



Thesis
By
EDWARD AKUMBUNI
SOYIR-YARIGA

UNIVERSITY OF
IBADAN
IBADAN, NIGERIA

THE NIGERIAN PRESS AND THE
ECOWAS TREATY OF ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT

JULY, 1991

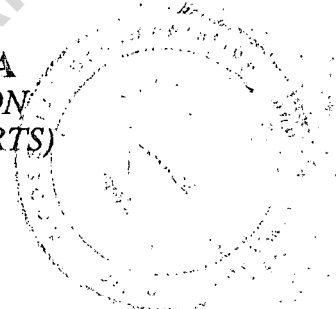
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BY



EDWARD AKUMBUNI SOYIR-YARIGA
B.A. (HONS.) UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
M.A., (COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE ARTS)
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, IBADAN.
(M~~A~~TRIC NO. 43002)



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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by
Mr. Edward Akumbuni **SOYIR-YARIGA**
in the Department of Communication and
Language Arts, University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Niegria.

Tommy (Osin) Adz Oct 20, 1992

.....
Supervisor

DR. A.O. OBILADE

Reader, ~~Head~~ Department of
Communication and Language
Arts University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

to

- (i) The Ordinary people of Ghana and West Africa: whose predicament of poverty was and has been a motivation to study.
- (ii) Uncle ASALIMA (GOLD) ATUBIGA ASOYIR
Aunt HAWA AKPE ASOYIR
Sister HABIBA AZURE ASOYIR-YARIGA:
who gave me love in my early years of growth in the Village/Town of PUSIGA/BAWKU, GHANA, after being *transported* away from the relative comforts of Accra, while my father was in the Army.
- (iii) My MOTHER AND FATHER:
who endured so much for my EDUCATION:
- (iv)a THE CATHOLIC FATHERS AT NOTRE DAME SEM/SEC. SCHOOL,
NAVRONGO, GHANA: Who laid the Foundation of my Intellectual development.
- b MY TEACHERS at ACHIMOTA SCHOOL, ESPECIALLY CHIEF ALAN PERCY RUDWICK (MBE), HIS WIFE, DR. (MRS.) ANNE RUDWICK AND DEREK JOHN HOLT Jnr.: who provided the intellectual stimulation and rationalization for my academic actualization.

With deep love.

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“...God and Nature made us who we are
But through our own creative intelligence
We make ourselves what we want to be”
(Marcus Garvey)

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ABSTRACT

The media of communication can and should play a vanguard role in the economic development of the third world countries. Economic integration is also advanced as the most viable approach to development in the third world. Against this background this study focused on the Nigerian press, and more specifically, the newspapers to investigate their diffusion attitudes towards the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a development strategy for the West African region and also the influence the newspapers may have exerted on their citizens to adopt and actualize the content of the ECOWAS Treaty. To achieve this, five research questions were formulated in *chapter one* centering on the newspapers projected attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty and its protocols and their implications for Nigeria; the economic, political, legal and socio-cultural status of the member states and their implication for Nigeria's participation.

The procedure adopted to test the theoretical assumptions and answer the questions are discussed in *chapter four*. The *twenty* newspapers that were in circulation in Nigeria between 1981 and 1985 constituted the universe and from these *eleven* newspapers were proportionately sampled for the study.

Content analysis procedure was adopted for the coverage evaluation and measurement was based on *direction, space* and *position*. Context units were categorised under: the *Treaty, Economic, Political, Legal* and *Socio-cultural* which

were further operationalised to make the news analysis thorough.

From the analysis, the study reached the conclusion that the total news items, the positions and space provided indicated that the press did not devote much publicity attention to the ECOWAS issue as an instrument of economic development for the region, thus, the citizens would not have acquired appropriate positive attitudes towards ECOWAS and its member states. Thus the role of the press in disseminating development issues was not fully utilized by the Nigerian press. However, all the hypotheses generated about Nigerian newspapers attitudes to development issues in which Nigeria was involved and especially regional integration were validated by the study.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND STATEMENT

1.1.1 The West African Economy

The West African sub-region abounds in considerable store of wealth in natural resources and human resources. This is the verdict from the studies of soil scientists, economic geographers and economic historians of the region. These include: Agboola and Hodder: 1979; Pedler: 1955; Mountjoy and Embleton: 1966; Robinson: 1972; Jones: 1972; Ominde and Ejiogu: 1974; Ord and Livingstone: 1970; Hopkins: 1973; Ikime: 1982 and Teriba: 1986.

However, the lack of any substantial development as a whole has also been the object of research and explanation by historians, political scientist and development economists like Hopkins: 1973; Ake: 1981; Amin: 1974; Rodney: 1972; Nkrumah: 1965; Brett: 1973; Onimode: 1985; William: 1976 and Ohiorhenuan: 1990.

The converging argument for the lack of development in the region as contained in the writing of the preceding analysts is captured by Karl Marx's which is quoted in (Lenin: 1978: 12-13) which states that:

Technology, discloses man's mode of dealing with nature, the immediate process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations and of the mental conception that flow from them.

From the above we encounter the primary explanation of the lack of development in the region due to a low level of technological development with the consequence of low output in agriculture and food production resulting in low trade and exchange. This fact is cited in the economic literature of the region as being a major cause of the poverty of the region (Teriba: 1986:241)

That changes in the mode of production of a people is crucial to their liberation from underdevelopment is adduced by Hopkins: 1973: 27-30. In the case of West Africa, Hopkins: 1973 has argued that the lack of agricultural expansion and sophistication by the colonialist upon their intrusion in the development process of the region as well as the lack of perceptive understanding of the nature of the agricultural practice of the people led to the introduction of wrong policies that not only confused agricultural growth but actually arrested a linear development of agricultural technology by the West African themselves.

This view is equally corroborated by Suret-Canale: 1975:3-14 with respect to French colonialism and exploitation in West Africa. Webster and Boahen: 1980 :197-252) provide similar arguments with respect to English colonialism and exploitation in West Africa

Further observers argue that the failure to invent the plough was the most significant constraining factor to the development of agriculture for industrial take-off in the West African region. For example, (Hopkins: 1973) has argued that:

Nevertheless, it could still be argued that agriculture remained stuck in a subsistence groove because indigenous farmers failed to invent or adopt the technology needed to raise productivity.

Goody (1971: 25;27), on his part, has pointed out the significance of technology in its simplest forms and the influence it exerts on cultural development and progress of a society on a linear continuum. White (1962:39-57) in providing a contrast and explanation to the Europeans achievement in development has argued that the plough played a crucial role in the development of European agriculture and the eventual industrialization from the sixth century onwards. West Africa, on the other hand, was unable to achieve such a feat in industrialization and its attendant positive effects on its standard of living because of the absence of the technological invention, to wit, the plough!

Modern African political economists and other perspective analyst of West African development have in varying arguments attributed the lack of development in West Africa to the colonial era, which in all intents and purposes, exploited without re-investing and in the final analysis created a dependency syndrome in the West African economies. The European colonials failed to initiate the

establishment of permanent and significant internal economic structures for the development of the West African economies. Such analysts have included Nkrumah: 1963; Brett: 1973; William:1976; Ake: 1981; Amin: 1974; Onimode: 1985 and Ohiorhenuan: 1990.

The state of the West African region's dependency is concretised in the fact that all the countries are either tied up to the developed countries as sources of raw materials and are therefore subject to the fluctuation of world prices or are plain consumers of commodities of the metropolitan countries and as such are not able to raise the required capital to finance their own industrialization (Teriba, 1986). The net consequence of this situation is the persistent underdevelopment of the region's resources and thus the low standard of living.

The attempt to solve the above economic condition has been the preoccupation of the post-independence governments through the execution of systematically planned development programmes. These were not totally successful and thus have not brought about any marked improvement in the economic condition of the region and more importantly the living standards of the peoples of the region. Thus, from this reality, specialists in the development process have argued that individual national approaches to development have failed in West Africa and further attempts at achieving development by individual nations will not only be impracticable but just unachievable because of the

stupendous cost factor against a backdrop of crippling monetary indebtedness to the metropolitan countries and their aggregate financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Thus, with a loss of faith in the above approach to national development, the integration model of development has been persistently canvassed as the alternative method for regional development among the developing regions of the World which includes the West African sub-region. The proponents of the integration model have included (Balassa: 1961); (Hazzlewood: 1967); (Myrdal: 1968); (Robson: 1968); (Plessz: 1968); and most recently (Ndongko and Vivekananda: 1990), who have argued that:

The people of the Third World countries must plan economic cooperation among themselves by pooling their resources together for attaining self-reliance and economic growth instead of foreign aid and dependency.

With specific reference to the West African region's need for accelerated development, (Okigbo: 1967; Adedeji: 1984; Gowon: 1984; Akinyemi *et al*: 1984); Edozien and Osaghae: 1987); and many other perspective analyst of the West African economic development condition have adopted the integration model and have advocated economic integration in West Africa as the only realistic approach to raising the standard of living of the people in the region on a massive

scale.

This new economic realism has raised the issue of popularization of the concept and practicalization of the integration model of development to a communication fact. Thus from this reality, the role of the mass media of the region is not only important in creating awareness but also in setting the agenda for adoption by individuals in the associating countries. The media is significant in the spread and adoption of innovations in the third world countries (Rogers: 1970). It is thus believed that the West African media would also in tradition participate in the spread of the positive development issues. To test this conception, the Nigeria media and more specifically, the newspapers are being studied to perceive their performance in the spread of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development from which general statements could be made about the West African media in the region's developmental process.

1.1.2 ECOWAS AS AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVE

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established by the member states as, in accordance with its preamble, with the ultimate objective of achieving:

... accelerated and sustained
economic development of their
states and the creation of a

homogeneous society, leading to the unity of the countries of West Africa, by the elimination of all types of obstacles to the free movement of goods, capital and persons; ...

The member countries included: Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, Cote D'Voire, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Gambia, Benin Republic, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape-Verde.

That ECOWAS is essentially an economic organisation whose aim is to achieve maximum economic performance for its sixteen members is evidenced by the content of the treaty which was adopted on 27th February, 1975. The treaty stipulates that it aims to:

- (i) promote through the economic cooperation of the member states a coordinated and equitable development of their economies, especially in industry, agriculture, transport and communication, trade and payment, manpower, energy and natural resources.
- (ii) further the maximum possible inter-change of goods and services among its member states.
- (iii) Contribute to the orderly expansion of trade between the member states and the rest of the world:
- (iv) by all these efforts and endeavours to contribute to the economic development of the continent of Africa as a whole.

Article 2 section (a) of the treaty provides further that:

In order to achieve the aims of the community the member states shall:

- (i) work in close cooperation with one another and endeavour to coordinate and harmonize their economic policies both within and outside the community;
- (ii) keep each other informed and furnish the community with the information required for the achievement of its aims;
- (iii) within the community, establish among themselves consultation on a continuous basis and carry out studies in order to determine the areas and lines of economic development to be undertaken jointly or in common;
- (iv) negotiate within the community the progressive elimination of customs and other barriers to the expansion of trade between them as well as restriction on current payment transactions and on capital movement;
- (v) take measures which render their products relatively competitive with goods imported from outside the community and seek to obtain more favourable condition for their products in the world market;
- (vi) endeavour to formulate and adopt common policies, and negotiate and conclude agreements among themselves or through the medium of the community, designed to serve the achievement of its aims; including the development and the joint use of the development and the joint of energy, joint research, training of manpower and the implementation jointly or in common of all other projects designed to promote the objectives of the community, as well as common trade and payment arrangement and
- (vii) to ensure both within and outside the community that the common policies that have been adopted and the agreement that have been concluded for the achievement of the aims of the community are carried out.

Article 2 section (b) on the other hand stipulates that:

Member states shall take steps, particularly the provision of the budgetary and

other resources, required for the implementation of the decisions and recommendation of the community, duly adopted.

Article 3 on its part discusses the level of freedom of economic relation with other countries or bodies without the interference of the member states if any one of them wishes so to do. This section requires that:

- A. Individual member states shall be entitled to take both within and outside the community, measures of economic cooperation within the agreement of other member states, provided that such measures do not prejudice the aims of the community.
- B. Member states which belong to or join other systems of economic cooperation shall inform the community of their membership and of those provisions in their constituent instrument that have a bearing on the purpose of the community (Ndongko and Vivekananda, 1990: 138-140).

From the preceding critical articles of the corpus of the ECOWAS law and protocols, it can be clearly seen that the fundamental purpose of the community is economic. Thus the prejudices for or against the popularization of the community's purpose for actualization by the people of the region in the short-run as well as in the long-run should, in the interest of objectivity and posterity, be in the realm of economic analysis rather than other tangential considerations that would obstruct the achievement of the laudable goals. This insistence is premised on the notion that it is the economic base of social relations that determines its superstructure and as such superstructural consideration should not be made to

determine the acceptability of an economic process that promises considerable benefits to the lot of a people who have been ravaged by other cultures for so long. That is, the West Africans also deserve a comfortable existence not only in their region but also in the world's economic interconnectedness.

Historically, the West African region has been an exploited and dependent economic region with the result that its people and resources have served the development needs of the nations today considered advanced and industrialized with no lasting reciprocal development strategies for its people. This fact became abundantly clear in the period after independence when only political independence was won. As an example, Onimode in Kayode and Usman (1990:279) commenting on the post-colonial social formation in Nigeria underscored this fact when he pointed out that:

The victory of the anti-colonial nationalist struggle in Nigeria in 1960 did not lead to the destruction or replacement of the peripheral capitalism. This reflects the success of the pro-imperialist and neocolonial policies initiated by the British during the colonial era, especially during the post-war. It also underscores the pathetic betrayal of even the bourgeois democratic revolution by the petty-bourgeois oriented nationalist struggle, whose essentially reactionary ideology sought only political freedom without a new social order embracing national economic independence.

Essentially, this was the story of all the independent West African countries in the 1960's with the final result that their post colonial social formation developed into

rapidly consolidated, expanded and occasionally refined, but dependent capitalist ones. These systems have been variously described as neo-colonial capitalist system, bureaucratic capitalism or 'nurture capitalism' (Onimode in Kayode and Usman: 1990:279).

With the rising economic nationalism that followed, which was reflected in the various national development plans, the West African countries were basically what (Lewis: 1957:225-226) described, in the context of capital accumulation for progress, as:

...communities in which the national income per head is not increasing, invest 4 or 5 percent of their national incomes per annum or less, whilst progressive economies invest 12 percent per annum or more.

Thus the central economic problem of the West African countries, then and indeed now, has been to achieve economic growth through graduating from being 5 percent savers of their national income to 12 percent or more -with all the changes in attitude, in institutions and in techniques which accompany this conversion (Lewis: 1957:226). Despite the numerous attempts to achieve the preceding indicator of economic growth, most West African countries either run deficit budgets or depended on aid from former colonial masters to balance their national expenditures which showed possibly a zero- level of savings and therefore an absence of growth, if we should apply the Lewis text. In fact, in the latter part

of the 1960's and early 1970's many of West Africa's national governments were overthrown by force of arms with the recurrent reasons of economic mismanagement by the politicians of the period. Nigeria's experience was no different as it is evidenced by the coup d'état of the *five majors* and the post-coup explanations of the surviving participants of the 1966 military uprising. The early 1970's saw many West African countries sinking deeply into the debt trap which was essentially the result of the attempt to manage national budgets through deficit financing with the result that whatever economic gains that were made, these were used to service the interest on loans obtained from the advanced countries. This paved the way for neo-colonial entrenchment in the economies of the West African countries, Nigeria included, (Onimode: 1983).

Nigeria, in the period however, had the cushioning effect of her crude oil export which from modest earnings of N0.2 million between 1958-59 progressively reached N 13,123.4 billion in 1980, (Mohammed in Kayode and Usman: 1990:110). From the preceding facts, Nigeria's economic capacity to develop was never in dispute and her clear and manifest advantage has been pointed out by (Onimode in Kayode and Usman: 1990:281). However, this massive advantage was not actualized up to 1980 and Onimode has adduced the reasons by explaining that:

On account of its inherent contradictions, neo-colonial capitalist planning has also been a continuing failure in spite of its increasing size

from N1.4 billion (676.5 million pounds) in the *first plan*, 1962-68, to a maximum of N43.3 billion in the revised *third plan*, 1975-80. Though the planners insist that 'lack of executive capacity' shortage of funds, poor coordination and related factors have been typically responsible for plan failure, it's now clear that this is not the case. The major causes of plan failure include external dependence for exports, imports and foreign assistance for plan implementation, elitist and urban bias which distorts priorities and precludes the mobilization of the rural and mass-majority, and the unplanned private sector with its imperialist exploitation.

The story of Nigeria is replicated in the economic history of the other ECOWAS countries which at one time or the other were blessed with boom revenues from their respective export commodities but were not in a position to utilize these revenues for investment in productive activities that would accelerate their development programmes to achieve economic growth. Today, the West African countries have a shared experience of low economic performance relative to their economic capacity as it is evidenced in their having to adopt the stringent Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) with its conditionalities that have resulted in reduced government expenditure on public utilities and subsidies which have brought untold hardships to their citizens which also, in extreme cases, have brought about food riots and massive retrenchments thus worsening the condition of the ordinary citizens of the region.

Thus for Nigeria and the rest of the ECOWAS countries the fundamental

problem that has confronted the governments and their people has been how to achieve economic independence then growth and development. In an attempt to answer these question some West African countries initiated economic and political groupings like:

- (i) The Sanniquellie States Association (1958)
- (ii) The Ghana -Guinea-Mali union (1958)
- (iii) The Africa-Malagacy Union (1961)
- (iv) The Organisation of the Senegal River States.
- (v) Union Douniere de L'Afrique de L'Ouest (UDEAO)
- (vi) West African Economic Community (CEAO) (1970)
- (vii) Lake Chad Basin Commission (LBC) (1964)
- (viii) Organization pour la Mise en Valeur de Fleuve Senegal (OMVS):
Organization for the Development of the Senegal River
- (ix) The Niger Basin Authority
- (x) Volta River Authority
- (xi) The Mano River Union

In spite of the above attempts that yielded some economic benefits to the respective member countries, the changes so derived were not radical enough to alter the dependent economic status of the West African countries, Nigeria inclusive. For example, there persisted several economic gaps, which the ECOWAS

countries still experienced and these included the following:

- (i) the relatively small size of national economies, limited market and the existing disparities in resources endowment impeded individual efforts towards economic and social development exclusively at the national level.
- (ii) the level of industrial activity was very low and the export of manufactured goods was non-existent although many national industries had excess capacity to manufacture for export. Besides there was the glaring fact that there were few if any linkage between the manufacturing sectors and the other sectors of the national economy like agriculture, so that intermediate capital and even some primary goods used in the low level manufacturing were imported which was a drain on the West African countries.
- (iii) the ideological framework within which socio-economic development was being propagated was itself a sources of conflict; that is capitalist mode of development versus the socialist mode of development brought the intellegentsia into conflict in politics and the academia.
- (iv) lack of intra West African trade between Nigeria and the other West African countries and vice -versa led to inconvertibility of local currencies which in itself did not encourage West African trade. Thus, the lack of adequate intra West African payment system brought rapid decrease of the foreign exchange obtained from the sale of the region's major primary product, the high cost of both imported capital and consumption goods differences in fiscal system led to a new economic rethinking: a closer intra regional trade etc.
- (v) the need also and the realization that West Africa's bargaining power in certain commodities agreement was not enhanced because there was no common front as is the case of the Oil Producing Exporting Countries (OPEC) in world's oil industry.
- (vi) the coming into being of the United Nation Development

Decade:1960-70 gave the fillip through the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to galvanize support for regional economic grouping.

- (vii) the creation of other regional economic groupings like the European Economic Community, Latin America Free Trade Area, the Adecan group, the East African Economic Community, the Central African Customs and Economic Union demonstrated both the necessity and the possibility of regional cooperation in West Africa.

These points have been canvassed by (Ndongko and Vivekananda: 1960:13-24; Balassa: 1961; Hazzlewood: 1967; Robson: 1968; Plessz: 1968) as being the impetus to and accelerating factors towards regional grouping in West Africa. What ever the merit and demerits of economic integration the factors above culminated in the signing into existence the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 as the economic rallying point not only for the region's development but indeed the new nationalism -the economic nationalism.

1.1.3 THE MEDIA AND WEST AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

In the context of this new regional economic nationalism, the logical academic question that has arisen therefrom has been: what has been the nature of the contribution of the mass media of the respective countries of West Africa towards ensuring the full actualization of the goals of ECOWAS for the people and by the people of the region. This question has some historical basis. The media of West Africa were in the vanguard of the total struggle against colonialism, (Omu:

1966; Webster and Boahen: 1967; Crowder: 1968; Soyir-Yariga: 1985). The journalists themselves were also in the vanguard so that where they were capable they established political parties; where also the political party leaders were not journalists they established a newspaper as the mouthpiece of their political activities geared towards achieving the avowed goal of national political independence. In fact the researched comments below point out the historical role of the press and journalists towards the foundation of the political development of the region:

- (i) Isaac Wallace Johnson, for example, had been acting editor of the *Nigerian Daily Telegraph* and General Secretary of the African Workers's Union which he organised in Lagos in 1931. He moved to Ghana where he worked with the Nigerian, Nnamdi Azikwe, on the *African Morning Post*. He returned to Sierra Leone where he organised a political party, the West African Youth league. Thus the elite formed a West African Community and thought of themselves as West Africans rather than Ghanaians or Nigerians (Webster and Boahen :1985:244).
- (ii) The West African press was an important element in keeping the elite united (Webster and Boahen :1985:245).
- (iii) In British West Africa the press was the most important single element in the birth and development of nationalism. The press kept African claims before British officials, was quick to point out oppression, kept African claims to advancement and dignity alive, stimulated creative writing, and never allowed the British to forget that their ultimate aims was to develop self-governing modern states. The press brought before West African the issues for the larger world especially the black world extending from Africa to America and the West Indies.

From the above comments the role played by the pre-independence press in West Africa in the political resistance, mobilization, conscientization, sensitization, and indeed education of the West African towards a concrete goal of political development and progress is clear. Besides one revealing fact is that these newspapers were privately owned and therefore the finance to sustain them was minimal yet their output to achieve the political goal was stupendous. The proprietors faced draconian measures yet they fought on more concerned with posterity and history than with profitability (Webster and Boahen : 1985; Omu: 1966).

It is against this background that the new economic nationalists and regional integrationists expect and anticipate that the modern West African press will show similar enthusiasm to struggle for or conscientize and sensitize the people of the region to a new struggle, the struggle for economic emancipation from the shackles of neocolonialism, the highest stage of imperialism. A number of factors underlie this expectation for high performance from the West African media and therefore Nigeria's mass communication media in the dissemination of the ECOWAS goals of development within the sub- region. These factors include:

- (i) The governments have already adopted the ECOWAS Treaty and this should attract press commentary.
- (ii) A large proportion of the West African media are owned by the

respective national and state governments and therefore government's fundamental engagement that will benefit the citizens should attract media attention and propagation.

- (iii) The financial status of the media today are not in jeopardy since governments own about 60 percent shares or total shares and therefore guarantee survival, profitable management, if even popularisation of ECOWAS is gratis.
- (iv) The issue of economic nationalism is as fundamental as the nations raw materials and should attract the attention of the journalists and therefore deserve media persistent campaign.
- (v) journalists are well trained and should be able to appreciate the compelling need to develop a regional economic association that will lead to a close bond between the people in the region for economic, political, and where the need arises military purpose especially when the advanced regions of the world are integrating their economies to bargain better from positions of absolute power.

Theoretically, these issues raised above are an integral part of the question of economic development and thus should the media show concrete involvement either by illuminating or propagating them it would be directly participating in the development process. Thus, it is from this perspective that the media have a role to play in the development strategies and processes of not only the respective countries of ECOWAS but also the region, (Schramm: 1964; Rogers: 1970; Moemeka: 1986, 1989).

From the professional communication and development view the literature on communication and development show that the media and indigenous communication network are crucial in the adoption of new ideas for the purpose

of growth and development (Rogers :1970; Moemeka: 1989: 1-22; Bertrand *et. al.*: 1978; Okunna: 1990). Thus it is not sufficient for government to enter into international agreements and expect the citizens to deduce the advantages to themselves personally as a community and then as a nation. It is the duty of the government through its communication agencies, the mass media of the respective countries as the fourth estate of the realm to canvass these ideas if the generality of the people have to be involved in the adoption and actualization process. This view is fundamental given that 70 percent of rural dwellers may never hear about the treaty agreement let alone be aware that the overall objective of the Treaty is directed at the transformation of their economic condition, with them as active participants in this radical transformation. To reach the people, persuade them to adopt and actualize the central ideals of the ECOWAS Treaty as it affects the people, their known channels of communication have to be adopted. Herein lies the central role of communication and for that matter the press in West Africa's development process as it relates to ECOWAS. For example Bertrand *et. al* (1978:18) observed that communication methods proposed at headquarters did not lead to adoption of family planning by the Guatemalans because the traditional communication networks were not utilized. The overriding point here is credibility, in so far as change issues are concerned we would like to trust and know that we can depend on the source should any unfamiliar result occur in the risky business

of adopting new ideas.

In spite of the above significant position of communication in change issues, the importance of the goals of the ECOWAS Treaty and the overall need of people, the economic sector, the need to know the details of the Treaty, the Treaty itself did not contain any provision for an integral or tangential role for the mass communication media of member countries to propagate and diffuse the concept of ECOWAS to their citizens for adoption and actualization. Adoption and actualization are change issues which are effectively brought about through communication and this makes communication instrumental to development, (Rogers: 1970; Moemeka: 1986: 1989).

However, in spite of the above argued deficiency in the conception and construction of the Treaty where the communication component was omitted, the 12th ECOWAS summit in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso proposed and the 13th ECOWAS summit in Banjul, The Gambia, elaborated and categorically called for the involvement of the media of member countries in the ECOWAS integration process. Today, the 14th ECOWAS summit which took place in Abuja, the Federal capital territory of Nigeria categorically called on the journalists of West Africa to be directly involved in the dissemination of the ECOWAS ideals and achievements to reach the people whom they should in reality sensitize to appreciate the ECOWAS development goals. The new leadership of ECOWAS, Senegal, has

undertaken to pay greater attention to the communication component of the ECOWAS issues. In fact a regional seminar on communicators and the ECOWAS is being conceived to be carried out before the end of 1992.

At last the critical role of the communication process in the development process is being given center stage which should have been the case at the inception of the development event : ECOWAS. Since this study antedates the summit communique, (Soyir-Yaraiga: 1987), it is believed that the previous ideas mooted in seminar discussions have been underscored by the regional body itself and gives this current study a sense of purpose, direction and relevance and there will therefore be no strenuous argument to justify the study as the fact of the summit communique speak for themselves, *res ipsa loquitur*.

However, the study focuses on the Nigerian communication environment because of the presence of several communication variables that influence the attitudes of the media towards an issue and these variables are also shared by the other ECOWAS members in varying degrees. Thus, in the final analysis, the finding of this study can either be applied to or tested in the other member ECOWAS states.

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1.2 Problem Definition

The problem to be investigated is how the Nigerian newspaper press reported about the details of the ECOWAS Treaty of sub- regional economic development and from which hypothesis will be generated about the mass communication media attitude to development issues in West Africa.

1.3 Research Questions:

The study proposes to focus on the following research questions:

1. How have the Nigerian newspapers reported generally about the adoption of the Lagos Treaty establishing the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS)?
2. How have the Nigerian newspapers reported on the following dimensions of ECOWAS:
 - (a) Economic
 - (b) Legal
 - (c) Political
 - (d) Cultural
3. How have the Nigerian newspapers treated news items on the ECOWAS protocol relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment in the ECOWAS region?
4. How have the Nigerian newspapers responded to ECOWAS goals of Economic and social integration which are likely to lead to the loss of national sovereignty in the long-run?

5. In what ways have the newspapers in Nigeria portrayed ECOWAS as a potential instrument for collective international political influence for the sub-region against external political and economic power blocs?

1.4 Purpose of the study:

The purpose of this research is to investigate how the Nigerian newspaper press contributed to the propagation of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development as a viable development strategy for the West African sub-region. From the evidence available deduce the extent to which the Nigerian press acted as facilitators of economic development in the region.

It is popularly argued that the media of mass communication can and ought to be an integral part of the development process in the developing countries. This notion arises from the research conclusions on mass media effects on opinion and attitudes formation of the mass audience of the advanced countries. Besides the arguments on adoption of innovations (Rogers: 1964) are also some of the reasons for such confidence on the capability of the mass media to influence audience to adopt and actualize innovation. This research therefore seeks to verify the cases in West Africa with the goals of the ECOWAS as the innovative ideas and the Nigerian press as the sources of attitude and opinion formation and the Nigerian readership of the newspaper as the audience.

The second major task of the research is to generate hypotheses that are

either workable or applicable to the West African communication environment. It is a recurrent theme in most communication literature by West African researchers that hypotheses proved valid in the Western advanced communication environment are not applicable to the West African communication situation (Annan; 1979; Obeng-Quadoo/ Ugboajah: 1985; Senghaas: 1985; Ansah: 1985 ; Twumasi: 1985). However, while the fact that the inapplicability of the Western hypotheses to the West African situation is becoming a settled paradigm, the alternative to the said hypotheses are still nascent. Thus this study also seeks to generate hypotheses based on the media behaviour of the Nigerian press, especially with respect to development issues.

From the conclusion, the study hopes to suggest strategies for greater media involvement in the development process of the region.

1.5 The Rationale for the study:

The lack of appreciable development in West Africa has long been the concern of international agencies on development like the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), International Development Agency (IDA), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the European Economic Commission(EEC), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the

International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the African Development Bank (ADE) and most recently the North-South Commission under Willy Brandt former Chancellor of Germany, the South Commission under Julius Nyerere former Tanzanian president and champion of development (*Ujamaa*). West African countries after independence in the 1960's have pursued development programmes with insignificant results.

However these agencies in the West African countries have concentrated on what is to be done and have had elaborate programmes involving colossal sums of money but the result have not been commensurate. West Africa is still saddled with endemic poverty with the world's poorest countries by IMF and World Bank statistics yet the potentialities for achieving development abound. Development is never given, it is actuated by the people. The question then is why are, and have the people not been involved in their development process as perceived by the development agencies.

It is the basic assumption of this study that the problem lies in communication and therefore there is a critical need for this study and more studies along this line. Communication plays the role of mediation and for new ideas to be adopted by a people who have settled for a way of producing for survival to achieve a change situation the mediation mode must be seen to be involved in the change process. The Nigerian press are an example of the

mediation mode in West Africa and it is how they function towards the change issues that the audience can be persuaded to be involved.

Thus, this research is intended to examine how far the Nigerian press have achieved that level of involvement in the ECOWAS issue to persuade their audiences. This achieved, rational basis would have been established for examining the media of other countries so as to redefine the communication goals for the West African media for development purposes.

1.6 Significance of the Study:

The world is balkanizing: no longer along the lines of politics and religion but along the lines of economic and production capabilities. For example the concept of Europe 1992, as an economic fortress to be set up by the West European members of the common market, is going to be achieved through the unification and integration of the economies and currencies of the industrial production giants of the world. In north America, Canada and the United states of America are at an advanced stage of also integrating their economies to form one production unit. Japan, already an industrialized nation, is leading the South-East Asian medium industrialized nations .The world's seven most industrialized nations (G-7) of USA, Canada, Britain, Germany, France, Japan and Italy are already, and economically balkanized group.

The consequences of the above economic balkanization are such as to make West Africa an economically dependent region in spite of the 'special' colonial ties with some of the advanced countries.

Thus:

- (i) the reality of the threat of perpetual economic dependency and mass poverty in West Africa,
- (ii) that West Africa is still a mass consumer of Western industrial goods with no appreciable production capacity,
- (iii) the need to create greater South-South economic cooperation and integration to avoid the economic suffocation of the industrialized North,
- (iv) the need to ensure that West Africa's own economic integration through ECOWAS succeeds,
- (v) the fact that Africa under the auspices of the O.A.U. is canvassing an African common market,
- (vi) the central role that communication can play in the economic development effort of the third world region like West Africa and therefore the urgent need to exploit all available knowledge about the

behaviour of the West Africa media towards development issues so as to involve the media or improve their efficiency towards development goals,

collectively make this study significant now and also for tomorrow's generation.

West Africa urgently needs economic communication revolution along the lines of their predecessors that initiated and sustained the political revolution through aggressive and dynamic communication in the precolonial times.

It is against this backdrop that this study is intended to be a significant contribution to the growing systematic and scientific body of studies in the attitudinal performances of the press in West Africa and Africa in general with respect to its production development.

1.7 Period, Scope and Limitation of the Study:

1.7.1 The Period:

The study elected to examine the Nigerian newspapers published between January 1981 and December 1985 inclusive. The rationale for this choice of time parameter was based on the reasons that a similar study had been undertaken independently by this researcher but covered the period January 1975 to December 1980 and the shortcomings and conclusion of that study enabled a

more expanded approach to the present study. Secondly, it was also reasoned that the period of 10 years since inception would provide the opportunity for teething problems to be overcome, allow structural establishment of the secretariat to draw media attention for comments and propagation by the Nigerian newspapers since the secretariat of ECOWAS is based in Nigeria.

1.7.2 Scope:

The study used as its universe all the Nigerian daily newspapers in continuous circulation in the time period of January 1981 to December 1985.

These newspapers were 20 in all. These included:

- 1 The Daily Times
- 2 The Punch
- 3 The Guardian
- 4 National Concord
- 5 New Nigerian
- 6 Nigerian Observer
- 7 Daily Sketch
- 8 Nigerian Tribune
- 9 Daily Star
- 10 The Satellite

- 11 Nigerian Statesman
- 12 Nigerian Standard
- 13 Morning Focus
- 14 Nigerian Herald
- 15 Evening Times
- 16 Evening Sketch
- 17 Nigerian Tide
- 18 Nigerian Chronicle
- 19 Nigerian Call
- 20 Daily Nation

Sources: National concord, Nov, 19, 1985.

From the above universe a systematic sample of two Federal newspapers: *Daily Times* and *New Nigerian*; then four other privately owned newspapers: *The Guardian*, *National Concord*, *The Punch*, *Tribune* plus five randomly sampled state-owned newspapers: *Daily Sketch*, *Nigerian Herald*, *Nigerian Observer*, *Nigerian Statesman* and *Nigerian Tide*, constituted the working population, that is, the sample population for the study.

1.7.3 Limitations of the study:

The study excluded the evening newspapers from the sample population because of their character of being directed at scoops that were very localized and also for being orientated towards soft journalism and sensationalism.

Although the study adopted the ambitious title of "The Nigerian Press" in reality the study was limited to the newspapers and as such the radio and television which are also instruments of communication for development (Ansah *et. al.*: 1981; Unesco: All Indian Radio-Unesco pilot projects, 1986:3); were not included in the study. However, any generalizations arising from the study could be applicable to them too since the source and the training of the operators of these media are similar in form and generate similar attitudes to national and international issues.

Finally, for reasons of financial constraints the current study could not reproduce all the newspapers evidence that were analysed to validate or invalidate the research questions and assumptions. However they can be provided for inspection on demand.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

The entire corpus of this study is premised on the notion of economic development for West Africa and the part that the press can play to achieve that. Thus if the press of Nigeria, and indeed West Africa, have a role to play in achieving this notion, at the onset therefore, it is compelling to understand the concept of development. In an attempt to place this concept in practical perspective, the entire performance of the West African economy from pre-colonial to colonial was thoroughly examined from the conviction that the present cannot be totally understood if the internal dynamics that propelled the economy to the present are not in themselves totally grasped. Any departure from this would lead to only peripheral perceptions which will amount to only pursuing the phantom rather than the concrete *thing-in-itself*. Besides the issue of development has been a subject of intellectual discourse in the West African region and also the avowed goals of the emergent post-colonial African governments as evidenced in the content of their political manifestoes. Today, development is also the concern of the new breed politicians as well as some regional groupings. What then is development?

In an attempt to explain this concept, Brett (1973:3-4) has argued that:

Development or modernization is seen in much of the contemporary Western academic literature as 'the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth and have been spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian and African continents. Knowledge of 'Western complex systems' is thus said to provide a basis from which a model or ideal type of developed society can be derived....

In examining the concrete forms of development the author above has asserted that the image of the developed society is characterised by structures which are highly differentiated, organically integrated and very productive, and by behaviour conditioned by universalistic, achievement and specific norms which are in contrast to the traditional societies to which much of West Africa falls. Brett (1973) argues further that the traditional communities have undifferentiated, mechanically integrated and unproductive structures and behaviour conditioned by particularistic, ascriptive and diffuse norms. As a corollary to the two comparisons which are the two continuum of developed and underdeveloped societies it is possible to locate societies with degrees of achievement of development through the application of the economic indicators of development which the author has classified to include:

- (i) urbanization
- (ii) industrialization
- (iii) literary

From the above it is clear to see that development is a function of economic progress which is arrived at by the successful operation of a developed mode of economic production. This is so because the economic indicators as stated above are pure consequences of economic activities that yield the capacity for the accumulation of wealth. Thus where the mode of production does not allow the accumulation of wealth for further improvement of the mode of production, then development will not exist and in its place will be underdevelopment, backwardness and poverty. These notions have indeed been used severally to describe the economic condition of West Africa by not only the Western writers but also Western international economic agencies.

The task for the press of the region and especially Nigeria is to shift the present focus from everyday events to issues raised by the above conditions of the West African economy that, in their turn, pre-determine the everyday events considered to be news and newsworthy issues that engage the attention of the print and electronic media. The press have to be more perceptive and also be more development oriented by articulating the problems of the region and proffering solutions. It is in this context that the ECOWAS issue can be appropriately seen as an attempt to overcome the constraints of economic growth to achieve the developmental ideal which assures comfort and well-being to the people.

Brett's definition of development emphasises the existence of economic structures as indicators of development. This view appears very limiting and appears to postulate a vicarious experience of development if the explanation is situated in the West African region as a model for adoption. Brett does not elaborate on the position of the people per se in his definition and this point is the most critical in any consideration of development in any of the West African countries, Nigeria not excepting. The writer on development that placed significant attention to the status of the people in the development issue is Rodney (1982:9-21). For example, in answering the question of what is development, he has addressed himself to two elements of the term. First as it applies to the individual human being and secondly as it applies to economic function. Thus, Rodney (1982:1) has expounded the first argument by asserting that:

Development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Some of these are virtually moral categories and are difficult to evaluate depending as they do on the age in which one lives, one's class origins and one's personal code of what is right and what is wrong. However, what is indisputable is that the achievement of any of those aspects of personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole.

However, in considering the application of the term to the society at large but more specifically in its economic sense, Rodney (1983:10), pointed out that:

A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), understanding into practice by devising tools (technology), and on the manner in which work is organised.

Again at the core of Rodney's argument we perceive the recurrence of the element of technology; not necessarily as we perceive the occurrence of technology today but simply the fact of initiating production beyond the simplest forms of tools of the hoe and cutlass for mass production and increased consumption. Thus the recurrent position of this study to the issue of development especially as it originated here in the past is vindicated when one observes the independent position raised by Rodney (1982:10-11) in the capacity of man irrespective of his continent of origin to develop. He argues that everywhere people have shown the capacity to developed independently by increasing their capacity to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature. Thus the rudimentary view of economic development lies in peoples ability to increase their capacity to exploit nature's resources for their personal benefit.

Against this background, Rodney (1982:11) has further argued the stages for man's progressive economic achievement by raising the point that man progressed from:

- (i) the use of crude stone tools to the use of metals

- (ii) the change over from hunting and gathering wild fruit to the domestication of animals and the growing of food crops;
- (iii) the improvement in organisation of his work from being an individualistic activity towards being an activity which assumes a social character through the participation of many.

Finally, the point is made that everywhere, man was faced with the test of survival by meeting fundamental material needs; and better tools were a consequence of the interplay between human beings and nature as part of the struggle for survival. The success of this onward survival was in its turn based on the overall tendency towards increased production, and at given times the increase in the quantity of goods was associated with a change in the quality or character of society. At the bottom-line therefore, Rodney (1982:12) hinges his summation of the notion of economic development on the totality of the quality of the social process.

This is not arguable because the entire social process is an appendage of the economic base so that any qualitative improvement on the function of the economic base would logically lead to an advance, albeit, a qualitative advance in the superstructure which necessarily includes the social process. So our economic output determines our social output and for this reason the recurrent point for the communicators for the modernization of the region should devise the strategies for communicating the ECOWAS issues based on this reality, that, until there is a

qualitative improvement of one mode of production in the region, not only shall we operate a dependent economy for all times but that the quality of existence will never experience a permanent change. The means of altering our regional quality of life for the individual and the society at large is through regional economic integration and ECOWAS therefore is it. Need we argue further with the abundant intellectual evidence?

Ake (1981:141-143) in situating the concept of development into the African historical experience pointed out that the notion of development gained popularity in the period of the 1960's when most African countries achieved their political independence.

He has argued that:

One important impulse for change in African economies is the desire of African leaders, apparently shared by their followers, for development. The desire for development might be described with equal accuracy as a passion or an ideology. The informal and formal pronouncements of African leaders give one the impression of an unshakeable commitment to the idea that they must achieve development, perceived as primary for their own welfare, the legitimation of their leadership and the well-being their countries.

Ake (1981) has argued further that most of the post independence leaders have always associated their countries' condition of underdevelopment to issues like poverty, the high incidence of disease, unemployment, military weakness,

ignorance, technological backwardness, cultural deprivation, short life-expectancy, social disorganisation and the high incidence of political instability. Thus, the political leaders see development of their economies as the necessary condition for dealing decisively with these problems. Arising from these perceptions, Ake (1981:142) has concluded that development has assumed the sense of:

... generally some variety or permutation of the notion of Westernization, industrialization or capitalist economic growth. Thus wanting development became virtually the same thing as wanting to be like the West.

Although there is some element of truth in the above statement judging from the patterns of post-independence economic structures erected by the post-independence African leaders and also the pattern of imports from the Western countries and more importantly the degree to which the West African economies became appendages to those of the developed countries, there were some other African political leaders who strenuously attempted to depart from this general notion articulated by Ake (1981), at least theoretically so, in their manifestoes and development plans. For example, Toure (1978:110-112) argued a different conception of development for his country, Guinea. In his case, he argued that:

The PDG distinguishes between economic growth and development. There is development when economic growth is homogeneous, and effectively ensures quantitative and qualitative progress in all fields of the people's life; in the material, medical, educational, cultural fields, including science and technology ... But when the change is partial,

covering only one sector of the economy, or even several limited sectors, such an economic growth must not be confused with true development... Economic development always goes with economic growth, which the reverse is not always true. Development always implies growth. When the latter is general, even and harmonious, it becomes synonymous with development.

Thus, the above articulation provides the study with the ground base for the need to distinguish between pure economic statistics from real acquired means of satisfying one's daily wants and the feeling of being an equal member of the nation albeit the region. There is no doubt that the region abounds in great potential for achieving development for all that will be meaningful and concrete with minimum dehumanization. The clear rider to Toure's argument which displaces Bretts structural emphasis is the attention to be placed on the people. In Toure's conception of development, the people are the central target of development and not necessarily the volume of G.N.P. The West African condition is not a call for increased GNP or foreign exchange but call for improved living condition and longevity of life with minimum threats from disease, poverty, illiteracy and armed robbery. This humanistic conception of economic development is further articulated by Toure (1981:112) after contrasting the development case of Cote D'Ivoire with its numerous capitalistic shortcomings as the Cote D'Ivoire economic development perspective is premised on the Western notion. Toure submits as quoted that:

In all a things, the happiness and well-being of the

people must come first. The process of development followed by societies usually called 'developed', which have achieved great technological progress has not created the conditions which permit free and full human development. Such societies are observed by economic matters, which they separate from political and social considerations. They may be strong and well developed materially and technologically, but they can be less developed than societies in which the human element is uppermost... For the PDG yardstick for measuring development is how far the human potential and human needs have been fulfilled. This cannot be shown in terms of statistics or on charts showing economic performance. It can only be experienced or observed in the degree to which the peoples interests are being served.

The arguments here constitute the ideal of development for the ECOWAS region as articulated by the terms of the ECOWAS Treaty which fortunately does not prescribe the kind of political system that would ensure the achievement of its stated goals. The treaty is people-oriented; it seeks to create a greater opportunities of self-help through self-application by the region's people. The treaty does not at any point assume a charitable stance to cater for the region's citizens. Should the region's potential be opened up through agricultural, industrial, legal and communications revolutions through cooperative investment it is up to the individual people to seize the opportunity for self-actualization through production and accumulation of capital; there is no room for parasitic existence. Thus no people from one country will be catered for by another without valid productive

means of his/her own. The Treaty's legal requirements for movement clearly articulate this case. Thus underlying Toure's humanism in development is a productive mode that exists, that works and is efficient and to achieve such for the entire region it will require deliberate conscientization of the people in this direction which the study submits will be the onus of the region's communicators and especially the opinion leaders in all categories but most prominently the mass communicators.

The articulation of what economic development is has again reared up in the present decade of the 1990's. The most recent categorisation of the elements of development has been articulated by the South Commission under the Chairmanship of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who himself was an architect of the attempt to implement a development strategy in Tanzania referred to as the *Ujamaa* - village development. The South Commission (1990:10-14), already referred to in the body of the study, has described its perception of development in the following manner:

- (i) The South's vision must also embrace a notion of what development ultimately signifies. In our view, development is a process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through development, political independence acquires its true significance. And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is development.

- (ii) From the above the Commission points out further that: Development therefore implies growing self-reliance, both individual and collective. The base for a nation's development must be its own resources, both human and material, fully used to meet its own needs. External assistance can promote development. But to have this effect, this assistance has to be integrated into the national effort and applied to the purposes of those it is meant to benefit. Development is based on self-reliance and is self-directed; without these characteristics there can be no genuine development.
- (iii) it is also argued that a nation stand for its people and as such development has to be an effort of, by and for the people. Thus true development has to be people centred. It has to be directed at the fulfilment of human potential and the improvement of the social and economic well-being of the people. And it has to be designed to secure what the people themselves perceive to be their social and economic interests.
- (iv) Development also means political freedom and the individuals should be able to influence the affairs and decisions that are taken around him through the process of participation and this requires his education and the availability of channels that are free for him to express his interests and desires. Thus the existence of democratic institutions and popular participation in decision making are therefore essential to genuine development.
- (v) Another measure of development is the necessity for the existence of a medium whereby the citizens and government can constantly interact to ensure that people's interest at all times are being served. This medium will also ensure that the government can mobilize the people and the nation's resources to ensure that the path of development continues to respond to the interests of its people.
- (vi) To ensure development there must be a rapid and sustained economic growth so that hunger, disease and ignorance can be overcome through the production of goods and services. Besides the economy has to expand in other to allow job opportunities and the means for individual accumulation of capital. Thus development should not be perceived as fulfilled through high GNP but rather

there should be a real growth in the goods produced and made available to the citizens.

In concluding its postulate of what development really is, and which ideal should be pursued by the governments of the South and which the people themselves should press their governments to create, the South Commission (1990:13) has proffered its own definition which it has articulated as:

...development is a process of self-reliant growth, achieved through the participation of the people acting in their own interests as they see them, and under their own control. Its first objective must be to end poverty, provide productive employment, and satisfy the basic needs of all the people, any surplus being fairly shared. This implies that basic goods and services such as food and shelter, basic education and health facilities and clean water must be accessible to all. In addition, development presupposes a democratic structure of government, together of speech, organization, and publication, as well as a system of justice which protects all the people from actions inconsistent with just laws that are known and publicly accepted.

The South Commission being specifically assigned to re-examine the development achievements of the South countries came with the above definition which is itself an indictment of the poor performance of the economies of the South countries to serve the needs of the people. Thus after nearly over thirty years of political freedom the West African countries who also constitute the South countries have yet to achieve that level of economic performance that is described as development as delineated above. From the South Commission's articulation, the

point also to be appreciated is the fact that development is a national self-reliant, internally generated process of harnessing the natural resources for the greater benefit of the people. Conversely, development is the quantity of finished goods that a nation can purchase from abroad for its citizens. Thus, development is apposite to economic dependency. The logic for West Africa is that the concept of development will be a practical reality if the domestic budgets show a lesser dependence on or complete absence of imported goods.

Further, the notion of development today is not the erection of structures and the acquisition of machines but how to ensure the individual is contented and dignified. From the analysis of the South Commission (1990:14-18), the South countries cannot achieve this ideal of development in isolation as different countries because of their varying level of national income and their distribution, the quantity and quality of infrastructure and productive capacity, levels of education and skills and managerial capacity, and the degree of public participation in political and social life. Besides, the respective historical experiences, culture, homogeneity will considerably affect the priority scales of each country and the spread of movement towards the goal of development.

With the above general gloomy verdict on the South countries' economic performance in perspective and the actual condition of West African countries that have all adopted the Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) as the palliative to the

distortions in their domestic economic performance it is evident that a collective approach to the solution of individualized economic problems is the only rationale option left for the West African countries. This deduction is clearly reinforced by the unambiguous argument of the South Commission (1990:16-17) which points out that:

In the prevailing world environment, South-South cooperation offers developing countries a strategic means for pursuing relatively autonomous paths to development suited to the needs and aspirations of their people. On their own, most countries of the South unlikely to be able to exploit fully the economies of scale necessary for success in a large number of industries. Nor will they be able to devote the critical minimum of resources necessary for research and development and for strengthening their scientific and technological capabilities.

Finally the Commission warns that if the Third World countries act separately they will be placing themselves on an extremely weak bargaining position in dealing with well-organized groupings of developed countries or with transactional corporations. The Commission has in consequence of the preceding proffered two organizational imperatives for the South countries to adopt:

- (i) Solidarity
- (ii) Cooperation

While proffering the above strategies for overcoming the tall economic conditions confronting the Third World countries which subsumes West African

countries, the Commission Report (1990:15) draws the attention of the affected countries to the new economic movements of the advanced countries towards economic integration. The developed countries, whose economies are already large are nonetheless moving towards economic integration and this the Commission argues shall emphasize the need for collaboration among developing countries in a changing world in which size of economy and economic and political power are assuming greater significance. In the face of the above the Report argues further that:

Developing countries must therefore seek to take full advantage of the economies of aggregation. Sub-regional, regional and inter-regional cooperation has now become indispensable for sustained growth. The fact that transactional cooperations exercise a dominant influence both on the generation of new technologies and on the flows of international trade makes such cooperation even more vital. Geographical proximity is one basis for cooperation, leading to bilateral, sub-regional or regional action. Another situation in which countries may find it advantageous to work together is that where they can advanced common interest in a certain commodity or in developing a joint industry.

These comprehensive statements quoted from the South Commission's report (1990) are in themselves not only valid for directional reorientation for nationalists but are, in fact, a vindication of the time and effort and even money spent on ensuring that the ECOWAS institution did not die a premature death as the East Africa Economic Community (EAEC), (Asiwaju in Akinyemi et. al. (1985)).

