

Media and Security in Nigeria

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Abstract

Today, an information explosion is taking place in the world and the mass media of communication increasingly enjoy a position of considerable importance throughout the globe. This paper on Media and Security examines the role of mass media of communication in the coverage and reportage of security matters in particular and in informing, educating, enlightening and entertaining the populace on societal issues in general. The paper interrogates the extent to which mass media practitioners have adhered to the professional journalistic ethics of objectivity, impartiality and balancing in such matters and also x-rays the multitude of factors impeding the media institutions in effective communicative crusades. The paper submits that the Mass Media of Communication in Nigeria operate in the Nigerian State. Therefore, to advance any scholarly discussion of the Nigerian media, it is paramount to situate the discourse within the specificity of the Nigerian State and society. The paper argues that the effectiveness of any political system, how well it handles the demands of its environment can be measured in terms of its ability and capability to accurately analyze messages from the environment and effectively transmit messages which express reactions. The paper recommends, among a host of other recommendations that the mass media of communication need to be socially, politically, economically, nationally and internationally responsible in the way they carry news stories about security in particular, and the Nigerian Society in general. It also recommends that the media should take cognizance of the fact that security is not just about the Army, the Navy, the Air force, the Police, the Customs, the Immigration etc but also take into account the whole country's socio-politico-economic systems, researches and all activities that go into the normal civilian life. Finally, the mass media should also cover the totality of security sector and security community, non-statutory security institutions and civil societies, as well as the internal and international processes that are germane to security and insecurity issues including the major aspects of regionalization and globalization of insecurity.

Keywords: Information, Mass Media, Security, Political System and Communication.

Introduction

Section 22 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended), Chapter II on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy explains the obligation of the mass media thus:

“The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this Chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people”. (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999).

This paper on media and security in Nigeria examines the extent to which the mass media have been able or unable to carry out these constitutional obligation and requirements especially in relation to media and security. Are the mass media free as entrenched in the Constitution? Have they been able to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in the Chapter of the Constitution under reference?

The fundamental objectives are:

1. Fundamental obligations of the Government;
2. The Government and the People;
3. Political objectives;
4. Economic objectives;
5. Social objectives;
6. Educational objectives;
7. Foreign policy objectives;
8. Environmental objectives;
9. Directive on Nigeria Cultures;
10. Obligation of the mass media;
11. National Ethics;
12. Duties of the citizen; e.tc

Have the mass media been able to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people? What are the ethics of the mass media practitioners? What are the problems and challenges faced by the mass media and Journalists? Are there peculiar issues on media and security? What about the media, security and international environment? Are there non-statutory security institutions and aspects of regionalization and globalization of insecurity that the mass media have to address? This paper attempts some answers.

The Role of the Mass Media

Our world's age is so mass media-oriented that we learn almost everything we know today through some media of mass communication such as; radio, television, newspapers, social media, magazines, community media, traditional

media, books, films and so on and so forth, among a host of other media of communication. Not only are the mass media the chief sources of most people's views of the world, but they are also the fastest ways known to transmit information throughout an entire society. In point fact, the role of the mass media assumes greater importance in both developing and 'developed' countries of the world. It does not matter whether the mass media are used for security coverage and reportage, agenda - setting of election campaigns, political communication, environmental communication, group communication, agricultural communication, legal communication, religious communication, among others. (Olayiwola 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2011, 2012, 2013).

In a democratic society, the mass media are expected to play the following roles:

- i. To convey information to the people with a view to letting them know how the mandate they gave their representatives is being discharged;
- ii. To provide a forum through which the governed could react to government policies and activities;
- iii. To assist in the articulation and pursuit of national interest;
- iv. To monitor the performance of government with a view to preventing their deviation from clearly stated objectives;
- v. To assist in setting an agenda of priorities in the social, cultural, political and economic development of the nation;
- vi. To function as an agent of modernization; and
- vii. To provide informed criticisms on viable alternatives, among a host of others.

