essential factor in the democratic environment in mediating between private domain and political elite in public sphere. Democracy has globally opened up spaces for sustenance of press organizations. In Africa, putting an end to dictatorial military governments and replaced by civilian administrations, media industry has witnessed crucial shifts and remarkable expansion of media pluralism (Karikari, 2004). However, Jacob (2002) argues that, democracy largely leans on effective communication system channelled through mass media.

It is unfortunate however that the press which ideally is tasked to promote democratic principles and to help individual form their opinions in a rational way resorts to protect elite interest at the disadvantage of larger society. Lack of press freedom therefore inevitably becomes a problem of democracy (Akinwale, 2006). Despite the inauguration of democratic rule and the passage of Freedom of Information Bill (FOIB), freedom of the press in the present day Nigeria is questionable. Citizens in nominal democratic societies lacking complete free press may likely become victims to violence. In many countries, police brutality is meted out on members of the press including journalists and editors who observe professionalism and do not succumb to government to influence public opinion. Nigeria, China, Cuba and Eritrea were among the countries with high rate of arrested and incarcerated journalists. This paper thus appraises the level of democracy and press freedom in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Democracy

Democracy according to Abraham Lincoln is government of the people, for the people and by the people. In other words, democracy is a system of government that bases its legitimacy on the participation of the people. It is also seen as government by the people; a form of government in which the supremepower is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system. Kaplan (2005) argues that democracy is a process through which people confer with each other to secure food, shelter, land, water and peace for their mutual benefits. As a set of practices associated with the rule of law and wide spread participation in administering that law, democracies have developed across the globe over the years.
He further argues that democracy is created in varying degrees to meet the following goals:

i. To able participation either directly or through elections
ii. To avoid tyranny by rulers
iii. To promote open and fair competition for power on the basis of popular vote
iv. To ensure accountability to the people

**Press Freedom**

Freedom of the press or freedom of the media is the principle that communication and expression through various media, including printed and electronic media, especially published materials, should be considered a right to be exercised freely. Such freedom implies the absence of interference from an overreaching state; its preservation may be sought through constitutional or other legal protections.

Agee, Ault & Emery (1979, p.29) define press freedom as “freedom to print without prior restraint”. This implies that press freedom is the liberty given to a journalist to be free to write without fear or favour. A Journalist has the ability to burrow into the ills of the society thereby making the public aware of happening in their environment. It is vital for the mass media institution to be entrusted with the accountability of observation of the environment through the presentation and analysis of the happenings in society.

Sambe and Ikoni (2004, p.11), argues that “press freedom focuses its attention on the unrestrained liberty to write or publish information for the consumption of the public”. The implication is that, press freedom, being one of the crucial society’s freedoms, is the right of the press to publish any information that is not clearly forbidden by the law. It suggests that the mass media institution must be entrusted with the responsibility of surveillance of the environment through the presentation and analysis of the happenings in society. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a modern society without the press.

Press freedom is also the liberty given to the journalist to write without fear or favour. Oberiri (2017) describes press freedom as the right to print without prior restraint. This implies that press freedom is the right to report facts honestly and faithfully even if they prove inconvenient or embarrassing to someone. Press freedom or freedom of the press as it used interchangeably also presuppose that press should be free to report and analyse on issues without censorship or intimidation. Ameh (2018) argues that press freedom is the right of the press to publish without being subjected to intimidation, threats,
molestation or blackmail. This definition is enhanced by Okoye’s (2008) submission that press freedom is the liberty to gather, hold, express and disseminate information and opinions without official or unofficial restrictions via written and unwritten laws and actions. This implies that press freedom deals with unrestricted liberty to write or publish information for consumption of the public.

Theoretical Framework
Libertarian Theory

This is one of the “normative theories of press” The libertarian theory came in when democracy arrived (i.e. when people had the right to vote), this theory is adopted in England after 1688 and in U.S and it is influential elsewhere in the world.

In the libertarian theory, control is only exercised when the media impinge on the rights of others for example, publishing libelous reports, committing treason, endangering national security. Ownership is private with editorial self-determination (autonomy). Siebert et al (1956) pointed out that “Libertarian theory is an idea of free expression from any authority”. The media have been entrusted to discharge certain public interest functions to a democratic society and by, conferring trust, society is entitled to judge. Borrowing a clue from Keane (1991), he explains that the right to free publication has been viewed as an essential instrument for achieving democracy and a precondition of its adequate practice, especially as means for holding those who have power accountable. Freedom of publication is necessary if critical and alternative voices are to be heard. Indeed, the libertarian theory of the press summarizes what the press should be, as the words of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill as cited in McQuail (2003), “the realization of Bentham’s principle of the ‘greatest good for the greatest number’ requires that government be guided by the wishes of the citizens, which have to be freely expressed. Mill (in On Liberty) argued that the progress and welfare depended on free circulation of ideas by means of which truth and utility would be maximized. The libertarian theory is relevant here since freedom of the press is concerned with the liberty of press to function effectively.

Review of Related Literature
**Democracy and Press Freedom Around the World**

Freedom of the press in the United States is legally protected by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment is generally understood to prevent the government from interfering with the distribution of information and opinions. Nevertheless, freedom of the press in the United States is subject to certain restrictions, such as defamation law, a lack of protection for whistle blowers, barriers to information access and constraints caused by public hostility to journalists (Ameh, 2008).

International agencies rank the United States behind most other Western nations for press freedom, but ahead of most Asian, African and South American countries. The First Amendment permits information, ideas and opinions without interference, constraint or prosecution by the government (McConnell and Michael, 2013). It was adopted on December 15, 1791, as one of the ten amendments that constitute the Bill of Rights. In 2018, the U.S. ranked 45th in the *Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index*. This is an overall measure of freedom available to the press, including a range of factors including government censorship, control over journalistic access, and whistle blower protections. The U.S.’s ranking fell from 20th in 2010 to 49th in 2015, before recovering to 41st in 2016. It fell in 2018 with an increasing hostility to journalists associated with rhetoric by President Donald Trump.

Freedom House, a US-based independent watchdog organization, ranked the United States 30th out of 197 countries in press freedom in 2014. Its report praised the constitutional protections given American journalists and criticized authorities for placing undue limits on investigative reporting in the name of national security. Freedom House gives countries a score out of 100, with 0 as the most free and 100 the least free. The score is broken down into three separately-weighted categories: legal (out of 30), political (out of 40) and economic (out of 30). The United States scored 6, 10, and 5, respectively, that year for a cumulative score of 21.

The West African nation of Ghana has the continent’s best atmosphere for media personnel, a report by the *Reporters Without Borders* (RSF) has said. The 2018 World Press Freedom Index published on Wednesday showed that Ghana dethroned Namibia who were tops in 2017. Ghana placed 23rd on the 180 country list, sandwiched between Samoa and Latvia on 22nd and 24th respectively. Completing the top three slots for Africa were Namibia in 26th and South Africa in 28th slot. At the bottom of the ranking
was Eritrea at 179th, Africa’s worst placement. Others in the not free bracket were Sudan, Egypt, Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Djibouti and Somalia.

The ranking published annually by RSF since 2002, the World Press Freedom Index measures the level of media freedom in 180 countries, including the level of pluralism, media independence, and respect for the safety and freedom of journalists. The 2018 Index takes account of violations that took place between January 1st and December 31st 2017. General elections were held in December 2016 without major incidents or media freedom violations. Ghana is regarded as one of the most democratic countries in Africa and Chapter 12 of its 1992 constitution guarantees media pluralism and independence. But only a very small number of media outlets provide good news coverage. A third of the media are owned by the state or by businessmen linked to the government. The lack of transparency that characterizes the media industry is compounded by a flawed regulatory system that tends to limit the freedom to inform. Thanks to extensive use of mobile phones, a great deal of news and information circulates online. Criminal code provisions penalizing “false news” are sometimes abused in order to harass journalists. But journalists are rarely arrested or imprisoned.

**Democracy and Press Freedom in Nigeria**

There is a link between democracy and the extent of press freedom in any society (Ameh, 2018). Years of military rule in Nigeria had strongly hindered press freedom in Nigeria. After decades of struggle against militarism by virtually all segments of the articulate publics, especially the press, the military reluctantly ceded power to civilians on May 29, 1999. It was a momentous occasion as the mantle of leadership fell on Olusegun Obasanjo, a retired army general and former military head of state.

On ascension of office, Obasanjo managed, at times unsuccessfully, to control his bad temper. Even though he spoke of the need for a free press, his disposition and body language did not always support his public statements. Unlike when he was military head of state, he managed to conceal his famed contempt for the local press. Under his watch, security agents had invaded the African Independent Television (AIT), a credible private outfit. After an eight-year tenure, Obasanjo handed over power in 2007 to Umaru Musa Yar’adua, a scion from Katsina, North Western Nigeria. Mild-mannered, quiet but effective, Yar’Adua’s relationship with the press was generally all right, except probably on one or two occasions when he lost control. On one instance, the highly credible Channels Television had aired a story about the failing health of the President and the intrigues associated with it. Yar’Adua did not find it funny as he reacted rather
angrily. Yar’Adua, probably Nigeria’s most honest president by admitting that the electoral process that brought him to power was flawed, eventually died in May 2010, just three years into his presidency.

According to Oberiri (2017), the relationship between President Goodluck Jonathan may be best described as that of cautious optimism. The president occasionally appreciates the role of an unfettered press but often over-reacts to seeming bad press. One of such occasions occurred in April 2013 when two reporters of the Leadership newspaper, Tony Amokeodo and Chibuzor Ukaibe were arrested, detained and later charged to court on charges of felony. In a swift reaction, just 72 hours after the journalists were arraigned in court, the Federal Government withdrew the charges against the reporters. It described as unnecessary the growing attack on free speech by soldiers in Abuja, Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Maiduguri, Ibadan, among other cities, claiming to be acting on ‘orders’. In a statement, its President, Mr. Nduka Obaigbena decried the assault on freedom of expression through the stoppage of distribution of newspapers as inconsistent with the values of any democratic society and the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It therefore called upon the military authorities to lift the siege immediately and call the soldiers to order.

Despite the strongly worded statement released on June 7, 2014, as partly reproduced above, the authorities seemed to have remained adamant, prompting another statement from a larger organisation, the Nigeria Press Organisation (NPO). In a June 13, 2014 statement, the organisation cited military spokesman, Major-General Chris Olukolade as explaining that the clampdown “followed intelligence report indicating movement of material with grave security implications across the country using the channel of newsprint related consignments”. Unimpressed by the explanation, NPO insisted that “This development is opening a new chapter in the potential dangers being posed to the citizenry and the media: a clear violation of the right of free expression and press freedom and the right of the public to know”. It is worthy to mention that Dr. Goodluck Jonathan accented to the Freedom of information bill in May, 2011 to enhance freedom of press in Nigeria.

President Muhammadu Buhari is exhibiting increasing intolerance for the freedom of the press, the country’s security agencies have lately been attacking the media. In particular, the Nigeria Police Force is embroiled in a messy tango with an online newspaper, Premium Times. Special Anti-Robbery Squad officers detained three members of the organisation in Abuja. Popular governments draw their lifeblood from a free media.
the security agencies to turn on the media shows the apprehension in government ahead of the 2019 general election.

Fittingly, the assault on Premium Times attracted global condemnation, casting the Muhammadu Buhari administration in a bad light. Coincidentally, it occurred on the same day Yemi Osinbajo, then the acting President, ordered the Inspector-General of Police, Ibrahim Idris, to reform SARS over its gross human rights violations. Premium Times said the police lured three employees of the news outfit to their office, where officers allegedly assaulted the editor-in-chief, Mojeed Musikilu; and detained a reporter, Azeezat Adedigba. When officers finished with the duo, they descended on Samuel Ogundipe, their main target. Ogundipe had written a story about the invasion of the National Assembly on August 7th by State security service operatives, wherein he exposed the IG’s preliminary report on the incident that had indicted Lawal Daura, then the director-general of the secret police. Brimming with impunity, SARS officers asked Ogundipe to disclose his source but he refused, just as every journalist worth his salt would. This provoked the officers. However, democracy thrives on the freedom of the press.

Section 29 of the 1999 Constitution also guarantees this global tenet that underpins a robust democratic practice. But when journalists overstep their bounds, there are enough sanctions for libel and other infringements in the statutes. Therefore, Ogundipe’s treatment by the police is unwarranted, a throwback to the pre-1999 days of military dictatorship. Perhaps, the police are after Premium Times for its damaging exposés on the perceived misdemeanours of this government. In October 2017, the newspaper authored a story on Abdulrasheed Maina, a former chairman of the Presidential Reform Task Team. Although Maina was dismissed from the Civil Service in 2015 for allegedly stealing pension funds, he was reinstated by the Buhari administration. He had been declared wanted by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, but upon being illegally reinstated, was promoted. Premium Times also broke the story of the alleged certificate scandal that the Finance Minister forged the National Youth Service Corps exemption certificate she presented when she won in a similar fashion, Jones Abiri, the publisher of Weekly Source (another online news medium), has just breathed the air of freedom after being detained by the SSS for the past two years. Although he is a publisher, he was accused of being a militant and threatening oil companies based in the Niger Delta. These cases have been charged to court, which is what the SSS and police should have done in the first place. By detaining Abiri for two years, his rights have been grossly violated as nominated for the post.
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The state of press freedom in Nigeria

Nigeria emerged from colonialism in 1960. While colonized, Nigerians suffered press freedom infractions from the colonial authorities. According to Momoh (2002, p.10) restrictive media laws could be said to have actually taken roots in 1903 with the enactment of Newspaper Ordinance of that year and the sedition Ordinance of 1909. As Momoh recalled, perhaps the most notorious press gag law was the 1917 Act. The author noted that “it brought together previous colonial laws”.

No doubt, these laws were put in place to curb the perceived “excesses” of the local press and sufficiently frighten them to desist from attacking the Colonial Administration. Tellingly, most of those draconian laws have remained in Nigeria’s law books because the new rulers who took over from the colonialists were not interested in abrogating them. Not unexpectedly, therefore, in 1964, this earlier Act was amended and has been the basis of anti-press laws in Nigeria. The first civilian administration under Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister enacted the law. If the civilian administration was not particularly media-friendly, it was even worse with the subsequent military administrations, each of them trying to outdo each other in an effort to put the media in its “rightful place”. In the United States of America, there is a stable democracy, anchored on freedom of the individual and the press. The first amendment to the American Constitution states inter alia that “Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of the press”. But in Nigeria, the writers of the constitution did not seem convinced that Nigerians deserved unconditional freedom, hence the frequent reasons to the word ‘provided’. Such punctuation or vitiation of the freedom of the press in Nigeria often provides opportunity for those in authority to take advantage.

The obnoxious laws in Nigeria’s legal statute

Since Nigeria is signatory to the United Nations Charter that produced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights- Freedom of speech inclusive, one would expect that the Nigerian government as a respectable sovereign entity would do everything possible to uphold the right of her citizens (Ameh,2018). It is unfortunate that from the colonial
epoch into the military regimes, there were a number of laws and decrees that were passed and enforced with a view to gag the press from checking the excesses of government. Such obnoxious and often draconian laws which have long been overtaken by changing times and socio-economic circumstances ought to have been expunged from the Nigerian legal statutes. Sadly, some of these laws have been retained to date. Below is a summary of some of these obnoxious press laws:

**The law of sedition**

According to Sambe and Ikoni (2011), the law of sedition is contained in the Criminal Code of Nigeria. The Criminal Code does not define sedition rather a seditious intention is defined. Over a wide span of sections, the Criminal Code provides for the offence of sedition and the treatment of an offender. Thus by virtue of section 50 of the Criminal Code and as it concerns press freedom, a seditious publication and seditious words refers to publications or words having a seditious intention. This implies that sedition is an organized incitement of rebellious or civil disorder against authority or the state.

Sub-section (2) gives the meaning of a seditious intention as an intention:

a. To bring into hatred or contempt or incite disaffection against the person of the President or the Governor of a State or Government of the Federation; or

b. To incite the citizens or other inhabitants of Nigeria to contempt to procure the alteration otherwise than by lawful means, of any other matter in Nigeria as by Law established; or

c. To raise discontent or disaffection amongst the citizens or other inhabitants of Nigeria; or

d. To promote feelings of ill will and hostility between different classes of the publication of Nigeria.

**The Nigerian Press Council Act**

As Ciboh (2007), the Nigerian Press Council was set up to regulate the activities of the press in other to check any possible excesses. Section 3 of the Act that established the Council readverts in part; The Council shall be charged with the duty of;

a. Enquiring into complaints about the conduct of the press and the conduct of any person or organization towards the press and exercising in respect of the complaints of powers conferred upon it under this Act;
a. Monitoring the activities of the press with a view to ensuring compliance with the Code of Professional and Ethical Conducts of the Nigerian Union of Journalist;
b. Receiving application from, and documenting the Print Media and monitoring their performance to ensure that owners comply with the terms of the mission statements and objectives in liaison with the Newspapers Proprietors Association of Nigeria; These provisions indicate that the license to own and operate a newspaper medium as well as the activities of the newspaper are to be regulated by the Council.

The National Broadcasting Commission Act
The National Broadcasting Commission Act of 1992 which has been amended by the National Broadcasting Commission Amendment Act No.55 of 1999 is a Federal Legislation which sets out amongst other things to regulate and control the broadcasting industry and set policies with respect thereto. Section 1 of the Act establishes the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), regulatory authority and section 2 lists the excessive powers of the Commission which in part readverts thus; 2 (1) The Commission shall be responsible for:

a. Advising the federal government generally on the implementation of the National Mass Communication Policy with particular reference to broadcasting
b. Receiving, processing and considering applications for the ownership of radio and television stations including cable television services, direct satellite broadcast and any other medium of broadcasting
c. Recommending applications through the Minister to the President, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces for the grant of radio and television licenses;
d. Regulating and controlling the broadcast industry. Section 2(2) prohibits transmission by cable, television, radio, satellite or any other medium of broadcast except in accordance with the Act. Furthermore, the Act provides for the procedure of obtaining licenses and the granting as well as terms of a license and of renewal thereof. The Commission is imbued with the power to enforce the National Broadcasting Code in pursuant to the Act.

The Official Secret Act
The Official Secret Act is a law enacted in 1962, but reviewed in 1990 which prevents the publication or disclosure to the public of any material which the government views or sees as confidential. It protects what government views as confidential records. Nwabueze (2014) in Ameh (2018, p10) argues that these confidential matters or materials are tagged “Classified” by the government meaning “Secret or Confidential” and as such
must not be revealed. It further revealed that a classified matter is; Any information or anything which under any system or security classification, from time to time in use by any branch of government is not to be disclosed to the public, and which the disclosure to the public would be prejudicial to the security of Nigeria. It is important to note that the Official Secret Act serves as a check against the publication of highly confidential information or document that may weaken or limit the integrity of any government and by extension threaten the security of the state.

**Further efforts of government to mitigate press freedom in Nigeria**

**Proposed bill to regulate social media**

As noted by Ameh (2008), the upper chamber of the National Assembly has set in motion the passage of a law to regulate what Nigerians do or post on social media, report has it. A report by a Nigerian National Daily states that the bill to pass the regulation into law has passed the first reading, while it has already been listened for a second reading. According to *DailyTrust*, the Chairman Senate Committee on ICT and Cybercrime, AbdulFatai Buhari who confirmed this while speaking this week on the side line of the 2018 Cyber security Conference in Abuja, said it has become imperative to regulate the use of social media in order to tackle the menace of hate speeches, fake news and false accusations on the platforms which are capable of distorting peace and unity in the country. Senator Buhari further noted that as the 2019 elections, which is eight months away beckons, it was important to deploy measures to curtail the activities of unscrupulous elements who hide behind the platforms to bring down perceived political enemies. He said this should not be allowed for national peace and that is why, a law to that effect is currently being mulled.

**Proposed amendment of Nigerian press council bill**

Renewed effort to curtail media freedom currently pending in the Senate comes in the form of the Nigerian Press Council Amendment Bill which is already at the public hearing stage. The Bill seeks to regulate journalism practice by establishing a statutory body to arbitrate between the media and members of the public. This is opposed to the insistence of media practitioners that self-regulation subject to the existing laws of the land is the best guarantee for media freedom in a democratic society (Ameh, 2018).

As expected, stakeholder groups such as the Nigerian Press Organisation, NPO; the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria, NPAN; the Nigerian Guild of Editors, NGE; the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ and the Broadcasting Organisations of Nigeria, BON, have risen against the bill, asking the Senate to drop it entirely. In the first
place, the Bill is sub judice. A suit instituted by media interest groups against it is still pending at the Supreme Court. Secondly, this bill appears to be a subtle crossbreed of the obnoxious military decrees: the public officers (Protection Against False Information) Decree No. 4 of 1984 enacted under Head of State, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, and the Newspapers Registration Decree No. 43 of 1993.

Incidentally, the former military ruler is now our elected President. These are totally at variance with the democratic culture which we won after a long, hard struggle led by the media. It is like taking a long leap back into the dark days when the military held our people hostage. We should be making steady progress towards more freedom and the promotion of open, democratic and accountable governance. We join other stakeholders to emphasize that this bill seeks to unduly criminalise aspects of media work which we find objectionable. There are enough existing laws which guarantee against excesses by media practitioners. Besides, media houses and journalists are bound by the ethics of the profession, and citizens who feel injured can always approach the courts for legal redress.

We call on lawmakers at all levels to rein in their impulsive tendency to champion or condone draconian legislations to avoid exposing citizens to the executive excess of government. The Nigerian media have a long history of stiff resistance to efforts to curtail press freedom. We will always stand and uphold this noble legacy whenever the situation calls for it because it is in the overriding public

Campaign against fake news
Alhaji Lai Mohammed, minister of Information and Culture, has launched a National Campaign Against Fake News, calling the phenomenon a time bomb that can detonate with deadly consequences if left unchecked. He described fake news as a global epidemic that could be worse than all the plagues that the world has recorded put together, a clear and present danger to global peace and security, and a threat to democracy (Ameh, 2018). Furthermore, fake news phenomenon is capable of undermining confidence in the media, adding: “Once the people lose confidence in the media, the media and the society are in trouble.”

The essence of the campaign is to “sensitize all Nigerians to the dangers posed to the peace and security, and indeed the corporate existence of Nigeria by the phenomenon, and the fact that each and every Nigerian has a role to play in curtailing the spread of fake news”. The campaign will, however, not involve the use of coercion and censorship, but appealed to the media to lead the campaign, and to Nigerians not to share any news or message unless they can vouch for its source and authenticity.

Conclusion/Recommendations
From the forgoing, it is pertinent to conclude that the obnoxious press laws by successive military regimes has hindered press freedom and despite the democratic rule in Nigeria, some of these press laws still exist in our legal statutes that infringe on press freedom. Nigeria is signatory to the United Nations Charter that produced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights- Freedom of speech inclusive, one would expect that the Nigerian government as a respectable sovereign entity would do everything possible to uphold the right of her citizens. Unfortunately, however, from the colonial epoch into the military regimes, there were a number of laws and decrees that were passed and enforced with a view to gag the press from checking the excesses of government. Such obnoxious and often draconian laws which have long been overtaken by changing times and socio-economic circumstances ought to have been expunged from the Nigerian legal statutes. The paper thus recommends that:

a. The atmosphere of military hangover which pervades in our environment should be completely eliminated, thus, all anti-press laws that have colonial or military rule history should be expunged from our laws to pave way for a democratic press that operates according to democratic tenets.

b. The Nigerian press should be given the freedom to operate in line with the provisions of Freedom of Information Bill.

c. Media practitioners be given the right of self-regulation subject to the existing laws of the land as guarantee for media freedom in a democratic society

References


**Appraisal of the Contributions of the Mass Media to Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria**

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**Abstract**

This paper has appraised the contributions of the Mass Media to the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. The paper observed in retrospect the role of the mass media towards the attainment of independence in 1960, the reportage and editorials against military dictatorship which contributed to the transition to democratic governance in 1999 and the media role in providing education, enlightenment and mobilization of the citizenry towards the consolidation of the nascent democracy in Nigeria. The archival materials and documentaries on the history of Nigeria provided the basis for our appraisal. It is observed that despite the laudable contributions of the Mass media towards the promotion of democracy, they are confronted with challenges such as issues of ethnicity, inadequate modern communication gadgets, poor welfare package, pressure and oppositions from pressure groups and the government, security issues and corruption
among others. It is consequently held that these challenges are hydra headed monster that if not dealt away with would continue to impede the over all performance of the mass media in Nigeria. The paper recommends among others that in order for the Nigerian media to serve as effective tools for stabilizing and sustaining democracy, they must be sure to do away with practices that are unlawful and unethical. The media should uphold the ideals of the profession while government and non-governmental organizations should encourage the media industry by creating the environment suitable for smooth practice by professionals while modern equipment should be provided backed up by training of media professionals to enable them compete favourably with their counterparts in other parts of the world.

**Keywords:** Appraisal, Contributions, Mass Media, Sustainable, Democracy and Nigeria

**Introduction**

It is a truism that the mass media greatly contributed to sending the colonial masters packing, leading to independence, sending the military back to the barracks leading to democracy and have continued to contribute to sustainable democracy in Nigeria. The establishment of the first newspaper in the country, Iwe-Irohin by the Reverend Henry Townsend in Abeokuta in 1859 was followed by the ones established by Nigeria’s founding fathers with very radical positions against the oppression of the Nigerian people by the colonial government, engaging them as tools for political agitations and demanding immediate independence and democracy for the country. Notably, Herbert Macaulay established the *Lagos Daily News*, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe established the *West African Pilot*, Chief Obafemi Awolowo established *The Nigerian Tribune*, among others. The effort aimed at entrenching democracy in Nigeria has continued to be the lots of the media. This could be seen in the post-independent Nigeria from 1st October, 1960 with the media continuously struggling for the enthronement of democracy in the face of two prolonged stretches of military dictatorships from 15th January, 1966 – 1st October, 1979 and 31st December, 1983 – 29th May, 1999. The ongoing democratic government in the country is therefore largely a product of the struggles of the media. For example, Jibo (2003, p. 3) cited in Iwokwagh and Ijwo (2011) noted that the Nigerian media have been a major political actor long before the country was fashioned as a unified political entity and have continued to play a central role in national politics since then. The mass media are no doubt the driving force that makes for the entrenchment of democracy in any
political setting. This is because democracy rests on a knowledgeable citizenry, whose access to a wide range of information puts them in a vantage position to participate fully in public life and the governance of the society (Galadima & Asemah, 2012). The mass media were so powerful in championing the cause for the independence of Nigeria in 1960, and the same media had prevailed on the military to relinquish power to a democratically elected government in 1999. However, the role of the mass media in the sustenance of democracy was not certain especially that there has been uninterrupted democratic governance since 1999 till date. It is against this backdrop that this paper appraised the contributions of the Nigerian media to sustainable democracy in Nigeria since 1999.

**Conceptualization**

It is imperative to explain some terms and concepts for clarity and ease of understanding. The first key concept is the mass media which Vaatia (1998, p.28) defines as means of mass communication. These include: television, radio, newspaper, magazines. Nwosu (2003, p.242) said “as a concept, however, the mass media are viewed as all technologically mediated, institutionally organised and spontaneously expressed forms including such forms as radio, television, newspapers, and magazines.” Odeh (2003, p. 28) corroborated, the mass media are the avenues or channels through which pieces of information are passed to the public, e.g. Radio, television, newspapers, magazines, billboards, handbills, etc. In the context of this paper, the mass media are seen as all the channels through which information, messages, ideas, cultures, knowledge, etc can be passed across to large, scattered, anonymous and heterogeneous audiences.

Democracy is a popular topic of contemporary discourse. Etymologically, the word “democracy” has a remote origin from two Greek words “demos” meaning (the people) and “kratias” meaning (rule of or rule by) when put together the two words become “demokratia” but anglicized as democracy meaning in that original sense as the rule of or by the people. This implies that it is a form of government where the people directly take decisions by themselves as against indirectly through representation. Striking a balance between direct and indirect decision making process in the concept, Adama (2000, pp.65-66) identified two types of democracies, viz: (1) Democracy could be Direct as exercised in the Greek city-State of Athens by gathering all the citizens and having decision-making session directly without electing representatives and (2) Indirect democracy as the one where qualified citizens elect their representatives into parliament to make and take decisions on their behalf, e.g. Nigerian, USA, etc. Democracy is adjudged as the best
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system of government in the world. It is popularly seen in the light of Abraham Lincoln’s saying that it is the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Democracy according to Adama (2000, p. 65) is a form of government based on the concept of the will of the people living in that society. Okpeh in Edo (2002, p. 26) said democracy is all about the popular majority participating in the decision making process on who lead and what policies are to be adopted in the governance of the society. Therein all these definitions lie one fact, the supremacy of the people who are by implication, the electorate that decides who goes to govern them in government.

Theoretical framework
This paper is anchored on the development media theory and the agenda setting theory because of their relevance.

Development media theory
Development media theory was propounded by Dennis McQuail in the 1980s to fill the void which became increasingly noticeable as the gap between the developed and developing countries widened. As the gap widened, it became apparent that none of the classical theories of the press was strictly applicable to developing countries, even though the mass media in these countries were operating according to some of the principles of the classical theories (Ojobor 2002, p. 14). McQuail (1997, p. 131) noted that development media theory was intended to recognize the fact that societies undergoing a transition from under development and colonialism to independence and better material condition often lack the infrastructure, the money, the traditions, the professional skills and even the audience needed to sustain media institutions comparable to those of the first world or second world in which the four theories could take root.

The foregoing suggests that development media theory is supposed to be applicable in countries with lower levels of economic development and with limited resources. The theory proposes that media should be free but should be subordinated to the requirement of economic, social and political development. This means that social, economic and political development should be the focal point of the media. Development media theory according to emphasizes the acceptance of economic development and nation building as over-riding objectives and so expects that certain freedoms of the media would be subordinated to those goals. Emphasis is also on collective ends (interest) rather than individual ends.

Assumptions of the theory
The principles of development media theory according to McQuail in Ojobor (2002, p. 15) are:

i. The media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy.

ii. Freedom of the media to be open to restriction according to (1) economic priorities and (2) development needs of society.

iii. The media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries, which are close geographically, culturally or politically.

iv. Journalists and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedom in their information gathering and dissemination tasks.

v. In the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in or restrict media operations and devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified.

Folarin (1998, p. 31) opines that the theory seeks to explain the normative behaviour of the press in countries that are conventionally classified together as developing countries. Folarin maintained that certain common circumstances or characteristics of developing countries made it difficult to apply the other normative theories to the press. These include: absence or inadequate supply of requisite communication infrastructure, relatively limited supply of requisite professional skills, relatively lack of cultural production resources, relatively limited availability of media literate audience and dependence on the development world for technology, skills and cultural products.

In the same vein, Ojobor (2002, p. 14) quoted McQuail as saying that the conditions that limited the application of other theories or reduce their potential benefits in developing countries include: absence of some of the conditions necessary for developed mass communication system i.e. communication infrastructure; professional skills, production and cultural resources and audience. Another thing is dependence on the developed countries for needs in terms of technology, skill and cultural product.

The aforementioned reasons point to the fact that development media theory expresses dissatisfaction with dependency and foreign domination of “local” media in developing countries. Okunna (1999) in Ojobor (2002, pp. 15-16) posits that the concept of development journalism and development communication are off shoots of this theory, which emphasizes positive influence on development process. Okunna maintained that development journalism is the kind of journalism which pays sustained attention to the coverage of ideas, policies, programmes, activities and events dealing with the improvement of the life of a people. She quoted Quebral as saying development
communication is the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people. 

Consenting to the above view, Folarin (1998, p. 33) opines that development media theory has already provided a bearing for the concepts of development communication and development journalism; according to him the concepts appear to be making varying degrees of headway in Operationalisation and implementation in the different zones of developing world.

**Agenda setting theory**

Agenda-setting theory holds that the media predetermine what issues are regarded as important at a given time in a given society. The mass media institution is seen as a responsible one for raising issues they consider as important, to the plain of public discourse and draw public attention to it in the process. The media do this through the quantity and frequency of reporting; prominence given to reports through headlines displays, pictures, adverts, layouts in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics or prime timing on radio and television (Folarin, 1998, p. 68, cited in Ojete, 2008). As the “Agenda setting institution”, the media set agenda by monitoring events and reporting same to the members of the society. Therefore, the theory is relevant to the study because it hinges on using the mass media to draw attention of the people to salient issues that happen in the society, so that they will reflect on such issues in the process.

The Nigerian media standing on the stipulations of the agenda-setting theory have been bringing people, issues and events they consider important to the plain of public discourse which the public also reflect on to define their position on a particular public issue; and this is where the relevance of this theory lies. The basic tenets of both the development media theory and the agenda setting theory are relevant to our discourse about the contributions of the mass media to sustainable democracy which invariably is communication for development purposes. Sustainable democracy means development as there would be stability in governance and government would in turn provide the conducive environment for economic and socio-political development. In other words, while the media act as “engine” of development, they also set agenda for the development of the society.

**Contributions of the mass media to sustainable democracy in Nigeria since 1999**

The history of development of Nigeria cannot be completely told without giving prominent place to the contributions of the mass media. Even more instructive is the fact that the Nigerian mass media have always been in the forefront of the struggle to establish democracy in the country. To this end, Obilade (1999, p. 235), holds that the
“press in Africa constitutes an active force in the realization of the goal of the evolution of sustainable democracy in the continent of Africa. He further added that the press in Africa is playing a prominent role in the democratization process in African states which have non-democratic governments”

During the era of colonialism, Nigerian nationalists such as Chief Anthony Enahoro, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, among others engaged the instrumentalities of their newspapers to wage radical anti-colonialism war, leading to independence on October 1st 1960. This made a veteran Journalist, Lateef Jakande to observe that the war for independence was fought on the pages of the newspapers, no shot was fired, no blood was spilled but thunderous editorials abound. With this attainment, the media continued to oppose the military till the attainment of democracy on 29th May, 1999. The media have continued to play active role as agenda setting institution even at the inception of democracy that started with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as President on 29th May, 1999 to 2003 and to 29th May, 2007 for his second term. Alhaji Musa Yar’Ardua took over the baton from 29th May, 2007 to 5th May, 2010 when he died. Dr. Goodluck Jonathan having acted as President briefly by the powers provided by the legislative instrument of the “doctrine of necessity” of the 6th Nigeria’s Senate due to President Yar’Ardua’s ill heath assumed constitutional presidency from 5th May, 2010 to 29th May, 2015 and President Muhammadu Buhari holding sway from 29th May, 2015 till date.

**Constitutional Role of the Media**

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 19 states: *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.* The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Chapter IV, Section 39, Sub-section II provides that “people be free to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions.” It went further in chapter 2 section 22 to provide that “The press, radio and television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people.” By these provisions, the media are expected to monitor the democratic governance in Nigeria as a watchdog and by holding government responsible and accountable to the citizenry. The media have been fulfilling
these constitutional roles in diverse ways since 1999 while also mobilizing the citizenry to actively participate in the democratic process during the period under review.

**Coverage of electoral matters**
The media from 1998 created awareness on the electoral process and participation upon the initiation of the transition to civil rule programme of the Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar led military government leading to the handing over of power to a democratically elected government on 29th May, 1999 with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as President. Ciboh (2010) pointed out that for citizens to meaningfully participate in the democratic process, they need to depend on the mass media to help them define, sort out complexities and participate meaningfully in the democratic process as informed participants. He further added that even though other means of citizens’ education exist, the mass media are the most common sources of information about elections in democracies and societies in transition around the world. The media gave prominence to issues surrounding elections in their radio and television programmes and feature articles in newspapers and magazines and also covered all the elections held in the country thus, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 including the bye-elections and staggered elections in some states that have different election years due to legal judgments. This also included the coverage of post-election matters such as upholding and nullification of electoral victories by the judiciary.

**Holding government accountable to the people**
Many political office holders have been held accountable through investigative journalism by the Nigerian media. This was shown in the uncovering of many scandals that rocked the National Assembly in time past. Prominent among others was the speakergate/buharigate scandal that involved Alhaji Salisu Buhari, the first speaker of House of Representatives upon the return to democracy in 1999 who forged his certificate claiming to have graduated from the University of Toronto, Canada, including age falsification. *The News* magazine professionally pursued the allegations of certificates forgery until Buhari was forced to resign and was subsequently tried and convicted for perjury. (Jibo and Okoosi-Simbine, 2003).

The current flooding in many parts of Nigeria especially Niger State that affected 22 local government areas and killed 40 people were killed. The mass media made the exposure to the government on the impending dangers of these challenges before they happened. As media reported the mayhem of the flood in Niger State, FRCN, on network news of
Sunday 16th September, 2018 invited the Director General (DG) of National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), Alh. Mustapha Mainama and asked him why the N42b set aside to construct drainages to prevent flood was not utilized. The DG could not answer the question in clear terms.

**Intermediating between government and the governed**

The mass media are the invisible cords that connect the government and the governed. They operate from the government to the citizenry and vise-a-versa. How could the citizens know the plan of the government towards them and how can a government know the plight of her citizens, if not through the mass media? The mass media function to inform and educate the masses on government development policies and programmes; they encourage people’s participation in such development initiatives and report back to the government the effectiveness or otherwise of such programmes. The mass media also beam their searchlights on issues that border on the masses and project same to the government. The most recent cases are the bridge connecting Katsina-Ala in Benue State with Wukari in Taraba State and the state of Federal road adverts currently projected to the government for urgent attention.

The media operate as the market place of ideas for political thoughts in a democratic setting. They keep the citizenry informed about political process and developments in the society through political reporting while providing opportunity for their participation through relevant media programmes. This is also a feedback mechanism that make the government to hear from the governed thus acting as a check and balance which is needed for good governance and sustainable democracy. In doing this, Nigerian mass media designed several political programmes that kept the citizens abreast of political happening while awakening in them political consciousness. The broadcast media have over the years run programmes such as “Presidential Media Chat”, “The President Explains”, “Inside the Senate”, “Eagle Square”, “Democracy Today”, “On the Line”, “Platform” “Radio Link”, “2019 election conference hall on FRCN” among others. Awareness on government policies and programmes has been created through these programmes.

**Moulding of public opinion**

This is the synergy of individual opinions on an identified national matter of public importance which different people bear their views on. For this scattered, heterogeneous and individualized citizenry to come together on issues that affect them, they need to do so through the media which have become a communal town hall meeting for many
people. When people speak in one voice from this town hall meeting, their voice is heard piercingly far away. Through public mobbing, media have succeeded in holding many public servants accountable. The recent example of such issues was when the then minister of Finance Mrs. Femi Adeosun was reported by an online medium (*Premium Times*) to have forged her NYSC exemption certificate. Through public mobbing she was forced out of her ministerial seat on 14th September, 2018.

Prior to Adeosun’s case, just at the inception of democracy in 1999, *The News* magazine article of July 19th, 1999 titled The Face of a Liar and the Crook in the House, exposed the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alh. Salisu Buhari. The paper gave detailed account of how the speaker forged his certificates and falsified his age. The public was mobilized against him through the media and the consequence was his trial and conviction by Abuja High Court. He was consequently ebbed out of the House.

In another development, *This Day* issue of 19th April, 2000 captioned “Drama in the Senate over Nzeribe”: “Obasanjo Faces impeachment threats”; “Nzeribe divides Senate” contained some publications on which public reactions that followed forced Dr. Chuba Okadigbo and Senator Nzeribe out of Senate. The public was made to understand that Nzeribe had been an enemy of democracy, and that he championed the association for better Nigeria, an organization that encouraged Babangida to annul June 12 election. The public rose gruesomely against him which made him to withdraw his impeachment notice and apologized. That issue culminated in the removal of Okadigbo as Senate President (Sambe, 2005).

The Nigerian mass media mould public opinions through setting agenda for public discussion. Umechukwu (2001, p. 35) states that for the mass media to sustain democracy there must be agenda setting for public debate on topical political issues. This would create participatory democracy and thus go a long way to guide citizens to either accept or reject policies initiated by the government. It will be recalled that during the third term debate of the former President Olusegun Obasanjo, the media through feature articles and broadcast media programmes engaged the citizenry by educating them on why they should do away with the ambition of the President to perpetuate himself beyond the constitutional second tenure given to him by Nigerians in the name of third term agenda. The live coverage of the Senate Plenary by AIT where each of the 109 Senators was allowed to speak for or against it with only three Senators going for it did it the greatest blow. Consequent upon this, it was thrown out thus resting the case permanently.

**Protection of the fundamental human rights of the people**
The investigative journalist has the duty to unearth the truth surrounding any form of human rights abuses done against anyone. The surveillance function of the mass media puts it in the position to monitor and report human rights violation of any kind, especially security agencies brutalities while in the process exposing members of the public to their fundamental human rights and making them seek redress when infringed upon (Asemah, Edegoh and Ogwo, 2012). There was a case in point when the Nigerian Tribune of Tuesday, 16 April, 2013 reported with the caption “still on police brutality” in which it reported the killing of a pregnant woman in Akure, the Ondo State Capital by a police man who had allegedly asked for a bribe from a commercial driver who was carrying the pregnant woman.