Thus in the present reality the planners and intellectuals should think more of how to popularise the concept of regional economic integration as a final means for each individual to divest himself the thought of government care and responsibility for him and rather acquire a skill or trade and see which area of the region would require his labour and thus set himself up as a productive being. Such cumulative production would lead to capital accumulation for greater investment for the future. With more of the region's people engaged in capital accumulation then the concept of a widened regional market for mass individual output for development will then be an economic reality. Thus against the background of the findings of the independent South Commission it will be logical to claim that the intellectual pool of the region have proved that they are capable of thinking around how to tackle the region's burning economic issues.

The challenge now is the implementation of the well conceived strategy for the region's development. And for implementation as this study has argued, it should not rest with the governments alone. It should be the responsibility of respective pressure groups or identifiable economic groups and indeed enterprising individuals who believe in pushing their economic frontiers beyond their present predicaments. In fact the South Commission Report (1990:17) has even argued that:

It is important that cooperation should not only

take place between government agencies. Trading, industrial, and financial enterprises, trade unions, research organizations, non-governmental organizations, and the media of the South should all be encouraged and helped to contribute to the advancement of the collective cause of the South and its solidarity in action.

It is under this context that the study precisely perceives an obligatory role for the media to be part of the dynamic instruments that brought about the actualization of the ECOWAS institution that would ensure the economic liberation of the region's peoples from the paralytic economic effects of the varying economic measures in the region under the aegis of Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) which has brought untold hardships to many and death to many more.

Thus it has to be understood by this generation and especially the economic nationalists that ECOWAS is not a way of siphoning the wealth of the rich sectors of the region so as to spread equitable poverty but rather a way of investing for the future to prevent the reoccurrence of the colonization of the region's natural resources which led to the brutalization of the people in the colonial era. Further, that just as the media were in the vanguard fanning frenzied nationalist feelings for political independence, it is now expected that it would take the vanguard role to fan acceptance and actualization of the ECOWAS objectives so as to overthrow the creeping neo-colonization considered the last stage of colonialism, (Nkrumah, 1965) and the final path to true freedom and dignity for the

African.

As a last word, since the concept of development is critical to this study it is important to note further two arguments by the South Commission Report (1990:17-18) which stated that:

- (i) The rewards of cooperation can, in time, become considerable. But they have to be earned; resources and effort have to be invested, and it takes time to produce results... South-South links should avoid reproducing within the south the exploitative patterns which have characterised North-South relationships.
- (ii) Steps towards South-South cooperation - towards collective self-reliance, solidarity, regional integration, and effective organization in support steps on the road to development and a better future for the South's people. They must be a part of the vision for the South, for it is through links that bring the nations of the South closer in active partnership that it will draw strength to secure a world without divisions.

Thus if the content of these two cardinal points in economic integration be appreciated and the concept of development be a desired goal for the region, then, the media houses and especially the print media in the respective ECOWAS countries should need no further clearance to perform their professional duty of development communication. This is so because as at the last ECOWAS summit in Abuja, July 1991, the communique on media role in the sensitization of the people of the region was clear and Senegal, the next Chair of ECOWAS has promised loud and clear its commitment to organise a regional media seminar on

the role of the journalist in the dissemination of ECOWAS goals. This fact emphasises the critical role of the medial in this West African development initiative.

2.2 NIGERIA: ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

The nature of the Nigerian economy is totally subsumed in the preceding examination of the West African economy since its land mass is caught in the respective ecological and geographical patterns of the region. Thus, any separate detailed examination here on the nature of the Nigerian economy would defeat the purpose of the study which in strict sense is more concerned with performance. Ekundare (1973) in tracing the development of the Nigerian economy, which he has described as revolutionary, given that a century ago the economy was purely a subsistence one, has argued that the philosophy behind the Nigerian achievement of growth and change from the subsistence state by the period after independence has been due to its philosophy of *competitive capitalism* which is discussed below.

2.2.1 Competitive Capitalism

The spirit of competitive capitalism exists in a situation of free-enterprise economy in which certain fundamental economic principles have been established. These include:

- (i) the private ownership of factors of production.
- (ii) the right to organize such factors for productive purposes and for profit motives.
- (iii) and the exercise of the above within the legal framework of the country.

From these points Ekundare (1973:383) then argues that:

An individual, therefore, could own factors of production, set himself up in business, join others in partnership, or own shares in a joint stock venture. He could then sell his produce for profit without any government intervention on observing all the basic laws which made it possible for him and the other citizens to enjoy competitive capitalism.

This experience in Nigeria is specifically the central thrust of this study that the West African region can develop its potential with substantial individual involvement in its dynamic operation. For just as the small-scale producers are the central economic fulcrum on which most of the West African economies subsist on new type of economic individualist, if appropriately encouraged to work alone or team up are likely to achieve far greater than just the collective governments. Thus just as the Nigerian economy revolutionized as a result of economic individualism the region can also revolutionize its achievement for economic individualism after laying down the necessary economic infrastructures.

Ekundare (1973:384) anticipating the present performance of the Nigerian

economy has also attributed the fundamentals of its achievement to capital accumulation engineered by the desire for profit. He asserts that although the indigenous social and economic systems of Nigeria were based largely on the extended family system Nigerians were not necessarily natural socialists. His reasons are that where the process of division of labour and exchange had not been fully entrenched into the economic system, a reliance on subsistence production, which was the main economic characteristic of the extended family system was inevitable. However, subsistence production did not preclude exchange. Thus where the main reason for production in the subsistence economy was to satisfy individual wants, surplus production over and above the subsistence level often formed the nucleus of an exchange system - either barter or money exchange. These beginnings were strengthened by, what Ekundare (1985) further asserts, the economics of the slave trade, the legitimate trade with its foundations in rural agricultural capitalism. In other words the preceding activities gave the Nigerian initiative at capitalism a further boost for capital accumulation.

These periods not only saw the rise of capitalism and the foundations of a materialistic society, but, in fact, the collapse of the grip of the extended family system. This was very evident because in the period under review some family obligations were being taken over by the government, these were matters like the care of the sick and financial support for education, Ekundare (1973:384). This

situation therefore gave greater scope for competitive capitalism to operate. In its operation it provided the government with the framework to engage in enterprise, there was also room for private enterprise, both corporate and individual, as well as joint venture between the private and the government economic operatives. From this economic framework the colonial government was able to provide the direction for the social and economic activities before the period of internal political independence in Nigeria.

From the emergent structure arrangement in the economic formation of Nigeria, Ekundare (1973:385) concluded that the colonial administration was able to provide the kind of economic leadership that was compatible with imperialism. Thus if the colonial economy served the colonialists efficiently it was largely because the Nigerians had evolved a base economic philosophy of their own which was premised on the notion of competitive capitalism.

Whether, this economic operational structure led to any distortion of the real interest of the Nigerians is not discussed in Ekundare's (1985) epilogue but what is asserted emphatically is that at independence in 1960 three sectors of economic activity emerge and these were:

- (i) The public sector which was dominated by the activities of the government and its agencies.
- (ii) The semi-public sector in which the government joined with

private enterprise as partner or sponsor.

(iii) The private sector for private corporate and individual activity.

With the sectors discharging their sectoral specialization in the Nigerian economy it was now a policy objective of the government to ensure an increase in the rate of economic growth and in consequence, therefore, every sector had to increase its participation in the general level of economic activity. From this general performance Ekundare (1973:400) came to the conclusion that:

There is a strong belief that the Nigerian economy has passed the stage of economic 'take-off' and reached that of self-sustaining growth.

This bold 1973 conclusion about the performance of the Nigerian economy has been tacitly criticised by Williams (1976) who argued that at this level of capitalist development neither the colonial government, nor the colonial firms really initiated the transition from trading to manufacturing which stage would have created the beginning of industrial production. So that, in reality, what was perceived as capitalist development had its basis on trading which did not affect the mode of production. Much of the trading was carried out by marketing boards that controlled pricing policies. Williams (1976) thus argued that:

The pricing policies of the Marketing Boards delayed the development of industry by limiting the expansion of the market, and the development of indigenous capitalism by denying African traders the opportunity to profit from the post-war boom in commodity prices. The surpluses

accumulated by the Marketing Board was sent to Britain, rather than invested in Nigeria.

Thus, the wealth generated in Nigeria which ought to have been used to industrialize and increase the accumulative capacity of the ordinary Nigerians were rather used to generate industrial production in Britain. Besides, the fact that most of the said capitalist revolution as argued by Ekundare (1973:382-384) for Nigeria was in the hands of the multi-national corporations, Williams (1976), meant that all tangential and related elements of economic activity like distribution and financial activities were also controlled by the multinational corporations. Where there was a joint investment with the state government, the intermediate industries depended on foreign-controlled capital, supplies of intermediate goods and technical and managerial skills were also foreign sourced. Where these foreign controlled industries generated a demand for the development of skills and learning, both for their own activities, and for the administration of public affairs, these skills were acquired by the highly educated Nigerian middle-class in the metropolitan and colonial universities. This status made the Nigerian middle-class absorbable in the multinational corporations and the state administration. This complementarity served the purposes of the multinationals at the expense of the generality of the ordinary Nigerians since the gains of production ought to have been directed towards the people.

Williams (1976) argued further that the middle-class in sharing a common education and aspiration with the multinational also came to share with the metropolitan capitalists a commitment to the development of capitalist production and the extension of state activity at the expense peasant and petty commodity producers. Thus the development of neo-colonial capitalism substituted imports of intermediate and producer goods for imports of consumer goods. This led to the consolidation rather than the subvention of dependence on foreign supplies, since production as well as consumption came to depend on foreign imports.

Capitalism in the period also came to depend heavily on the peasants and petty commodity producers and this dependence was facilitated by the state apparatus rather than the market forces through competition and demand and supply. For example, as argued by Williams (1976), the Marketing Boards which were state controlled enable the state to the rate of exploitation of peasant labour to finance the emergence of Nigerian capitalist class and to finance the development of industrial investments and the provision of urban services and amenities to the detriment of the rural sector where the peasants and the majority of the Nigerian population predominated. Further, the type of capitalist production system that emerged depended on the ordinary people either directly or indirectly for its market on:

- (i) the incomes of export-crop farmers.

- (ii) the incomes of workers and clerks employed by the capitalist firms and the state.
 - (iii) the incomes derived by the bourgeoisie from the exploitation of the producers and more recently from their appropriation of a share of the oil revenues.
 - (iv) the incomes of petty commodity producers, craftsmen and traders, and food-crop farmers generated by the spending of other classes.
- (Williams, 1976).

Thus the economic picture produced in the neo-colonial capitalist production system was the impoverishment of the lower class and a restriction on their ability to accumulate capital to initiate the indigenous industrial revolution which in itself reduces the degree of economic dependence on other economies. This is the essential ingredient of the developed economy, thus whereas capitalism and capitalist production was emergent its real service objective was never the Nigerian people and society but the metropolitan countries since profits were always repatriated to serve the metropolitan economy.

What decolonisation, the structural status of the merged capitalist production was never altered rather it was perpetrated because it only brought about a change only in the pattern of participation and influence in public affairs. For example, Williams (1976) argued that in the period of decolonisation:

Power was effectively devolved the bourgeoisie who commanded the skills and resources necessary to determine public policy at the regional and national levels... Allocation of resources at the local level was now determined by the interests of the ruling party at the regional, and ultimately the federal, level. Thus local influence depended on patronage relations with regional politicians, and the imposition of military rule has deprived people of even these limited opportunities for patronage.

From the above statement, therefore, it can be seen that although decolonisation brought with it capitalist development in Nigeria supervised by Nigerians, it did not change much by way of the spread of the GNP in real terms to the people. Rather this new capitalism, as it were, consolidated rather than subverted foreign economic domination. For example, the new capitalism depended on the increasing exploitation of export-crop farmers, and restricted the development of peasant and petty commodity production.

The above views are also shared by Ake (1981:114) who analysed the post-colonial economies of Nigeria and Tanzania in relation to development and came to the conclusion that:

Nigeria's nationalist leaders were very much preoccupied with economic dependence during their nationalist struggle. But it was not until the launching of the *Second National Development Plan, 1970-1974* that a clear strategy of reducing economic dependence emerged.

As a way out, the document argued that it was necessary to localise ownership and control of the economy and that political independence without economic

independence was an 'empty shell', that a truly independent nation cannot allow its objectives and priorities to be distorted or frustrated by the manipulations of powerful foreign investors.

From such organic views the Nigerian government introduced successive decrees and amendments which were all geared towards achieving that economic independence. For example the *Nigerian Enterprises Decree of 28th February, 1972* became in fact the first bold legal initiative of laying down the foundations of a truly free economy. The legal instrument created a *Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board* whose duty was to see to it that Nigerians participated fully and played a dominant role in enterprises that were set up in the various areas of the economic life of Nigeria. Further, there was a delineation of some 33 areas where aliens were allowed to participate with the proviso that:

- (i) the paid up capital exceeded 20,000 pounds or turn-over exceeded 500,000 pounds.
- (ii) there was indigenous equity participation of not less than 40%.

Further legislation with intent to achieve economic independence in Nigeria were decrees and these included:

- (i) the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion (Amendment) Decree 1973
- (ii) the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion (Amendment) 1974
- (iii) the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1976

(iv) the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1977

The Decree of 1977 reclassified enterprises into three categories, these were:

- (i) enterprises requiring low technology and limited capital and these were reserved for Nigerians exclusively. There were altogether 40 types in this category.
- (ii) the second included 57 types of enterprises in which aliens could participate and be part-owners provided Nigerians had 60% equity share.
- (iii) the third category consisted of 39 types that were relatively capital intensive enterprises, such as ship-building and the manufacture of motor vehicles and these were open to aliens as long as Nigerians participation was 40%.

Ake (1981:115) has pointed out that the Decree of 1977 served to increase the scope of Nigerian participation in the economy and also to improve the mechanism of implementation of the policy of Nigerianisation. The decree ensured that Nigerian equity participation would range from 40% to 100% depending on the character of the enterprise. However, in all critical enterprises like petro-chemical and banking, a minimum equity participation of 60% was obligatory.

The significance of this analysis to the study lies in the objective of showing that as at 1977, two years after the signing into effect the ECOWAS treaty Nigeria was itself, in spite of the vast economic potential, grappling with the need to assert itself economically from the lack of real benefits from its economic resources which, as it has been argued earlier in the study and supported by the concept of

development by South Commission, must be people-oriented. Further, in spite of these bold advances in legislation to ensure a people participation in their economy, Ake (1981:115) still argues that the legislative approach is not the answer to the problem of dependence. He has pointed out that Nigeria's measure:

...does not address the problem in its essentials. First of all the state of Nigeria's technology is a critical aspect of her dependence, and this approach offers nothing relevant to this aspect of dependence. As long as Nigeria depends wholly on foreign technology, it cannot make significant progress towards economic independence. Thus achieving majority Nigerian equity participation in the petroleum industry does not say much about progress towards economic independence, for those who own the technology in fact control the critical means of production. If the technology is withheld then Nigeria's oil wealth, for all practical purposes, ceases to exist.

A second criticism by Ake (1981:116) is that the legislative approach does not confront the structural links of the economy to the metropolis, which he argues is another fundamental aspect of dependence. For example he asserts that the legislation deals with the ownership factor of enterprises but is silent on the critical factor of international exchange, which is a critical mechanism for the transfer of surplus to the metropolis as well as for maintaining the international division of labour which underlines Africa's underdevelopment and dependence.

The aim of the ECOWAS Treaty is to ensure collective production and exchange to reduce dependence on the industrialised North and save surplus to

reinvest in the region to ensure that there will be abundant development opportunities for all the citizens of the region who will adopt self-application as a *modus vivendum*. In this respect therefore the analysis of the Nigerian economy so far assures that the ECOWAS Treaty is in the final analysis extremely relevant to Nigeria's attempt to achieve economic independence and break away from underdevelopment through an industrial take-off. As with all such achievements it will require markets to strengthen its capitalist base if not to protect it indeed against challenges and brutal competitions from the industrialised North who still have linkages within the ECOWAS sub-region but most importantly within her domestic economy.

In a related analysis on the theme of imperialism and underdevelopment in Nigeria and for that matter the causes of lack of real economic growth in Nigeria, Onimode (1983:236-237) has reached the same analytic conclusions as the above quoted authors. In his own argument he has pointed out that:

British colonialists initiated the cultivation of a domestic petty-bourgeois class in Nigeria by first strengthening feudal chieftaincy and coastal elites, and later recruiting their offspring for bourgeois education locally and overseas. These became imperialism's faithful allies who betrayed the anti-colonial struggle and were rewarded with state power at flag independence, while Britain and other imperialists retained economic power in Nigeria. Subsequently, imperialism has been strengthening this class of petty-bourgeois civil and military compradors who impose reactionary policies of underdevelopment on the country in a

mutually beneficial venture of neo-colonial entrenchment.

Thus where Onimode, as above lays the blame for underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy on the alter of the Nigerian political inheritors a new tangential perspective analysis illuminates the role of the transnational corporations. This view is asserted by Ohiorhenuan (1990:51) when he argued on the issue of capitalism, underdevelopment and the state in Nigeria and pointed out that:

The pre-eminent role of transnational capital in the Nigerian economy may appear to justify the neo-colonialist thesis... the military inherited an economy in which the major dynamic sectors: oil, manufacturing, commerce, and banking were firmly dominated by transnational capital. Also, it will be seen ... (that)... even with various ostensibly nationalist measures taken by the military, transnational control of the economy remains very strong. Moreover, both military officers and higher civilservants could be seen as favourably predisposed to Western culture by virtue of their education, professional socialization, soldiers, arms purchases could reinforce a dependence on the international capitalist system.

With further analysis, in similar vein as above, that the economic hold of the foreign international corporation participation in the Nigerian economy; the lack of indigenous substantial and deep rooted initiative in the Nigerian economy, being some of the reasons for the conspicuous absence of an industrial take-off, the Nigerian scholars of the performance of the Nigerian economy, especially after the first twenty-five years after independence, are quite united in their perspective approaches as recorded in Kayode and Usman (1989). For this study, Onimode

(1983:276-306) makes some important and relevant assertions that illuminate the arguments of the researchers in this part of the study. From his study he came to the conclusion, which is itself emergent in this part of the study, that:

The performance of the Nigerian economy since nominal independence has been generally unsatisfactory and disappointing, relative to the enormous resources of the country. The most significant failures have arisen due to a persistent poverty of vision in the policy and institutional framework, which has manifested itself in the structural malalignment and poor management of the economy. This is why in spite of intermittent rapid growth of G.D.P. some sectors of the economy like mining, commerce, and construction, there has been sustained underdevelopment.

The reasons for the above conclusion according to Onimode in Kayode and Usman (1989:306) are contained in the following summary points:

- (i) Nigeria's failure to dismantle and reorganise the perverse structures of the economy and society bequeathed by colonialism.
- (ii) The persistent consolidation of the above condition which has led to some major *structural* problems like the external prostrate dependence of the economy, its deepening crises, rising external debt and technological backwardness.
- (iii) The deteriorating of the agricultural sector and the rural economy thereby increasing structural inequalities and kleptocratic looting of the state are additional weaknesses.
- (iv) The failure to utilize the two opportunities to achieve social transformation after the civil war and during the oil boom.

From the preceding examination of the literature on the performance of the

Nigerian economy it is still the view of the prominent watchers of the Nigerian economy that the performance has not been commensurate with its capacity to achieve a developed status. The reasons articulated can be summarised into two often used terms to described the structure of the economy, which are:

- (i) dependence
- (ii) lack of technological development.

From the common man's point of view, the vast oil resources and the volume of revenue accruing from it to Nigeria ought to assure it of a developed status. Sometimes, the domestic perception of development is often pursue by way of the heavy importation of consumer goods. The capacity to consume and the availability of the means to ensure the stated consumption has been subverted by the South Commission's Report (1990) as being a method of development. Development, as has been argued, very simply, is self-reliance and dependence on one's national resources. However, the truth of the matter is that no one country, not even Nigeria with its vast resources, his or can achieve the advocated self-reliance alone. Nigeria, like the other ECOWAS countries, requires the economy of scales of the other member countries to facilitate its own economic growth. Thus, as a region, the only way out of the circle of poverty or underdevelopment is cooperation. In fact, long standing economists of underdevelopment after theorising for several years have also come to the

conclusion, as argued by Myrdal, in Ndongko and Vivekananda (1990) that:

The people of the Third World countries must plan economic cooperation among themselves by pooling their resources together for attaining self-reliance and economic growth instead of foreign aid dependency.

Besides, Nigeria, like the other West African countries, needs to graduate from being a 5% saver to a 12% saver to show that it is on the path to genuine economic development with her resources activated to ensure a high standard of living for Nigerians at large.

It is in this context that the Nigerian press have a duty to be interested in the dissemination of the objectives and intents of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. That is, Nigeria's developmental objectives would also be served under the aegis of a successful implementation of the ECOWAS Treaty objectives. Thus the evaluation of the communication attitude of the Nigerian press to the ECOWAS Treaty objectives is greatly and substantially relevant today to Nigeria's, and indeed West Africa's search for economic development.

2.3 COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

This section deals with the role of communication in the developmental process in Europe. The lessons where applicable or contrasts where inapplicable to West Africa will be used to generate hypothesis for the study.

The ability to anticipate, measure and predict the attitude of communicators and those of recipients of a communication message rests firmly on the audience under similar conditions and exposures. This thought appears to underlie the history of literature review of the Western media tradition. Thus the media in the West have been able to develop a tradition over the years so that should conditions similar to past events occur in the present the media of the present day are likely to respond today as the media in the past responded. This fact enables the researcher armed with his problem definition to trace how past press responded to the matters to be investigated, this way the researcher would have reasonable assumption to anticipate how the press of today would react or respond to his research questions.

It is against this background that an attempt would be made to examine how Europe's media of communication responded to issues of development and in that respect to extend the argument to predict how the Nigerian press would respond to issues of development as contained in the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

Desmond (1978) traced the development of the information process in the West and linked the evolution of the mass communication media with the historical development of the West. From their role in the respective societies the communication media developed a permanent character and thus came to be

referred to as the “fourth estate” of the realm. Thus for every developmental achievement the Western media were always ready to communicate to the generality of the population in order to inform and educate them on the issues of development. Such communications not only made others aware of the progress being achieved but it certainly led to others adopting the activities that brought about progress and ensuring that they were at par with their fellow citizens. Such peripheral development led to broad and national development.

Today it is quite popular to read that the Western countries proclaim that they operate a free press. According to Aspinall (1949:3) this was not achieved suddenly. Rather, such concepts came to be accepted because the press struggled to be free and thereby create a free society to which citizens would plead their fundamental human rights where their freedoms are being infringed upon. Further, Aspinall (1949:3-4) argued that this was achieved because the press rivalled the House of Commons since it was the only organ of public opinion capable of dictating to the government as nothing else could speak the “sense of the public.” Blakstone (1857:161-162) contributing to the role of the press argued that the liberty of the press was essential to the nature of a free society and could only be curtailed where it contravened an existing law.

The commitment of the press to public issues that affected the development of the European society was thus clearly established. The logical inference would

be that the Nigerian press would behave in similar vein. However, certain peculiarities in the Nigerian and indeed the West African communication environment like government monopoly, participation and control of the press through draconian laws would make the Nigerian press behaviour differ from the European examples. Besides the Nigerian traditional communication attitude towards elders and government would lead privately owned newspapers to cohere with government views rather than oppose them where there is a genuine and manifest reason to do so.

The implication of the above is that any assumption about disseminating the details of the ECOWAS goals in the Nigerian press which rested on the attitudes of the Western press to public and development issues initiated by the government are not likely to be validated because of the two societies over time and different experiences. Schramm (1962: 1964) advanced views on communication and development which were considered authoritative. Rogers (1970:121) on his part pointed out that Schramm's views on communication and development were erroneous and inapplicable because the concept of development proposed was Euro-centric and therefore the communication component was bound to be ineffective. Further, Rogers (1971; 1975; 1976) through fieldwork has found out that theoretical considerations about communication and development cannot be supported by supposition of the past

performance of the press in Europe and having these transposed into the real society especially the developing countries, would not be validated. The argument of the preceding studies show that conclusion about communication in development should arise from the given society. This suggests therefore that, although the past performance of the European press might aid us to understand the functions of the press generally, it would be scientifically wise to emphasise the local press response to the local environment and issues to reach a conclusion about the said press. Thus it will be more realistic and accurate to examine the Nigerian press in its communication context and where available to deduce from other West African or third world countries that face similar problems of the need to develop with the press playing a vanguard role.

Further, researches on other European derived hypotheses and models have been found to be inapplicable to the third world peculiarities. Annan (1979:103) and a cohort of other researchers in the Ghana School of Communication Studies have found that the assumptions and hypotheses based on the Western communication models already confirmed and validated in the advanced countries were not applicable in their West African studies. This shows that to study the Nigerian press performance with respect to their attitude to the ECOWAS treaty of development in West Africa the research cannot rely entirely on the Western press lock, stock and barrel for communication hypothesis. In fact this point is

not limited to West Africa alone because Bertrand et. al. (1978:18) working in Guatemala on family planning issues found out that in communicating in Guatemala communication methods proposed did not lead to adoption of family planning by the Guatemalans because the traditional communication networks were not utilized. Thus for this Nigerian study the inference is that to reach an acceptable and valid conclusion the study will have to concentrate on generating hypotheses and assumptions based on the Nigerian communication experience, West African communication experience as well as other third world countries at the level of its communication development rather than the Western media performance.

2.4 THE DISSOCIATION THESIS.

This emerging thought also lends support to the postulate that as far as possible, research on West African communication in general should seek African models rather than depend on Western models, (Ugboaja 1985:180-185). This thought is premised on the fact that the West African communication audience have been exposed to an entirely different media tradition and philosophy from their Western European and American audience. Thus it would be practically misleading to draw conclusion about West African communication behaviour from Western models. This view is purely from the Western models. Rather, these

models, where applicable, could be adapted in the absence of existing indigenous models. This is reinforced by the expressive comment made by Howe (1966:316) when he stated that:

The political and psychological attitude to the press is often determined by the absence or presence of a press tradition.

Since this research is primarily interested in determining the effectiveness of the Nigerian mass communication media in promoting integration in the West African sub-region through sensitizing its citizens the anticipatory assumption will as far as possible be based on Nigeria's communication experience and where possible the study will rely on the West African communication experience. That the Nigerian peoples evolved their own socio-political institutions presumes that they had their own indigenous forms of mass communication systems that facilitated their stability, group progress, solidarity and collective culture, Ugboaja (1985:24-25). Thus to reach a valid assumption about communication and its effects on mass audience behaviour it will be only logical and valid that the researcher utilizes, in the first instance, Nigeria's experience then that of West Africa and vice-versa since there is enough evidence to show that Nigeria shares similar communication variables with the countries of West Africa. This will no doubt ensure reliable and adequate predictability from the gathered experience of past and related behaviour about the future of the same people.

A further testimony to the validity and reliability of utilizing West African experience to generate hypothesis about the West African communication experience for this study is provided by the following assertion:

The state of mass communications can provide an index of a nation's attainment in the economic, technological, political, cultural and educational fields.

This statement provides the basis for the argument that the pre-press communication era in West Africa is significant to having an insight into communication modes in the society and their resultant integrative effects on the given West African societies. There is no doubt that an understanding of this will provide the study with a culture based hypothesis about how the communication media in West Africa will behave with communication messages about integration. It also provides this research with the confidence with which to rely on extra communication research materials on West Africa to arrive at conclusions about communication traditions in West Africa from which valid hypothesis could be made. Since communication is culture, aspects of the study of culture which abounds on West Africa will complement the paucity of communication research on the pre-press era in West Africa.

A further consideration for focusing the attention of this research on the West African communication experience is the argument posited by Schramm (1963:55) when he stated:

Indeed, it is probably wrong for us to expect a country which is trying to gather its resources and mobilize its population for a greater transitional effort to permit the same kind of free competitive, and sometimes confusing communication which we can now afford. A comparatively poor country, trying to do in a few years what we did in a century, feels that it can hardly afford such a luxury.

This statement in essence debunks any attempt to rely totally on some Western models of research to study the Western African experience. Whereas the Western models are derived from press experiences based on freedom and individualism, the Western African tradition has been based on collective interest and national goals. Thus to understand the communication behaviour of the mass media in West Africa on the issue of economic integration in West Africa, it will be significant to rely on literature that deal with press attitudes to national and international issues in the context of West Africa's contextual development. Such intellectual pursuit and dependence will no doubt place this research in consonance with the present trend in West African communication research to emphasize the African context. For example, Ugboaja (1985:281) argues that:

Many areas of social research in Africa have until recently suffered in part from erratic conclusions, wild generalizations and foreign dominance. Sometimes quite erroneous results have been drawn from data analyzed by academics drawn from data analyzed by academics who have had little or no experience of Africa. ... In Africa ... communication research should emphasize case

studies and observational approaches. Imported models should be put to the test first and carefully selected and adapted. There is therefore, a dire need for the parallel development of indigenous technology of communication and concepts of national development.

Against the above statement by one of the experts in communication research in West Africa, it will certainly not be parochial indulgence to rely on the historical development of the press in West Africa to extricate previous communication attitudes of the West African press with the ultimate goals of stating a reliable hypothesis for the study of the Nigerian communication experience and indeed the region as a whole. In fact, in what is being advocated by West African communication research experts as the *dissociation thesis*, the orientation of this study finds firm support and justification in its literature review build up. For example, Ugboaja in further discussing *De-linking the Western professional model*, states that:

... it is not enough for France to send media technology to a former colony in West Africa and at the same time 'colonize' the working of those machines by constantly maintaining French personnel without speeding the training of Africans.

In fact some writers have been advocating dissociation of the developing countries from the developed ones. Relying on the dissociation thesis put forward by Dietar Senghaas, which Hamelink (1983) has amplified, the notion of 'de-linking'

of the developing countries from the constant reliance on the developed ones has been explained to mean that:

- (i) With self-reliance as the objective, dissociation means the conscious choice against the delusory offer of integration in an international order which appears to respond to all the interests of the powerful.
- (ii) Dissociation demands a questioning of all international relations of interdependence between the metro-politan and satellite countries and developing a strategy of relations in developing a strategy of relations in terms of the concept of inter-dependence.
- (iii) It also demands the abandoning or reformulation of exogenously defined objectives, priorities, and cultural images and ideals.
- (iv) Taken in a strict sense, dissociation means the developmental political, economic and cultural personality which is imitative.

The incontrovertible and compelling conclusion from the above *dissociation thesis* is the need for the mass communication professionals, mass media systems and structures, and the media consumers, mass communication researchers operating in West Africa to be more conclusions of and cultivate a research tradition based on West African press theories and research models. For this study in particular

the dissociation thesis provides the conclusive basis to attempt to generate such hypothesis that will derive their central validity from the communication experience and research work based on Nigeria; or West Africa and other Third World countries where their communication experiences are decisively congruent with those of Nigeria. It is also in this way that this research finally seeks to adopt the view of Obeng-Quaidoo (1984) on research methodologies in Africa when he stated that:

... instead of adding to the litany of the unsuitability of Western models, we rather prefer to look at ourselves, culture, our institutions, and generally the African communication environment, and how all these impede or facilitate research.

2.5.1 COMMUNICATION IN EARLY WEST AFRICA

It is quite settled that in early societies of West Africa forms of communication existed and these communication systems contributed significantly to the development, progress and collective survival of the respective cultures and communication communities. That these societies survived into the pre-press era as argued by Ugboaja (1985:160), presumes that they had:

... in-built regenerative facilities (which) freely function as media for communication, participation and socialization - a process often referred to in developmental literature as informal education. This is a process of culture conscientization, a pre-requisite for self-identity and cultural development. In Africa ... there is the usual interplay of custom and conflict, harmony and strife, fusion and fission, while interpersonal

relations, social cohesion, social process and historical continuity are largely maintained through the symbolizing codes of oral tradition which include mythology, oral literature (poetry, story-telling, proverbs), masquerades, rites of passage, and other rituals expressed through oracy, music, dance, drama, use of costume, social interplay and material symbols which accompany people from womb to tomb and much beyond.

These systems outline the interpersonal forms of communication that facilitated the diffusion of communication messages among the various African societies that have ensured their survival to this day. The implication of such systems for this study is the discovery of the sources so as to determine the relative attitudes of the sources with respect to communication messages that are intended to foster integration with other cultures. However, since most custodians of Africa sciences always function towards the community interest it may be safe to expect that if integration in itself is going to be beneficial to the cultural community concerned and Nigeria in particular then the cultural communication symbols will be manipulated by the initiators of the interpersonal communication to support the issue.

It on the other hand the issue of integration is not going to be perceptibly rewarding to the community, the initiators of the interpersonal communication are likely to counteract the integration communication initiatives with negative information that will result in non-cooperation which is essential to any integration

process. This is fundamental since communication is self-perpetuating rather than self-destructive. In discussing, Family Planning and its effective communication to reach the traditional communities, Hoponu-Wusu (1977) suggested that such traditional means of communication like “ballads, speech surrogates like talking drums, flutes and horns, painting and pots” etc. These show examples of effective systems of communication developed internally which can in the present times be used as vehicles of change messages.

Apart from the above communication system there is also the system of the celebrated town-crier whose function could be likened to the modern mass communication system. According to James (1986):

...the town crier, for example, passed on important messages to the mass of the people. He was delegated to speak and therefore spoke with the voice of authority. In this type of environment the inhabitants accepted without question, confident that their welfare and that of the community was being protected.

True as this statement is, it provides the picture of the town crier as a message mediator who had no affective power over the messages he diffused. If this is so, then, messages of change irrespective of the nature of their consequences on the generality of the community will not experience any gate keeping activity at the dissemination process. The further implication is that when the messages are received they are not likely to be selectively received or subjected to community

debate.

From these traditional communication systems one can anticipate a communication climate in which the sources of the communication message have complete monopoly as what types of messages can be diffused either through the interpersonal or mediated method of traditional communication. In this respect therefore the communication sources and opinion leaders will be very crucial in the relay of messages about the Economic Community of West African States. This is so because in the rural communities the modern mass communication systems have not been effectively integrated into the rural culture and most people still rely on opinion leaders for information as well as the "correct" opinion to hold about an issue of public interest.

From the above, it becomes patent that in the current attempt to integrate West African in the economic field with the ultimate aim of increasing the standard of living of all the peoples of West Africa, it will be important to identify the various cultural communities in both the English speaking West African and French speaking West African communities and their exact communication systems and their sources of the communication messages. Judging by the communication relationship between the senders and the receivers it will be important to persuade the traditional senders (creators) of the messages about the advantages of the ECOWAS goals to the individual and his cultural community and nation at

large. It is when this is done that ECOWAS can be seen as an organisation for change and progress in which all the peoples of West Africa irrespective of social class, urban or rural, are involved as equal partners premised on equal citizens of the West African sub-region.

These views are important to this study because it will provide the bias of determining whether the West African press as media of communication have been able to reach the broad-base of the West African community with effective messages about ECOWAS and its goals. However, against the background of the above statements so far the nature and role of traditional communication makes it possible for one to anticipate that where the communication messages are made abundantly clear to be of benefit to the people and in accordance with their world view it is likely that mass of the people will receive the messages emanate from their traditional sources of communication messages.

Thus for this research it is being anticipated that the rural message systems and communication networks of Nigeria are likely to be favourable in their coverage of the ECOWAS given the intrinsic beneficial goals of the Economic Community of West African States if the ECOWAS they are made aware of the ECOWAS messages.

2.5.2 COMMUNICATION IN THE ERA OF EARLY EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

Another important phase of the development of West Africa that will provide sufficient historical data that will facilitate the generation of hypothesis for this study is the era of European cultural intrusion and attempts at cultural domination of West Africa. The nineteenth century is generally regarded as the period that marked European successful penetration of West Africa and also marked the emergence of definite cultural inroads into the West Africa communities, Webster and Boahen (1985). The general implication of this era for this study is the foundations that were laid for the emergence of the press as the medium of mass communication among an emerging new West Africans who were educated, assimilated and forming a new communication audience entirely apposite to the audience of the town crier. Thus a new communication attitude was born that would appear different from the traditional experience thus raising the prospects of a new hypothesis about mass communication behaviour in West Africa and Nigeria in particular.

The state of mass communication often reflects the state of a society's progress in the economic, technological, political, cultural and educational segments of its existence. This is a popular view often held by communication historians. Elegalem (1985); Desmond (1978). However, Karl Marx, from a

historical perspective has argued that the state of a society's economy determines its superstructure which will include the state of its media of communication. Most historians of this era of West African development are agreed that the missionaries who preceded the colonial officers came to West Africa to spread the gospel and to atone for the past epoch of West African history which witnessed 'one of the most disastrous episodes of its history' Boahen (1966). The missionaries, in order to facilitate their cultural transfer had to perfect the medium of communication between themselves and their target audience, the West African peoples. This communication need eventually led to the establishment of schools, transformation of local languages into readable scripts, the translation of the Bible into various leading indigenous languages like Temne, Yoruba, Hausa, Efik, Twi, Ewe, Fante and Ga.

Sobowale (1985) provides a statement of this communication growth in Nigeria which also is symptomatic of the experiences in other parts of English-speaking West Africa and to a relatively smaller degree the French-speaking West Africa. He states that:

The history of the Nigerian press is interwoven with the history of the Christian religion in Nigeria and no history of Nigerian press would be complete without mention of the invaluable contributions of the missionaries working in Nigeria. Apart from founding the first newspaper in the country, they contributed in several other ways, although indirectly and unwittingly, to the

the development of the press in West Africa as a whole.

In reality and for the purpose of this study the above statement is rather ambitious. This is so when one considers the geographical spread of the stated influence in West Africa. This influence was effective in the English-speaking West African territories but at the same time it was geographically limited to the emerging urban enclaves of the missionary settlements. With respect to the rural areas this communication revolution was absent and this appears to underlie the existence of rural areas that still have rely on traditional networks of communication.

Be that as it may, the net value of the introduction of Western education is extremely significant to the development of mass communication attitudes in modern West Africa. Since communication today is theoretically viewed as an act of sharing it is certainly important for the target audience to be educated in the language of communication. With respect to Africa where the urban-rural dichotomy is greatly pronounced by the degree of acquisition of Western education and therefore the level of effective participation in the communication process for change and development, it is asserted that the rural communities need greater preparation in terms of education for the modern media messages.

James (1986) asserts this position when she argued that the audience needs go beyond the social and psychological because of the fact that their:

...intellectual needs must also be assessed since the cognitive and performance capabilities of message receivers must bear relationship to the kind of feed-back given.

...intelligent processing of the media message is indispensable to successful communication....communication education, therefore, involves the preparation of a given target audience to participate meaningfully in the act of sharing.

Thus whereas it may be argued that the era of early Europeans influence brought revolutionary changes with far reaching implication for communication, it is essential for this study, especially in drawing workable hypothesis, to be more cautious about the usual sweeping generalizations. This caution stems from the fact that progressively the missionary zeal in the English speaking West Africa had to contend with opposition from the colonial political officers who increasingly after 1884 were more assertive and concerned about colonial gains as defined by the Berlin Conference and the concept of the Dual Mandate, Soyir- Yariga (1985). In this respect, British colonial policy was similar to the French policy in tropical Africa where they were inspired by commercial gain and all activities motive, Suret-Canale (1976); Webster and Boahen (1985).

Thus in pursuit of this colonial economic interest official means of

communication emerged in the English speaking West Africa which by their names served official colonial interest. For example, in 1801, the Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser appeared in Sierra Leone; in 1822, *the Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer* appeared in the Gold Coast (Ghana). It was only in 1859 that the *Iwe Irohin* was established in Abeokuta by the missionaries which was:

...more of newsletter than a newspaper in the modern sense of the term, divided vertically into two equal parts, with one column giving a Yoruba text and the other the same material in English, Sobowale (1985).

To all intents and purpose this paper could be regarded as the first privately owned medium of communication which did not serve official government interest when compared with the Royal Gazettes. Thus their influences on their readership would be different, thus, stimulating different attitudes among the readership. Nevertheless, the attitudes that were activated were not subjected to critical analysis in the period since each had a dominant role in messages it conveyed. Underlying these one would still, respecting their individual respective roles, assert that they conveyed with some measure of interest European cultural imperatives as against indigenous interests. In this also these media of communication were akin to the French newspapers which came from France to serve the interest of the French metropolis among the French peripheral inhabitants in

the colonies.

Thus, in terms of the interest of this study, the media of communication at this juncture of the West African development and more importantly Nigeria's development, would be more interested in diffusing such message that would sustain and perpetuate European culture as against the interest and progress of the indigenous West African peoples. Thus, this early phase of the communication development was largely in the interest of the colonial powers and it is anticipated that in a situation of disseminating messages that would promote economic integration among the West African peoples these early media of communication would have completely killed the messages as they would undermine both the economic and cultural imperialism of the proprietors of these early modern communication media.

Thus, contrary to the pre-press hypotheses in West Africa and Nigeria in particular one may venture that in a situation where a dominant cultural or economic oriented communication media exists any communication messages that would promote integration that would be apposite to its interest the messages would be suppressed since the messages would be subversive to the dominant position of the cultural and economic imperialists.

However, in contradistinction to the above conjecture, a new development emerged in West Africa and Nigeria whose impact was to lay the foundation for

activities that would bring into open question the above hypothesis. In 1863, a Jamaican mullato, Robert Campbell who was a printer and journalist took the unprecedented initiative to establish what communication historians regard as the first real newspaper. He launched the Anglo-American in Lagos. It was to serve the relatively young settlement of Lagos which had been proclaimed a colony in 1861. From this period to the end of the century a spate of other newspaper emerged, many were short-lived and the reasons for their epidemic deaths were traceable to production cost and not lack of readership. Following this resurgence was the establishment of printing presses by the freed slaves who had worked with the missionaries.

The significance of this development was the shift from colonial and missionary emphasis to local interest and outright political criticisms. This development in the communication history also signalled the practical manifestation of the cohesion thesis where the owners identified with the indigenous interests to antagonise the colonial and cultural imperialism of the period. It must be immediately asserted that these developments were unique to the English-speaking West African territories where the active development of education and liberal attitudes created a critical educated elite. In the French speaking territories such developments were thwarted by narrow and less enthusiastic education investments by the French colonial governors and avowed policies of de-culturalization euphemistically referred to as

assimilation.

Thus the emergence of a new class of owners of the media of communication apart from the Europeans set the pace for the promotion of indigenous economic and political interest vis-a-vis the colonial interest. This lays down the basis for the assumption that in a situation where the owners of media of communication are indigens of a particular community they are likely to support communication messages that will promote the interests of the community unlike the non-indigens who will resist such communication order to retain and perpetuate their dominant position since such communication messages will be viewed as subversive by the alien owners of the media of communication. In this light, it may be anticipated that where the ECOWAS is concerned indigenous owners of the media of communication in Nigeria and elsewhere in West Africa are likely to support their government stand on ECOWAS and its objectives in so far as they converge with the overall goals of the concept of public good.

2.5.3 COMMUNICATION AND COLONIALISM I

This period in the history of West Africa witnessed a most systematic attempt by both the British and the French to eliminate all forms of traditional resistance

to the imposition of colonial rule. Where the colonial powers succeeded in establishing their political presence they pursued policies that were Eurocentric and excluded African interest. The African reaction to these forms of encroachments took the forms of military resistance led by outstanding traditional leaders, strikes and boycotts by the labourers and farmers and protest movements, then criticism by the educated elite in the columns of the existing newspapers. These were collectively forms of communication that manifested themselves differently for the different peoples at different places in the West African region. However, the identical binding factor that united the African people in this period of their history was that each society and class of people recognised European exploitation and were prepared to rise to protect and advance their collective interest as a people, as against the European interest.

It is this motive for reaction, resistance, protest and collective action against the European interest which provides the study with an insight into the mass attitude of the West African where their supreme interest of survival as a people was involved. Thus from several isolated forms of reaction, resistance, protest and collective action the study will attempt to draw a relevant hypothesis to guide this study with respect to how the communication media would behave when giving coverage to issues of economic integration in the region whose ultimate goal is the collective survival of the people of the region. In other words, this

study seeks to attempt to draw from West Africa's psycho-history some hypothesis in an attempt to anticipate the future behaviour of West Africa's communication media about West Africa's interest that would be greatly served by the ECOWAS as it is stated by its protocols of agreement accepted the respective governments of the region.

The period before 1900 was characterised by the forcible implantation of French political authority over the areas that they eventually colonised. The force was mainly war efforts which were readily resisted by the African leaders like Samori Toure, Behanzia and the Baoule people of Ivory Coast. This resistance clearly implies that had the western education been popularised in the French areas as the case was in the British sector, there would have emerged educated leaders who would have used the pages of the newspapers to campaign against French encroachments upon their birth rights as the case was with the formation of the Aborigine's Rights Protection Societies of Lagos and the Gold Coast colony. Besides, in the face of this external threat and invasion the papers, acting according to the dictates of the cohesion thesis would have identified themselves with the interest of all against French atrocities.

Thus the Africans would have whipped up enough sentiments to ensure a collective resistance against the French. From this one can anticipate that should enough favourable publications about the ECOWAS be made in the newspapers

of the French speaking countries it would be possible to generate a collective feeling among them towards the English speaking countries of West Africa thus paving the way for integration and justifying the view that effective mass media exposure of the ECOWAS Objectives can lead eventually to economic and political integration in the West African region.

On the other hand:

the British used less force than the French in occupying their West African territories. Sometimes they did use much force, as in Asante and Benin, where they were determined to destroy local institution and impose direct rule. Often, however, they used a mixture of force and diplomacy. British diplomacy was at its best in Yorubaland and close to its best in the Sokoto to caliphate. Where an officer held only limited military means, greater diplomacy was essential. Webster and Boahen (1985).

The British tactic of using force and persuasion did not elicit resistance or opposition from the traditional rulers in Yorubaland and Sokoto Caliphate, in Benin they used force and ruled directly through African agents. The Igbo, on their part, attempted outright resistance through armed conflict. However, British rule came to be established in 1917 throughout Igboland. The Igbo nicknamed the Whiteman the destroyer. The British also conquered the Asante who had systematically extended the political suzerainty over the coastal peoples as well as vast territories extending to the North of Ghana in 1886. This was to pre-empt any French colonial

incursions from Ivory Coast and Togo and also to prevent any alliance with Samori Toure against European imperialism. The encounter was a very protracted one. In 1900, there was a further rebellion when the British, under Governor Hodgson, decided the surrender of the Golden Stool. This gave rise to an armed rebellion led by Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen mother of Ejisu.

In Sierra Leone Governor Cardew proclaimed a protectorate over the territory that remained as the hinterland of Sierra Leone. They imposed a hut tax to raise funds to cater for the cost of the administration and this promptly caused war. To the Temne and Mende peoples it was a war of independence. They had grievances against Cardew's policies, occasionally recruited from runaway slaves who took revenge on their former masters. Chiefs were installed who had no traditional right. Even the chiefs were mistreated by the government, and some were publicly flogged. The people suspected the merchants of price-fixing. They resented missionary teaching which undermined respect for their institutions. Above all, they saw the tax as tribute which meant the surrender of their independence.

In 1898, Bai Bureh, ruler of the small state of Kassah, refused to pay the hut tax and the police opened fire on his people. This resistance was followed by a guerilla war against the British in the Temne country.

The Mende military effort was directed by the Poro, a secret religious, educational and trading society with headquarters at Bumpe. For example, it is argued by Webster and Boahen (1985) that:

The Poro waged 'total war' killing anyone connected with the Freetown government, Creoles, whites for Mende who wore European-style dress. The Creoles suffered most... The Creoles, as Africans, tried to be spokesmen for the grievances of the Temne-Mende people even though they were their main victims.

The conquest not only subjugated vast areas of West Africa to European rule, it also led to end of the Anglo-Creole partnership in the exploitation and development of West Africa. There was no place for Creole civilization in colonial Africa, dominated by a new and vicious type of European racial arrogance.

The implications of these events in the communication process for West Africa is that in so far as the people are made aware of what is their interest and how advantageous this will be to the generality of the people of West Africa they will be willing to act collectively to protect what is their interest against the alternative option which will be to their detriment. Thus, if integration is clearly delineated as bringing benefits not only to those at the top echelon of society but also to those at the grassroots the most probable reaction in the light of the historical resistances would be maximum support and cooperation both at the interpersonal and group communication levels. What will be needed therefore will be that the

media of communication should act as the West African resistance leaders, assertive and aggressive in the protection and advancement of the West African interest in the face of economic imperialism in a world order that constantly threatens the third world citizens and governments.

Thus, this West Africa resistance by the traditional rulers to European imperialism pre-supposes a West African disposition to recognising his interest and acting in a grouping to protect that interest under rugged and determined leadership. Thus in a situation where the need arises to act collectively to achieve an interest it will be safe to anticipate that with proper education of what that interest is the peoples of West African, their differences notwithstanding, will be capable of integrating their resources and efforts for mutual benefit. The crucial factor is only communication.

2.5.4. COMMUNICATION AND COLONIALISM II

The era of colonial administration also provides a further evidence into the character of the West African people that provide this study with the bias of attempting an assumption about the probable attitude of the West African press towards the question of integration in West Africa through the ECOWAS.

For example, in the 9th century, British policy towards West Africa had sought the creation of a Westernised class of Black Englishmen who would be British

partners in religious trade and administration. This was a policy of assimilation, whereby Africans would be assimilated to European civilization and culture (and abandon African civilization and culture). As a result Africans rose in colonies around Freetown, Bathurst (Banjul) Southern Ghana and Lagos to important positions in the church, in commercial firms and in colonial government.

The French, too, followed a policy of turning Africans into Black Frenchmen in the four communes of Senegal, where Africans even had the right to elect a deputy to the French National Assembly in Paris.

In spite of the above attempts at westernization of the Africans, in the newly expanded empires, Western-educated Africans were heavily discriminated against in the administration due to the growth of European racialism:

The British brought in European administrators as fast as the growth in finances would allow instead of speeding up the training of African administrators, Webster and Boahen (1985).

The rationale for the above attitude towards the educated Africans according to the British Colonial Office was that:

Englishmen naturally expected to enjoy the fruits of their conquests and therefore they should be preferred over Africa in senior positions, Webster and Boahen (1985).

This blatant discrimination naturally brought about resentment among the articulate educated elite of West Africa. It also sowed the seeds of a future conflict and

aggressive attitude towards the British by the educated elite who began to establish their own press through whose columns they lashed out at the lapses of the colonial government, Webster and Boahen (1985). The feeling of resentment also drew the educated elite together in opposition to the colonial administrators. Thus this negative attitude towards the educated elite by the British colonials created a further basis for the West African people.

Thus, whereas the traditional rulers of the earlier period resisted the encroachments of the British on their authority and territory in conjunction with their people through war thereby creating a collective stand by West Africans in pursuit of their mutual interest, the educated elite on their part were drawn together by British antagonism in the form of racial discrimination and therefore the non-provision of work opportunities commensurate with their training and scholarship.