The mass media are saddled with the responsibility of informing, educating and entertaining the public. In fact, the government and the governed seem to recognize this role when they refer to the media as the Fourth Estate of the Realm. The mass media aid in the overall socio-politico-economic development of the society, the mobilization of resources for economic progress, and the enlightenment of the citizenry about issues and happenings outside their immediate environment. Apart from being disseminators of news by means of printed words, illustrations, cartoons, caricatures or other visual symbolizations, mass media are the most potent tools by means of which the masses of the

people ventilate their feelings and views on any issue of the day. And by this, the mass media are inseparably identified with the masses.

The Working Group on Black Civilization and Mass Media at the FESTAC Colloquium buttressed more vividly the powers of the mass media when it rightly remarked.

“The media can effectively help to maintain contact and understanding between the government and the people, between rural areas and the cities, and among nations. Nationally, the media are an important integrative agency. They are a powerful force as an educator, agitator, mobilizer, motivator, and entertainer. Their power can be great and immeasurable. They can create a feeling of involvement and participation. It is through them that the national agenda of the day is presented to the nation. They are a national forum for the continuous debate which is necessary in every country, on issues and problems. No developing country, therefore, serious with its development programme or a country struggling against neo-colonialist social and economic structures can afford mass media which are mainly for commercial purposes and not committed to the national cause. (Amoda, M. 1977).

The mass media exert important influence on political communication particularly because they regularly and rapidly present politically crucial information to huge audiences. The mass media are also important in “setting the agenda” for mass participation in development. As Lang and Lang once observed:

“The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, and have feelings about”. (Lang and Lang, quoted in McCombs, 1972).

In Britain for instance, politicians typically ascribe to the mass media an important role in political communication. The most distinctive point about the message or content of mass media as opposed to other media is perhaps their reliance on the sense of hearing and above all, sight. They are predominantly verbal media and are therefore, well suited to politics, which is a verbal activity.

The mass media are also important in "setting the agenda, the stage for ongoing political development, in shaping the views and behaviours of political elites, the masses and other selected groups, and in influencing the perception of the general public. As Theodore White has rightly remarked with great fervor and citing America as an example:

"The power of the press in America is a primordial one. It sets the agenda of public discussion; and this sweeping political power is unrestrained by any law. It determines what people will talk and think about, an authority that in other nations is reserved for tyrants, priests, parties and mandarins. No major act of the American Congress, no foreign adventure, no act of diplomacy, no great social reform can succeed in the U.S unless the press prepares the public mind" (White, T. 1973).

It is generally and universally accepted that the mass media are very crucial to informative and educative enterprise. The mass media help to discover the truth however splintered that truth may be in a plurality of voices while at the same time they raise conflict to the plane of discussion. Mass media can also be involved in a conspiracy of silence. The use of mass media by such political leaders as Mussolini and Hitler in Europe to stir public sentiments in support of fascism caused many social scientists to worry about the impact of "manipulative media" on a "susceptible citizenry" in the 1930s and 1940s. (Becker, L. 1975). Christenson (1959) wrote that the mass media are most effective in shaping lightly held opinions. We do know that broadcasting which is an aspect of the mass media of communication is, "the most pervasive and therefore, one of the most powerful agents for influencing men's thoughts and actions, for giving them a picture, true or false, of their fellows, and of the world in which they live, for appealing to their intellect, their emotions and their appetites, for filling their minds with beauty or ugliness, ideas or idleness, laughter, or terror, love or hate". (Quariter, T. 1962).

"All of the functions performed in the political system - political socialization, political recruitment, political communication, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule-making, rule-application, and rule adjudication are performed by means of communication. Parents, teachers, and priests, for example, impart political socialization through communication. Interest group leaders and representatives and party leaders perform their articulation and aggregation functions by communicating demands

and policy recommendations. Legislators enact laws on the basis of information communicated to them and by communicating with one another and with other elements of the political system. In performing their functions, bureaucrats receive and analyze information from the society and from various parts of the polity. Similarly judicial process is carried on by means of communication". (Almond, G. 1960).

Mass media are channels of communication which the exigencies of living brought into existence; they have been described in exotic terms as these:

- Neighbours of the lonely;
- Informers of the curious;
- Entertainers of the bored;
- Teachers of the willing;
- Victims of the unaccommodating;
- Friends in times of bliss and enemies in times of adversity;
- Champions of freedom and barometers of freedom's ups and downs;
- Foot-mats of the successful;
- Bad boys of the thief and fraudulent;
- Naked gun-powders in the hands of despots;
- Encyclopedia of joy and sorrow, success and failure, honesty and half-truths, banter and blackmail. (Momoh, T. 1983).