In recent times there have been series of reports in the media of the arbitrary use of the Police by the government against those who can be said to have fallen out of favour with the powers that be and can be seen as abuse of human rights. The Tuesday 24th July, 2018 laying of siege around the residences of Senate President Bukola Saraki, Deputy Senate President Ike Ekweremadu, Senator Dino Melaye purportedly to prevent them from going to the National Assembly Complex when 15 APC Senators cross-carpeted to the PDP. Similarly, the Monday 30th July, 2018 laying of siege around the Benue State House of Assembly complex by the Police to prevent the 22 PDP Member faction of the Assembly from gaining entrance into the Assembly while allowing the 8 APC member faction to go in. Reporting human rights abuses such as these by the media makes the public know their rights and privileges as well as drawing public attention to the issue while seeking redress where necessary.

Challenges facing the mass media in contributing to sustainable democracy in Nigeria

The mass media having achieved the great feat of democratization in 1999 has been bedeviled by a plethora of impediments while performing their role of consolidating democracy in Nigeria. These impediments have made their performances to be a mixture of both successes and failures. Some of these glaring challenges include but not limited to the following:

i. Antiquated communication gadgets/equipment and poor infrastructural facilities

Okpeh (2005, p. 635) painfully notes that “in a globalizing world characterized by competition to hook on to the stupendous breakthroughs in information technology and application, it is common sight in Nigeria to see journalists hopelessly relying on equipment acquired several decades ago”. Most Nigerian media houses have poor
infrastructural facilities and are not well equipped with modern communication equipment for effective and efficient information management and dissemination. This development is largely attributed to corruption that is prevalent among government officials and the lack of political will of government to turn around the fortunes of the media industry. As such Nigerian journalists cannot compete favourably with their counterparts in other developed parts of the world.

ii. Ethnicity
Ethnic consideration has permeated the nation’s body polity. Historically, the development of the media industry from the previous republics showed this. Okpeh (2005, p. 165) describes this term as “Axis question” and the “North/South dichotomy which fuels ethnic consideration over and above national interest. Jibo (2003, p. 52) cited in Iwokwagh and Ijwo (2011) observes that “when a national issue enters the public domain for debate, the Nigerian media often take North verses South position on it” He laments further that the situation where ethnicity has been used, especially in recent times to excuse excessiveness of government. In the views of Galadima and Enighe (2001, p. 67), the mass media in the first republic were not harmonized. The media were tribally and regionally or sectionally bias in their coverage of national events. And the aftermath of this posture led to divisions of the press into various geopolitical areas. To this end also, Okpeh (2005, p. 167) states, “Ethnicity has challenged and is still challenging the profession of journalism in Nigeria. The tenacity of this phenomenon has however, compounded the dilemma of journalists, since it puts disrepute to their professional ethics and sense of moral and social responsibility”.

iii. Corruption
Corruption which has over the years eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian society and threatening democratic sustainability has permeated the activities of the mass media too. Corruption leads to compromises which make effective and efficient discharge of duties impossible and one can imagine the media practice in the midst of this. Alemoh (2011) reported that Nigeria media practitioners have been accused on several occasions in regards to issues of bribery, corruption, and a host of other unethical behavior in the discharge of their day to day duties of reporting news events. Some journalists have thrown away the ethics of the profession by receiving bribe to either kill a news story or write fictitious story in a bid to promoting a political figure. Also, some after going out
for news coverage make demand for “brown envelopes” from the people concerned. All these corrupt practices compromise the work of the journalists.

iv. Ownership influence/external pressures
The media is most often than not pressured by its owners, the public, political parties, interest groups, and the government regulatory agencies leading to side-taking in reportage of national events just to promote the interest of the pressuring quarters. According to Ogbu (2013, p. 265) these problems render the mass media environment unconducive for professional and effective media practice. In his view Ende (2013) quoting Adesoji (2010, p. 43) lamented that despite the vibrancy of the Nigerian media, the differentiation of press and its inclinations towards politics have continued to influence its functionality, perception and disposition by the virtue of the issues surrounding its ownership and control or its sympathy. Hence, external influence from the media owners especially government owned media organizations leadverts to stories going to the public as they wished, agreeing with the saying that he who pays the piper dictates the tune.

v. Lack of critical and objective analysis of issues that concern the government of the day

There is a near absence of critical and objective analysis of issues that relate to the government of the day. To this end, Ojo (2015) states that in assessing the media coverage of the 2011 elections, the UNDP-sponsored study found that the coverage of the election was not to be issue based; the media were not adequately critical in analyzing the various political parties’ or their candidates’ campaign promises made. He went on to assert that the media showed weakness in engaging their investigative journalism prowess; most often than not the media did not differentiate between the official and political campaigns activities of sitting public office holders like governors; government owned media on a general note in many ways went contrary to the provisions of the electoral act, professional code of ethics and the Nigerian political broadcasting codes. For instance, some opposition parties’ candidates complained that television and radio stations of states government found it hard to air the jingles and political adverts of the opposition parties. Complaints about this situation went to the relevant regulatory body but nothing has been done to address it. This undermines the principles of democratic values and cultures.
In a similar vein, only on Saturday 14th July, 2018 at the end of the vote casts in the Ekiti State Gubernatorial Elections, the State Governor took control of the state television station, The *Ekiti State Broadcasting Corporation* to announce the results in favour of his candidate and party, Professor Olusola Eleka of the PDP. He did this because he who pays the piper dictates the tunes even if the journalists and managers of that outfit were opposed to that move on the ground of ethical and legal regulatory consideration. However, the organization received the sledge hammer of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) when it banned it and its operation with immediate effect.

**vi. The current security challenges facing the country**

The current security challenges in the country heightened by activities of insurgents on innocent Nigerians and killer herdsmen attacks on farmers and rural communities in recent times posed great threat to the practice of journalism and sustainable democracy in Nigeria. The *boko haram* sect had at various times issued warnings to media institutions and journalists across the country. For instance, on April 26, 2012, a suicide bomber hit *This Day* Newspaper office in Abuja killing two people and leaving thirteen others injured; among them was a twelve-year-old kid. As if that was not enough, shortly after the Abuja incident, another bomb blast was reported in Kaduna, affecting a plaza housing the offices of *This Day*, *The Moment*, and *The Sun* Newspaper respectively (*Daily Trust*, April 27, P.5). Also, On June 20th, 2012, a Channels Television Reporter, Enenche Akogwu was shot dead by unknown gunmen suspected to be members of the *boko haram* sect while he was in the line of duty covering the multiple attacks unleashed on the ancient city of Kano that day. On his killing, Channels TV issued this Release: “My love for Nigeria has been a compelling impetus charting the course of my life. Courageous in the face of adversities, hopeful when confronted with despair and delightful when the society makes appreciable progress.” – Enenche Akogwu (as retrieved from sahara reporters.com/2012/06/20/channelstv-reporter-shot-dead-in-kano). These attacks threaten the responsibility the media have to gather and report news for public consumption which can affect and hinder free flow of information in the society if not quickly addressed by the government.

**Conclusion**

Between 1999 and 2018, Nigeria has successfully transited from civilian to civilian administration four consecutive times. This has given us the courage to safely say that
democracy has gradually and sustainably taken root in the country. The contribution of the Nigerian mass media from the appraisal of its performance in this direction can never be over-emphasized even in the face of some daunting challenges. What is required now is for all democracy sustaining stakeholders and institutions like the mass media to continue to consolidate on the gains of these successes for its growth and development. The build up to the forthcoming 2019 general elections and the consequent civilian transition on May 29th is very instructive in this direction. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria supported by the Social Responsibility theory and the Agenda-setting theory confer great responsibility on the media in a democracy especially a growing one like in Nigeria.

Recommendations

For the mass media to further consolidate the successes they have recorded in sustaining democracy in Nigeria therefore, some deliberate measures should be taken by government and non – governmental organizations as well. These may include:

i. Provision of good welfare package for media professionals. It has been observed that Nigerian practicing media professionals are among the least paid in the world which is ill-motivating for them to put in their best in sustaining democracy and so government must look into it especially concerning the ones in government owned media establishments.

ii. Provision of modern communication equipment. The world today is technology-driven and the Nigerian mass media must follow the trend “bumper to bumper”. Consequently, allocations to media stations should be increased for the purpose of changing obsolete communication gadgets to modern ones especially in the face of the ongoing global transmission from analogue to digital broadcast stations. These increased allocations must also be followed with strict monitoring to ensure that the disbursed funds are utilized appropriately. Training and retraining should be part of the new technology and knowledge acquisition.

iii. Self-repositioning through self-cleansing and self-sanctioning within ethical and legal considerations by practicing media professionals. The incessant corrupt and unethical practices among journalists should be addressed by journalism regulating bodies like the Nigeria Press Council (NPC), Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), Nigeria Guild of Editors (NGE), and National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). Enforcement of strict adherence to professional codes of practice among members should be the in-thing. Erring members found wanting
by the law must be prosecuted without inhibiting professional frictions. The ability of these regulatory bodies to sanction erring members, especially when done fairly, can moderate the unethical professional practices in the industry. When they are guided by ethical and legal considerations in the discharge of their professional responsibility to Nigeria and Nigerians, they will be seen to be consolidating the democracy they fought so hard to achieve and will be held in higher esteem by other professions and the society at large.

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Appraisal of the Contributions of the Mass Media to Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria


Civil Society Organizations and Democratization in Nigeria: An Appraisal of the Role of the Nigerian Labour Congress

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Abstract
Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a critical role in the democratization process of any country. This is because they enhance the smooth operation of democratic practice by attenuating state power and supplementing political parties as agents of interest articulation and aggregation. Against this background, the article appraises the role the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) has played in etching the contours of the democratization process in the country starting from the colonial to the post-colonial eras. The article adopts the group theory to explain how, through group advocacy and struggles, the NLC have helped in guiding against democratic threats in the country. For its methodological thrust, the article relied on documentary evidence garnered from the literature on civil society and democracy. The finding reveals that the NLC was more adept at negotiating the welfare of workers during the colonial era and ousting the military from power than deepening the democratic experiment in the post military era. This, for the most part, is due to the penchant for corruption and personal enrichment that have pervaded the leadership of CSOs in the post-military era as well as the lack of capacity in terms of knowledge, skills and methods of advocacy to engage the state in a democratic setting. The article concludes, inter alia, that for the NLC to entrench democracy in the country, it should eschew corruption from its ranks and fine tune its methods of advocacy with the state.

Keywords: Civil Society, Civil Society Organizations, Democratization, Interest Groups, Nigerian Labour Congress

Introduction
Nigeria as a country has had a chequered history of democratic practice over the years. The various attempts at democratization have been aptly described as epileptic or vacillatory (Bello-Imam, 2005). This is largely due to the fact that over the years the
Military had interrupted the democratic process; twice in 1966, then in 1975 leading to handover of power to a civilian administration headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979 (Akinboye and Anifowose, 1999). By December 1983, the military took over again and remained in power till August 1993 when an Interim National Government (ING) was instituted. Few months later, the Interim National Government was sacked by the late General Sani Abacha who later died in office in June 1998 (Akinboye and Anifowose, 1999) General Abdulsalami Abubakar came in and ruled till May 1999 when he finally handed over power to a civilian administration headed by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo.

Perhaps, due to the quality of governance in the country that pays lip service to democratic principles or the long years of military rule, democracy has been likened albeit erroneously to civil rule by many commentators who do not know the marked difference between the two. Nigeria, for the most part, has exhibited elements of civilian rule more than of democratic rule. For instance, it has been argued in some quarters that even when elections are conducted, citizens are not allowed to pass the voting process in having a good share in the elected government of the day (Ake, 1993; Adele 2001). The country’s abysmal romance with democracy has been blamed partly on the absence of strong institutions to entrench democratic culture in the country. This is, in part, due to the prolonged hold of the military on power since the attainment of independence in 1960. But one institution that has given impetus to the democratization process in Nigeria is the civil society.

The Civil society plays a vital role in the struggle for democratization in any state. This is based on the fact that CSOs supplement political parties as schools for leadership training and fostering of democratic culture (Imade, 2007; Kukah, 2007). They facilitate the growth of the private enterprise and to ensure the state does not suffocate the economy due to its hegemony (Lewis, 1992). Thus, it can be conveniently said that without a vibrant and kicking civil society in a country the latter cannot be said to have a robust democracy. The thrust of this paper, therefore, is to critically examine the role of the NLC, a civil society organization, in the democratization process in the country.

**Conceptual clarification**

**Civil society**

There does not exist in the literature a universally acceptable definition of civil society. Writing as far back as the early centuries, Aristotle defined civil society as a ‘civilized and rational society’ which is coterminous with the state (Aristotle cited in Imade, 2007). However, scholars like Keane (1988); Ferguson and Forbes (1966); Paine (1791) and Tocqueville cited in Aiyede (2003), have criticized this classical definition of civil
society. They argued that civil society, as a veritable instrument for the creation and sustenance of democracy plays a vital role in aggregating private interest and concomitantly attenuating state authority and so it is different from the state in its roles, composition, shapes and contours. Georg Hegel cited by Gauba (2007), however, sees civil society, as the realm of individuals who have left the unity of the family to enter into economic competition to achieve their self-interest. According to him, it is an arena of universal egoism and divisiveness with a potential for self-destruction.

Mutfang (2003) conceptualized civil society as a wide range of association and other organized collectives capable of articulating the interest of their members, moulding and constraining state power. For the sake of this work, the authors pitch tents with the definition of civil society given by Diamond (1995). According to Diamond (1995, p.5), it is;

the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by legal order or a set of rules. It is distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passion, ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable.

Civil society organizations (CSOs), on the other hand, refer to the individual interest groups or trade unions manned by the civil populace operating in the various sectors of the economy, independently of the state to check the state in the exercise of its powers. Structurally, CSOs are made up of five groups, these are; Specialized Research and Advocacy Groups; the Specialized Human Rights and Democracy Advocacy Groups; Networks and Coalitions; Trade Unions and Professional Bodies and Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

**Democratization**

Simply put, democratization is the process of introducing or returning a society to democracy. According to Alamu (2011), it is the process of establishing and strengthening the institutional principles and mechanisms that define a democratic regime. In other words, it depicts the deliberate construction of inclusive political mechanisms and institutions which are solid foundations for a sustainable, vibrant and viable democratic system. As used in this work, democratization is the conscious process of cultivating and nurturing a healthy democratic culture through effective check
on the powers of the state by instruments of political interaction such as civil society and political parties.

Dahl (2000) has enunciated three essential attributes of a democratic polity. These include meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups for all effective positions of government power; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders; and a high level of enjoyment of civil and political liberties.

**Theoretical framework**

The theoretical thrust of this work is the group theory of the state. The group theory contends that in every society there are a lot of groups which engage in perpetual struggle for power and domination over one another. Through the process of balancing and limiting each other’s powers, groups are able to harmonize their competing interests through group consensus.

The intellectual root of the group theory lies in the doctrine of pluralism which was developed in the early twentieth century by a number of scholars such as Arthur Bentley, David Truman and Earl Latham. Bentley, to whom the origin of the group theory in its present form can be traced, conceives groups as the basic unit of political activity in the society. In his words, “when the groups are adequately stated, everything is stated. When I say everything, I mean everything” (Bentley 2017, p.5). Bentley conceives the importance of groups in terms of their processes or activities rather than as formal structures since the society itself comprises of dynamic processes and not static institutions. The theorist also introduced the concept of “interest” in trying to answer the question as to what gives direction to group activity. According to him, it is this interest that differentiates a genuine group from a coincidental collection of people (Bentley, 2017). However, group interests expressed as demands on the political system occasionally conflict and the capability of the state to manage the various conflicting interests goes a long way in stabilizing the entire system (Varma, 2006).

Another group theorist, David Truman, holds that for a group to achieve its interest in relations to others which are engaged in competition with it depends on whether it possesses certain acumen such as access to those in authority, resources, organization and leadership (Truman, 1971). On the other hand, a group’s inability to influence government decision could be adduced to lack of resources, ineffective leadership and poor organization. But the question is what happens when group interests conflict? The
group theorists argue that through an unconscious balancing process, the role of
government as adjustor of group conflict, the phenomenon of overlapping and cross
cutting membership and the *rules of the game* (however unorganized they are) groups
are able to achieve equilibrium in their interactions (Varma, 2006).
The group theory is relevant to this work because it succinctly explains how the struggle
and advocacy put forward by interest groups within the NLC has helped to shape the
contours of public policy or the exercise of power by the Nigerian state. In this
connection, the achievement of independence from the colonial masters and the
subsequent enthronement of democratic rule after many years of military interregnum
are explainable in the struggles among the different civil society groups in the country.

**Historical background to civil society organizations in Nigeria**
The evolution of Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria can be considered from two
periods; the pre-independence and post-independence eras.

**The pre- independence era**
The history of civil society in Nigeria can be traced to colonialism. The authoritarian
nature of colonial rule paved way for the emergence of nationalist movements, trade
unions and interest groups to fight for independence which was granted in 1960. Civil
society organizations emerged to oppose the dictatorial and authoritarian nature of
colonial rule (Toure-Kajah, 2000). Some of these groups or associations later became
political in nature. First among these various groups was a trans-national organization
known as the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led by some
intellectuals under the leadership of a Ghanaian lawyer, Casley Hayford. It had the main
objective of uniting the four British West African countries -Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold
Coast now Ghana and Nigeria in their demand for self-determination. The NCBWA was
to serve as a catalyst for the emergence of other similar groups in the country.
Subsequently, there was the West African Students Union (WASU) formed in 1925 in
London by West Africans students. Led by Ladipo Solanke, the Union served as a
rallying point for students groups for the fight against colonial rule in West Africa.
There was also the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) that was formed in 1934 by four
Nigerians; J.C. Vaughan, Ayo Williams, Ernest Ikoli and H.O. Davies to oppose the
colonial educational policy with regards to the differences which existed in the Yaba
Higher College (Masajuwa, 2003). In 1936, the name was changed to the Nigerian
Youth Movement (NYM) in an effort to make it a national movement.
According to Akinboye and Olorunshola (2010), the various organizations adopted different strategies such as protests, propaganda, strikes and civil disobedience to press home their demands. The occasional riots and instability such as the Aba women riot of 1929; the Iva Valley workers riot of 1949; the Enugu miners’ strike of 1949 and the general strike of 1945 were all evidences of the fact that colonialism was resisted (Falana, 2010). One veritable tool that was used in the fight against colonialism was the vocal press. Newspapers such as the *West African Pilot*, *the Comet*, *the Lagos Daily News*, *the Tribune* and *the Daily Service* were used in expressing vituperative criticisms against the colonialists. This was in spite of the fact that the freedom of association and expression were prohibited and criminalized. All these efforts resulted in the achievement of independence in 1960.

**The post-independence era**
The post-independent era witnessed the resurgence of civil society organizations with the motives of demanding good governance and challenging the authoritarian nature of military rule in the country. As Osaghae (1997, p.10) puts it;

> the combination of foreign debts, structural adjustment and general economic decline have further emasculated the capacity of the state to provide jobs, subsidize education, health care, social services, protect lives and property. This has forced the people to device various strategies of coping outside the formal structure of the state.

At independence, the form and function of the Nigerian state remained the same; immense, arbitrary, violent and threatening in its power (Ake, 1993). The nature of political competition for power impacted negatively on the social cohesion resulting to the dwindling of the civil society in Nigeria. This was aggravated by the fact that the Balewa regime did little to enable the growth of private interests. But the protest against the signing of the Anglo-Nigeria Defense Pact in 1962 showed some spark in the life of the civil society. The government of Murtala Mohammed encouraged the thriving of civil society by appointing Professor Patrick Wilmot and Dr Bala Usman, both Marxist scholars, as advisers on foreign policy. This explains why the regime had a vibrant foreign policy (Kukah, 2007).

The austerity measures introduced by the Alhaji Shehu Shagari’s regime to curb the economic crises that bedevilled Nigeria at that time resulted to economic hardships which were opposed by the Nigerian Labour Congress (Olukoshi, 2001). The Buhari’s regime which toppled the Shehu Shagari’s administration proscribed many civil society
organizations mostly professional associations and trade unions which, according to Aiyede (2003), dared to criticize its policies or embarked on public demonstrations and strikes or called for an announcement of the date of return to civil rule. Several draconian decrees were promulgated such as Decrees 2, 4, 14 and 17. Decree 2, for instance, caged the press. Two journalists of the Guardian Newspaper, Nduka Irabor and Tunde Thompson, became the first casualties of this unpopular decree (Akinboye and Anifowose, 1999).

The economic crises that bedeviled Nigeria persisted and General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (IBB) on assumption of power subjected the issue of taking an International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan to a national debate. As Olukoshi (2001) has pointed out, this debate provided occasion for the civil society to react. Various groups opposed the proposal but the state through co-option, threats and intimidation successfully weakened the base of these groups. The regime went ahead to take the IMF loan and implemented Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) much to the chagrin of Nigerians. Amidst the protest and demonstrations that attended the introduction of SAP, the Campaign for Democracy (CD) was formed and provided a rallying point for agitation for the return of the country to civil rule (Kukah, 2007; Imade, 2007).

The annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election further ignited the fire of protests and opposition against the IBB’s regime. The protests and demonstrations that greeted this dastardly act led to the stepping down of “Maradona” as IBB was also called, after instituting an illegal Interim National Government (ING). The latter lacked legitimacy and was subsequently overthrown by General Sani Abacha.

Soon after assuming office, Abacha embarked on a plan to transmute himself into a civilian president and tried to eliminate all oppositions in his way. The regime promoted the arrest and imprisonment of human rights and democracy activists particularly leaders of National Democratic Coalition (NADECO). Others who survived the arrest were forced into exile. He also allegedly murdered Ken Saro Wiwa and the Ogoni 8, Kudirat Abiola, wife of the acclaimed winner of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election and Pa Alfred Rewane (Akinboye and Anifowose, 1999).

Civil Society Organizations championed a massive campaign for voters’ education, mobilization and enlightenment during the General Abdulsalami Abubakar’s administration. With the return of civil rule in 1999, the roles of these organizations have not been less remarkable. This could be seen in the activities of the Nigerian Labour Congress, Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), the Nigeria Medical
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Association (NMA), Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) and others which have helped to put government in check (Alubo, 2007; Okaneme, 2014).

**Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and the democratization process in Nigeria**

The smooth operation of colonial rule depended on the exploitation of the labour of Nigerians. To protect the interest of the wage workers, the first generation of trade unions was formed and these included the Nigerian Civil Service Union in 1912, the Nigerian Union of teachers in 1931 and the Nigerian Union of Railway men in 1932. In 1943, the Trade Union Congress (TUC) was formed as a rallying point for all these interest groups in the fight against colonialism (Aremu, 2003). Its role in this regard had been monumental. For example, in 1945 Nigerian workers under the aegis of TUC held a nationwide strike when their demands for increase in wages were not met. The strike which lasted for 37 days paralyzed the colonial economy which was already battered by depression. The Enugu Miners’ strike of 1949 was another significant contribution of labour to the independence struggle in the country.

Fundamentally, it was in 1978 that the NLC was decreed into existence after the General Obasanjo’s regime had earlier banned independent efforts of trade unionists to form a common centre. The congress which is a rallying point for trade unionism has etched the contours of state-industrial relations in the country. Shortly after its formation, the NLC took it upon itself to agitate for a national minimum wage for workers. Though the General Olusegun Obasanjo’s regime set up a panel to look into the issue but nothing meaningful was done about it till the regime handed over power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979. The Shagari’s regime which was reluctant to treat the issue decided to raise workers wage from 120 to 125 Naira after a two day national strike by the Congress in May 1981 (Aremu, 2003). The struggles of the NLC with subsequent governments have resulted to the minimum wage being raised to 5500 Naira during the General Abdulsalami Abubakar’s regime, then to 7500 Naira during the Obasanjo’s regime, followed by 18,000 enforced by the Goodluck Jonathan’s administration and the extant 30,000 naira approved by the Tripartite committee but yet to be legislated upon as a new national minimum wage by the Mohammadu Buhari’s regime.

Again, the NLC was initially involved in the ‘democratization process’ by articulating the views of workers on protection of human rights, the role of the military in governance and rural development to the Political Bureau during the Babangida’s regime (NLC, 1986). Apart from participating in the review of the 1979 constitution, the NLC also formed the Labour Party which, unfortunately, was not registered by the
Junta. Sequel to this, the NLC decided to align with the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which had a socialist ideology (Aremu, 2003).

The leadership of NLC under Ali Ciroma battled immensely with the government of General Babangida. Between1986 and 1988, for instance, Ali Ciroma led labour demonstrations against Margaret Thatcher, the killing of students at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, the harsh economic realities occasioned by the adoption of SAP and the resistance to fuel price hikes which were common those days. According to Okaneme (2014), organized labour also went on a massive demonstration against the annulment of the June 12 presidential election by the same military regime of General Babangida. The congress resolved to “challenge the legitimacy of military rule if its tenure extends beyond August 1993” (Aremu 2003, p.179).

Consequently, the regime decided to politicize labour by sponsoring Takai Shamang for the Congress’ presidential elections which ended in a stalemate (Kukah, 2007). This gave the government the impetus to appoint a sole administrator to run the body. Thereafter, the IBB regime organized elections and installed an inept and corrupt leadership led by Pascal Bafyau through which it effectively neutralized and controlled the Congress. The emergence of Bafyau dampened the militancy in the NLC as he became a lackey of the military government.

The NLC and indeed other members of civil society groups had a rough time with the Abacha’s regime. According to Amuwo (2001, p.4) quoting Peter Lewis, “Abacha fully availed himself of …instruments of control, extending repression, enervating the political class and conducting pre-emptive indictments against political opponents”. The government became furious with the NLC in 1994 when it sided with oil workers to embark on a nation-wide strike. The Junta decided to clip the wings of the congress by banning its executive and further appointed sole administrators from the defunct National Republican Convention (NRC); Dr Samuel Ogbemudia; Alhaji Ahmed Uba and Chief Asom Bur to head it (Aremu, 2003; Kukah, 2007). This was done with the intention of hammering the final nails into the coffins of the congress since the NRC was antithetical to the ideology of the SDP which the congress shared. However, on 11th August 1998, the Abubakar’s regime abrogated Decrees 9 and 10 of 1994 and allowed the unfettered operation of the NLC.
The NLC and democratization in the post military era

In the wake of the return to democratic rule in 1999, the Nigerian Labour Congress has been in the vanguard of checking the excesses of the government thus contributing to the building of a robust democratic culture in the fourth republic. In the first place, the organized labour championed fierce resistance against anti-labour policies like hike in price of petroleum products and retrenchment of workers that were the lots of workers during the Obasanjo’s regime. Suffice it to say that these hikes in the pump price of petroleum products were not only perpetrated during the Obasanjo’s regime. According to Alubo (2007), from January 6, 1978 to May 27, 2007, the various regimes in the country had increased the pump price of fuel about 18 times and the organized labour have led several protests against many of these increases in concert with other civil society groups. Thus, in the words of Okaneme (2014, p.80) the NLC has “become the rallying point against such ostentatious, irrational and incessant increases over the years which has ultimately served one major purpose which is to impoverish the common man and to increase the wealth of the members of the ruling class…”

Not to be left out here is the role the congress played in the ‘murder’ of the third term agenda of the Obasanjo’s regime through its condemnation of the plot in strong terms. This may have informed the regime’s long standing feud with organized labour which, not unexpectedly, saw the sponsoring of the Labour Reform Bill of 2005 by the administration to decentralize trade unions in the country so as to limit its unity of action.

Furthermore, the NLC has also lent its voice in the fight against corruption in the fourth republic. This was clearly demonstrated by the organization of the anti-corruption rally held on the 8th May, 2008 which demanded that the Yar ‘Adua’s Government should set up a commission of inquiry to investigate corrupt deeds of the Obasanjo administration and recover looted money from the culprits. In a similar vein, during the regime, civil society organizations led by the NLC championed the cause of the agitations for the establishment of an electoral reform committee to restructure electoral system towards revisiting the electoral laws and repositioning the electoral umpire and other critical stakeholders in the conduct of elections in the country (Allah, 2014). This became necessary given the massive electoral corruption that attended the 2007 General elections.

Moreover, the NLC has also been in the vanguard of the clamour of democratization through massive education of its members on the need for them to vote during elections and participating in several electoral debates towards enthroning a healthy democratic
culture in the country (Alalade, 2004). This was borne out of the fact that only a massive participation in the electoral process will bring about the needed change through the election of leaders that will put the welfare of workers on the front burner. Similarly, the congress organized a national colloquium in August 2017 to discuss the raging issue of restructuring in which it stated, *inter alia*, that restructuring is not a substitute for good governance. (Fagbemi, 2017)

Not oblivious of the travails of workers in the country due to global economic crunch and incessant increases in the pump price of petroleum resources, the NLC has always advocated for the improvement in the working conditions of workers in the country. While its advocacy for improved worker’s welfare has been spirited over the years, the Nigerian state and other employers of labour have not been very helpful in their reaction to this demand. For instance, the congress was only able to extract a marginal increment in the national minimum wage from the Obasanjo’s regime which increased it to 7500 naira as against the inherited minimum wage of 5500 for Federal Government workers and 3500 naira for state government workers. This wage stands in stark contradiction with the humongous salaries and allowances enjoyed by law makers and members of the executive.

In a similar vein, the Congress in 2002 was instrumental in the formation of the Labour Party as a platform for projecting the welfare of workers through the cultivation of values such as equity, social justice and provision of gainful employment which are germane to the democratization project in any polity. The party could not muster the requisite political clout to bring on board its pro-worker programmes having won only one state (Ondo state) in the 2007 Gubernatorial elections (Olaniyi and Otaru, 2018).

Again, the congress had made frantic efforts to ensure the new minimum wage of 18,000 initiated about by the Dr Goodluck Jonathan’s administration was implemented by the three tiers of governments and other employers of labour. According to Okaneme (2014), the congress fought for the passage and implementation of the Minimum Wage Act in spite of the concerns expressed by some governors about their inability to pay due to the unbalanced nature of the revenue allocation formula in favour of the Federal Government. More recently, on September 26th 2018, the NLC embarked on a one week warning strike to agitate for an increment in the national minimum wage from 18,000 naira to 65,000 naira. Despite the shortcomings that trailed the organization and suspension of the strike action by the congress, the inescapable fact is that the NLC has been able to bring to the notice of the government that the extant 18,000 minimum wage enjoyed by workers is unrealistic in the face of current economic realities in the country.
Challenges of the NLC in the democratization process of Nigeria

The NLC, no doubt, has faced a myriad of challenges that threatened to limit its operational efficiency as a critical actor in the democratization process in Nigeria. In the first place, the congress has been faced with the challenge of sustenance of the tempo of democratization in the post-independent area. Its roles in military disengagement have been more pronounced than in deepening of democracy under civil rule. Imade (2007) argued that most CSOs including the NLC have not scored well in this regard because of their pre-occupation with putting an end to military rule and once that goal was accomplished, winning control over state power became their primary objective at the expense of building a community of citizens capable of determining what they want and acting in a way that forces the government to respond accordingly.

Again, corruption and personal enrichment have also pervaded the ranks of organized labour in the country. These vices weaken its moral right to engage the state and hinder people of integrity and high moral standard to associate with them. For instance, the involvement of Paschal Bafyau, former NLC President, in the privatization business of the government smacked of personal aggrandizement. Again, the clean bill of health given to the privatization policy of the Obasanjo’s regime by the congress by allowing some of its members to serve on the privatization committee in spite of the shady deals that characterized the implementation of the policy sharply contrasted with the anti-corruption crusade of the congress (Okaneme, 2014).

Moreover, closely related to personal ambition or enrichment is the needless infighting that has threatened the unity of the congress as one formidable union fighting a common cause. A good example is the feud that occurred in 2015 which saw the election of two presidents; Comrades Joe Ajaero and Ayuba Wabba at parallel congresses (Ahiuma-Young, 2015). Internal strike like this has detracted from the gains the congress would have made in the task of democratization.

Furthermore, the proactiveness of the NLC in effective engagement with the state over the years has been hampered by government hard-line posture against their activities. The series of proscription, politicization and sometimes weakening of the congress by the appointment of fifth columnists as leaders by military leaders have etched the contours of State-Labour relations over the years. The method of advocacy by the congress has, as a result, been skewed towards suspension of services (strike) to compel government’s acceptance of their demands while the Government, for its part, has
considered the congress as a threat and not an indispensable ally in the democratic project. This has had ripple effects on democratization process in the country.

Conclusion
Effective state-civil society relations are germane and remain a sine qua non for the thriving of democracy in any country. This is because the criticism and checks from the civil society are the flickers that let us know that a democracy is alive and kicking. Needless to say, that they guarantee the health and robustness of any democratic experiment. Against this backdrop, the study has appraised the role of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) in the actualization of self government (independence) and the struggle for, and deepening of, democracy in the country. The study established the fact that the congress has been able to check the excesses of the Nigerian state (from Pre-independence to Post independence eras) through its resistance to anti-people polices such as hike in pump price of petroleum products, the taking of the IMF loan and subsequent adoption of SAP, the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential elections, casualization of labour, the removal of fuel subsidy and so on. Through its commentaries on the state of the nation, the congress has also criticized government handling of critical sectors of the economy such as health, education, agriculture and so forth and have proffered alternative course of actions for government to follow.

The congress, however, has faced several challenges in deepening democracy ranging from preoccupation with being in power, corruption and personal aggrandizement to lack of capacity in terms of knowledge, skills and methods of advocacy to engage the state in a democratic setting. To be sure, the nature and character of the state which has remained dominant and arbitrary and the politicization of the organization by most military regimes and self-styled dictators during civil rule have detracted from the gains, the NLC would have achieved in driving the democratization process in the country.

Recommendations
To reposition the NLC to face the challenges earmarked above, the following measures have been recommended;

i. The NLC should review its method of advocacy from a confrontational style to collaborative partnership with the government and other critical segments of the society. To do this effectively, the congress should be mainstreamed into policymaking and governance through its inclusion in the ranks of government agencies with regulatory or oversight functions such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the Due Process Office and so on.
ii. The leaders of the Congress should eschew the penchant for personal enrichment through unbridled fraternity with, and involvement in, the shady businesses of those in power. To check this trend, affiliates of the congress must articulate the imperative for the leaders to adhere strictly to the NLC Policy Document which guides its *modus operandi*.

iii. The NLC should improve its mechanisms of internal democracy, accountability and probity by adopting a self-regulatory framework and peer review mechanism that would enhance its democratic credentials. Such a self-regulatory framework would require extensive, broad and inclusive consultations across the 43 affiliates of the congress leading to effective communication and synergy for course of action.

iv. The NLC should also do away with the needless bickering and division from their ranks and forge a common front to achieve their goal of improving the welfare of workers in the country. To check needless bickering and promote unity of purpose in the congress, the different affiliate unions congress should close ranks and demonstrate solidarity with the one another in their engagement with the state on issues bordering the individual unions.

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Interrogating Democracy and Good Governance as Panacea for National Development in Nigeria

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Abstract
This paper examines the nexus between democracy, good governance and national development in Nigeria. In doing this, the paper adopts descriptive analytical method of analysis to interrogate those issues under investigation. The theory used as a framework of analysis is the democratic theory whose central argument is based on good governance as a determinant for achieving the desired national development. The findings reveal that democracy and good governance are related in the attainment of national development, whereas, in Nigeria the practice of democracy has not been able to enthrone the concept of good governance as a condition to achieve development. And that to achieve this objective, other criteria such as political governance, economic governance and administrative governance are sine qua non which democracy offers towards the attainment of national development. The paper, therefore, recommends that for national development to be achieved a sound democratic governance should be instituted based on good governance criteria that will ensure sound policies and strengthening state capacity and increasing responsiveness in the performance of government activities for national development.

Keywords: Democracy, Good Governance, National Development, Panacea and Interrogating

Introduction
Since the Nigerian state returned to democratic governance in 1999 during the era of third wave of democratization, the nature of governance in the country has been the subject of intense debate by scholars of all divides. Admittedly, the rising concern about the governance project in Nigeria cannot be explained outside the country’s historical experience, a history that has laid the solid foundation for the current wave of ethno-
religious and politico-economic crisis in the land. These states of affairs raise some serious concerns about the question of democracy, good governance and national development in Nigeria where the politics of deprivation and mismanagement of resources appears to be taking over the principles of accountability, transparency and responsive governance. This has thrown up serious challenges towards the attainment of socio-economic development of Nigeria. The questions now are: what is the explanation for bad governance in Nigeria? How can these governance deficits be corrected? The thesis of this paper is that democracy and good governance is the key instrument that oils and sustained peaceful, secured and over all development of society. In other words, the survival of the society is dependent on how its democratic leadership and people are committed to the ideals of democracy and good governance where the atmosphere of peace, equal rights, justice, rule of law and freedom of choice prevail. This paper is segmented thus: concept of democracy, good governance, the link between democracy, good governance and national development, conclusion and recommendations for a way out of the underdevelopment quagmire.

**Concept of Democracy**

As a concept and form of government, democracy is quite old. It entails a system of government that allows the citizens freedom to decide their desires. Ancient Greece (Athens in particular) is widely regarded as the birthplace of western democracy (Lioba and Abdulahi, 2005). The word democracy is derived from the Greek words *demos* which means "the people", and *kratia* which means "to rule". This, in essence, means a governance system that is ruled by the people and, for the people, as opposed to rule by one despot (autocracy), or a few (oligarchy). Thus, literally, democracy signifies the rule by the people. Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy is very close to its literal meaning. According to him, democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In short, democracy as a form of government implies that the ultimate authority of government is vested in the people for the common good of the people.

It is paradoxical to note that despite centuries of democratic governance in various parts of the globe, there is currently no universally accepted definition of the term. There are intense debates among scholars of democracy, which can be placed into a continuum that ranges from maximalist to minimalist approach (Fayemi, 2009).

The body of minimalist democratic theory is drawn from several thinkers, such as Adam Przeworski, Joseph Schumpeter, Karl Popper, William Riker, and Russel Hardin. All
these scholars share a viewpoint wherein democracy neither set conditions for its outcomes, nor characterizes itself as anything other than an electoral system. Przeworski (1999, p. 108), for instance, explains minimalist democracy as "a system in which parties lose elections." He sees the essential value of democracy as being in the peaceful transfer of power enacted through regular elections. Schumpeter (1952) cited in Jev and Dzoho (2014, p.68) argue that democracy does not entail rule by the people, but that it is "... a method by which decision-making is transferred to individuals who have gained power in a competitive struggle for the votes of the citizens." Popper (1963) cited in Jev and Dzoho (2014) on his part, asserts that democracies are a system wherein one administration can be replaced by another without bloodshed, which indicates the conduct of elections. He rejects the concept of sovereignty in favour of elections, arguing that the imperfections and uncertainties of elections are preferable to the prospect of tyranny found within sovereignty.

The minimalist conception of democracy has, however, been widely challenged by maximalists. The Maximalists argue that without effective guarantees of civil liberties, elections do not constitute democracy, and that a “procedural minimum” for defining democracy must include not only elections, but reasonably guarantees basic civil rights such as freedom of speech, association and assembly” (Diamond, 1988, p.33). Thus, beyond the procedural electoral minimum, the Maximalists have identified further characteristics that must be present for these basic procedures to meaningfully constitute a democracy. Robert Dahl, for instance, advances three essential conditions for the well-functioning multiparty democracy that requires an: (a) extensive competition by political candidates and their groups or parties; (b) political participation that provides the choice for the electorate to select candidates in free and fair elections; and (c) civil and political liberties that enable citizens to express themselves without fear of punishment (Dahl, 1971, p.221). Larry Diamond, another maximalist, sees democracy as encompassing not only a civilian, constitutional, multiparty regime, with regular, free and fair elections and universal suffrage, but also includes organizational liberties such as: freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations; effective power for elected officials; and functional autonomy for legislative, executive and judicial organs of government (Diamond, 1988, p.3).

Robert Dahl in his treatise on democracy, further argues that:

Democracy is a system of government with elected representatives operating under the rule of law, with the greater number of the citizenry
having the opportunity to participate in the governmental process as well as have access to equal share of the resources through participation in the decision making process that has to do with the allocation of scarce resources (Dahl, 1971, p. 221).

Deriving from the views of Dahl (1971), Okpaga (1999, p. 4) defines democracy to mean:

Any system of government that is rooted in the notion that ultimate authority in the governance of the people rightly belongs to the people, that everyone is entitled to an equitable participation and share in the equal rights and equitable social and economic justice as the birthright of every one in the society. The basic characteristics of democracy include the existence of the mechanisms for political and economic choice, balanced political structure and stable political system.

Democracy also means a system which gives periodic opportunities for the masses to choose their leaders. It is a system of government in which the will of the people prevails. It is a majority government; a government elected by the majority of the electorate who are qualified adult citizens. It therefore, means that in a democracy, political sovereignty is vested in the people or the electorate.

