



COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF MEDIA COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS IN NIGERIA AND VIETNAM

***ABATI MOBOLAJI OLUWASEUN, PhD; & **KAREEM GANIY AJIBOLA**

*Dept. of Mass Communication, Federal Polytechnic, Ilaro, Ogun, State.

***University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos State*

Abstract

The role of mass media in the society generally, has helped in keeping the people informed and educated. It also helps in making government accountable for its actions through the watch-dog functions. This paper examines the nature, operations and stakeholders of the media systems in Nigeria and Vietnam, from their political, socio-cultural and economic background. It also looked into media ownership, economic influence, mode of funding and the effect of media systems in the two countries. The paper hinges its framework on the provisions of the Libertarian and Authoritarian theories of the press. Findings from the study showed that Vietnam is gradually opening up its media space due to the effects of globalization, while Nigeria is strengthening its media sector with the passing of the freedom of information act. The study is descriptive in nature, using secondary data for information collection.

Keywords: *Comparative Analysis, Media, Communication Systems, Libertarianism, Communism.*

Introduction

Every country in the world has its own media system as it may deem fit. However, the system of government in operation in a country determines the media systems to be put in place. Depending on the way it is adopted or operated, a national communication system is a product of media policy which refers to the norms and institutions that administer or manage the rights and obligations of media ethics, advertising standards and generally by (usually) self-regulating the relationship of the media with their policies (Dayo Alao, 2012).

Nnameka (1989, p3) cited in Oguchi Uworm and Dayo Alao (2013), stated the purpose of a national communication policy as using the mass media to achieve

accelerated growth and transformation in the society, in different spheres and at different levels of national life. Lasswell (1948), established the three roles being performed by the media in the modern society to include: Surveillance of the environment, correlation of the parts of the society in responding to the environment and transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to another.

However, to discharge these functions effectively means, there must be a conducive environment occasioned by the existence of democracy. Abraham Lincoln defined Democracy as “government of the people, by the people and for the people.” This implies that from the people to the government, it must be all participatory without fear or favour. With the issue of globalization at hand, the world is now a village (Mcluhan, 1976).

Therefore, a national media system must lay emphasis on the culture, norms and values geared towards sustainable development as in today’s world, it is influenced by globalization (Ojo, Akinreti, Odegbenle, and Jegede, 2013). The masses must receive information in order to allow for any positive development to thrive. According to Adekoya and Ajilore (2012), the development of a nation is hinged mainly on human resources to drive it. Therefore, it is expected that a society stands a better advantage towards development if its resources are well harnessed with proper information alongside human resources.

Justification

Nigeria is a country in West Africa and was colonized by the British. Vietnam is a country in Asia and was colonized by French, Conquered by Chinese and ruled by Japan. Both Nigeria and Vietnam have gone through civil wars respectively before now. While Nigeria runs a democratic system of government, Vietnam operates Communism. Democracy is a form of government that is all encompassing, while communism is strict and under the total control of the ruling communist party. Therefore, the systems of government by the two countries considered for this study are different in nature.

Methodology

The paper adopts descriptive method, using secondary sources to include Newspaper, libraries, and online media among others to gather relevant information to buttress its points. The approach is useful considering the locations of the two countries which are poles apart.

Theoretical Framework

Authoritarian and Libertarian theories of the press, were examined by the study. As stated, authoritarian theory posits that the state is supreme over all situations, thereby making the press a victim of subordination to the state power and the ruling class (). With the use of repressive laws, censorship, heavy taxation, indefinite closure, control of newsprints and suspension of publications, mass media are put under total “checks” and “control”. The doctrines of authoritarian among others place heavy burden on the freedom of the people. One sector that is mostly affected is the press freedom. Ownership and management of the communication system is the sole responsibility of the government under the practice of communism.

Meanwhile, in the other theory of the press, Daramola (2003), described Libertarian theory of the press as a free market of ideas and free publication without censorship. The theory posits that an individual or entity should be free to publish and express opinions freely without any primitive measures. It is the opposite of the authoritarian as it places individuals above the state and admonishes that the media be seen as partner with government in search of truth, rather than being a tool in the hands of the government. Under this theory, the Lasswellian functions of the press are given adequate priority most especially, to the benefits of the public. In spite of the position of this theory, media regulation is allowed but absoluteness is forbidden in the area of regulations and formation of communication policies by the government.