Definition of Terms

Mass Media: Mass media of communication comprise the Press (Newspapers, Magazines, Comic Booklets, Radio, Television and Cinema) and other means of communication which reach large heterogeneous audiences and in which there is an impersonal medium between the sender and receiver. (Olayiwola, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2011, 2012, 2013). A mass medium is essentially a working group organized round some devices for circulating the same messages, at about the same time, to large numbers of people. The term mass media is also used to refer to the institutions and techniques by which specialized groups employ technological devices to disseminate symbolic content to large, heterogeneous and widely dispersed audiences. It is that form of communication process which utilized mechanical electronic instruments and devices to create news and information, ideas and images and to transmit such messages simultaneously to a mass audience.

Political Communication: By this term we refer to that subset of communicatory activity considered political by virtue of the consequences, actual and potential,

that it has for the functioning of the political system. It is also used as a process in which informational and persuasive messages are transmitted from the political institutions of society through the mass media to the citizenry to whom they are ultimately accountable. It is the role that communication plays in political institutions and processes, and the role politics plays in shaping communication processes.

National Newspaper: Defining 'national' newspaper in the Nigerian context has been problematic, given the absence of universally respected indices. Data on circulation cannot be used to measure spread of circulation because much of the circulation data available are collected by the newspapers themselves or by advertising agencies which do not command general acceptance.

The convention, given the experience of other writers, has been either to assume a meaning or define national to include any or all of the following:

Circulation and offices in Lagos, and Abuja, (given the historical role of Lagos as centre of the earlier presses and the tendency to, because of this, now open offices in Lagos and Abuja, the new capital territory, place of publication, circulation and presence in big cities, spread of correspondents; and given the high mortality rate, those old enough to have been seen around for long enough in most parts of the country for their national claim to be well accepted.

News Stories: We define this term for Newspapers as including editorials, letters to the editor, features, grape vine, world sport-light, Datelines, Question time, Peoples Parliament, as well as ordinary news reports, but excluding advertisements, obituaries, cartoons, In Memoriam, public notices, puzzles, radio and television listings and similar announcements.

Communication Content: By this term we mean that body of meanings through symbols (verbal, musical, pictorial, plastic, gestural), which makes up the communication itself. In the classic sentence identifying the process of communication- 'who says what, to whom, how, with what effect'- communication content is the what.

Content Analysis: By this term we refer to the research techniques for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

Journalist: By this term we refer to a person, whose primary occupation is the gathering, writing and editing of materials which consist largely of the reporting

or interpretation of current events. Anybody who deals with the dissemination of news or information on a large scale is a journalist.

Fourth Estate of the Realm: By this term we refer to the newspaper press. The term goes back to the early days of the British Parliament, with its three estates of man; Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and 'Commons'. The gallery in which the reporters sit has become a fourth estate of the "realm" wrote Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay.

Editorial: By this term we refer to an essay or article on the editorial page usually without a byline, that expresses the opinion of the editor, the newspaper, or editorial writer on an issue or event that is often controversial.

Mast Head: This is a box or table, usually on the editorial, listing top editors and offering other information about the paper: name of the paper, running across the top of page 1, is the nameplate or flag.

Bias: This concept is used in this paper to explain the tendency of the newspapers to lean in favour of or towards a particular government, group, political party-or against them - by giving more or less coverage, in terms of quantity of stories, the majority of which occupy prominent positions in the papers and/or favourable or unfavourable to the particular political party, candidate, government or ethnic groups.

Ownership: The Advance Learners Dictionary of Current English defines ownership as state of being an owner, right of possessing and an owner is a person who owns something or has a property.

Favourable Story: Any story about a political party directed to any audience to get votes, or story in defense of a party's policy or any story reporting about a member leaving party A to join party B (decamping), is entered under party B as a favourable story. Stories pointing to the success, progress, orderliness in a party depicting the programmes of such a party as being desirable are also favourable. Favourable stories in general reported cases of progress in the parties' campaigns strategies. Favourable stories showed the parties and their candidates in good light.