Although the French, on their part, also pursued similar policies like the British, their brutal subjugation of the Africans through military conquest and draconian repressions as well as very limited educational involvement in the educational enterprise for the enlightenment of the Africans in French culture, the reaction of the Africans that would lead to collective action for a common good.

In the French sector, it is abundantly clear that the traditional leadership were also able to organise their people to join in the military defence of their land and

authority. This also shows an ability in the West African although under French influence to rise to a call for collective action to defend their interest against foreign intrusion. Thus the propensity to unite against external intruders is historical proven to exist as a factor in the attitudinal make up of the West African. The implication of this for the study is that it indicates that beyond the cultural and linguistic gaps that exist among the West Africans properly executed communication messages can create a favourable attitude to integration in so far as the interest of the participants are clearly projected to be common advantage.

However, an area of the evolution of the French people that does not show immediate congruence with the English speaking West African people to warrant a general statement of general application about the West African people is the evolution of the Francophone educated elite. The Francophone educated elite were so assimilated that they even had the right to elect a deputy to the French National Assembly in Paris. Besides, their education set them aside from teeming masses and illiterate chiefs, their common territories were the communes set up by the French Senegal. The implication of this for the study is that the likelihood that the Francophone elite would be aggressive towards a system that was exploitative yet integrated them would be low. Further it would mean that the Francophone elite have a gap of acting collectively in the interest of their fellow citizens.

Thus, whereas the anglophone elite established further continuities in collective action by collaborating with the traditional chiefs against the British in the period of colonial government especially in opposing iniquitous laws the Francophone elite in West Africa looked on unconcerned whilst the French introduced the humiliating law known as the *indegenat*. For example, in Yorubaland when Lord Lugard tried to upset traditional authority in order to promote English interest through indirect rule:

Yoruba Western educated class were suspicious of Lugard and ready to lead opposition to British rule... Probably no governor in the history of Nigeria was so intensely hated by the Western-educated Yoruba elite as Lugard. For his part he made it very plain that he sought to undermine their influence in Yorubaland. Webster and Boahen (1985).

This was the era of indirect rule and its consequences on the educated elite was to elicit criticism and resistance. The educated elite did not shirk their responsibility to their class interest and the generality of the population for they published their criticism of the iniquities of indirect rule. For example, the times of Nigeria in reaction to Lugard and his concept of the Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa was:

his legislative measures, his political administration, his educational methods... are so entirely un-British-like that one could hardly conceive where to draw the line of distinction between the system of our governor-general and the system of German colonial rule in Africa. Then

it asked, 'Is it that the Anglo-Saxon fears the rapid intellectual and industrial strides the darker faces have made? Webster and Boahen (1985).

The Lagos Weekly Record had its own comments on Lugard and indirect rule. The Record contended that Lugard:

was obsessed with the maintenance of white prestige and the indirect rule fostered the idea that, 'The advance and progressive Africans the Niger; the naked specimen in the forest, or on the river in his canoe is nature's gentlemen. Webster and Boahen (1985).

The state of the struggle between the educated elite in the Anglophone territories was largely summed up by Governor Clifford who replaced Lugard as:

the government and the intelligent sections of the public are almost completely divorced from one another. Webster and Boahen (1985).

When finally Lord Lugard, the architect of the Dual Mandate and indirect rule, made his exit from the West Coast the Lagos Weekly Record commented that:

for six long years we have had the sword of Damocles dangling over our heads; for six long years we have lived under cramped conditions of a military dictatorship when the law from being a means of protection had become an instrument of crime and oppression in the hands of unscrupulous officials... The last administration has made the very name of the whiteman stink in the nostrils of the native. Webster and Boahen (1985).

The Readership of the Lagos Weekly Record would certainly have been inspired by such bold criticism people placed in authority over them not willing to

use democratic principles of government that were practised in their homeland but close to apply dictatorial forms of government by arbitrarily confiscating land and abridging the peoples freedom of expression through the Sedition Offence Ordinance, Sobowale (1985).

The resistance to colonialism was not limited to the chiefs and educated elite alone in the Anglophone territories. The ordinary people rose up in rebellion against political forms and structures that were alien to their notion of order and good government. Among peoples who had no visible individuals as chiefs the colonial government imposed over them people who had no linkage with royalty or any form of coercive authority. In conjunction with the hut tax that British authorities introduced, the people reacted by rioting and this included the famous women's riots.

The implication of the above experience for this communication study is the fact of response and reaction manifested by the people of West Africa. From the foregoing it is abundantly clear that any system that was introduced and which was alien to the West African peoples' notion of things and which either subverted their political, economic and social interests or humiliated them by relegating them to a secondary position they were bound to act in solidarity. Thus the historical evidence points towards the propensity to act in unison if sufficiently activated. A further thought is that communication if adequately and positively manipulated

could activate the West African peoples towards integration given the already established propensity to act in unison or solidarity against a commonly identified foe or toward a perceived goal.

From this it may be assumed that the media of communication can activate the people towards integration if adequate, clear and integrative communication messages are employed on the pages of the press of West Africa.

2.5.5 COMMUNICATION AND THE PROTEST MOVEMENTS

Colonialism in its further ramifications led to more determined resistance and criticism which found expression in the pages of the newspapers that appear to be relatively well-established before the second world war, Omu (1966). These responses laid down the foundation for the era of nationalism. Although these anti-colonial expressions were on a nationalist basis they were not on a mass basis along the lines of organised political parties. This notwithstanding they were visible enough to serve as basis of tentative assumptions about the media of communication can be responded to should their messages be adequately directed to the people as target audiences of ECOWAS:

In the British territories of West Africa: Following the successful demand of the Canadian colonies in the 1840's for internal self-government...Black Englishmen like the Creoles in Sierra Leone hoped that the four West African colonies would move towards a federation or union and internal

self-government as the Canadian and Australian colonies had done. Webster and Boahen (1985).

This hope was never to materialize because between 1880 and 1990 the white Englishmen began to assert themselves as innately superior to the Black Englishmen and claimed positions of dominance in the empire and also a right to exploit the territories by virtue of conquest, Webster and Boahen (1985). Thus the imperial policy of devolution of power to the colonies was abandoned in West Africa and the Black Englishmen were looked down upon, and were gradually removed from the positions of responsibility which they held, Webster and Boahen (1985).

Thus, the education which had brought the Africans in the force as participants in the historical progress of West Africa was now subverted and the African elite in the British territory were grossly discriminated against with the imposition of colour bar in hotels, churches and residential areas, Webster and Boahen (1985).

The communication derivative of this stance by the British was that it created a communication gap between the British and the African educated elite along racial lines and contributed to laying down the foundations for an aggressive nationalist communication on the part of the West Africans against the British. It led the West African elite to be more critical of the British socio-politico economic

activities in the region from the interest and perspective of the indigenous West African. It also led to further collaboration between the West African elite, the chiefs and the people. Within the solidarity the elite became vocal in the press. This rift between the British and the educated elite and the attendant discrimination was what thrust the elite into the vanguard in this early period of nationalism. According to Webster *et al*:

Much of the subsequent trouble in British West Africa was that it had an educational system designed to promote assimilation and a political policy completely opposed to it. Webster and Boahne (1985).

The spill over of this opposition is what provides this study with the theoretical assumption that in a situation of common antagonism the different people in a geographical community are likely to converge and abandon their class and other distinctive differences and act against the common enemy.

In the French colonial territories the reactions were different from the case of the British colonial territories in West Africa. It was less volatile and less racially charged and thus had no immediate upsurge for the development of communication activities that would then unite the elite with the masses against the French and thus create the foundations for mass political and integrative activities.

The underlying reasons for the lack of mass communication activities in the French territories within this period was that unlike the British territories, the

French efforts at spreading Western education in their attempt to assimilate the peoples in their conquered territories was that their empire was relatively poorer and the people had already embraced Islam and the French and British missionaries who had worked among these people did not make any substantial impact to create the base for visible assimilation, Suret-Canale (1976). The French did not give the missionaries any concrete material support to defray the cost of evangelization, Webster and Boahen (1985). A further undermining factor was that the French administrators did not interpret their mission in the territories to include destroying

...one set of superstitious (those of traditional religion) merely to replace them with another set (those of Christianity). Webster and Boahen (1985)

... In their view the finest examples of French culture was the rational man an they aimed in Africa to produce him. Webster and Boahen (1985).

Besides these facts and attitudes the French colonial development in West Africa there was only a half-hearted attempt by the French to establish state schools because of financial encumbrances. Thus:

Only Senegal had a school system comparable to that of the British colonies. Only Senegal had secondary schools which were designed to serve all French West Africa, Webster and Boahen (1985).

A critical factor in the failure of the development of communication activities in the French territories on the scale experienced in British West Africa was the French attitude towards the products of their assimilation policy was that the French to a large extent had favourable dispositions towards their assimilated Africans:

...on the whole life was much more pleasant for the African with European education in the French than in the British empire. Very few modern leaders of former French West Africa have experienced the evils of racism which their counterparts in English-speaking West Africa came to expect as normal practice under colonial rule, Webster and Boahen (1985).

Comparatively therefore the British territories not only developed media communications to advanced their interest against the colonialists but also developed convergent attitudes towards their messages and thus appeared more integrated than the French areas where the educated elite were stepped in the interest of France and never evolved a press of their own to be the spokesmen of the brutalised unassimilated Africans through the *lois indigenat*. The existing state of communication activities continued into the period of the post World War II era where English-speaking elite spearheaded the nationalist movements via the mass media of communication and the Francophone did not and never agitated for independence.

Thus where education and mass communication activities were actively pursued the interest of the population are likely to be congruent and solidified

irrespective of their innate and acquire differences whereas the absence of these would mean lack of cooperation and integration leading to insensitivity on the part of the privileged elite. ECOWAS unity therefore would be realized when education and integration are pursued by the existing media of communication in their messages.

The period under review also witnessed reactions to the colonial economic policies, land bills and the religions status quo. The reactions opened wider avenues for the West Africans to sink their parochialism and seek to act collectively either through the activities of mass leaders and communicators like Garrick Sokari Braid, William Wade Harris who were religious communicators, Webster and Boahen (1985), who advocated the independence movement in the church when the British Europeanised the leadership of the churches in the wake of deliberate attempts at stagnating the African society:

... It was in this political, religious and social chaos that a remarkable mass conversion to Christianity took place under a Liberian Christian preacher by the name of William Wade Harris. Webster and Boahen (1985).

In the economic sector, both France and Britain believed the economies of the colonies should be tied to those of the imperial power, in such a way that the imperial power benefited. For example, according to a theory called the Colonial Pact by the French, the colonies must provide agricultural export crops

for the imperial country, and buy its manufactured goods in return. This led to economic exploitation of the colonies by the imperial powers.

This innocuous state of affairs did not escape the critical criticism and concern by the media of mass communications. For example, the *Christian Messenger*, Lagos, 1924, was able to state, inter alia, that:

The native in this country... will soon find himself ground to powder between the stones of European and Asiatic intensive economic aggression. Webster and Boahen (1985).

Thus where possible, as above, the media acted spokesmen of the exploited West African people who stood as the oppressed class against the exploiter class the British. Where the representation of the issue was not carried by the communication media the people resorted to self-help through mass action by going on mass strike. This was the case with the exploited labourer class in the gold mines who, under poor conditions died in their thousands through epidemic outbreaks.

From the above, it is clear that either activated through mass media communication or not the instinct to self-determination was innate in the ordinary people of West Africa and thus in a state of worsening exploitation by perceived exploiters the people will most likely act collectively to assert their right. Thus it may be hypothesised that with sufficient communication about a right to equitable

reward from the wealth that may arise from integration there is the likelihood that the people will respond positively to communications on integration if and when the communication messages are directly in support of integration.

2.5.6 COMMUNICATION AND NATIONALISM

During the period 1918-1939, the level of literacy and political consciousness had increased considerably. The flow of information had also increased tremendously between the various communities of the people of African descent in the diaspora and the African elite in the homeland struggling against colonialism, Webster and Boahen (1985). The perceived implication of this flow of information was that the African elite and the elite of the diaspora began to feel that the elevation of the race must be an international effort, that a victory over segregation in America was important as a victory over colonialism in Africa. Thus many came to believe that:

...a black man could not carry himself with dignity, no matter what his degree of freedom, as long as brother members of his race were being humiliated elsewhere in the world, Webster and Boahen (1985).

This became one of several factors that culminated in the aggressive political consciousness of the West African elite which manifested itself in the form of aggressive tone and demands in the media of communication in the period.

A further factor in the drive of aggressive political consciousness that elevated

the anti-colonial syndrome among the African elite that in turn influenced the content of communication in the mass media of the period was the principle of self-determination which was enunciated by the United States of America and Europe for the Eastern European nations previously under the Austro-Hungarian empire. This principle allowed the European people to choose their independence and the type of government that would exercise authority over them. The concept of self-determination was promptly adopted by the British colonies, like Canada, Australia, India and South Africa, who had collectively helped the British in the fight to win the war, Webster and Boahen (1985). Thus the rationale for a limited application of the principle of self-determination was challenged by these colonies and subsequent colonial nationalism led to their virtual independence through the statute of Westminster in 1931. The Congress Party in India also agitated along the same lines whilst the Irish fought a bloody war to independence.

These British Commonwealth events, the contributions and philosophies of Booker T. Washington, James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey's role in the Phelps-Stokes Commission on education in Africa, laid the foundation for the media to assume the catalytic role in the birth of aggressive nationalism. Other complementary factors were the stimulus that Williams Du Bois, founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and editor of *Crisis*, its magazine gave to the West African elite. There was also the monumental

contribution of Marcus Garvey who stirred the black world as no one before him and provided slogans like "Forget the white God". "Africa for the Africans", "The renaissance of the black race," "Ethiopia Awake", and he demanded that Africa be freed from colonial oppression, Webster and Boahen (1985).

Garvey began the recruitment of a black army for the liberation of Africa and set up the Black Star Shipping Line which, however small in comparison, was an attempt to invade the white monopoly of world commerce. In 1920, he sent a mission to Liberia to negotiate for the settlement of between 20,000 and 30,000 black American families, who would be helped to emigrate to Liberia and presumably represent the spearhead for the liberation of Africa, Webster and Boahen (1985).

Although on the surface this scheme may appear very grandiose, it certainly represented the aspirations and feelings of millions of Africans. His journal the *Negro World*, the voice of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was avidly read in the intellectual circles throughout West Africa across the language zone.

The colonial powers were certainly worried about Garveyism. In Lagos every mission church refused to permit their meeting halls to be used for UNIA rallies. *Negro World* was banned in French West Africa, and confiscated in the post in Nigeria. To be caught with a copy of it in Dahomey could bring life imprisonment,

Webster and Boahen (1985).

Thus Garveyism, on the one hand and Negritude, which sought a combination of French and African culture and values, as against the French policy of assimilation, which required the complete abandonment of the African heritage and the adoption of the French, became the philosophies that gave the people of the black world that unity of feeling and purpose. It was therefore not surprising to discover the birth of associations that cut across local colonies and assumed the omnibus reference West Africa like West African Students Union, the National Congress of British West Africa. Besides the press in West Africa became very vocal about the activities of these associations and became even more critical about the colonial iniquities. The communication medium even showed extreme impatience about the colonial presence in West Africa through their publications. For example, Sobowale (1985) states that:

Before the amalgamation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1914, the newspapers in the country had constituted themselves into a potent opposition to the British administration of the West Coast of Africa, particularly Nigeria. The papers were often filled with vitriolic comments on the policies of the administrators. As a result of these anti-government stance by the Nigerian newspapers the colonial government enacted several repressive lawless aimed at controlling the vanguard role of the Nigerian press. Notable among such laws were the Sedition Offence Ordinance of 1909, the Criminal Code Ordinance of 1916 and the Newspaper Ordinance of 1917.

Thus what was happening in Nigeria was equally happening in the other Colonies in West Africa, especially the English speaking areas. It is not far to observe that the British were suspicious of the raging Philosophies of freedom and liberation from colonialism that were sweeping across West Africa and were influencing the content and goals of communication in the West Africa press. A more explicit position that is symptomatic of the fears and the general uneasiness that settle among the colonial system and its perpetrators was reflected in the Criminal Code Ordinance of 1916 which gave the following definition of seditious intention to include an attempt to bring about any of the following:

- (1) To bring the sovereign or the Governor in person into hatred and contempt.
- (2) To excite disaffection against the sovereign or the Governor in person, or the Government or Constitution Nigeria as by Law established or against the administration of justice.
- (3) To excite Nigerians to attempt to procure the alteration of any matter in Nigeria as by the law established otherwise than by constitutional means.
- (4) To raise discontent and disaffection amongst His Majesty's subjects or amongst Nigerians.
- (5) To promote feelings of ill-will and enmity between classes of the

population of Nigerians. Sobowale (1985: 29-30)

These and other pieces of legislation combined to create an oppressive atmosphere for the media of communication in West Africa. Be this as it may, the newspapers were still able to continue with their vitriolic and frontal attacks on the colonial administration and thus kindled and kept the flame of nationalism burning.

The implication of the events of this era for this study then is that it provides the evidence to support the view that given a convincing and persuasive philosophical goal the newspapers of West Africa are very likely to accept the challenge and pursue those goals uncompromisingly. Thus should the governments of West Africa show greater interest in the ECOWAS the newspapers of the countries would see such government attitude as a policy to be adopted and made known to the population, Soyir-Yariga (1985:36-40). The rationale being that the newspapers of a particular country are always likely to converge with their government with regards to issues of an international nature. Thus the ECOWAS being an international issue or matter will therefore attract a favourable attitude by the press in turn influence the citizens favourably should the existing domestic government show a thorough commitment to its policies and objectives.

2.5.7 COMMUNICATION AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

The period of the 1930's signalled a more radical approach to anti-colonialism which was a break from the older politicians whose interest although African in content, were not extensive enough to include the illiterate poor and broad enough to embrace the geographical entity of their nation. Thus the youth movements opposed the conservatism of the old parties and set out to involve many more than before in politics. The outlook was therefore broader and their interest much more expansive. For example,

They tried to get away from the ideas that political protest should be the monopoly of a top elite and confined to the cities of Lagos, Cape Coast and Freetown. There had always been a feeling that the older politicians wanted improvements in their own personal position or at best in the interest of a small elite at the top. The youth leagues attempted to study the problems of their countries from a broader view. Webster and Boahen (1985:268).

This nationalist interest had definite influence in the nature, content pattern of communication in the period. The newspapers of the period now served much broader perspectives and could genuinely be described as nationalist in outlook. For example, the Nigerian Youth Movement which was formed in 1934, drew up a constitution whose ultimate aim was to encourage national feeling in Nigeria, and demanded self-determination and Africanisation. The NYM opposed the setting up of Yaba College, Lagos, because it believed the proposed standard

was below what the common in Britain. The NYM was also involved in the cause of lorry owners whom the colonial government was discriminating against because it feared the competition with the railway. Then in addition,

... the party establish branches throughout the country in order to be truly Nigerian rather than just a Lagos party. Webster and Boahen (1985:268).

In 1937, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe returned to Nigeria and established the West African Pilot and gave his support to the NYM which subsequently won the election to the legislative council in 1938 at the expense of the Democratic Party. The popularity of the party was partly dependent on the support of the Zik Press Limited, which owned the *West African Pilot* in Lagos, the *Defender* in Warri and the *Daily Comet* in Kano. Besides the geographical decentralisation of news media, Azikiwe's further contribution to media communication in the period was the professionalism he added to journalism with his arrival. For example,

He spread banner headlines across his pages, introduced the use of photographs, and simplified the text of the paper. He adopted the one-sentence paragraph style which was much easier to read and digest... Zik's newspapers were independent and his editorials, in the spirit of the time, were anti-colonial and Pan- Africanist. Sobowale (1985:31).

All these factors made the communication messages more accessible to the reading audience whose education had not reached the level of the elite. This

certainly was a significant beginning for the mass appeal and mass communication on general issues of national interest. This trend also departed from the elite based political associations to embrace the African reaction and opposition to colonialism that manifested themselves in the form of economic enterprise, like farmers union, cooperative societies and banks. The Africans labouring class frequently resisted attempts to impose the colonial economy on them. There were some revolts in the French Territories that were seen to be connected with the hated forced labour system. There were other revolts against forced labour under British rule in Enugu. Besides labour strikes became more common in West Africa after the First World War. Until the 1930's neither the British nor the French colonial governments recognised the right of Africans to form trade union or to strike as a legitimate way of forcing employers to improve their conditions, Webster and Boahen (1985). they saw the strikes as 'a revolt against the government.'

With such constrictions on the labouring class of West Africa some of the parties showed interest in the cause of labour and in the fact identified themselves through their newspapers as Socialist inclined. This was the case of *West African Youth League* in Sierra Leone which attempted to combine Creole interest with those of the Temne and Mende in the interior of Sierra Leone. It was the first example of national thinking in Sierra Leone and therefore the forerunner of

nationalism in Sierra Leone. Its concern, shifting from the elites to masses, was clearly stated by the observers of the mouthpiece *African Standard*:

Through its newspaper, the *African Standard* the league was the first in West Africa to preach outright socialism and show concern for the 'toiling masses'. Webster and Boahen (1985).

Thus with the newspapers shifting their interest and political concern away from the urban elite to the 'toiling masses' in the periphery society and assuming a welfarist attitude towards them it is possible to assume that in a situation where the ordinary people of a nation are antagonised especially by exploiter class, the newspapers of the period are likely to show interest and be sympathetic to their cause. The implication of this manifest interest in the condition of the ordinary people to this study is that should the ECOWAS objectives be shown to be beneficial to the masses of West Africa, the newspapers will show greater interest and will highlight the aspects of ECOWAS that would benefit the masses.

This general thought appears to be practically vindicated when one regards the development of the communication media in the period after the Second World War in West Africa when nationalism in West Africa entered its most radical stage in West Africa. In this period definite goals in the form of manifestoes which they looked forward to implementing when colonialism was overthrown. These parties as protest movements emerged from general feeling of discontent about the slow pace of political development towards emancipation of the colonies and

the persistent economic hardship that prevailed. These hardship and disillusionment culminated into the Nigerian national strike in 1945, the Dakar railway strike in 1947-8, the Gold Coast boycott of European firms in 1948 and the Enugu miners demonstration at the Enugu coal mines in 1949 when 29 miners were shot dead, Webster and Boahen (1985:297-280).

With these reactions from the discontented workers the parties of the period drew their support from these militant groups and of necessity they also became militant. For example, the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA) founded in French West Africa in 1946, gained more of its support from discontented trade unionists, export-crop producers and traders. The Dyula long distance traders were active members of the RDA, and hoped to use it to safeguard their commercial interests. With regard to the Ivory Coast, the RDA gained its support from cocoa and coffee farmers. Senegal on its part derived its main support from groundnut farmers and factory workers in Dakar. The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) formed in 1944 in Nigeria was based first on urban trade union backing. The Action Group, on the other hand, which came into being in 1951, was first a pressure group for cocoa farmers of Yorubaland. With respect to Ghana, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) founded in 1947 and the Convention People's Party (CPP) of 1949, were largely made up of cocoa farmers, traders and trade unionists. The CPP also drew a large measure of support from

the urban migrants who lived in poverty and squalor and aspired to change that would improve their conditions. These were the violent *verandah boys*.

With the human resource, violent, impatient and in need of immediate economic change the leaders had to reflect these realities and as such the content of their political messages were more forceful in their demands and the newspapers which were established by these political parties as their organs of communicating their grievances were equally virulent and militant:

These militant new political groupings wanted political self-government in the near future. But they wanted economic reforms immediately, such as changes in the marketing boards that would give farmers better prices for their products; restrictions on European commercial firms to give more opportunities for African traders; more industrialization, to provide more jobs in towns; and higher wages for industrial workers. Webster and Boahen (1985).

These radical demands engaged the press of the period and especially in the English-speaking territories where the demands had reached an uncompromising stand by the masses for an unconditional end to colonialism. The language of the press had escalated to "self-government now." Much as this was true of the Anglophone territories, in the same period, the Francophone elite were still undecided about which political path to choose. The elite wanted closer association and acceptance by France whereas their masses proved more radical in their demands. Thus Webster and Boahen (1985) in illustrating this elitist

attitude argued that:

To them, the independence movement was first and foremost a movement for emancipation, its aims being to secure dignity and equality for Africans. They agitated for those things that could show European acceptance of African dignity and equality.

From the above demands by the French elite it becomes clear that the French elite were agitating for independence and were, in fact, not attempting to represent the class interest of the masses of the French territories rather they were more interested in the interest of the elite and as such the content of their communication did not represent their territorial reality nor did their communication assume the proportion that was being experienced in English speaking territories. Thus whereas the:

... French West Africa's nationalist leaders were conservative, their followers were much more enthusiastic about independence. Webster and Boahen (1985).

This state of affairs altered by 1958 when the French-speaking nationalist leaders met in Cotonou *1958 Cotonou Conference*. In this meeting the dissonance that existed between the leadership and the masses was promptly bridged when the leadership discovered Sekou Toure of Guinea's attempt to ride this popular enthusiasm for independence in French West Africa was about to yield dividend. To subvert Sekou Toure's territorial leadership, the nationalist leaders opted for

congruency with the popular demand for independence and thus retained the support of the masses.

Thus from the experience of this period it becomes unequivocally clear that independence when it did come was not a charitable donation from the colonialists nor was it entirely through the efforts of the elite rather the demand for independence came strongly from below. This was so because,

Men like Nkrumah and Toure were led by people as much as they led them. They reflected popular opinion. Webster and Boahen (1985).

It was in this light that the communication media of the period reelected very strongly the popular opinion and demand for independence from colonial rule.

Further, the period also provides evidence to indicate that the people independent of their leaders can influence the political agenda. Should this agenda be incongruent with those of the elite leadership it devolves on that leadership to seek to be congruent with the popular will, opinion and demand or lose the mandate to that leadership. This historical experience therefore makes it possible to assume that where the masses of West Africa have identified the ECOWAS as their ultimate goal they can influence the leadership to adopt similar goals and then ultimately influence the press by determining the ECOWAS as an agenda through organised self-help programmes and agitation.

Thus the people of West Africa, independent of their leadership, can determine

the desirability of ECOWAS and through independent activities create congruency to that desire throughout the West African region among all the sub-classes and sub-cultures.

2.5.8 COMMUNICATION AND THE INDEPENDENCE ERA

The media of communication emerged in the era of independence with the unique characteristic of having played a major role of unifying the interest of the people as well as the people themselves towards a common goal. Thus the desire for independence brought the people in the respective countries of West Africa together.

This fact about the press in the pre-independence period may lead to the assumption that the press could still be significant in any attempt to bring the West African people together towards a common accepted goal. Valid as this reality of the press in other parts of West Africa being ethnic bound at the time of independence and well into independence. According to Sobowale:

The fact that the political parties which owned many of the newspapers in the country at independence were local in outlook and based on ethnic affinity with specific ethnic groups had serious implications for a press which was so vigorous during the struggle for independence. Nigeria had three regions at independence in 1960: the Northern, Western and Eastern. Each of these had a dominant political party with a loyal

newspaper or newspapers. Sobowale (1985:31).

If this is an example of the collapse of the solidarity that the press showed during the anti-colonial era, it still does not seriously jeopardise any general statement about attitude of the press and people towards integration. This is so because the elements of integration still exist within ethnic nationalism - the ability and willingness to respond to common goals or band together in the face a common interest. Thus if the concept of integration in West Africa is accepted by the media owners and the politicians it may follow that specific messages will be manipulated to broaden the base of the ethnic centralism. Theoretically, it has been urged, through the cohesion theory, that in the face of external threat ethnic differences can easily be abandoned and the components stand by each other as a whole, Soyir-Yariga (1985:37-38). The corollary to this though, therefore is that, the differences in mass media functions in some West Africans countries notwithstanding once the bigger goals is adopted by the opinion leaders or policy makers in the communication industry there is bound to be a follow-up by the population irrespective of their immediate intranational differences.

Besides the successive views about and attitudes to the mass media in West Africa after independence by both the civilian and military governments where they have gained ascendancy, have been to be partners in the task of national

development. Wilcox (1975:19). this view has been especially compelling given that the successive national leaders have become the prime decision makers in the multi-facet activities of the emerging nations. It is in this regard that Dennis Wilcox has pointed out that:

Indeed, the role and responsibilities of the African mass media are highly correlated with the attitudes and goals of high government officials, Wilcox (1975:19).

In contradistinction to this view, a Pan-African committee on the role of the press in the emerging African countries, published a resolution which stated that:

The function of the press is to inform, to educate, to entertain and amuse, to examine fairly and critically and to make constructive contributions to thought and discussion on matters of public policy and to provide a forum for the airing of ideas and opinions, whatever their origin and however controversial. Wilcox (1975:20).

This view in the context of the developmentalist attitude of the new African leaders was rather idealistic since it presumed a settled ideological state of affairs in the African countries and therefore a libertarian attitude to press activities. The fact is the mass parties depended on the labouring and urban poor to achieve political power and as such their commitment appeared on the whole to be uplift the critical conditions of the masses. To do these the total physical and mental energies of the nations were perceived as needed collectively to achieve the task of nation-building. Any deviation from this centrifugal ambition was viewed with

extreme trepidation. To the new leaders, it would appear therefore that the libertarian philosophy of the mass media's role would appear unacceptable. Rather whatever was judged newsworthy should be subject to the national interest, Wilcox (1975:21). The military leaders in their response to press activities also emphasised the national interest as the yardstick for the need for caution and circumspection.

From the preceding, it can be assumed that in the emerging new nations the adversary attitude of the press in the period of colonialism had to succumb to a new philosophy of upholding the national interest irrespective of their extrinsic differences with the ruling government. For the study it would appear that where the governments of West Africa have categorically accepted the concept of integration they would do everything to ensure the conformity to that policy by the national press and a debate would be preposterous.

The position would seem to underlie the adoption of the stringent and restrictive press legislations, Elias (1969); Ugboaja (1985:24-25) and Decree 4 of Nigeria, 1984. Ugboaja suggests that this propensity on the part of the African leaders does not arise from social-psychological factors but rather from ethno-cultural terms. Thus the legal and official constraints on the mass media can only be understood in the context of the politics of national leadership in terms of the most elusive element in Africa's political life, namely integration and

mobilization, Ugboaja (1985).

This view inconsistent with the emerging theme that the primary function of the press in developing countries, including Africa, is to act as an arm or instrument of official government policy. This does not in any way suggest that the newspapers should convey only news about government activities or to praise it where there is an obvious faux pas in its policies. What is being suggested is the need for congruence in policies that the government has mapped out as directive principles of national policy. Where these are clear it is expected that the press would be guided by definite tasks that would promote collective congruency and minimise dissonance given the tremendous power that the press over uncritical and dependent target audience, Walkouts (1976).

In promoting cohesion, Walkouts has defined the role of the press to include: harnessing the press for promotional goals, nation building, national unity, mass education and where there is an impelling need to differ, such criticisms should be constructive and responsible, Walkouts (1976). To the Western journalist or critic, this would appear to be an interference with the freedom of communication of the press. There is an overbearing sense of construction on the communicators but the price of this sacrifice on the part of the journalist is stated by one of the progressive African leaders whose main concern had been to reduce the national predicament - poverty:

Our revolutionary African press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose. This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease. Walkouts (1976).

Besides, another commentator states:

They need the press to help create a feeling of nationhood among people traditionally divided by tribal loyalties; to explain the objectives of a new socialist society; to spread new and better ways of living and farming; to obtain cooperation in community and national projects; to win support for the party and its leadership, Walkouts (1976).

Further, Tom Mboya of Kenya's comments have direct relevance for the West African experience. He stated:

Because the leaders are trying hard to create unity, they become sensitive to anyone who appears to act as though he constituted an opposition and did nothing but criticize the government's efforts, Walkouts (1975:26).

From these, there emerges a compelling assumption that if the governments are able and willing to go this far in order to achieve their national objectives by ensuring maximum congruence by the communicators and the media of communication, in a further situation where an international objective is clearly defined and identified with by the government the government is very likely to ensure maximum cooperation from the media of communication. In this regard,

therefore, it will be safe to assume that since the 15 West African governments have openly identified with ECOWAS and its integration policies the newspapers of each country are likely to be congruent with the government's position, Soyir-Yariga (1985). It is therefore anticipated that the Economic Community of West African States will be favourably covered by the West African press to enhance its workings.

Further to the above statements, an emerging significant variable in the communication process in West Africa is ownership. Ownership of the media of communication to a large degree determines what attitude a newspaper may adopt towards a specific issue or policy that is raised as a national agenda. Besides, the post-independence experience has significantly diversified ownership of newspapers from government monopoly to effective private participation. It is against this background that Edeani (1985) states that:

Strictly speaking, there are two main categories of the press... the government-owned press and the privately-owned press. However, the privately-owned is of three types - commercial, party-political and religious.

This state of affairs suggests therefore that there will be the possibility of varying newspaper attitude to the Economic Community of West African States as there would be newspaper owners whose interests and economic philosophies might not be congruent with the stand of government. This possibility of incongruence

suggests therefore that the existing privately-owned newspapers of West Africa are likely to adopt a different stand with their governments' participation in the ECOWAS should their specific interests be undermined. This will therefore create communication gaps through killing or outright criticism of the ECOWAS workings.

However, in a recent study it was discovered that privately owned newspapers are likely to converge with their government views in issues of international nature although the process might be slowed as a result of the interplay of the spiral of silence and the cohesion thesis, Soyir-Yariga (1985:36-40). In this regard, therefore, although ownership is extremely important and the governments of West Africa will need the maximum support of the privately owned newspapers, the privately owned newspapers are not likely to stand in conflict with their governments as the concept of ECOWAS will be to their advantage also.

According to Edeani in Ugboaja (1985:52), the underlying philosophy of the privately owned commercial press:

...isto make profits which would enable it to stay in business while providing the public services of news, commentary, advertising, entertainment and a forum for public debate, as well as the other services of a responsible press.

Since ECOWAS integration is essentially economic, the economic interest of the owners of the newspapers will not be undermined, rather, it will be expanded as

more people will need to read more about Nigeria and Nigerian affairs in its newspapers. Besides, it would also mean more adverts for the newspapers about ECOWAS business transactions and investment possibilities. Against this background, therefore, it will not be difficult for the privately owned newspapers to converge in their views with the government stand since their perceived economic interest will coincide with the ECOWAS objectives.

From this therefore it will appear safe to assume that the privately owned newspaper of West Africa will report favourably about the ECOWAS since their perceived economic interest will be congruent with those of their ECOWAS and further that cohesion theory and the spiral of silence will also influence the newspaper owners to adopt a favourable attitude towards ECOWAS.

With regards to the government owned newspapers, their broad philosophy has been underlined by Edeani (1985) to be that:

There has always been the charge that since the political press and the private commercial press are not adequately and responsibly publicizing government policies, programmes, activities, and so, it is necessary to establish government media to do the job.

This statement of the underlying thought of government participation in the newspaper industry provides this study with the basis of assuming that issues that are of interest to the public in terms of economic advantage and closer political and cultural association will be published by the government newspapers in so

far as the issue has the government's support. In this, therefore, it will be safe to conclude that the government owned newspapers will be favourable in their reports about the ECOWAS and its ultimate objectives.

The rationale for this conclusion lies in the fact that historically, the press has always been an instrument of explicating and disseminating government policies to the people. Besides, it has also functioned as a medium of mass education for the citizens. According to Walkouts (1975), for example:

...the African media derive their impetus not from the tradition of defending individual civil liberties but from the felt need to harness the press for national liberation and national integration. 97

This utilitarian attitude of official policy towards the desired role of the newspaper in the West African context is reinforced by the observations of Elegalem (1985:68) who did an economic study of the development of the newspaper in Nigeria. He observed that:

...the ownership of newspapers by the government in the 1960's was politically motivated... The government established newspapers to ensure that its programmes were fairly and accurately presented to the people.

This statement, thus leaves no doubt that the interest of the government will be supported where it openly declares such interest either by communique or independent news coverage. Such assumption stems from the primary notion that the government in West Africa have operated publicly in the interest of the

citizens of their individual nations. That some functionaries have been inept in their duties does not detract from the essence and avowed aim of government in West Africa. It is against this background for the commitment of government to the public good that communication policies in some cases have been outright in their demands of the communication media to be congruent with the government in matters of national interest and when the government has taken a stand on an international issue its policy expectation is that the domestic communication media would stand by the government and explain to as well as educate, the readership on the government stand.

This comment is validated by the national directive under Decree 19 of 1976 that brought the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) into being and this policy statement is not exclusive and peculiar to Nigeria but similar to the policies of the other West African countries. Thus the policy of NAN, based on the directive of Decree 19 of 1976 argued as follows:

- (i) The primary duty of the News Agency of Nigeria is to uphold the integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and promote harmonious relationships among the different groups in Nigeria.
- (ii) News and comment emanating from the Agency must be truthful, honest and fair, but must not jeopardise peace and harmony in the country.
- (iii) The Agency must bring enlightened opinion to bear in discussing national and international issues. It must positively influence public opinion and contribute to the evolution and formulation of correct

national policies.

- (iv) The Agency is enjoined to promote understanding among the peoples of the ECOWAS sub-region, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the world in general. It is enjoined to respect the integrity of member-nations of ECOWAS and the OAU.
- (v) In its role as the national purveyor of news and opinion, and of espousing the public good, the News Agency of Nigeria must not act as an institutional opponent to any government or interests; but where it is in the public interest to report criticism of public policy, it must do so in a restrained and objective manner.
- (vi) In matters that affect the sovereignty or unity of Nigeria, neutrality is not expected of the Agency. It must come out firmly on the side of Nigeria without prejudice to its adherence to the truth which must at all times be its guiding light and governing principle.

From this comprehensive outline of communication policy for the NAN it becomes very obvious for this study that where the government has elected to adopt and participate in the ECOWAS organisation is domestic communication media will equally concur in their attitude towards the organisation. Since the Government's participation is of its own volition it is presumed that it deems the objectives of ECOWAS will be in the interest of the citizens and for that matter the public good. Since governments in West Africa have not compromised on the public good no matter how obnoxious their definitions of it has been, it is anticipated that the newspapers of West Africa, especially the government owned, would be favourable in their coverage of ECOWAS and integration in West Africa.

policy adopted by the central government is most likely to be supported by the communication systems of the francophone countries. In this regard, therefore, since the countries are members of ECOWAS, it is likely from the preceding statements to conclude that when ECOWAS is concerned, its objectives of economic cooperation and integration will receive favourable coverage from the Francophone countries. The foregoing also reinforces the position that in the matter of ECOWAS the Nigerian press would support the government's position.

A further compelling factor that will stimulate a closer economic cooperation, and therefore media participation, between the Francophone and Anglophone countries is the steady decline in the economic fortunes of the Francophone countries in direct relations with France and the harsh economic realities of the world today. This position is clearly enunciated by Gowon (1985:27-28), a founding father of ECOWAS and now a scholar of integration in West Africa:

Even then it required the departure of General de Gaulle as President of France in 1969, the abrupt and, for the French-speaking African states, damaging devaluation of the Franc following the appointment of the new President and the global economic crisis in the early 'seventies, aggravated by the Middle East war in 1973, before many of the Francophone states came to perceive that their best prospects of development lay in improved relations with their Anglophone neighbours, especially Nigeria, rather than in total dependence on France.

With this reality and the above compelling factors it will appear therefore that, since the Francophone governments have elected to be participants of ECOWAS, their domestic media of communication will be congruent with the stand of their governments, on the basis of the cohesion thesis. This position seems to be presumed also by the observation made by Walkouts (1975) on the media system and media philosophy practised in the French-speaking countries of West Africa:

It must be remembered that the colonial legacy did little to instil Western concepts of libertarian press freedom in most African countries...it is generally believed that Francophone Africa has a much more authoritarian view of the press than Anglophone Africa, where colonial officials allowed a degree of autonomy.

From the above statements with respect to the current economic reality in the Francophone countries and the political necessity of forging closer links with their neighbours in the West African region, the governments of the Francophone countries will be more likely to seek active and permanent association with their Anglophone counterparts and thus abandon their previous intransigence. Against this new status of relations, the inter-governmental communication will enjoy maximum isomorphism which will augur well for the ECOWAS aims, at least at the top hierarchy of the West African political organisations.

However, the nagging question that seems to haunt this study is whether increased isomorphism at the governmental level of integration is sufficient

integration for the whole sub- region. Does this isomorphism not re-echo experiences of government functionaries being self-serving and less sensitive to the needs of the generality of citizens in the sphere of national politics and national integration? Will it not be valid to hold the view, if even tentatively, that without adequate communication between government and people on the issue of ECOWAS it might degenerate into a club for government functionaries to retire into after attaining a certain level of experience as civil servants in their respective countries.

This pessimism has its basis in the notion that until a people are communicatively involved in the entire process of the organisation of an institution that is to serve their interest, that institution remains the preserve of those fortunate to be part of its immediate hierarchy. Thus, if the West African people are not drawn into ECOWAS through communication and persistent communication too, they stand the risk of abdicating their right to a fair share of the community benefits to the elite few as has been the case in post-independence political organisations in West Africa. In this regard, therefore, the statesman position adopted by the leaders of ECOWAS on their approach to integration is not realistic enough to integrate the West African peoples. This view is premised on the notion that any definition of integration should include a communication clause that would integrate the people and their communication

institutions for the propagation of the idea of ECOWAS and most importantly its demands on the individual and the cultural communities. An interest shown by the national communication institutions through their agenda-setting role would no doubt elicit interest in the ECOWAS institutions and create cultural tolerance among the people below the hierarchy of government. It is when this is done would the concept of integration imply more than just the merger of economic and political institutions.

Thus the use of the communication process in the integration exercise in the sub-region would soften more intransigent tendencies, reduce cultural conflicts and minimise nationalism far more than the bureaucratic centralism and the patient diplomacy advocated below by Adewoye (1977):

As for the question of further reforms, in an international organisation such as ECOWAS, more might be achieved by assuming a 'low profile' and pursuing patient diplomacy than by mounting a major offensive across a wide political front. This is not an organisation in which anything can be hurried.

The picture of the ECOWAS that emerges is a removed entity from the people, operating outside of the context of the people of the respective nations. In this state and devoid of communication linkages with the national communication networks, both traditional and modern, ECOWAS will remain an abstraction and the previous and existing communication road blocks will persist emerging as

antagonisms and intolerance at the interpersonal level within the ECOWAS region.

Considering the paramountcy of self-help from neo-colonialism and the urgency of “breaking the shackles of poverty” the leadership and the policy planners of West Africa and any individual exercising some form of authority that the citizens of the region come into contact with, it will be educative to appreciate the statement of Adewoye (1977), then Chairman of the Council of Ministers of ECOWAS, the body charged with policy formulation, on the need for that personal cultural and national tolerance with respect to ECOWAS issues, when he pointed out that:

If ECOWAS is so crucial to our development, what are our duties as Ministers in terms of nurturing the organisation? The first is to let us continue employing our statesman like approach to all matters relating to it. *Whatever are the issues being discussed, whether they concern administration or policy, please let us always remember that it is the interest of our community that should predominate. The interest of ECOWAS should transcend partisan nor personal considerations.* This is the time to lay a solid foundation for the community: tomorrow may be too late.

This statement is, without doubt, an admirable representational attitude towards ECOWAS interests and social implications that could come into conflict in the various fields of human endeavour where ECOWAS citizens are concerned. Unfortunately, such comment which demonstrates a simple attitude required in the

citizens of ECOWAS towards each other will be limited to the corridors of ECOWAS Secretariat, allied institutions and fora but will be lost to the people if the relevant domestic media of communication are not engaged in the entire integration process.

Integration in West Africa is ultimately a development exercise and it will be incongruent to assume that development in West Africa can be achieved only at the top hierarchy of the West African social structure. The socio-economic feature of West Africa which is characteristically determined by an urban-rural dichotomy will require more than a structural adjustment at the top, at the government level, to ensure a horizontal and uniform development for the West African peoples through ECOWAS. The rural dwellers of West Africa still retain a great capacity to produce wealth and contribute considerably to the Gross Domestic Product. It will therefore be important, both for increased economic output and maximum cultural tolerance, to integrate the urban and rural dwellers in the ECOWAS process rather than relegate the integration exercise to the West African elite.

Thus, although the assumption is settled that in developing countries the mass media, particularly newspapers and radio, can play a very central role in national development, Schramm (1974); Lerner (1966), it is still necessary for the development planners as well as leaders of government to accept the view that:

Development is now increasingly being conceptualized as a widely participation process of change intended to bring material advancement and prosperity, equality or fairness in the distribution of the social product, and the emergence of indigenous institutions whose relations with the outside world, and particularly with the developed centres of the international economy, are characterised by the equality rather than by dependence or subordination. *In this process of change it is critical that all social classes are brought within the mainstream of economic activities. It is at this stage of mobilization that the media are expected to play a central role.* Twumasi in Ugboaja (1985:211-212).

Considering the structural features in the economic and social areas of the other countries of West Africa this comment, although on Ghana, is very pertinent and applicable to all of them. Against this background, therefore, where there is an institution whose aims are to increase the overall living standards of the people it will definitely be important to include the people through information and mobilization towards the institutions' goals. It is in this regard that this study anticipates that the West African Press would give adequate coverage to the ECOWAS matters using the requisite communication networks to reach the respective West African audience.

Drawing from the preceding analysis, it is quite evident that one can anticipate a number of positions that the newspapers of West Africa will adopt in relation to the ECOWAS protocols whose overall objective is to promote integration in the

West Africa sub-region.

In the first instant since the question of ECOWAS and for that matter integration is adopted by the Governments it will be assumed that ECOWAS aims are for the best interest of the generality of the citizens of the respective numbers. In this respect, the national newspapers will be congruent with the government stand and will give more favourable coverage than unfavourable coverage.

However in the countries that have independent newspapers, it is anticipated that where the overall aim ECOWAS does not come into conflict with their avowed business interest they will be congruent with the government stand. If on the other hand, the government stand on ECOWAS would mean in the ultimate an eclipse of their business interest than the private newspapers would most likely resist ECOWAS ideas and would give more prominence to negotiative issues about ECOWAS and economic integration. This will be in the early instance of discovery. In subsequent stages the private newspapers will gravitate towards the government's stand on the bias of the cohesion theses and the balance theories. This done, there will be co-orientation between government, government newspapers and the private newspapers.

Another factor to note is that in spite of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the West African sub-region the political practice and historical necessity have made the governments to exert substantial influence over the newspaper

behaviour in their respective countries. This exertion has tended towards a near authoritarian theory of the press in the West communication environment. Thus the Francophone and Anglophone governments can, through legislation and other control devices, stimulate interest in the coverage of the ECOWAS and for that matter the attendant integration endeavour.

A further emergent observation is that irrespective of the linguistic and cultural background of the members of the ECOWAS there is a clear similarity in social distinction for the purpose of effective communication about ECOWAS and its integrative endeavour. The West African social environment is generally characterised by a social differentiation into urban and rural classes. The rural class is predominantly non-literate in the language of communication about ECOWAS and its integrative endeavour. This means therefore that for the aims of ECOWAS to be uniformly known and accepted and therefore involving the majority of West Africans then, there will be the need for greater emphasis on rural communication. If this is not done then the message about ECOWAS will only be directed to the urban dwellers, both the elite and the poor to the exclusion of the rural many.

Thus considering the immense economic benefit that the governments of West Africa and its people are likely to derive from the successful operation of ECOWAS and its principle of integration, the newspapers of West Africa are likely to give

coverage to the Economic Community of West African States. This coverage is likely to be more favourable than unfavourable; it is only in countries where private media of communication exist that one is likely to anticipate more negative coverage should the aims of ECOWAS and the integration policy threaten the economic interest of the private media of communication. Should there be no such threat then it is anticipated that the private media will be congruent with the government stand. For effectiveness of communication and the involvement of both the urban and rural dwellers, the media of communication will have to devise methods of reaching the rural dwellers who might not be literate enough to appreciate the issues of integration as covered by the media of communication.

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Considering the peculiarity of the nature of the West African communication environment, which has been determined, to a considerable extent, by culture, history and political vicissitudes, a number of communication theories will be utilized to explain the probable attitudes of the West African press in their coverage of the Economic Community of West African States whose ultimate objective is to achieve integration among the West African economies.

The significance of the theories is to explain each of the observed probable behaviour of the newspapers. For example, the *Cohesion Thesis* Soyir-Yariga

(1985:36-39) provides this study with the theoretical explanation that, should the government accept the ECOWAS objectives and become an integral part of the integration process, all the domestic institutions are likely to cohere with the government's stand. The underlying reason for this is that with regard to issues external to a particular community the internal variables are wont to cohere together thus bringing together persons who had nothing to do with each other. In the event of some disagreement or opposition from some sectors of the country, be it private newspapers or pressure groups, these pockets of opposition and resistance are likely to wither away because of the *Spiral of Silence* theory, McQuail and Windhal (1981). This theory enunciates how public opinion is formed; this is formed by an interplay of mass communication, interpersonal communication and the individual's perception of his own opinion in relation to others in society. The underlying idea here is that most people do their best to avoid isolation with respect to being the only ones holding a particular opinion, attitude and beliefs. To achieve this the individual observes his society in order to know the views that are prevailing or gaining strength and which are less dominant or declining. After this observation if one's beliefs and views on the subsisting issue is in the less dominant class, one will be less inclined to express them. The motive here is the fear of isolation and the state of affairs allows the dominant group to express themselves whilst the other remain silent and this

starts off a spiralling process which increasingly establishes one opinion as the prevailing one.

Against the background of this theory, it is possible to anticipate the issue of ECOWAS being popularised by the government owned media and the private newspapers resisting, but this will be temporal given the efficacy of the *Spiral of Silence*.

Other supportive theories in this regard include the Balance Theories. The theory most squarely relevant to this study is *Newcomb's ABX Model*, McQuail and Windhal. This model, in the main, states that "in the case of two people who have an attitude of like or dislike towards each other and towards an external object, some patterns of relationship will be balanced (as when two persons like each other, and also both like the object) and some will be imbalanced (as when two persons like each other, but one likes the object and the other does not). Newcombe asserts further that where there is balance, each participant will resist change and where there is imbalance, attempts will be made to restore *Cognitive Balance*, McQuail and Windhall (1981). This is achieved through communication which enables two or more individuals to maintain simultaneous orientations to each other and towards objects of an external environment.

Thus in the event of disagreement by sectors of the society to the ECOWAS objectives such objecting groups will experience the cognitive imbalance and this

will lead to communication with the government which will lead to cognitive balance. Thus whatever cognitive dissonance that may be in existence in the society there will be attempts to reach some measure of balance also because in the West African Community the Communication Community is a small one and through Union organisation there is horizontal communication and those who are non congruent with the dominant view will seek to reach a balance with their guild mates because of the psychological discomfort of holding a dissenting view in a family of friends and colleagues, Festinger in McQuail and Windhall (1981).

Thus should the journalists of the private newspapers fail to adopt the government on the issue of ECOWAS and its integrative endeavour there will be sufficient theoretical reasons to believe that on their own they will seek further information about the issue and from this initiative there will emerge a gravitation towards the government stand for the specific reasons raised in the above theoretical postulations.