Dicey (1950) in his famous work Law and Opinion in England, cited in Jev and Dzoho (2014) treated democracy as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislative action. According to him, it would be unwise in a democracy to enforce laws not approved by the people. James Bryce is one of the greatest champions of democracy and its most sympathetic critic. In his two monumental works: The American Commonwealth (1893) and Modern Democracies (1921) chiefly treated democracy as a form of government, in which the desire of the people is to express their sovereign will through the votes. Ultimately, he likened it to the rule of the majority. The test of government, according to Bryce, is the welfare of the people. Thus the standard of merit of any form of government can be judged by the adequacy with which it performs the chief functions of government: the protection from internal and external enemies, the securing of justice, efficient administration of common affairs, and the bestowal of aid to individual citizens in their several occupations. Democracy also has an additional merit in that it stimulates men to self-education, because participation by the people in government activities opens wider horizons for the individual and tends to broaden his interests. This participation is the essence of democracy. The people in a
democracy exercise their authority in two ways: (a) to determine the ends towards which their government shall run and (b) to watch over those into whose hands they have placed the actual power of administration.

It is important to note that Bryce does not claim that democracy offers a panacea for all ills of society. Yet he prefers it to other forms of government because it has brought about considerable improvement in the standard of government. It has not led to world brotherhood, nor has it dignified and purified politics, but it has provided for better government as compared to other forms of government.

In recent times, the concept of liberalism has been added to the understanding of the concept of democracy. Liberal democracy today is distinguished from other forms of political system by certain principles and characteristics, that is, its procedure and institutional arrangements. Institutions are necessary for the realization of principles; without principles, the institutions might be reduced to a mere formality. The two must go together. Liberal democracy works on certain principles and certain mechanisms. Broadly speaking, principles of Liberal democracy includes: (a) Government by consent; (b) Public accountability; (c) Majority rule; (d) Recognition of Minority rights; and (e) Constitutional Governance (Gauba, 2007)

Government by consent here means that in view of the highly technical nature, the large volume and urgency of government decisions, it is impractical to consult the people on every detail of every policy. However, discussion of the broad issues is indispensable. Discussion is usually held at two levels: (a) among the representatives of the people in the legislative house of assemblies, where members of the opposition have their say; and (b) at the public level where there is direct communication between the leadership and the people. Mass media (newspapers, radio, television, etc) also serve as effective channels of communication between the leadership and the people. Democratic leadership is expected not to lose touch with popular sentiment on the major outlines of policy as the ruling parties are bound to seek a fresh mandate of the people at regular intervals.

By public accountability, it means that the political leadership must constantly remain answerable to the people who elected them. Locke cited in Jev and Dzoho (2014) refers to it as a 'trustee'. He wanted the people to remain constantly vigilant. He thought of the people as a householder who appoints a watchman for protecting his house, and then, he himself keeps awake to keep a watch on the watchman. In order to prevent the abuse of
their power, governors should be directly accountable to an electorate who will frequently check whether their objectives have been reasonably met.

John Stuart Mill (cited in Jev and Dzoho, 2014) have identified the appropriate region of human liberty as including liberty of thoughts, feeling, discussion and publication, liberty of tastes and pursuits, and liberty of association or combination provided it causes no harm to others. He asserts that liberty and democracy taken together- create the possibility of human excellence. In his view, a system of representative democracy makes government accountable to the citizenry and creates wiser citizens capable of pursuing the public interest.

It is instructive to note that this is the kind of democracy that Nigeria desperately needs in order to achieve national development. Over time, public accountability of government has been of great concern as those in authority in Nigeria do not see it as a responsibility to be accountable to people who elected them in office. Since sovereignty does not only originate in the people but continue to stay with the people, it is instructive that leaders be accountable to the people whom they represent. The people's deputies are not, and could not be, its representatives; they are merely its agents; and they cannot decide anything finally (Rousseau, 1762 cited in Gauba, 2007)

On the concept of majority rule, it means that in all these decision-making bodies, from the electorate to the last committee, the issues are to be resolved by voting. Politically, equality is secured by the principle of one man, one vote', which implies that there will be no privileged section claiming special weight-age, nor any underprivileged sections whose voice is ignored. No discrimination is allowed on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, ownership of property, and even educational qualifications. Any restriction of suffrage should be based on sound reason, that is, where the ballot cannot be used in a rational and responsible manner, such as, in the case of convicted criminals, mental patients, and persons below a legally fixed age. The principle of majority rule relies on the wisdom of the majority. Minority opinion has the option to enlist the support of large numbers by persuasion in an atmosphere of free discussion.

The principle of majority rule, by no means, implies the suppression of minorities. In modern nation-state, there may be several racial, religious, linguistic or cultural minorities who fear discrimination of the tyranny of the majority. Minority grievances may take many forms ranging from psychological insults over discrimination in housing, education and employment to physical persecution and genocide. Legal safeguards are, therefore, considered essential for the realization of the 'democratic principles because
their presence helps to raise the level of awareness of both majority and minority and thus promote a favourable climate for democratic politics (Gauba, 2007).

By constitutional government, it means a 'government by laws' rather than by men. Democracy requires an infinitely complex machinery of processes, procedures and institutions to translate the majority will into action. It makes enormous demands on the time, goodwill and integrity of its citizens and public servants. Once the prescribed procedure is set aside, even for a legitimate purpose, it can set a precedent that may be followed for pursuing illegitimate purpose and the flood-gates of corruption might be thrown wide open (Gauba, 2007). It is, therefore, essential to have a well-established tradition of law and constitution for the stability of a democratic government.

These five principles have thrown sufficient light on the nature of liberal democracy to be practiced. However, the experience of democratic rule in most African countries leaves much to be desired. Evidence have shown that rather than guarantee the welfare and security of lives of the citizenry, the practice of democracy has thrown out more challenges of insecurity of lives and property. Elections have become a do or die affair. It has also become a matter of winner takes all. Rather than been magnanimous in victory, democratic practice has rather narrowed the chances of providing the social services needed by the people. As a result, most African countries such as Nigeria have not been able to enthrone a virile and sound democratic ethos capable of enhancing sustainable development. This failure is attributed to unethical behaviours and lack of accountability on the part of the political leadership as well as poor and uninformed followership (Sorkaa, 2001). This, therefore, is said to explain the reason for Africa's crisis of stability and underdevelopment in the continent. As laudable as these features of democracy which we have enumerated above, are in actual sense what is obtainable in the continent of Africa and particularly in Nigeria, include failure of leadership, corruption, insecurity, ethnicity and the likes.

In its quest to democratize, Africa (Nigeria) continues to remain in the learning process and this process seems to deteriorate at every passing democratic experiment in most African nations. African leaders, instead of carrying out a clear-cut transition to democratic rule, prefer to perpetuate themselves into power using all kinds of nuances of "second term", "Third Term", "Fourth Term" and even life terms (Jev, 2011, p. 27). Constitutional provisions are manipulated to give way for "sit-tightism" in most of African countries. This practice is a clear departure from the democracy enunciated by
Plato and Aristotle, Dicey, James Bryce, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Benthan, Jean-Jacques Rousseau etc.

Elections in most African countries and Nigeria to be precise, is characterized by irregularities such as ballot box snatching and stuffing. In Africa (Nigeria), citizens seem to be held captive by non-performing political office holders. Elections seem no longer a factor in determining electoral context and victories during polls. Those in government force their way into power without the mandate of the people. The most worrisome aspect of this scenario is that development eludes the continent and poverty has become a household name with most people living below the poverty line -1US dollar a day. This situation has made many to question the option for democracy in Africa, particularly in Nigeria (Edoh, 2007).

**Good Governance Conceptualized**

According to the World Bank Report (1989) governance is the exercise of political power in the management of a nation's affairs. This definition thus implies that governance encompasses the state's institutional and structural arrangements, decision-making processes and implementation capacity, and the relationship between the governing apparatus and the governed- that is the people in terms of their standard of living.

Odock cited in Jev (2011, p.37) sees good governance as "a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and due process, the accountability of the political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operations of government." Transparency in governance, has to do with the leadership carrying out government business in an open, easy to understand and explicit manner, such that the rules made by government, the policies implemented by the government and the results of government activities are easy to verify by the ordinary citizens. On the other hand, accountability as a component of good governance refers to the fact that those who occupy positions of leadership in the government must give account or subject themselves to the will and desire of the society and people they lead. However, the experience of democratic rule in Nigeria seems to negate these cardinal principles. Instead, profligacy and outright abuse of office take center stage in all ramifications. This attitude has greatly affected the output of governance in Nigeria in terms of social provisioning and development in the country (Sorkaa, 2001).

According to Sorkaa (2003) bad governance typically emphasizes leadership which suggests the way political leaders, meaning the apparatus of the state, use or misuse
power, to promote social and economic development or to engage in those agendas that largely undermine the realization of the good things of life for the people. While good governance is in tandem with democratic governance which is largely characterized by high valued principles such as rule of law, accountability, participation, transparency, human and civil rights. These governance qualities have the capacity to provide the development process of a country. The African continent generally has not yet created a government that is transparent and accountable, one that serves its people and is free from corruption which undermines the governance process. Obama (2006, p.11) notes that:

Governance in Africa is crisis ridden and it is a crisis that is robbing honest people of the opportunities they fought for. Corruption erodes the state from the inside out, sickening the justice system until there is no justice to be found, poisoning the police forces until their presence becomes a source of insecurity rather than a source of security. In the end, if the people cannot trust their government to do the job for which it exists, to protect them and to promote their common welfare, all else is lost.

The absence of good governance has not been able to provide the people of Nigeria and Africa generally with public goods of health care, education, clean water, electric power, physical security, a good sanitary environment, and decent transport infrastructure.

Onifade (2011) posed a critical question as to whether it is possible to have good governance without good leadership. Our understanding of reality points to the fact that the former is logically derived from the latter because where there is effective and efficient leadership, there is bound to be good governance. Achebe (1983) argues that the failure of leadership to rise to its responsibility, to the challenges of personal exemplary life clearly shows why the nation has the problem of true leadership. According to him, it is exemplary leadership that can uplift the people, better the lives of the citizenry and see that the people as much as possible enjoy the public resources without any hindrances as is the case in most advanced democracies. The quality of leadership in Nigeria leaves much to be desired as most often, our leaders alienate themselves from the people they govern. This alienation creates room for failure of governance and in its place massive corruption takes the center stage because the leadership is not accountable to the people.

Relatedly, Migdal (1988) and Zartman (1995) argue that in the absence of good governance, a nation may experience state collapse or failure. Nigeria has severally been described as ‘failed state’ by many scholars (Onimade, 2000; Ake, 1979). A state ideally
is meant to be an organization, composed of several agencies led and coordinated by the state leadership (executive authority) which has capacity and authority to make and implement the binding rules for all the people and applying force if necessary to have its way. Zartman (1995), notes that the status of a state is considered as failed or collapsed when it exhibits inability to fulfil the functions of a state such as the sovereign authority, decision-making institution and security guarantor for its population. This can lead to structured authority (legitimate power), law and political order falling apart.

**Democracy, Good Governance and National Development: The Nexus**

In the 1990s, the concept of democracy and good governance had entered the development discussion not only as a condition for aid, but also an instrument for development. It is argued that the mere existence of elections or electoral democracies does not foster development in itself -it requires good governance (World Bank, 2000). The World Bank further proposes that financial aid works best in a good policy environment characterized by effective and accountable institutions. Democracy emphasis good quality and accountable leadership. It is believed that qualitative leadership is the hallmark of development initiatives in any society. This type of leadership is capable of galvanising support from the people for the attainment of socio-economic development of the country. It therefore, means that democracy has a link with national development and that national development can only take place where there is good governance.

To qualify for foreign aid to enhance national development, the World Bank (2000) have suggested that aid should be targeted primarily to poor countries who have attained democratic status and incorporated good governance, with sound political and economic management. The demand by the World Bank shows that democracy, good governance and national development has a relationship. However, most of the recipients of financial aid in developing countries argue that the demand for democracy and good governance is a new form of imperialism made by the donor countries to impose Western values of democracy, human rights and capitalism on developing countries (Martinusen and Pedeson, 1999 cited in Jev (2011).

Good governance also has to do with the level of human capital development all of which serve as a measurement for development. The promotion of good governance is widely accepted as a prerequisite for development among international organizations and scholars of human development (UNDP 1994 and David, 2000). But what
constitutes good governance and human development, and what is the nexus between good governance and development?

Development is often defined as achieving economic growth or wealth. We believe this definition is too narrow, as it builds on the simplistic assumption that economic growth trickles down and benefits the entire population (Martinusen, 1998). Accordingly, we choose a broader definition that links development with human development. Economic growth makes resources available for human development, but what counts most is not growth per se but the quality and management of the growth. The substance of human development is the enlargement of choices in the economic, cultural and social spheres of life, leading to a free, long and healthy life (UNDP 1997; Ul Haq 1999). Equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment are four core characteristics of human development. Equal access to the market, education, health, and the political process are critical elements of human development. Also, a well-functioning health or education sector is, therefore, not enough if it is not accessible for majority of the population.

Human development also entails the respect for human rights and overall development of the nation even though it is disputed by authoritarian leaders (Sen, 2000). Consequently, empowerment and human rights are also crucial elements for the enlargement of choices and therefore for human development. In sum, human development puts people at the center of concern and sees the promotion of human development and an enabling environment as the most important features of development. In other words, for national development to be achieved human capital development must be accorded the rightful place in that development process. To achieve this objective, democracy and good governance are a necessary condition to be attained if national development is to be achieved. Many positive attributes and dimensions are attached to good governance. In order to make it measurable and comparable; three essential dimensions of good governance must be introduced: political, economic and administrative governance.

Political governance is about the political process, whereas economic governance is about economic decision making that affects a country's economic activities. The final dimension, which is administrative governance, is concerned with the overall state capacity and the institutional quality of the state. Capacity and legitimacy are key words for good governance (Kjer, 1996 cited in Jev and Dzoho, 2014). Legitimacy is about ensuring that political, economic and social priorities take account of all the voices in society when allocating resources and as well as in the policy making. Legitimacy is a
critical element in the processes of governance because it facilitates the formulation and implementation of policies. On the other hand, capacity is important for the government to formulate and implement some policies. If the state cannot implement basic policies or important reforms due to few resources, corruption or lack of human capabilities, good intentions and political legitimacy are of little importance. Hence, it is clear that the capacity component has the most evident and measurable impact on national development.

The Influence of Political Governance on National Development

In the context of political governance, World Bank (2000) posit that responsiveness, participation, and decentralization of the political structures are important aspects in the governance process and must be present. Where these components exist, politicians are likely to be more accountable and responsive to the citizens if they are elected in a political system, characterized by free and fair elections. However, our experience of democratic governance in Nigeria over the years, has shown that these attributes which enhance good governance and national development are non-existent and hence the outcome of all elections in Nigeria are said to be fraudulent and as such not capable of producing quality leadership that will ensure accountability and prudent management of resources for national development to be achieved.

Meaningful and unconstrained participation in the political process is important in achieving democracy, good governance and national development in Nigeria because it is a way of influencing policies and of developing new capabilities. Widespread public participation of the citizenry in the political process is also seen as their contribution in the formulation and implementation of policies that enhance their welfare and that of society generally (Danida, 1999). The participation of women in the political process is also considered to be essential in the attainment of a virile democratic governance and national development (Danida, 1999). Recent studies also indicate that women are less selfish, more socially oriented, and are less corrupt (Dollar, Fishman and Gatti, 1999 cited in Jev, 2011). Thus, it is likely that unconstrained participation of women in the democratic process has direct effects on good governance and national development. The increasing participation of women will affect other spheres of society (Diamond 1988). For that reason, it can be argued that meaningful representation at all levels of governance enhances the quality of public service delivery systems of nation states in their quest to achieve national development. To sum up, a democratic political process is not only a goal in itself that enhances the legitimacy of the political regime, but it is also
critical for human development because it provides the population with tools of influencing their own lives.

Responsiveness of the political leadership is also measured by the index of political rights enjoyed by the citizens. Despite its shortcomings, the index of political rights is perceived to be the most valid measure of the democratic political process. This is because the percentage for instance, of women in parliament is also used as a basis in assessing the level of political culture and for the quality of democracy that is practiced by any state or nation. For instance, if women are represented in parliament in higher percentage, it can be taken as a sign that citizens are aware of their rights as women in the political process are also part and parcel of decision making. In this vein participation is measured by the average of any electoral turnout rate. Putman (1993) uses it as one of the measures of civicness.

The Influence of Economic Governance on Development

Economic governance also has to do with the institutions that regulate the economy of a nation so as to enhance the prospect of democracy, good governance and national development. These can be done in two ways: directly through the economic policies of the state, and indirectly via the state policies that influence the market and the private sectors. In achieving these goals, specific economic institutions and social policies that ensure the provision of positive externalities like education, health, infrastructures and technology and the regulation of the market are necessary tools for national development. Over the years, Nigeria has implemented several economic policies and programmes aimed at achieving socio-economic development of the nation without much success. These policies have not yield any positive results to warrant any positive development due to lack of attention and commitment of those in leadership positions. This is also attributed to the poor quality of leaders produced based on manipulated electoral process (Edoh, 2007).

Diamond (1999) argues that the penetrating state regulation over the years in Nigeria is inimical for economic growth and national development as it often leads to enormous waste, impeded the development of a healthy private sector and create the opportunities for corruption and rent-seeking. Another important aspect of economic governance is the level of military expenditure. While stability and peace is important for development, excessive military expenditures divert resources away from development needs (World Bank, 2000). In Nigeria, these excessive spending on military affects other sectors of the economy. If excessive resources from the military were to be channelled to health and
Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State

education sectors, many poor countries such as Nigeria would presumably raise the level of human capital development and ensure sustainable development. While stability and peace is important for development, excessive military expenditures divert resources away from development needs and hinders national development (DAC, 1995 cited in Jev and Salifu, 2017).

In summary, economic governance affects political governance and also enhances the stability of the democratic process. State provision of public goods is based on economic growth of a nation. The index of economic freedom, which measures regulation, subsidies and inflation (Gwarzy and Lawson, 1997) are all essential elements of economic growth needed to achieve political stability and national development.

The Influence of Administrative Governance on Development

Institutional quality is becoming a standard variable in explaining governance performance. Since institutional quality is a precondition for state capacity, it is also plausible that institutional quality is crucial to the provision of public goods, for the existence of a well-functioning political and administrative system and for the overall national development. There are three determinants for administrative governance to enhance service delivery system of a nation. These include; the functioning of the bureaucracy, the law and the level of corruption (DAC, 1994; Diamond, 1998 and Kochanowicz, 1994 cited in Edoh, 2007).

The Bureaucracy: - The existence of an effective and non-politicized public bureaucracy is a cornerstone for the institutional quality and for the capacity and legitimacy of the state (Peters, 1995; Suleiman, 1999). Some of the severe economic and social problems in Eastern Europe, Latin America and in Africa are probably caused by in-efficient bureaucracy (Kochanowicz, 1994; Peters, 1995). Furthermore, two core Weberian features are especially important for the bureaucracy: meritocratic recruitment and (ii) rewarding long term careers (Ranch and Evans, 1999; 2000). Together these features are likely to increase the capacity, and to make it more costly to pursue individual gains. These Weberian qualities are associated with higher levels of growth in 34 developing countries, and it is possible that they also affect other aspects of human development (Ranch and Evans, 2000).

However, in Nigeria, the negative aspect of bureaucracy of red tape, rigidity and the likes has rather hampered effective performance and institutional quality that would deliver good governance to the people. The process of public service delivery system in the continent of Africa and Nigeria in particular, is greatly hampered by unnecessary
delays occasioned by what many refers to as bureau-pathology (Sorkaa, 2003). There are a lot of bottlenecks with the public service of Nigeria, and hence, it has not been able to ensure effective performance capable of ensuring sustainable growth and development. Worse still, meritocracy has been jettisoned in the recruitment and appointment in the public service of Nigeria; in its place moonlighting and the spoils system have become the hallmark of bureaucratic system in Nigeria (Jev, 2011). This practice cannot guarantee development in any way since those who end up being recruited are ill-qualified to perform the relevant tasks to enhance development.

**Corruption:** The term corruption is defined as the misuse of public power for private benefits (Transparency International, 1999). It is the abuse of public office for private gains (World Bank, 1997). Public office is abused for private gains when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and process for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or the division of state resources (World Bank, 1997). In a related development, the Asian Development Bank links corruption with unethical behaviour on the part of both public and private officials in which they “improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and/or those close to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed” (Asian Development Bank, 1999).

Corruption is generally linked with manipulation of the coercive potentials of one’s social position to gain personal or group advantage at others expense or the abuse of public office for personal gains even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state resources or its diversion (Ikoni, 2010; Aliegba, 2010).

In view of the above, corruption can generally be seen in this paper as those unethical practices both in the public and private realms which seek to utilize state resources for personal or group gains at the expense of the generality of the people and national development, induced by greed and selfishness. Corruption can be classified into a variety of types such as political, economic, corporate, social, electronic and organized crimes (Ikoni, 2010). Nigeria has, therefore, witnessed all types since her existence as an independent nation over fifty six (56) years ago.

It is a problem both at small and grand scale and has, to some extent, hampered human and physical development. At a higher level, grand corruption is inimical for human and physical development in Nigeria because it lowers growth and the incentives to invest
Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State

(Mauro, 1997, Gupta et al, 1998 cited in Jev, 2011; Edoh, 2007). It has also been shown that corruption decreases the resources spent on education (Mauro, 1997). Corruption thus inhibits the enlargement of choices and opportunities and in so doing affects the overall possibilities of development. Corruption has been institutionalized in our public life. In fact, people seek to occupy political offices in the country to have unfettered access to huge sums of money to loot. Corruption has also resulted in neglect in all sectors and has created hatred among the ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria. This explains the reason for heightened quest to attain power and other conflicts at the slightest provocation.

The Rule of Law: The rule of law is also a critical element of democracy and good governance, without it, the functioning of the economy, the society and the overall legitimacy of the political leadership is at risk. An independent, predictable legal environment and equality before the law, and the practice of a consistent rule of law is a prerequisite for the legitimacy of the state. The practice of democracy and good governance are all essential ingredients for the attainment of national development. Countries such as Nigeria in which the rule of law is not adhered to are likely to exhibit lower levels of growth and political instability. Furthermore, the citizens in particular, do not know their rights and they do not have the resources to fight violations of the rule of law as it pertains to their fundamental rights.

To ensure a virile democratic rule, good governance and Sustainable development, politicians in Nigeria and in other new democracies must comply with the tenets of the rule of law which also serves as a foundation for good governance and national development.

Conclusion
This paper sets out to examine the phenomenon of democracy, good governance and national development. The findings from this study reveal that democracy, good governance have a relationship. That the political process in Nigeria has not been able to bring out qualitative leadership due to the flawed nature of the electoral process in Nigeria. Other findings are that for national development to be achieved, both the political, economic and administrative capacities are necessary ingredients. However, findings have indicated that these capabilities are either lacking or weak and so do not propel the desired national development the country yearns for.

In the light of the foregoing, the paper concludes that a sound democratic system is *sine-qua-non* for good governance to strive. Good governance presupposes political,
economic and administrative governance which is associated with measures to enhance national development. On a whole, a comparison of all these dimensions of good governance reveal that good economic governance is the most important dimension of democracy and national development. Also, low level of military expenditures can release resources for the growth of other sectors of the economy which will in turn enhance the attainment of national development.

The paper also concludes that good governance is important when designing policies and institutions that will strengthen new democracies. In a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria, the emphasis on enthroning good governance cannot be over emphasized as that is the only panacea to deliver social services to the people and reduce tension that results in violent conflicts which threatened the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. Conflicts in whatever dimension, can only be controlled when we adhere to the tenets of equity, fairness and accountable leadership which is the hallmark of democracy. Until that is done, energies will continue to be exerted on socio-political conflicts which have become endemic in most parts of Nigeria and national development will elude us ad infinitum.

This paper, therefore, makes the following recommendations as a pre-condition for enhancing democracy; good governance and national development in Nigeria.

First and foremost, our electoral process should be devoid of manipulations so as to produce qualitative leadership that will be transparent and accountable to the people. Such leadership is needed to champion the course of national development in Nigeria. Secondly, the practice of democracy should entail a system of government that allows the citizens freedom to decide who become their leaders and how their desires and aspirations can be fulfilled.

Thirdly, there should be extensive competition by political parties and their candidates; a political participation that provides the choice for the electorate to choose candidates in a free and fair electoral contest and a civic and political liberty that enable the citizens to express themselves without fear of punishment.

Fourthly, to achieve national development requires political, economic and administrative governance capacity that will propel national development in Nigeria.

Fifthly, to achieve national development, the policies of democratic governance must be based on the concept of good governance based on good leadership, respect for the rule
of law and a transparent and accountable political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operations of government.

Lastly, to achieve democracy, good governance and national development, there is the need to ensure political, economic and administrative governance. All these are necessary conditions for achieving stable political system that will guarantee good governance and national development.

It is hoped that if all these recommendations are strictly adhered to, our desire to en throne a sound democratic system of governance capable of upholding good governance and national development will be achieved.

References


Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State


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**Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State**

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Abstract
The study looked at how Radio Benue Programmes have promoted food security in Benue State. The methodology adopted for the study was survey with questionnaire as the research instrument. Results showed that Radio Benue programmes promoted food security in Benue State. The programmes educated the farmers on mechanized farming techniques, weed/pest control, improved crop storage techniques, and fertilizer/land conservation methods. The study therefore recommended that Radio Benue should introduce new more programmes on food security, with a phone-in programme where members of the audience can also participate for clarifications. The study also recommended that government should provide good storage facilities for farmers to preserve their produce, making fertilizer available to farmers at lower rates and at the right time, hiring tractors to farmers at affordable prices and giving loans to farmers at low interest rates from banks.

Keywords: Farmers, Food Security, Land Conservation, Mechanized Farming, Promotion, Radio Programme.

Introduction
Various people tune to radio programmes for different reasons which basically are to be educated, be informed or to be entertained. As such, programmes should possess qualities that satisfy audience needs. Programming, according to Okunna (2002:134) is the strategic selection of programme materials appropriate or suitable to a particular segment of predefined target audience. Programming involves a long-term calculated, planned policy, expressed in pre-determined executable action, which if appropriately implemented and executed, could win maximum success for the station at the satisfaction of the audience.

Also in programming and scheduling of a station’s product, much attention is given to the interest and convenience of the consumer, who constitute the programme’s audience. Radio stations including Radio Benue produce different types of programmes for the audiences’ consumption such as news, entertainment, information and education. These programmes could be musical, political, sports, religious, news, current affairs, health, family, agriculture or other related issues. The consumption of these programmes is basically because of the confidence built in the programmes by the stations.

Radio Benue, was set up to serve the Benue State media audience to disseminate
information aimed at informing, educating and entertaining the people of the state, such services are to encourage good administration, effective promotion and commitment to the interest of the Benue people including the agricultural sector. These Programmes projected enable the audience to be trans-located from their physical position in space to areas different from their immediate environment. The broadcast programmes mobilize the rural community, to complement government’s efforts in rural development, through news and current affairs-presentations. Programmes have socialization qualities. They orient members of the society, to conform to established norms, as applicable to their milieu. Cultural attitudes and believes are easily transferred, from one generation to the other, through content, language, and characterization in programmes.

Benue State is more of an agrarian state that has earned the name of Food Basket of the Nation. The state has been endowed with many cash crops and minerals far above other states and capable of feeding the nation to a great extent. Thus the attention should be given to agricultural programmes. Agricultural programmes provide farmers with vital information that will improve the quality of their produce and help solve common problems on farming activities. This will be supportive to the agricultural policy of the Federal Government on agriculture as a shift away from the petroleum sector.

**Statement of the Problem**
Nigeria is a nation of many minerals and cash crops however, since independence in 1961; Nigeria has been dependent on oil for her revenue for development at the expense of other minerals. The Federal Government, the State Governments and the Local Governments as the basic tiers of government in the federation depend on the federal allocation revenue for infrastructural development, ecological maintenance, foreign reserve, human empowerment, and governance. Thus, the state governments do less to diversify their revenue base for development and investment. The implication is the huge burden placed on the sector and the revenue that accrues therein. The report of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation –NNPC (2016) industry has shown that the price of crude oil has fallen at the international market drastically which has greatly affected the revenue base of the federal government.

Considering the negative impact of the fall in oil prices the Federal Government has deliberately developed the agricultural plan as a paradigm shift way from the oil sector. The objective of the plan is to support any tier of government, individual or organization to revolutionaries the agricultural sector as revenue based. Many state governments have
cashed into the programme with the support from the Federal Government. One of the programmes that both the states and individuals benefits from is the Anchor Borrower Programme. The Benue State Government has been part of the agricultural revolutionary plan and needs the full support from the mass media to succeed. Swinnen (2013, p.4) said that the “mass media plays a crucial role in distribution of information and in shaping public policy.” This is where Radio Benue becomes quite relevant for awareness creation about the government policy on agricultural development. The question is, do Radio Benue Programmes promote food security programme and to what extent do the programmes guarantee food security in the state? This is what the research seeks to ascertain.

**Objectives of the Study**

This study has the following objectives:

i. To find out if Radio Benue Programmes contribute to the promotion of food security in Benue State.

ii. To determine the programmes Radio Benue use in promoting food security in Benue State.

iii. To ascertain the extent to which Radio Benue Programmes promote food security in Benue State.

**Review of Concepts**

**Radio Programme**

Programming is a strategic selection of programme materials that are appropriate and suitable to a particular segment of pre-defined target audience. It involves a long term, planned policy, expressed in pre-determined and executable action. When appropriately implemented and executed, individual programme operations win maximum success for the station. Programming as a feature of broadcasting has basic factors which include research, planning, materials, execution and evaluation. Fepper (1995, p.128) states that “the future belongs to the station to the extent that the station that produces and controls programming will be successful”. Eastman (1993, p.146) states that, in order to increase rating and attain success, broadcast stations must employ strategies such as “compatibility, habit audience flow control, programme resource conservation and breathe of appeal”.

O'Donnell, Case, Hosegood, (1989) see programming as a placement of elements within the broadcast day, and it holds the key to a station’s success. The act of programming is a sequential activity that presumes the organization of materials into a coherent programme service suitable to the target audience. Underscoring this fact, Fepper (1995:128) opines
that “that the future belongs to the station to the extent that the station that produces and controls programming well will be successful”. On the other hand, if the reverse occurs and programming is done haphazardly, it will lead to loss of audience and the simultaneous loss in revenue generation that can be the death of the station. Bittner (1984) concurs when he argues that programming plays a dual role between the broadcaster who views it as a means of income, and the public who see it as a means of public service and entertainment. Effective programming is synonymous with a successful broadcast station.

Programme schedule also determines the success of a radio station. The essence is to present programmes to be enjoyed by the audience. Stations, therefore, determine which programme to present at any specific times, in order to meet the obligations to their audience. This strategy of determining programmes, for specific time of the operation period, is known as programming. Scheduling refers to the allocation of specific time to each programme, in a specific order of presentation, as approved by a station, for transmission to its audience. Owuamalam (2007). The essence is to ensure that each approved programme has a specific slot, at which time; the station’s audience can expect to listen to it. Scheduling enables stations to build confidence in the audience.

Programme scheduling present products in a specific order and at specific time, to the audience. It shows the considerations they make in the choice of time, to air any programme in the station. It also gives an insight into the objectives, which stations seek to achieve, through the presentation of their programmes, to any identifiable target audience. In programming adequate balance, in the presentation of a station’s programmes helps the stations to meet the aspirations of the various interest groups, as audience. It is also designed to appropriately fill with programmes, which can provide variety to the interest of the audience.

From Owuamalam (2007) scheduling enables stations to avoid the mistakes of repetition and unnecessary duplication. The schedule specifies the programmes, approved for each time of broadcast. It directs audience interest and attention to specific desired programmes. It helps to save times and the frustration from disappointment, when consuming broadcast products, from an uninformed perspective.

The considerations made by the station in programming and scheduling are time allocation and audience consideration. Programmes and scheduling are time oriented, in terms of duration of programmes and the order in which stations are presented. They are a function of the location of anticipated target audience, in terms of their physical
position at any given time and what the people are doing, at such stated times.

**Food Security**

Many organizations have different language presentations of what food security is. For FAO (2017,p.10). Food security exists when “all people at all times have access to safe nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life.” Disabled World (2004,p.2) see food security as the “availability of food and one’s access to it. A household is considered food secure when its occupants do not live in hunger or fear of starvation.” The New Encyclopedia (2012) sees food security as “a measure of availability of food and individuals’ accessibility to it.” In a similar language, United Nations (2013) define food security as a condition in which all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

The main goal of food security is for individuals to be able to obtain adequate food needed at all times, and to be able to utilize the food to meet the body’s needs. The World Bank (2001, p.12) identified three pillars underpinning food security; “food availability, food accessibility, and food utilization”. This infers that food security is not just the production of food but the availability and quality of the food at all times for humanity.

**Review of Related Literature**

**The Role of the Media in Food Security**

The media plays a very important role in development. According to Barnet (2014, p.31)

The media plays a vital role in creating awareness and influencing policies within the country and their role goes beyond conventional reporting to bring partners who take a lead in communicating information that promote inclusive agricultural productivity growth, better nutritional outcomes and strengthened livelihood.

The media plays a great part in the success of many facets of the society and without effective communication, deliberately planned, organized and directed in a manner and form popular relevant to the existing environment, very little in development terms is likely to be achieved. This is why Ugboajah (1996) agrees with Babatope (1987,p.5) that “the media that focuses on the rural community would help immeasurably in identifying the actual needs of the rural areas”. According to Ugboajah (1996) for meaningful development in rural areas to take place, the mass media should not be merely concerned with providing information on development activities; beside creating opportunities for the people to know about the technical nature of new ideas and how they work and with what effect. The mass media of communication should play the role of creating an atmosphere for understanding how the new ideas fit into the real social situation in which
the people operate.

The use of the media could speed the process of development in all sectors of the society through targeted information, motivation and training. According to Ebo (1999) information from the media can create a climate necessary for the change favourable to modernization and the need to give the mass media a prominent place in a bid to communicate agricultural development messages. Udofia (1991, p.203) sees the media as agents of change in rural areas. For Udofia (1991, p.216) “one of the most effective media employed by development officers is the radio. This is because it is relatively cheap and accessible to many rural people.” Akeredolu-Ale (1993, p.192) “observes that Radio is faster and grassroots oriented”. Many homes in Nigeria have radio as a means of obtaining messages about certain issues and information. Programme planners in radio stations produce almost 24 hours news about local and international events: political happenings, official reports and numerous advertisements of various interests, all geared towards grassroots information dissemination. In a similar view, Ebo, (1999, p.100) says that:

Radio is the most popular mass media in the rural areas. The villages depend on it as the bearer or news and instructor. It is particularly very useful in mobilization and mass education because it capitalizes on Africa’s great oral tradition and does not require literacy in assimilation

The views expressed by these scholars jointly emphasize the role of radio in rural development at large and agriculture in particular. They have also established that there can be no meaningful development without the use of radio because members of the society depend much on it as a bearer, development and as an instructor they listen to with attention.

Global Food Security: An Imperative

Food is a global human necessity and equally a human right thus a need to be adequately protected. All nations of the world have the responsibility to provide quality and adequate amount of food to her growing population at all times. USDA National Institute of Food and Agriculture (USAD-INFA) (2014) has said that United State of America is leading international efforts to address the need that people around the world have reliable source of quality food. According to USDA – INFA (2014, P.3);

Access to quality, nutritious food is fundamental to human existence. Secure access to food can produce wide ranging positive impact, including: Economic growth and job creation, Poverty reduction, Trade opportunities, increased global security and stability, improved health and healthcare.
To ensure food security for the Indians, the nation has an act, National Food Security Act, 2013 (also known as Right to Food Act). It is an Act of Parliament of India. The Act aims to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two third’s 1.25 billion people of India. According to NFSA (2015,p.16) “The introduction of this Act in 2013, marks a major paradigm shift from a welfare based to a rights based approach to address food insecurity.” This measure is taken in recognition of the large population of the State of India to avoid leaving the population hungry.

The Constitution of South Africa in Section 27, obliges the nation to provide legislation and other supporting measures to ensure that all citizens of South Africa are enabled to meet their food needs. Report of the FAO (2017) has shown that the South African Government has not yet adopted an integrated and comprehensive food security act.

As stated from Global Food Security Strategy (GFSS) Ghana Country Plan, (2017), was co-written by all United States Government agencies involved in food security and nutrition work after extensive consultation with stakeholders from government ministries, private companies and Non Governmental Organizations, in Washington DC. The document is the Ghana Country Food Plan and serves as an overarching framework for integrated food security and nutrition programming. The plan describes the key drivers of food security, nutrition and poverty.

In the WHO report (2004) to guarantee food security, Nigeria has National Plan of Action on Food and Nutrition. The overall goal of the plan was to improve the nutritional status of all Nigerians with particular emphasis on the most vulnerable groups. These vulnerable groups are the children, women and the elderly. Among many other specific goals are, (1) the establishing of a viable system for guiding and coordinating food and nutrition activities undertaken in the various sectors and at various levels of the society from the community to the national level, (2) promoting habits and activities that will reduce the level of malnutrition and improve the nutritional status of the population, (3) promoting good indigenous food cultures and dietary habits among Nigerian people for healthy living and development.

In the Bulletin of the WHO (2017) food insecurity has been identified as a global crisis resulting into global economic meltdown. According to the 2014 report of the FAO on the state of food insecurity in the world, more than 814 million people in developing countries are undernourished and of these figure, 204 million live in sub-Saharan Africa.

**Theoretical Framework**

This work is anchored on Social Responsibility Theory. According to Ijwoand Omula
the Social Responsibility theory owes its origin to an American Initiative; the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The basic assumption of the theory was that the press must always work to be responsible to society. According to Dominick (2009, p.127) “the press has a right to criticize government and other institutions, but it also has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society’s need and interest.” This is the work of Uzuegbunam (2015,p1) is relevant when he said; “In Nigeria, where democracy is in its embryonic stage, a socially responsible media knows that public information is necessary not only for citizens to make rational decisions but that it is needed also to spur economic and social development.”

Significantly, the social responsibility theory could enhance broadcasting at the grassroots in a democratic arrangement, as it would promote the value systems of the rural people and also integrate them into governance for development. The relevance of this theory to the study is that Radio Benue must be socially responsible to promote food security in the state. This is because mass media owe a responsibility of informing, educating as well as creating awareness. Radio Benue owes it as a duty to inform the people on what food security is all about and ways of improving food production. Therefore most of the programmes on Radio Benue must aim at improving food security in the state.

**Methodology**

Survey research is adopted in this study with questionnaire used as the data collection instrument. The population of the study is 1,069,500 derived from the three senatorial zones of Benue State. However because of the large population of the various zones the researcher selected one local government from each of the zones. The local governments selected were Katsina Ala with a population of 304,400 from Zone A, Makurdi with 405,500 from Zone B and Otukpo Local Government with 359,600 from Zone C. This projected figure for the 2016 population was gotten from the Benue State Population Statistics Chart, Map and Location. The choice of these local governments was because they are the headquarters of the various political zones. A total of 400 respondents were selected from the population as the study’s sample size, statistically determined using Taro Yamane’s sample size determination formula. Data collected were presented in table, expressed in simple percentages and analyzed using inferential and deductive approaches.
Data Presentation
A total of 400 copies of the questionnaire were administered to 400 Radio Benue listeners within Makurdi Metropolis, Katsina Ala and Otukpo towns. The distribution and retrieval was 100% successful as there was no casualty in the number distributed. The presentation is therefore based on the 400 copies of questionnaire.

Table 1: Types of Agricultural Programmes on Radio Benue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming World</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Sule</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All over the above</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The question sought to identify the agricultural programmes promoted on Radio Benue station. The responses from 283 (71%) respondents showed that; Farming World and Tom Sule, were the programmes projected on Radio Benue station for the promotion of food security in Benue State.

Table 2: Regularity of listening to Radio Benue Programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrice a week</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a weeks</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above question was to know how regular farmers listen to Radio Benue farming programmes. The data on table 2 with 234 (58%) respondents indicated that farmers listen to Radio Benue farming programmes three times a week. This shows that a good
percentage of the audience listen to Radio Benue programmes regularly. This level of attention will certainly yield positive result in assessing Radio Benue programmes to achieve the required objective.

### Table 3: Your Favourite Agricultural Programme on Radio Benue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tom Sule</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming World</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The question on table 3 was to identify the favourite agricultural programmes of the audience. The data of 77% with 283 respondents indicated that the audience were interested in all the programmes promoted on the Radio Benue station.

### Table 4: Agricultural Programmes on Radio Benue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educative</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspiring</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2017

On Table 4, the study sought to find out whether the Radio Programmes educate the listeners at all. The data above with 226 (57%) respondents showed that agricultural programmes on Radio Benue are educative, while 109 (27%) respondents said agricultural programmes on Radio Benue are both educative and inspiring. This implies that, agricultural programmes on Radio Benue are educative and can be used in promoting food security in Benue State.