Media Policies in Nigeria and Vietnam

The media ownership and control of any particular nation depends solely on the communication policy of that particular state. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the media policies of both Nigeria and Vietnam shall be examined.

The Vietnam Overview

Vietnam is a communist country located in the Southeast Asia, with 90.5 million population. It is heavily influenced by China and are considered to be a collectivist country due to their traditional values (academic.depauw.edu). Vietnam was ruled by the Chinese and the French. It equally survived a civil war (Vietnam War) like Nigeria. The official language of Vietnam is “Vietnamese”, while there are other native languages such as Tay, Tai, Muong, Cham, Khmer, Nung, Chinese,

H'mong, English and others. While Folk, Bhuddism Caodaism Hoahaoism, Christianity are some of the religions practiced in Vietnam. It is bordered by China in the north, Cambodia and Laos in the west, part of Thailand to the southwest, while Phillipines, Malaysia, Indonesia and the South China Sea to the east and southeast. Vietnam capital since the unification of North and South Vietnam is Hanoi (Wikipedia.org).

In Vietnam, communication policies since 1980s have shown a curious dualism in their treatment of the mass communications and telecommunications sector. According to Laurel (1993), the mass media experienced limited freedoms from state controls for only a short period as well as massive retrenchment by Vietnamese communist party. Censorship is pervasive and implemented by the communist party of Vietnam in relations to all kinds of media. In 2018, reporters without borders (RWB), an international non-profit, non-governmental organization that conducts political advocacy on issues relating to freedom of information and freedom of the press (rsf.org) ranked Vietnam 175 out of 180. While "freedom House's" 2017 freedom on the Net report classifies Vietnam as "Net" free in relation to the internet, with great obstacles to access, limits on content and violation of user right.

The 2013 constitution of Vietnam is the fundamental and supreme law of the country which has a wide range of civil and political rights enshrined within it such as Article 25 which states the principles of freedom of opinion and speech, freedom of the press, of access to information, to assemble, from association and hold demonstrations. But despite the above provisions in the constitution, the exercise of these freedoms in practice is constrained by censorship in many areas (Wikipedia). For instance, human rights, corruption by top communists party leaders, political dissidents are forbidden topics and are censored by the communist party through the physical intimidation, imprisonment, cyber-attacks and destruction of materials.

The Print Media

Being a communist state, media ownership solely is in the hands of the communist party. The print media is strictly regulated by the Vietnamese government as they expect all media to disseminate party doctrines in an effort to educate the population in addition to swaying international perceptions of Vietnam. The print media in Vietnam include Newspaper, published both in local

and foreign in languages, periodicals and those published electronically (www.pressreference.com,2009.)

In order to further regulate the operations of the media and to tilt its operations towards the ruling party, some stringent controls were put in place in Vietnam. Some of the major guidelines for print media are:

1. To gather and disseminate information that do not put the reputation of the communist party into disrepute.
2. For the promotion of activities and programmes of the ruling communist party at all times.
3. To allow for reading culture among the citizens of Vietnam and also work within the frame of censorship.
4. Accurate printing of public opinions of Vietnam policies.

The Broadcast Media

The broadcast media constitutes the Radio and Television just like any every other part of the world. They operate within the following guidelines.

- To broadcast internally and internationally by promoting minority dialects.
- Ensure dissemination of accurate public opinions of Vietnam policies.
- Promotion of Vietnam culture through the use of imagery and language that promotes national and Asian cultural heritage.
- Devotion of larger percentage of time to publicize the activities of the ruling communist party from time to time.
- Defense of the ruling party's policies and activities through production or organizing programmes in that regard.

The Environment

As a communist state, individuals or organizations does not have absolute right or freedom to operate. Journalists are prone to many attacks and punishments even in the course of doing their jobs as journalists in a professional way. Vietnamese authorities often order the detention of reporters who disobey state rules by printing or disseminating anti-communist, pro-reform and human right materials or contents which the government views as reactionary (pressfess.com,2019). Journalists are exposed to incessant arrest and jailed without trials. Investigative reporting is a sin and totally forbidden in Vietnamese as well as writing of articles or online publications that is critical of Vietnamese government.