Another significant Communication Theory that will be relevant to study is the Agenda-setting theory of mass communication. Accepting that the mass media have the deliberate duty to play a part in the development process of their respective countries and accepting further that the media of communication will delineate the specific issues one can anticipate that the media would adopt the issues of ECOWAS for information and debate. the Agenda-setting thesis states

that the mass media by dwelling on some issues and neglecting others will have an effect on public opinion. In this regard, people will tend to know about those things which the mass media deal with and will also adopt the order of priority assigned to the different issues. Thus people learn what the issues are and how they are ordered in importance. The basic idea of this hypothesis is that among a given range of issues or topics, those which get more media attention will grow in their familiarity and perceived importance over a period of time, and which get less will decline correspondingly, (McQuail and Windhall: 1981).

thus with the involvement of the media of communication in the integrative process they are likely to give more emphasis to ECOWAS and its aims in their pages, this way the integration process would become popular given the state of congruence that will exist in the respective societies and also the real fact that many people would always depend on the media of communication to form their own opinion. Thus a need dependency will be created between the audience and the media of communication. According to the Ball-Rokeach and Defleury dependency model:

...in modern societies audience members come to depend on mass media information resources for their knowledge of, and orientation to, what is happening in their society, McQuail and Windhall (1981:65-67).

Given the West African socio-economic differentiation, it will be important to note the dichotomy of the audience so that what may actually be true for the urban elite will not be generalized to include the rural dwellers who are not literate in the language of the media communication. This fact of the language barrier for the rural dwellers, with respect to the media messages, will give rise to information gaps that will lead to ineffective response to integration among the rural folks of the sub-region. According to the information gaps theory the flow of information ought to benefit everyone in the society. However, the reality indicates that the increased flow of information rather contributed to increased knowledge within certain groups far more than in others and that information gaps will occur and increase, i.e. the distance between one social group and another in knowledge about a given event. Thus when the flow of information in a social system is increased, the better educated, those with higher socio-economic status, will be able to absorb the information better than the less educated people with lower status. Theory asserts further that information results not only in increasing knowledge gap but also in gaps concerning behaviour and attitudes.

This means therefore that communication about ECOWAS is not likely to be effective in the rural parts of West Africa and as such the desired positive attitudes that would be conducive to integration will be non-available or may just be present among a few who would have acquired the information through the *two-step flow*

of information from the rural opinion leaders, Katz and Lazarsfeld in McQuail and Windhal (1981). Thus if there is no deliberate communication in the rural media or their communication networks, a large proportion of the population of West Africa will be intellectually and emotively left out of the integration process and will consequently not constitute a force to pressurize the governments and their functionaries to pursue integration unrelentingly. Thus in dealing with rural West Africa, with respect to diffusion of mass communication messages it will be significant to take into consideration the following argument raised by Elihu Katz:

If word-of-mouth is so important, and if these specialists are more exposed to the media than the people whom they influence, then perhaps "ideas often from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population. Schramm (1975:349).

This considered, then, the communication gaps efforts that will be created as a result of the language of communication will.

Against the preceding theoretical framework it is anticipated that both the government and private newspapers will give more favourable coverage than unfavourable and neutral coverage in the matter of ECOWAS and the general integrative endeavour. However, it is further anticipated that if and only if there is a serious conflict of interest between the avowed objectives and economic interests of the private newspapers and the stand of the government the private media of communication will resist the government stand by adopting one of the

following approaches; omit to give coverage to ECOWAS, give more prominence to negative information or bury news items on ECOWAS. This inconsistency will give way eventually to general congruence with the government stand. Finally, given the nature of the West African Communication environment it is anticipated that the coverage of ECOWAS by the West African Communication media will not reach the rural audience and readership directly rather the influences stemming from the mass media will first reach "opinion leaders" who, in turn, will pass on what they have read and heard to those of their everyday associates for whom they are influential. Thus any measure that ignores this social differentiation will be ignoring a vital element in the entire West Africa integration process, if by integration it is meant more than infrastructure and intelligentsia.

2.7 THE EMERGING THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

From the above literature review it can be clearly appreciated that Nigeria's communication experience is tied up with the communication experience of the other countries of West Africa. This is so because the dominant factors that determine the nature and direction of the communication media of a country are shared by all the West African countries. The dominant themes of colonialism, independence movements, post-independence political and economic development themes as well as the emergence of military rule and their influence

on the direction of communication in the respective countries are shared by all the countries of the region. From this perspective it is being argued that the integrated consideration of the development of mass communication media and their role in the development of the region from colonialism to independence provide the rational basis to anticipate the direction that the Nigerian press per se would adopt towards the ECOWAS issue.

From the above reasoning therefore, the study upon examining the literature was able to deduce that Nigeria's communication development phase will take into consideration the attitudes of opinion leaders, traditional networks, the early press and the modern media towards issues and events that affected the interest of Nigerians, especially in relation to externalities in the specific periods delineated above. Thus from the integrated examination of the press in West Africa and Nigeria in particular as was expounded in the literature the following theoretical assumption were deduced about how the Nigerian press would cover the ECOWAS objectives and the other related problems that were discussed in the problem definition:

1. a. In Nigeria, the communication media are likely to be congruent with the government on foreign policy issues that facilitate the country's development goals.
- b. Thus the Nigerian newspapers will support the ECOWAS Treaty of sub-regional economic development.

- c. The rationale for the above assumptions that in the evolution of the country's traditional and modern communication media, the media as examined in the literature review have always supported issues and events that have not undermined their social and cultural stability. Further, where community interest was to be served, the communication media gave their support to the communication events.
- 2
 - a. The Nigerian newspapers will not undermine the ECOWAS goals even though it may lead in the long-run to the century's economic, legal, political, cultural and linguistic spheres.
 - b. This is so because the media would canvass the need to endure the short-term imbalances for a more permanent long-term benefit for the citizens in the economic, social and political spheres as expounded in the treaty agreement.
 - c. The rationale for the above is that it will be viewed that the government in entering the ECOWAS Treaty agreement would be exploring further ways to fulfil its obligation to the citizens in the economic, social and political spheres.
 - 3
 - a. Where, Nigeria, in an economic union will experience population influx because of the agreement on free movement of ECOWAS citizens, the newspapers will not canvass against the adoption and actualization of the union goals by the citizens.
 - b. This will be so because the newspapers would tend to side with government's position on the adoption and actualization of the goals. Besides it will be viewed that since the government is directly involved in the arguments of the adoption and actualization of the treaty by citizens of member countries there will exist mutual benefit for participants.
 - c. The rationale for the above is that where the support of a communication event would lead to mutual benefit the newspapers will encourage rather than discourage the communication event. Thus ECOWAS would be supported.

4.
 - a. Should sub-regional economic development lead to loss of national sovereignty, the Nigerian newspapers are not likely to be antagonistic although the privately owned newspapers would resist in the early stages.
 - b. Thus the Nigerian press will support the ECOWAS Treaty of Economic development even though in the long-run it may affect the sovereignty of the country.
 - c. This would be so because the government owned newspapers will be congruent with the government views and for the reasons of the cohesion thesis, the ABX model, the spiral of silence and balance models of communication the private owned newspapers would at the later stages, gravitate towards the dominant views of the government on the issue of ECOWAS.
5.
 - a. Should sub-regional economic development lead to international political significance for Nigeria and the region, the Nigerian newspapers will not be negative towards the Union in their news carriage.
 - b. Thus the Nigerian press would support ECOWAS in its news coverage since it would bring Nigeria into a position of influence in a regional political bloc.
 - c. The rationale for the above is that where integration will lead to regional and national security and international political significance the Nigerian press would be more willing to advocate that Nigeria and Nigerians should adopt and actualize the ECOWAS treaty of regional development.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Period of study

The period of study chosen for the Nigerian newspapers to test the research questions and theoretical assumption was 1981-1985. This period was chosen primarily because the period of inception of the ECOWAS Treaty 1975 to 1980 had already been studied, (Soyir-Yariga, 1987). The period January 1981 to December 1985 also represented the second five years of establishment. It was reasoned that the member nations would have overcome the teething problem related to the regional integration and the merits and demerits of integration would have been exhaustively discussed by both the planner and academicians to attract the attention and comments from the mass communication media of the member states. Media focus and therefore media initiative in the propagation of the ECOWAS goals as a way of participating in the regional development process it was anticipated, would reach its highest point in the period delineated for the study in Nigeria.

3.2 Universe:

The universe for the study was *all the daily newspapers* in existence in Nigeria between 1981 and 1985. Thus, the universe was made up of 20 daily

newspapers of these 16 were government owned both federal and state. The remaining 4 daily newspapers were privately owned. The types of newspapers are described below:

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
1.	Daily Times	Government	National
2.	The Punch	Private	National
3.	The Guardian	Private	National
4.	The National Concord	Private	National
5.	The New Nigerian	Government	National
6.	The Nigerian Observer	Government	Regional
7.	The Daily Sketch	Government	Regional
8.	The Nigerian Tribune	Private	National
9.	The Daily Star	Government	Regional
10.	The Satellite	Government	Regional
11.	The Nigerian Statesman	Government	Regional
12.	The Nigerian Standard	Government	Regional
13.	The Morning Focus	Government	Regional
14.	The Nigerian Herald	Government	Regional
15.	The Nigerian Tide	Government	Regional
16.	The Nigerian Chronicle	Government	Regional

17.	The Nigerian Call	Government	Regional
18.	The Daily Nation	Government	Regional
19.	Evening Times	Government	Regional
20.	Evening Sketch	Government	Regional

3.3 Population and Sampling Procedure

Through proportionate sampling, 2 daily newspapers in which the Federal government had majority shares which determined ownership and which fact allowed the Nigerian Federal Government to control the appointments of their key officers were selected. These daily newspapers were the *Daily Times* and the *News Nigerian*. Further influencing factors in their choice was that they were mass circulation papers that spread throughout the federation. Finally it was also believed that the *Daily Times* being located in the area to the South of the Niger would reflect the opinions and attitudes of the people geographically and culturally located in the south of the country. Secondly since the *New Nigerian* was located in the area to the North of the country, it would also reflect the opinions and attitudes of the people geographically and culturally located in the area to the North of the country.

The North- South divide in Nigeria is also experienced in the other countries of the ECOWAS. Thus the variables that were believed could influence

communication attitudes with regard to economic development issues were education, religion, economic, social and legal institutions. Thus, it was important for the study to select proportionately newspapers that would embrace these variables. Thus, by selecting the two newspapers it was believed that the total communication variable of Nigeria would be subsumed in the study which could also be applicable to the other ECOWAS countries,(Obilade,1986, Olowu 1989).In addition to the above newspaper, 5 state government owned newspapers were randomly selected in other to allow each of the 14 state owned newspapers an equal opportunity to be selected for study since they all share similar communication variables that were thought would influence their communication attitudes towards the ECOWAS development issue. The randomly selected newspaper

were:

	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>
1.	The Daily Sketch	Oyo State
2.	The Nigerian Statesman	Imo State
3.	The Nigerian Observer	Bendel State
4.	The Nigerian Herald	Kwara State
5.	The Nigerian Tide	Rivers State

From the preceding selection, the collective total of government owned newspapers were 6.

With respect to the privately owned newspapers, there were only 4 daily newspapers in circulation that could be considered national in terms of their total circulation and spread. These were:

1. The punch
2. The Nigerian Tribune
3. The National Concord
4. The Guardian

However, because of the small 'n size' of the privately owned newspapers in relation to the government owned newspapers, the named 4 newspapers classified as privately owned were all absorbed into the study.

Thus, in the final analysis 11 daily newspapers constituted the population of the study, and these were above 50% of the total daily newspapers in the period of the study and the percentages was well above the 10% minimum required for representation of the universe for valid generalization about the Nigerian newspapers, (Kerlinger: 1973; Blalock: 1972; Berelson: 1972; Stempel: 1984; Obilade: 1986).

To select the actual newspapers to be studied, six months of each year, two

weeks of each month, two days of each week and one weekend were randomly selected stage by stage for the study proper. The total at each stage of the random sampling was 50% of the total which was believed would be substantial enough for obtaining sufficient context units for analysis and validation or negation of the research questions. This would also give ample room for considering the theoretical assumptions and thereafter also generate some hypotheses about the universe. Besides, the choice of 50% was also influenced by the fact that 10% selection in an earlier related study for the 1975-1980 period, (Soyir-Yariga: 1987), showed a paucity of news items on the ECOWAS issues in the Nigerian newspapers. Thus, it was concluded that an increase in newspaper representation would most probably yield more context units for an adequate evaluation of the actual attitude of the Nigeria newspapers to the ECOWAS Treaty as a instrument of economic development within the West African sub-region with Nigeria as a significant participant.

Thus, with the newspaper sampling population and the quantum to be studied settled, the proceeded to select 50% of 12 the months; 50% of the study total weeks in month; 50% of the days in the week and 50% of the weekends. The random sampling procedure was applied at this stage to allow each month in the year, two weeks in the month, three days in a week and the weekend days an equal opportunity to be selected. The finished random sampling is shown below

for 1981 to 1985:

Table 1 : showing the months, days and weekends randomly selected for 1981.

Months	March	April	June	Sept.	Oct.	Dec.
Weeks	4 ; 1	1; 3	4 ; 3	1 ; 2	1 ; 4	2 ; 3
Week-days	Tu, Th, Wed;Fr	Th.;We. We.;Fr.	Th.;Th. Tu,;We.	We.;Mo Fr;Fr	Fr.; We. Mo.; Th.	We.; Th. Fr.; Fr.
Weed-ends	Sun;Sat	Sun;Sat	Sun;Sat	Sun;Sat	Sun;Sat	Sun ;Sat

Table 2 : showing the months, days and weekends randomly selected for 1982.

Months	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	July
Weeks	4 ; 2	2 ; 43	1 ; 3	2 ; 4	3 ; 4	1 ; 4
Week-days	Fr., Fr Mon;Tu	Mon;Th. Tu.;Wed	Mon;Th. Mo.;Mo.	Fr.;Fr. Mo.;Mo	Fr.; We. We.; Tu.	Mo.; We. Fr.; Mo.
Weed-ends	Sun;Sat	Sat;Sun	Sun;Sun	Sat;Sun	Sun;Sat	Sun ;Sat

Table 3 : showing the months, days and weekends randomly selected for 1983.

Months	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	July
Weeks	3 ; 1	1; 3	2 ; 4	2 ; 1	4 ; 1	2 ; 4
Week-days	Tu.;Fr. Fr.;Wed	Fr.;Mon. We.;Tu.	Tu.;Tu. Fr.;Mon.	Fr.;Tu. Th.;Mo.	We.;We. Tu.;Tu.	Fr.;Fr. We.; Tu.
Weed-ends	Sat;Sun	Sun;Sun	Sat;Sat	Sun;Sn.	Sun;Sat	Sat ;Sat

Table 4 : showing the months, days, weeks and weekends randomly selected for 1984.

Months	Jan.	May .	June	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Weeks	2 ; 1	1; 4	1 ; 3	1 ; 3	1 ; 2	4 ; 2
Week-days	Th; Th, Tue;Tu Sat;Sun	Mo.;Fr. We.;Tu.	Tu.;Tu. Mo.;Th.	Mo.;Mo Tu;Th	Mo.; Mo. Tu; Th.	Mo.; We. Th.; Mo.
Weed-ends		Sun;Sat	Sat;Sun	Sun;Sat	Sun;Sun	Sat ;Sat

Table 5 : showing the months, days, weeks and weekends randomly selected for 1985.

Months	June	July	Sept	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Weeks	4 ; 3	4; 2	4 ; 2	3 ; 4	3 ; 2	4 ; 3
Week-days	Mo.;Mo We.;Tu.	We.;Tu. Tu.;We.	Mo.;Fr. Fr.;Tu.	Tu.;Th Th;Tu	We.; We Fr; Fr.	Fr.; Th. Tu.; Fr.
Weed-nds	Sat;Sun	Sat;Sat	Sat;Sun	Sun;Sn.	Sun;Sun	Sat ;Sun

3.4 Operational Definition:

- (i) For the purpose of the study, a week, starts from the first day of the month to the seventh day i.e.1-7; second week is the eighth day to the fourteenth day i.e.8-14; third week is the fifteenth day to the twenty- second day i.e 15-21; the fourth week is the twenty-second day to the twenty-eighth day i.e.22-28. In effect the study was based on a 28 days month which adds up to a 48 weeks instead of 52 weeks.
- (ii) To select the days, Monday to Friday were taken as a sub-group and Saturday and Sunday were also taken as a sub-group.

- (iii) Thus to select the days of the week, 2 days from Monday to Friday were randomly selected and one day from two weekend days, Saturday and Sunday, were selected making a total of 3 days out of seven days. This way, variation was guaranteed.

From the above definition, therefore, the specific dates of the days of the weeks that were randomly sampled were as follows:

Year: 1981

1. March

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	1st
Thursday	5th
Friday	6th
Tuesday	24th
Wednesday	25th
Saturday	28th

2. April

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Wednesday	1st
Sunday	5th
Tuesday	7th
Wednesday	15th
Friday	17th
Saturday	18th

3. June

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Wednesday	17th
Thursday	18th

4. September

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Friday	4th
Sunday	6th

Saturday 20th
 Tuesday 23th
 Thursday 24th
 Sunday 28th

Monday 7th
 Wednesday 23th
 Thursday 24th
 Sunday 27th

5. October

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Friday	2nd
Sunday	4th
Monday	5th
Thursday	22nd
Sunday	25th
Wednesday	28th

6. December

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Wednesday	9th
Friday	11th
Saturday	12th
Thursday	17th
Friday	18th
Saturday	19th

Year:1982

1. January

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Friday	8th
Saturday	9th
Tuesday	12th

2. February

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Monday	8th
Wednesday	10th
Saturday	13th

Friday 22nd

Sunday 24th

Monday 25th

Wednesday 24th

Thursday 25th

Sunday 28th

3. March**Day** **Date**

Monday 1st

Wednesday 3rd

Saturday 6th

Monday 15th

Thursday 18th

Saturday 20th

4. April**Day** **Date**

Friday 2nd

Saturday 3rd

Monday 5th

Friday 23rd

Sunday 25th

Monday 26th

5. September**Day** **Date**

Saturday 3rd

Tuesday 6th

Wednesday 7th

Sunday 25th

Tuesday 27th

6. November**Day** **Date**

Wednesday 9th

Friday 11th

Saturday 12th

Tuesday 22th

Friday 25th

Wednesday 28th

Saturday 26th

Year:1984

1. January

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	1st
Tuesday	3rd
Thursday	5th
Tuesday	10th
Thursday	12th
Saturday	14th

2. May

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Wednesday	2nd
Sunday	6th
Monday	7th
Tuesday	22nd
Friday	25th
Saturday	26th

3. June

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Saturday	2nd
Monday	4th
Tuesday	5th
Sunday	17th
Monday	18th
Thursday	21st

4. October

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Monday	1st
Friday	5th
Sunday	7th
Tuesday	16th
Thursday	18th
Saturday	20th

5. November

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	4th
Monday	5th
Tuesday	6th
Thursday	8th
Sunday	11th
Monday	12th

6. December

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Saturday	8th
Monday	10th
Wednesday	12th
Saturday	22nd
Monday	24th
Thursday	27th

Year: 19851. June

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	16th
Monday	17th
Tuesday	18th
Saturday	22nd
Monday	24th
Wednesday	26th

2. July

<u>Date</u>	<u>Day</u>
Tuesday	9th
Wednesday	10th
Saturday	13th
Tuesday	23rd
Wednesday	24th
Saturday	27th

3. August

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Thursday	8th
Saturday	10th
Tuesday	13th
Friday	23rd
Tuesday	27th
Wednesday	28th

4. September

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	8th
Tuesday	10th
Friday	13th
Monday	23rd
Friday	27th
Saturday	28th

5. November

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Friday	8th
Sunday	10th
Thursday	12th
Friday	15th
Sunday	17th
Wednesday	20th

6. December

<u>Day</u>	<u>Date</u>
Sunday	15th
Thursday	17th
Friday	20th
Tuesday	24th
Friday	27th
Saturday	28th

From the above randomly sampled dates the study had a total of 36 newspapers a year and a total of 180 newspapers spread over the five year

parameter for each selected newspaper to be evaluate. Thus for the entire sample population there were '180 days a year x 11 newspapers which added up to 1,980 newspapers which then constituted the sample population.

3.5 Evaluation of the coverage and the Communication attitude of the newspapers:

In order to evaluate the communication attitude of the sampled in newspapers and therefrom determine the role the Nigerian newspapers played in popularising a development issue in the country, content analysis procedure was adopted as the method for appropriate observation and measurement of the said newspapers. The appropriateness of content analysis in such a study as this is asserted by Berelson and Steiner:- (1964); Holsti:- 1969:38); Blalock(1972); Kerlinger(1973:525); Stempel (1984); Obilade (1986); Folarin (1988:28-30.) All the preceding exponent of content agreed analysis are that the content analysis procedure achieves the same observational result as other observational activities since the investigator succeeds in measuring the variables that have been categorized as relevant. For example:

- (i) Berelson and Steiner (1964) argue that content analysis was the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.
- (ii) Holsti (1969:38) argue that content analysis was any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying

specified characteristics of messages.

- (iii) Kerlinger (1973:525) argued that content analysis was a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner to measure variables... Instead of observing people's behaviour directly, or asking them to respond to scales or interviewing them, the investigator takes the communications that people have produced and ask questions on the communication.
- (iv) Folarin (1988:28) has argued that the basic assumption of content analysis was that there was a relation between the frequency with which a certain item appears in a text and the interest or intention of the producer on the one hand and the responses of the audience on the other.

From the above summaries of what content analysis is, it can be seen that the only way the study could observe objectively what role the Nigerian newspapers played in the popularization of the ECOWAS Treaty as a development strategy for the sub-region and the need for Nigerian to participate in achieving the goals of ECOWAS would be by adopting the content analysis procedures to test the theoretical assumption and also answer the research questions decided ab initio. To measure the manifest content of the Nigerian newspapers so as to answer the research question and validate or invalidate the theoretical assumptions of the study, the news items were first classified into news categories and thereafter their

(i) Direction

(ii) Position

(iii) Length
were measured.

3.6 News categories

After the selection of the newspapers specified from the sample population was made, some context categories were made so as to study the context units related to the problem definition and the theoretical assumptions. At this stage it was discovered that most of the research question related to ECOWAS Treaty were not reported in the context units sufficiently to constitute independent variables on the study of the ECOWAS issue. Thus the research questions not covered by the context units were collapsed under a broader variable:

3.6.1 The ECOWAS Treaty and protocols

This variable was then operationalised to include all news items on the various aspects of the ECOWAS Treaty and its protocol. Thus the operationalised context categories included:

- (i) The Treaty adoption
- (ii) Agricultural policy of ECOWAS
- (iii) Industrial policy of ECOWAS
- (iv) Trade policy of ECOWAS

- (v) Customs policy of ECOWAS
- (vi) Movement and Establishment policy of ECOWAS
- (vii) Insurance policy of ECOWAS
- (viii) Banking policy of ECOWAS
- (ix) The ECOWAS fund
- (x) Military exchange policy of ECOWAS
- (xi) Aid policy of ECOWAS
- (xii) Currency policy of ECOWAS
- (xiii) ECOWAS games
- (xiv) Language use within ECOWAS
- (xv) Communication policy of ECOWAS
- (xvi) Legality within ECOWAS
- (xvii) Revenue allocation policy of ECOWAS
- (xviii) Others

From the above context categories related to the Treaty in its entirety the study then examined the other ancillary reports that would influence the attitudes of the target audience of the Nigerian newspapers towards the ECOWAS organisation and its goals of economic integration. The said context categories were coded under into specific units that included:

- (i) Economic

- (ii) Political
- (iii) Legal
- (iv) Social

Thus, any context unit that was centred on any of the above categories and was related to the member countries of ECOWAS, outside of Nigeria herself was deemed relevant to the study since a slant in the news report towards either favourable, unfavourable or neutral would have its effects on the opinions and attitudes of the readers and in the long run their attitude towards Nigeria associating with the countries for regional economic development. For the purpose of studying the context units on the above categories, the above context categories were further operationalised in the following manners ;

3.6.2 Economic:

Any news discussion on-

- (i) Trading activities within members countries or with non- ECOWAS members.
- (ii) Commercial agreement and activities within member countries or, outside the ECOWAS.
- (iii) Industrial activities within member countries or in cooperation with non-ECOWAS nations.

- (iv) Mining activities as above.
- (v) Agricultural activities of members countries or with non ECOWAS countries.
- (vi) Oil exploration in member countries or trade with other non-ECOWAS countries.
- (vii) Labour movement within member countries or to other countries outside of ECOWAS.
- (viii) Mineral or resources potential of the member countries.
- (ix) Bilateral or multilateral agreement outside ECOWAS involving member countries
- (x) Multinational corporations activities in member countries outside Nigeria.
- (xi) State of Agricultural activities of member countries outside Nigeria.
- (xii) Famine, draught or disastrous rainfalls in member countries outside Nigeria.
- (xiii) Tree planting exercise in the member countries.
- (xiv) Economic aid from Western donor countries.
- (xv) Loan and discussions of interests on loans from International Monetary Fund (IMF) to ECOWAS member countries and the application of IMF conditionalities and their consequences.

(xvi) Others.

3.6.3 Political:

Any news item on the following operationalised context categories:

- (i) Constitutional discussion of sovereignty of member countries.
- (ii) Political integration of member countries independent of ECOWAS initiatives.
- (iii) Elections in member countries.
- (iv) Ideological beliefs of member countries.
- (v) Coup d'etat in members countries.
- (vi) Proclamations of political revolution in members countries.
- (vii) Military rule in member countries.
- (viii) Technical Aid, including military assistance and exchange, between member countries.
- (ix) Diplomatic: presentation of letters of credence.
- (x) Visits of Heads of State.
- (xi) Hosting of international conference
- (xii) Bloc voting for Africa at international fora.
- (xiii) Meeting of youth movements with political connotations
- (xiv) Political parties and their activities as opposition to ruling governments

- (xv) Anti-Apartheid meeting and conferences
- (xvi) Liberation movements: training and financial support from member countries.
- (xvii) Non aligned political activities
- (xviii) Threats of military invasion of one country by another; outbreak of war.
- (xix) Military mutiny in member countries.
- (xx) Civil wars
- (xxi) Border closure between member ECOWAS countries against each other.

3.6.4 Legal:

Any news item on the context categories below was (i) Proclamations of decrees by military governments.

- (ii) Promulgation of new laws by civilian parliaments
- (iii) Impeachment or threat of impeachment of heads of state.
- (iv) Court cases and convictions in member countries.
- (v) Court cases and convictions of citizens of member countries in Nigeria.
- (vi) Illegal movement and residence in Nigeria of Ecowas citizens

- (vii) Illegal business transactions of citizens of Ecowas countries in Nigeria.
- (viii) Expulsion of illegal aliens from Ecowas countries
- (ix) Boarder demarcation disputes between member Ecowas countries.
- (x) Prostitution.
- (xi) Armed Robbery.
- (xii) Treaties of extradition.
- (xiii) Reports on exchange of prisoners.
- (xiv) National, International or regional conference on law.
- (xv) Cartoons on the expulsion of illegal aliens.
- (xvi) Cartoons on the practitioners of prostitution.
- (xvii) Cartoons on illegal boarder transaction between illegal aliens and Nigerian immigration officials.

3.6.5 Social:

Any news item on the context categories below was classified as an integral part of the above category:

- (i) The people: description of the types of people that inhabit member ECOWAS countries.
- (ii) Cultural norms: any description of the cultural normative values of the

people of the member countries of ECOWAS.

- (iii) Material culture exhibitions or descriptions in Nigeria or feature articles on same from visits to the specific country by writers.
- (iv) Sports: reports on Ecowas games: West African Football Union (WAFU) matches; achievement or failure of ECOWAS athletes, boxers, teams on the international circuit.
- (v) International youth camps for ECOWAS youth or religious revivals: Youth exchange for ECOWAS understanding.
- (vi) Cross-cultural travel experience of Nigerian writers in other ECOWAS members countries.
- (vii) Cultural function for visiting heads of state.
- (viii) Dinner parties; cock tail ; theatre shows for visiting heads of state or diplomatic dignitaries.
- (ix) Independence celebrations
- (X) Labour Day for labour unions
- (xi) Jamboree for Youth Clubs.
- (xii) League matches in volley ball soccer., basketball in ECOWAS members countries.
- (xiii) Tourism advertisement of ECOWAS members countries in Nigeria newspapers.

- (xiv) Inter-military tournaments and durbars.
- (xvi) Others.

3.7 Direction:

This unit of measurement was used to determine the degree of the slanting news materials on the issue of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development towards *Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral*. Article classified as *Favourable* were those that were positive in their content towards ECOWAS and the issue of economic integration. *Unfavourable* articles were those that were negative or critical towards the ECOWAS and the related issues of development. *Neutral* articles were those articles that were just factual and informative and did not contain any slanting comments leaning towards favouring or disfavouring ECOWAS and the sub- regional economic development and the defined related matters as contained in the research questions.

Position: The position of the news items on the ECOWAS and the related matters were collected and categorized into *Front page, Back page, Inside page*. These categorization served to indicate the type of prominence and therefore the significance given to the ECOWAS issues.

Space: The space allocated to each items that appeared in the selected newspapers were measured in spaces centimeters. For the purpose of uniformity

in the measurement, any article that appeared on the *front page* and was continued in the *inside pages or back page* or vice-versa was treated as part of the position of origination of the article. Thus the location of origin of the article determined whether a part of an article was *front page, back page or inside page*.

3.8 Context units to be Analysed;

The study focused on the following context units for sources materials for the evaluation:

- (i) editorials
- (ii) feature articles
- (iii) photographs
- (iv) cartoons
- (v) letters to the editors
- (vi) opinion comments
- (vii) advertisers's notices
- (viii) news briefs

that have the ECOWAS, the member countries and the integration and related issues as their central focus.

3.9.1 Content Categories and Definitions:

In order to evaluate the content of the news items in the context units above and determine which ones would be classified and measured under favourable, *Unfavourable or Neutral* a number of themes and their operational definition were established. These themes were also used to measure the correlation between ownership type and the reportorial behaviour of the newspapers. The content categories were also used for the inter-coder agreement for external validity and purposes of replication. Some of the themes that were used included the following:

3.9.2 FAVOURABLE

1. Efficient patterns of Trade: Integration will lead to the availability of large markets for the distribution and sale of goods with attendant economic benefits.
2. Specialization: Any suggestion that integration will lead to specialization, with saving in economic costs, in the various economic activities that will yield economic benefits to the community members and citizens.
3. Equitable Distribution of Benefits: Any suggestion that the community activities will bring about equal and fair distribution of the unit contribution of net benefit that arise irrespective of the unit contribution of each country.

4. **Development:** Any suggestion that integration will lead to structural development in member countries that will yield greater benefit to the citizenry of ECOWAS.
5. **Tariff Protection:** Any suggestion that economic integration will offer member nations such relief that will allow their industries to produce and be assured of ready markets without the tariff barriers.
6. **Common External Tariff:** Any indication that integration will lead to the establishment of common protection against foreign goods in favour of member nations goods that will eventually encourage the development of local industries through effective patronage.
7. **Trade Liberalization:** Suggestions that indicate that integration will lead to the establishment of industries towards the free flow of goods to member nations without restriction as in an economic region.
8. **Tax-induced Distributions:** Any suggestion that prices rise because of arbitrary taxes by governments to recover losses from ECOWAS.
9. **Tax holiday**
10. **Income Tax relief**
11. **Customs Duty relief**
12. **Common Investment code**

13. **Trans national corporations:** Any indication that revenue-poor countries do not benefit much from the presence of transnational corporations which have subsidiaries in their countries and that ECOWAS will be more beneficial to them.
14. **Harmonization of internal indirect taxes:**
15. **Multinational:** Any comment that ECOWAS will replace Bata, Schaeffer and CFAO, each of which has an alternative investment option elsewhere with much bargaining power with less commitment to the sub-region.
16. **Migration of labour:** Any statement that indicates that economic integration will lead to the migration of skilled labour to sections of the region that required them to fill up gaps in their academic, health, engineering, etc, needs.
17. **Cultural Communication:** Any indication that ECOWAS will lead to close interaction between the various cultures of West Africa that will lead to better understanding and appreciation, inter-marriage and cooperation for the regional development.

3.9.3 **UNFAVOURABLE**

1. **Unequal fiscal incentives:** Any statement that suggests that integration will bring about unequal monetary rewards to the countries involved.

2. **Price distortions:** Any suggestion that prices of commodities transported in between countries will vary from place to place to the detriment of the consumers as a result of exchange rates.
3. **Tax distortions:** Any statement that believes that there will be no uniform taxes on the goods being transported into other countries as a result of the exchange rates.
4. **Uniform market conditions:** Any suggestion that in spite of common external tariffs countries are likely to use their discretion to ensure their domestic prices of goods are commensurate with the monetary losses they will suffer as a result of the uneven incentives from the community agreements.
5. **Protectionism:** Any statement that indicates that in spite of the community agreement some countries are likely to indulge in acts that will protect their domestic industries from the competition of those set up elsewhere by the community because of comparative advantages in cost of production thus undermining the entire goal of integration.
6. **Economic Replications:** Any statement that indicates that some countries are likely to set up their own versions of enterprises that produce textile, pharmaceuticals, plastics and batteries, in spite of what has been set up

- by the community for the group interest and economic efficiency.
7. **Limited Trade**: Any statement that suggests that the community efforts will suffer because of the lack of large and effective consumers of the goods that will be produced by the community industries.
 8. **Lack of specialization**: Any indication that the existing industries are so similar that there will be no possibility of taking advantage of specialization.
 9. **Market segmentation**: Any indication that the market in the sub-region are segmented throughout the region and products are reproduced everywhere and everyday.
 10. **Multinational corporations**: Any suggestion that the existing multinational corporations are more efficient than the would-be community industries and the community industries will not be able to compete effectively with the production patterns of the multinationals.
 11. **Investment incentives**: Any suggestion that the community will not succeed because the type of incentives that each member country offers to investors vary from country to country and as a result local linkages will not be developed.
 12. **Labour migration** : Any suggestion that integration will lead to skilled and unskilled labour migration that will result in unnecessary competition for jobs.

13. **Increase in Unemployment:** Any suggestion that integration will eventually lead to an increase in the rate of unemployment in member countries whose economies are relatively well off as a result of employers' choice of more qualified migrant workers.
14. **Discrimination and attrition:** Any suggestion that integration will bring about nationalist discrimination as indigenes will see non-indigenes as the source of their social and economic woes which will generate attritive attitude rather than integrative attitudes.
15. **Xenophobia:** Any indication that ECOWAS will bring about *unreasonable fears* in indigenes of member countries towards the migrants whom they do not know and understand in order to trust them.
16. **Cultural conflicts:** Any indication that integration will bring about cultural conflicts at all levels where the migrants encounter the indigenes and these will lead to unrest which could assume riotous proportions.

3.9.4 **NEUTRAL**

1. **Specialization:** Any statement that gives the state of the sub- region's achievement in specific industries without slanting.
2. **Product Specialization:** Any table or publication of the types of products

that West African industries specialize in without comment either way.

3. **Level of Trade:** Any publication of statistical data on the volume of trade in the region without comment either that is favourable or unfavourable towards integration.
4. **Replication:** Any publication giving the type of industries and enterprises that have been replicated in various member countries without comments either way.
5. **Tariffs:** Any publication of the type of tariffs as being enforced for the various economic products without comment for or against.
6. **Multinationals:** Any description of the type of transnational or multinational corporations that are in the sub-region without comment whether for or against ECOWAS.
7. **Migration:** Any publication of the type of people that are migrating from one country to the another without stating whether they will benefit the host countries or increase their social and economic woes.
8. **Cultural communication:** Any statement about the type of cultural groups that are in the sub-region and their distribution in the member countries without comments whether it will impede or promote ECOWAS integration.

4.7.5 Headlines and Sample Directional Classification of News Items:

There were, in all, 730 articles which were categorised into, *favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* based on their manifest direction. A sample of the total classification is shown below:

Newspaper	Period	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
1. Daily Times	1981-1985	"In the Spirit of ECOWAS" 17th February (1983).	"Aftermath of Illegal Alien Depature." 6th February 1983: Front Page.	The first six years of ECOWAS 24th Sept. 1984.
2. New Nigerian	1981-1985	"Buhari lauts Ecobank Project." 3rd May 1984. Back Page.	"Ghana to send 2 ships" 21st Jan. 1983: p. 1	"Ghana's Census result out Next month" 3rd May 1984, P. 12
3. Daily Sketch	1981-1985	"Nigeria to help Ghana." 13th May 1983; P. 9	"Visit Ghana and Pay ₦18.00 for a corned beef tin." 28th February, 1982. P. 11	"Liberia Law Ready" 2nd Feb. 1983; P. 8
4. Nigerian Herald	1981-1985	"ECOWAS: A dream come true" 18th June 1984 P. 6	"Menace of Aliens" 4th February, 1981 P. 10	"Ghana Takes over vehicle Plant." 20th June 1984; Inside Page.
5. Nigerian Observer	1981-1985	"Benin Goes Gay for Kerekou" 15th April 1981 Page 1 "Common currency for ECOWAS members soon." 15th September 1981.	"Workers sacked in Ivory Coast." 27th Dec. 1983.	"IICC for Round Two" 17th April 1985 P. 15
6. Nigerian Statesman	1981-1985	"Azumah Retains ABU Title 11th December, 1981.	"ECOWAS and Our Naira" 19th January, 1981 P. 3	"Ivorian Govt. to transfer Capital." 11th March, 1982.
7. Nigerian Tide	1981-1985	"Azumah Returns Home Triumphantly." 22nd Dec. 1984.	"The Return of ECOWAS Birds" 8th May 1983; P. 11	"40,000 Ghanaians seek permit." 24th January, 1982.
8. National Concord	1981-1985	"Let's Cool Tempers." 20th February, 1983 P. 2	"Hell, Here comes Ghanaians" 2nd February, 1983 P. 5	"ECOWAS Trade Problem Identified." 29th June, 1981.
9. The Guardian	1981-1985	"ECOWAS Purse to Swell by ₦4m." 19th July 1983. P.1	"Hunger drives 110 Nigerians from Ghana".	"The problem of ECOWAS" 28th Sept., 1981 P. 1
10. The Punch		"Ivory Coast Gets ECOWAS Loan" 12th January 1984. "Expulsion of Aliens can break ECOWAS" says Gowon, 28th May 1985: Front Page.	"9 Ghanaian Girls in Court." 5th March 1981: P. 2	"Liberia appoints new Justice Minister." 6th Sept., 1981.
11. Nigerian Tribune	1981-1985	"ECOWAS Plans Monetary Co-operation"; 22nd Sept., 1981; P. 3. "ECOWAS tackles energy riddle; 28th December, 1985: Back Page		"Vacancies in ECOWAS" 26th November 1982.

3.10 INTER-CODER AGREEMENT AND RELIABILITY OF DATA TESTS

The content categories were coded by external coders to determine the reliability of the instruments for the collection of the data as well as the classification of the data and their analysis. This process is significant because as Stempel III and Westley (1981:127) have pointed out:

The fact that content analysis is defined as systematic and objective means that the researcher must be concerned with reliability. By reliability, we mean simply consistency of classification.

Thus should the classifications of the researcher be replicable outright or achieve reasonable agreement from the external coder then the data collected would be adjudged reliable since the objectivity of the instrument would have been established.

The statistical procedures for testing the levels of agreement between coders have been devised by Scott (1955: 321 - 325); Deutschmann (1959: 92-95); Laswell (1965); Berelson (1967); Holsti (1969: 167-44); Stampel III and Westley (1981: 119-131). These were examined for their suitability for the study. Thereafter the testing procedure adopted for the study utilized the following formulae;

After the Researcher's classification of the news items the external coder was then given the same articles to analyse. His first instruction was an oral explanation about the three directional categories and how to assign each news item to the categories. The coder achieved the following results:

Favourable	=	29
Unfavourable	=	33
Neutral	=	29

After this, the external coder was given further oral instructions and clarifications and thereafter given the written categories to study before embarking on the directional classification for the re-test. This time the result was:

Favourable	=	24
Unfavourable	=	25
Neutral	=	45

The breakdown of the above summary totals are shown in the Table below:

Table 14: Showing the external coders final distribution of the news items directionally per newspaper.

Newspaper	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total
Daily Times	4	4	4	12
New Nigerian	2	-	2	4
Daily Sketch	2	2	6	10
Nigerian Herald	3	2	1	6
Nigerian Observer	-	1	10	11
Nigerian Statesman	1	1	1	3
Nigerian Tide	-	3	8	11
National Concord	5	4	3	12
The Guardian	3	4	5	12
Punch	1	1	3	5
Tribune	2	3	2	7
Total	23	25	45	93

Table 15: Showing summary of Tables 13 and 14 to determine the comparative differences between the researcher's and the external coder's findings.

Research	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
	19	29	45
External Coder	23	25	45

1. Test: Chi Square Reliability test.

Formula:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e} .$$

where f_o = the observed (actual) frequency in each cell of the table.

where f_e = the expected value for each cell indicates that the value for all cells are summed up to equal the overall value of Chi-Square.

2. Test: Folarin's (1988) adaptation of Holsti's (1969) Reliability test:

Formula:

$$\frac{3M}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3 + \dots + N_x}$$

where M = the number of coding decisions in which there is agreement among the coders.

where $N_1 + N_2$ = the total number of coding decisions made by 2 Coders.

where N_x = Folarin's extension to indicate the possibility of using as many coders as are possible and reasonable.

3. Test: Kirat's (1989) adaptation of Holsti's Reliability test:

Formula: $R = 2(C_1, 2) / (C_1 + C_2)$.

where $C_1 + C_2$ = The total of category assignments
made by both coders.

4. Test: Stempel III's Reliability test.

$$\text{Formula: } \pi = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

where P_o = observed percentage.

P_e = Percentage agreement expected by chance.

3.11 THE COMPUTATION OF THE RELIABILITY TESTS

The classifications and content categories that were used for the content analysis of the newspapers under review yielded the data below:

Table 7: Showing distribution of articles and their percentage value in relation to the total no of articles published.

NEWSPAPER	NO OF ARTICLES	% OF TOTAL
Daily Times	106	14.52
New Nigerian	33	5.87
Daily Sketch	116	15.89
Nigerian Herald	57	7.81
Nigerian Observer	55	7.53
Nigerian Statesman	16	2.19
Nigerian Tide	28	3.84
National Concord	98	13.42
The Guardian	61	8.37
The Punch	83	11.37
Tribune	77	10.52

The reliability of the instruments and content categories used to analyse the above data were tested in two stages:

(i) The definitions of the news categories used in the classification of the news items were given out to a coder to re-classify the data along the following categories:

- (i) ECOWAS Treaty and Protocols
- (ii) Economic
- (iii) Political
- (iv) Legal
- (v) Social

The re-classification by the external coder yielded a 100% agreement with the classification the researcher achieved with the 730 news items. This is shown below:

Table 8: Showing the congruence of classification of the news items into specified news categories.

Newspaper	Treaty	Economic	Social	Political	Legal	Total
Daily Times	5	12	15	49	25	106
New Nigerian	1	4	8	12	8	33
Daily Sketch	3	6	49	44	14	116
Nigerian Herald	7	5	19	18	8	57
Nigerian Observer	3	6	28	14	4	55
Nigerian Statesman	-	3	6	5	2	16
Nigerian Tide	1	2	11	10	4	28
National Concord	-	10	27	43	18	98
The Guardian	9	7	19	21	5	61
The Punch	-	3	29	39	12	83
Tribune	2	5	25	36	9	77
Total	31	63	236	291	109	730

Since there was no area of disagreement between the coders classification and the external coders re-classification the need to compute the reliability of the data statistically did not arise and the conclusion reached from this observation was that the researcher's classification of the news items was reliable and replicable and therefore objective and scientific.

(ii) The second stage of the measurement of the reliability of the data, involved the directional categories. This was carried out in two sub-stages as follows:

(a) In the first sub-stage:

national, regional and private cells were randomly selected. These included, the Daily Times; Nigeria Statesman; Nigerian Tribune. Thereafter 20% of the total articles published by the respective newspapers were selected for directional analysis of Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral as shown below:

Table 9: Showing the Researcher's classification of the news items sampled:

Newspaper	Sample for coding (No)	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
		No	%	No	%	No.	%
Daily Time	11	3	27.27	5	45.45	3	27.27
Nigerian Statesman	4	-	-	2	50	2	50
Nigerian Tribune	4	1	25	1	25	2	50
Total	19	4		8		7	

Table 10: Showing The results of the reclassification of the sampled news items by the external coder.

Newspaper	Sample for coding (No)	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
Daily Times	11	4	36.36	3	27.27	4	36.36
Nigerian Statesman	4	1	25	2	50	1	25
Nigerian Tribune	4	-	-	1	25	3	75
Total	19	5		6		8	

In order to measure the degree of disagreement the figures above were summarized as shown in the table below:

Table 11: Showing the summarised findings of both Researcher and the external codes:

Coders	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
Researcher	4	8	7
External Coder	5	6	8

Using the Chi-Square procedure the following expected frequencies were obtained for both the researcher and the External Coder as shown in Table 12 below:

Table 12: Showing the expected frequencies for the Researcher and the External Coder.

Coders	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
Research	6.3	6.3	6.3
External Coder	6.3	6.3	6.3

Formula = $x^2 = \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$

Cell 1 = $\frac{(4-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.839682539$

Cell 2 = $\frac{(8-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.458730158$

Cell 3 = $\frac{(7-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.077777777$

Cell 4 = $\frac{(5-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.237115422$

Cell 5 = $\frac{(6-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.014285714$

Cell 6 = $\frac{(8-6.3)^2}{6.3} = 0.458730158$

Total = 2.08632179

At 2 degrees of freedom we have 5.991 at 5% level of significance which is greater than 2.0863 and therefore we conclude that there is no real difference in classification which implies that the data are reliable.

- (ii) The second sub-stage involved including more news items for a greater statistical reliability in view of the total of 730 articles assembled. Thus 93 articles were randomly selected from all the the Newspapers for analysis.

Table 13: The researcher's classification of news items into directoral categories

Newspaper	Sampled Total	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
Daily Times	12	2	6	4
New Nigerian	4	1	1	2
Daily Sketch	10	2	2	6
Nigerian Herald	6	4	-	2
Nigerian Observer	11	1	1	9
Nigerian Statesman	3	1	1	1
Nigerian Tide	11	-	3	8
National Concord	12	3	6	3
The Guardian	12	3	4	5
Punch	5	-	3	2
Tribune	7	2	2	3
Total	93	19	29	45

The summarised figures in the above table were used to compute the reliability levels via the previously recorded reliability test procedures as shown in respective computation below:

Test 1 Chi-Square

$$X^2 = \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

f_o equals the observed (actual) frequency in each cell of the table, f_e equals the expected value for each cell indicates that the values for all cells are summed up to equal the over all value of Chi-square.

Table 16: Showing the observed frequencies for the research and the external coder.

CODER	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE
RESEARCHER	19	29
EXTERNAL CODER	23	25

Table 17: Showing the expected frequencies for the researcher and the external coder.

EXPECTED FREQUENCIES

CODER	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE
RESEARCH	24	24
EXTERNAL CODER	24	24

$$\text{Cell 1} = \frac{(19-24)^2}{24} = 1.041666667$$

$$\text{Cell 2} = \frac{(29-24)^2}{24} = 1.041666667$$

$$\text{Cell 3} = \frac{(23-24)^2}{24} = 0.041666666$$

$$\text{Cell 4} = \frac{(25-24)^2}{24} = 0.041666666$$

$$\text{TOTAL} = 2.166666666$$

At 1 degree of freedom, we have 3.84 at 5% level of significance which is greater than 2.166666666 and therefore we conclude that there is no real difference in classification.

With respect to the neutral items the researchers and external coder achieved complete agreement as indicated in the table above, which meant that on the face of the evidence it can be deduced that the instruments and the data were reliable. However to achieve a more rigorous conclusion about the reliability of the neutral data, statistical testing was used to infer as shown below:

Table 18: Showing neutral values for the researcher and external coder.

RESEARCH	NEUTRAL	
	45	
EXTERNAL CODER	45	
EXPECTED	FREQUENCY	= 45
CELL 1		= $\frac{(45-45)^2}{45} = \frac{0}{45} = 0$
CELL 2		= $\frac{(45-45)^2}{45} = \frac{0}{45} = 0$
TOTAL		= 0

From the total it can be inferred that the data was reliable.

Test 2 Folarin's (1988) adaptation of Holsti's formula to infer coder reliability was used as follows:

$$R = \frac{3M}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3 + N_x}$$

where

M = the number of coding decisions in which there is agreement among the coders

$N_1 + N_2$ = the number of coding decisions made by coders.

- N_1 = coding made by the Researcher
 N_2 = coding made by external coder
 N_x = Folarin's extension to indicate the possibility
of involving more than two coders.

Table 19: Showing coding results for both the researcher and external coder.

<i>CODER</i>	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL
RESEARCHER	19	29	45
EXTERNAL CODER	24	25	45

FOR FAVOURABLE

$$\begin{aligned}
 M &= 19, & N_1 &= 19, & N_2 &= 24 \\
 R &= \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2} = \frac{2 \times 19}{19 + 24} = \frac{38}{43} = 0.88
 \end{aligned}$$

UNFAVOURABLE

$$\begin{aligned}
 M &= 25, & N_1 &= 29, & N_2 &= 25 \\
 R &= \frac{2 \times 25}{29 + 25} = \frac{50}{54} = \underline{\underline{0.93}}
 \end{aligned}$$

NEUTRAL

$$\begin{aligned}
 M &= 45, & N_1 &= 45, & N_2 &= 45 \\
 R &= \frac{2 \times 45}{45 + 45} = \frac{90}{90} = 1
 \end{aligned}$$

Test 3

Kirat's (1989) procedure for Reliability Test was also used to test the reliability of the data collected as follows ;

$$R = \frac{2C_{1,2}}{C_1 + C_2}$$

C_1 = coding made by Researcher

C_2 = coding made by External coder

$C_{1,2}$ the number of category assignments both coders agreed on.

$C_1 + C_2$ = is the total of category assignments made by coders.

FAVOURABLE

$$C_{1,2} = 19 \quad C_1 = 19 \quad C_2 = 24$$

$$R = \frac{2C_{1,2}}{C_1 + C_2} = \frac{2 \times 19}{19 + 24} = \frac{38}{43} = 0.88$$

UNFAVOURABLE

$$R \quad C_{1,2} = 25, \quad C_1 = 29, \quad C_2 = 25$$

$$R = \frac{2 \times 25}{29 + 25} = \frac{50}{54} = 0.93$$

NEUTRAL

$$C_{1,2} = 45 \quad C_1 = 45, \quad C_2 = 45.$$

$$R = \frac{2C_{1,2}}{C_1 + C_2} = \frac{2 \times 45}{45 + 45} = \frac{90}{90} = 1.$$

Test 4

Stemple III and Wesley's (1981) recommended reliability test was also used as follows:

$$\text{Reliability, } I = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

P_o - observed percentage

P_e - percentage agreement expected by chance

Table 20: Showing coding results for the researcher and the external coder for Stempel III Reliability Test.