### Table 5: Ways in which Radio Benue Programmes have Contributed to Food Security in Benue State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

81
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education on mechanized farming techniques</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education on weed/pest control</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education on crop storage techniques</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education on fertilizer/land conservation methods</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The question was to identify the specific areas in which Radio programmes have contributed in food security in the State. The data on table 5 indicated that out of 400 respondents, 262 (65%) agree that Radio Benue programmes have educated them on all the mentioned options. These include; education on mechanized farming techniques, education on weed/pest control, education on improved crop storage techniques, and education on fertilizer/land conservation methods. This implies that Radio Benue through her programmes on agriculture have been contributing significantly to food security in Benue State.

Table 6: Effectiveness of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not effective</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The question above was to see if the Radio Programmes could be effective in promoting food security in Benue State. The data on table 6 shows the effectiveness of Radio Benue programmes in promoting food security in Benue state. Out of 400 respondents, 263 (66%) said that Radio Programmes effectively promote food security in Benue State. However, 107 (27%) respondents showed that the Radio programmes were not effective in promoting food security in Benue State. This percentage is quite significant not to be ignored if a study was to see how effective the Radio programmes were.
The above question was to identify ways of enhancing the awareness of Radio programmes to promote food security in Benue State. The data on table 7 with a percentage of (47%) representing 188 respondents have indicated that phone-in programme on Radio Benue will enhance the awareness of the Radio programmes on Radio Benue for the promotion of food security in the State. This of course will enable the farmers to participate and call for explanation about their farming problems. The data on the table 5 also showed that out of 400 respondents 140 (35%) respondents said, in order to enhance awareness on food security, Radio Benue should introduce new programmes on food security. This percentage of respondents is significant enough not to be ignored. The introduction of new programmes on the radio may contribute on the promotion of food security in the state.
Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data on table 8 was to ascertain the level of food production in Benue State based on the projected Radio programmes for the promotion of food security; the data showed that the level of food production in Benue State is high with a 46% representing 183 respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By making fertilizer available to farmers at lower rate and at the right time</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By hiring tractors to farmers at the affordable price</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By giving loans to farmers by banks</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>400</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The above question sought to identify ways in which government could assist the farmers as a way of promoting food security in the state. The data on the table 9 showed a 58% responses suggesting that government should do all of the suggestions mentioned above on the table. The suggestions and ways put forward that could improve food production in the state include, making fertilizer available to farmers at lower rates and at the right time, hiring tractors to farmers at affordable prices and giving loans to farmers at low interest rates from banks.

Discussion of Findings
This study makes assessment of Radio Benue programmes in promoting food security in Benue State. The analysis from the tabulated data showed that Radio Benue programmes have promoted food security in Benue State. The findings were deduced from the responses of the sampled population from the analyzed data supported by the concepts and literature review backed up by the theory used. Result has shown that Radio Programmes on Food Security in Benue State are regular and have earned the confidence from listeners. This showed the station as been responsive to the provision of the Social Responsibility theory in creating, promoting and supporting the issue of food security plan by the government of the federation.
The study has also shown that Radio Benue programmes have effectively promoted food security in the state. The result is reflective on Table 6 with 66% responses from respondents. These programmes are a collective way of contributing to the availability of food to the population of Nigeria. The availability of food will exclude Nigeria from being part of the 814 million under nourished people as reported by the WHO.

Result also has shown that Radio Benue have educated her farming audience on Mechanized farming techniques, Weed/pest control, improved crop storage techniques, and fertilizer/land conservation methods. This proves what Barnet (2014) said that the media plays a vital role in creating awareness and influencing policies within the country. This contributes to sustainable agriculture programmes in the State.

The result again have shown that the level of food production in Benue State based on radio programmes is high with 46% responses as shown Table 8. This indicates that the objective of food security is achievable anywhere in the world. This study therefore agrees with Barnet (2014) when he observed that the media information promotes inclusive agricultural productivity growth, better nutritional outcomes and strengthen livelihood.

In identifying many ways of enhancing the awareness and promotion of food security in the state the results on table 7 with 47% responses from respondents have shown that new programmes like phone-in programme on Food Security need to be introduced where the audience can participate on the programme and get more information from professionals.

Results have also shown that the farmers need assistance from government for inputs. These inputs include; fertilizer at lower rates and at the right time, tractors for hiring to farmers at affordable prices and giving loans to farmers at low interest rates from banks.

**Conclusion/Recommendations**

Radio has generally been recognized and accepted as an effective medium of mass communication due to its pervasiveness in terms of reach, appeal and impact. It is based on this fact that the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) through the Nigerian Broadcasting codes has prescribed set objectives for all broadcast stations in the country, aimed at national development. Reporting on agriculture is one of the key objectives prescribed by the codes.

The results have shown that Radio programmes on agriculture have promoted food
security in the state. The programme has also educated farmers and created awareness on mechanized farming techniques, weeds/pest control, and fertilizer/land conservation methods. This is achieved from the very effective presentation of the programmes.

The study therefore recommends that;

i. The results above have shown that Radio Benue programmes on food security in the State have achieved its main objective of promoting and creating awareness on ways of achieving food security. It is therefore most appropriate for the government to support the programme in all ways possible. Radio Benue as a station should put in more efforts to sustain the agricultural based and people oriented programmes.

ii. Radio Benue station of necessity should introduce the phone-in programme to enable the listening farmers participate for clarifications of issues bothering on farms.

iii. The study also recommended that government should make fertilizer available to farmers at lower rates and at the right time, hiring tractors to farmers at affordable prices and giving loans to farmers at low interest rates from banks.

iv. The study recommends too that government should provide storage facilities for farmers. This is to avoid post harvest waste as it is commonly experienced in the state.

References
Barnett, J. (2008). *Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict.* Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research and CSERGE, School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, UK


Assessment of Radio Benue Programmes in Promoting Food Security in Benue State

T.Y. Danjuma’s Allegation of Complicity Against the Army in the Wake of Farmers/Herdsmen Crisis: Implication on the Image of the Army and Nigeria.

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Abstract  
At the maiden convocation ceremony of the Taraba State University, Jalingo, a former Chief of Army Staff, General Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma made a statement with an image-destructive implication on the Nigerian Army. The retired General accused the Army of complicity in the wake of farmers/herders crisis in Nigeria. He, as reported by the media, called on Nigerians to rise up in defence of themselves. This statement, no doubt, cast dust on the corporate image of the Army and Nigeria as a whole especially as it rhymes with earlier negative reports against the Army by the Amnesty International organization and international media. This paper, therefore, examines the perception of Nigerians about Danjuma’s allegation of complicity against the Nigerian Army in the face of farmers/herders crisis and its implication on the corporate image of the Army and Nigeria as a whole. The paper which dwells on the excellence theory of public relations collected data through questionnaire from 386 respondents on the bases of simple random sampling. Data collected were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Findings revealed that Nigerians were supportive of Danjuma’s allegations of complicity against the Army in the farmers/herders crisis. The performance of the Army in the crisis was below expectation. Findings further revealed that Danjuma’s statement has dealt a serious blow to the corporate image of the Nigerian Army and Nigeria as a whole. The paper, therefore, among other things, calls for excellent application of public relations by the Nigerian Army as a way of reducing its lost image.

Key Words: Allegation, Complicity, Nigeria Army, Image, and Farmers/Herders

Introduction  
The exigency of image to any organization or agency be it private or public, can never be overemphasized. It was Abraham Maslow, an American psychologist, who, in the
20th century propounded the theory of hierarchy of human needs. Belch and Belch (2001), Dominick (1999) and many other persuasive communicators find the theory important as it enables them to embark on practices and actions that can appeal not only to the interests of human beings but also to those of organizations more successfully. Shading light on the theory, Chiakaan and Chile (2015, p.124) posits that:

The theory appreciates the fact that peoples’ reactions to advertising messages are strongly motivated by the ability of such messages to provide them with any of their needs which are hierarchically inclined. Maslow, on this note, reiterates the position of economists that human wants are numerous and as such, are arranged on the basis of preference (scale of preference) so that attaining them is done according to their importance.

Efforts by human beings are made towards fulfilling the needs that appear to be primary before attempting to attain the ones at the climax. The needs, according to Maslow, include physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualization needs.

Fundamentally, this paper is concerned about the social needs. The social needs appear to be important apparatus that if taken into consideration, can guarantee the survival and success of organizations in any given society whether they are privately or publicly owned. This position is anchored on the belief that the social needs, according to Nwosu (2002) are the needs which, if achieved, can provide the basis for a harmonious relationship between organizations and their publics. Nwosu’s submission is accepted because when you, as an organization or government is loved and respected, you can be equally accepted. Of course, where an organization is accepted, its ability to succeed in achieving its goals is guaranteed.

Basically, a dignified and loved organization has the advantage of being trusted and patronized. Its activities can never be questioned by its publics; the quality and genuines of its products can never be doubted by its publics or customers hence they can patronize them. Trust and patronage are, however, products of the perception or feelings people have about an organization. Providing further support to the foregoing discourse, Nwosu (2002, p.120) states:

It is the images or perceptions we have about an organization that will make us decide in the first place to come close enough to it or not so as to
have a taste of its products, services and other facts that are associated with the organization.

The implication of Nwosu’s submission is that where people’s perception of an organization is negative, where they hold a negative impression about an organization consequent upon its activities, they would never want to do anything with that organization. Positive thinking or perception, therefore, has the advantage of attracting positive discussions, positive behavior or attitude from the publics of an organization towards it. These are, therefore, fundamental ingredients for the success of an organization.

Of course, the ability of people to think positively about an organization and respect it depends on the operations or conducts of that organization. To a large extent, it is believed by many scholars, including Ajala (2001), Dokunmu (2004) and others that where members of the public view the activities of an organization as not being favorable to them; where they perceive the organization as existing and operating at their detriment, they cannot consider it as a corporate responsible citizen in their society. This is what informs Newsom, Turk and Kruckeberg (2010, p.103) to posit that “image does describe the perception of an organization or individual, and this perception is based largely on what the organization or individual does or says.” Aware of the importance of image as a tool of relationships management, organizations try to embark on activities that can boost and promote their reputation in the society. Where their operations are viewed with disdain and equivocality by their publics; those they are out to serve, they can be neglected.

As relevant as positive image is to organizations, it can be noticed that the image of the Nigerian Army in recent period appears to have suffered negatively. This is as a result of the Army’s activities in the face of many security challenges confronting Nigeria. The Army had suffered similar image-damaging accusations from both Nigerians and the international community in its previous efforts towards the unity and peace of Nigeria. Stories from the media, in this regard, concerning the operations of the Army in the previous crises were often times negative. For instance, the Amnesty International report, as presented on the BBC programme of 24 May, 2018 accused Nigerian soldiers of “raping women and girls who fled the insurgency by militant Islamist group, Boko-Haram.” In another report, the Guardian Newspaper of Wednesday, 3 January, 2015, presenting a report from the Amnesty International, accused the Nigerian army of being “behind countless acts of torture and 8,000 deaths” in its campaign against Boko-Haram. These and many other accusations against the Nigerian soldiers appeared to
have cast dust on the reputation of the Nigerian Army which is constitutionally saddled with the responsibility of protecting lives and property and which is the last hope of Nigerians as far as security and national unity are concerned.

As the Nigerian Army was battling to defend itself against allegation of atrocities in the Boko-Haram and other crises, what appears to be the most image-damaging allegation occurred in March, 2018. The allegation, as reported by This Day Newspaper edition of March 3, 2018, came from a retired Army General, Former Chief of Army Staff and Minister of Defence, TY Danjuma, who accused the Armed Forces of complicity in killings perpetrated by herdsmen in Nigeria. This allegation rhymed with the previous ones and appeared to have further dealt a serious blow on the image of the Nigerian Army. This paper, therefore, investigates the perception of Nigerians about the Nigerian Army in the face of accusations levelled against it in the farmers/herdsmen crisis.

Statement of the problem
The Nigerian army, in recent times has severely come under attack from Nigerians and the international community. The army has been accused by the Amnesty International, as reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on May 24, 2018, of raping women and girls who fled Boko-Haram. According to the report, “troops separated women from their husbands and raped them, sometimes in exchange for food, in refugee camps.” The report has gone further to reveal that “thousands of people are also starved to death in the camps in the North-East Nigeria since 2015.”

David Smith, reporting for the Guardian Newspaper of Wednesday, June 3, 2015, presented a report from the Amnesty International calling for the investigation of senior military officers in Nigeria “for war crimes including the murder, starvation, suffocation and torturing to death of 8000 people.” Acknowledging Alice Friend, the Pentagon’s Principal Director for African Affairs, in the Policio Magazine of June 2, 2014, according to Sarah Morgan, described the Nigerian Army as “a monster; a heartless, unsympathetic and ruthless animal.” Alice, reportedly, further said “Nigerian security forces are known for raiding local communities, executing men in front of their families, arbitrarily arresting and beating people, burning residential property and stealing money while searching homes.”

Also, victims of military operations in the South-East during the re-agitation for the Biafran Republic, led by Nnamdi Kanu raised accusing fingers against soldiers for invading their homes and that of Kanu, beating them, killing some people and making
away with some of their belongings. While the Army was yet to finish the battle of defending and protecting its image in the face of these accusations, on March 3, 2018, what appeared to be more shocking and image damaging emanated from a retired military General, former Chief of Army Staff and Minister of Defence, Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma. The General, without fear of contradiction, accused the Army of complicity in killings across Nigeria. As reported by This Day Newspaper of March 25, 2018, Danjuma said “Our Armed Forces are not neutral; they collude with the armed bandits against Nigerians; the Armed Forces guide their movement…” These accusations against the Nigerian Army appeared to have gained support from within and outside Nigeria. Even though the Nigerian Army, aware of the implication of the allegations, set up an investigative panel which vindicated the Army, the statement had already gone far and appeared to have a devastating effect on the image of the army and Nigeria as a whole. This study, therefore, investigates the effect of TY Danjuma’s accusation against the Nigerian Army during the farmers-herdsmen crisis on the image of the Army and Nigeria as a whole.

**Objectives of the study**

The broad objective of this study is to investigate the perception of Nigerians on the corporate image of the Nigerian Army and Nigeria as a result of allegation of complicity against the army by T.Y. Danjuma in the wake of farmers/herdsmen crisis. The study is also set to accomplish the following specific objectives:

i. To determine the perception of Nigerians about the Nigerian Army before the farmers herdsmen crisis;

ii. To find out if Nigerians were aware of T.Y. Danjuma’s allegation of complicity against the Nigerian Army in the wake of farmers/herdsmen crisis in Nigeria.

iii. To ascertain the perception of Nigerians about T.Y. Danjuma’s allegation of complicity against the Army during the farmers/herdsmen crisis;

iv. To determine the implication of the accusation of complicity against the Nigerian Army by T.Y. Danjuma on the corporate image of the Army and Nigeria.
Research questions
The study is guided by the following questions:

i. What was the perception of Nigerians about the Nigerian Army before the farmers/herdsmen crisis?

ii. Were Nigerians aware of Danjuma’s accusation of complicity against the Army in the wake of farmers/herdsmen crisis in Nigeria?

iii. What is the perception of Nigerians about the allegation of complicity by T.Y. Danjuma against the Army in the wake of farmers/herdsmen crisis?

iv. What is the implication of the allegation of complicity on the corporate image of the Nigerian Army and Nigeria as a whole?

Literature review
The impression people have about an organization, private or public, is a major determinant of its success. Where the impression about an organization is positive, such an organization can be respected with its products or services consequently being patronized. This explains why Chiakaan and Chile (2015) say that public relations sells both the image of an organization and its products. Essentially, all public relations activities, according to Keghku (2005) are inclined to unveiling and projecting the corporate image of an organization. Image is, therefore, an indispensable tool for the attainment of organizational goals.

From a conceptual perspective, image is simply the impression or feelings which people have about something which can be an organization, an institution, a government or even an individual. The impression Nigerians have about the Nigerian army and other security agencies represents its image. Sharing a similar view, Ajayi (1997) in Iheme (2004, p.121) declares that image is “a powerful representation or impression in mind, which determines the behavior, attitude and decisions of those affected by the impression and these impressions form the basis for the perception of reality.” Image, from the foregoing discourse, is a mental representation of an organization by its public. The image of an organization is a key determinant of the kind of behavior or action its publics exhibit towards it.

In terms of definition, Iheme (2004, p.123) agrees with the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Language that image is “someone’s appearance, especially good or bad as seen by other people.” Iheme further describes image as “the picture, reflection or appearance of someone or something and the impression, perception, feeling or
opinion this creates in people’s mind.” Image, we can further say, is the mental or pictorial representation of an organization or something.

The image of an organization is, therefore, determined by its appearance, in form of corporate identity, and its activities including the products it produces or the services it renders to the public in society. If the publics of an organization view the general conduct and activities of such an organization, interpret them and conclude that they are positive, they can form a positive impression about that organization. This is what is professionally referred to as corporate image. Corporate image, therefore, is a product of the collective activities or behavior of an organization. On a general note, Ajala (2001, p.91) defines corporate image as “the perceived sum of the entire organization, its objectives and plans.” The totality of all the feelings or impressions which the publics of an organization have about it is its corporate image.

Corporate image is not the same with corporate identity. Corporate image based on what has been discussed so far, is what can be perceived, it is the perception or mental possession of an organization by its publics. Corporate image cannot be seen; it is not physical. On the other hand, corporate identity, according to Ajala (2001) is physically inclined; it is the visual identity that is expressed by graphics, symbols, logos, colors, slogan, packaging and branding, and other physical features associated with an organization. The Khaki uniform worn by the Nigerian Army, makes it unique and easily identifiable by the general public. Dokunmu (2004, p.123) posits that “corporate identity creates wow for easy identification and patronage; it can partly influence the corporate image of an organization.”

Apart from the corporate identity of an organization, there are other factors which determine the corporate image of an organization. Dokunmu (2004) enumerates them as:

i. The circumstances preceding or surrounding the establishment of an organization or institution.

ii. The quality or environment where an organization or institution is established.

iii. The quality of a product, to wit; the ingredients or materials used in preparing the product; the environment in which it is produced, the packaging and the distribution mechanism.

iv. The personality of a person as it relates to the whole nature or character of such person to wit; his family background, his nation, his educational background, his skills, occupation, traits and dispositions, his statements and actions, his beliefs, prejudices and principles and his attributes and mannerisms generally.
The level of credibility or integrity of those associated with a thing or someone.

From the foregoing discourse, it can be perceived that the corporate image of an organization, like the Nigerian Army involves many things. Some of them are the history of its establishment, its uniform and other materials associated with it; the quality of services rendered by the Army, the general conduct of the soldiers towards the personnel of other security units and civilians, the perceived credibility or integrity of the Army by Nigerians.

An organization with a positive corporate image can equally have positive reputation. This can go a long way in guaranteeing its success. It is in appreciation of this position that Seital (1987) in Ajala (2004, p.80) reveals that “corporate image is a fragile commodity that is very essential for the continued long-term success.” Associating image with reputation, Sule (2012, p.133) outlines three fundamental procedures to be adopted by management of organizations in managing their reputation. They include personal behavior, personal conduct and communications strategy.

**Theoretical framework**

This study is anchored on the excellence theory. The excellence theory is a general theory of public relations which spells out how public relations can be organized and managed in order to enable organizations achieve their goals. Organizations that adopt the excellence theory can enjoy favorable conditions in their environments of operations. The excellence theory upholds the fact that public relations is a management function. Organizations that recognize and appreciate the managerial value of public relations can be in a better position to organize and manage the function well for their overall goal attainment.

Historically, the excellence theory came into existence in 1985 consequent upon a study to find out how public relations could best be practiced. This study, sponsored by Foundation of the International Association of Business Communications (ABC) was headed by James E. Gruing. The theory was constructed upon a number of middle-range theories such as theories of public relations and strategic management, employee communication, models of public relations, evaluation of public relations, public relations roles, gender diversity, power, activism, ethics and social responsibility as well as global public relations. The theory was tested with surveys and interviews of public relations professionals CEOs and employees of organizations in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada.
Fundamentally, the excellence theory provides a theoretical and empirical benchmark for public relations department or units. According to Atero (2013, p.68) the theory explains that the value of public relations to organizations lies in how they organize and manage it. According to him, the good relationships organizations have with their publics are of great value to them and their publics. This is because they reduce cost of negative publicity caused by poor relationship, reduce the risk of making wrong decisions that affect different stakeholders, increase revenue by providing products and services needed by stakeholders.

In order to maximize the value of public relations, therefore, the theory maintains that organizations must identify strategic publics and build long term relationships with them. In this regard, the theory identifies the following as characteristics of effective public relations.

i. Empowerment of Public Relations Function: Effective organizations must empower public relations as a critical management function.

ii. Communicator Roles: let public relations executives play managerial roles as well as administrative role.

iii. Organization of Communication Function: Public relations should be an integrated communication function and separate from instead of being sublimated to marketing or other management functions.

iv. Public Relations Models: Effective organization should base its internal and external communication and relationship building on two-way symmetrical model.

Based on these assumptions of the excellence theory, it is no doubt, relevant to this study. The theory appears to swallow all other theories of public relations advocating that organizations leave no stone unturned in the course of carrying out their activities for the overall wellbeing of their publics and society as a whole. Adopting this theory will compel the Nigerian Army to be more holistic in its activities for the betterment of Nigerians and Nigeria.

Methodology of the study
The study adopted survey design with the population of 188,7636 covering three senatorial areas of Benue, Nasarawa and Taraba States. The population of each local government area in the zones was derived from the 2006 census as contained in the Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette of 2009. The zones, like the states, were purposively selected due to the fact that they appeared to have been worse hit by the
crisis. The experiences of respondents in these zones in respect of the crisis were, therefore, considered to be a true representation of others in other areas and states. From the population, the study sampled 400 respondents using Taro Yemeni’s scientific formula. This was done to enhance data collection with results obtained more realistic, valid and relied upon. Data was collected proportionally from the sampled zones. In this regard questionnaire were administered on 180, 100 and 120 respondents, on the basis of simple random technique, from zone A of Benue and the Southern Senatorial Areas of Nasarawa and Taraba States respectively.

Out of the 400 administered questionnaire, only 386 (97%) retrieved, the remaining 14 (3%) were not returned. Data presentation, analysis and discussion were, therefore, based on the retrieved 386 copies of the questionnaire.

Data Presentation and Analysis
Data collected were presented and analysed as can be seen below:

Table 1: Impression of Nigerians about Nigerian Army before the farmers/herdsmen crisis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I used to have a positive impression about it</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to trust or have confidence in it</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to think negatively about soldiers</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to hold the Nigerian soldiers in high esteem</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I used to equate the Nigerian soldiers with militia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Table 1 seeks to find out the impression or feelings of respondents about the Nigerian Army before the farmers/herdsmen crisis. Data here shows that 96(25%) respondents said they used to have a positive impression about the Army before the crisis, 76(20%) said they used to trust or have confidence in the Army, 06(02%) revealed that they used to think negatively about the Army, while according to 208(54%) sampled respondents, before the crisis, they used to hold the Nigerian soldiers in high esteem. No respondent used to equate the Nigerian soldiers with ethnic militia. This implies that the Nigerian Army was not only being positively thought of but it was being held in high esteem by Nigerians before the farmers/ herdsmen crisis.
Table 2: Awareness of TY Danjuman’s allegation against the Nigerian Army.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Table 2 intends to determine whether respondents heard about TY Danjuman’s allegation against the Nigerian Army that it was siding the Fulani herdsmen against farmers during the crisis. All the 386 respondents (100%) had agreed to have heard about the indicting statement from TY Danjuman against the Nigerian Army. This implies that their opinion, in this regard, would be authentic.

Table 3: Opinion of respondents about TY Danjuma’s accusation of complicity against the Nigerian Army.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel nothing</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was right</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was wrong</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He just hate the Army</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was not fair to the Army</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Data in the Table 3 above is aimed at determining respondents’ views about TY Danjuma’s allegation of complicity by the Nigerian Army during the farmers/herdsmen crisis. Accordingly, 03(01%) said they feel nothing, 304(79%) said TY Danjuma was right, 52(13%) agreed that he was wrong, 16(04%) felt TY Danjuman had hatred against the Army while 11(03%) simply said he was not fair to the Army. The implication of data collected here is that people were happy with Danjuma’s statement, accusing the Nigerian Army of being unprofessional by taking side with herdsmen in the crisis.
Table 4: Effect of the TY Danjuma’s allegation of bias by Nigerian Army on the Army and Nigeria as a whole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It does not affect the Army and Nigeria in any way</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It affects the image of the Nigerian Army and Nigeria negatively</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It makes the Army not to be respected by Nigerians</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It shows that one day, people will take up arms to defend themselves</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It shows that Nigeria does not have an Army that is nationally inclined</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It agrees with negative reports from the Amnesty International about the Nigerian Army</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It destroys the image of Nigeria as a country internationally</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Field survey, 2018

Data in Table 4 showed that 06(02%) sampled respondents said the allegation of bias against the Nigerian Army by TY Danjuma does not affect the Army and Nigeria in any way, 75(19%) felt the allegation affects both the image of the Army and Nigeria as a country negatively, 04(01%) respondents said the statement makes the Army not to be respected by Nigerians. To 65 (17%) sampled respondents, the allegation shows that one day, Nigerians will take up arms to defend themselves. According to 101(26%) respondents, however, the allegation shows that Nigeria as a country does not have a nationally inclined Army while 73(19%) believed that the allegation rhythms with previous negative reports from the Amnesty International about the Nigerian Army. It is still the belief of 62 (16%) respondents that Danjuma’s accusation of the Army has destroyed the image of Nigeria internationally. Analytically, it can be said that all is not well with the image of the Nigerian Army and Nigeria as a whole in the face of TY Danjuman’s accusation of bias or complicity against the Army during the farmers/herdsmen crisis.

**Discussion of findings**

The corporate identity of the Nigerian Army made it to be easily identified by Nigerians during the farmers/herdsmen crisis in Nigeria. The kind of uniforms Nigerian soldiers wore, the kind of vehicles they used, the kind of guns they carried; their
appearance generally made the Army unique from other security forces. This made them to be easily identified. According to Ajala (2004) the corporate identity of an organization is inclined to these physical attributes such as color, symbols, logos, slogans, and so on associated with it which make it stand out among others for easy identification.

Nigerians seem not to be in the total dark about the duty of the Army in their society. Their belief is that the Army represents the interest of every Nigerian regardless of his tribe, religion, status, and so on. They appear to be aware of how the Nigerian soldiers are expected to conduct themselves in crises and non-crisis situations leading to peace and national integration. This has made the Army to be held by Nigerians in a very high esteem as shown in Table 1 by 208(53%) respondents. Nigerians, before the farmers/herdsmen crisis also used to have a positive impression (25%) and have confidence in the Nigerian Army (20%). This implies that the corporate image of the Nigerian Army was positive.

In the face of the farmer/herdsmen crisis, however, the attitude of the Nigerian Army towards managing it had made many to question the neutrality the Army was known for. This question was raised more publicly by a former Chief of Army Staff and Minister of Defence, Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma, who, at the Maiden Convocation ceremony, held at the Taraba State University, Jalingo, on March 24, 2018 according to media reports, accused the Armed Forces of complicity in killings across Nigeria. The retired Army General, according to the Vanguard Newspaper editions of March 25, 2018, “alleged that some troops on internal operation in Taraba, colluded with killers and herdsmen who attacked communities in the state.” Accordingly, the paper quoted the retired General as urging Nigerians thus: “you must rise to protect yourselves from these people; if you depend on the Armed Forces to defend you, you will all die.”

Even though the Nigerian Army, under the leadership of Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Tukur Buratai, set up an investigative panel whose report vindicated the Nigerian Army by declaring the allegation as untrue, many Nigerians, as revealed by Tables 2 and 3 who heard Danjuma’s accusations of the Army, had agreed with him. They, 79% believed that TY Danjuma said the right thing, with only 13% and 04% saying the retired General was wrong and only hate the Nigerian Army. Danjuma, in this regard, appeared to have spoken the minds of Nigerians who were not satisfied with the services of the Nigerian Army; an Army they had known to have gallantly contributed in keeping the unity of Nigeria when it was threatened in 1967, an Army they had known, was fighting fearlessly and successfully against Boko-Haram in the North-East, an Army
T.Y. Danjuma’s Allegation of Complicity against the Army in the Wake of Farmers/Herdsmen Crisis: Implication on the Image of the Army and Nigeria.

they had known in the past, contributed in keeping peace in West Africa and Africa as a whole. The implications of Nigerians support for Danjuma’s allegation against the Nigerian Army is that the Army is lacking in the area of effective public relations application. By setting up a panel whose report has not been publicly displayed for scrutiny and judgment by the masses, it appears the Army was aware of the negative implication the allegation has on it and Nigeria as a whole. Above all, it shows that excellent application of public relations as preached by the excellent theory is somehow neglected by the Army which is not a good development.

While it is unfair to totally condemn and paint the Nigerian Army black due to its numerous achievements in Nigeria, the allegation against the attitude of some soldiers during the farmers/herdsmen crisis implies that Nigeria does not have an Army that is committed to the unity of the nation as shown by 26% respondents in Table 4. The allegation has also affected both the corporate image of the Army and Nigeria negatively (19%). It has reduced the respect Nigerians used to have on the Nigerian Army. Again, Danjuma’s allegation against the Army, in this regard, is not far from those of the Amnesty International in the face of Boko-Haram crisis in the North-East Nigeria. The Nigerian forces had been accused of being famous for raiding local communities and embarking on extra-judicial killings, harassing civilians, stealing money while searching homes and committing many other atrocities.

The allegations, true or false, mean that something is wrong with the Nigerian Army which is the last hope of every Nigerian as far as the security and unity of Nigeria are concerned. Something, therefore, has to be seriously done to safeguard the future of Nigeria.

**Conclusion and recommendations**

It is obvious that Nigerians were not happy with the performance of the Army in the face of the farmers/herdsmen crisis. They felt the Army was not neutral in its operations aimed at managing the crisis that threatened the existence of Nigeria as a country. Of course, if the Nigerian Army could succeed in keeping Nigeria one during the 1967 civil war, if it could succeed in subduing Boko-Haram in the North-East, if it could succeed in returning peace and democracy in Liberia and other African countries, Nigerians were right to question why is should take a long time to stop the spate of killings in the country in the name of farmers/herdsmen crisis. This situation has brought the integrity of the Army and future of Nigeria under doubt. In order to restore hope of Nigerians in
the Army and the future of Nigeria, the followings are hereby recommended by the study:

i. The Nigerian Army should be aware of its constitutional duties to Nigerians and Nigeria as a whole. This responsibility demands that its activities are capable of ensuring the safety, unity and peace and above all, the survival of Nigeria.

ii. The Army should always be conscious of excellent application of public relations. This has the advantage of always educating its members on conducts that can project the image of the Army and Nigeria positively.

iii. The behavior of the Army towards civilians, especially, during crisis and non-crisis periods should be civilly inclined. This can make Nigerians to hold the Army in high esteem and also see them as symbol of peace and national unity.

iv. In the face of serious image damaging allegations against an important public agency like the Army in the future, an independent investigative panel should be set up by government to find out whether such allegations are true or false. The report by the Army’s panel condemning Danjuma’s allegation against the Army, can be hardly believed as it is said that a judge cannot be a judge in his own case.

References


Nigerians Army behind countless acts of torture and 8,000 deaths, Amnesty days. Retrieved on July, 14, 2018 from www.thequardian.com/world/2015


Youth Restiveness and Insecurity in Jalingo Metropolis

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Abstract
The resurgence of youth violence within Jalingo metropolis is alarming and complicated. This paper examined the dynamics, nature and effects of youth violence on Jalingo metropolis and Taraba State at large. The sources of data collection used in this study are both primary and secondary. The method of data collection is qualitative through the synthesis of security agencies reports and government committee reports on youth restiveness. The theoretical framework adopted for the study is social identity theory which described the identity of a person or group as the sense of who they are based on their group membership(s) in society. This informs the classification of their identity into in-group and out-group categorization. The study found that there are three major types of youth groups in Jalingo metropolis; violent youth gangs, political thugs and criminal youth groups. However, the remote and immediate causes of the youth violence include; drug abuse, illiteracy, poverty, high rate of unemployment, competition over girls, influx of migrants and political competition. The study recommends that to curb the menace of youth restiveness in Jalingo and the State at large, the family value system must be reformed for proper upbringing of children, government should make laws banning all illegal youth groups, and also initiate both short and long term economic empowerment programmes for the youths.

Keywords: Resurgence, Social Identity, Sub-culture, Violence, Youth Restiveness

Introduction
Since the return to civil rule in 1999 most of the federating states in Nigeria have had or faced one form of youth violent groups ranging from; Area Boys in Lagos and ‘Yan Daba in Kano, Kalare in Gombe and Ecomog in Borno, Sara Suka in Bauchi and ‘Yan Shila in Adamawa etc. These have been the manifestation of youth restiveness across Nigeria. The impacts of the political and harsh socio-economic conditions on the state generates crisis of rising expectations that gave birth to this dangerous social reality. Human Rights
Youth Restiveness and Insecurity in Jalingo Metropolis

Watch estimated that over 15,000 youths were killed in violent youth clashes since Nigeria’s transitioned to democracy in 1999 (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

In Taraba State, there have been changes in the dynamics of youth restiveness since the creation of the state in 1991. The activities of “Bani-Isra’ila or Ba Kuskure Boys” was popular in Jalingo and some part of the state from 2003-2007 during political campaigns. Most of the youth problems emanates from political and criminal activities that leads to disorderliness and instability particularly within Jalingo metropolis.

Consequently, in early 2017 there was serious security concern in Jalingo metropolis due to the increase in magnitude and frequency of violent youth groups who are referred to as “Youth Base or Base Boys”. It all started as a result of competition over girls (Suzeey of Red Mafia Group Dorawa was kidnapped for gang rape by Mayo-Gwoi youth gang), and territorial control especially between “Barade Boys” (Sabon Layi) and “Mayo-Gwoi Boys” groups. The situation degenerates to other areas of the metropolis like Tudun Wada and Sabon Gari which resulted into security and social unrest (Jalingo Local Government, 2018).

This paper is divided into six sections. Section one covers conceptual clarification, while section two deals with theoretical framework. In section three, the methodology is highlighted. Section four examines briefly the typologies of violent youth groups in Jalingo metropolis, Section five presents some secondary data on the emergence and activities of the base boys and their political implications to the state, while section six delves into the causes and state response to the dynamics of the contemporary youth restiveness.

**Conceptual clarification**

In this paper, for the purpose of clarity and technicality some concepts needs to be clarified in order to show their contextual connotation and applications.

**Youth restiveness**: It is the extreme form of deviant behavior among the youth which is socially un-acceptable in any society. Youth restiveness involves the combination of actions, behaviors and attitudes exhibited by the youths which are socially un-acceptable and unwholesome in the society (Igbo and Ikpa, 2013). The worsening socio-economic condition of Nigeria and Taraba state in particular creates youth restiveness. Restive condition among the youth generates and complicates youth problems which invariably breeds violence and insecurity. The condition of the restive youths creates a dimension that affects the societal wellbeing in general.
Elegbeleye (2005) opined that youth restiveness is a sustained protestation embarked upon to enforce desired outcome from a constituted authority by an organized body of youths. The condition of restiveness is marked by violence, disruption of lawful activities and devaluation of moral character among the youths. Hence, the rise in the cases of rape, kidnapping, street brawling, and killings among the youth groups. Thus, the base boys exhibit the above mentioned illegal and immoral behaviors.

**Base groups:** In our own contents the name “Base Group” derived from youths that share common interests, at times illegal or otherwise. The group membership consists of some age group of 15-35 years old (Jalingo Local Government, 2018). The base boys activities is directly link to the insecurity situation in Jalingo metropolis since early 2017.

It is the general name given to groups that are formed from age group and neighborhood identity. There have been rise in the number of these groups in Jalingo metropolis. It is estimated that there are over 50 different identified groups that were formed for one reason or another. The reason for the rise in the number of the groups are rivalry, territoriality and rumors of vengeance attacks.

The most common method of violence is the “Shara” known as an indiscriminate act of unleashing violence on whoever is found at the time and at the scene of clashes. The shara is done anytime of the day or night depending on the target at hand. The flash points of shara by the base boys are; Tudun wada, Jalingo main market, Sabon layi, Mayo-gwoi and Nasarawo/NTA etc. However, it is usually caused by rivalry clash among the groups than by the community. The base boys usually clash with the vigilante and security forces during their operations.

**Political thuggery:** According to Howell (2004) Political thuggery is an illegitimate and violent means of seeking political power with a view to subverting national opinion for parochial ends through self-imposition. Political thuggery is simply a criminalization of politics for selfish end by political actors and their supporters in the political system.

In Nigeria, desperate politicians form and armed youth gang and militias for the purpose of political violence to acquire political power. This phenomenon is a common feature in the Nigerian electoral process especially since the return to democracy in 1999. The reason for the rampant cases of political thuggery in Nigerian politics is connected to money politics and the do or die political culture in the Nigerian electoral process.

God-father politics engenders political violence and encourage political thuggery. The youth are tools of realizing the political goal of the God-fathers through intimidation.
of opponents, snatching of ballot boxes during elections and the manipulation of the electoral process. In Jalingo metropolis, the large number of the jobless youths serves as a catalyst to the phenomenon of political thuggery (Mohammed, 2018). The link of the political thugs to the Base boys is that some of the ex-political thug’s guide and train them on how to perpetrate the act of violence. Presently, the Base boys are not political thugs but are connected since they all cause social unrest.

**Theoretical framework**

The framework adopted in this study is the Social Identity Theory (SIT). According to Tajfel social identity is a person’s sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Hence, he defined “identity” as “Individual’s knowledge that he belongs to a certain social group with some emotions and value of significance of his membership (Tajfel, 1979, 66-67 cited in Ya’u, 2000).

Moreover, Tajfel (1979) proposed that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc) which people belong to were an important source of pride and self-esteem. Groups give us a sense of social identity; a sense of belonging to the social world. The society or world is divided into “them” and “us” based through a process of social categorization. It leads to the formation of the “in-group” and “out-group” categorization in society.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) further proposed that there are three mental processes in evaluating others as “us” or “them” categorization which are; social categorization (how we categorized objects in order to understand them), social identification (we adopt the identity of the group we belong to), and social comparison (we compare our group with other group(s)). Some of the basic general assumptions of the social identity theory are:

1. Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem: They strive for a positive self-concept.
2. Social groups or categories and the membership of them are associated with the positive or negative value connotations. Hence, social identity may be positive or negative according to the evaluations (which tends to be socially consensual, either within or across groups) of those groups that contribute to an individual’s social identity.
3. The evaluation of one’s social group is determined with reference to other specific social groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics. Positively discrepant comparison between in-group and out-group
produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low esteem.

However, some of the weaknesses of the social identity theory (STI) are; it concentrates more on group behavior rather than individual roles in a group. The explanatory power of the SIT is more than its predictive power on the interpersonal and intergroup relations in society. Nevertheless, the theory helps in understanding individual and group sentiment, loyalty, sacrifice and hatred as a function of a given identity.

Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1986) posits that social identity theory attempts to explain intergroup solidarity and discrimination which favors in-group that people belonged and contrary to the other group. This can be understood through shared history, values, solidarity and differentiation among social groups in society.

The phenomenon of “Base Boys or Sara-Suka” can be situated within the purview of identity crisis experienced by adolescents (banding) in various wards, streets and neighborhood (‘Yan Unguwa or Makwabta) within the Jalingo metropolis. The situation culminated into violence and insecurity (in-group against out-group).

Hence, “Base Boys Identity” within Jalingo metropolis is a social group that generates social problem. This identity crisis and conflict presupposes certain attitudes and attributes of delinquency that differ from accepted behaviors in the society in general (societal values). This is what sociologist called “sub-culture”. It is on this that among the base groups, solidarity and violence are permanent predisposition of these groups. The three ways for expressing their consciousness and grievances to the society are; inter-group violence, vengeance attacks and survival instincts. This explains their existence, operation, manifestation and negative impacts on society.

**Methodology**

This study used qualitative descriptive data analysis. However, both the primary and secondary sources of data were used to complement each other for validity purpose in the study. Hence, un-structured interview, direct observations, content analysis of government documents and security agencies reports were used. The data collected were analyzed between February and September 2018.

**Typologies of violent youth groups in Jalingo**

In this context the youth gang groups is a social categorization in society. This is evident in the nature and dynamics of the transformation of the groups. The trajectories are based
Youth Restiveness and Insecurity in Jalingo Metropolis

on the prevailing harsh socio-economic and political situation in the State. Presently, there are three major types of youth violent groups based on identity categorization as follows:

1) Violent youth gangs (*Base boys or Sara-Suka*)
2) Political thugs (*Yan Bangan Siyasa*)
3) Criminal youth groups (*Barayi*)

However, the gangsterism taking place in Jalingo is been carried out by the violent youth groups through inter-group rivalry clashes amongst them. While the two other groups operate in the shadow of the first violent groups. In fact, the phenomenon all started with youth banding otherwise known as neighborhoods, age group and social solidarity activities known as the base boys.

There are different aspects of the new emerging development on youth restiveness within the metropolis. Table 1 shows the emerging group identity known as Base boys that sprang up since early 2017.