The Media Policy in Nigeria

Nigeria was colonized by the British and got her independence in October, 1960. It is a country that is situated on the West Coast of Africa with over one hundred spoken dialects across the thirty states and Abuja, the federal capital territory (). Her official language is English, while three other major languages, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are well spoken geographically. The population of Nigeria is put at 199,267,067 (Census, 2006). Historically, the history of the press cannot be separated from Nigeria as the first newspaper in Nigeria, Iwe Irohin was established in 1859 at Abeokuta by the Church Missionary Society of Nigeria (CMS), through Henry Townsend. The existence of Iwe Irohin later gave birth to other newspapers in other regions of the country through the government and individual efforts.

The media in Nigeria comprise of Print and Broadcast. However, with the new trend of globalization, online media is equally in operation in Nigeria. Chief Obafemi Awolowo established the first broadcast station in Nigeria, the Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) mainly to cater for the education needs of the people and for political reasons in the western regions. The existence of this television station equally led to the establishment of broadcast stations in both the east and Northern parts of Nigeria as at that time. These stations were under the control of their founders who were the regional governors, whose main aim was for political purposes. The Federal government later broke the monopoly of the regional ownership by setting up the Nigerian television (NTV) as a national broadcaster, while in August, 1992, a wind of deregulation blew to give rise to the establishment of private stations (Radio and Television) through the promulgation of Decree No. 38 of 1992.

What is known today as the National communication policy was first produced as a draft in 1987 at the Administrative staff college of Nigeria, Badagry (Ojo, 2016), imperative of a new Nigeria, National Communication Policy) (www.Punch.com). In 1990, the policy effectively came into operation having previously deliberated upon by media scholars and stakeholders at the Badagry meeting. Though, the Nigeria National communication policy was described as being too governmental and heavily ministerial (Iredia, 1987) for leaving out the private media. With the existence of the private media since 1990, the area seems to have been addressed.

Oguchi and Alao (2013) stated that the foundation of the Nigerian National communication policy is type constitution (as at 1979); subsequently, the

constitution was reviewed in 1999 to give the basis for the national communication policy in Nigeria.

Objectives of the National Mass Communication Policy as contained in the 1979 document at Badagry seminar as stated by Ogwuchi and Dayo are summarized below:

1. To promote Nigerian culture as the basis of creative expression and relevance in media, arts and sciences.
2. To serve as a source of education, leisure, entertainment and a means of advancing the peculiarities of our nationhood while contributing to human thoughts and civilization as well as cultural transformation
3. To encourage the production and exportation of local films and videos.
4. To facilitate the advancement of national unity, social co-existence, education, science and technology and the peaceful resolution of social problems and conflicts.
5. To serve as a means of developing arts, culture film/video as platforms and instruments of national integration. International image-building, the enhancement of Nigeria's leadership role in Africa and its commitment to the advancement of democracy.

In reviewing the policy, a core working group was set up in November, 2004 that stated various objectives (Umon and Alao, 2013).

The Nigeria overview (Print Media).

It has been established that all over the world, there is no absolute democracy. (Adekoya, 2019) Every democracy has its variants depending on the class of rulers as well as customs and tradition of the people. In Nigeria, the media have suffered so much in the past, most especially during the military era. Just like what was earlier obtained in the iron cutting Vietnam, repressive laws were promulgated to arrest and jailed journalists. Closure of media houses, seizure of newsprints as well as killing of journalists were the order of the day. Even with her return to democracy, some journalists were arrested for publishing information deemed to be of public interest, but were later prosecuted for disclosing security information under what is termed "National interest".

However, in the overall and coupled with the constitutional provisions, there other agencies that checkmate the activities of the press in Nigeria, The National Broadcasting Commission monitors contents on electronic media, while the

Nigeria Press council oversees the activities of journalism. While bodies like APCON, NIPR, OOAN and NUJ ensure practitioners maintain ethical standards all the time. With the passing of Freedom of Information bill into law, information gathering was thought to be on an easy way. However, reverse seems to be the case. This is because, public servants have continued to keep necessary information from journalists for fear of losing their jobs. Although, the environment is friendly to a large extent with the establishment of new private media stations and in addition to the increase in institutions running Mass communication programmes.