RESEARCHER	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE
	19	29

PERCENTAGE

$$T = 48$$

$$\% \text{ Value for } 19 = \frac{19}{48} \times 100 = 39.58$$

$$\% \text{ Value for } 29 = \frac{29}{48} \times 100 = 60.42$$

$$\% \text{ Value for } 23 = \frac{23}{48} \times 100 = 47.92$$

$$\% \text{ Value for } 25 = \frac{25}{48} \times 100 = 52.08$$

RELIABILITY FOR THE RESEARCHER IS CALCULATED AS FOLLOWS:

FAVOURABLE

$$\pi_1 = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

$$P_o = 39.58, P_e = 50$$

$$\begin{aligned} \pi_1 &= \frac{39.58 - 50}{1 - 50} = \frac{10.42}{-49} \\ &= 0.212653061 \\ &= 0.21 \end{aligned}$$

UNFAVOURABLE

$$P_o = 60.42$$

$$\begin{aligned} \pi_2 &= \frac{60.42 - 50}{1 - 50} = \frac{10.42}{49} \\ &= -0.21653061 \\ &= -0.21 \end{aligned}$$

RELIABILITY LEVEL FOR THE EXTERNAL CODER
IS CALCULATED AS FOLLOWS FAVOURABLE

$$P_o = 47.92, P_e = 50$$

$$\begin{aligned} \pi_3 &= \frac{47.92 - 50}{1 - 50} = \frac{-2.08}{49} \\ &= 0.042448979 = 0.04 \end{aligned}$$

UNFAVOURABLE

$$P_o = 52.08 \quad P_e = 50$$

$$\pi_4 = \frac{52.08 - 50}{1-50}$$

$$= \frac{2.08}{49}$$

$$= -0.042448979$$

$$= \underline{\underline{-0.04}}$$

Table 21: Showing the summary of the Reliability levels for the researcher and the external coder.

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE
RESEARCHER	0.21	-0.21
EXTERNAL CODER	0.04	-0.04

For our conclusion, we consider nominal scale from -1 to 1. Since the difference between 0.21 and 0.04 is 0.17 and is less than 1 and needs to be greater than 1 to be significant, we conclude therefore that the level of disagreement is insignificant and the data is therefrom reliable. For the unfavourable, the difference between -0.21 and -0.04 is -0.17 which is also less than 1 and needs to be greater than 1 to be significant, therefore, the data is reliable.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1.1 The News Data

The total number of news articles and the news article distribution among the sampled newspaper population were collected and analysed. In all there were 730 news articles. The distribution among the respective newspapers is shown on Table 1a of the statistical analysis. The ranking of total contribution to the propagation of ECOWAS and ECOWAS related news is shown the following order:

**TABLE 22: Showing the rank order in total articles
published by the respective Newspapers**

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Name of Paper</u>	<u>No of articles</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
1.	Daily Sketch	116	15.89
2.	Daily Times	106	14.52
3.	National Concord	98	13.42
4.	The Punch	83	11.37
5.	Tribune	77	10.52
6.	The Guardian	61	8.37

7.	Nigerian Herald	57	7.81
8.	Nigerian Observer	55	7.53
9.	New Nigerian	33	5.87
10.	Nigerian Tide	28	3.84
11.	Nigerian Statesman	16	2.19
	TOTAL	730	100.

From the above statistical distribution the immediate conclusion that is self-evident is that the Nigerian newspapers gave a low coverage to the ECOWAS integration process. This is so because a total of 730 news articles shared by 11 newspapers on the average yields 66.36 articles that would have been published over a period of five years. In the five years period there was an average of 13.2 articles published per year which is 66.36 by 5. When this per year total is reduced to total per month which is 13.2 by 12 = 1.10 per month. For the weekly publication it is 1.10 by 4 = 0.275 and for daily publication it comes down statistically to 0.27 by 7 days on a daily basis which is 0.0357142.

Thus, from the statistics, the weekly and daily publication of ECOWAS development issues was non-existent in the Nigerian newspapers. Thus, from the given extremely low average publication on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and its internally related issues, the objective conclusion will be that

the Nigerian newspapers did not utilize their communication activities to promote regional development adequately since more than 50% of the newspapers in continuous circulation within the 1981-1985 period were sampled.

However, in terms of individual performance, it can be seen that the *government owned* newspapers: *Daily Sketch* and *Daily Times* contributed more articles to the propagation of the ECOWAS goals of development than the other *government owned* newspapers. Whereas the *National Concord* and *The Punch* also contributed more to the propagation of ECOWAS goals from the privately owned newspapers. On the average however, the privately owned newspapers showed a consistent high publication of ECOWAS issues where the government owned newspapers showed an unsteady rise and fall in their concentration on ECOWAS issues.

In terms of regional performance by the two leading national newspapers: *Daily Times* and *New Nigerian*, the *New Nigerian* published less materials on the ECOWAS issue than the *Daily Times* which published a substantial amount. Thus, on a one to one performance the *Daily Times* did more work than the *New Nigerian* on the issues of ECOWAS as an instrument of development for its target audience.

On the other hand, however, with the exception of *Nigerian Statesman*, *Nigerian Tide* and *New Nigerian*, all the other papers published a total number of

articles well above 50 which goes to show that on their individual effort there was substantial attempt to propagate the ECOWAS and its related issues. From this standpoint one can already see that from the individual performances there was a considerable effort on the part of the Nigerian newspapers to give coverage to an international issue in which the Federal government has substantial interest. This goes to show that the first theoretical assumption that the Nigerian newspapers will give publicity to an issue in which the government is interested in has been validated.

A further observation in the pattern of total news coverage emerging from the table of performance being discussed is the seeming support being given by the Nigerian newspapers to the paradigm of newspaper behaviour that the further the newspaper is from the metropolis the less attention it would give to issues unconnected to the daily needs of its target audience, (Obeng-Quaidoo, 1977). In this way newspapers have been classified as *metropolitan/national* or *provincial/regional*. Under this classification and with respect to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development the newspapers that have shown a provincial outlook are *Nigerian Statesman*, *Nigerian Tide* and the *New Nigerian* whereas, *Daily Sketch*, *Daily Times*, *National Concord*, *The Punch*, *Tribune*, *The Guardian*, *Nigerian Herald* and *Nigerian Observer* were national in outlook.

4.1.2 Article contribution respectively from 1981-1985 and their percentages by the sampled newspapers.

Tables 23a and c: This table shows the number of articles that were contributed by the respective newspapers in each of the years earmarked for study i.e. 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985. The individual total propagation are self-evident, however, what needs to be observed here is that the collective total propagation of the ECOWAS economic development issues were relatively low between 1981 and 1982 which means less discussion of the ECOWAS issue took place in the said periods. However, between 1983, 1984 and 1985 there was a considerable relative increase in the propagation of the ECOWAS issue with 1985 being the highest point of propagation with the collective total reaching a total of 260 articles in the year. In this period 7 newspapers had increased their propagation well above the previous years. In the period also, the newspapers classified as provincial in outlook, with respect to showing interest more in provincial issues rather than national and international issues, increased tremendously their output in news items on the ECOWAS development issue. Thus *Nigerian Tide* and *New Nigerian* reached their highest point of propagation in 1985. However in the same period the *Nigerian Statesman* did not change its provincial outlook and, in line, did not record any news items on the ECOWAS development issue.

Table 23a: Article distribution in the years 1981-1985

Name of Paper	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total
Daily Times	18	22	29	10	27	106
New Nigerian	2	2	4	4	21	33
Daily Sketch	22	16	18	17	43	116
Nigerian Herald	11	10	6	16	14	57
Nigerian Observer	11	-	26	10	8	55
Nigerian Statesman	6	7	3	-	-	16
Nigerian Tide	-	-	8	-	20	28
National Concord	9	-	33	21	35	98
The Guardian	-	-	12	22	27	61
The Punch	12	-	4	26	41	83
Nigerian Tribune	8	13	15	17	24	77
Total	99	70	158	143	260	730

Table 23b: Percentage distribution of total number of articles contributed in each year by newspaper

	1981		1982		1983		1984		1985	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily Times	18	18.18	22	31.42	29	18.35	10	6.99	27	10.35
New Nigerian	2	2.02	2	2.86	4	2.53	4	2.80	21	8.08
Daily Sketch	22	22.22	16	22.86	18	11.39	17	11.89	43	16.54
Nigerian Herald	11	11.11	10	14.29	6	3.79	16	11.18	14	5.38
Nigerian Observer	11	11.11	-	-	26	16.47	10	6.99	8	3.08
Nigerian Statesman	6	6.06	7	10.00	3	1.90	-	-	-	-
Nigerian Tide	-	-	-	-	8	5.06	-	-	20	7.69
National Concord	9	9.09	-	-	33	20.89	21	14.69	35	13.46
The Guardian	-	-	-	-	12	7.59	22	15.38	27	10.38
The Punch	12	12.12	-	-	4	2.53	26	18.18	41	15.77
Nigerian Tribune	8	8.08	13	18.57	15	9.49	17	11.89	24	9.23
Total	99	100	70	100	158	100	143	100	260	100

Here, the article distribution shows a congruency with the theoretical assumption that where the government adopts a policy favourable to Nigeria the newspapers are likely to give their support to the government stand. The period 1981-1982 was a period in which the civilian government of President Shehu Shagari did not emphasise the ECOWAS issue in its development policy. Between January 1983 and April 1985 the President Shehu Shagari government and the military government of President Mohammadu Buhari adopted policies that did not encourage ECOWAS development like the expulsion of illegal aliens and the closure of Nigeria's borders with ECOWAS member countries. However, in 1985 the new military government of President Ibrahim Babangida adopted policies that were favourable to the ECOWAS development issue which led to the opening of Nigeria's borders, hosting of ECOWAS summit and Nigeria's President assuming the Chairmanship of the ECOWAS. These positive politics and attitudes towards the ECOWAS development goals meant government support for the ECOWAS and correspondingly the year 1985 witnessed the marked increase in newspaper attention to the ECOWAS development and related issues as evidenced by the total articles of 260 as against 99 articles in 1981; 70 articles in 1982; 158 articles in 1983; and 143 articles in 1984.

From the perspective of the five theoretical assumptions two of the assumptions i.e. 1 and 2 are squarely validated by virtue of the relative increase

in numbers of articles in 1985 when the Federal military government of President Ibrahim Babangida took a positive stand towards the ECOWAS goals of economic development. The validated assumptions are:

1. In Nigeria the communication media are likely to be congruent with their government on foreign policy issues that facilitate the country's development goals.
2. The Nigerian newspapers will not undermine the ECOWAS goals even though it may lead to imbalances in the country's economic, legal, political, cultural and linguistic spheres.

With this validation it will certainly be safe and logical to assume that the rationale for the above theoretical assumptions were also validated considering the direction of the foreign policy initiatives charted under Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, then the Foreign Minister in the period under review.

The second segment of Table 23, on its part, shows in percentage form how the newspapers contributed to the dissemination of ECOWAS development issues relative to the total number of articles. Although the percentages are relatively low in absolute terms, they still show and reinforce the above discussion on the validation of the congruency of the Nigerian newspapers with the government stand on foreign policy issues that would be of economic benefit to the people of Nigeria. Thus, the second segment of Table 23 serves as an added

statistical support to the general trend in the first part of Table 23 already discussed above.

4.1.3 Direction of the Newspaper articles:

In Tables 24a, 24b and 24c the study examined the *direction* of the total articles published by each paper and categorised the articles into *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* using the content categories, already supplied in the methodology to classify each context unit that carried items on the ECOWAS development and the related issues. The directional measurement will enable the study to determine the relative attitudes of the sampled newspapers towards the ECOWAS economic development and the related issues and from the general trend of the more than 50% sample population it will be possible then to generalize about the attitudes of the Nigerian newspapers towards the ECOWAS Treaty of Economic development and the related issues. The statistical distribution of articles into *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* have been indicated in the table. However, for the purpose of the study the significant issue is one of generalization. For this reason therefore the collective total distribution will be considered while the individual newspaper performance will be considered at a later stage.

Thus, from Table 3a, it can be observed that there were more a *Neutral* articles which were 342 articles, followed by *Unfavourable* articles which were 207

in number than *Favourable* articles which were 181 in all. The statistical margin between the *Unfavourable* and *Favourable* articles was not very large. Thus, attitudes towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development will be too preponderant in the direction of *Unfavourable*. Secondly, with the very substantial articles on *Neutral* of 342 as against 181 for *Favourable* and 207 for *Unfavourable*, a combination of the information on *Neutral* issues and *Favourable* issues are highly likely to neutralise the *Unfavourable* publicity. From the content categories of *Neutral* as discussed in the methodology it is clear that *Neutral* information seeks to educate without slanting. Thus considering the target audience that read the newspapers it is highly probable that they would use the *Neutral* information to arrive at objective assessment of both the *Favourable* and *Unfavourable* comments. Thus with an overwhelming factual information it is possible that the audience would be geared more towards a high average for the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and the related issues.

From Table 24b the statistical representation shows that the total scored by *Favourable* articles were 24.79% *Unfavourable* scored 28.36% and *Neutral* scored 46.85%. Thus the percentage difference between the *Unfavourable* and *Favourable* news items was 3.57% which is less than 5%. Thus in terms of percentage representation it is still possible to arrive at the conclusion that the total *Unfavourable* reportage will not undermine in a significant manner positive attitudes

towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and the related issues. Since the study is about information it is possible to argue that the *Unfavourable* publicity will not be a lasting experience for the audience in view of the *Neutral* bombardment at 46.85% followed by a 24.79% *Favourable* reinforcement.

The arguments advanced above are clearly elaborated in Table 3c especially when one compares the individual recording of *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* by the respective newspapers and the reading is done concurrently across from left to right or *Favourable* to *Unfavourable* and then the *Neutral*. The slightness of the difference between *Favourable* and *Unfavourable* emerges in brilliant form.

Thus, from the combined manifest effect of the *Neutral* and *Favourable* articles on the *Unfavourable* articles it is possible to assert the following deductions from the statistics in Table 24a, 24b and 24c that:

1. The Nigerian newspapers have not been significantly hostile towards the:
 - (i) adoption of the Ecowas Treaty of economic development;
 - (ii) economic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of Ecowas Treaty of development.
 - (iii) goals of economic and social integration which are likely to lead to the loss of national sovereignty in the long-run
 - (iv) the ECOWAS protocol relating to free movement of persons,

- residence and establishment in the ECOWAS region;
- (v) ECOWAS as a potential instrument for collective international political influence for the sub-region against external political and economic power blocs.

This has been so because the weighted percentage of *Neutral* articles and the *Favourable* articles tend to bridge the influence of the negative articles which came second after *Neutral* articles with an insignificant margin from the *Favourable* articles. Further, the difference between *Unfavourable* articles and *Favourable* articles can be neutralized with a more dynamic government attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development as the newspapers will always gravitate towards the government position on foreign issues.

2. From the statistical analysis above, also, the five theoretical assumptions of the study have also been validated if the combined effects of the *Favourable* and the *Neutral* news items are weighed concurrently against the *Unfavourable* articles. Thus the following theoretical assumptions below:

- (i) In Nigeria, the communication media are likely to be congruent with their government on foreign policy issues that facilitate the country's development goals.
- (ii) The Nigerian newspapers will not undermine the ECOWAS goals even though it may lead to imbalances in the country's economic,

Table 24a: Direction of Articles in Each Newspaper

Name of Paper	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total
Daily Times	32	23	51	106
New Nigerian	16	5	12	33
Daily Sketch	23	40	53	116
Nigerian Herald	14	22	21	57
Nigerian Observer	10	13	32	55
Nigerian Statesman	3	7	6	16
Nigerian Tide	4	8	16	28
National Concord	19	24	55	98
The Guardian	21	12	28	61
The Punch	19	36	28	83
Nigerian Tribune	20	17	40	77
Total	181	207	342	730

5. Types of Articles
1. Favourable = 181
 2. Unfavourable = 207
 3. Neutral = 342

Table 24b: Percentage of Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Coverage of the Issue by Newspaper

Newspaper	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
	No. of Articles	%	No. of Articles	%	No. of Articles	%
Daily Times	32	17.68	23	11.11	51	14.91
New Nigerian	16	8.84	5	2.42	12	3.51
Daily Sketch	23	12.71	40	19.32	53	15.50
Nigerian Herald	14	7.73	22	10.63	21	6.14
Nigerian Observer	10	5.52	13	6.28	32	9.36
Nigerian Statesman	3	1.66	7	3.38	6	1.75
Nigerian Tide	4	2.21	8	3.86	16	4.68
National Concord	19	10.50	24	11.59	55	16.08
The Guardian	21	11.60	12	5.80	28	8.19
The Punch	19	10.50	36	17.39	28	8.19
Nigerian Tribune	20	11.05	17	8.21	40	11.70
Total	181	100	207	100	342	100

- % Favourable = 24.79
 % Unfavourable = 28.36
 % Neutral = 46.85

Table 24c: Number of Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral Articles Expressed as Percentage of Each Newspaper's Total Coverage of the Issue

Newspaper	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Daily Times	32	30.19	23	21.70	51	48.11	100
New Nigerian	16	48.48	5	15.15	12	36.36	100
Daily Sketch	23	19.83	40	34.48	53	45.69	100
Nigerian Herald	14	24.56	22	38.60	21	36.84	100
Nigerian Observer	10	18.18	13	23.64	32	58.18	100
Nigerian Statesman	3	18.75	7	43.75	6	37.5	100
Nigerian Tide	4	14.29	8	28.57	16	57.14	100
National Concord	19	19.39	24	24.49	55	56.12	100
The Guardian	21	34.43	12	19.67	28	45.90	100
The Punch	19	22.89	36	43.37	28	33.74	100
Nigerian Tribune	20	25.97	17	22.08	40	51.95	100
Total	181		207		342		

Table 25a: Percentage Length of Articles - Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral

Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral		Total
Length (cm ²)	%	Length (cm ²)	%	Length (cm ²)	%	
35414.8	31.46	40050.3	35.58	37112.2	32.97	

Table 4a2: Percentage length of the articles in each newspaper

Newspaper	Length(cm ²)	%
Daily Times	17263.7	15.33
New Nigerian	5000.6	4.44
Daily Sketch	16537.7	14.69
Nigerian Herald	12548.0	11.15
Nigerian Observer	9671.1	8.59
Nigerian Statesman	2018.4	1.79
Nigerian Tide	4859.3	4.32
National Concord	10236.7	9.09
The Guardian	9535.8	8.47
The Punch	12501.3	11.10
Nigerian Tribune	12404.7	11.02
Total	112577.3	100

legal, political, cultural and linguistic spheres.

- (iii) Where, Nigeria, in an economic union will experience population influx, the newspapers will not canvass against the adoption of the union's goals.
- (iv) Should sub-regional economic development lead to loss of national sovereignty, the Nigerian newspapers are not likely to be antagonistic although the privately owned newspapers will resist in the early stages.
- (v) Should sub-regional economic development lead to international political significance for Nigeria and the region, the Nigerian newspapers will not be negative towards the union in their news coverage on the ECOWAS issues.

With the above validation of the theoretical assumptions it follows that the underlying rationale for the respective assumptions have also been rendered acceptable description of the reasons for Nigerian newspaper behaviour.

4.1.4 The space allocation of the news items on the ECOWAS

Treaty of development:

A further index of determining how the Nigerian newspapers reported on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development was outlined to be the volume of news

hole allocated by the respective newspapers to the related issues under study. In all the sampled newspapers collectively devoted 112577.3cm² to the publicity of the ECOWAS issue of regional economic development in the delineated period. Calculating from the total of each paper relative to the total in percentage the following ranking was determined:

<u>Name of Paper</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Daily Times	1	15.33
Daily Sketch	2	14.69
Nigerian Herald	3	11.15
The Punch	4	11.10
Tribune	5	11.02
National Concord	6	6.02
Nigerian Observer	7	8.59
The Guardian	8	8.47
New Nigerian	9	4.44
Nigeria Tide	10	4.32
Nigerian Statesman	11	1.79

The above ranking is consistent with Table 1 which showed the total number of articles published. Again, the *New Nigerian* considered a Federal government

owned newspaper is performing less than expected of the federal funded newspaper which ought to show far greater interest in issues the Federal Government is interested in, especially in foreign policy matters that promise to be of substantial benefit to Nigerians. Further, the *Daily Times* and the *Daily Sketch* maintain their lead with a slight advantage going to the *Daily Times*. The private papers also maintain a respectable performance to be consistent with the hypothesis asserting congruency between privately owned newspapers and the government views in relation to foreign policy matters. Again it is possible to re-assert the view that the further away a newspaper is from the centre its observable tendency would be to concentrate on local and provincial issues rather than international issues judging from the performance of *Nigerian Statesman*, *Nigerian Tide* and *New Nigerian*.

Thus, it is deducible that the metropolitan newspapers of the *Daily Times*, *Daily Sketch*, *Nigerian Herald*, *The Punch*, *Tribune*, *The Guardian* and *Nigerian Observer* devoted more space to the ECOWAS economic development issues and as such brought the attention of their audience to the regional economic development. Thus the metropolitan areas were more exposed to ECOWAS information than the provincial parts of Nigeria. The Nigerian metropolitan newspapers, on the whole, can be said to have propagated more of the ECOWAS development messages than the provincial newspapers did. However, Table 25b

shows the analysis of the allocation of news hole to the *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* directions by each of the sampled newspapers. From the figure it is shown that the *Unfavourable* coverage amounted to 40050.3cm², followed by the *Neutral* coverage which was spread over 37112.2cm² and then the *Favourable* coverage occupying 35414.8cm². Again this performance is not inconsistent with the performance of the newspapers with respect to Direction as discussed earlier. In spite of the leadership of the *Unfavourable* articles as against the *Neutral* and *Favourable* articles, the percentage reckonings show that, as Table 25a, the *Unfavourable* articles with the total space of 40050.3 obtained 35.8%, where the *Neutral* articles obtained 32.97% and the *Favourable* articles scored 31.46%. Again the percentage differences do not warrant an outright supposition that the Nigerian audience would have been influenced irredeemably to think and hold negative attitudes towards the ECOWAS Treaty of sub-regional economic development.

Rather it would seem logical to think and argue that among a rational audience, which is assumed because it is argued that those who read newspapers in Nigeria would have completed six years of formal education, would weight the facts against the newspapers opinion and come to their own considered opinion. Thus, the combined effect of the volume of *Favourable*, and *Neutral* space allocation would assure sufficient information to offset the impact of the

Table 25b: Length of Articles

Name of paper	Cm ²		Cm ²	
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total
Daily Times	6689.4	5677	4897.3	17263.7
New Nigerian	2743.8	649.6	1607.2	5000.6
Daily Sketch	3506.1	7209.0	5822.6	16537.7
Nigerian Herald	5805.1	3888.2	2854.7	12548.0
Nigerian Observer	2189.9	1818.0	5663.2	9671.1
Nigerian Statesman	511.3	1053.7	453.4	2018.4
Nigerian Tide	210.2	2760.5	1888.6	4859.3
National Concord	1685	5133	3418	10236.7
The Guardian	3783.8	1823.3	3928.7	9535.8
The Punch	3289.1	6774.9	2437.3	12501.3
Nigerian Tribune	5001.1	3262.4	4141.2	12404.7
Total	35414.8	40050.3	37112.2	112577.3

Table 25c: Percentage length of articles - Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral in each newspaper

Newspaper	Length favourable	%	Length Unfavourable	%	Length Neutral	%	Total Length	% Total
Daily Times	6689.4	38.75	5677	32.88	4897.3	28.37	17263.7	100
New Nigerian	2743.8	54.77	649.6	12.99	1607.2	32.14	5000.6	100
Daily Sketch	3506.1	21.20	7209.0	43.59	5822.6	35.21	16537.7	100
Nigerian Herald	5805.1	46.26	3888.2	30.99	2854.7	22.75	12548.0	100
Nigerian Observer	2189.9	22.64	1818.0	18.80	5663.2	58.56	9671.1	100
Nigerian Statesman	511.3	25.33	10053.7	52.20	453.4	22.47	2018.4	100
Nigerian Tide	210.2	4.36	2760.5	56.81	1888.6	38.87	4859.3	100
National Concord	1685	16.46	5133.7	50.15	3418	33.39	10236.7	100
The Guardian	3783.8	39.68	1823.3	19.12	3928.7	41.20	9535.8	100
The Punch	3289.1	26.31	6774.9	54.19	2437.3	19.50	12501.3	100
Nigerian Tribune	5001.1	40.32	3262.4	26.30	4141.2	33.38	12404.7	100

Table 26a: Location of Articles

Name of Paper	Front page	Back page	Inside page	Total
Daily Times	15	9	82	106
New Nigerian	6	4	23	33
Daily Sketch	10	10	96	116
Nigerian Herald	1	5	51	57
Nigerian Observer	6	1	48	55
Nigerian Statesman	0	2	14	16
Nigerian Tide	1	3	24	28
National Concord	4	2	92	98
The Guardian	9	4	48	61
The Punch	20	8	55	83
Nigerian Tribune	7	13	57	77
Total	78	61	590	730

Unfavourable communication whose statistical lead is not very significant. Thus statistically it is quite possible to argue that the Nigerian newspapers will not necessarily be

1. (i) hostile towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.
- (ii) seen to be undermining the ECOWAS goals of development if even there are some imbalances resulting therefrom.
- (iii) seen to be canvassing against the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development because of the likelihood of population influx into the country.
- (iv) antagonistic towards the ECOWAS integrative process even where integration might threaten Nigeria's national sovereignty.
- (v) seen to be negative towards a union that will lead the country and the region into international political significance in the face of economic and political power blocs.

The conclusions on the above also render the rationale for the issues acceptable on the basis of the deductions from the statistical evidence from tables 25a, 25b and 25c.

2. Further, although the volume of space allocated to *Unfavourable* news items, the statement above pointing out that statistical difference not being

significant has also led the study to reach the conclusion that the Nigerian newspapers will not necessarily devote much more newshole to Unfavourable issues if the government adopts a more dynamic approach to the ECOWAS economic development. Nevertheless as the evidence indicates the combined effect of the *Favourable* and *Neutral* space will show a more positive attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development if this is reinforced with a more dynamic attitude towards the ECOWAS economic development issue. Besides the concurrent reading of Table 25c also shows only a marginal difference in the percentage contribution of space which with time will be overtaken by more outwardly positive commentaries.

Thus, the Nigerian newspapers have numerically shown a marginal slant towards *Unfavourable* comment which on balance with the *Favourable* and the *Neutral* comments render the *Unfavourable* advantage insignificant.

4.1.5 Prominence given to the news items on the ECOWAS Treaty of Economic Development:

Reading from Table 26a the statistics show that there were 78 articles on the *Front page*, 61 articles on the *Back page* and 590 articles on the *Inside page*. It is the agreed measure of prominence that ranks *Front page* as 1, *Back page* as

Table 26b: Table showing prominence given to the ECOWAS issue

Newspaper	Total No. of article	Front page	% of Total	Back page	% of Total	Inside page	% of Total	Total
Daily Times	106	15	14.15	9	8.49	82	77.36	100
New Nigerian	33	6	18.18	4	12.12	23	69.70	100
Daily Sketch	116	10	8.62	10	8.62	96	82.76	100
Nigerian Herald	57	1	1.75	5	8.77	51	89.47	100
Nigerian Observer	55	6	10.91	1	1.82	48	87.27	100
Nigerian Statesman	16	0	0.00	2	12.5	14	87.5	100
Nigerian Tide	28	1	3.57	3	10.71	24	85.71	100
National Concord	98	4	4.08	2	2.04	92	93.88	100
The Guardian	61	9	14.75	4	6.56	48	78.69	100
The Punch	83	20	24.10	8	9.64	55	66.27	100
Nigerian Tribune	77	7	9.09	13	16.88	57	74.03	100

Table 5b2: Percentage Location of articles

Front page	=	10.82
Back page	=	8.36
Inside page	=	80.82
Total	=	100

Table 27a: Types of Articles

Newspaper	Feature	Newsreport	Editorial	Cartoons	Pictures	Total
Daily Times	9	84	13	-	-	106
New Nigerian	3	25	5	-	-	33
Daily Sketch	6	107	2	1	-	116
Nigerian Herald	11	42	3	1	-	57
Nigerian Observer	1	52	2	-	-	55
Nigerian Statesman	-	12	2	1	1	16
Nigerian Tide	5	23	-	-	-	28
The Guardian	3	52	2	-	4	61
The Punch	3	76	1	3	-	83
Nigerian Tribune	3	71	-	2	1	77
*National Concord	3	91	3	-	1	98
Total	47	635	33	8	7	730

2, and *Inside pages* 3. From the findings, therefore, all the papers devoted a considerable number of the articles, newshole to inside coverage of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. The traditional conclusion is that the ECOWAS stories of economic development and related issues were buried in the Nigerian newspapers. However, a closer analysis of the individual newspaper performance shows that *The Punch*, *Daily Times* and *Daily Sketch* devoted relatively more coverage of the ECOWAS issue to their *front page*. Also *Tribune*, *Daily Sketch* and *Daily Times* were also ahead in the placement of news items on the ECOWAS development issue on the back page thus providing a second place prominence. Again these papers are the traditional metropolitan newspapers that satisfy the urban elite whereas most newspapers decided to carry their coverage of the ECOWAS issue in the inside pages.

Table 26b also shows the individual performance of the newspapers analysed further to show the percentage of each papers prominence weighted against the total published by the same paper.

Table 26b also shows the summary percentage performance of the newspapers collectively as indicated in the raw figures of Table 26a. This percentage shows a very considerable gap between the percentage for the *inside page* and those of the *front page* and the *back page* respectively. At this stage the combined total of the *front page* and *back page* which give great prominence are

not anywhere near having a negating effect on the *inside page* performance. Thus the logical inference is that in sum total the Nigerian newspapers gave less prominence to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and the related issues. Rather, the articles were massively buried in the *inside pages*, as much as 590 articles were therein given coverage.

However, it is pertinent to question whether the West African newspapers in general follow this norm of prominence known to Western journalism to the letter; or whether the newspapers are victims of the structural layout of their editors who would want news on foreign matters irrespective of their significance to be rested in the *inside pages* as this research found out that most of the papers had their news items on non Nigerian countries strategically located in the centre spread with columns like:

- (i) Dateline
- (ii) News Briefs
- (iii) Foreign News
- (iv) The World

being permanently in the *inside pages*. These columns indeed contained most of the regular newsreports on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and news about the member countries in the context categories that were operationalized previously. Thus the validity of the use of the prominence measure

will appear suspect in the light of the studies discoveries. However, while awaiting a conclusive and more authoritative statement on the West African pattern of treating foreign news and the recommended measurement procedure for prominence it is conceded that most of the articles in the sample newspapers studied were buried in the *inside pages*, therefore providing little chance of the articles being seen and read by a great number of people.

Thus, inferring from the status of the statistics the Nigerian newspapers did not give their coverage on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and related issues much prominence in the period between 1981 and 1985 as 80.82% of the articles were located in the *inside pages* while only 10.82% were in the *front page* and just 8.36% of the articles were located in the *back pages* of the sampled newspapers.

4.1.6 The Distribution of News Items in the Context Units:

Table 27a shows the respective distribution of the total articles published on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development analysed into the respective context units of:

- (i) Features
- (ii) Newsreport
- (iii) Editorials

Table 27b: % Type of Article

Newspaper	Feature		Newsreport		Editorial		Cartoons		Picture	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily Times	9	19.15	84	13.23	13	39.39	-	-	-	-
New Nigerian	3	6.38	25	3.94	5	15.15	-	-	-	-
Daily Sketch	6	12.77	107	16.85	2	6.06	1	12.5	-	-
Nigerian Herald	11	23.40	42	6.61	3	9.09	1	12.5	-	-
Nigerian Observer	1	2.13	52	8.19	2	6.06	-	-	-	-
Nigerian Statesman	-	-	12	1.89	2	6.06	1	12.5	1	14.29
Nigerian Tide	5	10.64	23	3.62	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Concord	3	6.38	91	14.33	3	9.09	-	-	1	14.29
The Guardian	3	6.38	52	8.19	2	6.06	-	-	4	57.14
The Punch	3	6.38	76	11.97	1	3.03	3	37.5	-	-
Nigerian Tribune	3	6.38	71	11.18	-	-	2	25.0	-	14.29
Total	47	100	635	100	33	100	8	100	7	100

Table 28a: Distribution of Articles

Newspaper	Treaty	Economics	Social	Political	Legal	Total
Daily Times	5	12	15	49	25	106
New Nigerian	1	4	8	12	8	33
Daily Sketch	3	6	49	44	14	116
Nigerian Herald	7	5	19	18	8	57
Nigerian Observer	3	6	28	14	4	55
Nigerian Statesman	-	3	6	5	2	16
Nigerian Tide	1	2	11	10	4	28
National Concord	-	10	27	43	18	98
The Guardian	9	7	19	21	5	61
The Punch	-	3	29	39	12	83
Nigerian Tribune	2	5	25	36	9	77
Total	31	63	236	291	109	730

- (iv) Cartoons
- (v) Pictures

The distribution of the breakdown analysis is self-evident and does not require extreme clarification. However, with respect to the goals of this study, it is pertinent to note the convergence of the distribution on *Newsreport* which had a collective total of 635 articles whereas, *Features* had a collective total of 47 articles and Editorials followed with 33 articles then followed by *cartoons* and *pictures* with 8 and 7 articles respectively.

This trend shows that the reportage on ECOWAS relied on actual events occurring to make their reports or for that matter they culled newsreports from the official sources like NAN and other news agencies for the news items. Thus, the reports will largely reflect official attitudes rather than the sampled feelings and attitudes of the citizens reflected in the news stories. However, for the study, the conclusion will be that the congruency with government stand on the foreign policy issue as reflected in the preponderance of the reportage being based on newsreports, where editorialising is not allowed to influence the direction of the news story.

However, for the goals of the ECOWAS, it would have probably been appropriate if they had had more *Feature* articles that would have clarified the attitudes to the issues involved in establishing the ECOWAS economic sub-region.

This is the case because the authors would have most probably indulged in research work to formulate their opinions or views on the ECOWAS issue.

Further, the low level of editorial articles also indicate that the Nigerian newspapers did not pay sufficient attention to the evolution of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development as an instrument of regional development through cooperation. Thus, the media houses as agents of the dissemination of development message have not lived up to that expectation and appellation because the editorial opinions that are originated from newspaper houses and are claimed to be the responsibility of the media house had in the five year period of the study produced only 33 editorial opinions between 11 newspapers. This means that in the five year period the 11 newspapers produced only an average of 3 editorial opinions on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

Thus, the low level of communication attention directed at the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development is not only reflected in the total number of articles that were published in the interest of the ECOWAS issue but the structural lack of allocation of emphasis which are demonstrated by the volume of articles. Thus, the low level of *feature* stories and the low level of editorial comments on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development surely reflect a low level of committed attitude to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

From Table 27b we observe the percentage of the articles relative to the

total number of articles published by the newspaper itself. Thus what could be credited to the newspapers as generators of integration attitudes is low compared to the story of events which are simply factual and serve to inform and entertain but not really to emphatically persuade. Thus, the Nigerian newspapers, in view of the low percentage output on editorials and features, did not initiate any emphatic and aggressive communication to persuade the target population to adopt a positive attitude towards the ECOWAS goals of economic development.

Table 27c depicts the comparative percentage performance of the various newspapers in the types of articles that were utilized for the dissemination of the news items of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. Table 27c enables us to see immediately the relative performance of the various newspapers in the various context units that served to show the actual stand of the disseminating newspaper on the issue at hand and therefore enables to deduce the newspaper's own contribution to the issue of the regional economic development through the propagation of news to inform, educate, mobilize, conscientize and sensitize. It is in the areas of conscientization, sensitization and mobilization which are crucial to the development of appropriate attitudes for the promotion of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development, that the Nigerian newspapers did not commit themselves.

In the final analysis, taking the statistical evidence of Table 27a, 27b and 27c

concurrently, it becomes clear that the Nigerian newspapers did not:

1. show enthusiasm in the dissemination of the corpus of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development as shown by their low level performance in the *Features* and the *Editorials*, although they collectively produced a phenomenal number of articles (630) on the newsreport which was more or less official events that do not necessarily express the attitude of the Nigerian newspapers. Besides, the attitude formation value of the newsreport is slow, indirect and less involving of the people. But what the treaty of regional economic development requires is an aggressive and dynamic drive to commit the people to stand for the ECOWAS goals for the region's development. This is so because in foreign policy matters the people depend on the government and the media houses for direction and this is where the Nigerian mass media should have utilized the advantage of the dependency of the audience for communication strategies to order their lives to fill them in on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. Through the low level of *Feature* and *Editorial* writings the study concluded also that the Nigerian newspapers did not offer much initiative to formulate guidelines for the audience to adopt as their attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. Thus, it did not utilize its communication powers to contribute effectively to development issues.

- 2 (i) in relation to the theoretical assumptions, take a communication stand that was antagonistic to the government's position on foreign policy matters.
- (ii) undermine the ECOWAS goals even though there was the likelihood that Nigeria's economic, political and cultural goals could be threatened in the long-run.
- (iii) canvass against the adoption of the Union's goals although in adopting the goals Nigeria could be opening its borders to other ECOWAS citizens who would be competing with Nigerians for jobs.
- (iv) publish an overwhelming number of articles that would lead the Nigerian readership to develop antagonistic attitudes that would undermine the ECOWAS goals even though Nigeria's participation could lead to a threat to its sovereignty.
- (v) show any preponderance of *Feature* and *Editorial* articles that were antagonistic towards the ECOWAS goals even though it could lead to Nigeria achieving international political significance in a world of power blocs and economic blocs.

Thus, in the absence of any substantial negative articles that would influence the attitudes of the Nigerian readership in a negative manner towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development, the study assumed that the rationale for the

Table 28b: Percentage Distribution of Articles

Newspaper	Treaty		Economic		Political		Social		Legal	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily Times	5	16.13	12	19.05	49	16.84	15	6.36	25	22.94
New Nigerian	1	3.26	4	6.35	12	4.12	8	3.39	8	7.34
Daily Sketch	3	9.68	6	9.52	44	15.12	49	20.76	14	12.84
Nigerian Herald	7	22.58	5	7.94	18	6.19	19	8.05	8	7.34
Nigerian Observer	3	9.68	6	9.52	14	4.81	28	11.86	4	3.67
Nigerian Statesman	0	0.00	3	4.76	5	1.72	6	2.54	2	1.83
Nigerian Tide	1	3.26	2	3.17	10	3.44	11	4.66	4	3.67
National Concord	0	0.00	10	15.87	43	14.78	27	11.44	18	16.51
The Guardian	9	29.03	7	11.11	21	7.22	19	8.05	5	4.59
The Punch	0	0.00	3	4.76	39	13.40	29	12.29	12	11.01
Nigerian Tribune	2	6.45	5	7.94	36	12.37	25	10.59	9	8.26
Total	31	100	63	100	291	100	236	100	109	100

Table 28c: Percentage Distribution of Articles in each Newspaper's contribution to the issue

Newspaper	Treaty		Economics		Social		Political		Legal		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily Times	5	4.71	12	11.32	15	14.15	49	46.23	25	23.58	106	100
New Nigerian	1	3.03	4	12.12	8	24.24	12	36.36	8	24.24	33	100
Daily Sketch	3	2.59	6	5.17	49	42.24	44	37.93	14	12.07	116	100
Nigerian Herald	7	12.28	5	8.77	19	33.33	18	31.58	8	14.04	57	100
Nigerian Observer	3	5.45	6	10.91	28	50.91	14	25.45	4	7.27	55	100
Nigerian Statesman	0	0.00	3	18.75	6	37.5	5	31.25	2	12.5	16	100
Nigerian Tide	1	3.57	2	7.14	11	39.29	10	35.71	4	14.29	28	100
National Concord	0	0.00	10	10.20	27	27.99	43	43.88	18	18.37	98	100
The Guardian	9	14.75	7	11.48	19	31.15	21	34.43	5	8.20	61	100
The Punch	0	0.00	3	3.61	29	34.90	39	46.99	12	14.46	83	100
Nigerian Tribune	2	2.6	5	6.49	25	34.47	36	46.75	9	11.69	77	100

Nigerian newspapers in their communication attitude were also validated

4.1.7 The Distribution of Articles among the context

categories:

The context categories that were delineated for the analysis of the context units included:

- (i) The Treaty
- (ii) Economic
- (iii) Social
- (iv) Political
- (v) Legal

These categories were already operationalised and the operational categories were used to analyse the context units. The result of the analysis have been assembled in Table 28a. The table shows that 291 articles were allocated by the sampled newspapers to political issues with reference to the ECOWAS member countries which were believed would reflect the attitudes of the Nigerian newspapers and their eventual influence on the attitudes of their audience. The second highest collective distribution was to the social issues that were related to the ECOWAS member countries and the total article allocation was 236 articles. Thirdly, the legal issues in relation to the ECOWAS member countries and citizens that would

indicate their natures was allocated 109 articles. Fourthly, economic issues were allocated 63 articles and finally 31 articles were allocated to the Treaty proper and all its related points with respect to the research questions.

From the table under review, therefore, the immediate conclusion on the attitude of the Nigerian newspapers to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development as reflected by the the volume of articles devoted to it by the Nigerian newspapers over the five year period was low since the average distribution was about 3 articles over the five year period per each of the 11 newspapers in the study.

From the above analysis and deductions it can be objectively observed that the five research questions were not given adequate discussion and publicity. The five research questions treat the core nature of the ECOWAS Treaty as an economic development instrument. Thus the inference is that the Nigerian newspapers did not function adequately as a medium of regional economic development that will lead to the improvement of the standard of living of the people. A further inference is that the advantages of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development to the individual citizens were not also adequately publicised. Thus the concrete inference is that the Nigerian newspapers by their low count of articles on the issues of the ECOWAS Treaty did not highlight:

(i) the adoption of the Lagos Treaty establishing the Economic Community of

West African States (ECOWAS).

- (ii) the following dimensions of ECOWAS:
 - (a) Economic
 - (b) Legal
 - (c) Political
 - (d) Cultural
- (iii) the ECOWAS protocol relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment in the ECOWAS region.
- (iv) the ECOWAS goals of economic and social integration which are likely to lead to the loss of national sovereignty in the long-run.
- (v) ECOWAS as a potential instrument for collective international political influence for the sub-region against external political and economic power blocs.

Whilst the above deductions show that the Nigerian newspapers did not show a committed and dynamic attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development, the newspapers treatment of the other variables that would promote a positive attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development was very considerable and overwhelming. For example the individual average treatment of the *economic, social, political and legal* issues relating to the member countries

was very high. When the entire article allocation to the *economic, social, political and legal* variables are considered collectively there emerges a total of $730 - 31 = 699$ articles. Thus from the raw total so arrived at it will be valid to deduce that the Nigerian audience were exposed more to events and issues about the other ECOWAS countries that the Federal government of Nigeria had entered into a treaty agreement that would involve cooperation for regional development. From this fact, also, it can be deduced further that there was considerable awareness publicity for the Nigerian citizens of their economic associates.

In considering the theoretical assumptions, it can be deduced from the volume of articles devoted to the *economic, social, political and legal* variables that the Nigerian newspapers validated the five theoretical assumptions indirectly. Their emphasis on the image of the respective member countries shows that the newspapers brought to the fore the nature of the ECOWAS countries to the perceptions of the Nigerian readership and the rest of the people through the two-step flow of mass communication theory.

Thus the Nigerian newspapers by not keeping a news blackout on the member countries as is evidenced in Table 28a, they maintained alive the following theoretical assumptions which argued that:

- (i) In Nigeria, the communication media are likely to be congruent with their government on foreign policy issues that facilitate the country's

development goals.

- (ii) The Nigerian newspapers will not undermine the ECOWAS goals even though it may lead to imbalances in the country's economic, legal, political, cultural and linguistic spheres.
 - (iii) Where, Nigeria, in an economic union will experience population influx, the newspapers will not canvass against the adoption of the union's goals.
 - (iv) Should sub-regional economic development lead to loss of national sovereignty, the Nigerian newspapers are not likely to be antagonistic although the privately owned newspapers will resist in the early stages.
 - (iv) Should sub-regional economic development lead to international political significance for Nigeria and the region, the Nigerian newspapers will not be negative towards the union in their news carriage on the ECOWAS issues.
- Table 28b and 28c show us the percentage representation of the efforts of the Nigerian newspapers in the treatment of the ECOWAS development issue in its ramifications that is intended to influence the reading public. The percentage representations in 28b reflect what value each newspaper's contribution has been. Thus, a rundown reading in the contribution of the newspaper articles in the Treaty of ECOWAS regional development shows that *The Guardian* with 29.03% *Nigerian Herald* with 22.58% and *Daily Times* with 16.13% were the leading exponents of the ECOWAS Treaty of

economic development. From the Table 28b, also, it can be seen that *Nigerian Statesman* 0%, *The Punch* 0% did not consider the ECOWAS Treaty at all while the remaining papers gave negligible exposure to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

Further, the percentage representation in Table 28b shows also, that although *Daily Sketch* started with 116 articles in total publication in the record, *Daily Times* with 106 articles *National Concord* with 98 articles, *The Punch* with 83 articles and *Tribune* with 77 articles, their essential treatment of the ECOWAS Treaty show that *Daily Sketch* had 3 articles = 9.68%, *Daily Times* had 5 articles = 16.13%, *National Concord* 0 article = 0.00%, *The Punch* had 0 articles = 0.00%, *Tribune* had 2 articles = 6.45%. Thus previous high collection of articles were specifically directed at promoting the ECOWAS treaty of economic development.

Again the inference is conclusive that the Nigerian newspapers did not address themselves to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development per se and therefore did not utilize adequately their role as instruments of economic development as being propagated by the communication experts (Schramm: 1972; Rogers: 1970; Moemeka: 1986, 1989). This conclusion is consistent with the earlier statistical deductions on the various measurements.

Finally, Table 28c in similar vein also shows the relative percentage contribution of the respective newspapers to their total articles and the evidence also shows very low performance in relation to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. However, the totals on the *economic, social, political* and *legal* show a consistent high performance which is congruent with the earlier deductions on the performance of the Nigerian newspapers on the propagation the earlier deductions on the low performance of the Nigerian newspapers in relation to being an instrument of economic development.

4.1.8 Direction and Length of Articles allocated to the specified context units

At this stage the study examined the various articles under the specified context units and analysed them further to determine their direction and length so as to reach a reasonable conclusion about the specific attitudes of the specified newspapers in the sample population so as to observe their individual performances for a general conclusion about the attitude of each newspaper to the research questions and the theoretical assumptions.

Table 29a shows the complete analysis of the news items for the *Daily Times*. In the period 1981 to 1985, the *Daily Times* published 106 articles. Of these articles, 33 articles were *Favourable*, 21 articles were *Unfavourable* and 5

articles were *Neutral*. Of the *Favourable* articles 6 were *Features*, *Newsreports* had 20 articles; *Editorials* were 7 articles; *Cartoons* had 0 publication and *pictures* also had 0 publications. Of the total *Favourable* articles 3 articles were devoted to the *Treaty*; 5 articles to *economic issues*; 3 articles to *social issues*; 17 articles to *political issues* and 5 articles to *legal issues*.

Thus while we perceive the performance of the *Daily Times*, in its entirety we are also able to observe that its performance on the ECOWAS Treaty of Economic Development was relatively low and if contrasted with its performance for the five year period involved then it boils down to less than two articles in the 5 year period.

With such a performance the only option for a conclusion is that the *Daily Times* as a National newspaper with a very wide circulation with government influence surely the *Daily Times* did not perform according to expectation.

A further examination of the analysis of all the other ten newspapers show a similar pattern of very low and most times zero articles on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. The highest *Favourable* examination of the ECOWAS related issue was carried out by the *Guardian* newspaper which devoted 7 articles and the next highest was the *Nigerian Herald* with 5 *Favourable* articles, *Nigerian Observer* with 3 *Favourable* articles, *Tribune* 2 *Favourable* articles, *New Nigerian* 1 *Favourable* article, *Daily Sketch* 1 *Favourable* article. On the other hand the

Table 29a: Type and Distribution of Articles for each Newspaper

DAILY TIMES

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	6	2524.43	2	1877.75	1	310.95	4313.13
Newsreport	20	2635.87	13	2111.16	49	5812.03	10559.06
Editorial	7	1299.77	6	1271.86	0	0	2571.63
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0
Total	33	6460.07	21	4860.77	50	6122.98	17443.82
Treaty	3	1096.03	0	0	3	921.25	2029.25
Economic	5	1134.01	0	0	5	597.06	1731.07
Social	3	527.05	2	159.31	11	1096.05	1782.41
Political	17	3158.79	5	1683.95	23	2484.96	7039.60
Legal	5	544.22	14	3017.51	8	1023.66	4861.39
Total	33	6460.07	21	4860.77	50	6122.98	17443.82

Table 29b: NEW NIGERIAN

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	2	253	0	0	1	31.5	254.5
Newsreport	13	2017.85	4	683.65	8	606.21	3307.71
Editorial	2	2176	1	30	2	969.5	1475.5
Cartoons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pictures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	2746.85	5	713.65	11	1607.21	5067.71
Treaty	1	253	0	0	0	0	253.00
Economic	3	367.44	0	0	1	183	550.44
Social	3	506.51	2	372.65	3	151.24	1030.40
Political	5	1067.05	2	311	5	273.52	1651.60
Legal	4	552.82	1	30	3	999.45	1582.27
Total	17	2746.85	5	713.65	11	1607.21	5067.71

Nigerian Statesman recorded 0 Favourable articles, *Nigerian Tide* 0 Favourable article; *National Concord* 0 Favourable article; *The Punch* 0 Favourable articles.

Thus, individually and collectively the Nigerian newspapers did not provide sufficient communication activities to support the view that they were involved in the dissemination of development news to validate the current arguments in scholarly circles that the communication media in West Africa can and ought to participate in the development process of the region through the increase of awareness for development, conscientization, sensitization and mobilization of the people for economic development.

Most probably the news media in Nigeria, themselves need to be made aware of their role, conscientized, sensitized and then mobilized to achieve their role in the economic development process of the region.