Unfavourable Story: In this paper, these are stories depicting any of the parties as irresponsible, or pointing to weakness in ideology, leadership, e.t.c. and reporting that many have decamped from such parties. An unfavourable story also refers to any derogatory article about a party or its candidate. Unfavourable stories in general reported issues like crises in the party, people

decamping from the party, and also decried low and disheartening campaign tactics of political parties. In short, unfavourable stories showed the parties and candidates in a bad light.

Neutral Story: Any story which has no particular inclinations as to whether it is favourable or unfavourable. Any item that is devoid of appeal for votes is a neutral story; for example, a story reporting about the plan of a political party to embark on a campaign tour. Neutral stories portrayed information about parties, candidates, issues and events covered without the occurrence of positive or negative references.

Prominence: In this paper, this refers to the placement of the story in the newspaper.

Special Stories: These are stories which appeared in the regular columns such as: 'Candido', as I see it in the New Nigerian; 'Political Round-Up' as in The Daily Times. Articles written by the columnists who write regularly for the newspapers as well as special interviews with the candidates are considered special stories.

The Importance of Communication by the Mass Media

Communication, as the art of transmitting information, ideas and attitudes from one person to another, provides the very fabric with which our lives are ordered, and if it were suddenly to cease, civilization as we know it would collapse.

For, in our evolution, we have gone beyond the bare physical requirements of food and shelter: we need, in addition, to communicate with our fellows, which is a necessity for survival of our species. It is no wonder, therefore, that modern men have built intricate, many-faceted machinery to deliver their messages which are becoming more and more fantastic in their ability to break the physical barriers of our world: such machinery includes radio, television, hi-fi stereo and other recording and reproduction equipment, newspapers, books, telephones, tele-printers, and the most complicated cameras on space vehicles as well as computers, all recording, interpreting, and transmitting multitudes of information which are influencing, inspiring, convincing but also confusing, deceiving, frightening and entertaining us and bending time and space to our will. Society is a form of communication, through which experience is described, shared, modified and preserved. As Wilbur Schramm (1954) put it. "Communication is always a part of something. It represents a relationship not

only between individuals, but also between relationships. It is the web that binds society together”.

The importance of Communication has been recognized from time immemorial. Communication is basic to all human processes and without it, human beings cannot perform organized group processes that help coordinate their activities in society and eventual interdependence of lives. Communication — the exchange of information and the transmission of meaning is the very essence of a social, economic, or political system.

Studies abound suggesting that communication is so essential in society that man cannot exist as a social entity without it. (Berlo, (1960); Pye, (1963); Deutsch, (1966); Carter, (1971); Mueller (1973); Seymour-Ure, (1974); Chaffee, (1975); Williams, (1976); Ninmo, (1978); Eyre, (1979); Duyile, (1979); Graber, (1980); Kamath, (1980); Unoh, (1981); Gurevitch et al, (1982) and Olayiwola, (1987, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2011, 2012, 2013), among other countless experts have written at various times to corroborate the importance of communication in the society. Also, European experts in the Sociology of Knowledge and mass society such as Marx, Tonnies, Simmel, Mannheim, Tarde, and Le Bon all asserted that society cannot exist without communication and that communication cannot exist without society.

Human beings, associations, organizations, societies and the nation-state are all built upon and held together by communications by perceptions, by decisions, by the expectations which people have for one another, by transactions and by their willingness to validate a considerable portion of the expectations by appropriate reciprocal behaviours. It is Communication, that is, the ability to transmit messages and to react to them that makes organizations; hence any thorough-analysis of political organizations or social systems must at least include a consideration of the role of communication. Communication enables a group to think together, to see together and to act together.

The Nigerian Mass Media of Communication

The importance of the Media in the development of the contemporary Nigeria nation state would be better appreciated by millions of Nigerians who witnessed the dark days of Military dictatorships headed by the duo of Generals Babangida and Abacha spanning a period of 14 years - 1985 to 1999. It was a traumatic period in the annals of Nigeria's political history. (Akintola, A.N.D.).