The focus of this work is mainly on the print and broadcast media of mass communication from the Nigerian National Communication policy which has many parts. There are several newspapers and magazines in Nigeria. While some are owned by the government, majority are owned privately or individuals. In the early days of Nigeria as a nation, "Daily Times" was owned by the government, so also were other newspapers such as Daily Sketch, the Tide (Rivers State Government) among others. Newspapers owned by the private or individuals includes: The Punch, Nigerian Tribune, Daily Champion, Daily Post, Daily Trust, Guardian, Vanguard, The Nation, The Minor, Pm News and the rest. Online print media is prevalent in Nigeria as almost all the Newspapers have online blogs where news are disseminated.

In addition, there are popular online news media that are privately operated by individuals. They include: Premium Times, Public Times, Sahara Reporters, Linda Ikeji.com, Incline Times, The Encounter and Platform Times among others operating on media landscape in Nigeria with more freedom and without fears.

The print media just like the broadcast media operated in Nigeria in accordance with the constitutional provision as stated in section 39(1) of 1999 constitution. *"Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information's without hindrance."*

Ownership of Print Media

The Nigerian National communication policy adopted plurality of ownership, hereby allowing both the rich and the poor to own the media as well as government and private sector. This is to checkmate the monopoly sectoral concentration of media resources into the hands of few rich and nobles which may prevent the free flow of the press.

Funding of Print Media

Media Funding is as essential as reading of the contents. Many organizations without adequate funding risks the danger of extinction as many have gone down the drain. At the 2004 review of the document, it was stated that “the print media industry shall be provided with incentives such as single Digit import and exercise duties on equipment’s, newsprint, ink and other production inputs of the industry as well as a waiver of the Value Added Tax (VAT) on the cover prices of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals.

Electronic Media

Electronic Media are radio, television, cinematography and film. These type of media are referred to as the cheapest means of communication. Radio and also the best means of expressing information to the audience through the use of audio and visual (TV). From the 2004 reviewed document, the following objectives were stated for the broadcasting media in Nigeria.

1. It must be made available and affordable for Nigerians.
2. To be used for promoting Nigeria’s culture and values.
3. Promotion of professional ethics among practitioners.
4. Enhancement of national capacity for producing high quality indigenous broadcast programmes.
5. Projection of Nigeria’s domestic and foreign policies internationally in order to attract goodwill, development and inflow of investment in the country.

Advertising and Public Relations

The role of advertising in the economic development by a nation cannot be over emphasized. The 2004 review also placed some guidelines for the operation of advertising and public relations. It stated that all advertisement must be honest, truthful, decent, legal and culturally acceptable in accordance with the code of advertising practice. It must not contain misleading statements about the product or services advertised and must reflect the country’s cultural heritage and values as well as being produced by well-trained professionals. In addition, it must be regulated or controlled by statutes which recognize the supremacy of APCON according to Act 55 of 1988. (Umon and Alao, 2013 in www.nigeriancommunityradio.org/mascompolicy.pg5.php)

On Public Relations, the Review States that:

1. PR must be effectively used to create a positive perception of the tangible benefits derivable from the sustenance of democracy.
2. Utilized for effective promotions of Nigeria to the world.
3. Used to facilitate governments communication with its stakeholders in order to involve them in its decision making process.
4. Employed in creating awareness of governments vision and mission.
5. Utilized by government in the prevention and management of crises and used for periodic conduct of perception audit by government to keep track of potential explosive issues and how they can be managed before they degenerate into crises.

Comparison between Nigerian Media System and Vietnam Media Policy

The Nigerian media policy states categorically what constitutes the mass media and also their objectives. Whereas, Vietnamese media do not really have any media policy except the constitutional provision. Presently, there's no single document in Nigeria that can be referred to as the "National Communication Policy" as they are scattered about in bits and pieces. The only one being referred to as the communication policy was the draft that emerged at Badagry in 1987 and reviewed in 2004 (Vanguard.com).

Media Ownership

Media ownership of two countries are two ways apart. While Nigeria operates a pluralist system, whereby both the government and the people own media, the same cannot be said of Vietnam. Government own and control all media in Vietnam and its contents are geared towards promoting the activities of government positively. In Nigeria, most newspaper, radio and even television are owned by private individuals. Agitations have been on for community media in Nigeria as the communication policy failed to address what is known as community broadcasters just like we have the emergence of few in print media.