The space and prominence measurement reinforce the above conclusion that the Nigerian newspapers performed less on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

Table 29c: DAILY SKETCH

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	3	787.98	3	301.45	0	0	1089.43
Newsreport	19	2218.94	38	6801.74	50	5012.38	14042.06
Editorial	1	498.3	1	391.95	0	0	590.25
Cartoons	0	0	1	20.01	0	0	20.01
Pictures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	23	7505.22	43	7524.15	50	5012.38	16041.75
Treaty	1	700.65	1	108.4	1	55.25	864.3
Economic	3	157.73	5	502.13	4	265.01	944.87
Social	8	727.57	12	2170.19	24	2667.79	5643.21
Political	10	1835.52	15	2813.11	18	1903.6	6446.81
Legal	1	83.75	10	1929.61	3	100.7	2114.09
Total	23	3505.22	43	7524.15	50	5012.38	16041.75

Table 29d: NIGERIAN HERALD

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	6	4720.61	2	484.75	3	1437.97	6509.1
Newsreport	7	1001.15	15	2542.28	19	2207.98	5508.21
Editorial	11	79.3	3	939.98	0	-	1019.28
Cartoons	0	0	1	45.15	0	0	45.15
Pictures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	14	5801.06	21	4012.16	22	3645.95	13081.74
Treaty	5	3597.65	1	168.3	1	592.22	4358.57
Economic	1	632.58	2	259.65	2	180	1072.23
Social	2	369.64	5	1089.21	12	1798.49	3257.34
Political	5	1121.89	8	1655.43	5	440.99	3218.31
Legal	1	79.3	5	839.37	2	634.25	1552.92
Total	14	5801.06	21	4012.16	22	3645.95	13081.74

Table 29e: NIGERIAN OBSERVER

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newsreport	9	1801.42	12	1745.32	31	5584.5	8131.24
Editorial	2	706.98	1	286	0	0	992.98
Cartoons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pictures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	11	2507.42	13	2031.32	31	5584.5	10124.22
Treaty	3	863.47	0	0	0	0	864.45
Economic	2	428.8	4	736.61	1	90	1255.41
Social	1	106.25	4	569.21	4406.8	5082.31	
Political	5	1108.9	4	551.2	5	436.4	2096.5
Legal	0	0	1	174.25	3	651.3	825.55
Total	11	2507.42	13	2031.32	31	5584.5	10124.22

Table 29f: NIGERIAN STATESMAN

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newsreport	2	456.25	5	486.23	5	343.37	1285.85
Editorial	1	19	1	345	0	0	364
Cartoons	0	0	1	222.75	0	0	222.75
Pictures	0	0	0	0	1	160	160
Total	3	475.25	7	1053.98	6	503.37	2032.55
Treaty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economic	0	0	0	0	1	131.75	131.75
Social	2	456.25	2	303.42	3	250.02	1009.69
Political	1	19	2	154.79	2	121.6	295.39
Legal	0	0	3	595.75	0	0	595.25
Total	3	475.25	7	1053.98	503.37	2032.58	

Table 29g: NIGERIAN TIDE

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	-	-	4	1697.79	-	-	1697.79
Newsreport	4	210.17	4	1062.75	16	2428.39	3701.31
Editorial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cartoons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pictures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4	210.17	8	2760.54	16	2428.39	5399.1
Treaty	-	-	-	-	-	604.5	604.5
Economic	1	62.32	1	92.56	2	76	230.88
Social	2	121.25	1	617.64	8	1182.3	1921.19
Political	1	26.6	5	1609.8	4	481.59	2117.99
Legal	-	-	1	440.54	1	84	524.54
Total	4	2107	8	2760.54	16	2428.39	5399.1

Table 29h: NATIONAL CONCORD

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	-	-	2	1191.75	1	110.5	1302.25
Newsreport	19	1602.22	21	4196.96	51	2958.26	8757.44
Editorial	-	-	3	820.75	-	-	820.75
Cartoons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pictures	1	130	-	-	-	-	130
Total	20	1732.22	26	6209.46	52	3068.76	
Treaty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economic	4	188.95	-	-	6	270.78	459.73
Social	11	1139.58	2	194.49	14	989.1	2323.17
Political	5	403.69	13	3320.93	25	1083.08	4807.7
Legal	-	-	11	2694.04	7	725.8	3419.84
Total	20	1732.22	26	6209.46	52	3068.76	11010.44

Table 29i: THE PUNCH

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	1	408	2	723.45	2	865	1996.45
Newsreport	18	3058	30	4973.2	26	1821.65	9853.15
Editorial	-	-	1	289	-	-	289
Cartoons	-	-	3	648	-	-	648
Pictures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	19	3466.3	36	6633.65	28	2686.65	
Treaty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economic	-	-	1	25.5	2	51	76.5
Social	14	2817.15	4	1054.3	11	875.4	4746.85
Political	5	649.15	19	3281.65	15	1760.25	5691.05
Legal	-	-	12	2272.2	-	-	2272.2
Total	19	3466.3	36	6633.65	28	2686.65	12786.6

Table 29j: NIGERIAN TRIBUNE

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	2	1652.25	1	580.5	-	-	2232.75
Newsreport	18	4029.16	13	2117.68	40	4277	10423.84
Editorial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cartoons	-	-	2	238.95	-	-	238.95
Pictures	1	156.75	-	-	-	-	156.75
Total	21	5838.16	16	2937.13	40	4277	13052.19
Treaty	2	334.68	-	-	-	-	334.68
Economic	1	83.6	-	-	4	177.45	261.05
Social	10	2468.17	-	-	15	2177.0-5	4645.22
Political	8	2951.71	11	2616.95	17	1343.88	6912.54
Legal	-	-	5	320.18	4	578.52	898.7
Total	21	5838.16	16	2937.13	40	4277	13052.19

Table 29k: THE GUARDIAN

Type/Distribution	Favourable	Length	Unfavourable	Length	Neutral	Length	Total
Feature	2	769.12	-	-	1	477	1246.12
Newsreport	15	2598.91	11	1895.76	26	4729.52	
Editorial	1	66	1	100	-	-	166
Cartoons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pictures	4	534	-	-	-	-	534
Total	22	3968.03	12	1995.76	27	5176.52	11140.31
Treaty	7	1874.65	1	223.28	1	316.2	2414.13
Economic	6	1080.31	1	103	-	-	1183.31
Social	6	582.23	4	766.26	9	1637.47	2985.96
Political	2	331.8	5	784.36	14	2868.15	3984.31
Legal	1	99.54	1	118.86	3	354.7	573.1
Total	22	3968.03	12	1995.76	27	5176.12	11140.31

4.1.9 Individual space allocation by respective newspapers to Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral news items

The above conclusions are similarly portrayed by the total analyses in Tables 30 a1 to 30 k2 which show the percentage calculations of the article allocation to each context unit in relation to the total published by the respective newspaper. The tables also examine the percentage of the amount of space provided for the articles in each news context in relation to the total space provided for the total

number of articles. The analysis has also considered the measurement against the direction of the articles.

From the above explanations it can be observed that the 6 articles devoted by the *Daily Times* to *Feature* articles were only 18.18% of the total articles of 106. Where the space provided for the 6 articles which were *Favourable* were 39.08% of the total space provided for *Favourable* space. From this point if we examine the percentage of *Favourable* articles devoted to the *Treaty* we discover that this was only 9.09% which therefore brings out clearly the rather extreme low coverage given to the ECOWAS issue.

Thus, in closely examining the percentage performance of each of the sampled newspapers, the conclusion already reached in earlier collective examination, are found to be individually replicated by the sampled newspapers. So that the inference to be drawn is that the Nigerian newspapers have been very consistent in their attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development both as collectives and also as individual newspapers. Thus, the consistent low performance as instruments of economic development validated by the general statistics have also been validated by the individual analytic considerations as shown in Table 29 following and Table 30 following.

However, as argued earlier the low statistical performance does not in anyway undermine the theoretical assumptions which by virtue of the fact that

there was no overt canvassing against the adoption of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development, it can be pointed out that the silence could be interpreted to mean a gravitation towards and adoption of the government attitude towards the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development and for that matter nothing would be done in the context of mass communication with the readership to undermine the ECOWAS goals of economic development in so far as the Nigerian public is concerned.

From this broad position as the specifics have been validated over and over from the discussions of the statistical analysis, it will still be logical and statistical to infer that the rationale underlying the various arguments that the Nigerian newspapers would support the government views and that the private newspapers would also gravitate towards the government view should they have any reason to disagree have also been validated.

In conclusion for this part therefore, although the Nigerian newspapers showed a low emphasis on the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development per se and did not justify the assumption that they were instruments of economic development, by their showing in the other related variables of *Economics*, *Social*, *Political* and *Legal* they did vicariously show that they could assist in the development process by keeping the events and activities of the other member

Table 30a1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by Daily Times

Content Unit	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	6	18.18	2524.43	39.08	2	9.52	1477.75	30.40	1	2.00	310.95	5.08
Newsreport	20	60.61	2635.87	40.80	13	61.90	2111.16	43.43	49	98.00	5812.03	94.92
Editorial	7	21.21	1299.77	20.12	6	28.58	1271.86	26.17	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	33	100	6460.07	100	21	100	4860.77	100	50	100	6122.98	100

Table 30a2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles on the respective News Categories by Daily Times

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	3	9.09	1096.03	16.97	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	6.00	921.25	15.05
Economic	5	15.15	1134.01	17.55	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	10.00	597.06	9.75
Social	13	39.09	527.05	8.16	2	9.52	159.31	3.28	11	22.00	1096.05	17.90
Political	17	51.52	3158.79	48.90	5	23.81	1683.95	34.64	23	46.00	2484.96	40.56
Legal	5	15.15	544.22	8.42	14	66.67	3017.51	62.08	8	16.00	1023.66	16.72
Total	33	100	6460.07	100	21	100	4860.77	100	50	100	6122.98	100

Table 30b1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by New Nigerian Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	2	11.76	253	9.21	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	9.09	31.5	1.96
Newsreport	13	76.47	2017.85	73.46	4	80.00	683.65	95.80	8	72.73	606.21	37.92
Editorial	2	11.76	476	17.33	1	20.00	30	4.20	2	18.18	969.5	60.32
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	17	100	2746.85	100	5	100	713.65	100	11	100	1607.21	100

Table 30b2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles on the respective News Categories by New Nigerian Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	1	5.88	253	9.21	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	3	17.65	367.44	13.38	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Social	3	17.65	506.51	18.44	2	40.00	372.65	52.22	3	27.27	151.24	9.41
Political	6	35.29	1067.05	38.85	2	40.00	311	43.58	4	36.36	273.52	17.02
Legal	4	23.53	552.82	20.13	1	20.00	30	4.20	3	27.27	999.45	62.19
Total	17	100	2746.85	100	5	100	713.65	100	11	100	1607.21	100

Table 30c₁: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by Daily Sketch Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	3	13.64	787.98	22.48	3	6.98	301.45	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Newsreport	19	82.61	221.94	63.30	38	88.37	6810.74	90.52	50	100.00	5012.38	100.00
Editorial	1	4.35	498.3	14.22	1	2.33	391.95	5.21	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	1	2.33	20.01	0.27	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	23	100	3505.22	100	43	100	7524.15	100	50		5012.38	100

Table 30c₂: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles on the respective News Categories by Daily Sketch

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	1	4.35	700.65	19.99	1	2.33	108.4	1.44	1	2.00	55.25	1.10
Economic	3	13.04	157.73	4.50	5	11.63	502.13	6.67	4	8.00	285.01	5.69
Social	8	34.78	727.57	20.76	12	2170.9	28.85	24	48.00	2667.79	53.22	
Political	10	43.48	1835.52	15	34.88	2813.11	37.39	18	36.00	1903.6	37.98	
Legal	1	4.35	83.75	2.39	10	23.65	3	6.00	100.7	2.01		
Total	23	100	3502.22	100	43	100	7524.15	100	50	100	5012.38	100

Table 30d1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by Nigerian Herald Newspapers.

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	6	42.86	4720.61	81.37	2	9.52	484.75	12.08	3	13.64	1437.97	39.43
Newsreport	7	50.00	1001.15	17.26	15	71.43	2542.28	63.36	19	86.36	2207.98	60.56
Editorial	1	7.14	79.3	1.37	3	14.29	939.98	23.43	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.76	45.15	1.13	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	14	100	5801.06	100	22	100	4012.16	100	22	100	3645.95	100

Table 30d2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by Nigerian Herald Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	5	35.71	3597.65	62.02	1	4.76	168.5	4.20	1	4.55	592.22	16.24
Economic	1	7.14	632.58	10.90	2	9.52	259.65	6.47	2	9.09	180	4.94
Social	2	14.28	369.64	6.37	5	23.81	1089.21	27.15	12	54.55	1798.99	49.33
Political	5	35.71	1121.89	19.34	8	38.10	1655.43	41.26	5	22.73	440.99	12.10
Legal	1	7.14	79.3	1.36	5	23.81	839.37	20.92	2	9.09	634.25	17.40
Total	14	100	5801.06	100	21	100	4012.16	100	22	100	3645.95	100

Table 30e1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by Nigerian Observer

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Newsreport	9	81.82	1801.48	71.85	12	92.31	1745.32	85.92	31	100	5584.5	100
Editorial	2	18.18	706.98	28.15	1	7.69	14.08	0	0.00	0	0.00	
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	11	100	2507.42	100	13	100	2031.32	100	31	100	5584.5	100

Table 30e2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by Nigerian Observer

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	3	27.27	863.47	34.44	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	2	18.18	428.8	17.10	4	30.77	736.61	36.26	1	32.26	90	1.61
Social	1	9.09	106.25	4.24	4	30.77	569.26	28.02	70.97	4406.8	78.91	
Political	5	45.45	1108.9	44.22	4	30.77	551.2	27.14	5	16.13	436.4	7.81
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	7.69	174.25	8.58	3	9.68	651.3	11.66
Total	11	100	2507.42	100	13	100	2031.32	100	31	100	5584.3	100

Table 30f₁: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by Nigerian Statesman Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Newsreport	2	66.67	456.25	96.00	5	48.71	486.23	46.13	5	83.33	343.37	68.21
Editorial	1	33.33	19	4.00	1	14.29	345	32.73	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	14.29	222.75	21.14	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	16.67	160	31.79
Total	3	100	475.25	100	7	100	1053.98	100	6	100	503.37	100

Table 30f₂: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by Nigerian Statesman.

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	16.67	131.75	26.17
Social	2	66.67	456.25	96.00	2	28.57	303.42	28.79	3	50	250.02	49.67
Political	1	33.33	19	4.00	2	28.57	154.79	14.69	2	33.33	121.6	24.16
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	42.86	595.75	56.52	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	3	100	475.25	100	7	100	1053.96	100	6	100	53.37	100

Table 30g1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by the Nigerian Tide Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	50.00	1697.79	61.50	0	0.00	0	0.00
Newsreport	4	100	210.17	100	4	50.00	1062.75	38.50	16	100	2328.39	100
Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	4	100	210.17	100	8	100	2760.54	100	16	100	2428.39	100

Table 30g2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by Nigerian Tide Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	6.25	604.5	24.89
Economic	1	25.00	62.32	29.65	1	12.5	92.56	3.35	2	12.5	76	3.13
Social	2	50.00	121.25	57.69	1	12.5	617.64	22.37	8	50.0	1182.3	48.67
Political	1	25.00	26.6	12.67	5	62.5	1609.8	58.31	4	25	481.59	19.83
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	12.5	440.54	15.96	1	6.25	84	3.46
Total	4	100	210.17	100	8	2760.54	100	16	100	2428.39	100	

Table 30h1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by National Concord Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	7.69	1191.75	19.19	1	1.92	110.5	3.6
Newsreport	19	95.0	1602.22	92.5	21	80.77	4196.96	67.59	51	98.08	2958.26	96.4
Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	11.54	820.25	13.21	0	0	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	1	5.00	130	7.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	20	100	1732.22	100	26	100	6209.46	100	52	100	3065.26	100

Table 30h2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by National Concord Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	4	20.0	188.95	10.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	11.54	270.78	8.82
Social	11	55.0	1139.58	65.79	2	7.69	194.49	3.13	14	26.92	989.1	32.23
Political	5	25.0	403.69	23.30	13	50.0	3320.93	53.48	25	48.08	1083.05	35.29
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	11	42.31	2694.04	43.39	7	13.46	725.8	23.65
Total	20	100	1732.22	100	26	100	6209.46	100	52	100	3068.76	100

Table 30i1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by the Guardian Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	2	9.09	769.12	19.38	0	0	0	0.00	1	3.70	447	8.64
Newsreport	15	68.18	2598.91	65.50	11	91.67	1895.76	94.99	26	26.30	4729.52	91.94
Editorial	1	4.95	76	1.66	1	8.38	100	5.01	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	4	18.18	534	13.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	22	100	3968.03	100	12	100	1995.76	100	27	100	5176.52	100

Table 30i2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by the Guardian Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	7	31.82	1874.65	47.24	1	8.33	223.28	11.88	1	3.70	316.2	6.11
Economic	6	27.27	1080.31	27.23	1	8.33	103	5.16	0	8.00	0	0.00
Social	6	27.27	582.23	14.67	4	33.33	766.26	38.39	9	33.33	1637.47	31.63
Political	2	9.09	331.8	8.36	5	41.67	784.36	39.30	14	51.85	2868.15	55.41
Legal	1	4.55	99.54	2.51	1	8.33	118.86	5.96	3	11.11	354.7	6.85
Total	22	100	3968.03	100	12	100	1995.76	100	27	100	5176	100

Table 30j1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by the Punch Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	1	5.26	408	11.77	2	5.26	723.45	10.91	2	7.14	865	32.00
Newsreport	18	94.74	3058.3	88.23	30	83.33	4973.2	74.97	26	92.86	1821.65	67.80
Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.78	289	4.36	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	8.33	648	9.68	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	19	100	3466.3	100	36	100	6633.65	100	28	100	2686.65	100

Table 30j2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by the Punch Newspapers

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.78	25.5	0.38	2	7.14	51	1.90
Social	14	73.68	2817.15	81.27	4	11.11	1054.89	11	39.29	875.4	35.58	
Political	5	26.32	649.15	11.73	19	52.78	3281.65	49.47	15	53.57	1760.25	65.52
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	33.33	2272.2	34.25	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	19	100	3466.3	100	36	100	6633.65	100	28	100	2686.65	100

Table 30k1: Table Showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral Articles for the respective Context Units by the Nigerian Tribune Newspapers

Context Units	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Feature	2	9.52	1652.25	28.30	1	6.25	580.5	19.76	0	0.00	0	0.00
Newsreport	18	85.71	2109.16	69.01	13	81.25	2117.68	72.10	40	100	4277	100
Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cartoons	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	12.5	238.95	8.14	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pictures	1	4.76	156.75	2.68	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	21	100	5838.16	100	16	100	2937.13	100	40	100	9277	100

Table 30k2: Table showing amount of space allocated to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles for the respective News Categories by the Nigerian Tribune

News Category	Favourable				Unfavourable				Neutral			
	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total	No.	% of Total	Length	% of Total
Treaty	2	9.52	334.65	5.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Economic	1	4.76	83.6	1.43	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	10	177.45	4.15
Social	10	47.6	2468.17	42.28	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	37.5	2177.05	50.9
Political	8	38.1	2951.71	50.56	11	68.75	2616.95	89.1	17	42.5	1343.88	31.42
Legal	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	31.25	320.18	10.9	4	10	578.52	13.53
Total	21	100	5838.16	100	16	100	2937.13	100	40	100	4277	100

ECOWAS countries alive in the perspectives of their readership and therefore the Nigerian people.

4.1.10 Findings of the External Coder:

For the external validation of the analysis of the study especially with respect to the instruments of content code guides that were used to analyse the *Direction* of the newspapers with respect to the categories of *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral*, the study sought the assistance of an external coder. The coder examined the context categories and thereafter randomly sampled 20% of the study's sampled population of 11 newspapers. Three newspapers were obtained and these were:

- (i) Nigerian Observer
- (ii) The Gurdian
- (iii) Daily Sketch

The second stage involved a sampling of 20% of the newspaper dates collected for the study. Thus for *Nigerian Observer* 11 articles out of 55 were sampled; *The Guardian* 12 articles out of 61 were sampled; *Daily Sketch* 23 out of 116 articles were sampled.

The coder's analysis produced the evidence in Table 31a and 31b. The coder's analysis shows a relative and comparative balance between the findings

Table 31(a): Table Showing the total number of articles classified as Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral by the External Coder

Newspaper	Total of Articles Published	Sample for External Coding	No. Favourable	%	No. Unfavourable	%	No. Neutral	%
Nigerian Observer	55	11	1	9.09	3	27.27	7	63.64
The Guardian	61	12	5	41.67	3	25	4	33.33
Daily Sketch	106	23	7	30.43	6	26.09	10	43.48
Collective Total	222	46	13		12		21	

Table 31(b): Table showing total newshole devoted to Favourable, Unfavourable, Neutral articles from External Coder's Findings

Newspaper	Total Space	Total Space of Sampled Articles	Space for Favourable	%	Space for Unfavourable	%	Space for Neutral	%
Nigerian Observer	9671.1	1686.45	33.75	2.00	482.13	28.59	1170.57	69.41
The Guardian	9535.8	2075.63	478.33	23.04	665.6	32.07	931.8	44.89
Daily Sketch	17263.7	2542.38	675.16	26.56	772.03	30.37	1095.19	43.08
Collective total	36470.6	6304.46	1187.14		1919.76		3197.56	

of the main study and that for external validity. In the main study it was observed that though there was simple majority in the number of articles classified as *Unfavourable* as against the *Favourable* articles the margin of difference was rather negligible so that the combined effect of the *Neutral* articles and the *Favourable* articles could *neutralise* any negative attitudes. In the coder's analysis although the *Favourable* articles are more than the *Unfavourable* the difference is low by 1 article. However the *Neutral* articles are more than both. This was also observed in the main study. This goes to prove that the instrumentation for classifying the articles into *Favourable*, *Unfavourable* and *Neutral* were reasonable and were capable of being replicated.

Having achieved this status, it meant that all other measurements arising from the classification were adequately and reasonably prepared. This view is also supported by the external coders analysis of the amount of space and percentage which show similarity in regularity although not in absolute quantum. With the regularity of the coders analysis being similar it is further argued that the external validity of the instrumentation for the study has been achieved.

Thus, the generalization arising from the study will also be validly arrived at.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Observation

The study set out to achieve some specific tasks in relation to the communication performance of the Nigerian press with respect to economic development issues. The focus of the research was directed to:

1. answer some specific research questions that would throw light on the communication attitude of the Nigerian press to regional economic development issues.
2. generate some hypotheses that would enable us to understand the probable communication behaviour of the Nigerian newspaper media in relation to economic development issues.

In order to achieve the communication tasks delineated above the research proposed five research questions to guide it in the evaluation of the communication attitude of the Nigerian press to the ECOWAS Treaty of sub-regional economic development issues, especially the Nigerian newspapers. The research questions included: issues, especially the Nigerian newspapers. The research question included:

- (i) How have the Nigerian newspapers reported generally about the adoption of the Lagos Treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African

states (ECOWAS)?

- (ii) How have the Nigerian newspapers reported on the following dimensions of ECOWAS:
- a) Economic
 - b) Legal
 - c) political
 - d) cultural
- (iii) How have the Nigerian newspapers treated news items on the ECOWAS protocol relating to free movement of persons, residence, and establishment in the ECOWAS region.
- (iv) How have the Nigerian newspapers responded to ECOWAS goals of economic and social integration which are likely to lead to the loss of national sovereignty in the long-run?
- (v) In what ways have the newspapers in Nigeria portrayed ECOWAS as a potential instrument for collective international political influence for the sub-region against political and economic power blocs?

The evidence obtained from the actual communication performance of the Nigerian newspapers that were collated and analysed statistically showed that the Nigerian newspapers as a collective and as individuals as represented by the 11 sampled newspapers showed that there were very few articles addressed to the

ECOWAS Treaty of regional economic development. This conclusive low count on contribution of communication attitudes to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development was arrived at on the basis of evaluation of:

- (i) total number of news articles on the Treaty.
- (ii) Direction of the articles from the point of measurement of *Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral*.
- (iii) total amount of newshole devoted to the propagation of the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.
- (iv) the prominence given to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.
- (v) the total communication performance of the Nigerian newspapers under the Treaty as compared to the other communication variables.

In spite of the above conclusive findings, it was also statistically observed that the Nigerian newspapers contributed massive information materials on the activities of the member signatory countries of the ECOWAS Treaty. Although this communication effort was adjudged by the study to be tangential, it still noted the fact that such communication activities would contribute to the awareness of the Nigerian readership of the image and nature of the domestic status of the countries Nigeria had entered into an economic treaty with for collective economic development.

On balance, however it is still statistically observed that the Nigerian newspapers did not show commitment and dynamism, as the Nigerian press have been historically noted, to issues that were relevant and are still relevant to the corpus of Nigeria's full economic development in the context of a new nationalism, the economic nationalism which can be totally realized only in the context of regional collectivism and cooperation towards economic emancipation which is the true freedoms, for the people of the sub-region.

From the evidence, therefore, the study reached the conclusion that the Nigerian media operators would surely need re-education, re-orientation, conscientization, sensitization to achieve that level of commitment that were the driving force of their predecessors in the anti-colonial struggles and the virtile show of political nationalism. It is this type of communication attitude that will leads to the mobilization of the region's people to accept economic strategies that would emancipate them from the crushing effects of structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) and the threats of economic regionalism in the West, like Europe 1992 and the economic integration of Canada and America as well as the dictates of the seven most industrialized countries of the world.

In order to tackle the second communication task, the study examined the literature on the communication attitudes of the Western countries towards the development strategies of their countries in all its ramifications. The specific

landmark developments were always compared with the Nigerian situation to elicit the probable behaviour of the Nigerian press towards similar development issues. Further the communication experience of some third world countries were also studies under development situation and their achievement and failures were noted in order to enable the study arrive at the probable behaviour of the Nigerian press similar circumstances.

Therefore West Africa as a region was examined to determine how communication was carried out under the various historical phases of the region. In this respect the study an integrated attitude to see Nigeria as part and ~~was~~ parcel of the region's development because Nigeria was part of the region and also shared the themes of the development process in the periods delineated. From the responses and reactions of the communication and opinion leaders deduction were made to determine the probable behaviour of the Nigerian press. Thus from the entire corpus of literature that was reviewed to arrive at a Nigerian probable attitude the following theoretical assumption were made to be validated or negated by the study's finding:

1. (a) In Nigeria, the communication media are likely to be congruent with their government on foreign policy issues that facilitates the country's development goals.
- (b) Thus the Nigerian newspapers will support the ECOWAS treaty of

sub-regional economic development.

- (c) The rationale for this is that in the evolution of the country, the traditional and modern communication media have supported issues and events that have not undermined their social, economic and cultural stability.
2. (a) The Nigerian newspapers will not undermine the ECOWAS goals even though it may lead to imbalance in the country's economic, legal, political, cultural and linguistic spheres.
 - (b) This is so because the media would canvass the need to endure the short-term imbalances for a more permanent long-term.
 3. (a) where, Nigeria, in an economic union will experience population influx the newspapers will not canvass against the adoption of the union's goals.
 - (b) This will be so because the newspapers will tend to side with the government views on adoption since the Treaty will be based on mutuality although the privately owned newspapers will be antagonistic in the early stages.
 - 4 (a) Should sub-regional economic development lead to loss of national sovereignty, the Nigerian newspapers are not likely to be antagonistic although the privately owned newspapers will resist in

the early stages

- (b) This would be so because the government owned newspapers will be congruent with the government views; for reasons of the cohesion thesis and ABX communication theories, privately owned newspaper will gravitate at the later stages towards the dominant views of the government.
5. (a) Should sub-regional economic development lead to international political significance for Nigeria and the region, the Nigerian newspapers will not be negative towards the Union in their news carriage in the ECOWAS issues.
- (b) The rationale for this is that where integration will lead to regional and national security and international political significance the newspapers will be more willing to advocate Nigeria's and participation of Nigerian's in the ECOWAS union.

From the corpus of the statistical evidence, the Nigerian newspapers as a collective validated all the five theoretical assumption deduced above. For example, in spite of the low count on the articles devoted to propagating the ECOWAS Treaty per se, it was observed that the Nigerian newspapers provided more *favourable* articles on the ECOWAS issue than unfavourable. However, the preponderance of articles was on the *neutral* direction. Thus a concurrent reading

of the *favourable* articles and the *neutral* article will show that the relative efforts of the Nigerian press was towards communicating favourable about the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development. This observation is corroborated when the individual performance of the sampled newspapers is examined in Table 30a_{1 to 30k1}. Secondly the validity of the above theoretical assumption was also premised on the notion that the volume of articles devoted to the members ECOWAS countries was sufficient to generate interest of the Nigerian readership towards those countries. This communication behaviour would indirectly enable the Nigerian readership to observe that the newspapers were vicariously supporting the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development.

From the preceding summation therefore, it was also logical to conclude that the underlying rationale for the attitude of the Nigerian newspapers for supporting the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development were also validated. The study therefore concluded that with the validation of the theoretical assumption by the statistical evidence already discussed. The assumption had successfully graduated into hypothesis about the Nigerian press communication attitude to development issues.

Thus, whatever views that may have been known along the lines of the study were only rational so that present study has succeeded in achieving its to rest these notions as well as the present hypotheses on a pure scientific and

systematic basic capable of being tested and replicated with respect to other Nigerian newspapers or the newspapers of other members ECOWAS countries. It is in this respect that this study wishes to modestly assert that its primary tasks of :

- (i) delineating the communication attitude of the Nigerian press to the ECOWAS Treaty of economic development;
- (ii) delineating the probable communication attitude of the Nigerian newspapers towards regional economic development issues with its costs to Nigeria both short-term and long-term;

have been scientifically achieved. In the light of this achievement it is now hoped that the finding would be of substantial and considerable benefit to future;

- (i) research in communication and development in the region.
- (ii) Communication scholars and practitioners of the region in their development of communication strategies for cooperative goals with Nigeria.
- (iii) Development planners who will need to integrate the communication component in their plans.
- (iv) ECOWAS scholars and activist who will need to know the specific performance of the media and the need to involve the mass communication media.

It is also hoped that, the study will be useful for the Nigerian media planners to examine in retrospect their achievement and failure so far in economic development issues as they affect the region so as to map out more effective communication strategies for better performance. Finally it is also hoped that the finding and conclusion will be a basis for recognising the new economic nationalism that is being covertly canvassed and that this recognition will lead to the replanning of the education of media practitioners to cope with the regional economic nationalism when the spectre explodes openly. That the new practitioners would be seen as playing a vanguard role rather reporting the activities of other professors of regional economic integration as the solution to our regional poverty.

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THE chequered history of Kaduna State in the Second Republic has been a painful political wrangling, arms-twisting, instability, insecurity and stagnation. It is to say that this unhealthy political mood has degenerated into open confrontation between the executive and the legislature leading to a stalemate and the subsequent removal from office of the state's first chief executive in the person of Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa.

Political observers are of the opinion that the feud between the executive and the legislature comprises members from the five political parties with the NPN controlling the majority. The party to which the executive belongs is the PRP which represents the minority in the state Assembly.

No sooner than the chief executive was sworn in than the political temperature began to rise. That was early in October 1979. On four occasions the chief executive tried to pick his cabinet members but the list of his nominees were sent back to him on all.

Early in November the same year the state Assembly Peace Committee met the Executive to find lasting solutions to the rising political tension. At the peace meeting, the executive tabled its grievances accusing the Assembly of, among other things, "the outright rejection of the governor's policy statement during his inaugural address to the state on October 2, 1979

without a critical examination; attempts to usurp the executive powers of the Governor clearly vested in him by section 5 (2) of the Constitution and the outright rejection of the list of commissioners submitted by the governor to the Senate for confirmation without examining the qualifications of these nominees seriously and in accordance with Section 173 (4) 100 and 101 of the Constitution.

The NPN controlled legislature also came with its own grievances alleging its fraud.

These include the

THE LULL CONTINUES IN KADUNA STATE

tion in his actions. That the Governor has special advisers who have not been brought before the House for approval and who without being sworn-in have access to state security items and that there was a lack of separation between the party of the governor and the Government of Kaduna State as illustrated by the flying of the PRP flag on the governor's official car.

When the meeting was deadlocked, the NPN members decided to conduct negotiations on party basis excluding representatives from the Governor's Office. This generated fears in the PRP hierarchy as it suspected some 'external interference' especially from the NPN headquarters. The suspension later developed into irremediable mistrust which resulted into a chain of events which led to the impeachment process that saw Alhaji Balarabe Musa out of office.

Prior to the impeachment exercise, Chief Executive Balarabe Musa took certain decisions which were obviously not palatable to the legislature. The establishment of boards and parastatals and the indefinite suspension of land allocations were some of such decisions and it had far-reaching consequences on his administration. The legislature saw these decisions as unprogressive, economic waste and stagnation. It then accused the Governor of "Gross Constitutional misacts".



GOVERNOR ABBA RIMI



ALHAJI ABUBAKAR DAN MUSA Speaker, Kaduna House of Assembly

ble to the legislature. The establishment of boards and parastatals and the indefinite suspension of land allocations were some of such decisions and it had far-reaching consequences on his administration. The legislature saw these decisions as unprogressive, economic waste and stagnation. It then accused the Governor of "Gross Constitutional misacts".

members of the state Assembly are a pointer to this fact. They called on Governor Abba Musa Rimi to shake — off the cloak of his predecessor and "start on a new slate" for the peace, progress, stability and prosperity of the state. As a first step, Governor

Abba is being asked to accept the recommendations of the impeachment panel by dissolving the parastatals established "illegally" by Balarabe Musa as well as lifting the ban on allocation of plots in the state. The demand appears not to be complied

with because the legislature had again, for the first time during his tenure, returned Governor Abba's list of nominees for commissionerhip to him for alleged "non-compliance" with the demands of the legislature. The Political tension is again gathering momentum as the legislature is flexing its muscles once again saying "the yearnings and aspirations of the electorate must be fulfilled".

With these political wranglings, a spate of uncertainty had been hovering around the state. The executive cannot pick its cabinet and so developmental activities are at a standstill. The wheel of progress in all spheres of the state economy had grinded to a painful halt. The roads have degenerated to a deplorable state of disrepair. The streets remain untidy with refuse piling on them virtually taking possession of the roads in some areas. The hospitals are ill-equipped with acute shortages of drugs while the provision of basic amenities in some parts of the state seems not to have been considered at all.

A political analysis By KOLA OJO

rejection of NPN in a state by the governor in a speech he made before he was sworn-in in the absence of public/human relationship and of consultation between the governor and the legislature; that the governor has abolished the payment of community tax without getting the approval of the House and without setting out the alternative source of revenue for local government.

Others are that the Governor had not been guided by the Constitu-



THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF ECOWAS

By SEBASTINE OFURUM

MAY this year marked the sixth year of the coming into birth of the 18 member-state of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Its birth was not easy. Nigeria and

Togo played leading roles in this birth, for it was the two countries that made the proposals at a ministerial meeting held from 10th to 15th December, 1975 in Lome,

Togo. The basic principles for the creation of ECOWAS were adopted at that meeting and Nigeria and Togo were requested to prepare a draft treaty. As a result of meetings in Accra in February 1976, Monrovia in January 1976, the treaty was adopted by a ministerial meeting and subsequently by the Heads of State Summit of May 23, 1976 in Lome.

This treaty was formally signed on that date. In November 1976 in Lome, five protocols were drafted and annexed to the ECOWAS treaty. The protocols related to the institution of the concept of products originating from member states, the re-

exportation within ECOWAS of goods imported from third countries, the fund for co-operation, compensation and development, and contributions by member states to the budget of ECOWAS.

Further decisions were taken on the locations of the headquarters of the community. Lagos was to be the seat of its secretariat and Lome the headquarters for the operations of the fund. Decisions were also taken which led to the nomination of the executive secretary and the managing director of the fund in January 1977. With these two officers assuming office in March 1977 the community began to function.

In a nutshell, the main objective of ECOWAS is the rapid and balanced development of the West African sub-

continent. To promote co-operation and development in all fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.

The supreme decision taking body of ECOWAS is the Authority of Heads of State and Government whose yearly meetings is usually fixed for May of any given year. The last authority meeting was held in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

ECOWAS is beset by many pressing problems arising from colonialism, levels of economic develop-

ment. These are carefully approach adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and Government to ensure that the diversified elements which are potent forces for disunity are converted into positive forces for achieving co-operation and an integrated economy.

What then are the achievements of ECOWAS so far? There is a galaxy of them arising from different studies undertaken by experts and based on the mandate given out by the authority. These include:

- Adoption of the protocol on non-aggression and the recently sanctioned defence pact.
- Declaration of a Customs Consolidation Period.
- Adoption of common statistical definitions and standards, and customs and statistical nomenclature.
- Adoption of a common ECOWAS certificate of origin of

goods. Free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment.

• Adoption of a community transport, telecommunications and postal programme, and

• The outline of an ECOWAS agricultural programme. This is certainly being more than an infant organisation. The signs are there for a healthy growth. But what kind of future can be envisaged, if ECOWAS survives.

First, the gains now made must be consolidated. The programmes already fashioned out need to be pursued with sincerity. In the words of President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria, when he addressed the Authority Meeting in Freetown May 28 this year: "Our voluntary decision to co-operate is a matter of conviction based on the necessity to create a solid foundation."



Dr. Abubakar Quateri, ECOWAS Scribe

FOREIGN COMMENTARY FOREIGN COMMENTARY

GHANAIANS SHOULD RALLY ROUND LIMANN

By far, the most positive statement made by President Hilla Limann, when he paid a visit to No. 10 Downing Street recently is that Ghanaians were now facing a sense of purpose. He said Ghanaians were aware that their success was dependent on their own efforts.

On her own side, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was reported to be speaking in parables. For example she noted that it would have been a surprise if President Limann had chosen to visit another country on his first out of the continent mission.

Understandably, the Iron woman of Britain must have been referring to the good old days of colonialism when her majesty's empire spread to the West African region of Gold Coast, so-called because of her rich mineral resources in gold.

But that was before the late Oquayyfo ascended the throne of African socialism and Nkrumahism.

President - Limann went further to congratulate Britain over her efforts to bring independence to Zimbabwe and urged her to bear on apartheid South Africa to allow for a free and fair election in Namibia.

Having said all that, the world would want to know how economically Ghana has progressed in the past few months under President Limann. There are also such country issues that both as Ghana's relations with other countries, the effectiveness of a democratic set up under the PNP as well as whether Kalebale (corruption) should

By NDUKA NWOSU

nostalgic Ghanaians home wards, particularly on festive season of Christmas, often import in their wake such necessities that account for a good standard of living.

But they are still a far cry from reality. Real change which means working from the base of the economy is in the final analysis that matters. President Limann no doubt has all these problems weighing heavily in his mind.

For example he recently gave hints of boosting the ailing gold industry within the next decade. This is a welcome news especially if one considers the fact that Ghana which was the fifth world producer of gold is today ranking

tenth. The package includes a 20-year plan of 1,300million dollars for the first ten years and a further 1700million dollars for the second ten years. The second plan is supposed to be a multiplier effect of the first and about 100,000 Ghanaians will benefit from this. The gold mines are currently employing an estimated 21,000 workers. Lloyd Quashie, deputy managing director of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation is heading the committee responsible for the success of this plan.

Again this is a mere pittance when the economy is considered in its totality. All that can be said now is that Ghanaians should rally round their President to revive the economy of their motherland. Neither strikes nor

smuggling will, but a long term concerted effort of sacrifice and patience on the part of every Ghanaian.

As for good friendly relation with her neighbours, Ghana recently demonstrated a state-manlike approach of tolerance along this direction. Despite the reported death of some Ghanaians in an Ivory Coast cell and their subsequent secret burial, President Limann, and his government maintained peace and were able to scale the hurdle of retaliation at the instance of President Eyadema of Togo.

As for Kaibule, it is only in human nature but the present posture of the government is too messianic in approach to descend to the level of corruption and its attendant ills.

Beside the ugly spectre of the past is still lurking behind and this more than anything else allows for sanity to reign supreme.



President Limann

Relics

When he eventually did the lot that could be remembered about Britain were relics of a glorious past which had been overshadowed by close link with Communist Russia and the People's Republic of China.

To consolidate his power base, President Limann assured the congress of The People's National Party last August, that his policies would be based on Dr. Nkrumah's ideologies though on a democratic platform. He said though he was not an apostle of fame, he all the same felt that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the ideological fulcrum around which the PNP and the citizens of Ghana should revolve. "his wisdom and foresight" noted, President Limann, should continue to be a source of inspiration.

These wisdom and foresight were great sources of inspiration, no doubt, to the President when he reminded Mrs Thatcher that this time Ghana had not come a borrowing. Instead she would frankly enough welcome economic interest and support from her majesty's empire.

President Limann made a passing reference to the North-South dialogue which Britain and most of the industrialised West have made impossible in

now be regarded as a thing of the past.

News coming from home (Ghana) indicate that the economy though far from being revitalised, is growing promisingly to a healthy baby and everyone is happy about it.

The fervour these days is for Ghanaians at home to ask their kith and kin abroad to remember the rainy day and put some cedis aside. Whether you are in Accra or any of the major regions, it is now possible to have some major items as milk, sugar, beverages and the like except that the cedi is still a very sick baby and only those who can afford it readily have these items on their breakfast table.

Import licences, it is understood have now been granted those businessmen who possess the wherewithal to boost the economy along this direction. Needless to say Ghanaians abroad have been heeding this call to remember those at home.

Occasional mass movement of the average

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The journalist as a political pawn

THE role of controversy between the journalist and the executive arm of government in the country will be pulled for many years because the Nigerian journalist has not attained the level of professional competence anywhere in the world, but that some politicians still believe that a Nigerian journalist has not reached the age of social responsibility.

Because, out of sheer dishonesty, join members of the public to address journalists as members of the Royal Estate of the Realm, to the extent to which the journalist is allowed to perform the gate keeping function of disseminating information to the public; depends on the whims and fancies of those in power. The worst-hit is the practitioner working in either the government-owned media or those newspapers whose masters have political interests. The editorial policies of government-owned media are so shaped that the journalist becomes a propaganda machinery who is discarded with a change of government.

For example, Governor Dada of Kano State is busy scrutinising the political sympathy of journalists who worked with former Abubakar Rimi's regime, the *Triumph*. Heads rolled after the assignment had been completed, journalists who worked for the Bendel State-owned *Observer* (*Nigerian Observer* and *Sunday Herald*) during Professor Abacha's regime, have been instructed to report to new management with original copies of their latest appointment. Governor Ogburne, because of his exercise as a one-time governor, did not make a noise when the move to chastise "disloyal journalists" was, those found guilty of silent surreptitious will undergo the "opera-

re-orientation". Omatolu of Oyo State on November 17, 1963, the case of 18 journalists affected by the recent changes at the state radio and television stations after much pressure from sections of the public. The announcement, however, came after the Minister of Education/Mathematician had time to lecture the public on how journalism should be practised. That is the day when media

practitioners were at the receiving end. For hours, the communication flow which the government taught "Act one scene one was one-sided. Hence, he could not have assessed either their levels of perception or retention at the lecture.

The governor did not hide his disgust at *The Guardian*, *National Concord* and, mainly, the *Tribune*, for false reports and blackmail. We know the pay masters of the *Tribune*, we welcome *Tribune* and *Guardian* to any debate and challenge. Each time we chastise any journalist, they would rush to the *Tribune*, a local newspaper which is ready to publish any rubbish", the governor descended heavily on the print media.

dishes out is on government activities, he must always be ready to face more baptisms of fire from those in government.

The irony of his situation is that no ruler would agree that he curtails the power of the press. "They (journalists) should tell us off when they feel we are wrong and commend us when they feel it is worth it. We can take it," General Yakubu Gowon, the former head of state, told Mr. Cecil King, the then chairman of International Publishing Corporation of Britain on December 15, 1976, when the latter paid him a courtesy call.

The former Prime Minister on India, late Jawaharlal Nehru, also maintained that

"conceivable that there is unbalanced reports by the NTA," the governor felt that setting up a state television riddled with unbalanced reporting would not curb NTA's unbalanced coverage.

The governor, however, confessed that if he didn't instruct the state television to hook up for the network news, the people of the state would not tune to the NTA for the news. He further agreed that the "degree of viewers' perception and retention" of the news content would be higher than when they watched it on the NTA.

He inadvertently identified himself with Marshal McLuhan's school of thought which believes that the medium of communication is more important than the message. The governor said that his aim was to select for the people of the state what will bring in "unity and faith, peace and progress".

The style would surely go a long way in imposing on the people of Oyo State a particular pattern of perception and thinking that would control them to an extent they scarcely suspect.

The journey so far, between the journalist and the politicians, shows that because of the type of government and rulers we have in this country, journalists will not always have it smooth with most governors. However, our governors must learn to accommodate constructive criticism from the press in their own interest and that of the electorate which include the media practitioners.

It was Chief S. M. Afolabi, the newly appointed Minister of Education, who, at a news conference in Ibadan, likened the media criticism on his party to a poisoned soup prepared by a wife for her husband. Should the husband survive the ordeal, surely the wife would be thrown out, he expressed.

The minister, who happened to be in charge of the state radio and television stations when he was the deputy governor in Oyo State, failed to realise that the "bitter truth" dished out by the journalist is not as bad as a poison from a wife to the husband. Rather, it is a bitter pill aimed at healing the husband; should the husband swallow it, he would soon feel its healing effect.

By

BOLAJI KAREEM

some colleagues in the electronic media who thought that it was their day who were however proved wrong by the governor. The state's radio and television stations were accused of "dishonest, irresponsible, unethical, partial and biased reporting," especially during the electioneering period. The governor was not happy either with their performances since he took over. He wondered why the state radio and television stations were giving much air time even to some trivial activities of his government.

Governor Olunloyo who maintained that he was reviewing the cases of the 18 journalists purely on humanitarian and mercy grounds said that they would be taught how to perform. "We are going to lecture them about how to do their job. Statutory opportunity should be given to all political parties."

Journalists have received more lectures on how to report or write news from other politicians. It is true that an unbiased journalist sees it as his duty to correct flagrant misuse of power by governments. He, as a transmitter of political opinions and, in a democracy, sees himself as the political representation of the viewpoint of those being governed.

The problem with the Nigerian journalist is how to effectively satisfy the needs of his publics. In as much as the emphasis of what he

"persons in authority should be subject to criticism, ceaseless criticism". To what extent can Nigerian rulers take the "ceaseless criticism" in good faith, provided the criticism is fair?

A colleague once admitted that the area of conflict between the politicians and the journalist is the ability of the latter to tell the politicians the bitter truth. Even if the politicians tend to castigate the journalist for dishing out the truth, the truth, shall always prevail.

Nothing described this better than the opinion of Governor Olunloyo himself at the news conference when he said that "only the truth can free a profession and only fair-play can uphold the dignity of anyone". But who defines "the truth" and "fair play"? "It is the journalist who reports what he feels is "the truth", or the politician who is affected by the report? Unfortunately, the public, which is always the better judge, cannot always give the final ruling on such cases. The trial of the journalist is always carried out by the politicians who incidentally happen to be the defendants in the same case.

Governor Olunloyo at the conference disagreed with me that his order, that the Oyo State Television Station must hook up with the Nigerian Television Authority for the daily network news was unfair.

Though he agreed that it is

Nigerian TRIBUNE

WATCH IT, SENEGAL

REPORTS reaching us from the Senegalese capital of Dakar over the weekend on the Houphouët-Boigny Cup qualifying match between the Green Eagles and their Senegalese counterparts appear sweet in one vein and sour in the other. Sweet in the sense that the Green Eagles recorded yet another splendid away win this time in Dakar, but sour because of one recurrent but horrendously ugly feature of soccer—a hostile crowd.

IRATE Senegalese fans were reported to have stoned and broken the windshield of the bus carrying the Eagles back to their hotel after the match while goalkeeper Peter Rufal bagged the yellow card for complaining during the course of the match, about missiles being hurled at him. And this is not the first time.

IN 1977, Rangers International of Enugu received a similarly hostile reception from the Senegalese fans when they engaged a local club, A.S. Police FC in a WAFU cup match. Not too long ago, the Eagles' Nigerian journalists and fans were made to face the wrath of fans in another Francophone country—Togo—before and after a match.

HOOGLIGANISM in sports is nothing new as it occurs all over the world to such an extent that it has virtually become part and parcel of sports. But when it occurs constantly between Anglophone and Francophone countries, the need to raise an eyebrow and call for its examination cannot be over-emphasised.

SPORTS have been the cheapest, but most effective, means of bringing nations and peoples together under the umbrella of friendship. This, to a great extent, has been achieved through major sporting competitions.

AND this is why we have found it difficult to understand the uncivilised behaviour of the Senegalese fans, more so when it undermines the very factor the competition seeks to achieve in the West African sub-region. We condemn the attack as uncultured, barbaric and unbecoming of the Senegalese whose former head of state, Leopold Sedar Senghor, ceaselessly preached the need for peace and unity on the continent and the supposedly glorious features of his idealised conception of the African Personality.

HOWEVER, instead of encouraging their teams by giving them the necessary input to enable them win, our brothers and sisters in Senegal resorted to unorthodox, primitive means which, to put it mildly, were quite unfortunate.

WE urge the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) to, as a matter of urgency, lodge a formal protest with the organisers of the competition. We also implore compatriots not to retaliate. This is one way to demonstrate maturity, understanding and culture.

LASTLY, we wish to congratulate the Green Eagles under chief coach, Festus Onyibinde, on their victory over the Senegalese, despite the hostilities, and urge them not to relent in their efforts to win more soccer laurels for the country.

BUHARI LAUDS ECOBANK PROJECT

HEAD of State, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, has described the proposed International Bank to be set up by the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce as a bold step in the right direction.

General Buhari while ex-



GENERAL BUHARI

From NKEM AGETUA

changing views with a delegation from the federation at Dodan Barracks, yesterday said that the proposed bank would complement the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in promoting economic cooperation within the region.

The head of state said that Nigeria supported in principle the establishment of the proposed ECOBANK Transnational Incorporated and hoped that its provisions would be within Nigeria's accepted banking regulations.

Chief Adeyemi Lawson, President of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) who led the delegation, briefed the head of state on the proposed ECOBANK project.

He urged the Federal Military Government to support the project, pointing out that majority of member governments of

ECOWAS had given their approval for the setting up of the bank.

The delegation included the President of Togo Chamber of Commerce, Mr. G.K. Diopolo, Chief Akin George and Alhaji M.B.G. Dogonyaro, deputy president of NACCIMA.

VACANCY SALESMAN WANTED

Salesmen wanted immediately by an Environmental Sanitation Company. WASC plus Sales experience. Owned motorcycle is an advantage. Job involves canvassing for business from house to house.

Experience with any Clearing Company will be an added advantage.

Please indicate your house address for direct contact.

Apply to.

Manager,
P.O. Box 6558, Kaduna.

PRESS DECREE 4 TRIBUNAL SWORN IN

FOUR-MAN military tribunal which will try offenders under the public officers (protection against false accusation) Decree No.4 was yesterday sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Federation, Mr. Justice George Sodeinde Sowemimo.

The panel is being headed by a judge of the Federal High Court, Mr. Justice Joshua Ayinde.

Other members of the tribunal are Major Sani Ahmed Fari, Squadron Leader Clifford mangiri and Lt.-Commander Joseph Ekeng Ewa.

Another person who was sworn in was Lt. Col. Habu Musa

Property (special military tribunal) Decree No.3.