The Nigerian Media played crucial roles in easing out the colonialists from the reign of power in 1960. The media especially the print, pioneered by such

eminent Nationalists like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Herbert Macauley, Anthony Enahoro, Samuel Ladoke Akintola among others established firmly the press as a heritage vanguard in the promotion of human rights, human dignity, freedom of expression and self determination. That was a glorious period when Publishers irrespective of their tribes, religions and race of the operators of same rose up as one battalion to fight the monster of colonialism and all the attendant evils associated with it. The Nigerian Mass Media also assisted in fighting imperialism in all its types – political, economic, cultural, communication and military, to mention just a few among a host of others.

At independence, the focus shifted to such areas as entertainment, education and information. In other words, the Nigeria media rightly turned attention to the education of the citizenry as well as informing them about the government activities. The misdeed, excesses and inadequacies of the Nigerian political elites were adequately x-rayed with the result that Nigerians witnessed true democracy. Unfortunately, this patriotic posture of the media was misinterpreted as rabid opposition by the Nigerian political elites.

The Nigeria Press operates within the prevailing Nigerian society which is largely illiterate and gullible. So each time a Nigerian political elite runs foul of normal norms, good behaviour, good reputation and character, and if the Nigerian press scoops on same, she/he plays the ethnic card. Hence such phrases like Lagos/Ibadan axis press; Lagos Press, Ngbati Press and south west press crept into the political elite's consciousness. Never has it been in the character of Nigerian political elites to take criticism in good faith.

The above submission should not be seen as a blanket credit to the Nigerian media vis-a-vis their roles and importance in nation building but an objective appraisal of prevailing Nigerian situation where journalists work without secure tenure of office, adequate remuneration and conducive atmosphere dominated by half baked democrats and gun totting politicians with dark goggles and where media practitioners are kidnapped, assaulted, insulted and/or even killed. There are also, issues of ownership and control of the mass media, "who papers the piper, dictates the tune", freedom of the press or lack of it, ethnicity, religion, economic factors, the political system, social factors, infrastructures, transportation, circulation, accommodation, medication, remuneration, working tools, security, etc.

Between 1985 and 1999, the Nigerian media more than any other institutions in this country put everything they had on the line for the survival of this country

and enthronement of democracy. But for the Nigerian Press, Babangida would not have stepped aside in 1993 as the politicians including those in the winning party compromised their victory and reputation for ministerial appointments and other perquisites/ pecks of offices. The Nigerian media sustained June 12 issue, when Chief Abiola won the Presidential Elections, but Military Dictator, Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida annulled the election. The media did this more than any other body or organization. All other professional bodies were conquered and became prisoners of war. For example the 1992 Port-Harcourt conference of the Nigerian Bar Association saw to the demise of a one time vibrant professional body. No thanks to the acceptance of ₦10m "settlement" on sorry donation from the master settler himself; the Nigerian Medical Association was certified dead and buried; the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) became polarized as a result of political appointments thrown at many of its members; the ICAN members became complacent as a result of the boom in the banking sector when all you needed then to own a bank was a paltry sum of ₦250,000.00 and a room apartment. The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) then under Bafyau was a sorry case.

When all hopes seemed lost, the media rose to the occasion carrying along very few people in the pro-democracy movements and the rewards, of course, were detentions, imprisonments, physical disappearances and inhuman treatments. When in 1993 the Interim National Government (ING) was terminated, the Nigerian political class was back in its game of deceit. Many hitherto highly respected politicians abandoned good reasoning and teamed up with the dark goggled General who used them to gain temporary credibility and later dumped them. Again the Nigerian media were unyielding. They fought the monsters Generals Abacha and Babangida till their demise, made the country ungovernable for them and indeed mirrored the suffering of the Nigerian masses, under the Jack boot of military dictators.

The history of the Nigerian press is one of active involvement in the political process. During the colonial period, the press served as a medium of sustained public debate and political protest, an uncompromising advocate of administrative and political reforms, and a seething critic of the excesses of the colonial order. By its political activities, the press not only stimulated the emergence of nationalist movements but also played a prominent role in the constitutional development of modern Nigeria. In fact, the press was among the major weapons used by the nationalist leadership to gain and consolidate political power and governmental control. (Bamiduro, S. 1985).

Similarly, the press served, throughout the life-span of the First Republic, as an important and indispensable medium of political communication between and among the various political parties and governments. In this respect, the press reflected the diversity of thoughts and feelings as well as created and mirrored public opinion on many fundamental political issues of the time.