**Table 1: Names of some identified youth groups within Jalingo metropolis 2017-2018**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Name of group (base)</th>
<th>Location in the metropolis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Star Boys</td>
<td>Muhammad Nya school Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oga Solo</td>
<td>Turaki “B” clinic Sabon Gari by Oga Solo mini market Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Channels Wicked</td>
<td>Adj. Jauro Musa Abba Tukur House Sabo Gari Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wicked Banana</td>
<td>Muhammad Tukur Primary School Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do or not</td>
<td>Govt. Tech. School, Best Centre Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Black Shadow</td>
<td>Maijidda Plaza Nasarawo Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Nyabu Kaka Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Majidadi kwono</td>
<td>Gadan Bobboji, Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wicked Boys</td>
<td>Karofi Bridge Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>One Mafia</td>
<td>Kogin Sarki Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Golden Shadow</td>
<td>Kogin Sarki Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alanta</td>
<td>RCCN Sabon Gari Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Champion</td>
<td>Saminaka Junction Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Strong Pion</td>
<td>Nukkai Bridge Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kona Rolly Boys</td>
<td>Road Block Round about Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ataka</td>
<td>Opp. Hassan Pri. School Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Asubba</td>
<td>Before Peacock College Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>D. Apple</td>
<td>Behind FMC Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Black Tiger</td>
<td>Jalingo Main Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>20 Battalion</td>
<td>Before Rubby Classy School Nasarawo Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Black Shadow</td>
<td>NTA Behind Maijidda Plaza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Table above shows some of the various existing youth groups identified and generally classified as “Base Boys” who engages in harassment, intimidation, kidnapping, violence, rape, intra and inter group clashes within Jalingo metropolis. These groups are found everywhere within the metropolis, on the streets, joints, neighborhoods, and wards. The groups are usually formed according to age grade and fraternity. The number of these groups is increasing as they represent identity of persons and of the area they are formed to protect and defend themselves. In the event of clashes, they use small and light weapons (SALW) such as; cutlasses, daggers, swords, machetes, guns and stones to injure, maim, shoot or kill any perceived opponent. These emerging youth
Youth Restiveness and Insecurity in Jalingo Metropolis

groups are different in their communications, actions and even in dressing. They carefully dress in colors like; red, black or white to show identity for easy identification and power. Within the metropolis there are flash points where violence is perpetrated by the Base Boys due to the population and cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants of these areas like; Mayo -Gwoi, Sabon Layi/Manga, Jalingo main market and Abuja phase I and II. The clashes usually happen on the main street which attract public attention and cause traffic jam within the metropolis. Moreover, it affects business activities, social activities and relaxations of the residents in the town. Most of the crisis in these areas are group rivalry and vengeance

Table 2: Jalingo Metropolis Records of Youth Related Violence 2017-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of Youth Violence in Jalingo Metropolis 2017</th>
<th>Strategies Embark upon by the Police to curb youth violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Most of the violence is caused as a result of drug addict and belonging to cultist fraternity group, or being sponsored by selfish sect of people | 1. Constant raid of their hideout  
2. Stationing of Police at all the strategic areas  
3. Arresting and prosecution of suspects |

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<thead>
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2. Stationing of Police at all the strategic areas  
3. Arresting and prosecution of suspects |

Source: Taraba Police Command Jalingo, 2018

The State Police Command Criminal Intelligence and Investigation Department (SCIID) has been vigorously monitoring, patrolling, raiding, arresting and arraigning suspects of youth gangs and criminal activities within the metropolis in courts. The above records show effort of the Command to curb the escalating spate of youth gangsterism in the State capital, Jalingo. The Police records also have shown that there were incidences of deaths even though, it does not include those convicted, injured but only of reported cases.
Table 3: Identified points of sale of illicit drugs in Jalingo metropolis 2017-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dorawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sabon Layi adjacent First Bank Market Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mayo Gwoi Bus Stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Road Block Round About</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In-front of Jalingo Main Motor Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nukkai Bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mile Six Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kogin Sarki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kogin Malam Garba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Otta Farm Yabun Kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Maijidda Plaza Nasarawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sabon Gari Mobile Base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ramin Tipper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mafindi Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>La-Mangoro Turaki “A’ Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Behind A.A.Kassa Mayo Gwoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Jankada River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Opposite Nguroje House Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Abdullahi Chemist Mayo-Gwoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Behind Green Beach Resort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bakin Rijiyan Dunu Guest in Sabon Layi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Behind A.A Rano Filling Station Opposite Best Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gate 2 Jalingo Main Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>River side Old Magami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Chemist Owners Yelwan Abbare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Chemist Owners Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Medicine Owners (Basket) Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Magami GDSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Scrap Dealers (Babban Bola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Old Post Office (Tashan Lau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>New Salejo Shopping Complex opposite Unity Bank Jalingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sambisa Safni Quarters Jalingo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adopted Jalingo local government report, 2018

There are many points of sale of illicit drugs within Jalingo but according to the NDLEA Taraba State Command record, these are the most prominent ones. The places capture the main city center and its environs. The striking revelations of the survey is that most of these places are in the open and operates day and night even though few of the places operates at night. Drug hawkers are seen around advertising their products openly. Hence, very few points operate in the hidden except a coded area for a particular gangs or
specifically meant for a neighborhood or ward. Some of the illicit drugs on sell in these areas are; codeine, marijuana, benalyn, alabukun, tramadol, cocaine, formalin, etc.

**Political implications of the violent youth groups**
The existence as well as the activities of the violent youth groups within Jalingo metropolis would have great impact on the conduct of the forthcoming 2019 general elections both locally and nationally in different ways. First, the politicians may use the base boys for political recruitment to serve as political thugs during elections which is an illegal political participation. Secondly, the base boys may be use as vote canvassers or may voluntarily serve as volunteers which will promote peaceful conduct of the elections in Taraba State. Thirdly, it will add tension and suspicion in the electoral process which will undoubtedly overheat the polity.

**Causes of contemporary youth restiveness**
This paper sought to examine the negative impacts of youth restiveness to the socio-economic development of Jalingo metropolis during the period under review 2017-2018. One major findings of this study is the existence of new youth gangs that called themselves “Base Boys” which were not in existence within the metropolis in the recent past. The groups that exist and unleash terror were the political thugs and criminal gangs which operate with different aim and targets before the emergence of the Base boys. The criminal group activities were popular 1995-1999 while the political thug’s activities became more pronounced in 2003-2007 within the Jalingo metropolis.

There have been both remote and immediate causes to the youth restiveness in Jalingo metropolis. These remote causes happen to be; rural/urban migration, unemployment, illiteracy and political thuggery. On the other hand, the immediate causes are; poor parental upbringing, drug abuse, rivalry over girls, influx of migrants, high number of school drop outs and poverty.

The socio-economic implications of the problem are huge. On several occasions as a result of violent clashes hotels, shops, tricycles and cars were burnt and the Jalingo main market which happens to be the largest center of economics activities in the metropolis was closed down at different times. These properties lost to the clashes were worth millions of naira. Politically, the inter group rivalry may turn into violence between opposing groups who belong to different parties. Many innocent people have lost their lives in such clashes in the past, while their families are still seeking justice over their killed relations.
First, political thuggery is usually targeted at political opponents and happens during electioneering campaigns and political activities. Secondly, criminal youth groups are everyday occurrence but not usually violent or attracts public attention as the Base boys operates of recent. Thirdly, the Base boys is a different phenomenon of youth gangs belonging to fraternity of cultists that operate during the day and night within the metropolis and cause security threat and total breakdown of law and order (Taraba Police Command, 2018). This is a new development that is not known before in Jalingo metropolis but becomes popular since 2017 till date. The Base boys pelted and injured the Taraba State Commissioner of Police Mr. David Akinremi on 16 July, 2018 while trying to calm a situation of clashes amongst the groups in the metropolis. The aim and activities of this category of youth group rivalry clashes with other youth group is usually over women, gambling and on general social issues in the youth space. It was discovered that most of the public and private schools including the tertiary institutions within the Metropolis have one form or another of youth gangs as reported by All Nigerian Confederation of Principals of Secondary Schools (ANCOPSS) to the Youth Restiveness Investigation Committee of Jalingo Local Government in early 2018.

The external factors that contributed to the worsening situation of youth restiveness is the influx of migrants from crisis prone areas within and outside the State. For instance, large number of refugees and internally displaced persons from Wukari, Gembu, Ibi, Lau, and Takum have contributed to the youth space delinquent behaviors. Moreover, victims of crisis in neighboring states of Benue, Plateau, Adamawa, Nasarawa and even Boko Haram victims from Borno and Yobe States formed a substantial number of youths within the Jalingo Metropolis. The population growth of Jalingo is not commensurate to economic activities, growth and development which will undoubtedly breeds crime and violence.

It is discovered that there was increase in number of school drop outs within Jalingo education zone. The cause of this negative development is the increase in school fees by almost all tertiary institutions and private schools like; Taraba State University Jalingo, College of Education Zing, Peacock College of Education Jalingo, College of Agriculture Jalingo, Albaz Academy, Raddai Academy Jalingo, Iqra Academy Jalingo, Yagai Academy Jalingo, Eagle Academy Jalingo, Magami Government Day Jalingo, Government Science School Jalingo etc (Jalingo Local Government Report, 2018). The implication of this development to the youth population is dropping out of school which will translate into idleness and joblessness that trigger social problems and violence in the metropolis.
Consequently, substance abuse and addiction is considered a major cause of the rise in youth restiveness in Jalingo. According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in Nigeria over 40% of the youths are involved in drug abuse out of which 69% is Tramadol and 21% Codeine (UNODC, 2018). The northern part of Nigeria has the highest cases of rampant drug abuse. The wife of Taraba State Governor, Her Excellency Barrister Anna Darius Dickson Ishaku founder of the Hope Afresh Foundation, an NGO in the state said that a survey found that one out of five in a household is involved in drug abuse among the youth in Taraba State.

The social behavior of these youth groups can be classified as a deviant behavior which is a consequence of urban coalition thesis of urban poor and generational crisis that mostly affects the youths which corroborates with the studies of Area Boys in Lagos (Momoh, 2000). Jalingo metropolis is fast growing and there is increase in population and economic activities which ultimately generates multiculturalism and coalition. There are over 53 of these groups and 33 points of sale of illicit drugs spread across Jalingo town. The Base boys use tricycle otherwise known as Keke Napep to operate, attack and escape from the scene of crime within the metropolis. The Keke Napep was introduced after the banned on the use of motor cycles in the State in 2012 to arrest the growing influx of migrants, refugees and victims of Boko Haram coming into the city from neighboring North-eastern States (Taraba State Government, 2012). According to Taraba State Commercial Tricycle/Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (TASCOTMAN) there are over 1000 tricycles within the metropolis with over 6,761 registered members in Jalingo alone and 174,000 in the 16 LGAs and two Development Areas of the State (Jalingo Local Government Report, 2018).

An 18-man Committee was set-up on 21st February, 2018 to investigate youth restiveness and drug abuse in Jalingo. On 26th February, 2018, the committee was inaugurated and later submitted its report on 15th May, 2018. After conducting 20 formal meetings and 17 public hearings to obtain both oral and written submissions from the critical stakeholders of the youth groups, community leaders, NGOs and associations, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Muslim Council, TASCOTMAN, Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Owners (ACOMORAN), ANCOPSS, Traditional rulers etc. The Jalingo Local Government Council Committee Report has identified inter-group rivalry, consumption of illicit drugs, lack of good parental upbringing, rumor mongering, peer group influence, population explosion, and selfishness of leaders and high cost of education as reasons for the increase in the rate of crime in the metropolis. This goes to confirm the argument in this paper that there are various reasons that causes
the menace of youth violence which are; rivalry over women, drug abuse and influx of migrants (Jalingo Local Government Report, 2018). The findings reveal that the youth violence is more rampant in Jalingo I areas of Mayo-Gwoi, Barade/Sabon Layi and Jalingo main market and its environs.

State response to youth restiveness
The Taraba State government has made several efforts to deal with the increasing challenges of youth restiveness. After the 2007 general elections all violent youth activities were banned in Taraba state especially in Jalingo the State capital under the administration of Pharm. Danbaba Danfulani Suntai, the Executive Governor of Taraba State (2007-2015). A task force was put in place to arrest anybody or group in the name of political thuggery. This was aimed at maintaining law and order in the State at large.

The Taraba state government had executed some youth empowerment programmes aimed at reducing unemployment rate in the state. In 2016, the State government trained 100 youths in different agri-business and skills acquisition on modern agriculture in Israel. Moreover, over 100 youth were appointed into different political offices as special assistants to the governor. Similarly, in 2017 over 3000 teachers were recruited under the Taraba State Teachers Rescue Scheme (Rescue Teachers). Moreover, there are 3,168 youths that are beneficiaries of N-power in the State. However, despite these policy interventions the rate of violence did not reduce partly for the fact that there is large population and non-formally educated youth problem (Taraba State Government, 2018).

Therefore, the nature and dynamics of the youth restiveness in Jalingo is concomitant with the socio-economic and political condition of the state and country at large. According to Brookings Institution (2018) presently, Nigeria has the highest number of poor people in the world with over 87 million of its people living on $1.90 per day which widens inequality gap. Society exist from within not outside and social issues are definitely the reflections of the existing challenges of the society. This recent youth gangsterism had caused loss of lives and destruction of properties worth millions of naira in the metropolis. Presently, there is no government rehabilitation center in Jalingo, the only one provided by Her Excellency Barr. Anna Darius Dickson Ishaku cannot accommodate the number of victims of drug addiction across the State.

Conclusion
This paper attempted to investigate the phenomenon of youth restiveness within Jalingo metropolis which poses serious security threat to lives and properties of residents of the area. The problem is a social identity crisis triggered by socio-economic factors. These factors are both push and pull factors that contributed to the manifestation and escalation of the social problem. Moreover, the problem as a result of its social nature has triggered social unrest that affects both the economic and political spheres of the metropolis negatively. It is discovered that those who form the substantial part of the Base boys are within the ages of 15-35, burning with youthful exuberance. The problem is not the youth problem but the attitude of the community to the problem. Either we build schools to accommodate the youths or build prisons to keep them after committing crimes in the society.

The Base boys phenomenon is a combination of many factors which created the rightful atmosphere for its manifestation in the form of; formation of cultist fraternities, inter-group rivalry, consumption of illicit drugs, lack of parental upbringing, rumor mongering, peer group influence, population explosion, influx of migrants, and selfishness of leaders and high cost of education as responsible for the negative transformation of the youths. The era of political thuggery in Taraba State and Jalingo metropolis in particular started in 2003-2007 and the subsequent post-election violence in 2011. The formation and transformation of the Base boys in the metropolis in 2017-2018 which is very close to 2019 poses imminent danger to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections in Taraba State. It is pertinent to note that those who engage in the violence are children of the poor.

What is yet to be defined is whether or not these groups (Base boys) which are not originally politically motivated will transform into political thugs that will be used by the political class in the state. The greatest danger of this phenomenon is the future of the youths and how the insecurity in the city will scare away potential investors for the economic development of the State. It is worthy to note that both Jalingo Local Government and Muri Emirate Council have taken bold steps in curbing the spread of the phenomenon of youth restiveness within the Jalingo metropolis through community policing and the strategies of direct interaction with the youths which is yielding positive results.

**Recommendations**

In order to curb the menace of youth restiveness and insecurity within Jalingo metropolis the following recommendations are made;
i. Proper parental upbringing through reforming the family value system.
ii. Taraba State House of Assembly should make law banning all illegal youth groups.
iii. Initiation of empowerment/skill acquisition programmes.
iv. Ban on sales of illegal drugs.
v. Joint and constant patrol by security agencies.
vi. Sensitization programmes on drug abuse.
vii. Free education at both primary and secondary levels.
viii. There should be youth inclusion in politics and governance.
ix. Creation of youth rehabilitation center by government/recreational facilities.
x. Compulsory drug test for political appointment, admissions and employments.

References


Youth Restiveness and Insecurity in Jalingo Metropolis

The Nordic African Institute CONDESRIA. The Centre for Research and Documentation Kano.


**Oral interviews**

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Socio-cultural and Economic Potentials for Nigerian Youths in the Entertainment Industry among the Jukun of Taraba State, Nigeria

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Abstract
Entertainment industry has been integral part of the African culture. There are socio-cultural and economic activities that have the potential of improving the socio-cultural and economic lives of the Nigerian people. It is in order to examine how the youth can harness their social, cultural and economic potentials through the leisure and entertainment industry that this paper is positioned. By isolating the Jukun youths in Taraba State of Nigeria, the paper adopts the historical and multi-disciplinary methodology which include oral interview and secondary sources to reach a conclusion that through leisure and entertainment activities, the modern Jukun youths have a bright chance to harness the social, cultural and economic potentials in them for their benefit and that of their society at large.

Key Words: Economic, Entertainment, Jukun, Potentials, Socio-cultural and Youth.

Introduction
Leisure and entertainment cannot be separated from the African culture. Leisure and entertainment has always been part of the way the African man lived his daily life, such as songs, dances, games, and sports. These forms of social and cultural activities are so entertaining that, when people want to rest from their daily endeavours, they resort to them for relaxation of their mind, amusement, pleasure, enjoyment, education, entertainment, compensation of energy lost and for economic empowerment.

The problem is that less interest is shown in the examination of how these socio-cultural activities can be used to improve on the people’s lives. Until recently, the scope of the people’s leisure time was considered as ‘private’ and cordoned off from serious historical inquiry (Cross, 1990). It is a fact that leisure and entertainment activities have meanings to the development of people and societies. There are evidences to show that different types of social activities are performed during leisure time for entertainment, education, and economic benefit. Therefore, this paper examines how the Jukun youths can harness the socio-cultural and economic potentials embedded in these social activities performed for leisure and entertainment. Thus, improving not only their economic lives, but their social and cultural happiness. In other words, this paper explores the socio-cultural and economic potentials of the Nigerian youths in the leisure and entertainment industry, focusing on the Jukun youth of Taraba State, Nigeria.

**Definition of terms**

**Leisure:** The conceptualization of leisure has undergone many changes in the course of the 20th century from positivist to post-structuralist paradigms; from Marxism and Feminism to post-colonialism and globalization to approaches that emphasized structure and agency, class and culture, natural and global trends in the creation of and consumption of leisure (Zeleza, 2003). Leisure is conceived differently by different people. Though there is no universal definition of what is leisure, and there is no agreement on the role of leisure for the individual or for the wider society, many scholars (Parr and Lashua 2004, Kraus 2001, Kelly and Kelly 1994) have come up with various explanations of leisure. Zeleza (2003) notes that, it is a phenomenon that is found everywhere, in developed and developing countries, poor or rich communities, yet it assumes different forms and meanings, styles and symbols as it is moulded and marked by the spatial, temporal and social particularities of place, time and society; of geography, history and social structure. To many people, leisure is perceived in terms of time after work, or in relation to particular activities, or with reference to a specific quality of experience, or on the basic of its utility for individuals or societies. That is to say, leisure is conceived residual time, as activities, as freedom or as a functional phenomenon.
As residual time, leisure is seen as that time left over when the necessities of life have been taken care of. It is seen as time when one is not involved in an activity for which he receives money (Bammel 1992 and Godbey 1990). However, this definition seems to ignore or undervalue the leisure of those outside paid work including housewives and the employed. In other words, leisure is structured by other social institutions besides paid work. One can play football both for leisure and as a source of income, and one can go to a football match for fun and out of obligation to watch a child play (Zeleza 2003, p.xiii). This point to the difficulty in defining leisure. Consequently, Dumazedier (1967) sees it as an activity beyond the necessity of labour and the bonds of the family and society, for the improvement of skills and free exercise of his creative capacity. Here, leisure means more than non-working time and goes beyond social obligations to include therapy and compensation. It implies freedom, a state of being that is intrinsically rewarding. Leisure involves many activities that are characterized as playful and pleasurable such as games, sports, dance, and songs and so on. Therefore, leisure can be defined as time and social activities carried out by individuals for their relaxation, enjoyment and pleasure. These activities induce psychological and physiological responses, are educating and contribute to the social, cultural and economic well-being of the individuals and the society. In other words, leisure experiences create room for development through psychological and physiological therapy. It is educational, generates stimulus-seeking behaviour and it is vehicle for socialization, compensation and sublimation for attitudes.

Entertainment: The word entertainment comes from the collocation of French ‘entre’ which comes from Latin ‘inter’, both words meaning ‘together’ or ‘among’, and Latin ‘tenere’ which means ‘to hold’. Thus, literally, entertain means to hold or support together. This means that, when entertaining a crowd or audience, their attention is being held together for amusement. Consequently, entertainment on one hand can be a form of activity that holds the attention and interest of an audience, or gives pleasure and delight (Haecker 2008). Although peoples’ attention is held by different things, because most individuals have different preferences in entertainment, most forms of entertainment are recognizable and familiar. Consequently, in Agbu (2017), entertainment is described as an activity designed to give pleasure and relaxation to an audience, whether the audience participates passively or actively.

Moreover, entertainment can be one of two things, or a combination of both. It can be an experience or it can be a business. As an experience, one can become amused or diverted through performance, or by other means. As a business, one may become involved in an
industry known as the entertainment industry to make a living. The entertainment industry, along with the media has become a multi-million dollar business world-wide that show cases the work, services, talents and the creativity of a massive cross-spectrum of the industry. This industry, built on the strength of live performing arts and show business, is expanded into a convergence of three sub-industries such as the traditional live entertainment; mass media and electronic entertainment. It is important to note that the experience of being entertained has come to be strongly associated with amusement, so that one common understanding of the idea is fun and laughter, though many entertainments have a sense of purpose. Therefore, there is the possibility that what appears to be entertainment could also be a means of achieving insight or intellectual, social, cultural and economic growth. This paper defines entertainment as the pleasure, delight and edification which socio-cultural activities give to the audience by holding their attention together.

**Youth:** There is hardly any universally acceptable definition of youth. The continuing debate on who is a ‘youth’ has not resolved the confusion surrounding the concept. In many African countries, laws define ‘adulthood’ as commencing from age of 18 to 21 years (Curtain 2000). The boundaries defining the transition from childhood to youth and from youth to adulthood are shifting and the Cross-over into each new state is now manifested in different ways. The changes that young people must pass through today do not occur as predictably as in the past. Therefore, defining youth globally can be a very difficult task. Hence, the majority of youth have been variously defined as ranging from the ages of 10-11 years to 35 years. The United Nations Organization (1995) has come up with a specification of age bracket 15-24years as youth, while the Commonwealth uses the age category of 15-29years. The National Youth Policy says, the youth shall comprise of all young males and females aged 18-35years, who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Ogunyomi and Oginni (2013) have defined the youth as “young women and men who fall within the age bracket of 15 and 35 years. “Of course according to Ogunyomi and Oginni, anyone who is acknowledged by deed as identifying with and committed to youth development may be recognized as youth”. While the age brackets may differ from society to society, it is important to note that the youth age is the time in life when most young people are going through dramatic changes in their life circumstances as they move from childhood to adulthood. They are energetic, ambitious, creative and promising. They represent the most active and most impulsive. They constitute the most important human resource potential that can contribute significantly to the overall
development of a nation. They constitute the driving force of society, the spirit of today and the hope for the future, yet they are the most vulnerable segment of Nigeria’s population. Consequently, they require social, cultural, economic and political support to realize their full potentials.

**Encompassing the Jukun youth in leisure and entertainment activities**

The Jukun people, found in the Lower Benue Valley of Nigeria, have a very rich cultural heritage which opens a wide avenue for leisure and entertainment activities. These activities are in form of singing and dancing, games and gymnastic displays during cultural festivals, sports, storytelling and traditional social festivals. The Jukun people were involved in these activities during the pre-colonial period and colonialism introduced modern games into their society. In the post-colonial period, they are also involved in them. However, it is very important to inspire the Jukun youths to participate fully in these activities in order to bring out the potentials in them for social, cultural and economic benefits. Thus using the leisure and entertainment industry for their socio-cultural and economic benefits.

The *Ado* or *Adzua* is a board game among the Jukun people that survived into post-colonial period. It is a game that is played by both males and females. The mode of playing is discussed by Agbu (2017). This game enhances the mental reasoning and calculative capacity of the players. It also promotes peaceful coexistence among them. The Jukun youth should be invigorated through grass root mobilization to participate in this game so that they can be represented in the games of draft and chess which is today earning money to players. In Eastern Nigeria for instance, the game of draft has become a money earning game where players and spectators put in big sum of money and at the end, winners go home with large sum of money. The Jukun youth can also be successful in this game internationally and earn a living. This would not only improve their economic well-being, but improve their cultural appreciative.

The Jukun were involved in traditional wrestling which played a significant role in their society. However, serious competition among individuals and communities through the wrestling has disappeared in the post-colonial Jukun society. Only the little children are seen involved in wrestling and not in a competitive way. In this case, the Jukun youth should be invigorated to re-introduce the wrestling and compete among each other. Champions can represent or participate at the national games and the Olympics, thus projecting not only the players, but the Jukun culture and improving their economic well-being.
The Jukun are also good swimmers due to their fishing capabilities. Therefore, swimming competition should be a periodic thing among them in order to not only entertain spectators, but project their culture and get the best among them to compete at international swimming competitions such as the Commonwealth or Olympic games. Since 1960, the Jukun youths have become very active in the games of football and tennis. They have produced players that played both national and international games. Thereby contributing to their social and economic well-being. In this 21st century, the Jukun youths can be invigorated to do more in the games of football and tennis. Football and tennis matches should be organized periodically to raise revenue from tourists, spectators and for the entertainment of both the players and the fans. Government and individual clubs should scout for these players who can become professionals even abroad.

In the area of music, the Jukuns are not left behind. They have been involved in music since the pre-colonial period to the post-colonial period. Information on their social and cultural history suggest that they are lovers of music and music is part and parcel of their everyday life (Awudu, 2016). Their traditional religion used music for thanksgiving, reparations and petition. Music inspired worshippers to express their loyalty to their gods and goddesses. Music was used during communal farming and warriors used it during warfare. Music played important role in their traditional society and in the post-colonial period they got involved in modern music. ‘‘People such as Philip Adati, Otis Nyaga, Manasseh Zakariya, Solomon Ishaya, Amik Adams, Lordswill Angulu, Nuhu Ashu, Danji Kejas among many others were and are involved in both religious and secular music’’ (Agbu 2017, p177-181). Several young Jukun men and women are involved in music from the beginning of the 21st century, selling their ideas to the world and earning a living. The youth can be invigorated to do better through support for their products to get to the international stage. This would not only promote the Jukun social and cultural lifestyle, but improve their economy and that of the nation. Musical concerts and festivals should be organized among them where they would perform to improve their economy. Their music can be digitally recorded and distributed for social and economic advantages. Music goes with dance, and the Jukun youths should participate in the different kind of dances for socio-cultural and economic promotion. The Jukun have the Goge dance, the Aki she dance and different social masquerades that perform during social occasions. In the 21st century, their participation in these activities will not only harness their potentials, but through cultural tourism, their social, cultural and economic lives would be empowered.
Moreover, traditional festivals such as the Puje cultural festival, Jukun youth cultural festival and the Nwonyo fishing festival are important social events among the Jukun society that the youth can explore in order to harness their social, cultural and economic potentials. They can through these festivals, showcase their cultural heritage through the activities discussed and raise revenue from tourists for their economic benefits.

In summation, through games, music, dance and social festivals among other socio-cultural activities, the lives of the Jukun youths in Taraba State, Nigeria can be improved for better living.
Sway leisure and entertainment industry would have on the Jukun social, cultural and economic subsists

In this era of globalization, creativity and innovation in the leisure and entertainment industry has impacted seriously on global economy. Nations and non-governmental organizations have embraced creativity in the forms of leisure and entertainment activities to generate significantly higher revenue and provide greater stability into the future of their youth. Culture is increasingly finding a route to the market, which is leading to radical transformation in the way people create, consume and enjoy cultural products.

Digital distribution in industries such as sports and music has transformed global markets and allowed new industries and consumers to emerge in developing regions such as Africa (Atando 2016) and the Jukun society can swiftly embrace this to their advantage. It is projected that licensed digital distribution of recorded music will rise from $653 million in 2005 to $4.9billion in 2010, representing 49.5% compound annual increase (PWC 2007). The Jukun musicians, through encouragement from the governments and private organizations/individuals, can key into digitalization. This would create employment opportunities and improve the revenue base of their society, their State and Nigeria at large.

In Europe, entertainment and leisure show that the arts enrich the social environment with stimulating or pleasing public amenities. Works of arts and cultural products are a collective memory of a community and serve as a reservoir of creative and intellectual ideas for future generations (Council of Europe 1997). The arts and cultural institutions improve the quality of life, thus, the development of cultural tourism in the Jukun society is very essential in order to achieve economic growth, social cohesion and human development.

There is a significant nexus between social festivals and cultural tourism development. Therefore, the Jukun people, policy makers, the Federal, States and Local governments, together with non-governmental organizations can provide support for the various socio-cultural festivals to hold. They should also ensure that the youths are in forefront during these festivals. This will attract both foreign and local tourists. The Taraba State government in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism should come up with viable policies that will promote the development of cultural tourism generally and the Jukun cultural festival in particular. This will improve the socio-economic development of the Jukun society and the State at large. It will also contribute to their cultural awareness, because during these cultural festivals, traditional music,
dances and other cultural products will be showcased. This will promote their culture and improve revenue generation for the State and organizers.

In order to put Taraba State on the world tourism map and make it a tourist destination, the State government should invest rapidly in recreational facilities development. There should be upgrading of the Atoshi Recreational Center in Wukari, provided with modern sporting facilities to enable tourists and other people to have access to exercising themselves so as to reduce stress, depression and anxiety after work or while on holiday and to produce positive moods, facilitate social interaction and increase their general physio-psychological well-being and life satisfaction. Particularly now that the Nigerian society is involved in Democratic Party politics, there is the need for positive moods. Furthermore, more recreational parks should be established in major locations of the Jukun society to generate more revenue through tourism and other social activities. More tourist attractions in the area need to be rehabilitated and upgraded such as the Crocodile pool in Wukari, Missionary sites at Ibi and Takum, the Jukun Supreme temple and other historical sites for tourists to visit while around during their leisure time. Cultural and creative commodities such as traditional dances, music, artistic displays and modern entertainment activities should be provided by the youths for the tourists and locals.

Finally, through participation in the leisure and entertainment activities, the socio-economic base of the people will improve, there would be more job opportunities and the governments would have expanded revenue generation base. This is because the entertainment and leisure industry had a growth estimate from $1.3 trillion in 2005 to $1.8 trillion by 2010 globally (PWC, 2007). In the 1990s, the creative economy of the developed world grew at an annual rate twice that of service industries and four times that of manufacturing. The growth of the creative sector in the European Union from 1999 to 2003 was 12.3% higher than the growth of the overall economy. Turnover of the culture and creative sector in the EU which comprises television, cinema, music, performing arts and entertainment generated £654 billion and contributed to 2.6% of the EU’s GDP in 2003. The industry employed at least 5.8 million people in Europe in 2004. The quality of jobs generated in the creative industries provided higher levels of job satisfaction, and gave a strong sense of commitment to the sector and involvement in cultural life (PWC, 2007). Through the leisure and entertainment activities, societal values, social norms and ideas that stress harmony, fairness, equity, appreciation of oneself and others, co-existence, responsibility and justice would be inculcated in the minds of the young Jukuns. It is
apparent that leisure and entertainment activities can be used to harness the social, cultural and economic potentials in the Jukun youths, particularly in the 21st century.

Summary and Conclusion
From the discourse so far, it is evidently clear that the entertainment industry and its activities have become a source of generating significant revenue and stability of the future of the youths. Through the digital distribution of sports and music, the global market has been transformed via emergence of new industries and consumers in the developing countries such as Nigeria. The Jukun society can swiftly embrace the innovation in order to create employment opportunities for their youths and to expand the revenue base and that of the country at large.

Also, since cultural tourism is very vital for achieving economic growth, social cohesion and human development, the Jukun society can provide support for the organization of their various social festivals such as the Puje, Jukun Youth Day, and Nwonyo among others to continue to take place in its area. This will attract both foreign and local tourists; traditional social products such as songs, music and dances will be showcased and this can promote their culture in addition to improving revenue realization for their society and the nation at large.

It is also revealed that, through participation in the entertainment activities, the socio-economic base of the people will improve, thus creating more job opportunities and expanding revenue base for the government. Also through the entertainment activities, societal values, social norms and ideas which stresses harmony, fairness, equity and honesty; appreciation of oneself, coexistence, responsibility and justice would be instilled in the minds of the young Jukun people. Consequently, it can be used to harness the social, cultural and economic potentials in the Jukun youths.

Of course, leisure and entertainment activities are part of African culture. Through these activities, they were and still able to get entertainment, amused, educated and compensated for the energy lost during work. Through leisure and entertainment activities also, the Jukun youths can improve their socio-cultural and economic well-being. Based on the facts presented, stakeholders in the Jukun society should navigate towards the direction of leisure and entertainment industry particularly in the segments of music, dance, cultural festivals, sports and recreational activities in order to support the Jukun youths particularly and the Nigerian youths in general to create employment opportunities, reduce poverty rate and improve revenue generation base of the Federal, State and Local governments. More importantly, to create cultural awareness among the
Jukun people, it is apparent that through the leisure and entertainment industry, the Jukun youths can harness their social, cultural and economic potentials.

References


Privatization and Sustainable Economic Growth in Nigeria: An Impact Analysis

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Abstract
This study mainly interrogates how contemporary privatization packages have impacted on economic development in Nigeria. The Nigerian economy has grossly underperformed relative to her enormous resources. The major factors accounting for the relative decline of the country’s economic fortunes are easily identifiable as political instability, lack of focused and visionary leadership, economic mismanagement and corruption. The study uses a wide range of sources that are basically secondary in nature, including books, journal articles, theses, newspapers and magazines, workshops and government bulletins. Using a qualitative analytical approach, the study reviews the Nigerian economy, through policy regimes to the nature, structure and performance trends. The study argues that the focus of economic analysis of the classical economists was on conditions necessary for economic growth and development through an active private sector participation. Having examined some key economic variables, the study discovers that economic growth has risen substantially, with an annual average of 7.4 percent in the last decade. Unfortunately, economic growth under the privatization exercise has not resulted in the desired structural changes that would promote development, create employment and induce poverty alleviation. Similarly, there has been rising unemployment with current level put at 19.7 percent. Findings have also revealed that the corporate governance which privatization enforces has the propensity to subjugate the Nigerian economy to imperialist control. Based on these findings, the paper recommends diversifying the economy from oil and gas, funds realized from the sale of public entities should be reinvested in tangible public interest such as Health, Education, Agriculture and Water so that, the country’s economy can move from the historical sluggish growth trend to a vibrant growth path that can transform the structure of the economy and enable the country to attain the desired sustainable economic growth and development.

Keywords: Development, Economic Growth, Policy, Privatization, Sustainable Development
Introduction

The basic aim of any country is to attempt massive economic growth and development which is a reflection of the efficiency of social, economic, infrastructural legacy and the management of the economy. It is against this conviction that many countries fought their political independence in order to achieve economic independence and progress. The private sector was the traditional structure of the world economy. The public sector emerged in Nigeria as a result of the need to harness rationally the scarce resources to produce goods and render services for economic improvements as well as for promoting the welfare of the citizens. The involvement of the government in public sector in Nigeria became significant during the period after independence.

The emergence of the crude oil industry into the Nigerian economy, after the civil war in the 1970s, with the associated boom intensified governmental involvement in production and control of the Nigerian economy. One major aim of government at that time was to convert as much as possible the growing oil revenue into social, physical, and economic infrastructural investments. The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972, which took effect on 1st April, 1974, with its subsequent amendment in 1976, provided a concrete basis for government’s extensive participation in the ownership and management of enterprises. As a result of these developments, public enterprises at the federal level had exceeded one hundred in number by 1985; and these had spread over agriculture, energy, mining, banking, insurance, manufacturing, transport, commerce and other services (Nwoye, 2010).

The early 1980s witnessed steady economic deterioration and seemingly faulty economic policies. By the mid-1980s, reality had dawned on the nation’s economy which resulted in the, retrenchment of workers in both private and public sectors. There was inflation, very high level of unemployment affecting both skilled and unskilled workers and low levels of plant capacity utilization. The problems of performance of public sector enterprises in Nigeria were further complicated by the downturn in socioeconomic development in the country due to the global economic recession and the collapse of the oil market (Sanusi, 2010). Nigeria’s precarious fiscal and monetary posture could no longer sustain the requirements of its public enterprises, particularly since they performed below expectation in terms of their returns on investment and quality of services.

Based on this failure, the enterprises began to face criticisms. The criticisms centered on the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the public enterprises despite huge government investment in them. This calls for privatization. Privatization in Nigeria was formally introduced by Privatization and Commercialization Act of 1988, which later set
up the Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialization (TCPC) chaired by Dr. Hamza Zayyad with a mandate to privatize one hundred and eleven enterprises and commercialize thirty four others. In 1999, the Federal Government enacted the Public Enterprises (privatization and commercialization) Act, which created the National Council on Privatization.

The 1999 Act also established the Bureau for Public Enterprises (BPE). The subsequent exercise brought with it controversies; given the fact that the initial impetus for privatization came from creditor institutions, especially the IMF and the World Bank. As part of the push for Structural Adjustment, many believed that there must be a hidden agenda in the form of economic exploitation. Against this background this study examined the impact of the privatization policy on the Nigeria economy.

Conceptual clarification

Privatization: The concept of privatization in recent times evokes sharp political reactions from many angles. It can be defined as the transfer of ownership and control of enterprises from the state to the private sector of the economy. Privatization involves the transfer of ownerships - in whole or in part-form, from state to the private responsibility (Savas,2000). On the other hand, the Privatization and Commercialization Act of 1988 and the Bureau of Public Enterprise's Act of 1993 defined privatization as the relinquishment of part or all of the equity and other interest held in the Federal Government or any of its agencies, in enterprises whether wholly or partly owned by the Federal Government.

Yakubu (2015, p10) defines privatization as the transfer of ownership of production and control of enterprises from the public to the private sector. Needless to give the numerous definitions of privatization, the most important point to note is that the whole issue surrounding privatization revolves around the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the public enterprise despite the huge capital investment made by the government on them.

To put it more differently, the public enterprises were performing below expectation in terms of their returns on investment and quality of services they are producing to the citizenry. It is on this fundamental basis that privatization was ushered in as an economic reform that is aimed at creating employment and inducing the widespread poverty that cut across the country. One can rightly say that privatization is the transfer of government shares and other benefits in enterprises that were before owned
and managed by the government to private individuals. The major aim is to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.

**Development**: Development as a concept defies any easy or one sentence definition. To that extent, the question as to what constitutes development has been approached from the prisms of ideological persuasion of scholars. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics (2009), views development as "fulfilment of the necessary conditions for the utilization of the potentials of human personality. As its simplest form, development is the increasing satisfaction of some basic needs such as food."

In economic terms, development has been understood as achieving sustainable rates of growth in income per capital to enable the nation to expand its outputs faster than its population. The emphasis here is much on the per capita income of the individual vis a vis the contribution to the overall economy (Todoro and Smith 2011). They are concerned with poverty, unemployment and inequality. If they decline at any point, it signifies development and vice versa. Essentially therefore, there is a tendency to misconstrued what is meant by economic development and economic growth as it relates to the privatization policy.

The two terminologies mean two different things. Whereas growth refers to annual or marginal increases or unit increases, development on the other hand refers to the quality of living. Development means progress, whereas growth means incremental measurement with respect to say population, family size, household size, crop yields or exports etc. This is more from the angle of Geography as it focuses much attention on geographical variables. To sum it up for this discussion, we can make it clear that there can be growth without development but there cannot be development without growth.

**Sustainable development**: According to the World Commission for Environment and Development (1987, p.43) sustainable development is the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the abilities of the future generation to meet their own needs. Sustainable development, therefore, emphasizes that any development embarked upon should lead to: poverty reduction, with people participating in decision-making that affects their lives; job creation and sustainable livelihood; women empowerment and effective participation; and environmental participation. In order words, sustainable development promotes development on a continuous basis. Sustainable development entails that development is a process; it is something that has no terminal points.
Policy: Policy has to do with initiative in order to improve the well-being of the people. Dye (1980) considers public policy as anything that government chooses to do or not to do. This definition may be misleading since it constitutes the action and inaction of government. Jenkins (1978) conceives of public policy as a set of interrelated decisions by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation. To Roberts and Edwards (1991:98) policy is a set of decision concerning the selection of goals and means of attaining them. Policy could be seen as the strategic use of the scarce resources to arrest an issue of national concern just like one we are dealing with it in this study.

The abysmal performance of the States owned enterprises necessitated the formulation and adoption of the privatization policy in Nigeria. No matter the angle one is looking at it, public policy is a complex exercise conducted by strategic thinkers in order to improve the wellbeing of the people most especially those living in the rural areas. Both the government and civil society organizations are major actors in policy formulation. Dlakwa (2008, p.15) rightly observes that neither the government nor the civil society owns public policy exclusively, rather the two key actors meet and determine public policy concurrently. But oftentimes, the government takes precedence over that of the civil society in the event of conflict of interest.