He was not around when other members of that tribunal were sworn in on April 11, 1984.

Addressing members shortly after the swearing, the Chief Justice enjoined them to do their best in the interest of justice.

He observed that the task before them was enormous which demanded the best side of their judgment. He however expressed the hope that their findings

LOSS OF PASSPORT

Loss of Lebanese passport No. 391011 belonging to Mr. Hiseen Mohammed Kadan on 17/3/84 along Post Office Road Kano.

If found, please return it to the above named person at No. 56/57 Fagge Takudu, Kano, or to the nearest Police Station.

SHA'ABAN 2, 1404 A.H.
KADUNA TIMING

ECOWAS HAS MADE PROGRESS

Closing address by Major General Muhammadu Buhari, Head of the Federal Military Government, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, and current Chairman of the Authority of ECOWAS, at the eighth meeting of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS, which held in Lome, Togo, between July 4 and 6, 1985.

ON this occasion of the 8th meeting of the authority of ECOWAS, taking place in this beautiful and historic city of Lome, I wish to formally extend to all of you distinguished delegates and particularly to you, dear brother, General Gneassingbe Eyadema, the founder-chairman of the Togolese People's Rally and President of the Republic of Togo and through you to the government and friendly people of Togo, the cordial and fraternal greetings of myself, my entourage and indeed the entire people of Nigeria.

I also want to express our appreciation of the brotherly welcome and traditional hospitality which your Excellency, the government and the people of Togo have bestowed on me and my entire delegation since our arrival. Let me seize this opportunity to express our appreciation for the sacrifices and the demonstrated unflinching support which the government and people of Togo continue to render towards the realisation of the lofty objectives and aspirations of this community.

This meeting which is about to end has been conducted under a truly brotherly atmosphere and understanding. For the successful ending of this meeting, I wish to thank you, dear brother, and heads of delegations for your co-operation. I want to thank you also honourable ministers, the executive secretaries, the executive secretaries, experts at the various technical commissions, interpreters and translators and all those who have joined hands to make this meeting a success. I must thank the outgoing chairman of the authority under whose guidance the community has been functioning since last year and who pertinently directed to a successful end the evaluation

and reflection exercise.

I must express my appreciation for the courageous support and dedication to the cause of ECOWAS demonstrated by you, dear brother, General Gneassingbe Eyadema when you volunteered to host this year's meeting. I salute the dedication and indomitable spirit of member countries who have tenaciously kept to the spirit and letter of the organization. It is needless to say that our success in this brotherhood of nations will depend largely on how much we continue to keep to the spirit and the letters of our treaty, protocols and decisions.

It is gratifying to note that after this first decade of operating our 1975 Treaty in Lagos, we have tried to take stock of our successes, failures and continuing with a view to strengthening and consolidating the organization. Thanks to our Evaluation and Reflection Committee, we have been able to cast a glance over our entire process of integration and the machinery set-up for achieving our objectives.

I hope we shall thoroughly examine the report of the Evaluation and Reflection Committee so as to be able to make the best possible use of it.

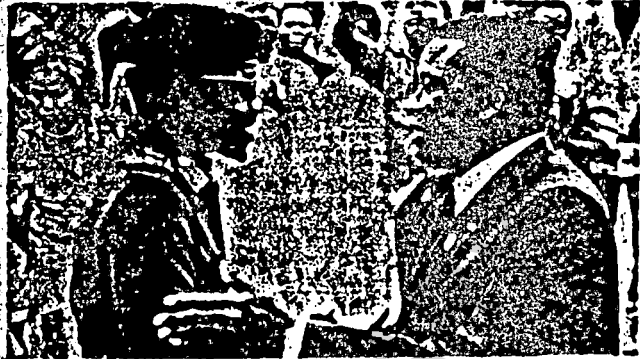
We definitely cannot agree with our detractors who felt that the Community has not made any progress since its inception. And if we say the pace of our progress is slow, it is because we believe that we are a group of nations that have to be in a hurry because we are starting rather late.

If we intend to pull away our people from underdevelopment, we must try to accomplish in a decade what other areas of the world have taken two decades or more to achieve. We have registered successes in areas such as telecommunications, transport, trade liberalization and the free movement of goods and persons, despite its attendant difficulties.

However, progress has been rather slow in other sectors, particularly agriculture, industrial co-operation and trade. It is therefore essential to muster greater resources to achieve the desired objectives in this area where our performance is still very poor.

Overall, our economies have been performing very poorly

"Despite our financial difficulties, we must strengthen the ECOWAS by paying regularly our contributions to the annual budgets. Information made available reveals that since the inception of this organization, not more than 50% of the annual budget has been subscribed in any single year. I take this opportunity to congratulate those members who have been meeting their obligations regularly and I want to appeal to others to fulfill their obligations to the community. By the same token, we must overhaul our system however, to make sure that whatever we contribute is put to the best use of our community."



GENERAL Muhammadu Buhari with his host at the recent ECOWAS Summit, General Gneassingbe Eyadema, during the latter's earlier visit to Nigeria.

with agriculture stagnating or growing at a rate much less than the rate of growth of our population. Our industrial development has made our economies even more dependent than ever while our economic infrastructure is fast deteriorating due to lack of resources to maintain it.

These are compounded by mounting debt burden, serious payments imbalances and dwindling export earnings all of which combine to pose serious constraints on the pace of growth and development of our sub-region.

Another area of attention is to find a way of rationalising our efforts at co-operation in the sub-region which has led to unhealthy rivalry and wastage of scarce human and material resources. We should redouble our efforts at rationalising inter-governmental organizations in the sub-region.

Despite our financial difficulties, we must strengthen the ECOWAS by paying regularly our contributions to the annual budgets. Information made available to me reveals that since the inception of this organization, not more than 50% of the annual budget has been subscribed in any single year. I take this opportunity to congratulate those members who have been meeting their obligations regularly and I want to appeal to others to fulfill their obligations to the community. By the same token, we must overhaul our system however, to make sure that whatever we contribute is put to the best use of our community.

To strengthen the ECOWAS Secretariat and alleviate the problems of our professional staff, my government, in accordance with my promise made last year to help secure cheaper and better accommodation for ECOWAS staff, has provided 34 housing units for them in Lagos. Nigeria has for this purpose made available a sum of eight hundred fifty thousand naira (800,000) or approximately one million dollars (\$1 million) for renovating and refurbishing the housing units provided.

The Secretariat must

however work more energetically to ensure that the community's programmes are faithfully implemented. The secretariat must interact more closely with all ECOWAS units in member states to review problems member states encounter in implementing community decisions and jointly seek-out ways and means of overcoming such difficulties.

I will also seize this opportunity to say "thank you" and "farewell" to our outgoing secretary-apostles for their contributions and to welcome those who are just coming in to serve the community. I sincerely hope that all of those who have been granted the rare honour of representing our respective countries as community officials will hold aloft

the banner of ECOWAS and make our nations and indeed the community proud of them.

Dear brothers, on our part we must work out the modalities of incorporating ECOWAS programmes into our national developmental objectives. Where a community programme is completely ignored in our national plans, it becomes difficult for the community to register any appreciable success in that area.

Furthermore, we should come together to highlight our plight so that, at both continental and global levels, the socio-economic problems of the sub-region can be better appreciated by the world community. In this connection we should be able to take advantage of our membership in in-

ternational, multilateral aid organizations such as the World Bank, the LOAEC Conventions and the various UN aid agencies to promote sub-regional projects.

In the spirit of the LOME declaration which was adopted at our Seventh Summit last November, we should take full advantage of the forthcoming 21st Summit of the OAU to appeal for some of the urgent agricultural projects in the sub-region for which feasibility studies have been completed by the various IOO's to be financed from the proceeds of the Special Fund for Africa launched by the Development Committee of the IMF and the World Bank under its plan of action, last year.

Once again I want to thank you on behalf of myself, my delegation and entire people of Nigeria, dear brothers for the honour done to my country in electing me as the chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS for the 1985/86 year. I pledge to do my best to uphold the lofty ideals of the community and to contribute my own quota towards the much needed progress in this second decade of ECOWAS.

It is delightful that Nigeria which was the venue of signing the Treaty 10 years ago would have the privilege once more of hosting the first meeting of the ECOWAS at the commencement of the second decade of its existence. We are looking forward to welcoming you to the next Meeting of the Authority in Nigeria in May, 1986.

Finally, I wish you all a safe journey back to your various countries.

Bon Voyage
Long live ECOWAS
Long live African Unity
I thank you all.

AFRICA'S TOURISM DROUGHT

By
A CORRESPONDENT

FIRST, the explorers wanted to discover Africa. The missionaries came with the intent to 'save' Africa. Then came the colonisers to 'develop' Africa.

Now come the tourists to savour Africa. When the missionaries have been absorbed and the colonisers have been thrown out, the tourists are welcomed to Africa for they bring badly needed foreign exchange earnings to African states.

With its sun and safar, Africa today lures 7.5 million tourists who bring 2.1 million dollars. During the period 1975 - 1984, considerable growth has been experienced in Africa's tourism industry. Tourism arrivals soared up sixfold to 6.7 million in 1983 and 7.5 million in 1984. Tourism receipts have increased to 2.1 million or an average of 287 dollars per arrival. Hotel capacity has increased considerably with large international chains now established in Africa.

And yet Africa accounts for a meagre two per cent of the world tourism market. The worldwide movements of persons total 3,500 million with 256 million in international

travel. The tourism arrivals in world tourism, leaders of a whole country like Spain, Italy or France are many times the total for the entire African continent. The top tourist destination in the world, Spain, for example, attracts around 36 million tourists a year, almost five times that for the whole of Africa. France attracts over 26 million visitors a year. USA is around 20 million, Britain brings in about 12 million and Austria has over 11 million tourists a year. All these countries individually have much more tourists than all the 50 odd tiny African countries.

Moreover, their earnings from tourism are similarly many times that of Africa. The attractions of Africa are ununique, unchallenged and unpassed. Africa has more unspoilt and unpolluted beaches than the major seaside holiday countries. Africa boasts of the last vestige on earth to see its magnificent wildlife in its natural habitat. Africa offers much cheaper

holidays than most major tourist destinations.

So what is holding African tourism back? The tenth meeting of the African Travel Association in Nairobi in May 1985 discussed some of these constraints. Basically, the tourists require facilities of western standard; accommodation right in the middle of the bush where the tourists want to observe wildlife. After a dusty air host saloon, the visitors want to unwind with a hot bath or shower, a five course meal and crisp bed without being bitten by bugs and mosquitoes.

That's where the hotel chains with international standards come in. Africa still needs more tourists beds.

And yet Africa accounts for a meagre two per cent of the world tourism market. The worldwide movements of persons total 3,500 million with 285 million in international travel."

HERALD

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1981

— QUOTE FOR TODAY —
 FOR unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.
 — ST. MATTHEW

PRICE FIFTEEN KOBO (15K)

Review ECOWAS treaty plea

From Bayo Aina,
 Kaduna

MORE eminent Nigerians have started raising their hands in condemnation of the ratification of ECOWAS protocol by our country which allows free movement of people from sister member states. They have observed the

a large majority of the aliens had abused the protocol by turning Nigeria into a dumping ground for undesirable elements.

First to condemn the increase of foreign influx into this country was the national leader of the PRP, Malam Aminu Kano who claimed that the existence of foreigners in Nigeria was doing the nation more harm than good.

He then suggested in a statement issued in Kaduna that the federal government should review the protocol immediately in order to lessen the burden which it had placed on all Nigerians.

Similar observation was made by a member of the Niger State House of Assembly, Alhaji Mohammed Dabhan who estimated the proportional percentage of aliens in Kaduna at one-third of its population. Kano, one quarter with Lagos population almost being over shadowed by these group of people.

He said, the most annoying thing was that many of these aliens were unskilled people who only engaged themselves in criminal activities such as robbery, forgery and wandering about in the streets thereby causing

public disturbances.

Some of them, he added, could be seen at bank premises and supermarkets while other engaged in unwanted religious acts that could serve as a threat to the security of the nation.

Alhaji Mohammed then suggested that our law enforcement agencies should be adequately taken care of in terms of improvement of their general condition, provision of modern equipment, transport and powerful communication equipment that would help to combat the mounting wave of crime at our borders and in the Nigerian society as a whole.

**Zimbabwe Govt
 goes tough**

— See P 8

**OONI
 SAYS 'AM
 SUPREME**

— See Back Page

... arrived at the
 ... said: "I am in my
 ... and I don't
 ... coming here, life
 ...
 ... asked to comment
 ... Abiola's presence
 ... house, Chief
 ... retorted: "It is a
 ... union, that's how
 ... is, I am happy"

**ON'T
 JILL
 WVN**

AWALAH HOTEL
 P.M.B. 0052 Tel: 077 22 11

Knowing about ECOWAS nations

THE Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is made up of fifteen nations: Benin, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Upper Volta. Nigeria has the highest population of over 80 million people and the most diverse of people (linguistic and culturally) and vegetation (savanna, Sahel, Northern and Southern Guinea rain forest and Equatorial Guinea forest).

Nigeria is also the richest with the ability of producing over 22 million barrels of crude oil per day, hence the relatively high GNP (Gross National Product) per capita at 1970 prices. Mali, Niger and Mauritania are within the less than 250 and 500 millimeters of annual rainfall, therefore, most of their land areas are within the Sahara Desert with population density of between one and ten persons to the square kilometre.

Only the Ivory Coast's economy could be said to be performing well relying on agriculture (finance) for growth. Nigeria's reliance on crude oil while both France and Senegal's annual budgets are still being subsidised by France.

ECOWAS nations have minerals such as gold, iron, Manganese, Aluminium, Oil, Tin, Uranium, Silver and Columbite in commercial quantities.

As a Third World Nation, ECOWAS remains as a market only as she can hardly finance or sustain high technology due to the size of the independent nations.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE TREATY

As laid down in the Treaty 1975 to promote



President Sekou Toure of Guinea

cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African Continent.

The Treaty provides that the Community shall by stages ensure: (a) the elimination of all barriers to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital; (b) the abolition of all quantitative and restrictive trade measures; (c) the establishment of a common customs tariff and a common commercial policy towards third countries; (d) the abolition of all barriers to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital; (e) the establishment of a common project in the

member states notably in the fields of marketing, research and agro-industrial enterprises; (f) the implementation of schemes for the joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields; (g) the harmonisation of the economic and industrial policies of the member states; and (h) the cessation of disparities in the level of development of member

By Peter O. Okalyeto
NAPRI/ABU, Zaria

states; (h) the harmonisation required for the proper functioning of the monetary system of the member states; (i) the establishment of a Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development; and (j) such other activities calculated to further the aims of the community as the member states may from time to time undertake in common.

INSTITUTIONS
Customs Union: As a consequence of the achievement of these objectives, the Treaty prescribes the establishment of a Customs Union based over a fifteen year

period. The Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development: Under the provisions of the Treaty, States whose import duties are reduced, and any member country affected by the application of the Treaty are entitled to compensation.

The Fund is administered by a board of directors, the head of which is being the managing director with a

four year term of office, which may be renewed only once.

Executive Secretariat
The Executive Secretary is elected for a four year term which may be renewed only once.

The Executive Secretariat implements the decisions of the Council of Ministers and the Conference of Heads of State and Government. Authority of Heads of State and Government: A meeting held once a year, with a chairman from each country in turn. The Council consists

of two representatives from each member state, with a chairman from each country in turn.

The tribunal is a procedure to interpret the Treaty should disputes arise.

COMMENTS
Since the Treaty was signed in May 1975, Nigeria to my mind is not benefiting from the spirit of ECOWAS.

This is because Nigeria is relatively wealthier in terms of natural resource and conducive natural phenomena.

These could imply that Nigeria could dominate ECOWAS subregion in the fields of agriculture, industrial development and research (if ECOWAS Treaty is to be followed to the latter).

However, other member nations are quite jealous of Nigeria's predominant position, they are always ready to exploit and insist on clause (d) which allows for free movement to and fro of member nations' citizens - hence the numerous aliens.

This clause (d) means that since Nigeria has the petro-Naira, her wages and welfare structures are bound to be relatively higher than those of her sister members.

To turn the tide towards high technological development, research

and development, Nigeria must coerce ECOWAS members into agreeing with the spirit of specialisation.

Thus, Nigeria would lead in the natural gas, petrochemical, rootcrops and textiles industrial development for the subregion.

Nigeria should insist on the adherence of the spirit of comparative advantage (specialization) so that she can be able to make full use of her manpower and natural resources; industrial products and by-products and perse develop the high technology optimal for ECOWAS subregion.

It is only when ECOWAS members agree to this spirit should Nigeria contemplate devaluing the Naira.

Nigeria has sound economic potentials, and given the political will, she also has the comparative advantage in the production of cereals and root crops of which she can export to ECOWAS member nations perhaps at costs lower than importing them by the nations.

Hence, Nigeria should rethink carefully and develop the political conscience that would truly develop herself first in the spirit of ECOWAS.

FORESTRY AND THE PUBLIC

To most people, I am sure they have been thinking the forest to be just an ordinary jungle. This is far from it. Forest is defined as both a science and an art for managing the forest i.e. the trees and other components that are inside it.

COMPONENTS OF THE FOREST

The components include the tree, soil on which it stands, weather and other climatic factors affecting it and which it modifies, animals and men that live and depend on it.

There are two types of forests viz. normal forest and artificial forest.

The normal forests are those with different types of trees growing naturally while artificial forests are man-made.

Benefits of the Forest.
Benefits derivable from the forest are enormous.

These include firewood (fuel energy), chemicals like tanning used for hide and skin for shoes, bags etc, alcohol obtainable as fuel for vehicles and preservative in the food.

By J.S. ALAO
Federal Dept. of Forestry, Ilorin

industries and Dyestuff used in textile industries. Others are charcoal used for generating energy, and in cooking plants, physical particle board, veneer, cardboard, pulp and paper, protection and modification of the climate, stabilization of the soil, erosion prevention, acting as wind breakers, transmission poles for P&T, NEPA & ALUED users, snails, gum and fruits, are also benefits obtainable from the forests.

Location: Forestry departments are sections in the respective Ministries of Agriculture. Those of the states are known as forestry division while those of

federal are referred to as federal department of forestry and they are situated in all state capitals including Abuja, the Federal Capital.

Functions of the Forestry Department

The functions include: Administration, control and management of forest reserves, protected forests, protected trees for non-wooded areas (free areas). Planting of Gmelina and pines as raw

materials for the pulp and paper mills.

Planting and distribution of ornamentals (flowers) to the public to beautify their premises (Offices, houses, schools etc).

Wild life conservation-creation of game reserves to preserve the wild animals for both education and tourism purposes and also for generations yet unborn.

Planting of certain types of trees (oboho, mahogany, teak etc) to feed wood processing industries.

Park and zoo projects for relaxation and recreation.

Problems of Forestry

Burning of forests and illegal felling of trees are the major problems the forestry sector have been trying to combat for a long time.

Irrational burning of the forest does not lead to only erosion but also loss of nutrients which renders the soils

unsuitable for cropping.

On the other hand illegal felling of trees have been depriving the states concerned of much revenue needed for development.

I am appealing to the public to see to the need to put a stop to these two great evils.



Melam Adamu Ciroma Min. of Agric.

...aining salvation. An English convert, follows: once said: "I have become a cause Islam is the only true religion in practice and in all other respects. If misgivings are swept away by a feeling that Islam is unquestionably 'the one on which we ask God to guide us and remain eternally the 'Right Path.' (The view, February 1961), is cast. Take your choice: Paradise or

...pages of your creation, with 12:11, 12:12, Quran Chapter 35: 15 - 19 returns).
 "O ye mehl it is ye that have need of God, but God is the One free of all wants, worthy of all praise. If He so pleased, He could blot you out and bring in a new creation. Nor is that (at all) difficult for God. Nor can a bearer of burdens bear another's burden, if one heavily laden should call another to (bear) his load, nor the least portion of it can be carried by the other. Even

"...God's words have indeed come down upon you Lord; whoever will therefore see, it is for his own soul, and whoever will be blind, it is to his own detriment, and I am not a keeper over you." Quran 6: 105).
 Our Lord! grant us good in this world and in the hereafter, and save us from the chastisement of the fire. AMEN. (Quran 2:201)"
 Peace be unto you all.

ECOWAS insurance scheme: *march 15 1985* HOW PRACTICABLE?

KOFI Mensah, a Ghanaian driver on a business trip to Lagos, hit a stationary car along the over-busy Broad Street in central Lagos. Despite Kofi's pleadings, the owner of the battered car refused to let him go until his car was repaired. Kofi was helpless as he had run out of cash.
 Happily, with the starting of ECOWAS motor insurance scheme otherwise known as the brown card, Kofi Mensah and others who may, in the future, find themselves in similar situation would have no cause to worry provided they are holders of the brown card.

The protocol establishing the brown card provides for a national bureau in each participating country. The bureau will issue the brown card to motorists through insurance companies with whom they have taken road accident policies. The insurance schemes compare, however, those accredited by the bureau.
 The national bureau is expected to settle, on behalf of the insurance companies,

The principal participant will also guarantee that the national bureau is solvent.
 The responsibilities of the subsidiary participant include issuing ECOWAS brown card to its policy holders, paying compensation to road accident victims who are holders of its policy and making financial contributions to the running of the national bureau and the council or bureaux.

The format of the brown card is uniform and only the council of bureaux may alter its format, typographical layout, colour and content. Information, on it includes the name and address of the national bureau which has issued it, particulars of the company insuring the vehicle, the identity of the policy holders and identification of the vehicles. Others are the period of validity of the card, its serial number, and a list of countries of the national bureaux which the policy holder shall notify in the event of an accident. The card is to be signed by the insurer and by the policy holder.

The first meeting of the Council of Bureaux which consists of representatives of ten national bureaux was held in

Conakry, by Dr. Mamourou Toure who is also the chairman of the Council of ECOWAS

Ministers. A yearly budget of 130,000 US dollars (\$90,000) was set aside for the running of the secretariat.

The second meeting of the Council of Bureaux was held in Freetown, Sierra L

July 3 to 5, 1981. The meeting was attended by 120 delegates from 10 countries which

...present include Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Five other international bodies were also present.

A secretariat to implement the scheme started functioning in Lomé, Togo, recently. According to Mr. Daniel Faur, ECOWAS director of transport, telecommunications, and energy, the secretariat would be headed by an administrative secretary, Mr. John Kargbo, a Sierra Leonean. His deputy is Mr. Yessary Dipo, a Senegalese.

The brown card scheme provides insurance cover in case of an accident to an owner of an insured vehicle passing through the territories of member countries. The scheme aims at ensuring prompt payment of fair compensation to citizens of ECOWAS states involved in road accidents while travelling in countries other than their own. Other aims of the scheme include encouraging trade and tourism in the community.

Asks
 Kingsley Kubeyinje
 (NAN)

claims arising from accidents caused in other countries by holders of the cards, it is also expected to settle claims arising from accidents caused in its country by holders of brown cards issued by the national bureaux of other countries.

The legal, administrative and financial operations of the scheme are to be co-ordinated and supervised by a council of bureaux of which all national bureaux are members.

According to the protocol, the ECOWAS brown card covers the expenses incurred by the holders of the card in accordance with laws of the each member country which he visits. The protocol states that the brown card is a valid certificate of insurance in the countries participating in the scheme.

The governments of the participating countries have a primary responsibility of the principal participant in the scheme. It is the duty of the governments to establish the national bureaux to which the national bureaux are to be accredited and that it functions in accordance with the provisions and the protocol of



Mr. Emmanuel Omatsola



A OF SELECTED FOOD STATE FOR THE PERIOD 1985.

BENIN WARRI SAPELE

2.77	3.00	4.00	
1.29	0.54	0.50	
0.95	—	0.70	
0.63	0.78	0.80	
0.65	0.51	0.50	
0.70	0.50	0.50	
0.80	0.45	0.50	
0.70	0.50	0.77	
0.50	0.45	0.50	
0.52	0.72	0.84	
0.52	1.02	0.99	
0.59	2.20	1.29	
2.21	4.47	3.29	
0.53	0.06	0.70	
0.95	2.03	1.80	
0.57	6.48	9.00	
7.34	5.04	5.80	
3.50	3.00	3.80	
3.26	3.00	3.29	
6.00	7.25	6.00	
kg)	38.00	44.00	32.00
	10.50	9.50	9.00
	1.80	1.50	1.47
kg)	80.00	78.00	79.00
	24.00	16.50	22.00
	4.00	4.00	4.00
	2.21	2.19	1.90

AIC PLANNING.

'Lucotade Bottle.

affairs unit

...should be made to head the new unit in the new capital. The unit will be headed by Mr. Emmanuel Omatsola, a former member of the Council of Ministers. The unit will be based in the new capital. (Continued on page 13)

WHEN the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) was founded on May 28, 1975, the founding fathers had many altruistic ideals at the back of their minds.

MOST important among them was finding solutions to the perennial economic and social problems devastating the West African subregion. And since the organisation's inception, it has met several times to discuss some of these problems.

LAST weekend its 8th summit session ended in Lome, Togo, and as often the case, it discussed myriads of problems some of which ought to be recounted here. They include the poor economic position of member states, transportation drought and desertification, amongst others.

NOBODY quite frankly would realistically quarrel with the organisation for not finding 'quick fix' solutions to all these problems at a go.

BUT one would understandably be worried that after ten years of existence, the sub regional body does not have much to show in the way of achievement of set objectives. The problems which faced member nations at the organisation's inception are still very much around and in most cases have even become compounded.

CYNICS now believe that ECOWAS is no more than a regional talk shop whose perennial gatherings are only for issuing of communiques that are never implemented. For the body to stand on its feet, we believe that it has to make sure that there is total integration of the economies of member-states, there should be removal of administrative and artificial barriers and the body must be prepared to fight drought, hunger and deser-

THE NIGERIAN OBSERVER

ECOWAS IN THE 2ND DECADE

tification within the territories without the present over reliance on big power nations for their salvation.

WE recall that the period of 1983-1993 was once declared afforestation years by ECOWAS. But up till now this seemingly laudable decision has not taken off the ground. This perhaps underscores the fact that idealism is different from realism and that signing of communiques does not necessarily guarantee implementation.

FOR example, there is the inexplicable delay in implementing another important decision on the free movement of peoples of member-states long after the communique was initiated by ECOWAS members. And for this body to be worth its salt, we call on its leaders to take bold steps this second decade around to check the reckless exploitation of the free movement clause as citizens now move into territories in such a manner as to constitute unbearable burden on their hosts, and are in turn driven back like a herd of cattle to the great embarrassment of member nations. This would prevent breach of peace and ensure good neighbourliness in the West African sub-region.

WE also call on the regional body to find lasting solutions to frequent food shortages in the sub-region, a situation that makes the area look like a beggarly region all the time.

THOUGH most ECOWAS countries are now facing starvation, facilities abound in the sub-region, but remain untapped or are not adequately managed. This is largely due to non-cooperation of member-states, and the existing artificial barriers like the damming of the River Niger in such a manner as to deny other nations irrigation water.

HOWEVER, the root cause of ECOWAS failures in our opinion can be traced to the unfortunate willingness of some member countries to be teleguided by foreign powers over the affairs of West Africa, resulting in non-compliance with stipulated ECOWAS regulations.

THIS has in the past given rise to unnecessary rancours and the further drifting apart of member nations.

AND quite appropriately, the current ECOWAS Chairman, General Buhari pointed out that the problems of the sub-region were being aggravated by forces outside Africa, in accordance with the historical divide and rule tactics of foreign powers.

ACCORDING to the new chairman, "these forces are set to weaken us socially, economically and politically with the sole aim of exploiting us". This warning we would like to add is timely enough and is what the member states should try to guard against. We can only remind ECOWAS members of the age long saying that united we stand and divided we fall.

AND a word, they say, is enough for the wise.

working mothers are denied every kobo of this relief if their husbands are salaried workers.

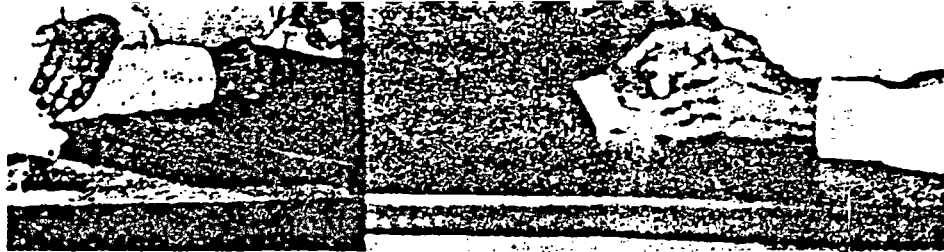
Therefore, it is my suggestion to government to

the high rate of taxation for our Nigerian working wives today: the present taxation notable makes working wives pay higher taxes than their male counterparts.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

18, AIRPORT ROAD, BENIN CITY

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THE Head of Service, Bendel State, Mr. D. P. Lawani recently in Benin City addressed local government treasurers and inspectors from all the local government areas of the state. Here, Mr. Lawani (left) addressing the participants while sitting besides him is the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Mr. F. I. Imoukhong looks on.

to fix such pupil up in any public school, the Governor stated.

Governor Jakande disclosed this while answering questions from correspondents of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) during a cocktail party held for the nine governors at the Government Lodge in Akure on Friday.

He said that he had no power to disturb any parent from spending his



Gov. Lateef Jakande

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COMMON CURRENCY FOR ECOWAS MEMBER STATES

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A PRINCIPAL Officer with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Mr. Frank Ofeji has said in Lagos over the weekend that the organisation was making plans to introduce a common currency as a medium of exchange among member-states.

Mr. Ofeji announced

this while briefing a 22-man delegation of the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC) scheduled to visit four ECOWAS countries.

He said that the introduction of the common currency would reduce currency exchange difficulties between member-states of the organisation and that the mea-

sure was being taken in co-operation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

He did not however say when the currency would be introduced.

Mr. Ofeji mentioned communication and transportation as two of the problems facing the community, adding that communication between Francophone countries was better than those between Anglophone coun-

tries.

We are looking at the infrastructural problems involved in communication and transportation with a view to promoting inter-action among member-countries, he added.

The marketing adviser to the NEPC, Mr. P. E. Osaze, said that the council would visit the four countries to study problems of exporting goods and explore the possibility of projecting Nigeria-made goods.

money the way he liked.

He said that all the 54,688 pupils that had places in secondary schools in the state would have enough classrooms and books.

He disclosed that Governor Abba Musa Rimi of Kaduna State would not yet join them because the NPN controlled-state legislature are still harassing him and disrupting his programmes.

We are very optimistic that he will attend our meeting very soon he said.

The Governor said that he was delighted to know that the NPN Governors had now realised that there was nothing confrontational in the meetings of the state chief executives since they started their meeting.

They are now wiser and we are happy that they

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Ojeli supports bill

to split

Mr. Ojeli further said that he would have supported the bill to split the NLC even if he had won the presidency of the congress and that his



HERIAN TIDE, Monday May 2, 1983

Foreign commentary

Foreign commentary

IVORIAN TEACHERS ON COLLISION COURSE

IVORIAN President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, last week ordered the closure of all schools, suspended the salaries of teachers and evicted them from government quarters after the teachers defied an order to return to classes.

Ivorian teachers went on strike when the government turned down their request to be allowed to continue living in government quarters without paying any rent.

In turning down the plea of the teachers, the president explained that the government had established free housing for various categories of civil servants, including teachers, at the beginning of the year because of the need to check the country's financial situation which had been seriously affected by a fall in the price of its chief export crops, namely cocoa, coffee and timber.

President Houphouët-Boigny also told the striking teachers that if the government allowed them to continue enjoying free housing, other categories of civil servants would bid for the same treatment. When the teachers defied his orders to pay for their quarters, the president said the teachers were "acting out of selfishness to press their privileges."

This Ivorian scenario is nothing but a rehash of what took place in Ghana in 1971 when the late Prof. Kofi Abofo Busia's government slashed down the transport and travel allowances of senior civil servants, introduced a 6 per cent charge on salaries for those living in government bungalows, and abolished maintenance allowances on cars purchased for top civil servants with government loans.

The Ghanaian budget for 1971, read in August estimated that the meagre sum of £7 million would be raised from these proposals to finance development projects such as water supply, building of clinics and health centres and feeder roads in the cocoa farming areas for the benefit of the farmers

who had been riddled for 100 years. These farmers had produced the cocoa which had sustained the country's economy since the 1920s.

These proposals were accompanied by the devaluation of the cedi by 30 per cent on December 29, 1971. The aim of the devaluation was to suit Ghana's traditional exports, namely cocoa, timber, gold, diamonds and coffee at higher prices to finance recurrent and development projects.

The late General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and his co-conspirators of January 13, 1972 did not have the economic expertise and common sense to realise the importance of these measures and ousted the Busia administration.



PRESIDENT ARAP MOI of Kenya O.A.U. Chairman

Acheampong said: "Even the small amenities we were enjoying under President Nkrumah were taken away by Busia."

During the seven and half years that Acheampong and his soldier colleagues ran the gov-

ernment of Ghana on revolutionary rhetoric they succeeded in defeating the economy on which they had declared war from the first day. They looted it and mismanaged it till Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings emerged from nowhere and shot them at the Teshie Firing range in mid-1979.

by JOHN DUMOGA Our Features Editor

ernment of Ghana on revolutionary rhetoric they succeeded in defeating the economy on which they had declared war from the first day. They looted it and mismanaged it till Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings emerged from nowhere and shot them at the Teshie Firing range in mid-1979.

Catastrophic road

The Ivorian teachers by defying President Houphouët-Boigny's orders are trying to tread the same catastrophic road that Acheampong had tread. They want to continue enjoying privileges which had been "taken away" from other civil servants.

Previous like Acheampong, they think they are the "elect of God" and must be allowed to live fat on the sweat of the farmers and others who produce the cocoa and coffee of the Ivory Coast.

This mentality of living fat on the toils of the farmers was inherited from the colonial period when European administrators lived in free government housing. The Europeans had a room. They were strangers, and owned no property in the countries where they lived. Besides, with their racial prejudices they were content to live in splendid isolation, having nothing to do with the "backward"

colonial subjects.

At independence, the senior African civil servants who took over from the expatriate administrators perpetuated this colonial practice by adopting the life styles of the Europeans. They enjoyed all the other fringe benefits which the colonial exploiters enjoyed.

The late Ghanaian international civil servant Amishadel Larsen Yaw Adu commensurated this evil practice in his classic book: THE CIVIL SERVICE IN AFRICA.

Yaw Adu had been Cabinet Secretary in Nkrumah's government. He then became secretary-general of the East African Common Services for Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; then President Director of the United Nations Development Programme in East Africa. Deputy Commonwealth Secretary-General and finally a top administrator at the United Nations headquarters in New York, where he died from over-work.

With such a background he was eminently qualified to comment on this reluctance of top African civil servants to give up the privileges enjoyed by their European predecessors and their inability to share the sufferings of their illiterate brothers and sisters by changing their life styles.

No government that tries to change the situation is ever popular with its civil service "mafia" as Busia and his Progress Party learnt too late.

It is a sad fact that the top civil servants in both Francophone and Anglophone countries like to behave like "white" Africans or "grey" like "black" Europeans.

This is one of the causes of the resentment of the masses in rural cities in the new States of Africa.

Some governments with foresight tried to change the situation by building housing estates either for outright purchase or for hire by the lower paid classes of workers. It is regrettable that these schemes came to grief in several countries because the houses so far built ended up in the pockets of the already rich who bought them and lent them out to the suffering masses at exorbitant rentals.

Suffering masses

Teachers in most African countries are among the underprivileged. They are treated with contempt by their former students who have reached the top of the economic ladders. Thus,



PRESIDENT F. BOIGNY of Ivory Coast

one can understand the complaint of the teachers, when one takes into consideration that the cost of living in Ivory Coast is indeed, and that the top position is dominated by technocrat.

At the same time could also sympathise with President Houphouët-Boigny for the teachers who appear to be trying to perpetuate discredited colonial practices.

(To be continued)



ARIES: (March 21 - April 20) You're wanting to change your way of life today due to the restrictions you are experiencing. Do not make any sudden decisions that involve money. You make any decision now. A happy evening.

PISCES: (Feb 20 - March 20) You'll be in top form today and others around you will be drawn to you. Romance is possible, although you shouldn't set too much store by what is promised. A time for enjoying the company of other people.

GEMINI: (May 22 - June 21) You will be more than usual prone to challenges of mood, so much that others will not know where they stand with you. Try to remain single-minded in all your dealings with other people.

CAPRICORN: (Dec 22 - Jan 20) A great day for business opportunities. Do not put off doing today what you think can be done tomorrow. It cannot, and you'll lose out if you insist on procrastinating.

AQUARIUS: (Jan 21 - Feb 19) Not a good start for the month. Avoid friction, being unpleasant to others and also arguments with them. You'll have to keep your wits about you throughout.

TAURUS: (April 21 - May 21) Depression appears your trend for the most part; you can't get away from your black cloud but if you enjoy taking risks with others, if not there'll be a lot of gains for you. (May 22 - June 21) Because of a family quarrel you will be provoked and your work will suffer as a result. Money matters will be a headache. An early night is recommended.

situation you find yourself in. TAURUS: (April 21 - May 21) Depression appears your trend for the most part; you can't get away from your black cloud but if you enjoy taking risks with others, if not there'll be a lot of gains for you. (May 22 - June 21) Because of a family quarrel you will be provoked and your work will suffer as a result. Money matters will be a headache. An early night is recommended.

CANCER: (June 22 - July 21) A great day for romance although it is quite likely you'll not be taking full advantage of it. Health problems will be a headache. Try not to let your mind wander.

SAGITTARIUS: (Nov 22 - Dec 21) You'll be able to go attention to what you want and you should make progress. Colleagues are obliged to offer their help when you feel it necessary.

VIRGO: (Aug 24 - Sep 23) If you are sufficient tiredness you'll have difficulty in getting through the day. Mistakes will be made. It is difficult to rectify General. Unity enters work.

SCORPIO: (Oct 24 - Nov 23) A heavy start to the month. You'll be unable to get your head at all times. You'll have to keep your wits about you throughout.

NIGERIAN TIDE, Friday September 7, 1984

HOW WELL IS ECOWAS DOING?

IN 1979, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), was established. The first phase of the protocol covers the period between 1980 and 1985. It permits ECOWAS citizens with valid passports to visit any member state for 90 days without a visa.

Sadly, this concession has sometimes been abused. For instance, Nigeria deported thousands of illegal ECOWAS immigrants last year to protect vital domestic interests. The affected immigrants had overstretched the meaning of the protocol and had failed to realise they still required passports and permits to stay or work beyond 90 days.

Article 2 of the protocol also promises the abolition of other "obstacles to free movement of persons and the right of residence and establishment within 15 years of the protocol's coming into force. But it is yet to be seen how this would work. The peculiar social, economic and political circumstances of some ECOWAS states are likely to work against its attainment for the time being.

Travel by road between Togo, Ghana and the Ivory Coast has not been smooth since the abortive attempt to oust from power Ghana's Lt-Lt Jerry Rawlings in June last year. The borders have opened and closed erratically, mainly because the Ghanaian government thought that enemies of the regime were using neighbouring countries, territories as bases to destabilise Ghana.

Similarly, when Nigeria closed its borders to consolidate the gains of the currency change of April this year, some ECOWAS states sent words to Lagos that they were hard hit by the decision. But Nigeria's economic and security interests were at stake. According to the Head of State, Major-General Abacha, the borders would remain closed until arrangements were made "to ensure that these vital interests are protected".

In the meantime, ECOWAS states recognise road transport as



DR ABUBAKAR QUATTARA
Executive Secretary ECOWAS

the major mode of free movement of persons and goods in West Africa. The local policy in this regard is to provide better international roads for enhanced regional trade. These are intended to counter-balance road networks which were designed by the colonial masters chiefly to serve overseas trade by connecting sources of raw materials in the hinterlands with the seaports.

Two West-African roads already satisfy this need to some extent. The trans-sahelian highway covering 4,803 kilometres extends from Dakar in Senegal through Mali, Bourkina Faso and Niger to Niameya in Chad; about 70 per cent

by
PHIL AYINLA
News Agency of Nigeria.

of it has been asphalted.

Also, a trans-coastal highway measuring 4,800 kilometres links Lagos in Nigeria with Nouakchott in Mauritania through Benin, Togo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Gambia and Senegal. These two arteries are themselves intended to form part of the trans-African network of five highways mapped out since 1962 by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

The outlook is less bright in respect of rail, maritime and air transportation. For instance, any attempt to link ECOWAS states by rail would be made difficult by differences in railway gauge. Ghana and Nigeria use the same size of rail gauge, but Francophone West African states use a different size.

Through the concurrence of ECOWAS transport ministers held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in 1975 agreed to adopt a standard one-metre gauge; this is not likely to happen quickly because of the huge funds it would take.

According to ECOWAS sources, foreign shipping lines dominate maritime transport in the region due largely to the smallness of the combined ECOWAS fleet capacity. In 1975, about 157 million tonnes of goods, or 99 times the capacity of ECOWAS fleets put together, passed through the ports of members states. Air transport within the community is in a similar situation. Individual national airlines are yet to co-ordinate their services on West African routes, and they face still competition from foreign ones both on intra-community and overseas routes.

Next year, a proposed ECOWAS trans-national bank (ECOBANK) is expected to take off with a share capital of 100 million US dollars (about N27.6 million). According to ECOWAS sources, an initial N50 million worth of shares would be issued and paid for by December, and they are open to indigenous investor.

(Continued on page 11)

TRANSITION

It is with a heavy heart that we announce the and untimely death of our very dear friend.



DAVID BIABIA HART

who was transitioned from mortality into immortality on 5th August 1984.

aged 52 years
aged 52 years

FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS

(a) Friday 7th September 1984:

Corpse arrives Port Harcourt International Airport at 8.05 a.m. and will be conveyed to the Marine Base en route to his home, Owo, Bonny.

(b) Corpse in state of Beauty approximately 11.00 a.m.

(c) Wake at home at the residence of his brother, Mr R. I. S. Hart, New Road, Ibeju.

(d) Christian Wake-keeping: 9.00 p.m. to 12.00 midnight

(e) Traditional Wake-keeping: 12.30 a.m. to 6.00 a.m.

(f) Saturday 8th September 1984:

Funeral service at the St. Stephen's Cathedral at 11.00 am

(g) Interment: 1.30 pm immediately after service

"To live in the hearts of those we love is not to die"

Grand David Biabia Hart, O Lord, and may light perpetual shine upon him, and may his soul rest in perfect peace.

COMMITTEE OF FRIENDS OF DAVID
(PORT HARCOURT)

WHEN Alhaji Ali Baba gave marching orders to all illegal aliens, inhabiting the most obscure corners of our great country to leave for their homes, little did he realise that he was fighting a losing battle.

As he was opening the Seme border and Idiroko gates for aliens without valid papers to return home, it seemed obvious to most observers, that it was only going to be a matter of time before these same illegal aliens, male and female, would rape our frontiers through myriad footpaths, bushpaths, unlit and ill-manned by our hopelessly ill-equipped immigration officials.

As expected, there is enough evidence on our streets to show that most of the

tion. What bothers this columnist was the human interest side to the mass exodus of the ecowas birds.

Nigerians or belonged to some fleeing Ghanaian or Togolese mothers. As a cassanova of sort, I was slightly

The return of ECOWAS birds

Ecowas birds are now back in full swing to grace our hotels, guest houses, like good old times.

It is pertinent to restate here that Ali Baba's order on illegal aliens was a laudable patriotic masterstroke of diplomacy, which, I presume, was backed by popular acclama-

who in more ways than one provided enough fun for our muntoks, while the going was good.

Lovers were known to have been separated, while some Nigerian babies were born on the frontiers, when it was not quite sure if the babies so born were

reluctant to forget easily the predominance of free-wheeling sex pedlars from along the Ecowas coastline.

The mere presence of beautiful butterflies from Ecowas countries was the main headache or concern of Ali Baba, but their deviant lifestyles,

THE SUNDAY
LillyBee

soon caused more than a casual stir in most matrimonial homes across the land.

With pretty little girls perching from one guest house to another displaying their tempting wares as creatures of easy as virtues, it soon became clear that prostitution as we knew it on our own soil, would be given a bad name and a greater impetus in the land.

Not that it really mattered if prostitution got out of hand or not. What seemed to matter at that point in time was that these self-styled Ecowas birds, who are now staging a comeback to big time business were undercutting the profit margins of the local braw.

The local union of prostitutes raised a mild protest against the invasion of their operational zones by hordes of desperate and pretty sisters from Accra, Lome, Freetown and Monrovia, who into the bargain, were prepared to accept less naira for their sexual services.

And trust Nigerian men, they went for cheaper birds who from experience were better performers when it came to the game of bedmatics.

As prostitution spread like a plague, more Ecowas birds will continue to come to Nigeria where the money is, brisk business by Ecowas

girls who, driven by hunger in their countries, sold their God-given bodies for a handful of naira.

The problem married women faced was uphill. They were now living under the shadow of imported sexually-transmitted diseases like gonococcal strains of Siphyliss or even Herpes.

The whole episode of the return of Ecowas birds recreates a scenario of beehive of social activities, population explosion, big boom for hoteliers and guest house magnates and a heightened tempo of sexual dehumanisation of African womanhood.

Needless to add, that what sounded like a good sermon on morality was not what our Ecowas birds needed to survive on in their hour of desperation. They needed just bread, even without butter or margarine. Can Ali Baba cope with the new trend?

If Ali Baba cannot find a cure for the seemingly incurable disease of returning Ecowas Birds of spinsters, he has to endure them by finding men of great virility and vitality to absorb them, our biting austerity notwithstanding. To be frank with you, we mislead those butterflies from across Ghana. The more, the merrier.

With pretty little girls perching from one guest house to another, displaying their tempting wares as creatures of easy virtues, it soon became clear that prostitution as we knew it on our own soil, would be given a bad name and a greater impetus in the land.

Confession of an 'Ex-witch'

(Continued from page 9) avoid getting into trouble?

MRS OGBONNA: No I did not, because not many people know who or what I was.

SUNDAY TIDE: Obviously you were very important, so why didn't you let yourself be known?

MRS OGBONNA: Well, I never knew that one day I would be converted like this. The secret of that water and everything were with me. But, all that have gone out of me now; I can't see any longer. As a Christian, I am in a much higher position.

SUNDAY TIDE: It is generally believed that witches have done a lot of evil in the country. As a free mason witch, what good things do you think witches have done to the country?

MRS OGBONNA: Well, I can tell you this. I had never been to their meeting in Nigeria because as a superior witch, I attended meetings outside Nigeria. In these meetings, we attend as delegates representing our various countries. Lower witches do not attend and could not be present at meetings of such magnitude.

SUNDAY TIDE: In Europe for instance, it is supposed that white witches provide scientists with knowledge or information to build

computers and other sophisticated electronic gadgets. What have our white witches contributed towards the technological advancement of the country?

MRS OGBONNA: They have not done anything because most Nigerian witches are after nothing but money. Our gentlemen here, even in Port Harcourt, 100 per cent of them talk money and deal money. Most of them are in Ogboni too.

"The Ogonis have made nonsense of our judicial system, our courts, I mean. Now suppose you as an Ogoni, have a case and you don't know whether the trial judge or magistrate is your member.

"There are many ways to establish contact, one of which goes like this: first, you enter the court with your right foot then stand, the magistrate looks you over. As he does so, you shamble to your seat or you walk in any abnormal way peculiar to the fraternity.

"The public, who do not understand but, the magistrate does. Then having sat down, you cross your right foot over the left. You know, like Jesus on the Cross. At that point the magistrate knows that you are his brother. The signs and sequences are many, but this is just

he do? **MRS OGBONNA:** It is obvious. Judgment goes in favour of the brother even before the trial has started.

SUNDAY TIDE: So all you are saying is that our witches do nothing except acquire many and victimise innocent individuals in the society?



Mr Victor Allhor, Mrs Ogbonna's surviving son as he was before his health was mortgaged for money.

MRS OGBONNA: Yes that is what they want. Since some cur-

tain type of Nigerians came over to this side, one.

SUNDAY TIDE: Having known his brother is before him, what does the whole place is corrupted. Women here especially - are corrupt. You see, you find even

the smallest girl is lying. **SUNDAY TIDE:** Now Madam, could you please throw some light on the Rosicrucians or AMORC.

MRS OGBONNA: On the face of it, the AMORC is similar to the spiritual churches in the country. But there is a big difference. AMORC

is very deep almost occultish. They "see" not with the mirrors nor the water, a very highly advanced member can even wake up the dead!

But, it is time to become even a full member let alone advance to such high level. They don't kill until you foul their laws.

"In Europe, AMORC is the most powerful society. In Nigeria, people don't even know half of it. Some members learn only two or three good things.. In AMORC you have to

(Continued on page 12)

National Concord

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1966

THINKING CORNER

A drama of fact juggling, misquotation and inaccuracies, starting the UPN's Babatope and Co. and NPN's Uba Ahmed was on last week. UPN said FG was owing too much foreign debts. NPN said he had been incensed by UPN's state. Before UPN could fire back, Uba Ahmed said he had been misquoted in his original defence. So who is wrong and how much?

Kano: Fresh trouble brews

ANOTHER trouble is brewing between the Kano State House of Assembly and the Governor.

This time, it is over the recent increase in vehicle licence announced by the government and which led to an industrial action embarked upon by taxi and commercial drivers' union members.

After meeting members of the union, the state legislature on January 31 resolved and wrote a letter to governor Mohammed Abubakar Rimi to

From BODE AKINDELE, Kano

effect immediate reduction in the licence fees of various categories of vehicles.

But the governor in his reply, rejected the resolution, arguing that there was no basis for the call by the lawmakers for a reduction in licence fees.

The governor gave many reasons ranging from general economic decline in the country to the need for his government to generate more funds.

He said there had been no substantial increase in licence fees in the state for about 20 years except for "negligible adjustment made in 1970

Continued on page 16

NIGERIANS MOLESTED IN GHANA

From KEJI DAODU Accra

NIGERIANS resident in Ghana have begun to feel the repercussions of the Federal Government's quit order on illegal aliens.

Nigerian market women in the popular Makola Market in Central Accra were molested last week by their Ghanaian counterparts as Ghanaians who illegally came to Nigeria returned home.

These women have since stayed away from the market and confined to their homes.

A number of Nigerians in Kumasi, Ashanti Region are missing or feared dead.

A report on this did not name anybody involved in such incidents, but tensions are mounting in some cities in that country as the returning Ghanaians congregate to pour in from Nigeria.

Mobbing

Another report said that a Nigerian student at the Accra Polytechnic was mobbed near the International Students' Hostel by the Kotoka International Airport junction on the outskirts of Accra.

He was said to have been injured, legs being broken by some Ghanaian policemen.