“Nigeria's vibrant media played an influential role in the struggles over democratization and a reformed polity in these years. Defying censorship laws, closure of media houses, detention and abduction of journalists and the mysterious disappearance of key opposition figures, a section of the media, drawing on a protest motif dating back to the colonial days, carries the struggle against the monumentally corrupt military class to a new pitch” (Olukotun, A., 2002).

Olukotun also notes that:

“Sustained security siege on the opposition media and the outright closure and proscription of newspapers, forced a section of the media to develop an underground strategy to stay in business and to struggle against the dictatorship. This was a notable departure in state-media relations and involved a hit and run operative style, in which journalists operating from hideouts continued to publish critical journals in defiance of the state.”

Media and Security

For decades, the term national security has meant-by and large-military security. This meaning has increasingly been called into question (Romm, J. 1993). The question of national security is not merely a question of the Army and Navy. We have to take into account our whole potential for war, our mines, industry, manpower, research, and all the activities that go into the normal civilian life.

An eminent Political Scientist Arnold Wolfers in his 1962 essay “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol”, wrote of the phrases “national security” and “national interest”,

“They may not mean the same things to different people. They may not have any precise meaning at all. Thus, while appearing to offer guidance and a basis of broad consensus they may be permitting

everyone to label whatever policy he favors with an attractive and possibly deceptive name" (Wolfers, A. 1962).

In part, this ambiguity came from the inherent subjectivity in determining the threats to any nation's security. More recently, the British Scholar Barry Buzan has argued that another reason national security remains a "weakly conceptualized, ambiguously defined, but politically powerful concept" is that "for the practitioners of state policy, compelling reasons exist for maintaining its symbolic ambiguity...An undefined notion of national security offers scope for power-maximizing strategies of political and military elites, because of the considerable leverage over domestic affairs which can be obtained by invoking it. (Buzan, B., 1976).

Walter Lippmann (1943) says:

"A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war."

Arnold Wolfers (1962) says:

"Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."

The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968) describes it as:

"The ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats."

Amos Jordan and William Taylor (1981) define it thus:

"National security, however, has a more extensive meaning than protection from physical harm; it also implies protection, through a variety of means, of vital economic and political interests, the loss of which could threaten fundamental values and the vitality of the state."

Charles Maier (1990) says:

"National security ...is best defined as the capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well-being".

It is now widely acknowledged that without a safe and secure environment, there can be neither sustainable, poverty reducing economic and social development nor political development. Therefore, the mass media need to cover all the aspects of security mentioned above in their reportage and coverage.

In the same vein, there are other key issues relating to sound security coverage that the media need to be aware of. They include the following:

- (1) Security as a public good;
- (2) Comprehensive approach to security sector transformation;
- (3) Coherent external interventions;
- (4) Commitment of national leadership to a reform process;
- (5) Local ownership and capacity;
- (6) Confidence building measures; and
- (7) Importance of a long-term perspective, to mention just a few.

Also to be covered are security sector and security community. The totality of the actors that affect the security of the state and its population constitutes the "security community". The official actors within the security community comprise the "security sector".

Security sector can be divided into 3 main groupings:

1. Organizations authorized to use force;
2. Civil management and oversight bodies;
3. Justice and law enforcement institutions.

Non-statutory security force institutions and non-statutory civil society bodies are non-statutory groups of actors that affect the ability of the state to create a safe and secure environment and thus they are part of the security community.

1. Organizations authorized to use force- armed forces; police, paramilitary forces; gendarmeries; intelligence services (including both military and civilian agencies); secret services; coast guards; border guards; customs authorities; reserve or local security units (civil defense forces, national guards, presidential guards, militias, etc.).
2. Civil management and oversight bodies- the President, Prime ministers; national security advisory bodies; legislature and legislative select committees, ministries of defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs; customary and traditional authorities, financial management bodies

(finance ministries, budget offices, financial audit and planning units); and statutory civil society organizations (civilian review boards and public complaints commissions).