Neo-classical economic theory

The earliest arguments for state intervention in the economy within the neo-classical theoretical framework were closely linked with the views held by various scholars on the conditions necessary for import-substitution industrialization in the third world countries and the obstacles posed for it by the international division of labour as evidenced by the work of, Schatzl, (1973) and a host of others. Their arguments in support of state intervention were premised on various platforms within the neo-classical economic traditions. The Rosenstein-Rodan model for example, premised its support for state intervention on the need for a wide range of complementary activities in order to achieve rapid industrial growth. Bello (2005) also points out the substantial benefits that could be derived from, especially backward linkages, if concrete actions are taken by the state.

By the middle of 1970s, however, most developing countries following the state interventionist framework of accumulation began to undergo economic crisis. Therefore, criticisms emerged within the neo-classical school against state intervention in the economy in favour of privatization. The set of criticisms against state intervention from
the neo-classical theory centered on various kinds of protection against trade, which induced inefficient, oligopolistic structures of production, thereby undermining consumer welfare, without delivering the technological developments and learning effects it had promised (Bello, 2005). The critics argued further that State policies on wages, interest rate and price encouraged inappropriate production techniques and drove interest rate close to zero. All these, according to Krueger (1981) combined to generate unwarranted levels of capital-intensity method in production and discouraged exports.

Neo-classical economists are careful to point out that it is not the role of the state to provide goods and services through public production; rather, it should play the role of an intermediary by mobilizing and channeling financial resources from private individuals who benefit from the production of goods and services. In order words, the government becomes a facilitator of private wants and private production. It reflects individual preferences in a collective format, and organizes the collection and disbursement of funds to satisfy these preferences (Gaibraith, 1993).

Another view advocated by Lal (1983) within the neoclassical school of thought while recognizing the reality of market failure, contends that any attempt by the state to intervene in order to correct this failure has produced bureaucratic failure of such dimensions that were greater than the market failure it had set to correct. And that any attempts to use planning modeling techniques to correct the bureaucratic failure have merely compounded the problem by magnifying the smaller effects of mistakes committed by individual economic agents at the micro-level to a higher, more pervasive national macro level. Due to these factors, the case for the market was reasserted, not because market failure was not recognized, but because the alternative to the market produced inferior outcomes. More so, the literature on public choice model within the neo-classical school of thought, according to (Krueger, 1981, p.3) is that if the state consists of a coalition of different groups sometimes acting in concert to promote common interests at the expense of the rest of the society, and sometimes breaking into component parts, purposing competing interest. In this case, the idea of monolithic state, acting to maximize social welfare in general serve more than a myth.

In view of this, many of the interventionist policies are dismissed as emerging either to favour the nationalists or an unethical copying of the Soviet model. In addition, arguments for privatization have challenged the notion that state intervention and extensive public ownership imply a more equitable interpersonal income and wealth distribution. Instead, it was argued by (Whitshire 1987, p.4) that “Privatization offered an
important avenue for widespread share ownership; popular capitalism which will enable a wide range of ordinary workers to owned shares.”

More so, the responses to arguments against state intervention in the economy using the neo-classical framework also varied. For instance, the view championed by the “Neo Right” had been dismissed as unserious. This is because within the neo-classical paradigm since the era of Karl Polanyi, it had been recognized that there is nothing, inevitable or spontaneous about Laissez-faire. Therefore, any trumpeted calls for reversion of some previous Laissez-faire ideal model cannot, therefore, at the intellectual level be regarded as unserious (Yahaya, 1993). In like manner, it has been argued that there is still a case for state intervention in the economy. This means that in the market economy, state play a crucial role in their strategy and that the avowed success of their export promotion strategies was possible only because of the tremendous effects of a previous and many instance co-existing, import substitution strategy and geo-political factors.

In addition, the “discovery” by the public choice theorists that the state consists of different groups is a partial abstraction from the Marxist theoretical framework and does not make an unambiguous case for the market. In the neo-classical price -auction model, individuals and firms are also motivated by self-interest in the sense that individuals maximize utility and firms maximize profit. Also, state intervention in production requires additional costs of acquisition of information and processing and may generate managerial and operational inefficiencies. It is also obvious that systems of taxes, incentives, subsidies e.t.c. would also entail administrative costs and are also threatened by inefficiency and mismanagement. In the words of (Yahaya, 1993, p.35) “the argument for taxes and subsidies, merely advocate the substitution of some forms of state intervention for others which of the two is more costly and inefficient, and which will result in greater loss to consumer welfare, cannot, it seems be settled on an “a prior” basis.”

By and large, the notion that public sector is inherently more inefficient than the private sector which is tied up with the property right school arguments cannot withstand a close study. This is because of the well-known managerial function, which arose in the context of the separation between ownership and control in the modern private enterprises, which indicated that different goals would be pursued by both management and shareholders.
However, either private or public, accumulation goes on, especially if such private approach ignores the basic premises that public enterprises at least theoretically, fulfill important functions for capitalism at particular moments in their development, which cannot be performed by private capital. These functions include establishment of infrastructure; generating linkage; technological education; and development, research; education and training the work force; and the provision of certain aspects of social welfare so as to try to ensure system stability. These functions are required in the interest of the capital in general, and yet cannot be provided, except by accident by private capital. Thus, the appropriation of the resources of the public enterprises by private agents even if invested, will not substitute for these functions (Yahaya, 1993).

From the foregoing, therefore, an appraisal of the performance of the state enterprises should take into consideration measures which will test its capacity to perform these functions. A reappraisal of the frontiers of state intervention vis-à-vis the market should be based on the outcome of such analysis. Agreeing with this logic, a peculiar position is arrived at in which the criteria that are required for an empirical evaluation of the performance of state and private enterprises adopting or using the neo-classical framework are the same. In view of this, the necessity for conducting a concrete analysis of specific forms of intervention in specified settings and private control of the economy are similarly derived from the same premise. Therefore, any policy for large-scale privatization as being implemented in Nigeria must be based on an exhaustive study, which can demonstrate the unambiguously poor performance of public enterprises.

Privatization and sustainable economic growth in Nigeria: Impact analysis

Impact of privatization can be positive or negative on ingredients of the economy like government, organizations, employees and the general public through economic phenomena such as income, investment, inequality, wages or consumption due to rise in prices and highlights its positive effects due to improvement of quality of goods and services. This section therefore, examines the positive as well as the negative impact of privatization on the Nigerian economy.

The following are some of the positive impact of privatization on the Nigerian economy.

i. Privatization has been impactful in the sense that it has broadened and deepened the capital market (Mahmoud, 2008). With market capitalization rising from N8.9billion in 1987 before privatization and stood at N13.924 trillion as at the end of October, 2011. This shows that privatization programme significantly added
the deepening and broadening of the Nigerian capital market. This will, in-turn, attract investors that have the technical know-how to invest in the country’s economic fortunes. The recapitalization of the banking sector is another area of gains felt by the citizens. They now have confidence in the banking sector.

ii. Privatization has led to revenue/tax increase as corporate taxes accruing to the Federation Account or State Board of Internal Revenue has increased significantly. This is evidenced in the unprecedented meeting of targets or surpassing the target sets for the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) over the last seven years (2007-2014). Tax is the amount of money levied on goods and services by the government on any of its goods or services. The growing revenue here could be used by the government in the provision of basic amenities. Privatization has interestingly led to the establishment of performance management system by the privatized entities e.g Benue Cement Company Gboko now Dangote Cement Plc, Gboko plant which as a result has helped improve efficiency, expansion and capacity utilization through implementation and continued improvement (Bassey, 2009). More so, Dangote Cement, Gboko plant management by the end of the 2005 financial year got the desired result with the turnover of 4.1 billion naira. Apart from the share holders fund which improved from a deficit 1.34 billion to a surplus of 8.354 billion in 2006 financial year. Similarly, profit after tax grew from 2.243 to 3.105 billion in 2006 (Francis, 2011).

iii. Nigeria’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which is the total value of goods and services produced in a country within a period of one year has significantly skyrocketed as evidenced in recently re-based exercise by the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) in April 2014 realizing a positive result showing that Nigerian’s GDP figures has now overtaken that of the Republic of South Africa as the largest economy in Africa and the 26th largest in the world. This increased GDP is as a result of productivity from privatized entities. This increased GDP witnessed as a result of increased in production from privatized entities is something one needs to worry about. This is because this increase in GDP announced by government did not resulted in the improvement of the various sectors of the economy to bring about meaningful development. More so, Ogabol (2010) argued that privatization has considerably reduced the scope of political patronage in the form of unnecessary encouragement of board appointment to incorporate supporters. Also Anya (2000) observed that 280 directors relinquished their appointments thereby guaranteeing a complete re-structure of the privatized entities by the owners. This
is because the increased GDP has not resulted in the improvement of the various sectors of the economy to bring about meaningful development.

iv. Privatization has further promoted public confidence in the financial sector. The Central Bank has focused attention, in facilitating economic development in Nigeria through its developmental role and in recognition of the fact that the financial sector needs to support real sector activities. ₦500,000,000,000 fund according to Sanusi (2010) was injected into the economy, out of which N300 billion is for power/infrastructure and aviation sectors and N200 billion for the refinancing and restructuring of existing bank loan portfolios to manufacturers and small and medium enterprises. This was done in order to strengthen the industry, protect depositors’ funds, safeguard the integrity of the industry and restore public confidence.

v. With privatization, the telecommunication sector had gone from strength to strength absorbing both skilled and unskilled workers, having about 90 million active line users which is why it is rated above all other privatized sector of the economy (Kalakaiye, 2013). With privatization, the channels of radio and television signals have increased in terms of varieties and duration of services rendered to the people.

**Major Findings**

Economic growth under the privatization exercise has not been inclusive, broad-based and transformative. Agriculture and other social services have been neglected. The implication of this trend is that the Nigeria economy has not witnessed the desired structural changes that would make manufacturing sector the engine of growth, create employment, promote technical development and induce poverty reduction. Available data put the national poverty level at 67.7 percent. Similarly, there has been rising unemployment with current level put at 19.7 percent by the National Bureau of Statistics. With privatization, the cost of products and services of the former public enterprise has gone up, which in turn has negatively affected the standard of living of the average Nigerian with 67 million now living on less than US$1 per day (Eminue, 2006). This belied the assertion that the market through the privatization programme is the veritable platform for Nigerian’s development. The better reality of the Nigerian situation is not that the poverty level is getting worse by the day but that more than 67 million live in condition of extreme poverty with most of this number living in the rural areas where most of our natural resources are located. Though government has come up with various
poverty led alleviation programmes in order to reduce the wide-spread poverty and unemployment, not much has been achieved.

Conclusion

In this paper, attempt has been made to examine the effect of the privatization process on the economy of Nigeria overtime and to see whether the exercise has any value on the economic development of Nigeria. The study concluded that the assumption that the developmental problem of Nigeria is caused by the poor performance of the public sector and, that privatization is the magic for Nigerian economic transformation is unsupported by facts surrounding the exercise as demonstrated in this paper. The privatization as a policy is fundamentally flawed in several respects, which underscores the underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy. Issues which must be resolved if Nigeria is to move forward are; the unequal process that informs the system; the monoculture and dependent nature of the Nigerian economy and the asymmetrical relationship that is inherent in the globalization regime which Nigeria is blindly subjected to.

The paper also debunks the fact that privatization will integrate the Nigerian economy. Evidence has shown that the bulk of government revenue is coming from oil and gas industry. Agriculture which was the main source of government revenue before the discovery of oil is neglected. Against the backdrop of the forgoing, it is important to state at this point that if privatization is carried out with sincerity of purpose, almost every group will come out ahead as a result of divestiture. Given the enormity of the socio-economic problems facing Nigeria, there is every reason to worry about our actions. This is because any reform that does not take into cognizance the welfare of the people both in the short and long run is not worth implementing.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were made based on the findings of this study;

i. There is the need for the government to diversify the economy away from crude oil and gas as this would enable other sectors to make meaningful contributions to economic growth.

ii. Government should ensure that funds realized from the sale of public entities are invested in tangible public interests such as education; health and transport as this will not only enhance economic development but will also check drift of rural-urban migration.

iii. Government should pursue policy measures that will reinvigorate other sectors of the economy and enhance employment generation potentials, including
implementing youth employment safety net that will carter for the teeming unemployed youth.

iv. There is need for effective communication between government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) and workers on the implementation of the economic programmes to ensure transparency and industrial harmony.

v. There is also need for the government to look into the concerns of the workers of the privatized agencies regarding the actual value of their entitlements for speedy payment to ensure transparency and industrial harmony.

Government should therefore, be very cautious with the exercise. It should be implemented with care so as to reduce its negative effects on the living standard of the people and by extension, avoid selling the main stream of our economy to few national and international investors at the expense of the welfare of the majority of Nigerians. Indeed, we should embrace economic reforms with every dense of cautions so as not to become victims but partakers of the gains of the entire process. The goal of any government policy or economic reform is targeted at improving the well-being of the citizens. Anything short of that goal is unacceptable and should be not be pursued.

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Internal Migration and The Challenges of Food Security in Nigeria

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Abstract
Food is an indispensable component of human existence. However, the concern for food security has continued to pose a great challenge to the entire globe, with worsening effect on developing countries including Nigeria. This paper, therefore, examines internal migration and the challenges of food security in Nigeria. The paper argues that population growth has become one of the greatest demographic challenges in Nigeria which has contributed to internal migration, with attendant conflicts of interests, which have resulted in physical crises on daily basis, especially, the issue of Fulani herdsmen and crop farmers. The paper also looks at internal migration of the youth from the rural to the urban areas as a consequence of population growth. The rural-urban migration of youth in search of greener pastures has led to competition for food and other valuable resources at the destination region; it has also brought about shortage of labour force at the source region. The paper, therefore, recommends that government should bring together stakeholders to formulate policies and laws which will state the scope and limits of migrants and punish infringers of such laws; curb migration from rural areas through investment in rural development in areas of electrification, industries, health, water resources, education; and provide entrepreneurship education at all levels to encourage self-sufficiency among the youth in the country.

Key words: Conflict, Food Access, Food Availability, Food Security, Internal Migration, Population growth.

Introduction
Food is very essential to man and the concern over food security has continued to rise throughout history, especially with increasing population growth. As acknowledged by National Research Council (1993), the rate of increase in human population across the globe has been persistent since 1800. This perhaps, engendered debate on population problems which focused on what could be the optimum size and its impact on economic
growth and development. In the view of the neo-classical economist, Thomas Malthus (1803), ‘the power of population is indefinitely greater than the resources on earth to provide the needed subsistence for mankind’. While it could not be concluded on the universal applicability of the Malthusian theory in industrial countries due to technological advances, which led to increase in agricultural production that ensured food security for the citizens, the conditions in many developing countries validate his claim (Olofin, 1999).

According to the National Population Commission (2004), Nigeria has one of the fastest growing populations in the world with annual growth rate of 2.9 percent. In 1963, the population was 56 million people which rose to 88.5 million in 1991 and further to 140 million in 2006. The World Bank (2012) estimates the population of Nigerian to be above 160 million people, the largest in Africa, almost accounting for 47% of West Africa’s total population. Today that the population of Nigeria has risen to about 190 million, the country’s demand for food has increased, while the ability to produce food continue to diminish. According to FAO, IFAD and WFP (2013), Nigeria has an energy intake of 1730Kcal and an average protein supply of 64g capita per day far below the 2500 – 3400Kcal minimum recommended daily intake per day. This shows that Nigeria is facing the challenge of unbalanced diet leading to various deficiency symptoms. Also among the 109 countries assessed by Global Food Security Index (GFSI) (2015), Nigeria is 91st with 37.1 score based on indices of affordability, availability, quality and safety. With the increasing shortage of food and other valuable resources, people have resorted to migration as a means of improving their living standards.

Migration is either international or internal. However, the focus of this discourse is on internal migration. According to Hopkins (2006), internal migration is the geographic movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new permanent or semi-permanent residence. Internal migration in Nigeria is either between one state, local government or region and the other. As noted by Braunvan (2004), internal migration takes different forms, rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and urban-urban which redistributes population. As a result of urban pool (availability of electricity, job opportunities, education, availability of goods and services) youths migrate to urban more than other areas within the migration zones. Youth rural-urban migration has both positive and negative effects. However, the negative effects, which include brain drain, shortage of manpower and subsequent low agricultural productivity, seem to be the dominant factors.
Food security challenge has been a critical issue of human concern, with the increasing internal migration as a consequence of population growth and scarcity of resources. As Bakare (2017) emphasizes, mass migration of young school leavers from the rural communities to the cities, has left behind old and tired hands to engage in farming. The implication of the above is the food shortage that is the contemporary problem in Nigeria. Although people migrate with the main intention of meeting basic life needs, latent consequences, including labour force shortage in the area of agriculture at the source region, and competition for food, shelter and other basic resources at the destination region is prevalent. These competitions sometimes metamorphose into physical conflicts, which have become common challenges of internal migration in Nigeria in recent times, with obvious consequence of food insecurity. Supporting the above view, Okpiliya, Ekong and Imoke (2013) assert that conflict is a common daily occurrence among individuals, groups and communities in Nigeria. The causes of these conflicts are commonly associated with agitation for land, food and other economic resources. An instance of this is the Fulani migrants whose violent activities tend to be more noticeable recently in some North Central and South-Eastern states like Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Imo, among others. This has, no doubt, affected the output of crops, which are especially coming from the North; the region relied mainly upon for the provision of foodstuffs and fruits in the country. It is quite challenging that during the planting season in 2017, farmers in the affected areas were afraid of going to their farms to cultivate their farmlands for fear of being attacked by herdsmen. This paper, therefore, explores forms of internal migration: rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and urban-urban, which have contributed to food insecurity, especially due to manpower shortage in the area of agriculture and conflict creations that have hindered agricultural activities.

The concept of internal migration

Hughes and Kroehler (2009) have defined migration as the movement of people from one geographical location to another involving permanent or temporary settlement. It is the geographic movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new permanent or semi-permanent residence (Hopkins, 2006). The region where people are leaving is referred to as the source region, whereas the region to which people are entering is known as destination region. They further maintain that both push factors—that encourage people to leave a habitat they already occupy; and pull factors—that attract people to a new habitat are factors that prompt migration. Before people actually migrate, they usually compare the relative opportunities offered by the current
and the anticipated habitats. If the balance is on the side of the anticipated habitat, they typically migrate unless prevented from doing so by government action, immigration quotas, lack of financial resources, or some other compelling barriers. Both push and pull factors are contributing to the entry into Nigeria of large numbers of illegal immigrants from around the world. However, FAO, IFAD and WFP (2013) noted that both the causes and consequences of migration are multifaceted and complicated. While many people leave their homes as a result of conflict or poverty, others move under conditions of peace, political stability and development. People may also leave to study, reunite with family members, or with plan to find work and financially support their families back home. Few studies seem to support the often-heard hypothesis that migrants are attracted to cities in search of better entertainment or "bright lights" (Easterlin, 1980).

According to International Organization for Migration (2014), Migration, whether internal or international, has a profound effect on economic development, which could be negative or positive. For instance:

a. Brain drain occurs when significant number of highly skilled individuals leave their places of origin or countries of origin to seek employment or establish businesses abroad. It has a negative effect on the economies of developing countries, because the skills of the remaining nationals are not sufficient to grow industries, academia and other sectors of the economy.

b. Brain waste occurs when skilled migrants engage in menial occupations abroad, resulting in deskilling.

c. Brain gain can be achieved through the return of individuals who gained skills abroad through temporary migration.

Internal migration refers to human migration within one geopolitical entity, usually a nation. In this case, internal migration means the movement of people from other geographical locations to Benue State. An instance of this is the movement of an Hausa person from Katsina State to a new settlement in Benue State. Not only has this form of migration altered the spatial distribution of population, it sits alongside births, deaths, and international migration in shaping population change. But as the first demographic transition runs its course and as spatial differentials in vital rates diminish, internal migration plays an increasingly important role. Analysis of the drivers and dynamics of internal migration is critical to understanding the progressive shifts in the pattern of human settlement across the globe (Rees, Bell, Kupiszewski, Kupiszewska, Ueffing, Bernard, Edwards and Stillwell, 2017).

Migrants obviously move for many reasons. The notion that migrants often move to gain access to a higher income stream has a very long history in the economic
literature. Sjaastad (1962) formalized this idea by hypothesizing that whether an individual’s decision to move is influenced by the present value of the difference in income streams between alternative locations, minus any initial or subsequent, financial or psychic costs of moving. To the extent that costs are incurred at an early stage, migration is then a form of investment. One common corollary, drawn from this human capital model of migration is an explanation for the higher rate of migration amongst the young. Todaro (1969) offers a simple but powerful hypothesis. The essential idea is that urban jobs are more attractive than rural employment; entry to the better urban activities is somehow constrained; and search for urban job openings can be more effectively conducted in close geographical proximity. As a result, urban migration is induced as an investment in job search for the attractive, urban opportunities.

The Concept of food security

There is no consensus definition of the concept of food security and the concept is multifaceted implying that food security varies over time and space. In whatever way you define it is not the main concern here, the concern should be how access to food can be achieved and sustained either at household level, community level or nationally. Kolawale, 1989, cited in Muktar (2011) defined food security as the entitlement of individual’s of a country to food at a relative ease of access and at affordable prices. Food and Agricultural Organization, (1999) defines food security as existing, when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe nutritious food to maintain a healthy active life. The concept of food security is defined as including both physical and economic access to food that meets people’s needs as well as their food preferences. According to World Health Organization cited in indianonlinepages.com (2013), food security is built on three pillars:

i. **Food access:** Having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet.

ii. **Food availability:** Sufficient quantities of food available on a consistent basis;

iii. **Food use:** appropriate use based on the knowledge of basic nutrition and care as well as adequate water and sanitation.

From the following, we can deduce that a qualitative and quantitative presence of food without accessibility and affordability for use is not food security. The problem facing the world at large is how to meet a sustainable food balance so as to keep pace with unprecedented increase in demand and at the same time meet sustainable development. Some of the factors that contribute to food problems globally are
population growth and rise in income of developing countries (FAO, 2000). The problem however is not that food production is outstripped by population, the problem is where the food is produced, who produced it and who command it. In most cases, people suffer from starvation and malnutrition, not just because there is no food, but lacks the money with which to own their share. A household is considered food secure when its occupants do not live in hunger or fear of starvation. According to FAO (2000), there are two popular definitions of food security used by the UN’s (United Nations) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA): Food security exists when all people, at all times, have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Food security for a household means access by all members at all times to enough food for an active healthy life. The ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and an assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (that is, without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies) (USDA, 2008). However, food security challenges are those factors that inhibit the attainment of adequate and sustainable food needed to provide the people with the energy and nutrients for fully productive lives.

**Internal migration and food security in Nigeria**

Migration is an inevitable part of human existence, with a long history. Migration effort is stemmed from the desire to search for a greener pasture. To Braun (2004) people tend to be pulled to areas of prosperity and pushed from areas of decline. Migrants are usually concerned with the benefits they hope to gain by moving and usually give less thought to the problems that they will incur as a result of the migration process. The relationship between migration and food security cannot be easily captured by the measure. For example, migration can be an important strategy for households to cope with the risk of hunger. Research suggests that households with members missing meals and anxious about access to food, decreasing quality and quantity of food, were more likely to decide that an adult migrates in search of employment to support better lives for themselves and the family (FAO, IFAD and WEP, 2013). FAO, IFAD and WFP (2013) further report that when poor rural households are concerned about food security, they are most likely to decide that an adult should seasonally migrate in search of employment to reduce the family’s risk of hunger and extreme poverty. The report recognizes the benefits associated with migration when it states that remittances from migrants can help alleviate poverty and food security and promote investments in local economic opportunities.
The above does not give migration a pass mark as remedy for food security because it has been recognized from time immemorial that man’s search for food and better welfare is the beginning of conflict in the society. Thus, in the analysis of the society, Marx (1968) critically reviews the Hegelian philosophy of right, which appeared in 1844 and supported that material (economic) life conditions of social, political and intellectual life process in general. In the words of Marx, “it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being determine their consciousness” (Marx, 1968, p181). He opines that in the course of food production, man enters into a relationship that is contradictory and conflictual. Sustaining this view, Usen (2008) avers that the existence and endurance of conflicts are best explained in terms of economics because people in conflict are perceived to be fighting over something material. These changes according to Bredal and Malone, quoted in Usen (2008) represent at the most basic level, a contest for control over economic assets, resources and system. Conflict is an existing state of disagreement or hostility between two or more people (Nicholson, 1992). By this, it means two or more parties do not have an accord and are as such on two different parallels on the same issue. It thus suggests the pursuit of incompatible goals. Put differently, conflict means collision course; it also refers to opposition to existing view, stand, or position. It is, therefore, clear from the view of Marx that people migrate with positive intention (to acquire basic resources for themselves and family), but the positive intentions are sometimes marred by unintended consequences associated with conflicts of interests that sometimes result in physical crises.

The 2006 Population and Housing Census revealed that more than 10 percent of Nigerians are life time migrants or live in states other than their states of birth. People born in Ogun, Kwara, Osun and Imo are the most migratory, with more than 20 per cent living in other states. The Internal Migration Survey conducted by the National Population Commission in 2010 revealed that 23 per cent of the sampled population of Nigerians are migrants, having changed residence within 10 years, and 2 per cent are return migrants. This shows that large number of Nigeria’s population is on the move internally. These migratory flows are mostly influenced by a desire for better economic prospects and social facilities. The survey indicated that about 60 per cent of internal migrants reside in urban areas, with obvious consequences on socio-economic infrastructures in the urban areas (International Organization for Migration, 2014).
In time past, herdsmen and farmers used to have a reasonably symbiotic relationship. While the cattle served as means of transportation for daily goods as well as manure to fertilize the fields for farmers; the herdsmen in turn obtained grains and other farm produce from the farmers. Bakare (2017) however with the expansion of farming activities, a huge demand for farmlands drastically reduce supply of grazing lands, with flocks of cattle frequently encroaching upon already cultivated fields to the chagrin of farmers. This, indeed to him, is a major source of unending friction between the two groups. It is, however, unfortunate that these frictions are not being properly checked by the government, until they escalate into crises to the point that most of the farmers flee out of their communities to neighbouring villages, abandoning their agriculture and other economic activities in their villages. This has been the major cause of food shortage and insecurity in the country.

As observed by Bakare (2017) in Jigawa State alone, more than 70 cases of conflicts have been recorded since the beginning of the 2015 farming season. These cases bordered on encroachment into farms by cattle and farmers’ misuse of cattle routes. The situation is not different in Nasarawa and Benue States, the food baskets of the nation, as Fulani herdsmen and farmers persistently engage in feuds that often result in serious casualties on both sides. While farmers accuse the herdsmen of farm land encroachment, the latter blame the farmers and members of their communities for rustling and killing of their cattle.

Conflict and insecurity occasioned by internal migration is not, however, the only cause of food insecurity in Nigeria; other forms of migration, particularly the rural urban migration, is a major cause of food insecurity in Nigeria. As Anticamara, Watson, Gelchu and Pauly (2011) assert, before the advent of colonial rule in 1900 and the discovery of oil in the 70s, Nigeria’s economy relied majorly on agriculture and was doing very well based on agriculture and trading across the borders of the country. Nigeria had enough food both for the sustenance of its population and export trade. From the 70s when crude oil was first discovered till today, there has been a diminishing return in agricultural produce as major attention has been directed towards oil exploration and its revenue generation. More attention was given to crude oil, and there was a gradual abandonment of agriculture for urban life, and to share in the national cake. This has led to increased hunger and poverty. They emphasize that, recently, the problem of malnourishment exists at an increasing pace in Nigeria and many other countries of the world.

In most rural areas, the impact of rural-urban migration is rapid deterioration of the rural economy leading to chronic poverty and food insecurity. Reduction in agricultural productivity is occasioned by massive rural-urban migration by youths living
only old, senile men and women (Jalloh, 2010). According to Mini (2001) the impoverishment of rural areas in Nigeria is partly explainable by migration of able-bodied youths in search of white collar jobs in the cities. Agriculture which was the mainstay of Nigeria's economy prior to the discovery of oil has been relegated to the background leading to the country's mono-economy status. The impact of rural-urban migration is indeed a rapid deterioration of the rural economy, leading to chronic poverty and food insecurity. The urban, on the other hand, is characterized by scarcity of food and other economic resources; there is high competition for the limited resources, including food, shelter, jobs and other opportunities.

Conclusion

Food security is a current global challenge, with worsening effect on developing countries. Population growth in developing countries is usually not marched with technological advancements required to aid industrial development, food production as well as provide job opportunities and other basic requirements of man. In Nigeria, internal migration is a common means by which people search for greener pastures. Nevertheless, conflicts usually ensue at the instance of food and employment search, especially among certain groups such as the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. During such conflicts, farmers flee from their communities and abandon farming activities. Apart from the above, the migration of able-bodied youths especially from the rural areas to the urban areas in search of white collar jobs has resulted in the low food productivity and food insecurity.

Recommendations

Based on the above discussion, the following recommendations have been made

1. The issues of security should be a concern for all; but the government should take it more seriously, as it is shouldered with the responsibility of protecting its people. Stakeholders should come together to formulate policies and laws that will state the scope and limits of migrants and punish infringers of such laws.

2. Government should curb migration from rural areas in Nigeria by investing in rural development- electrification, citing of cottage industries, agro-allied industries, health, water resources, education etc. They should embark on sustainable agriculture, climate change adaptation and resilient livelihoods, and encourage companies and individuals to invest in rural areas.
3. Governments at all levels should provide lands, seedlings, mechanized infrastructure and easy access to loan so as to encourage young and unemployed school leavers to embrace farming. It is important that all stakeholders rise up to the occasion by ensuring that more resources are committed into the agriculture sector, rather than paying lip services to the issue of agriculture.

4. Government should take the issue of technological development seriously to enhance rapid industrial and infrastructural development. This will not only help reduce overdependence on government for jobs. It also will enhance the comfort of the people, irrespective of whether they live in rural or urban environment.

5. Entrepreneurship education at all levels should be appropriately implemented to increase the acquisition of entrepreneurship skills by school leavers and graduates, especially those residing in the urban areas to remedy the rate of unemployment and anti-social behaviours among the youths in the country.

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Lessons from a Historical Account of the Origin and Expansion of the Bantu in Southern, Eastern, Central Africa and Migration into the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria

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Abstract

Peoples and languages are classified on the basis of the common variables they share. While languages are classified basically on common lexical structures, peoples and groups are compared in accordance with their socio-cultural and political similarities. However, the hallmark in the classification of peoples and groups is common progenitor, that is, the factor of common origin. This was even one of the basic considerations in the classification of the Bantustan groups (Bantu) under one language family otherwise referred to as the Benue-Congo language family. Historically and demographically, the Bantustan groups dominate Southern, Central and Eastern Africa, the supposed ancestral nucleus of the groups. The groups are believed to form about half of Africa’s total population. From what is believed to be their ancestral nucleus, the groups later migrated in clusters into other parts of Africa and what later became Nigeria. Prominent among the Bantoid clusters in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria are the Tivoid, Mambilloid, Dakoid, Platoid, Nupoid. It is observed that the Bantoid groups have almost lost knowledge about the common progenitor and unity they once shared as well as knowledge about the very powerful political systems and military machines their progenitors once established in Southern, Central and Eastern Africa. Instead, they have shifted allegiance from broad-based identity to microscopic ethnic or group identities. This down trend has remained the bane for the eclipse of the Bantoid groups in the Middle Belt, and Taraba State in particular. This paper is, therefore, an attempt to unfold the historical account of the origin and expansion of the Bantustan groups in Southern, Central, Eastern Africa and their subsequent migration particularly into the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria, but with special focus on Taraba State. The paper tries to examine the fate of the Bantoid groups in Taraba State in the midst of their shift of allegiance from broad-identity to microscopic ethnic or group identities. Conclusively, the paper suggests the need for Bantoid groups in Taraba State, and other groups in Nigeria, to retreat to broad-based group identities as a panacea for the multiplicity of incessant inter-ethnic or group hostilities in the state and Nigeria at large. The paper adopts a multi-dimensional approach in data collection.

Keywords: Bantu, Bantoid, Benue-Congo, Middle Belt, Migration, Niger-Congo
Who are the Bantu and their spread in Africa
The Bantu are conglomerates of ethnic nationalities speaking what is referred to as the Bantu group of languages and dialects. Afolalu (1972) refers to the Bantu people, or the word “Bantu”, to apply “to all African peoples south of the Equator from Kenya to the Congo down to the Cape of Good Hope. This implies that this area represents the ancestral home of all the Bantoid groups, no matter wherever any of the groups is found. More ever, the dominance of the Bantu tribes in this zone, more than anywhere else in Africa, is seemingly a confirmation of this argument.

Generally, the Bantoid groups dominate Central, Eastern and Southern Africa. Demographically, the groups are believed to represent roughly 30% of Africa’s total population (UN Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, 2015). The distribution of major Bantu groups across countries in Africa is reflected in the table below (Guthrie, M. In Wikipedia).

Tabular distribution of the groups Bantu in Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total population (millions, 2015 est.)</th>
<th>% Bantu</th>
<th>Bantu population (Millions, 2015 est.)</th>
<th>Zones</th>
<th>Bantu groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>H,K,R</td>
<td>Ovimbundu, Ambundu, Bakongo, Chokwe, Lunda, Ganguela, Ovambo, Herero, Xindonga (97% Bantu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>R,S</td>
<td>Tswana or Setswana, Kalanga, 90% Bantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>10-</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>Hutu, Tutsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30-70%</td>
<td>c.7-15</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>More than 130 groups, c.30% Bantu and 40% Semi-Bantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>E,G</td>
<td>Comorian people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>B, C, D, H, J, K, M</td>
<td>Kongo people, Mongo, Luba, numerous others (Ambala, Ambuun, Angba, Babindi, Baboma, Baholo, Balunda, Bangala, Bango, Batsamba, Bazombe, Bemba, Bembe, Bira, Bowa, Dikidiki, Dzing, Fuliru, Havu, Hema, Hima, Hunde, Hutu, Iboko, Kanioka, Kaonde, Kuba, Kumu, Kwango, Lengola, Lokele, Lupu, Lwalwa, Mbala, Mbole, Mbuza (Budja), Nande, Ngoli, Bangoli, Ngombe, Nkumu, Nyanga, Pende, Popoi, Poto, Sango, Shi, Songo, Sukus,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tabwa, Tchokw9, T9k9,Tembo, Tetela,Topoke, Tutsi, Ungana, Vira, Wakuti, Yaka, Yakoma, Yanzi, Yeke, Yela, total 80% Bantu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Bantu (%)</th>
<th>Non-Bantu (%)</th>
<th>Total (% )</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equatorial Guinea</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>E,J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>K,R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>c.45</td>
<td>E,F,G, J,M,N,P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>c.25</td>
<td>D,J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>L,M,N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>970(^{26})</td>
<td>c.37%</td>
<td>c.360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Generally, the Bantustan groups belong to the Benue-Congo language group out of the Proto-Niger-Congo group of languages. The Benue-Congo language family is not only the dominant proportion of what is the Niger-Congo group of languages, but also the largest language family in Africa. It comprises 900 languages spoken by 500 million
people, constituting half of Africa’s population (http://www.Longuageulfer.com/eng/Benue.html). The language family dominates in all Central and Southern African countries, including Eastern Benin, Nigeria and Cameroon (Alejandro and Beatriz, 2013). In Southern Africa, the countries are South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, parts of Botswana and Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Malawi. In East Africa, the countries are Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Kenya; whereas in central Africa, the countries are Central African Republic and Cameroon. In west Africa, the countries are Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Cote D’Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Senegal. The various components of the Bantoid groups are believed to have began their migration into Southern, Eastern and Central Africa in the 1st millennium B.C (Philip and Randall, 2007).

The Bantu speaking ethnic nationalities who constitute the Benue-Congo sub-language family form the largest proportion of what is linguistically referred to as the Proto Niger-Congo Language Family. Most of the language groups in Sub-Saharan Africa belong to the Bantoid groups. The groups are spread mostly in Central Nigeria and Cross River area. They constitute the largest language family group in Central Nigeria. The Bantoid groups in Central Nigeria constitute the following clusters;

a. Mambiloid
b. Tivoid
c. Dakoid (Chamba groups)
d. Platoid (Berom, Angas, Tarok, etc)
e. Nupoid

**Bantu origin and migration**

Generally, the definite place which could be said to be the original place of Bantu origin is still debatable. However, it is popularly believed that the Bantoid groups existed or exist in ancestral clusters, and that their migrations were organised based on such ancestral clusters (Tishkoff, 2009). The major clusters are Central, Eastern and Southern African ancestral conglomerates. Each of these clusters spread within and without its immediate geographical area at different periods (Falola and Usman, 2009).

The eventual cause of the Bantu migration or spread, particularly from Southern Africa northwards or to other areas of the region, was accountable to two main factors. First and foremost was the population explosion with its attendant scramble over limited land.
Secondly, the check on the southward expansion of the Bantu by the Europeans instigated a spontaneous push of Bantu migration to the north of the region.

One of the major features of the Bantu migrations or expansion was their contacts with the earlier inhabitants of the areas they either passed through or settled. In South and Central Africa, for instance, they encountered the Pygmies and the Khoisans, respectively. They also encountered the Nilotic Sudanic groups who were the major components of the Nilo-Saharan groups. Other groups were Afro-Asiatic groups, mainly the Cushitic groups (Fage, 2002). It was this phenomenon which eventually led to conflicts between the Bantu groups, particularly in Southern Africa popularly known as the Mfecane, “an Nguni word meaning, ‘the time of trouble or havoc’” between 1820 and 1850 (Sagay and Wilson, 1978).

In their series of migrations, the Bantoid groups either displaced or assimilated the groups they came into contact with due to their superior military machines and highly organised political systems. In some cases, they copied some linguistico-cultural aspects of the earlier inhabitants. Like in the case of their contact with the Cushitic groups, they are believed to have copied some pastoral; or cattle terminologies and the art of milking cattle (Fage, 2002 and Tishkoff, 2009).

**Development of early Bantu political systems**

The Bantu peoples started developing state systems as far back as from the 12th century. Among the factors that accounted for this development were the well organised political and military structures the groups developed as earlier stated. Other factors included the very comprehensive economic or commercial networks they evolved which promoted trade within and without. Some of their early state systems in Central Africa included the Konga Kingdom, Lunda Empire and Luba Empire in Angola, whereas their state systems in Eastern Africa were, among others, the Buganda Kingdoms of Uganda and Tanzania. In Southern Africa, they established state systems like the Mutapa Empire, the Danamombe, Kwami, and Naletale Kingdoms of Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Oliver, 2005), including Rozwi Empire(Isichei, 1997).

Politically, the Bantu peoples displayed amiable history of unity and prowess, especially before and after the Mfecane, which was an episode of hostility among the Bantu groups, particularly in Southern and Central Africa. In all the regions they found themselves, they remained the conquerors and builders of kingdoms and empires. Between 12th and 19th
centuries, they built powerful kingdoms and empires across the length and breadth of Southern, Eastern and Central Africa. Roland et al (2005) declared, for instance, that:

some examples of such Bantu states include: in Central Africa, the Kingdom of Kongo, Lunda Empire, Luba Empire of Angola; (in Eastern Africa) the Buganda Kingdoms of Uganda and Tanzania; and in Southern Africa, the Mutapa Empire, the Danamombe, Khami, and Naletale Kingdoms of Zimbabwe and Mozambique(Oliver, 2005).

The most common characteristic of the Bantoid political systems was the existence of sophisticated military machine (Sagay and Wilson, 1978). Each Bantoid polity possessed very strong military machine with which the tasks of territorial conquest, expansion and defence were actualised with relative ease. In fact, they were hardly defeated by opponents. It was this quality which enabled the Bantoid groups to easily spread across the regions of Southern, Eastern and Central Africa, including the Nigeria-Cameroon frontier.

The intimidating dominance of the Bantoid stocks in the Nigeria-Cameroon frontier in the Lake Chad Region across the Mambilla region is an established historical compendium. Generally, the spread of the Bantoid stocks in Southern, Central and, in the case of East Africa specifically in Kenya and Tanzania, including the Nigerian-Cameroon frontier has remained an intimidating historical reality dated to antiquity. Others date this phenomenon to the period between 2000 B.C and 1500 B.C(http://www.rogerb/ench.info/Archaelogy...).