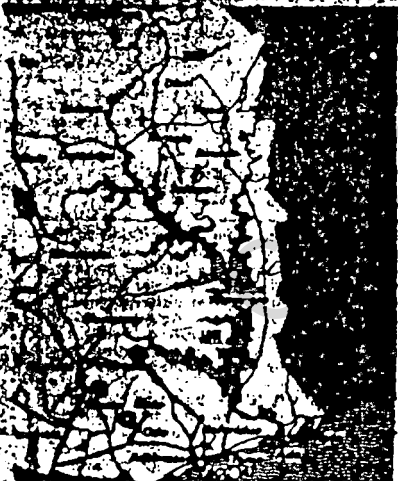
But in a reaction to the alleged molestations, the Nigerian High Commissioner, Chief Adediji Adesoye, has appealed to the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to bring Ghanaians to order, or tell Nigerians to quit as an open retaliatory action.

Chief Adesoye also made a special appeal to Nigerian students in that country to go about their normal studies and avoid confrontation with any Ghanaian since it was obvious that Nigerians in Ghana had become targets of attacks by Ghanaians.

Hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens from Ghana have returned to their country following the end of the two-week quit order given by the Federal Government.

They were evacuated from Nigeria by land, sea and air. Meanwhile, in a nationwide broadcast on radio and television, his worst-end; PNDC chairman, Mr. Lt. J. J. Rawlings accused unidentified "unscrupulous foreign employers" of being originally responsible for the illegal migration of Ghanaians into

Continued on page 13



Map of Ghana showing Accra and Kumasi. On the right, an illustration of a hand holding a sign.

DAY EKPII: Day 11 in custody
DLE GIWA: Day 11 in custody

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News Analysis

Towards realising ECOWAS unity

By Sylvester Akele

IF there is anything West African countries want in common most urgently, it is the revitalisation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). At least, this was the impression this writer got during a recent official visit by Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, Minister of External Affairs, to Burkina Faso, Ghana, Togo and Benin Republic.

During Akinyemi's meetings with the respective leaders and foreign ministers of these countries, the desire for greater co-operation was expressed by both their heads of state as well as Akinyemi on behalf of President Ibrahim Babangida. The External Affairs Minister had gone to deliver President Babangida's special messages to these West African leaders. The contents of the messages were not made public, but officials of the respective countries hinted that they were in connection with the promotion of co-operation and other bilateral and multilateral relations in the sub-region.

Akinyemi's visit to Burkina Faso was the first by a Nigerian External Affairs minister. Sources in the Burkinabe government said that the talks he had with the Burkinabe leader, Captain Thomas Sankara, centred on strengthening of political and economic relations between both countries and between ECOWAS members.

The Burkinabe government is counting on Nigeria's support for the construction of a road network from the capital, Ouagadougou, through Accra, Ghana, Lome, Togo to Cotonou in Benin Republic. An international expressway already exists between Cotonou and Lagos. When completed, the road would facilitate trade within the sub-region, when Nigeria's borders become open.

In the four countries, the issue of the closure of Nigerian borders was raised both in official and unofficial circles. This shows

that the countries depend much on Nigeria's co-operation in trade. Akinyemi assured the officials, though, that the issue of the borders would be discussed in Lagos during a ministerial conference of Ghana, Togo, Benin and Nigeria.

Like the border issue, questions on the expulsion of illegal aliens from Nigeria kept being asked in each of the countries. Akinyemi said in Ghana: "I have not come to apologise to you for the expulsion. You did it to us in the past, and we did it to you. But let us put the past behind us."

When journalists asked in Cotonou whether the border closure was the reason for the recent change in government, Akinyemi replied that it was not. He said that the conference of ministers of external affairs, internal affairs and justice of the four countries would discuss the issue of re-opening the borders in Lagos. It would also discuss "what we all must do to curb smuggling and other factors that led to the border closure in the first place," he said.

According to Akinyemi, that the Federal Government plans to discuss the issue was "an indication that we are making progress", unlike in the past when people were not prepared to discuss it.

The degree to which the other countries depend on Nigeria for trade also became obvious during the tour. The countries also expect Nigeria to give leadership in the sub-region. Miss Joyce Aryee, Ghana's Education Secretary, referred to this when she told Akinyemi: "We must admit that in West Africa, Ghana and Nigeria are two very important countries expected to give leadership to the rest of our brothers and sisters. They expect us to show them the direction". In reply, Akinyemi stressed that "Our problems are similar", adding that there was "no justification for any estrangement between our countries".

Akinyemi emphasised in the countries that Nigeria was launching the diplomatic initiative to breathe new life into ECO-



• Professor Akinyemi, External Affairs Minister

WAS. Miss Aryee had cautioned that "we should not be impatient about ECOWAS. There is no way we can rush things. But if we make it in ECOWAS, quite a number of our social and economic problems will be solved."

Akinyemi was told that the Burkinabe government would consult with Nigeria as closely as possible, and improve on the already good relations between both countries. Nigeria was officially invited by the Burkinabe government to participate in a musical festival in October next year, and sources close to Captain Sankara, said that there were proposals from his government for a commercial week, during which goods will be exhibited from both countries, either in Lagos or in Ouagadougou. The Burkinabe government wanted the re-

vival of its economic agreements with Nigeria in order to promote trade between both countries.

The Burkinabe leader and the charge d'affaires at the Nigeria embassy in Ouagadougou, Mr. Robert Oluwole, had commended the role of Nigerians in Burkina Faso. And Akinyemi said before leaving the country that he had been told that the Nigerian community was well respected and that their behaviour had contributed to the good relations between both countries. He assured them that the Federal Government was committed to their well-being.

There were indications that the Burkinabe leader had accepted an invitation from President Babangida to visit Nigeria soon, during which ways of further co-operation will be discussed. Such a meeting may offer an opportunity to discuss the co-operation between ECOWAS and the Francophone West African Economic Community (CEAO).

President Babangida is the current chairman of ECOWAS while the Burkinabe leader is the chairman of CEAO.

In Ghana, the meetings between Akinyemi and the Ghanaian head of state, Flight-Lt. Jerry Rawlings, and with the Ghanaian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah, also stressed bilateral and multilateral co-operation. Akinyemi spoke of Ghana and Nigeria sharing the same dreams and that Nigeria was determined to keep her "friendship with Ghana in constant repair." He said that it was time both countries summoned political will for the sustenance of ECOWAS and for encouraging sister states to do likewise.

It is hoped that all the good wishes expressed about ECOWAS and improved bilateral relations between these West African countries will materialise in no distant future. This will purely be in the interest of the sub-region and Africa.

• Courtesy: News Agency of Nigeria.

Focus

The cost of moving on imported wheels

IN Nigeria some items are branded as 'essential commodities'. They include sugar, milk, soap, rice, etc. 'Essential commodity' became a household word when these items became scarce during the turbulent period of the Second Republic. They are hoarded by distributors who later inflated the prices. It got to a stage where, due to scarcity, it became necessary to have them rationed.

And up till now workers look forward, in anxious anticipation, to the distribution of essential commodities. There are, however, some items which are not branded as essential but which, nevertheless, are essential. One of such are tyres. At least for the car-owning class. An for the transportation industry, tyres are as essential as sugar, or milk or even rice. Remove tyres from an economy and it would grind to a halt like a vehicle whose wheels suddenly burst.

By Tokunbo Peters

The invention of the wheel marked a great landmark in the cultural development of mankind. It brought about a revolution in transportation. By cutting down time involved in the distribution of items, particularly of foodstuff, it enabled the creations of markets far removed from centres of production. It allowed some areas to concentrate on the production of certain types of goods, knowing that it can be readily exchanged for others. It was not however until 1845 that pneumatic tyre was invented by R.W. Thomson and in 1888 Dunlop made a practical use of it by fitting a tyre to a bicycle wheel. Since then tyres have been used on motor cars, transport vehicles tractors and aircraft.

Dunlop Nigeria (Ltd) and Michelin are the two firms which manufacture tyres in Nigeria. Why have tyres be-

come such scarce commodities in spite of Nigeria's rubber resources. An official of Michelin confronted on the issues, says: "Our stand is not to reveal any information. I wouldn't even comment on prices". When asked if this wasn't a negative attitude for the progress of the industry in the country, he replies "You can record that in your paper. We have our reasons why we do not speak with the press. You can try Dunlop." But Dunlop was neither forthcoming with any information. It was however, gathered from an extraneous source that "78 per cent of the raw materials — mainly rubber and certain chemicals — needed for the production of tyres could be derived from local sources." The source further says Nigeria imports 60 per cent of tyres used in the country while only 40 per cent are manufactured locally.

In an interview published in *Business Concord* of November 8, 1983, the chief executive of Dunlop Mr. Ijeor Visser said: "Even if we work flat out, we can only meet half the country's requirements." He claimed that his company had submitted an expansion programme to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry about a year ago, but government was yet to take a decision on it. According to Visser, "We are ready to expand tomorrow."

Apart from the locally produced tyres, other brands such as Good Year, Pirelli, Klepper, Firestone and Verdestine tyres are imported. Before the closure of the country's borders, it was alleged that massive smuggling of tyres from neighbouring countries was a thriving business. Worn out tyres could be driven to the borders, and a return journey made with new ones.

Prices of tyres are astronomically high. A 16-inch tyre, whose official price is fixed at ₦90, sells for ₦150. An inside source in the tyre industry says "the high prices of tyres is not the fault of the manufacturers. Rather it is with the big-time dealers. When the companies produced at full capacity, the dealers were allocated a certain quota, from which they made a sizeable profit."

The present squeeze on importation has meant a reduction in the amount of tyres produced as compared to before. The dealers have had to receive a reduced quota. They however wish to keep the same profit, which they made. This is done by selling at high prices. "A tyre retailer who sells tyres along Obafemi Awolowo Way in Ikeja, claims "prices are high because there are only two manufacturers in the country," he says, "government should in-

vide those big international tyre manufacturers, such as Good Year, Pirelli etc, to produce locally, instead of dumping finished products here. Visser of Dunlop, however, says "it is important that import licences be given to the right people only, so that the tyres would neither be hoarded nor exported to neighbouring countries as has been the case."

In the face of high prices of tyres, many Nigerians have resorted to the use of second-hand tyres. These can be purchased for anything between ₦40 and ₦50. Attempts are also made to make old ones last longer. The local vendors, known as vulcanizers, operating from road side shelves have had business booming. To mend a puncture cost ₦2. But then most of the mended tyres are susceptible to puncture, which would require an extra ₦100 for the vulcanizer.

Used tyres are retreaded. An indigenous company Odutola Tyres, based in Ibadan, does this. It is claimed that some retreaders sell retreaded tyres to unwary public as new.

A worker in one of the tyre manufacturing companies, who wants anonymity, observes: "Bad driving contributes to wearing of tyres, drivers who slam their legs on the brake pedals, let the tyres rob against the road as the car screeches to a halt. This alone often wears tyres before it's due."

There is a propensity, in the country, for making indigenous use of otherwise foreign products. Thus, motor tyre is not for the use of motorist alone. A thief caught by a mob is given instant justice by being set ablaze in a 'ring of tyres'. A football, known as 'salubata' is made entirely out of disused tyres. It is worn for a long time with out any signs of use.

News

The treaty of West Africa ...



• Benin's Modupe Kerekou...



• Ghana's Ft.-Lt. Jerry Rawlings...



• Togo's Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema and...



• Nigeria's Gen. Muhammadu Buhari

...they all sign the historic 'Treaty of West Africa' in Lagos on Monday

Photo: Monday Express

LNG is a priority project, says David-West

THE Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Mr. Tam David-West, has said that the liquefied natural gas (LNG) "is a priority project of the Federal Government."

Mr. David-West has told the Cross River State Governor, Col. Dan Archibong in Calabar at the weekend that the government was determined to execute the project because it was both a major source of revenue and a foreign exchange earner.

Commissioner appeals to engineers

LAGOS State Commissioner for Works and Transport, Alkangbe Kenku, has told engineers to see the unhealthy economic situation in the country as an opportunity to develop technological concepts that would lead to the quick recovery of the nation's economy.

Speaking at the yearly luncheon of the Nigerian Institute of Technological Engineers, Mr. Kenku said strategies for input substitution would be more effective if local technological know-how were available.

He, therefore, urged the engineers to identify the industrial skills available in Nigeria and adapt it for the purpose of advancement.

Nassarawa commissions police primary school today

THE Lagos State police boss, Mr. Mammam Nassarawa, will today commission the first police primary and nursery school.

Police Inspector-General Etim Inyang is special guest of the ceremony which kicks off at 9 a.m.

The school is situated inside the Ikeja Police Barracks.

OBBA Adeyinka Oyeekan of Lagos has asked the state government to give a facelift to the "deplorable" palaces of traditional rulers. He asked for funds for their upkeep as well.

Speaking at the inauguration of the newly reconstituted 30-member Lagos Divisional Chieftaincy Committee at the Lagos City Hall yesterday, Obba Oyeekan remarked that since most traditional rulers were not allowed to engage in private ventures, they had been unable to make funds available for repairs of their palaces and premises.

Oba Oyeekan, who is the chairman of the committee, said the state government had not lived up to its promise to improve the lot of traditional rulers.

He asked the government to:

- help people affected by the on-going demolition of illegal structures through the provision of land for the erection of modern markets;
- expedite action in filling vacant chieftaincy stools;
- assign more functions to traditional rulers who, he claimed, are in

Oyeekan seeks facelift for rulers' palaces

By Niyi Obaredo

better positions to identify the problems and aspirations of the people.

The Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Mr. Olatofe Olajinka, who performed the inauguration, traced the history of local administration in the Lagos division to 1899 when "a general sanitary board" was established.

He enjoined the traditional rulers to be impartial in the treatment of cases referred to them and arouse public support for the government's war against filth.

Nineteen out of the 32 original members of the committee were present at the inauguration. Two original members of the committee, Mr. Yesufu Ounru of Ondo and Mr. Tawahilo Bello, the Onisemo of Lagos, have died.

Report on 'women in development'

THE Director-General of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER), Mr. Vrenudia Diejomsoh, said in Ibadan on Monday that the result of a study on the role of "Women in development" embarked upon by the institute two years ago, would be out soon.

He said the investigations would bring into light the social and economic conditions of Nigerian women in rural development especially in agriculture, institutional patterns and attitude to women's work and other constraints.

Mr. Diejomsoh broke the news at a talkshop on "Women in development" organised jointly by NISER and Frederick Ebert Foundation of West Germany.

He said NISER had also commissioned stu-

out soon

dies on policies and laws affecting women's work in history as well as in literature.

Mr. Diejomsoh said: "It is obvious in Nigeria and other developing countries that information to support policy formulation and programmatic action on women are at present inadequate."

He said it was in that regard that deliberations at the workshop would serve as additional effort towards the supply of much needed information on "women in development".

The NISER boss promised that resolutions and recommendations of the conference would be forwarded to the appropriate quarters for action.

The co-ordinator of the workshop, Mr. T. O.

TWO hundred and seventy-six health workers yesterday passed out of the Lagos University Teaching Hospital (LUTH).

But some of them was awarded a gold medal. Gold medals are awarded yearly to students of the Schools of Nursing and Midwifery who score a minimum of 85 per cent in standard ward report and 80 per cent during examinations.

Among criteria for the award of other medals are:

- silver medal — 80 per cent minimum standard ward report, and 75 per cent during examinations;
- bronze medal — 75 per cent minimum standard ward report and 70 per cent during examinations.

The health workers, who received their certificates and other awards from Health Minister Emmanuel Nnam were: graduates from:

- School of Nursing and Midwifery;
- School of Medical Records; and
- School of Medical Laboratory Technology.

At the joint graduation ceremony held at the New Great Hall of LUTH, Mr. Nnam told

Fadayan, in his four-page paper titled: "The reporting and estimation of women's works in socio-economic surveys: Some examples from Nigerian labour force surveys", he said:

- Census and labour force survey data have consistently undervalued women's economic participation by:
- failing to record or count the contribution, particularly of rural women to domestic economies through non-market production, and
- underestimating women's participation in the market economy.

Fashion fair opens Saturday

A THREE-day fashion fair tagged Avant-Garde Fashion Fair, which aims at giving boost to local fashion designers, begins on Saturday at the National Theatre, Iganmu.

Minister's charge to 276 health workers

By Brigid de-Lima, Health Reporter

They are joining the confraternity of dedicated people charged with the immense responsibility of preserving the sanctity of human life. Always remember that the lives of your patients come first. Also remember that on the life of a patient could depend the lives of several persons."

Mr. Nnam asked the graduates to show devotion to duty, honesty and a high degree of dedication, which is required of all health professionals. He said government placed emphasis on primary health care as a strategy for providing equal opportunity for all citizens to obtain good health care.

Mr. Nnam said the strategy for achieving this objective was the eradication of primary health care which would be the pivot around which the nation's health care plan would revolve.

He said government was of the view that with increasing activities in primary health care and the promotion of qualitative traditional medicine, health care delivery would reach every nook and corner.

And to achieve this, health planners, managers and teachers should reappraise their curricula for training to enable them produce health workers who would function effectively to achieve the nation's health care objectives.

Mr. Nnam added: "If health workers are to participate effectively in primary health care programmes, as well as function adequately in the rural areas, they

must be oriented and prepared to do so throughout their training programmes. They must focus on health care and not just illness care."

He warned that their clinical experiences must not be limited to the hospital setting, but must also include the community and rural areas.

Mr. Nnam said the government would soon promulgate a decree to give legal backing to a new composition of management board and administrative structure of teaching hospitals.

According to him, the new boards would be made up of representatives of experts and professions in health matters, the state government and public consumers' interests.

Said he: "It is our belief that this new restructuring will result in the efficient management of the teaching hospitals as well as the resolution of the conflict of interests roles between the top managers and the attendant dichotomy between the clinical and non-clinical groups in the hospitals."

In a speech to the graduates, the outgoing chief medical director of LUTH and the provost of the Lagos University College of Medicine Mr. Deji Femi-Pearse asked them to see themselves as ambassadors of their profession wherever they go.

He said the hospital successfully embarked on the installation of a new water tanker and construction of a new labour ward which he said was nearing completion.

A breakdown of the graduates showed that there were:

- 167 nurses;
- 78 midwives;
- 10 medical records; and
- eight medical technologists.

Some of the awards given out yesterday and their recipients were:

- the chairman's trophy for the best practical Midwife, plus N25.00 cash prize from LUTH

School of Nursing Old Students Association (SONOSA) — Miss A. J. Bakinde;

• best midwife in hospital final examinations — Miss A. J. Bakinde;

• best midwife in community health — Mrs. A. Gaitelu;

• best student-nurse in surgical nursing — Miss C. O. Kanu;

• ex-student's cup for the best final year nurse in practical nursing, and a cash prize of N25 — Miss A. A. Nuga;

• principal's trophy for the best all-round nurse in sports Mr. J. E. Ashidi and;

• the director of administration's trophy for responsible leadership plus a cash prize of N25 from LUTH SONOSA.

Miss Iyabode M. Adefiyaa.

Sale of Xmas rice begins

CHRISTMAS celebration will be up for sale from today on the counters of 30 major markets in Lagos State.

But they will only be available in grams (measured 25 kobo per cup, Lt-Col. S.A. Oresanya, chairman of the Nigerian National Supply Company (NNSC), which is distributing the rice, told State House correspondents yesterday that the sale in small quantities was to ensure that every average family got a share of the stock.

If the sale is smooth, he said, other commodities like milk, salt and sugar would be released into the market during the week.

He assured that traders, selectively chosen to do the sales, had been supplied sufficient quantities of rice and warned not to hike the official price.

He added that a monitoring unit had been set up to ensure that instructions were obeyed, and warned that erring traders would have their stalls raided.

Some of the markets mentioned yesterday include Sabo, Tejuosho, Sandgros, Itafuji, Amukoko and Aguda.

News

Continued from Page 1

plan is envisaged to work this way: a Nigerian going to live and perhaps work in Ghana will obtain his travel and resident papers from the Federal Government.

"This means that the traveller's home government, not the host embassy or high commission, will now have the responsibility of vouching for his integrity.

At present, an immigrant to stay Nigeria, must have his national passport and a visa issued by Nigeria's mission, STR, which must be regularised on his arrival before he can take a job.

• **THREE:** The right in work is also guaranteed in the plan. On arrival in a host country, says the proposal, an immigrant, already armed with ECOWAS travel and residence permits issued by his home government, needs only apply to the host government for an ECOWAS work permit.

The proposal thus seemingly precludes the way of national governments on whether an immigrant can work. For it stipulates that even where a national government delays the issuance of ECOWAS work permit to an applicant, the immigrant can go ahead and take a job. If he is

ECOWAS chiefs meet on July 1



Alhaji Momodou Mann, ECOWAS executive secretary

expelled, he can appeal to an ECOWAS tribunal.

The proposed document, which received a retuff from the community's council of ministers last November re-surfaced at the 15th meeting of the group's Trade, Customs, Immigration, Monetary and Payments Commission (TCIMPC) which ended in Lome, Togo, exactly a month ago today. It is titled: "Draft Supplementary Protocol on the second phase of the protocol on free movement of person, the right of residence, and establishment."

That the proposal will be making its second appearance within eight months, justifies the contention among experts on the sub-region's affairs that free movement of labour within ECOWAS would be the core issue next month in Lome, when the group's council of ministers meeting and the summit of heads of states converge.

The second article of the draft protocol sums up the benefits to migrant labour that would come with adoption of the right of residence:

"For the purpose of implementing the second phase (right of residence), each of the

member states shall grant to citizens of the community who are nationals of other member states, the right of residence in its territory for the purpose of seeking and carrying out income-earning employment."

The director of TCIMPC at the ECOWAS executive secretariat in Lagos, Mr. Paul Comlan Akaipo, told *The Guardian* that the need to push the second phase through is underscored by "the general feeling among member states" that something must be done about regularising movement persons among member states.

Dr. Omotayo Olaniran, a researcher at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) favoured Akaipo's contention. He noted that there was need for some form of free movement of labour within ECOWAS because "ECOWAS has a bright future and harmonious interaction would serve as the foundation of a strong union," adding: "there is need to know ourselves. This makes it important to adopt the right of residence draft protocol."

Although the experts are optimistic about the merits of free flow of immigrant labour within the sub-region, the council of ministers' meeting last November thought the second phase of the protocol on the movement of persons, which was billed to take off on June 4, needed postponement until June 1987.

Their reasons, according to Akaipo, were to enable member states' indifference to the implementation of the first phase put their houses in order. Secondly, the postponement was to give the TCIMPC enough time to do a better job on the draft protocol.

The provisions of the second phase protocol, however, exclude international postings, investors, persons whose main income does not come from the host member states and civil service jobs.

The right of residence proposal provides for an ECOWAS travel certificate other than a national

passport. Nationals of ECOWAS countries could apply for issuance or extension of the proposed travel certificate in their countries of origin. It would be issued on an individual basis and it must be supported by a valid birth certificate or a sworn affidavit in lieu of birth certificate or a national identity card.

Any ECOWAS national above 15 years is entitled to obtain the travel document, which will be valid for two years and can be renewed for another two years.

Akaipo said the travel document would serve to solve the problem of "lack of procedures" which he said, had "been the bane of the individual and not be expelled for reasons of national security, public order or morality or if they refuse to comply with orders by public medical authority for the purpose of public health."

They could also be expelled "in accordance with the laws and regulations applicable in the host state". It is unlikely that Nigeria would be able to undertake third mass expulsion of migrant workers if the enforcement of persons within the member states with highest grades of labour could run into economic depression due to falling labour skills and decline in purchasing power.

Nations of host countries would also experience unemployment and retrenchment which would lead to exodus from labour groups and inevitable mass expulsions.

Olaniran observed: "Akaipo thought the draft protocol on right of residence was a re-enactment of the social and cultural intercourse, pre-dating colonial partition of Africa." He cited the ancestral links between the Frens of Benin Republic, the Ewes of Togo and Ghana, whom he said, traced their origins from Ile Ife in Nigeria.

Akaipo also mentioned the Yorubas in Benin and Togo, some of whom still bear Nigerian names and Yoruba titles, to buttress his contention that "even if the military close national borders, Yorubas in Benin would attend funerals at the other side of the Nigerian border and the Ewes in Togo would still go to their farms in the Volta Region of Ghana."

The ECOWAS chiefs took cognizance of this contention and made special provisions concerning border area, seasonal and itinerant migrant labour.

It states in chapter IV Article One: "Border area workers shall enjoy all rights (relating to their presence and their work in the host state with exception to the right relating to residence." Article two provides border workers from taking "categories of jobs, posts or activities when the interests of the states so dictate."

The novelty provision in the draft protocol which Olaniran saw as a mechanism to avert the pain of large-scale expulsions, is contained in article 13 of chapter 10: "Migrant workers and members of their families may not be affected by collective or en masse expulsions. Each case of expulsion shall be considered and judged on individual basis. Migrant workers and their families who have legal status in the ECOWAS standard and not be expelled for reasons of national security, public order or morality or if they refuse to comply with orders by public medical authority for the purpose of public health."

Mass expulsion is prohibited under articles 13-17 of chapters VI-VII.

Under the proposed arrangement, any form of expulsion may only be undertaken on a well-founded legal or administrative decision. And the expelled immigrant, his home government and ECOWAS headquarters, are required to be informed by a written notice.

Besides, the victim is given the right of appeal which "constitutes a suspension of the expulsion order." Unless (the order) is explicitly justified by reasons of national security or public order.

In case the expulsion has been executed before the appeal, the victim could claim damages. Expelled immigrants are entitled to collect any salaries, allowances or entitlements from employers before departure.

For reasons of personal security, the expelled immigrant could obtain authorisation from ECOWAS to go to a country other than his own and the situation of his family shall be taken into consideration. The draft protocol states that the member state ordering an expulsion would not pressure the immigrant to accept "voluntary departure" if he had not requested it.

The diplomatic mission of the expelled immigrant's country is required to be advised on the decision to expel at least 48 hours before and is entitled to assistance from his country's diplomatic mission to defend rights conferred on him by the protocol.

The draft protocol in an effort to stem illegal immigration, provides for co-operation among member states to harmonise employment and labour policies.

Atukum seeks review of civil service promotions

The Plateau State Governor, Navy Captain Samuel Atukum has urged the Federal Government to review the procedure by which the civil service commission rewards its deserving officers.

It made the plea at a weekend during discussions with members of the study group on the reorganisation of the Federal Civil Service who met him at the Governor's Office, Jos.

Such a move the governor said, would improve the existing system of promotion in the civil service, which he described as "not result-oriented."

Navy Captain Atukum suggested that only retired civil servants with proven ability should be appointed to the civil service commission as a means of achieving better results in the service.

The governor told the panel that although, the 1974 report provided the "most far

reaching and encompassing recommendations so far towards creating and sustaining a goal-oriented service, many of its technical recommendations with high ideals had either not been well implemented or had been ignored.

Noted, should also be given for occasional merger in parastatals, while a graduated timetable should be drawn up when to ship subsidies to parastatals.

In his speech, panel chairman Professor Dotun Phillips, who pointed out that their terms of reference excluded salary considerations, said their report would dwell mainly on modalities.

Each large can carries 10 containers weighing a total of 400 tonnes down river to a landfill site on the Thames estuary in south-east England.

The operation is fast and can reach peak hour by flow of 200 tonnes. The speed eliminated smell, pollution and wind-blown nuisance.

An adjacent wharf site, where the above features were common because of an earlier system of transferring rubbish by crane to tarpaulin covered barges is to be developed as a recycling plant for bottles, metals, paper and other materials.

Energy efficient methods incorporated into the new scheme include dust suppressors fans which only work when there is dust in the air. Lashes used by maling barges leave on the edge on the income tide.

The Western River side Transfer station has found barriers as one of London's engineering achievements for display to visitors from local authorities in Britain and abroad.

A high level public walkway over the complex has opened spectacular views across the Thames and made the complex an outing for Londoners and tourists alike.

A plan is under way to declare free days during which a traverse path being created will be open for spectators.

A film, *Where does it all go* will be shown on these occasions and also to schools and other bodies to make people aware of the recycling of rubbish.

Company develops new garbage recycling system

A N N I R million river-side refuse station, capable of shipping 4,000 tonnes of household waste weekly from central London has become a tourist attraction and a mecca for visiting engineers.

Built by the John Lang construction for operation by the Greater London Council, and scheduled for promotion soon in China, the concept, Western Riverside Transfer Station, was recently opened at Wandsworth, on the south bank of the River Thames.

It is Europe's largest waste container port and comprises a vast enclosed tipping hall where rubbish from London can be simultaneously deposited for compaction in sealed containers which are loaded by giant cranes on to waiting barges.

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Govt replies to NLC leader's charges

THE Rivers State Government in apparent reaction to a *Guardian* news story of last Thursday, has said it was unfortunate that the state chairman of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Mr. Dammy Oruitemka, was ignorant of its "back-to-land" programme.

The *Guardian* had published Oruitemka's views that workers might not renew their two per cent contribution to the scheme if the government did not say how much had been collected.

But a Government House statement issued by Governor Fidelis Oyakhilome's press secretary, Mr. E. J. Elenwo, said the scheme had been given "wide publicity by both local and international media."

The statement said it was writing for Oruitemka in accuse the government of not accounting for the donations in spite of publication that N3.7 million had so far been realised.

N36m World Bank loan for Plateau State

PLATEAU State Governor has received World Bank loan of N36 million for increased food production, according to the project manager and head of development services of the Lafia zone of the state's agricultural development projects, Mr. Mohammed Shah.

The manager said the loan would enhance the

in cash and equipment towards the scheme.

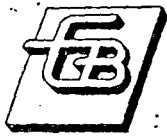
The statement said government was prepared to sponsor Oruitemka on a tour of project sites at荔枝, Bunu-Sai, Kpa and Epeke/Neuba, at the end of which he would have been convinced of something substantial had been achieved.

"Since Mr. Oruitemka claims not to know how workers are benefitting from the scheme, it would be necessary to re-state that the programme was designed to boost food production, thereby reducing the high cost of food-stuff (for the benefit of workers), as well as providing employment opportunities for thousands of young school leavers roaming the streets in search of jobs," the statement added.

The government pledged that all contributions towards the scheme would be accounted for, and publicly acknowledged.

production of food over the next four years.

He praised the five-year World Bank assisted Lafia agricultural development pilot project completed last year for its impact on rural farmers who, he said, had now realised the importance of farm inputs such as fertilizer, herbicides and insecticides.



ECOBANK

TRANSNATIONAL INCORPORATED

Ecobank Transnational Incorporated has now been duly incorporated in the Republic of Togo under a special Ordinance promulgated by the government to facilitate the establishment of the Project. The Project had earlier received the approval of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS. A special Headquarters Agreement has been executed by the Government affording Ecobank special privileges to facilitate the pursuit of its objectives. The authorised capital of Ecobank is 100 million US dollars divided into 100,000 shares at 1,000 dollars each. Subscription will be made in local currency which will be converted to US dollars. Thirty per cent of the total capital is allocated to Nigerians. The first call is for 50% of the capital. Applications will be entertained in multiples of ten shares. All persons interested in this investment opportunity should please apply as per subjoined form for the information brochure and subscription form. All applications must be received not later than 15th December 1985 and should be addressed to:

**The Secretary,
Ecobank Capital Mobilisation Committee
P.M.B. 12816,
Lagos.**

**APPLICATION FORM FOR INFORMATION
BROCHURE ON ECOBANK**

NAME:

ADDRESS:

.....

TELEPHONE NO:

BUSINESS ADDRESS:

..... TELEPHONE:

POSITION HELD IN ORGANISATION:

NO OF SHARES DESIRED:

Kindly send me the Information Brochure on ECOBANK. I enclose herewith a self-addressed and stamped (50k stamp) envelope measuring 30cm x 25cm for ease of correspondence.

Signature: Date:

FOR a sub-region in which more than two-third of its constituent member nations have been classified as the poorest nations of the world, the need for an economic and cultural integration becomes essentially imperative. It therefore follows that the under-pinning factors that nurtured the formation of ECOWAS are two-fold: firstly, an economic integration offers a more greater economies of scale, and secondly, the indisputable fact that in economic collectivism rather than unnecessary economic atomization lay great strength.

IT is against this backdrop that the achievements and failures of ECOWAS whose submit ended last week in Lome, Togo, can best be appreciated. ECOWAS has gone a long way since its formation ten years ago. And to the observers of this organisation, the only worthy commendation of it lie in its ability to ratify a protocol which at the same time has a tradition of virile economic growth as well as initiating a South-South dialogue or a South-South economic solidarity.

ON May 2, 1979, for example, the head of states and governments of member states signed protocol for free movement of persons and also conferring on the citizens of the community the right to establish business enterprises within the community. The protocol was to be completed in three phases within fifteen years. The first phase which guarantees the right of members to enter member states territories without visa and stay for a maximum of ninety days has been passed and implemented by member states.

THOUGH ratified with good intention, it is no doubt clear, judging by experience in recent times that this provision is open to abuse by citizens of member states whose economy has taken a down-ward plunge and have to migrate

SUNDAY
PUNCH

Opinion

ECOWAS: MORE RIVERS TO CROSS

to other states as economic refugees who becoming invariably a burden on host nations. This protocol, as Dr. Quatara himself admitted during a press briefing stands in the way of realisation of the objectives of ECOWAS.

BUT quite commendably, four technical and specialized commissions have gone into operation, and they are customs, immigration, monetary and payment commission; Industry, agriculture and natural resources commission; transport, telecommunication and energy commission, and the cultural affairs commission. The transport, telecommunication and energy commission for example has drawn up impressive proposals for the integration of the member states while work is going on, on a concerted programme development for energy in the sub-region.

AN evidence, no doubt, that the ECOWAS has done enough research for its take-off is exemplified by the fact that the industrial affair commission has worked out a two-phase programme for the industrial integration of the sub-region and along side with this is a programme for the regulation on a gradual basis

for the vast economic potential of ECOWAS market.

ALSO, in the areas of trade, an agreement has been reached on the definition of concepts of products originating from member states. Agreement has also been reached on level of custom tariffs and other related issues. These indeed are very impressive proposals and on this basis, it can be said that the ECOWAS has spent its first ten years on planning alone.

IT is on this score that we believe that ECOWAS still have many rivers to cross, and should proceed immediately to translate its proposals into concrete reality. It indeed would be a tragedy if ECOWAS act to type as another pan African organisation, loud and brave in rhetoric but lack the muscle to effectuate the rhetoric into demonstrative action, a situation that leaves a gap between aspiration and expectation.

WE suggest that ECOWAS should free itself from the constraints that mire the East African Economic Community. It is no doubt, dysfunctional that as at 2nd August this year, member nations are owing N7 million representing about half the total budget of the organisation. Secondly, we caution that the diversity of colonial experience of member-nations, a phenomenon that creates a centre-periphery neo-colonial nexus should not stand in the way of real integration.

THIRD, member nations must show real commitment to the cause of ECOWAS. Major General Buhari has said that the effectiveness of the ECOWAS can best be judged by its ability to have more meaningful impact on the lives of millions of people in the sub-region. In that statement lay the great strength of ECOWAS, and while insisting that ECOWAS has done enough of planning, it should swing into action now and across the remaining rivers.

Strides Of A Common-Sense

by-products or using sugar as a raw material were expanded or created.

*None-sugar exports were vigorously promoted and the synthesis of the products...

STARS

CAPRICORN - This is a bad day for career matters. It appears to be a year of the sea forward and three years to look out for the health of business before attempting anything of importance. The evening is a good one for home entertainment, although success could be rather high.

AQUARIUS - Do not allow yourself to be misled by those who have a major decision regarding health. Your judgement is making itself and you'll know you are making the right decision. Remotely speak to the 11 lucky good time and success would be yours.

PISCES - Allowing colleagues to make the decisions will let you off the hook, for mistakes are going to be made and you must not feel that you must share them! Success will have had even on you this afternoon, therefore you'll have to be at peak alertness in order to avoid making mistakes that are difficult to correct.

ARIES - If there are any domestic matters that you have been neglecting, now is the time to get them sorted out. The longer you leave them the more difficult they will become. Take care to be home and some of the things that are good to be done before others have loved ones are concerned.

TAURUS - If you are in a position to give orders, you should check that your requests are carried through to the end. Disappointments and delays will not be productive until, those working this afternoon should beware of their attitudes and observe all road traffic signs.

GEMINI - You'll begin to look a little better to your career, but no matter how hard you push you will not be reaching it present. Leave things in their own until better opportunities present themselves. However, it should still be viewed the possibilities of turning extra income from somewhere. For those who have a hobby, that could be the answer.

CANCER - You will need to be careful of much as possible today. Your judgement is out and you could make some big mistakes. Here a good day for signing documents or making anything to do with property transactions. All major decisions should be avoided, this one applies to your judgement.

LEO - Someone who has been keeping you waiting for a decision makes up their mind today, and the outcome could be quite unexpected. A good day for leaving out business over the telephone. Romance takes on a fresh start this evening, something that now could be around for some time to come.

VIRGO - You'll find it increasingly difficult to get on your feet of business today. Those who wish to spend out for an evening, this is a good day for signing documents that deal with houses purchased or long-term financial commitment.

LIBRA - Do not brood over problems today. They should be brought out and given an airing. Decisions will be made, but it is not a good day for signing documents, especially where business are concerned.

SCORPIO - Domestic problems are seen and a case you had thought was unimportant is now serious. You'll be feeling much better today and will be well-placed to cope with the problems that will arise. Many of you will have extra responsibility thrust upon you at this time, but with it comes other promotion or more money.

SAGITTARIUS - A day for the romantic. Romance is all around you and you should be able to find Mr./Mrs. Right in your working environment. However, you will find that those people are well-motivated and hard.



'Ngozi' a golden opportunity to beat the austerity measures.

In the desert kingdom

It would seem from available evidence that the people of Saudi Arabia have succeeded in conquering their natural environment. I say this because, even though the Saudi Kingdom is mainly made up of rocks and is a desert, the Saudis and foreigners living in their land either temporarily or permanently, do not suffer from want of adequate supplies of food, water and all other necessities of life. And what is more, the Saudi Kingdom is extremely rich in various mineral resources. To me, Saudi Arabia is a country/kingdom specially blessed by Allah and the Saudis themselves are a blessed people.

The Saudi weather was extremely not during the last hajj. As early as 6.00 a.m. Nigerian Time (4.00 a.m. Saudi Time), sunlight had come out in Saudi Arabia. By 7.00 a.m. Nigerian Time, it was real sun and by 10.00 a.m. (Nigerian Time), the sun was scorching.

Under these circumstances, the body needs a plenty of cold water and Nigerian pilgrims to the last hajj actually drank Saudi water in large quantities. This water drank several litres of water but I noticed that inspite of this, only small amount of water passed out in form of URINE. In other words, the more water drank, the less passed out through the bladder.

There was large-scale sweating. The Saudis did devise a means of reducing the constant hotness of the body by drinking '7-11' hot tea, as constantly as possible, regardless of the hotness or otherwise of the weather. By and large, Nigerians spent a lot of money on cold water and SAJ.

The Saudis behave very politely towards all pilgrims. They hate anything that may break treaties or agreements. They are generous and all right but they also possess ac-

quisitive traits. For instance, it is most unusual of some Saudi landlords to insist on taking rental on a casual visitor to your apartment for which you had paid. These landlords, possibly out of ignorance of the sociological factors of other nations, especially Nigeria, would peep into your rented apartments on seeing visitors there and there, then, ask questions as regards those visitors' mission in that apartment. Until those visitors left your apartments, these landlords would insist on your paying extra rent on the same and very apartments you were occupying.

When I sought to know why this behaviour was being exhibited, I was told that some-

learned that drivers were given driving licences quite easily but that these must produce sureties. These sureties are necessary in case the driver, while driving, kills more than one person. The law in Saudi Arabia stipulates death for any driver that kills a human being. If the driver kills more than one person, then the law will demand the death of one, two or more of the driver's sureties. Because of the stiff penalties imposed by law on reckless driving, Saudi drivers are mostly careful ones. They even drive so carefully that they not only avoid killing human beings but they also ensure that domestic animals are not knocked down, let alone killing them.

The Saudi Police are very alert and fearless. If a driver commits a traffic offence, he is immediately apprehended and punished by fine or committed to a cell. There are offenders everywhere in the world but the Saudi drivers are wary not to get into the warm embrace of the law. I saw an offending driver immediately arrested along the Jabel Al Kaaba Street in Holy Mecca one evening and given paper (summons) there and then. His offence was that he took a wrong road. He begged but the policeman who caught him refused his entreaty. The law, as I noticed in Saudi Arabia, is very clear and precise and it must be well kept by all and sundry. Any breach of the law is visited with the punishment adequate to it regardless of who the offender is.

With my naked eyes, I saw many cats and dogs in Saudi Arabia, especially Holy Mecca. Upon investigations, I learnt that these animals, especially dogs, roam around eating from place to place. But cats, in particular, attach themselves to some houses, where they get food and shelter. Throughout my one-month sojourn in Saudi, I saw the carcass of an animal only once and that was on Sunday, 26th September, 1982 when I left Mina for Arafat. September 26, was ARAFAT day. I, with my group, trekked from

Mina to Arafat in the early hours of the morning on that day. Arafat was about a kilometre or so away when I saw the decayed carcass by the side of the road.

I also learnt that at one time, the Saudi Authorities wanted to destroy all the dogs in the Kingdom but that the attempt was halted when it was discovered that the more the dogs were killed, the more they multiplied.

In the biting length and breadth of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I never came across any alcoholic or intoxicating drinks. Such drinks were banned as sinful. All I saw and partook of were soft drinks.

On top of these soft drinks were Pepsi-Cola and Mirinda. Others were Seven-Up, Canada Dry and other fruit drinks. I never saw Coca-Cola and Fanta drinks in the whole of Saudi Arabia. I could not find out what caused this. And ever since I came back from Saudi Arabia, I've preferred Pepsi-Cola and Fanta.

I think the Coca-Cola and Fanta people in the world must do something to it — the lack of their products in Saudi Arabia, the entire Muslim World. A word, people say, is enough for the wise.

The Saudi women, generally, wear the veil. They are well and adequately protected against various forms of immoral contact with the sinful world. Before a Saudi reaches adult age or the age of marriage, she could come out freely and mix freely. But when she reaches this age, she is forbidden to go freely into the outside world. This practice is sinful, especially as it enhances societal morality.

However, it is saddening to learn that a number of women and men remain unmarried in Saudi Arabia throughout their lives because of lack of means to contract marriages. It is, I learnt, very expensive to marry in Saudi Arabia. People say it could cost a fortune! And yet, Saudis are prevented from marrying outside their kingdom!

The Search Continues LAM ADESINA

pilgrims used to pay a certain amount as rent for an apartment and later accommodate more people in the same apartment, having collected some amounts from those so-called visitors. While one condemns this attitude as unwholesome, I believe that it is equally offensive, to regard every visitor as somebody who will pay to his host whether he stays with the host or not.

As I said in my last article, the Saudis are hard-working people but they demand pay for any job done be it a small job or not. Even drivers of Government buses demand tips from passengers as a matter of right.

In Saudi Arabia, drivers generally are very careful. Women are not permitted to drive. Driving is done by men in all cases. And I

The journalist as a political pawn

THE rope of controversy between the journalist and the executive arm of government in the country will be pulled for many reasons. It is because the Nigerian journalist has not reached the level of professional competence anywhere in the world. But that some politicians still believe that a Nigerian journalist has not reached the age of special responsibility.

Politicians, out of sheer generosity, join members of the public to address journalists as members of the Fourth Estate of the Realm. But the extent to which the journalist is allowed to perform the gate-keeping function of disseminating information to the public depends on the whims and fancies of those in power. The worst-kept is the practitioner working in either the government-owned media or the newspapers whose managers have political views. The editorial policies of the government-owned media are so shaped that the journalist becomes a mere machine who should be discarded with a change of government.

For example, Governor Bola Awolowo of Kano State is always scrutinising the biased sympathy of journalists who worked with Governor Abubakar Rimi's party, *The Triumph*. Heads are cut after the assignment has been completed. Journalists who worked on the Borno State-owned newspaper *Nigerian Observer* and *Sunday Herald* during Sani Abacha's regime, have been instructed to report to new management with original copies of their letters of appointment. Governor Ogburne's presence because of his absence as a time-server did not make a noise of the move to chastise "divisive journalists". However, those found guilty of the stunt surmount will undergo the "opera".

Governor Omofoluwa of Oyo State on Friday, November 17, reviewed the case of 18 journalists affected by the recent change of the state radio and television stations after much pressure from sections of the public. The announcement, however, came after the Governor/Mathematician had time to lecture the news content on how journalism should be practised. That is the day when media

practitioners were at the receiving end. For hours, the communication flow which the government tagged "Act one scene one" was one-sided. Hence, he could not have assessed either their levels of perception or retention at the lecture.

The governor did not hide his disgust at *The Guardian*, *National Concord* and, mainly, the *Tribune*, for "false reports and blackmail. We know the pay masters of the *Tribune*, we welcome *Tribune* and *Guardian* to any debate and challenge. Each time we chastise any journalist, they would rush to the *Tribune*, a local newspaper which is ready to publish any rubbish", the governor descended heavily on the print media.

dishes out is on government activities, he must always be ready to face more baptisms of fire from those in government.

The irony of his situation is that no ruler would agree that he curtails the power of the press. "They [journalists] should tell us off when they feel we are wrong and commend us when they feel it is worth it. We can take it," General Yakubu Gowon, the former head of state, told Mr. Cecil King, the then chairman of International Publishing Corporation of Britain on December 15, 1976, when the latter paid him a courtesy call.

The former Prime Minister on India, late Jawahar Nehru, also maintained that

"conceivable that there is unbalanced reports by the NTA," the governor felt that setting up a state television riddled with unbalanced reporting would not curb NTA's unbalanced coverage.

The governor, however, confessed that if he didn't instruct the state television to hook up for the network news, the people of the state would not tune in to the NTA for the news. He further agreed that the "degree of viewers' perception and retention" of the news content would be higher than when they watched it on the NTA.

He inadvertently identified himself with Marshal Mchuhah's school of thought which believes that the medium of communication is more important than the message. The governor said that his aim was to select for the people of the state what will bring in "unity and faith, peace and progress".

The style would surely go a long way in impressing on the people of Oyo State a particular pattern of perception and thinking that would control their behaviour; they scarcely suspect it.

The journey so far between the journalist and the politicians shows that because of the type of government and rulers we have in this country, journalists will not always have it smooth with most governors. However, our governors must learn to accommodate constructive criticism from the press in their own interest and that of the electorate which include the media practitioners.

It was Chief S. M. Afolabi, the newly appointed Minister of Education, who, at a news conference in Kaduna, sketched the media criticism on his party to a poisoned soup prepared by a wife for her husband. Should the husband survive the ordeal, surely the wife would be thrown out, he expressed.

The minister, who happened to be in charge of the state radio and television stations when he was the deputy governor in Oyo State, failed to realise that the "bitter truth" dished out by the journalist is not as bad as a poison from a wife to the husband. Rather, it is a bitter pill aimed at healing the husband; should the husband swallow it, he would soon feel its healing effect.

By

BOLAJI KAREEM

some colleagues in the electronic media who thought that it was their day were however proved wrong by the governor. The state's radio and television stations were accused of "dishonest, irresponsible, unethical, partisan and biased reporting," especially during the electioneering period. The governor was not happy either with their performances since he took over. He wondered why the state radio and television stations were giving much air time even to some trivial activities of his government.

Governor Olunloyo who maintained that he was reviewing the cases of the 18 journalists purely on humanitarian and mercy grounds said that they would be taught how to perform. "We are going to lecture them about how to do their job. Statutory opportunity should be given to all political parties."

Journalists have received more lectures on how to report or write news from other politicians. It is true that an unbiased journalist sees it as his duty to correct flagrant misuse of power by governments. He, as a transmitter of political opinions and, in a democracy, sees himself as the political representation of the viewpoint of those being governed.

The problem with the Nigerian journalist is how to effectively satisfy the needs of his publics, in as much as the emphasis of what he

"persons in authority should be subject to criticism, ceaseless criticism". To what extent can Nigerian rulers take the "ceaseless criticism" in good faith, provided the criticism is fair?

A colleague once admitted that the area of conflict between the politicians and the journalist is the ability of the latter to tell the politicians the bitter truth. Even if the politicians tend to castigate the journalist for dishing out the truth, the truth, shall always prevail.

Nothing described this better than the opinion of Governor Olunloyo himself at the news conference when he said that "only the truth can free a profession and only fair play can uphold the dignity of anyone". But who defines "the truth" and "fair play"? "It is the journalist who reports what he feels is the truth", or the politician who is affected by the report? Unfortunately, the public, which is always the better judge, cannot always give the final ruling on such cases. The trial of the journalist is always carried out by the politicians who incidentally happen to be the defendants in the same case.

Governor Olunloyo at the conference disagreed with me that his order, that the Oyo State Television Station must hook up with the Nigerian Television Authority for the daily network news was unfair. Though he agreed that it is

Nigerian TRIBUNE

WATCH IT, SENEGAL

REPORTS reaching us from the Senegalese capital of Dakar over the weekend on the Houphouët Bouigny Cup qualifying match between the Green Eagles and their Senegalese counterparts appear sweet in one vein and sour in the other. Sweet in the sense that the Green Eagles recorded yet another splendid away win this time in Dakar, but sour because of one recurrent but horrendously ugly feature of soccer—a hostile crowd.

IRATE Senegalese fans were reported to have stoned and broken the windscreens of the bus carrying the Eagles back to their hotel after the match while goalkeeper Peter Rufai bagged the yellow card for complaining during the course of the match, about missiles being hurled at him. And this is not the first time.

IN 1977, Rangers International of Enugu received a similarly hostile reception from the Senegalese fans when they engaged a local club, A.S. Police FC in a WAFU Cup match. Not too long ago, the Eagles, Nigerian journalists and fans were made to face the wrath of fans in another Francophone country—Togo—before and after a match.

HOOLIGANISM in sports is nothing new as it occurs all over the world to such an extent that it has virtually become part and parcel of sports. But when it occurs constantly between Anglophone and Francophone countries, the need to raise an eyebrow and call for its examination cannot be over-emphasised.

SPORTS have been the cheapest, but most effective, means of bringing nations and peoples together under the umbrella of friendship. This, to a great extent, has been achieved through major sporting competitions.

AND this is why we have found it difficult to understand the uncivilised behaviour of the Senegalese fans, more so when it undermines the very factor the competition seeks to achieve in the West African sub-region. We condemn the attack as uncultured, barbaric and unbecoming of the Senegalese whose former head of state, Leopold Sedar Senghor, ceaselessly preached the need for peace and unity on the continent and the supposedly glorious features of his idealised conception of the African Personality.

HOWEVER, instead of encouraging their teams by giving them the necessary input to enable them win, our brothers and sisters in Senegal resorted to unorthodox, primitive means which, to put it mildly, were quite unfortunate.

WE urge the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) to, as a matter of urgency, lodge a formal protest with the organisers of the competition. We also implore compatriots not to retaliate. This is one way to demonstrate maturity, understanding and culture.

LASTLY, we wish to congratulate the Green Eagles under chief coach, Festus Onyibinde, on their victory over the Senegalese, despite the hostilities, and urge them not to relent in their efforts to win more soccer laurels for the country.