3. Justice and law enforcement institutions- judiciary; justice ministries; prisons; criminal investigation and prosecution services; human rights commissions and ombudsmen; correctional services; customary and traditional justice systems.
4. Non-statutory security force institutions-liberation armies, guerrilla armies, traditional militias, political party militias, private security companies.
5. Non-statutory civil society bodies such as professional organizations, including trade unions; research/policy analysis organizations; advocacy organizations; the media and religious organizations; non-government organizations, concerned with public matters and insecurity.

Regionalization and Globalization of Insecurity

The media also need to cover and report aspects of regionalization and globalization of insecurity. Insecurity has been shaped by the following:

1. First, insecurity is sustained by global flows of resources and weapons.
2. Second, global geopolitics and the interests of major powers and international corporations continue to have a shaping influence.
3. Third, the theory and practice of international humanitarianism and 'humanitarian intervention' in peripheral conflicts, are a defining feature of globalization of insecurity.
4. Fourth, the regionalization of insecurity causes them to spill across national boundaries and create expanding regional conflict complexes.
5. Finally, there are the dense and complex informal global networks that sustain conflicts and insecurity; 'terrorists' holy warriors, mafias, illicit arms suppliers, etcetera.

Media coverage and reportage of security sector transformation must be set within this broader international picture. Since conflict and insecurity themselves have been regionalized and globalised, regional and global collective

security mechanisms being strengthened to counteract them should be covered and reported as well.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper on Media and Security has examined the role of Mass Media of communication in the coverage and reportage of security matters in particular and in informing, educating, enlightening and entertaining the populace on societal issues in general. The paper interrogated the extent to which mass media practitioners have adhered to the professional journalistic ethics of objectivity, impartiality and balancing in such matters and also x-rayed multitude of factors impeding the media institutions in effective communicative crusades, such as ownership, and control of the media, politicization, commercialization, ethnicity, religion, economic and legal factors, freedom or lack of it, linguistic and literacy factors, among a host of other factors. Media of Communication in Nigeria operate in the Nigerian State. Therefore, to advance any scholarly discussion of the Nigerian media, it is paramount to situate the discourse within the specificity of the Nigerian States and society.

The paper recommends, among a host of other recommendations that the Mass Media of Communication need to be socially, politically, economically, nationally and internationally responsible in the way they carry news stories about security in particular and the Nigerian Society in general. It also recommends that the media should take cognizance of the fact that security is not just about the Army, the Navy, the Air force, the Police, the Customs, the Immigration etc but also take into account the whole country's socio-politico-economic systems, researches and all activities that go into normal civilian life.

Finally, the Mass Media should also cover the totality of security sector and security community, non-statutory security institutions and civil societies, as well as the internal and international processes that are germane to security and insecurity issues including the major aspects of regionalization and globalization of insecurity.

The following additional recommendations are made:

1. The mass media especially Newspapers, Radio and Television broadcasting in Nigeria should be used to enhance and sustain the security of the nation. Areas of broadcasting that involve national security matters should be delineated from those that do not.

2. The mass media should never be used as divisive instruments among the people of Nigeria but rather should be used for the promotion and consolidation of national unity and integration.
3. There is a need to integrate "Oramedia"- town crier system, folk theatre, traditional murals, and media village squares, market places etc. with modern media and employ them systematically for rural and urban security as well as for rural development projects and national development.
4. The present concentration of mass media in the urban areas and the focus on security matters in one part of the country should be de-emphasized. Also, attention should not be limited to Presidents, Governors, Ministers, Commissioners, National and State Legislators, Local Government and Party Chairmen in the coverage of news and reportage. Rural activities deserve equally adequate coverage and reportage. This is enjoined in the Constitution. After all, source for the goose is source for the gander. Rural mass media should also be encouraged. Also, radio broadcasting should satisfy the needs of external audiences in accordance with Nigeria's foreign policy and national interest.
5. There is a need for the establishment of TV viewership and Radio listenership centers in rural areas and the development of community based broadcast media should be encouraged (especially the establishment of radio); since the electronic media remains the most potent means of mass mobilization and socialization/education in any society today.
6. Local language media should be developed and also the utilization of local indigenous languages should be encouraged in media communication and information dissemination. After all, there is a Nigeria French Language Village in Badagry, Lagos and Arabic Language Village in Northern Nigeria.