**Expansion of the Bantoid groups into Nigeria**
The precise date for the migration of the Bantoid groups into what became Nigeria is not yet ascertained. Due to emerging socio-political factors, the debate over issue of date has become more politicized. While some of the groups hide under the theory of long-long ago concept to domesticate themselves as the autochthonous or the aboriginal groups in the area as the Mambilla would claim that they are the Bantu that remained at home (Bami and Akombo, 2016), others feel the issue of date is immaterial given the fact that most, if not all, communities cannot precisely say when they came to where they are presently found. However, what seems to live above reasonable debate is that most of the Bantoid groups found in Taraba migrated into what became Nigeria through the Nigeria-Cameroon border frontier.
The eventual upsurge of the Bantoid stocks into what became Nigeria marked yet another major phase of Bantu expansion. Using their military prowess and political organisation, the groups were able to navigate through territories with little or no human or geographical obstacles to challenge them. Most of the Bantoid groups found in Nigeria came through the Nigeria-Cameroon border. This process saw the distribution of the Bantu groups in what became Nigeria. Among the groups include the Tivoid, Mambilloid, Dakoid, Ejagham (Eko in Cross River state) (Bami and Akombo, 2016). The very appreciable level of unity, political ingenuity, military prowess and determination exhibited by the Bantoid groups were the same watchwords that enabled other groups like the Yoruba, Edo, Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Jukun, Nupe, etc. to establish elaborate state systems, empires and chiefdoms or kingdoms.

In the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria, the Bantoid groups comprise the following clusters; Mambilloid made up of all Mambilla subgroups, including the Kaka, Kambu and Panso on the Mambilla Plateau stretching into Cameroon Republic; Tivoid; Dakoid made up of the Tikarr, Dirim and other Chamba groups; the Kulung, Jenjo (though due to some historical antecedents have become more inclined to the Jukunoid); Platoid made up of Tarok, Eggon, Che, Berom, Angas, Jju, Tyap, Hyam and the Nupoid made up of the Nupe, Ebira (Igbirra), Gbagyi, Gwari(http://www.languagesgulper...). Others include the Seyewa who are found majorly in Tafawa Balewa and in parts of Bogoro Local Government Areas of Bauchi State, respectively.
Expansion of Bantoid groups in Taraba State

In Taraba State, the Bantoid groups constitute the overwhelming majority of the state’s total population. It is no doubt that in the three Senatorial Districts where the Bantoid groups are found, they exercise intimidating numerical dominance. For instance, in the Southern Senatorial Zone, we have mainly the Tiv and Chamba. It is not arguable that in the first demographic population census conducted in 1946 in the Zone formerly known as Wukari Federation, the Tiv possessed the highest population of 40,400, followed by the Kuteb, a Jukunoid group, with 20,384, whereas the Chamba, a fellow Bantoid group with the Tiv, were 4,500 (Gunn, 1947). Similarly, in the Central Zone, we have the Mambiloid made up of all the Mambilla sub-groups, including the Kaka, Kambu, Panso, Chamba and Ndola (Ndoro), which, equally put together, constitute an overwhelming majority in the Zone. In the Northern Zone, we have the Mumuye, Yandang, Kulung, among others. Even in the Northern Zone, there is no debate about the dominance of the Mumuye.

There are striking linguistic, political, occupational and socio-cultural evidences to substantiate the fact that the Bantustan groups in Taraba State are derived from a common Proto source. For instance, apart from the Tiv and the various sub-Mambilla groups, including the Kaka, Kambu and Panso having similar trado-political organizations characterized by segmented clannish and hamlet set-ups, they share very impressive socio-cultural features. Politically, the groups, especially the Tiv and the Mambilla, give trado-social titles based on the order of animals, like Begha u Tiv (Lion of Tiv, the title for the Tiv Paramount ruler), Anyam nyian (Red Tiger) Yar Asua (Fierce Buffalo), Gafa Or (Eagle Man, meaning a powerful man), Alom Or (Hare-like man, meaning a wise man), etc., in the case of the Tiv, and Mbon-Ngwi (Chief in the Order of the Leopald), Mbon-Gwuribi (Chief in the order of the Lion), Mbon-Nyia (Chief in the Order of the Buffalo), etc., in the case of the Mambilla (Akombo, 2018).

Linguistically and occupationally, apart from the Tiv and the Mumuye assuming an intimidating dominance over yam production in Taraba State, the two groups, including the Mambilla, have the same name for their major occupational implement, the big hoe, called and spelt the same as “Gbaa or Gbar” (Akombo, 2018 and Militus, 2017). What, then, are the glaring linguistic evidential proofs that these Bantustan groups found in Taraba State belong to the same Proto-Group and, as such, are interwoven in their relationship with one another and among themselves? See the table below for obvious proofs (Oral interviews, 2017/2018).
**Table 2: Tabular comparative analysis of linguistic relationships among the Bantustan groups in Taraba State using seventy two (72) words:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tiv</th>
<th>Mambilla</th>
<th>Kaka</th>
<th>Kambu</th>
<th>Panso</th>
<th>Ndola</th>
<th>Mumuye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>Nyam</td>
<td>Nyam</td>
<td>Injam(Njap)</td>
<td>Nyam or Nya</td>
<td>Nyam</td>
<td>Nyam (Nyama)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Ter</td>
<td>Ter/Ta</td>
<td>Ter</td>
<td>Tar/Ter</td>
<td>Tar/Ter</td>
<td>Ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How</td>
<td>Nana</td>
<td>Nana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Yar</td>
<td>Yar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yar (Yara)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Een</td>
<td>Een</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Enn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Tom (Tum)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>Tema/Tuma</td>
<td>Tuma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How are you?</td>
<td>Ungu nana?</td>
<td>Nga nana?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>You(Plural)</td>
<td>We (Ne)</td>
<td>We (Ne)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>You(singular)</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>We</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Tum</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swallow</td>
<td>Mena</td>
<td>Mena or Mina</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mena</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Ku</td>
<td>Kwu</td>
<td>Kuwu (Kwu or ku)</td>
<td>Rkwi</td>
<td>Kwu (Kpu)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Excreta</td>
<td>Ambi</td>
<td>Mbirr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbi (bi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To excrete</td>
<td>Nyia ambi</td>
<td>Nyia mbirr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyi mbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Wer</td>
<td>Wuer or Wir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New Year</td>
<td>Nyom i he</td>
<td>Nyon ma ha</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>Ishigh/shii</td>
<td>Shii</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shi</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hear</td>
<td>Ungwa</td>
<td>Ngwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Call</td>
<td>Yila</td>
<td>Yila</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Call father</td>
<td>Yila ter</td>
<td>Yila ter</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Till tomorrow</td>
<td>Saa kper</td>
<td>Se kwer</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big hoe</td>
<td>Gbar</td>
<td>Gbar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gbaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>Nyon (Anyon)</td>
<td>Non (nyu or nyunu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anon (Anona)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Utar</td>
<td>Tar</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Tara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>Kpan</td>
<td>Kwan/Kwer r</td>
<td>Ngwan (Ngan)</td>
<td>Nkwah</td>
<td>Kwan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>Inyigh (nyigh)</td>
<td>Nyi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Igha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Man (person)</td>
<td>Or</td>
<td>Norr or Nor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ape</td>
<td>Ambo</td>
<td>Mbo/Mbu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Nombor</td>
<td>Namal or Namman or Nabal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>Tough</td>
<td>Taa/Tu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mat</td>
<td>Sebere</td>
<td>Bere/Ber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>Mkurem</td>
<td>Kurme or Kurume/Kurim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>Kpatuma</td>
<td>Patu/Tango</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day/Sun</td>
<td>Iyange</td>
<td>Nyagha/Nyang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oh!</td>
<td>Wuh/wu!</td>
<td>Wuh/wu!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>Kuhe</td>
<td>Kuh/Kwu</td>
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<tr>
<td>There</td>
<td>Keela</td>
<td>Keel/ke</td>
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<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>Tor</td>
<td>Toh/To</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloud</td>
<td>Aben</td>
<td>Behr/Buk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fat</td>
<td>Ahom</td>
<td>Fom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kneel</td>
<td>Inyu</td>
<td>Ighu/Nil/Jura</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>Baar</td>
<td>Mbara/Tom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Door</td>
<td>Hunda</td>
<td>Ona/hur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>Mena/Man</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>Iche</td>
<td>Cheri/Yur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Ir/Ire</td>
<td>Yiri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Build</td>
<td>Maa</td>
<td>Ma/Mara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shoot</td>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Ta/Tara</td>
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<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>Iyough/iyou</td>
<td>Nyum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Wan</td>
<td>Mwan/Wunu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Utaan</td>
<td>Teen/Tiin</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Mi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call</td>
<td>Yila</td>
<td>Yira</td>
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<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>Yem</td>
<td>Yina/Yu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tie</td>
<td>Kange</td>
<td>Kanda/Ke</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>Mana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>Ijime</td>
<td>Edzima/jumi/Ajima</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>Wo(uwo)</td>
<td>Wo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>Leeghem (Borb)</td>
<td>Borbor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Tyough</td>
<td>Tuo(Twu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hunger</td>
<td>Ijen</td>
<td>Nje</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Breath</td>
<td>Ioon</td>
<td>Boon</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Iyo (yo)</td>
<td>Iyo (yo)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is imperative to state that even though some Bantoid groups are not reflected in the table due to the fact that the comparison is broad-based, it is important to state that many groups that do not appear in the table share numerous same or similar words when compared in pairs or in clusters with others that appear in the table. For instance, the Yandang who do not appear on the table share numerous same and similar words and phrases with the Mumuye, so also is the case between other group reflected in the table and others reflected. Linguistically, therefore, the relationship between the Bantustan groups is like a cub web, no matter wherever any group is found. Similarly, both the groups that appear in the table and those not reflected in same share common religio-political, socio-cultural and economic practices indicative of belonging to a common progenitor, no matter the distant apart they are distributed at present.

Unfortunately, today, while other groups have continued to revive their acclaimed ancestral unity to assume political dominance in their respective areas, and even at the national level, the Bantustan groups in Nigeria, and in Taraba State in particular, have, seemingly, forgotten about their bond of unity which hitherto enabled them to stand tall in the comity of ethnic nationalities both within and outside the country. Consequently, wherever the Bantoid are found today in Nigeria, they are seemingly marginalized and treated as second class citizens. The trend is becoming more worrisome, especially bearing in mind that in some places, some Bantoid groups add energy to other groups not only to marginalise and dehumanize fellow Bantu groups but also to discriminate against and even treat them as second class citizens. The trend is becoming more worrisome!

The story in Taraba State is seemingly not different. The clinching factors are bare. First and foremost, some groups do not even know that they belong to the Bantoid, talk more of knowing and appreciating the amiable history of unity their progenitors built and sustained over the centuries(Tyolanga, Interview, 2019). Secondly, some Bantoid groups, due to campaigns of calumny against fellow Bantoid groups by non Bantu groups, have developed morbid allergy to be identified with the group they belong to. More
worrisomely, some either instigate hatred against one another or add energy to other groups to prosecute hatred and even violence against fellow Bantoid groups (Tyolanga, Interview, 2019).

No matter the factors responsible for the seeming mutual rejection among the Bantoid groups, they suffer from similar consequences. The most disturbing consequence is the continued dehumanisation and treatment of the Bantoid groups as second class groups wherever they are found. In some cases, they present themselves in the hands of other groups to be used as willing tools to prosecute hate, discrimination, marginalization and violence against fellow Bantu groups. Worse still, by denying their root or their progenitor, there is the risk of their group soon coming into extinction. This trend calls for the gospel of atavism in order not only to preserve their identity but also to regain the lost glory.

**Summary and Conclusion**

The paper establishes that the term Bantu refers to conglomerates of ethnic nationalities that constitute the Benue-Congo language family which belongs to the Proto Niger-Congo language family. The Benue-Congo is the dominant language family in the Niger-Congo group of languages.

The Bantu ethnic nationalities constitute the dominant groups in Southern, Eastern and Central Africa. They constitute the dominant population in Africa put together.

The early history of the Bantustan ethnic nationalities was characterized by clusters of political systems organised on clannish platforms in forms of confederacies (Sagay and Wilson, 1978). They were powerful political systems with powerful military machines with which they carried out military expeditions for territorial expansion and defence. Each of the political clusters was led by a warlord who served as a military and political leader, especially during the Mfecane between 1820 and 1850 (Sagay and Wilson, 1978). Prominent among the warlords were Shaka of the Zulu, Dingiswayo also of the Zulu, Sobhuza of the Swazi, Zwangendaba of the Nguni, Soshangane of the Shangaba, Mzilikazi of the Ndebele, Moshweshwe of the Basuto, Sebitwane of the Kololo, Ngware of the Maseko, etc (Sagay and Wilson, 1978).

The later history of the Bantustan groups which was characterised by mass migrations in search of land was what brought them into conflicts with other groups and among themselves. The movements were instigated primarily by population explosion among the Bantu groups and the blockade of their expansion southward to the Cape Coast by the
Europeans (Sagay and Wilson, 1978). It was this natural phenomenon which eventually led to the migration of some Bantoid groups into Nigeria and the Middle Belt region in particular.

The paper equally observes that the Bantustan groups also arrived in Nigeria in clusters of ethnic nationalities made up of the Mambiloid, Tivoid, Dakoid, Tikar, Platoid and Nupoid (Bami and Akombo, 2016), including the Mumuye, Ndola (Ndoro), Seyewa (Seiwa), Kulung, Yandang, among others. These groups, like those in other parts of Africa, exhibited very impressive degree of military prowess. It was this very quality of militarization which enabled them to transverse territories without any competent internal or external force to frustrate their agenda.

Unfortunately, the paper observes that the reverse has become the sad story of the Bantoid groups in the Middle Belt Region, particularly in Taraba State. The Bantustan tribes in Taraba State, in particular, have seemingly lost their sense of ancestral unity and identity. They have rather coiled into microscopic ethnic identities loyalty, which has remained the bane of their socio-political and economic predicament just as it is the case with other groups that have taken to this narrow-gauged sense of identity and loyalty (Ebegbulem, nd). These developments are the major causes of the multiplicity of inter-ethnic or group hostilities the contemporary Nigerian society is experiencing.

It is imperative to conclude, therefore, that it will pay Nigeria better if groups will revive and promote their broad ancestral ties as opposed to the present phenomenon where groups have developed and stick to microscopic ethnic identities and loyalty. In any society where allegiance is shifted from broad-based ancestral ties and unity to microscopic identities, antagonism, suspicion, marginalisation, discrimination, dehumanisation, hatred, conflict and violence are bound to be the commonest features as it has become the case with contemporary Nigeria. These worrisome features seem to be the dominant adjectives to be used to describe the phenomenon of inter-group relations in the Middle Belt states like Benue, Taraba, Plateau, Kogi, Niger, Bauchi and Adamawa. This is largely because the region has the highest percentage of microscopic ethnic nationalities in Nigeria who have knowingly or unknowingly mortgaged their broad allegiance to bastardized microscopic blocs (Akombo and Nungwa, 2018).

It is one’s belief, which, of course, is supposed to be the popular opinion, that the Middle Belt microscopic groups should borrow the golden leaf from efforts being made by larger conglomerates like the Afenifere (for all Yoruboid groups); the Ohanize Ndigbo (for all
Igboi groups);\textsuperscript{36} the Miyeti Allah Kaota Hore (for all Fulfude groups even across Nigerian border) and, of recent, the earnest efforts being made under the canopy of Kwararafa (for all Jukunoid stocks). It is believed that where such broad movements are promoted in order to unite diverse groups under bigger common clusters, internal and external antagonism will be drastically minimized as it became the case in the history of Modern Europe following the attainment of balance of power (Grant and Temperley, 1927).

Just like it worked out well in Europe, it is not arguable that if Proto-groups in the Middle Belt, and Nigeria at large, will revive their ancestral ties to form such broad clusters, they will develop mutual respect and fear for one another, which will, in turn, minimize intergroup violence as it is being observed in the case of members of Afenifere and Odua Peoples’ Congress (Yoruba) and Ohanize (Ibo), Miyeti Allah Kaota Hore (for the Fulfude within and across Nigerian border) and, of recent, Kwararafa Movement (among the Jukunoid groups) (Ebegbulem, nd). It is obvious that the benefits and protection subgroups within individual clusters will enjoy from the broad union will consciously or unconsciously check internal hostility. This is also the golden advantage the presently bastardized Bantoid groups in the Middle Belt, and Nigeria at large, will enjoy if they also revive their well celebrated ancestral ties to form a cluster.
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Sexism and the Mass Media in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges

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Abstract
The Paper examines Sexism and the Mass Media in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges. The paper discusses how women, both at the national and international levels struggled for the enforcement of their rights through various ways and means, some obstacles that militate against women liberation and equality are also considered. The paper argues that the media rather than portraying positive roles for women equality and participation instead project the general views of the society that women are inferior to men. The media exploit nudity in women as to generate income through advertising. The paper recommends that the media should play positive roles by mobilization and sensitization of women, portraying women in positive light; and that more women should be accommodated in the mass media, particularly at the managerial and leadership levels of media organizations.

Keywords: Inequality, Gender Discrimination, Mass Media, Sex, Sexism,

Introduction
Throughout human history, female folks have been referred to, and treated by their male counterparts as inferior beings or second class citizens. Sexism has been a major issue since human creation. Sexism as defined by Hornby (2000) can be seen as unfair treatment of people, especially women in our society. Sexism may also be described as an ideology based on the belief that one sex is superior to the other. It is discrimination, prejudice or stereotyping on the basis of gender (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010), and is most often expressed towards girls and women as means of maintaining male domination and power. According to McClary (2013) sexism is also known as gender bias, gender discrimination or sex discrimination.

Worldwide, efforts have been made by women from across the globe to fully participate and be represented in all spheres of human activities in their various countries. One of such efforts was the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in 1946. As Malcolm (1997) holds, the reports of the committee annually goes to the United Nations General Assembly, which makes suggestions and general recommendations as part of their reports. Some of their
recommendations are as follows: (i) call upon State parties to make more use of temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment or quota system to advance women’s integration into education, the economy, politics and employment (ii) state parties should take further measures to ensure that women were on equal terms with the men without discrimination, the opportunity to represent their government at both national and international levels (iii) state parties were requested to include in their reports information on measures taken to deal with violence against women (iv) measures to be taken to eradicate the practice of female circumcision (v) call for equality in marriage and family relations.

Spurred by the activities of the UN on women enumerated above, International women’s year was approved, and as part of the celebration, the first conference on women was held in 1975 in Mexico City. In the conference, it was proposed that the following decade be declared UN decade for women and follow-up meetings to assess progress to be held in 1980 and 1985 (Hemmati, 2014). The conference resulted in the declaration of rights of women. The second world conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980, the conference agreed that the earlier 1975 convention which was on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women was an important milestone. The Copenhagen Conference also acknowledged the gap that existed between rights that were being secured for women, and women’s ability to exercise those rights. It was agreed that action ought to be taken on three areas thus: Equal access to education, employment opportunities and adequate health care services. The third world conference on women was held in Nairobi Kenya in 1985. The conference set out parameters for measuring progress made on implementing the resolution of previous meetings in areas of women equality, which is measured through constitutional and legal frameworks; equality in social participation, equality in political participation and involvement in decision making. The conference also acknowledged that women need to participate in all areas of human activities, not just those areas that relate to female gender. The fourth world conference on women referred to as the Beijing declaration was held between 14th-15th September 1995 in Beijing China, affirming the rights of women to occupy positions of authority and in decision making of their nations.

Apart from these conferences which were held by women at different countries and times, the United Nations General Assembly in December 1975 passed a resolution declaring the day as a day set aside as an International Women’s Day. Women are to be celebrated on that day annually. The United Nations General Assembly also passed a
resolution that the year 1976 -1985 should be the decade for women apart from the efforts that were made by, and for women. Supporting the above view, Ekwelie (2005) opined that every generation of women has to fight for freedom.

In Nigeria, the struggle for women liberation was the reason for the Aba riot in 1920; the efforts of Nigerian women such as Fumilayo Ransome Kuti, Emmeline, Pankhurst, were some of the efforts to secure voting rights for women in Nigeria. The struggle for women liberation through the efforts of women has been a continuous project. As Nigeria matured after her independence from British colonial rule in 1960, even to date, several social, cultural, professional associations have been formed to handle matters that are purely for the women in Nigeria. The women population, according to the National Population Commission (2006) was 69,086,302 while that of men was 71,345,488. From the foregoing, it would be observed that the differences between the male and female population in Nigeria is merely marginal and not substantial.

Many associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Nigeria and outside Nigeria have focused their interests on pursuing women’s rights and equality. One such organization, according to Ikeke (2017) include: Women in Nigeria (WIN) - a political interest organization founded in 1982. The organization’s core interest is centered on women liberation, equality and social justice. The WIN is different from earlier women groups in Nigeria because it affirmed the belief that women’s rights cannot be secured without addressing the broader issue of human rights in an oppressive and chauvinistic society as Nigeria. Another organization that deserves to be mentioned here is Women Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON) - a non-governmental, non-profit making, non-partisan and non-religious organization, committed to the enforcement of women and children’s rights and the attainment of women equality, development and peace. WOCON has been engaging in various programmes and activities for the enforcement of the rights of Nigerian women and children, particularly the girl-child since its inception in 1995. It has rendered free legal services to victims of gender abuses, campaigned for the elimination of gender related persecution of women in Nigeria. It equally alerts other civil societies on violations of women’s rights in Nigeria and advocates for gender equality. The Association of Nigerian Women Business Network (ANWBN) was a coalition of 18 women and professional associations in Nigeria. The association was established in February 2013 with the support of the Centre for International Private Enterprise (CIPE). The association serves as a unifying voice to address effectively issues affecting business and professional women across Nigeria. The
association was dedicated to the economic and socio-political development of Nigerian women. Another association that is worth mentioning here is the Nigerian Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) which was established in 1989 to increase women’s access to leadership in the media in a country where female participation in professional undertaking has traditionally been limited. The association which was established 29 years ago stands as a key pillar in the effort to increase women access and leadership in the media. It focuses on encouraging women to become journalists, to support the development of journalism and become respected members of their newsrooms. The association plays critical role in ensuring that Nigerian media have strong and active female contingents, and also in making efforts to bring gender issues into national discourse. Some of the other pro-women associations in Nigeria include the African Women Development Fund (2001), Women’s Rights Advancement and Protections Alternative (1999), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), Protection Alert and Violence against Women (PROALERT) (1999), National Council of Women Societies (NCWS) (1959), Nigerian Women Journalists Join Together for Change (2018), United Nations Development Programme and Women Aid Collective (WAC). Alamika and Ogugua (2001) have also emphasized that Nigerian governments continue to introduce measures to advance the status of women such as the establishment of the National Women Development Centre, Ministry for Women Affairs and Social Development etc.

The stereotyping of women as being inferior to their male counterparts has affected women in Nigeria over time. This view has been reinforced by Eisenstein (1991) when he states that gender discrimination makes woman disillusioned and unable to develop their potentials. Women no longer see themselves as equals to their male counterparts. This has resulted in the loss of confidence by most women in Nigeria. The constant reinforcement by the men folk against women is self serving as most men take undue advantage of the situation to perpetuate female domination, marginalization and intimidation. The cultural values of the Nigerian society are anti-women development and progress. Indeed, most of the customs and traditions that were practiced by the 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria were intended to marginalize, intimidate and discriminate against women. As Amadi (1982) emphasizes, in several traditional Nigerian societies, the status of a woman has been considered as that of a wife, mother and housekeeper. A wife was regarded as the husband’s property. The man paid a certain amount as bride price and the woman become his. Hence, this has limited the extent to which women are allowed to participate and contribute to the affairs of their communities. As Haralambos and Holborn (2008) affirm, man back up sexual harassment with their powers within any
organization. They are usually in the position to “hire or fire” women and may take action against them if they do complain. Stanko (1988) also believes that men use sexual harassment to intimidate women who seek to enter areas of traditionally male employment.

The mass media have an important role to play, not only in the mobilization and sensitization of women on the awareness of their rights; the media also have the responsibility to demystify the myth around the notion that women are inferior beings and therefore cannot do what men can do.

**Prejudices against women in Nigeria**

Gender inequality is an issue that persists in Nigeria. Puts, Lips and Deeg (2005) maintains that gender bias is harmful to men and women because stereotypes are not always true and having a false view of either gender is not fair. However, certain institutional, religious and cultural factors continue to play a negative role in the growth and progress of women and girls in the country. There are limited opportunities for women to build the skills and confidence needed to reach their full potentials or to influence decisions that affect their lives. Furthermore, there is hardly any forum for dialogue to influence policies that benefit those women and girls. In Nigeria, certain cultural norms and practices are inhibiting factors to the realization of equality and equity between men and women. These obstacles range from customs, social, education, health, politics, citizenship, marriages, successions, inheritance and other areas of human activities. Nigeria is a pluralistic society with 250 ethnic groups. Each of these ethnic groups has her native laws and customs.

The common trend that runs through all the traditions and cultures against Nigerian women are that the customary laws and practices were made to subdue, marginalize and intimidate women while men are portrayed by the same custom as being heroes, warriors, and great achievers. It is also the general belief that men have superior intellectual capabilities than their women counterpart. This is a stereotype that existed over time that women are inferior to their male counterparts. The imposition of crude, barbaric and obnoxious customs, are institutionalized by the male counterparts against the women in the guise of customs and traditions. A few instances of the derogatory, obnoxious and crude laws and practices mentioned here would suffice to support the above assertions. Many countries have laws that give less inheritance of ancestral property for women compared to men. As Joel (2016) notes, in Nigeria, female children or widows are usually excluded from inheriting their father/husband’s property.
Subsequently, in most traditional communities in Nigeria, a woman is not entitled to land ownership. A woman cannot inherit land from her parents or even her husband. A woman under certain native laws and customs is treated as a chattel or property to be inherited from the deceased husband. In most traditional societies, women are not allowed to belong to groups that take daily decisions for the development of their traditional societies. Traditional societies are structured in a way that the male dominates and oppresses the women counterpart; women are not allowed to participate in the day to day development processes of their societies. Women are not allowed to participate in decision making process of their communities.

In modern Nigerian society, some barbaric and obnoxious customs and traditions have been abolished, as a result of western education which was introduced into Nigeria by the British colonialists. Such obnoxious cultural practices as killing of twin children, bathing of a corpse and forcing the widow to drink the water, as a way of proving her innocence, the isolation of a widow for days and weeks after the demise of the husband, are fast fading out, giving way to changes that were brought about by the western civilization. There is, however, much that still needs to be done, to bring about gender parity and equality between men and women. The inequalities that exist between male and female in Nigeria are noticeable in all spheres of social, political, educational, health and other human activities. Socially speaking, a woman once married, replaces her maiden surname with the surname of the husband. A woman acquires the residency of the husband, but not the other way round. A woman can only marry one husband, while a husband is permitted to marry as many women as he desires. The tradition of payment of bride price as precondition for traditional marriage in some communities where the groom in certain instances, grumble before payment of the bride price because of the high price that he is required to pay even when he cannot afford such amount of money is likened to sales transactions that occur between a buyer and a seller of goods and services in a market place. Emphasizing on the issue of sexism in Nigeria, Igbuzor (2009:236) highlights some of the general women’s traditional/cultural and religious challenges to include practices such as widowhood, wife inheritance, female genital mutilation, male child preferences, malnutrition and lack of access to food and other stereotype beliefs in male and female child upbringing and education.

The female partners have not felt better in the education sector of Nigeria. School enrolment of children into nursery/primary schools and other tertiary institutions in Nigeria reveal that there is a wide gap between the male and the female. According to
Ogunjuyigbe Ojofeitimi and Akinlo, (2006), differences exist in between enrolment of males and females in all levels of education. In addition, the dropout rate of girls is higher than boys. As noted by Alemika and Ogugua (2001), in Nigeria, 43% of girls are married off before they turn eighteen, and 17% are married before their fifteenth birthday. While data show a 9% decline in the prevalence of child marriage since 2003, there is a strong need to prevent the marrying off of thousand of girls in the coming years. “Give Girls a Chance” was founded by Uloma Ogba and Hawa Balami, with the primary aim of giving girls a chance to increase access to quality education. Education is one of the most crucial areas of empowerment for women; it upgrades women’s power to make decisions, political participation, leadership, democracy and governance. Give Girls a Chance is aimed at bridging the educational gap between male and female, by addressing issues related to lack of access and low level of awareness of the importance of education. The total number of girls that acquire western education up to the university level, and other tertiary levels, are quite low compared to their male counterpart. This view was supported in part by Alemika and Ogugua (2001) who state that educationally, Nigerian women recorded significantly lower levels in the country’s tertiary institutions, teaching and medical profession. Women and children are the most affected by wars and terrorism that occur in Nigeria. As Aleke and Ogbu (2017) have noted, the emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group with the attendant destruction of lives and properties particularly in the northern region of Nigeria is an example of the impact of terrorism on women and children.

The fight against inequality between women and men in Nigeria, and the agitation by many social and economic organizations on gender parity and equality is supported by the United Nations Agency for Women’s Rights and other intra and international agencies. Since the Beijing declaration on the affirmation of women’s rights, Nigerian women have been advocating for the implementation of the report, by demanding for an increase in women participation and representation in all the tiers of government; at local, states and federal government levels in Nigeria. The different tiers of government have been making efforts to achieve the goals of the international convention, by the inclusion of more women in decision making processes and in the management of the affairs of Nigeria. The governments of Nigeria, both at the federal and state levels, have created departments/ministries with the view to paying greater attention to issues of women and youths. In recent times, women were given the opportunity of managing finances and other portfolios. The appointment of Prof. Okonjo Iweala under the Jonathan’s administration to Mrs Adeosun who recently resigned her appointment under the current
Buhari’s administration are confirmation of the above assertions. This also signifies an increasing confidence and trust the Nigerian government have on women to manage the economy of the country. From the foregoing therefore, it would be argued that certain steps have been taken by the Nigerian government to reduce disparity between male and female gender in Nigeria. This, however, is not suggesting that the Nigerian society has eradicated all forms of discrimination, domination, exclusion and harassment of women in Nigeria. Obasanjo once commented on the potentials of women politicians but arguing that women politicians are more reliable than male counterpart. Dimeji (2014) quoting former president Olusegun Obasanjo, admitted that women in politics are more reliable than their male counterparts. This was when the Nigerian Association of Women Journalists visited him in Aboekuta and bestowed on him an award title “Father of Nations”. A woman in Nigeria in the person of Sarah Jibril made history for being the first and only woman in Nigeria so far, to have aspired to the highest political position in the land, which is the office of the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is however disheartening that in the primary election that was conducted to choose a candidate by the party for the office, although sizable number of women participated in the primary election, no other woman apart from Sarah Jubril herself voted for her.

Women carry the burden of child bearing, and nurture the child to maturity and even loose blood every month during monthly menstrual period. Women and children are the most affected during wars and other conflicts in the society. Yet, Kangiwa (2015) acknowledges that if a woman delivers twins, triplets or quadruplets, they will be thrown into the river or strangled and later buried in the bush. Though the practice of killing twins or malformed babies is no longer common, other practices such as patronizing traditional birth attendants and early marriage still persist in some of the modern day communities.

Women in Nigeria lack resources, such as landed properties, used as securities to access loan facilities and improve their businesses. They have limited and restricted access to credit facilities. Banks in Nigeria demand securities such as landed properties and other valuable assets before giving loans to customers. Majority of Nigerian women cannot afford to provide these collaterals. In some judicial jurisdictions in Nigeria, a woman is not allowed to stand surety and bail someone from police custody or the court. This justifies why Parpart and Staudt (1989) opine that the State has been primarily a vehicle of male domination and elite interest. This restriction is however giving way in most jurisdictions in Nigeria. Cases of rape, indecent assault, battery and domestic
violence, which are carried out against women in Nigeria, are scarcely properly investigated and culprits punished. With the above myriad of problems and obstacle, militating against the realization of equality, equity and parity between men and women in Nigeria, there is the need to discuss the role of the mass media on sexism in Nigeria.

**Sexism in Nigeria: The role of the mass media**

Mass Media are channels of communication through which important information gets to the audience or public. According to Campbell and Fabos (2011) the mass media include; television, newspapers, music, movies, magazines, books, billboards, direct mail, broadcast satellites, the internet, as well as internet enabled, new media and its now popular social networking sites etc. The mass media are the mirror of the society, reflecting all that happens in a society. The mass media bring relevant information on happenings in the environment by keeping surveillance of events and actions in the society. Okunna (1999 p.108) also describes the mass media as motivator and mobilization agents. In this perspective, the media encourage and ginger people towards achieving the aims and goals of the society. The media also in most cases discourage the society from indulging in negative activities and actions that retard development of a society.

Sexism which is the focus of this paper has been a major issue dating back to creation. In spite of the several women’s rights outlined in the 1999 constitution in Nigeria, many women do not enjoy the same freedom as men, particularly in the fields of education, economic empowerment and political participation. There exists a wide range of inequality between men and women in attaining certain positions in Nigeria. The discrimination against women has permeated through the civil service and military ranks where critical appointments are being reserved for only men with women relegated to the background (Alemika and Agugua, 2001). It should be noted that this discriminatory tendency is not limited to other sectors and institutions of the society; the media have also joined in perpetuating the current position of the female folks in the society. According to Beasley (1975) the media, especially television presents to its attentive audience certain image of the world, providing a framework for what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in society, and also sends out implicit and explicit messages of what the world is like. In its portrayal of 'normal' life, it reflects many important social roles, one of the most important and pervasive of these being 'gender'. Television, for instance has the potential to teach the society about how men and women should act, and to mould their views of what is expected of them in society as either a man or a woman. Media images of women are often negative and stereotypical. The 1995 Beijing Platform of
Action recognized that “the lack of gender sensitivity in the media is evidenced by the failure to eliminate the gender-based stereotyping that can be found in the public and private, local, national and international media organizations” (Beijing Platform for Action, Women and the Media, 1995). In addition to the seeming perpetuation of gender discrimination in the Media, Opoku-Mensah, (2001) have emphasized that the issues of gender inequalities are also narrowly constructed and presented in the media.

The mass media which Enwefah (2016) sees as strong tools for shaping society, policy and public opinion, therefore, have a great role to play to achieve the much needed rights for the female folks. The media ought to inform and educate the Nigerian women of their rights and the various channels or avenues to go to for redress when such rights are violated. The media have responsibility to sensitize and mobilize the women and strive to reach the grassroots with their messages. The rural women constitute majority of Nigerian women and ought to be sensitized and mobilized in the languages they understand as the predominant language of the media today is English Language and is also urban based. The messages of the media should, therefore, be constructed in the various local languages for a clear understanding. This point is supported by Spark (2002, p.206) who says that people change as a result of persuasive messages from the media and that when we think of a medium affecting a person’s behaviour, we usually think of a person’s behaviour or message that provoke a change. It is important that messages directed at addressing women’s rights should be presented in a way that everybody would understand. The media also need to change the stereotype of women as being inferior to male counterparts. This can be changed by carefully constructed messages to the women especially those residing in the rural areas. The media should also champion or emphasize on the benefits of women education and also discourage dropout of females and girls from school. The media should discourage street hawking by female and girl child by emphasizing the disadvantages of hawking in the streets by girl child. The early marriage of a girl child under the marriage age should also be discouraged by the mass media. The media should emphasize on the empowerment of women as a way of fighting poverty in the society and a panacea to men’s domination in the society. Naija (2018) affirms that 43% of girls in Nigeria are married off before they turn 18 years and 17% are married before their 15th birthday. An organization known as Give Girls a Chance was founded in Nigeria to increase access of girls to quality education, being one of the most important areas of empowerment for women and the girl child. Education gives women enlightenment, power to make informed decisions, political participation, and partake in leadership roles. The main objective of this is to bridge educational gaps between male
and female by addressing issues related to lack of access, low level of awareness of the importance of education. The mass media could help to champion or promote this objective in the society by creating awareness on the importance of education. It behoves on the mass media to adequately report crimes that are committed by men against the women and encourage the women to report such violations to law enforcement agencies for possible prosecution and punishments. Such crimes include rape, indecent assault, domestic violence, assault and battery and all other crimes that are committed against women. The women should be encouraged to speak out and break out from the culture of silence. The media should discourage the society from stigmatizing the victims of offences of rape, indecent assault or even domestic violence where women are always victims.

Although in the Nigerian society today, so many non-governmental organizations have been formed to fight the above mentioned scourge, the media have the responsibility of putting these issues as major challenges in the society, thereby discouraging reoccurrence through an organization as Protection Alert and Violence against Women (PROALERT). When these issues are promptly and adequately reported, it gives credibility not only to the issues reported but also to the media. This, according to Sambe (2005 p. 38) is referred to as the surveillance function of the media. The media scout around the environment and bring news of threats to public welfare to the people for action when necessary.

The mass media have a duty to debunk negative stereotype of women as being inferior to men and that women are limited to their kitchen, also that victims of rape are members of the society which should not be discriminated against. It is equally not correct that some jobs should be reserved for men in the society, after all, the popular adage that “whatever men can do, women can do better” has been tested in so many areas and proved to be true. Few women that have occupied strategic positions of authority in Nigeria have proved themselves positively. The likes of Professor Alele Williams of UNIBEN, Professor (Mrs) Dora Akunyili, Dr. Okonjo Iweala, Mrs. Oby Ezekwesili, the lead campaigner of Bring Back our Girls (BBG) have proved themselves worthy women in the society. The media should help to promote the virtues of women by putting women issues in the spotlight of their programmes by giving women special place in their programme schedules. Enwefah (2016) supports this when he notes that across the globe, there is high level of agitation by women for greater inclusion and involvement in leadership and decision making process. Overall therefore, women are agitating for measure of balance in terms of male - female representation ratio in all facets of human
Sexism and the Mass Media in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges

endeavour. Women should be fully represented at every sector in the society. The media should discourage promotion of nudity and other forms of improper dressing of women in the public space, and equally discourage the society especially in advertisement programmes from using women as sex appeals to sell their goods and services. Gevorgyan (2016) affirms that mass media should refrain from continuously reproducing discriminatory stereotypes about women and portraying women in sexist ways. In advertising and magazines, women are usually portrayed as young, slim and beautiful that meet the accepted standards of advertisement industry. The mass media should highlight the positive status of women in the society and help to reinforce their status. This can be done through the reflection of positive roles that women played in the society.

Conclusion

This study has explored the ways and means that women in Nigeria have so far fared in their efforts to bridge the wide gap that existed between the women and men in Nigerian. Inequality and discrimination that existed between the women and their male counterparts is a worldwide issue as can be noticed in epithets such as women are weaker vessels; men are masculine while women are feminine, and many other derogatory views as expressed against women should be discouraged. The perception of women as inferior, less intelligent and weaker sex has been accepted by the male folk, this has led to the domination, discrimination and marginalization of women across the world and Nigeria in particular. The women, realizing the need to change the strong wrong views held by men against them decided to embark on the formation of many organizations and groups to lend their collective voices and speak out against the many vices perpetrated against them. The United Nations Organization recognizing the importance of women to the development of a nation, took immediate action of advocating for equality between the male and the female. The media’s role in the promotion of the culture, norms and traditions of the society towards behavioural changes cannot be said to be effective on issues of sexism. The mass media ought to promote the sensitization, mobilization of changing the negative stereotype concerning women. The media are also encouraged to discourage women being used especially in advertising as sex appeals. Also, nudity and indecent dressing by women should be discouraged by the Media
Recommendations
The paper makes the following recommendations:

1. The mass media should give more attention to the fight against inequality and marginalization of women in Nigeria by frequently reporting issues concerning women, increasing the frequency and timing of publication on women. More importantly, women issues should be given primetime and frontline spaces of the media.

2. The mass media have the duty to debunk negative stereotypes on women being regarded as inferior to men and also that women are limited to their kitchens and that some jobs are exclusively reserved for men in the society.

3. The mass media should give adequate time and attention to reporting crimes that concern women. Crimes as rape, indecent assault, domestic violence, assault and battery etc should be reported appropriately.

4. Women should be given opportunities and access to occupy managerial positions in media organizations so as to promote the interest of women through the media. More women should occupy managerial positions in media establishments. This is because no other person can tell the story of women better than the women themselves.

5. The media should discourage the practice of portraying women in nudity and other forms of improper dressing as is usually done in advertising and magazines.

References


Mapping of Existing Solid Waste Dumpsites Using Geographic Information System in Kaduna South Local Government Area

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Abstract
Indiscriminate dumping of solid waste on the environment poses a serious environmental problem in many countries of the world including Nigeria. Kaduna South local government area has over the years experienced increased waste generation and illegal disposal sites, due to population surge and poor waste management approaches. This study therefore attempts to map existing solid waste disposal sites in Kaduna South Local Government Area; using Geographic Information System and Remote Sensing techniques for improved environmental sustainability. The ArcGIS software version 10.0 was used to geo-reference the digitised map, create different layers showing spatial distributions of features in relation to usable dumpsites for analysis. Global Positioning System was used to determine the location of solid waste dumpsites using coordinates based on Universal Traverse Mercator system for mapping. Findings of the study show among other things that the present dump sites in the study area are located farther away from each other within the study area. Result of study shows that a buffer of one hundred meter (100m) is sufficient to optimise possible sites for aesthetic considerations. Solid waste dumpsites are found to be located less than 100 meters off streams, major highways, city streets or other transportation routes; creating serious mobility problems in the area.