When attention is focused specifically on the peculiar problems of information dissemination through Nigerian languages, a number of inter-related questions readily come to mind:

1. How many are recognized Nigerian languages?
2. How many of these languages are widely-spoken?
3. How many are written and how many have standard orthographies?

4. How many have systematically developed meta-language and specialized vocabularies for effective information dissemination in various fields of human activity?
5. How many have dictionaries, encyclopedia and other reference sources that are suitable for information dissemination at various levels?
6. How many are taught at the primary, secondary and tertiary educational levels?
7. If they are being taught at all, how effectively, and with what instructional materials? (Unoh, S. (ed.) 1987).

It seems clear, that Nigerian languages, like other languages of the world, are potentially effective media for information dissemination, both orally and in writing, and that they can be effective in a variety of communication settings, such as, interpersonal, group, intercultural (or inter-ethnic), religious, political mass communication and security settings, provided the conditions are basically conducive to effective communication. The conditions required are, in effect, that the issues should be simple, non-technical and non-scientific; and that there should be no mismatch of speaker or writer and the audience, in terms, for example, of using a Nigerian language that is not mutually-understood by both parties. It is also clear that, in their present state of development, Nigerian languages (including the three major ones: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) are incapable of being used effectively for information dissemination, in the various communication settings whenever the issues are complex, technical, and scientific.

Among the numerous reasons for this unhappy state of affairs, the following deserve special emphasis: The absence of a dynamic, purposeful and result-oriented national language policy; inadequate and ineffective teaching of Nigerian languages (including, the major ones that have been entrenched in the nation's constitution); the obviously low literacy rate in Nigerian languages, even among educated native speakers of those languages; the absence of standardized and generally-accepted orthographies in a large majority of the local languages; the observed tendency for most Nigerian languages to exist only as oral, and not as written, languages; our failure to develop specialized vocabularies, technical and scientific terms, and certain concepts that will meet the needs of information disseminators in our technologically developing nation; our failure to develop appropriate reading texts, instructional materials, as well as literary and other materials for effective mastery and usage of Nigerian languages in a variety of contexts and situations; and our failure to produce

appropriate dictionaries, encyclopedias and other reference materials, for various age groups and educational levels.

Additional factors include:

The multi-ethnic character of our nation/together with the consequential co-existence of numerous mutually-competing, mutually-underdeveloped and mutually-disabled languages; and the clear dominance of English in Nigeria, based on its status as a well-developed second language, as the official language of government and politics, as the language for formal education (particularly at post-primary and higher levels of education) and as the language for effective communication and information dissemination; both orally and in writing, among Nigeria's educated elite.

The cumulative effect of these interdependent factors, coupled with the apparent apathy and indifference of Nigerians towards the study of local (or indigenous) languages, seem to have created a situation in which educated Nigerian nationals have come to see English language as the only possible and effective medium of information dissemination, in practically all sophisticated and intellectualized communication settings.

8. There is a need to work out a special salary structure for the mass media practitioners because of the serious risks and dangers associated with the journalism profession. After all, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Non-Academic Staff Union of Universities (NASU); Senior Staff Association of Universities (SANU) among a host of other professional bodies have special salary structures and conditions of service. Insurance must also be made compulsory to be provided for media practitioners by their institutions owners.
9. The mass media need to be socially responsible and developmental in their coverage and reportage.

Social responsibility involves:

- a) Servicing the political system by providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs.
- b) Enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government.
- c) Safe guarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government.

- d) Servicing the economic system primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising.
- e) Providing entertainment.
- f) Maintaining its own self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressure of special interests.

These elements represent an expansion of the functional model propounded by Harold Lasswell in 1948. Lasswell had argued that the functions of the press in any society or country are surveillance of the environment, correlation of the components of society in responding to the environment, and the transmission of the social heritage. (Nwosu, I. undated).

There is a link between the Social Responsibility Theory and the Development Journalism Perspective. The Development Journalism Perspective says that for any media to be useful or relevant, it must identify with and contribute to the socio-economic development of the society in which it operates. The press according to this model is supposed to be a partner with government and other social forces in achieving national development objectives. (Iyare, T. 2004).

It is hoped that if the issues raised and recommendations suggested are addressed, the mass media will be able to perform effectively the functions, role and obligations required of them by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) and the security, national unity and integration of Nigeria will be guaranteed.

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