Keywords: Solid waste, Geographic information system, suitable dump sites, environmental problems, population surge, Kaduna South Local Government Area

Introduction
Waste has been recognised as one of the major problems confronting governments and city planners in Nigeria, thereby posing serious threat to environmental quality and human health (Ogwueleka, 2009). Generally, Waste creation by man is inevitable, consequent upon development of the environment and service provision (Techobanoglous and Frank, 2002). World Health Organisation expert committee held in 1995, considered waste as unwanted or discarded materials that arise from man’s
activities. As a result of our daily activities to survive, we produce waste in millions of tons annually (Sener, Sener and Karagüzel, 2010). Waste is either an asset or liability depending upon our attitude towards it. The principal sources of Solid Waste in an urban area according to Sener, Sener and Karagüzel (2010), are: municipal, (from street sweeping, sewage, waste from schools, markets and other institutions); domestic, (garbage, rubbish and often large waste from homes); commercial (from stores and offices); industrial (from manufacturing plants); mining, (from coal mining and strip mining.), construction and demolition (new construction sites, road repairs, renovation sites, raising broken pavements) and agriculture practices.

Singh (2009) classified solid wastes as follows:

i. **Garbage**: these are waste from food, slaughter houses, canning and freezing industries.

ii. **Rubbish**: non putrescible wastes, either combustible or non-combustible. Combustible wastes, either combustible or non-combustibles include metals, glass, ceramics, stones, dirt, masonry and some chemicals.

iii. **Ashes**: residues (such as cinders and fly ash) of the combustion of solid fuels, for heating and cooking or the incineration of solid waste by municipal, industrial and apartment house incinerators.

iv. **Large wastes** from demolition and construction rubble, automobiles, furniture, refrigerators, and other home appliances, furniture, refrigerators, and other home appliances, trees, tires among others.

v. **Dead animals** – household pets, birds rodents and zoo animals

vi. **Hospital Waste** – anatomical and pathological wastes from hospitals.

vii. **Sewage treatment process** – screenings, settled solids, sludge

viii. **Industrial solid waste** – chemicals, paints, and explosives.

ix. **Mining Waste** – tailings, slag heaps, culm piles at coat mines.

x. **Agricultural wastes** – farm animal manure, crop residues etc.

Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) are commonly known as trash or garbage consisting of rubbish, market spoils, leftover food stuffs, construction and demolition debris, street trash, non-hazardous industrial refuse, treated biomedical solid, abandoned vehicles and electrical parts (Singh, 2009). MSW generated in most urban centres of Nigeria are creating serious environmental problems, as a result of improper waste disposal management. This is because, in many of these areas, heaps of municipal solid wastes are found along major roads, stream channels, river banks and in open spaces (Aliyu, 2010).
Solid waste proliferation is considered a major consequence of economic growth, development and rapid population growth (Singh, 2009). Some of the greatest challenges to its management are most keenly felt in less developed countries of the world (Elizabeth, 1998). Solid waste is usually used to describe non-liquid materials from domestic, trade, commercial, agricultural and industrial activities, as well as from public services. Solid waste therefore consists of any refuse, sludge, discarded materials, small amount of liquid, semi-solid substance among others (Ezeah, Roberts, and Phillips, 2010). In rural or urban areas of Nigeria, the volume of solid waste being generated continues to increase, coupled with lack of infrastructure for adequate waste treatment and disposal of waste. Nigeria with a population growth rate of about 2.8% per annum and an urban growth rate of about 5.5% per annum generates about 0.58 kg solid waste per person per day (Babyemi and Dauda, 2009). Due to high rate of urbanisation in Nigeria, like other developing countries of the world, more solid waste is generated and not properly disposed; hence culminating in to an environmental degradation problem (Filemo and Uriat, 2008). Solid waste disposal therefore, is one of the major global environmental problems. The problem is severe in most cities of developing countries, where recycling of waste is not sufficiently practiced (United Nations, 2010).

In recognition of these challenges and the increasing waste generation, the government in Nigeria has attempted to tackle waste management issues through some approaches such as policy development that involves consistent evacuation of waste, waste designation collection point by waste management agencies, among others (Ogwueleka, 2009). Waste management is the collection, transportation, processing, recycling or disposal of waste materials. The term usually relates to materials produced by human activities and it is generally managed to reducing their effects on human health, the environment and its atheistic value (Babyemi and Dauda, 2009).

Due to unsustainable waste management practices in Nigeria that involves techniques such as waste reduction, recycling, thermal treatment, and waste dumpsites; the municipal solid waste management system has been inefficient (Ayo and Ibrahim, 2010). Mapping of solid waste dumpsites for proper waste management is a major environmental issue, because of the problems associated with solid waste such as; water contamination, health hazards, and damage to the biophysical environment (Mokhtar, Zurina, Markson and Aminuddin, 2008). Due to increasing human population vis-a-vis waste generation, there is need for new suitable landfill sites every few years that would be useful in managing the waste generated.

The availability of bare land in most urban centres of Nigeria for indiscriminate municipal solid waste disposal has resulted to environmental degradation; and has made
it difficult for sitting of dumpsites as an option for managing municipal solid waste. This common place scenario in Nigerian urban centres has created difficulty in choosing suitable locations for solid waste dumpsites. This is more so because, locating solid waste dump sites is confronted with planning permits and sitting requirements for operation, which could take months or years for approval of construction and operation, thereby leading to a waste management deadlock (Akpe and Aondoakaa, 2009). Allen, Brito and Caetano (2013) observed that mapping of suitable solid waste dump sites is essential for managing waste sustainably. This is meant to curtail environmental degradation, ecological and social damage (Allen et al, 2013). It is therefore imperative to seek a suitable site that ensures environmental conservation and sustainability. However, the process is complicated and time consuming because it must conform to environmental regulations.

Waste collection and disposal strategy differs from one country to another. Land filling, incineration and recycling are often used in developed countries to dispose municipal solid waste; but in developing countries like Nigeria MSW are often disposed in an unsustainable manner open dumps, streets, ravines and in some cases into drainages; which eventually flow into streams; and thereby poisoning the sources of water to the people residing in such localities (Ayo and Ibrahim, 2010).

- Production or consumption residue.
- Product whose date for appropriate use has expired.
- Contaminated or soiled materials.
- Substances that no longer perform satisfactorily”.

The management of solid waste requires adopting appropriate management techniques that involves less environment degradation impacts. The sustainability of solid waste management in urban centres like Kaduna South LGA requires the identification of suitable dump sites; as well as adopting appropriate solid waste management techniques. This is to ensure that the environment is conserved for sustainable development.

Geographic Information System (GIS) techniques are therefore, veritable tool for effectively selecting suitable solid waste dumpsites (Sener, Sener and Karagüzel, 2010). GIS can be utilised in the search for suitable new waste dumpsites because it allows accurate processing of spatial data, efficient storage, retrieval, analysis and visualisation of information from a variety of sources; and enabling tailored solutions to observed problems. GIS can be used as a tool to aid decision-making process in solid waste management. It can process large amounts of data in a short time and also help in storing the links between environmental issues and potential impact of environmental variables
on the environment. However, the capability of GIS can be hampered due to digital data availability.

Over the last decade, many developing urban centres in Nigeria have been faced with the challenge of managing solid waste, as a result of increased waste generation and improper disposal sites (Aliyu, 2010). MSW disposal in Kaduna South Local Government Area (LGA) remains a challenge due to indiscriminate dumping of solid waste along roads, river banks and any open space available. Therefore, the siting of suitable waste dumpsites has become necessary for waste management in the area. It is against this backdrop that this study attempted to locate and map suitable solid waste dumpsites; needed to ensure that collected municipal solid wastes are properly disposed in designated areas to enhancing sustainable waste management in the area.

**Study area**

Kaduna South Local Government Area is situated in southern part of Kaduna State, Nigeria. It has its headquarter in Makera town. It has an area of 59km$^2$ and a population of 402, 390 (National Population Commission, 2006). Kaduna South LGA is located between latitude $10° 30'N$ and latitude $10^0 30'$ of the equator and longitude $8^0 25'$ E and longitude $7^0 29'$ E (Fig.1). The area lies in the northern guinea savannah zone, which is characterised of two distinct seasons. That is the wet and dry seasons. The wet season starts in the month of May through to the mid of October with intense concentration of rainfall in the month of July and August. The amount of rainfall received in this area ranges from 1700mm$^3$ to 1755mm$^3$. The dry season begins in late February through to the month of April. This season is usually accompanied with rampant diseases such as measles, malaria fever, typhoid fever, conjunctivitis (Apollo), diarrhoea, dysentery among others (Aliyu, 2010). The harmattan period which is part of the dry season starts in late December through to the early part of February.

The relative humidity in this area exceeds 30%, and fluctuates between 70% - 80% from June to September. Temperature ranges between 8°C - 10°C with highest temperature in March - April (35°C – 40°C) and the lowest temperature in the months of December through January (20°C - 25°C). This period is usually replete with haze and dust regimes. The nature and type of vegetation originally found in the study includes tall grasses (*andropogon*), stubborn grasses, and moderately tall grasses, grassland and scattered vegetation. Common species of vegetation in the study area include among others: isoberlina, sheabutter trees, maligna trees, mango trees (*mangifera indica*). Vegetables and fruits found in the area are: paw-paw, guava, citrus trees, grapevine, grapes, pears and eucalyptus species among others. Agricultural products in this area are mostly cereals such as Sorghum, Maize, Guinea Corn, and vegetables such as Carrots, Onions,
Pepper, Garden eggs, Cabbage, Lettuce, and Spinach (market gardening). These are mostly cultivated in fadama areas and along river banks; while staples are brought in from the suburbs. Economic activities of the people in this area are majorly administrative and commercial activities such as petty trading, food selling, groceries outfit, transportation, water vendors among others. Small populations of the inhabitants are farmers while others engage in poultry farming, (small scale) animal husbandry and fish farming.

Fig. 1: Map of Kaduna State showing the study area

Materials and methods
This study was carried out in Kaduna South LGA of Kaduna State. The research design adopted for this study was observational design that ensured direct field observation; and taken of readings from the field as regards location of solid waste dumpsites in the study area. The Global Positioning System (GPS) was used to obtain the coordinates of the existing solid waste dumpsites in the study area based on UTM system, Administrative map of the study area was then digitised using a laptop computer.
and scanner to identify the proximity of existing dumpsites to major roads, minor roads, streams, rivers and facilities based on the coordinates obtained from the field.

To establish the location of dumpsites, the ArcGIS version 10.0 software was used to georeference the scanned map of the existing dump site and to create different layers showing the spatial distributions of dumpsites in the study area; and various layers were created such as the different types of roads, railway and water bodies. The criterion used to assess the proximity of solid waste dumpsite to the public utilities such as roads, rivers, rail, and settlement was based on the National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (NESREA) rules for siting dumpsites. It is an agency responsible for enforcing all environmental laws, guidelines, policies, standards and regulations in Nigeria, as well as enforcing compliance with provisions of international agreements, protocols, conventions and treaties on the environment to which Nigeria is a signatory. NESREA recommended that any solid waste dumpsite should be sited 100 metres away from public utilities. Buffer analysis was carried out in the ArcGIS environment to determine the proximity of dumpsites to public utilities and natural resources like streams and rivers.

**Identification of locations for solid waste dumpsites in the study area**

Identification of location for dumpsites was done by creating a buffer zone of 100m away from the public utilities as stipulated by NESREA regulations in the ArcGIS environment based on the coordinates collected from the field for mapping. All the areas that fell below the 100m buffer zone from public utilities were considered not suitable for the location of the dumpsites in the study area. Hence, all location of dumpsites proposed in the study were those areas that met the minimum requirement of 100m buffer criterion as recommended by NESREA.

**Results and Discussion**

**Location of existing solid waste dumpsites in the study area**

Solid wastes have become recurring features in our urban environment. It is no longer in doubt that our cities are inundated with the challenges of un-cleared solid wastes. Thus, urban residents are often confronted with poorly managed waste which oftentimes becomes hazardous to their collective health and safety. The increased worry over the health consequences of exposed and fermenting rubbish remains a thing of concern, with the impacts been quite noticeable Nwocha et al (2011). Results of the analysis on location of existing solid waste dumpsites in the study area is shown in Figure 2.
Figure 2 shows that most of the solid waste dumpsites identified in the study area and mapped were not located 100m away from public utilities. The implication of this is that the location of these solid waste dumpsites was observed to have negative impacts on the environment. For instance, most of the dumpsites like the one located at Kakuri and Makera among others were located very close to the major roads. These solid waste dump sites are capable of obstructing movement on such roads and poisoning surface water for those close to stream source. The dumpsites located at Nasarawa settlement is very close to the streams which has implication on the quality of surface water in the area.

The solid wastes collected in such dumpsites are likely to pollute the streams and thereby, affecting human health in the area. The dumpsites located at Barnawa and SabonGari settlements are located in built-up areas. It was observed that in such built-up areas with high population density, solid waste dumpsites were found to be few. This situation probably gave rise to the usage of open space dumping of solid waste as was observed in the field in the course of this study.
The findings of this study confirmed those of Nkwocha, Pat-Mbano and Dike (2011) in Owerri, where they discovered that solid wastes were deposited along motor ways, and thereby obstructing the free flow of traffic as well as, generating offensive odour to the neighborhood and unpleasant sight to the people. Nkwocha et al. (2011) also observed that inadequate management of solid waste contaminates surface and ground water due to pollution from waste deposited close to water sources; causing outbreak of diseases like cholera and typhoid fever. Also, Ogwueleka (2009) identified open dumping of solid waste as a common practice in Nigeria and considered it a breeding ground for flies, insects, bacteria fungus and many microorganisms. This could spread diseases and
often become worst during rainy season, with offensive odour polluting the environment and making it unsuitable for habitation.

In identifying potential suitable solid waste dumpsites in the study area, a number of variables were taken into consideration, which includes environmentally sensitive areas, exclusive protected area distance to streams, distance to water body, proximity to settlement, and proximity to infrastructure provision as well as, the distance from transportation routes for effective waste management. The capabilities of GIS for generating a set of alternative decisions are mainly based on the spatial relationships observed, principles of connectivity, contiguity and proximity and overlay methods. For example, overlay operations was used for identifying suitable areas for proposed or new solid waste dumpsites in Kaduna South LGA.

The results of this study were mapped (for the purpose of understanding the actual locations of the existing solid waste dumpsites, as well as the proposed suitable dumpsites). This was done with the view to understanding the implications of these solid waste dumpsites for environmental aesthetics and management.

**Proposed suitable dumpsites for solid waste management in the study area**

Appropriate location of the solid waste dumpsites that is not very close to a road and other public utilities would help reduce the effects such solid wastes have on the environment. To accomplish this, the major road layer and a buffer zone around the major roads were created. For this study, it was found that a buffer of one hundred meter was sufficient to optimise possible sites for aesthetic considerations based on NESREA recommendations. Solid waste dumpsites are not to be located within 100 meters of any major highways, city streets or other transportation routes. Therefore, the 100 metres was chosen based on NESREA recommendations (Figure 3).

Figure 3 shows information on the proposed suitable solid wastes dumpsites locations in the study area. The location of dumpsites as noted on the map in yellow colour is based on the 100m buffer from public utilities like roads, streams among others as recommended by NESREA. These dumpsite locations are considered better over the existing dumpsite locations shown on the map in pink colour. The essence of designing the new suitable locations is to show the deviation in pattern of solid waste dumpsites distribution in Kaduna South Local Government Area.
Fig. 3: Proposed suitable solid waste dumpsites location
Source: Authors’ Analysis (2018)

This management approach has clear implication on the aesthetics quality of the environment, as well as, controlling the incidence of disease proliferation in the area. This study corroborated the findings by Akpe and Aondoakaa (2009) in Gboko LGA of Benue State, where it was discovered that inappropriate location of dumpsites led to disposal of solid wastes on open space, and in water bodies; which enhanced environment deterioration and the proliferation of diseases like malaria fever, typhoid fever, cholera among others in the area. Hence, provision of enabling waste management system for successful implementation of a waste program is very important for the protection of the environment. Site selection should be performed for every municipal area in Nigeria despite the fact that it is very cumbersome, time consuming and expensive. The use of
GIS as a decision tool can effectively be employed in doing this because of the ability of GIS to manage spatial attributes from a variety of sources. This allows decision makers to combine environmental criteria with other constraints based on established guidelines for selecting suitable sites.

**Conclusion**

Based on the results obtained in this study, it was concluded that patterns of solid waste dumpsites and management are inefficient in the study area. This was evident in the sporadic heaps of refuse in most places in the study area. This was because most of the solid waste dumpsites were located far away from one another as observed in settlements like SabonGari and Barnawa among others. Also, some of the solid waste dumpsites were located close to roads and water sources; with the tendency of poisoning the water sources due to increased bacteria growth. These were evident in settlements like Nasarawa, Makera among other settlements.

GIS as a decision support tool for siting waste dumpsites has proved to be useful in mapping suitable sites for landfill siting purposes. Landfill siting process requires evaluating many criteria and processing much spatial information. Using GIS for locating landfill sites was considered a practical way for the evaluation and production of maps in a short span of time. It was therefore recommended that the suitable solid waste dumpsites proposed in this study with 100m buffer zone be implemented by the government to reducing the effects of solid waste disposal on the environment. Also, environmental education in schools and public campaigns are needed to be intensified through media, to sensitize the residents in the study area about proper waste management. Funding by Government should be encouraged at specific intervals for the purchase of machinery and equipment’s for proper collection of solid waste and replacement of non-functional ones. Also, recycling should be encouraged in our society; as well as use of paper containers rather than plastics, so that the volume of solid waste produced will be curtailed.

**References**


Allen, A.R, Brito, G., Caetano, P., Costa, C., Cummins, V.A, Donnelly, J., Fernandes, C.,


APPENDIX (Proposed Dumpsites Coordinates)

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Impact of HIV/AIDS on Rural Households in Taraba State Nigeria

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Abstract

Despite the progress made globally and locally across different parts of the country in the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS, the problem has remained a great source of concern in Taraba State. This concern is as a result of increasing number of new infections, decline in the funding and weak health care facilities to contain the spread of the disease. Recent studies have shown that HIV/AIDS is no longer a disease of urban residents alone as there has been increasing spread in the rural areas in recent times. The study employs online literature search and analysis of policy documents, technical reports and memos from government ministries and agencies. Findings of the study showed that the funds for the fight against HIV/AIDS in the State is international donor driven. International donors contributed the bulk of funds. Findings further revealed that coverage of antiretroviral programmes for prevention of mother-to-child transmission is very low resulting in high number of annual newly infected persons. HIV/AIDS counselling and testing and treatment coverage in the State is very low with very high unmet need for antiretroviral treatment resulting in high number of deaths. The State is an agrarian in nature, dominated by subsistence agriculture. Therefore, increasing incidence of HIV/AIDS retards agricultural production, and threatens food security, in several ways especially in loss of labour and other forms of household assets. HIV/AIDS control and treatment is capital intensive and cannot rely on normal budget of the State government. The study, therefore, recommends private sector support and health insurance scheme to assist in managing HIV/AIDS challenges in Taraba State.

Keywords: Healthcare, HIV/AIDS, Impact, Rural Households and Taraba State

Introduction

Despite the increase in the knowledge and awareness of HIV/AIDS, the required attitudinal change to halt the spread of the disease is proving a seemingly insurmountable problem. The increasing rate incidence of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria, especially Taraba State is becoming a source of concern that if nothing is done to halt it, may degenerate into
humanitarian crisis situation. At a time when many people are thinking that the fight against the disease is already won, statistics have shown that the prevalence rate has doubled in Taraba State, placing it as the second largest HIV/AIDS burdened State in the country (10.5%) in 2013. There exist wide gaps in HIV/AIDS treatment in the State. Out of over 110,000 people living with HIV/AIDS in the State, only 27,000 were placed on ART. The infrastructure to support quality services of HIV/AIDS is lacking in the State. The State and country lack the political will to face the challenges of HIV/AIDS. The funding of HIV/AIDS activities in the State and country is handled by international donor partners who are responsible for 70% of funding, while 27% is catered for partly by Federal Government and few State Governments and the private sector providing 2% (Daily Trust, 2017). It cost about ₦50,000 to deliver HIV care to patient a year in Nigeria (Daily Trust, 2017). This is far beyond the affordability of the rural dwellers in the State. This reveals the need for resources to be mobilized in order to address the established need and gaps in the State’s HIV response especially as regards to adolescents and young people. It is against this background that Taraba State was included in the Presidential Comprehensive Response Plan for HIV/AIDS (PCRP) in 2014. According to NACA (2013) there were about 220,393 new HIV infections in 2013. The high numbers of new infections showed that the fight against HIV/AIDS was far from been won. Until now, Taraba State had a HIV/AIDS prevalence of 10.5 per cent, which was over three times the national average and the highest in Northern Nigeria. Despite this, only very few partners have situated their HIV projects and programmes in the State. Only two projects are presently ongoing in the State; the World Bank-supported HIV/AIDS Program Development Project 2, which end in February 2018 and the NACA Comprehensive AIDS Programme with States (formerly known as NACA SURE-P HIV/AIDS Programme). None of the 16 LGAs in the State benefited from the COP 15 PEPFAR HIV/AIDS intervention targets by LGAs in Nigeria in free counselling and testing and ART enrolment among others in 2015. The State, therefore, lags behind despite, its dire need of support to sustain and scale-up the gains made so far in the response to HIV/AIDS.

In the past, HIV/AIDS was thought of as a disease of urban residents, but the increasing spread of the disease to the rural areas in recent times has become a source of concern. This is more so when we consider the high level of deprivation of rural areas in Nigeria and Taraba State in particular in terms of social amenities and poor health care facilities. Although recent studies have shown a reduction of 4.190 in new HIV infections in the urban areas, the same cannot be said of the rural areas (NACA, 2013). The number of people requiring access to HIV/AIDS counselling and testing and support services in rural areas of the country and the State in particular, seem to be growing by the day. This
paper attempts to provoke discussion on the impact of HIV/AIDS on rural households and rural development efforts in Taraba State.

**Rural landscape of Taraba State**

There is no universally accepted definition of rural settlement. Most national census bodies, international organizations and scholars often produce and use their own definitions, many of which have serious limitations (Weinert and Boik, 1995). In Nigeria, for instance, the single criterion of population size derived from national census is still been used to define rural settlement (Madu, 2008). The Nigerian 1991 population census defines a rural area as a settlement with less than 20,000 inhabitants. In describing the settlement pattern in the State, the Rondinelli (1983) demographic approach has been used. This is because the approach requires data (census figure) that can be easily obtained from the national census result or population projection. The nature of size distribution of settlements may be a reflection of changing socio-economic conditions. This is because the ‘genetic processes’ of settlement growth in the State are usually subject to a wide spectrum of political, cultural, social and economic forces (Oruonye and Abbas, 2011).

According to Bashir (1993), an analysis of the rural settlement pattern in the State using the nearest neighbour technique yielded an Rn statistical value of 1.2 which indicates a more or less random distribution of settlements with serious implication for the provision of infrastructure, especially health care facilities. After over twenty years, the situation has not changed remarkably. On the other hand, in a study on the structure of rurality in Nigeria by Madu (2008), Taraba State ranks 7th in the country after Gombe, Kogi, Plateau, Bauchi, Kwara and Kebbi States with rurality index of 4.973. The State thus falls within the States in the federation with very high rurality index. This implies that most parts of the State still lack the basic socio-economic infrastructures that aid rural transformation and as such lag further behind in rural development in the country.

Taraba State has about 1,932 settlement localities from the 1991 National Census. At the time of creation of the State, there were too many small village and hamlet type of settlements. The great majority of the people of Taraba State live in rural settlements consisting of small hamlets and villages. There were about 802 settlements with less than 500 inhabitants (Oruonye and Abbas, 2011). The compound which houses the family is the basic unit of settlement. The pattern of rural settlements in any area is basically a
product of past and present economic, cultural, historical and ecological factors (Gana, 1978).
By all standards, Taraba State is predominantly rural (Bashir, 2000). The villages and hamlets which consist of the usual round huts with conical roofs are found over a large part of the State. The walls may be of mud or wooden framework covered with grass matting and the roof is made of grass thatch or from the stalks of grains (Oruonye and Abbas, 2011). Both in the villages and towns, the huts are arranged in groups or compounds which may be enclosed by a mud wall or a mat screen.
Table 1. Number and Category of Settlements (based on 1996 projected population)

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<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wukari</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yorro</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Zing</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>802</strong></td>
<td><strong>767</strong></td>
<td><strong>195</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Oruonye and Abbas, 2011)

The basic problem of most rural settlements in the State is the desperate lack of essential social amenities, such as healthcare facilities, potable water supply, electricity, efficient marketing services and good transport service. The preponderance of small settlements in the State makes the provision of social amenities in the State harder. This is so because human and economic development most often revolve around settlements, as development projects usually involve large capital outlays and much risk. Hence, they are located in areas where profit or potential use can be maximized. In view of the small size of most rural settlements in the State and the inadequacy of financial resources, it is clearly not possible to provide all essential social amenities particularly health care and educational facilities for all rural settlements. Perhaps, it is only through a hierarchy of service centres that it may be economically possible to ‘‘put within reach of the rural
dwellers all the amenities and opportunities of life such as health care facilities, which are regarded nowadays as the normal inheritance of every townsman in Nigeria’’ as argued by Gana (1978).

Poverty is severe in the rural areas of the State where social services and infrastructure are limited or non-existent. The majority of those who live in rural areas in the State are poor, and depend on agriculture for food and income. The Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2010 poverty profile report shows that only 31.1% of the people in Taraba State fall within the non-poor category, while 68.9% are core poor. The State ranks low in all major development and household indicators.

**Materials and methods**

The study employed literature search, review and analysis of compilation of policy documents, technical and non-technical reports, newsletters, public statements, research documents and conference papers held in key government departments, ministries and non-governmental organizations, tertiary institutions and research centres that are involved in the HIV/AIDS awareness creation and control effort. The search was through online search and personal contacts with some key policy makers who have been directly responsible for policy design and formulation on HIV/AIDS in the State and LGAs at one point in time or the other.

**Result of findings**

**HIV/AIDS funding in Taraba State**

The national and State response for HIV and AIDS is largely donor-funded by international organizations with Nigeria’s contribution comprising of 25% only. In 2010, it was proposed that the Government of Nigeria would increase its contribution to 50% of the total funds for HIV/AIDS interventions by 2015. Although funding for HIV has increased from 415 million (in 2009) to 577 million dollars (in 2012), the proportion spent on prevention remains low (12.5% in 2012) and out-of-pocket expenditure for HIV services are considerably high. International donors contributed the bulk of funds, with PEPFAR accounting for 64 percent and the Global Fund reportedly for about seven percent (note: Global Fund spending appears to be under-reported in the NASA 2014). Procurement data from October 2014 through September 2015 shows that about US$150.7 million was spent to procure HIV commodities for the National program for
the largest share of the ARV procurement and nearly the full supply of HIV rapid test kits. PEPFAR purchased the majority of the CD4 lab reagents (60 percent), viral load reagents (80 percent) and half of the early infant diagnosis (EID) bundle kits. Overall PEPFAR and the Global Fund contribute 62 percent and 35 percent of the HIV commodity investment respectively (NCOP, 2016). This is despite the assertion that prevention remains the most important and feasible means of halting the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Under the former President Goodluck Jonathan, the Government of Nigeria committed $40 million of the fuel Subsidy Re-investment Program (SURE-P) funds for the implementation of President’s Comprehensive Response Plan (PCRP) for HIV/AIDS, a domestic funding initiative for HIV/AIDS launched in 2014. These funds were used to support the transition of PEPFAR-funded HIV treatment sites in two States of the Federation; Taraba and Abia States, to the National Agency for Control of AIDS (NACA) in 2015. Following the discontinuation of SURE-P by the Buhari’s administration, funding has been provided to NACA in the Government of Nigeria 2016 budget to continue to engage the State Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies in these two States to manage the HIV/AIDS program. The spending by PEPFAR per person living with HIV/AIDS (PLHIV) in Taraba State was $28 (NCOP, 2016). In Taraba State, the government approved ₦500 million to fight HIV/AIDS in 2015 (Onwumere, 2015). Taraba State government equally earmarked 600 million naira in the 2017 budget for HIV/AIDS to compliment the Federal Government Ownership and Sustainability drive. However, different studies and reports indicated that domestic resource is grossly inadequate to match global drive for the eradication of the disease. This funding gap in HIV/AIDS control shows clearly that Nigeria is not on track to achieve the universal access targets (Table 2).
Table 2. Funding Landscape of HIV/AIDS in Taraba State (2011-2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funding Landscape</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Budget for HIV</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenditure on HIV</td>
<td>₦1,033,655,343.93</td>
<td>₦1,171,470,894.99</td>
<td>₦566,309,984.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Expenditure on HIV</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>₦19,000,000.00</td>
<td>₦11,635,040.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt from World Bank on HIV from NACA</td>
<td>₦68,406,438.93</td>
<td>₦439,078.59</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. Exp. on HIV including WB</td>
<td>₦68,406,438.93</td>
<td>₦19,436,078.59</td>
<td>₦11,635,040.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Govt. Expenditure from World Bank Funds</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>₦102,667,360.49</td>
<td>₦306,158,772.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure by Donor/IPS</td>
<td>₦965,248,905.00</td>
<td>₦1,049,803,534.50</td>
<td>₦248,516,172.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From Table 2, it can be seen that despite budgetary allocation to the fight against HIV/AIDS, there was no money released for HIV expenditure in 2011. From the Table, it can be seen that budgetary allocation does not necessarily guarantee release of funds for HIV/AIDS intervention. Table 3 shows a wide funding gap between HIV/AIDS budget and expenditure in the State. With such wide funding gap, it is practically difficult for the State to make meaningful progress in the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Table 3. Taraba State HIV/AIDS Budget and Expenditure Gap (2011-2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIV/AIDS Funding</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Govt. Budget for HIV</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
<td>₦200,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Govt. Expenditure on HIV</td>
<td>₦68,406,438.93</td>
<td>₦19,436,078.59</td>
<td>₦11,635,040.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Govt. HIV Expenditure Gap</td>
<td>₦131,593,561.07</td>
<td>₦180,563,921.41</td>
<td>₦188,364,960.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The State has over the years received support and assistance from international non-governmental organizations such as the Community Life Advancement Project (CLAP). CLAP was able to access the MSH ProACT grant of ₦2,450,000.00 between August 2012 to July, 2013 for Expanding Schools and Communities Action for HIV/AIDS prevention in Gashaka and Donga LGAs of Taraba State. The grant facilitated the provision of comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention intervention to over 4,500 beneficiaries and over 7,300 HIV/AIDS free counselling and testing services in Gashaka and Donga LGAs of the State.
CLAP was also able to access the AIDS Prevention Initiative in Nigeria (APIN)/GFR8grants of ₦6,500,000.00. CLAP used the grant to provide free HIV/AIDS Testing and Counselling services to 2,167 pregnant women under ante natal care setting in 5 LGAs (Takum, Gassol, Jalingo, Lau and Kurumi LGAs) of Taraba State from September to December, 2012.

**HIV/AIDS prevention and advocacy programmes**

HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) is the entry point to prevention, treatment, care and support services of the HIV/AIDS control programme. It is a strategy aimed at identifying new HIV cases, and reducing the spread of the HIV virus through adequate counselling services (NACA, 2014). This include all forms of enlightenment campaigns and advocacy programmes that are aimed at educating the people on the dangers of HIV/AIDS and ways of avoiding infection by the disease. The activities include free HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services to individuals, from 15 years and above and issuing them with results of the test to enable them know their status. Thus, the counselling is done before and after the HIV/AIDS test. The counselling enables them to adjust their behavioural attitude that will prevent infection if the person tests negative and attitude that will reduce or prevent the spread of the disease if the individual tests positive. NACA and its National Comprehensive Programmes in States (NCAPS) has 21 comprehensive supported sites in the State at present, with 66 Primary Health Care (PHC) supported sites.

In Taraba State, 104,591 persons were tested for HIV/AIDS and 9,517 were positive in 2013 (Table 4). Also in 2014, 102,370 persons were tested for the virus and 5,464 were positive according to 2014 Annual HIV/AIDS Report (NASCP 2014). The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) with the support of World Bank Funding, have trained over 17 Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and carried out different HIV intervention across the State. The State was the first to build capacity on HIV/AIDS programming for adolescents and young people in 2016 (The Guardian, 2016).

Table 4. Positivity rate among persons tested for HIV (all ages) (2013 and 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of HIV CTR</th>
<th>No. of HIV Positive</th>
<th>Positivity Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>104,591</td>
<td>9,517</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>102,370</td>
<td>5,464</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (NASCP 2014).
People get to know their HIV/AIDS status only through HIV/AIDS counselling and testing. This service can be accessed through personal decision making that is enhanced by counselling before and after HIV/AIDS test. Most clients access this service at public and private health care facilities or a stand-alone or mobile counselling and testing facilities established by NGOs. Sadly, HIV/AIDS support facilities and services have been limited in reaching a lot of people especially the rural dwellers.

**Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT)**

Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT) is a service that allows pregnant women to be tested for HIV/AIDS and issued with the result. It is aimed at eliminating transmission of HIV from mother to child during pregnancy, labour, delivery and breast feeding (NASCP 2014). HIV positive pregnant women are placed on ART and other medication that prevent transfer of the virus to the unborn child. About One hundred and twenty-two (122) HIV/AIDS positive pregnant women were provided with PMTCT services in 2012 with only 2 out of the 182 pregnant women delivered HIV positive children. In 2013, the PMTCT need in the State was 9,591 and the achievement was 1,874, given coverage of 20%. In 2014, the need was 9,896 and the achievement was 2,592, given (26%) coverage (Table 5). As at December 2016, over 30,000 women were said to have benefited from PMTCT services in the State. Coverage of antiretroviral programmes for prevention of mother-to-child transmission is very low resulting in high number of annual newly infected children (Table 5).

Table 5. Coverage of ARV Prophylaxis among HIV Positive Pregnant Women in Taraba States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>PMTCT Need</th>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>PMTCT Coverage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>9,591</td>
<td>1,874</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>9,896</td>
<td>2,592</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (NASCP 2014).

**HIV/AIDS treatment (ART support)**

The national Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART) programme commenced in 2001 in 25 tertiary hospitals and targeted 10,000 adults and 5,000 children (NASCP 2014). The goal of National Strategic Plan (NSP 2010-2015) is to ensure that “All eligible Persons Living with HIV (PLHIV) receive quality treatment services for HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Infections (Ois) as well as TB treatment services for PLHIV co-infected with TB”. The
ART needs based on CD4 350 eligibility in 2014 was 71,426. The total HIV population was 167,243 and 35,598 were placed on ART given 21.3% achievement (NASCP 2014). As at June 2016, the number of adults with advanced HIV infection receiving anti-retroviral combination therapy in the national programme in Taraba State was 34,972, and the number of children was 1,793 (NASCP 2014). The number of HIV infected women, who received anti-retroviral drugs to reduce the risk of mother-to-child transmission in the State was 413. As at December 2016, 39,818 persons with advanced HIV infection were receiving Antiretroviral Therapy (ART).

Despite the claims in different parts of the country over efforts at controlling HIV/AIDS in Nigeria, Taraba State is not among the States according to estimates from NACA and FMoH that have achieved 50% ART coverage as at mid-2017. These States include: Enugu, Benue, Delta, Adamawa, Anambra, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Plateau, Kogi, and Ekiti States respectively (Muanya, 2017). Instead, Taraba State falls under the nine States in the country with the highest ART unmet need (greater than 75,000 persons). The States in the group are (Oyo, Akwa-Ibom, Lagos, Sokoto, Edo, Taraba, Kaduna, Imo and Rivers).

**Impacts of HIV/AIDS on rural dwellers**

Given the poor rural condition of the State and country, rural residents naturally have poor access to HIV/AIDS support care such as free counselling and testing and medical care. In addition, rural households experience HIV/AIDS in ways that are specific to their environment and distinct from their urban counterparts. These distinct impacts are often related to the high level of dependence on agricultural production as the primary food supply for rural households. Subsistence farming which is the dominant systems rely heavily on human labour, most often women, for tilling and tending crops (UNAIDS, 2000). The extent to which HIV/AIDS makes people ill, disables them when very ill, and then causes deaths, places considerable strain on rural agricultural production and household livelihood.

It has been observed that in sub-Saharan Africa, 65 percent of the power for land preparation is provided by human labour, with 25 percent by draft animals and only 10 percent from machines (Brian and Josef, 2006). Clearly, adequate agricultural production depends on available power, especially human labor in regions with lower technological inputs like Nigeria and Taraba State. The State is an agrarian State dominated by subsistence agriculture. HIV/AIDS retards agricultural production, and threatens food
security, in several ways in the State especially in loss of labour and other forms of household assets. HIV/AIDS, therefore, reduces labor availability for agricultural production, thereby impacting greatly on food security and household livelihood.

When most people are affected by AIDS and are seriously sick, they are taking back to their villages for fear of death in urban centres and subsequent cost of conveying corps home for burial. Tradition and culture for most people in Nigeria requires the corps of adult members to be buried in the ancestral land. This usually imposes heavy financial burden on households in rural communities. HIV/AIDS related mortally affects food production greatly in rural communities. In regions where land tenure is not secure, households may lose rights to land that are not cultivated regularly. This is of particular concern for widows and child-headed households in traditional communities with patriarchal land rights since widows may lose their assets to their deceased spouse relatives. In addition to lost wages, HIV/AIDS-affected households incur new expenses related to health care and funerals, which further predisposes rural households to poverty.

**Challenges**

It will be good to articulate the challenges militating against the efforts to curb the HIV/AIDS menace in the State and country at large. There is no recent national population based survey with up to date data on the current burden of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in 36 States and FCT (Muanya, 2017). This lack of data makes it difficult to appreciate the level of progress made and the extent of the burden.

The cost of HIV/AIDS baseline laboratory test is now ₦16,000 ($48), while the cost of delivering HIV care to patient in Nigeria is ₦50,000 ($150). However, PEPFAR was only able to spend ($28) per PLHIV in the State. This shows a funding gap in HIV/AIDS care delivery. For Nigeria to meet the 90-90-90 target, it requires at least N50 billion yearly to sustain the treatment of 1,050,594 PLHIV and N150 billion to treat all the 3,228,842 PLHIV. Unfortunately, the national budgetary allocation for health in 2017 was just about N303 billion (Muanya, 2017) and that of Taraba State was ₦4.9b which is 4.5 percent of the total budget. The cost of HIV/AIDS care is very high and unaffordable to most rural dwellers who are already impoverished by poverty and economic recession in the country. HIV/AIDS control and treatment is capital intensive and cannot rely on normal budget of the State government. At the moment, HIV/AIDS care in Nigeria is donor agency driven and donor funds like local funding by the State government are
continuously dwindling, thereby by making it difficult to sustain the present gains made so far.

Findings from many studies have shown that there is low level of uptake of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services in urban areas where the services are available and free of cost. The problem, therefore, become worst in rural areas where the support services are not available. In situations where they are available, they are often not affordable by the rural households. Most of them resort to traditional treatment with local herbs. The main causes of the low uptake of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services include fear of stigmatization and low level of education of the people.

Nigeria may not be able to meet the National Strategic Framework (NSF) 2017-2021 Targets and the United Nations 90-90-90 ambitious treatment plan to end Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) by 2030 (Muanya, 2017). Many people have expressed fear that Nigeria may not be able to meet the NSF and UNAIDS targets; sustain the free national treatment programme; and put more PLHIV on treatment. Studies have shown that if PLHIV stop taking ART, they will die of AIDS within a short time. On the other hand, if there is delay or interruption in the ART medication, it will lead to the development of drug resistance which will make the firstline medication ineffective, thereby necessitating the secondline medication which often times is very expensive and unaffordable to patients.

Conclusion

This study has examined the impact of HIV/AIDS on rural livelihoods in Taraba State. The study employed online literature search, review and analysis of technical and policy documents. Findings showed that HIV/AIDS burden is high in the State and rural areas in particular and this requires a strategic response. The study also reveals that HIV/AIDS treatment coverage for adults and children is very low with very high unmet need for antiretroviral and PMTCT treatment resulting in increasing number of deaths. The study also shows that the cost of HIV/AIDS care is very high and unaffordable to most rural dwellers who are already impoverished by poverty and economic recession in the country. HIV/AIDS control and treatment is capital intensive and cannot rely on normal budget of the State government. Given the wide gap in the funding of HIV/AIDS programmes and magnitude of the problem, it is evidently clear that the State government alone cannot be able to contain the challenges posed by HIV/AIDS in the State.
Impact of HIV/AIDS on Rural Households in Taraba State Nigeria

Recommendations

Base on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made;

i. There is need for the Governments, both at the national and state levels to be more proactive in their approach to the problem of HIV/AIDS in Taraba State in particular. This will be clearly demonstrated in more budgetary allocation and prompt release of funds for HIV/AIDS control in order to consolidate the gains so far recorded.

ii. There is need to intensify efforts at public enlightenment campaigns through the use of jingles, posters and mass media. The focus of this should be on the need for people to know their HIV status and avoid stigmatization. Effort should be made to get the private sectors involved in the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS in the state because the challenge is beyond the capacity of the state government.

iii. There is the need for private sector support and health insurance scheme to assist in managing HIV/AIDS challenges in the State.

iv. Taraba State government needs to put in more effort aimed at strengthening the monitoring and evaluation systems for HIV response activities in the state.

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