Funding

Funding is the essential backbone of the media. Funding of media in Nigeria rests solely on the ownership as well as monies accrued from advertising and sales. Industries and organizations tend to advertise their products and services with the aim of making profits and also contribute to nation's economy. However, in Vietnam, funding of the media lies solely with the communist party. This is as a

result of the fact that, the media are tools in the hands of government. In Nigeria today, news commercialization is a veritable way of generating funds for the media. The same cannot be said of mass media in Vietnam where they are extremely censored. Private media which are mainly commercial, are established by investors who having got operating licenses from relevant agencies, procure equipment's, employ staff and fund the operation of the media. Government on the other hand in a domestic setting, employs and funds its media organizations but do not force or censor them to its activities alone as it is in the case of communist state.

Media Content

Media content of the media basically should be meant not only to inform but also to promote peoples culture and norms. To this end, both Nigeria and Vietnam ensure that adequate coverage is given to local contents especially in the broadcast of indigenous languages. In Nigeria, the broadcast of local contents is put at 60-40 in favor of indigenous languages, while in Vietnam, almost all the contents are run in local language or the other, leaving a very small percentage for foreign content. This degree of content is clearly stated in the Nigeria policy as well as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) code. Also the freedom of expression law in Vietnam equally provided same.

Economic Influence Of Media In A Nation

The influence of communication in the development of a nation cannot be under estimated. Various scholars have demonstrated in varying degrees the power the media could exercise upon individual and security. With the advent of social media, which has become a market place of ideas and creativity, product and services are sold online. This has no doubt helped in providing opportunity for start-ups to commence businesses on a small scale (Umar Danbatta, 2017, viewpoint, the cable.ng). In Nigeria for instance, companies like Jumia and Konga are online malls that are making huge patronage through their online customers. Advertising plays a major role in influencing the economic situation of a nation through its ability to provide consumers with relevant information on the needed products and services thereby helping them to increase their choice of goods and services. Deloitte (2017), in a study carried out on the economic influence or advertising states that, advertising provides employment benefits as almost six million jobs were provided for citizens of European countries. It further stated

that advertising provides social and personal benefits by funding or part funding the media services.

In addition, and not only in Nigeria but globally, without advertising, funding for all sort of media would be reduced. It implies that watching of TV would be based on subscription, radio stations and entertainment all day long, while sports and cultural events would have to look for financial support from elsewhere. Anywhere in the world, advertising is a vital economic engine that encourages competition, drives innovative in business and provides significant benefits to society by funding or part funding media services from news to entertainment (Deloitte, 2017), advertising delivers powerful economic benefits across the world.

In Nigeria, and most especially in the area of internally generated revenue (IGR), importation of sophisticated equipment from outside Nigeria means more fund for government in the area of custom duties and tax.

Effect of Globalization

Globalization according to studyguide.com is the free movement of goods, services and people across the world in a seamless and integrated manner. In order words, it could be referred to as the opening up of global economy as well as increase in trade between nations, irrespective of systems of government in operational among the countries participating. It can also mean liberalization of countries laws to welcome foreign investments into sectors that are the mainstays of its economy.

Globalization has affected so many countries of the world, especially the iron-cutting nations operating soviet Communist system of government. China, a communist state has been able to key in to the idea of globalization in order to enhance its trade relationship with the western world as well as building its economy and bilateral relations with other states of the world. Whereas, Iran, another communist state as well as North Korea have remain undaunted, keeping to the policies of communism and maintaining their iron cutting edge ideologies. Vietnam is one of the countries affected by the wind of globalization. Nguyen (2007) stated that the face of media in Vietnam is gradually changing and becoming more independent.

In the present times, newspapers are becoming financially independent and without having to rely on state's support. Unlike the past when it was all about TV stations from home, cable televisions are now within reach of almost everyone

in order for people to see happenings around the world. Today, internet operation has increased tremendously with Vietnam rated among the top ten countries with quickest Information and communication Technology (ICT) growth. (International telecommunication union, 2009). The country also passed gender equality law in 2006 thereby addressing some fundamental issues which had been overlooked in the time past. Also, with the eradication of some of these draconian laws, it has paved way for foreign incursion into their economy thereby increasing their GDP as against when it was all inclusive and all alone. Meyer et al. (2006) observed that foreign investors that establish good relationship with the local authorities find it easier to solve bureaucratic issues.

The Social Media impact

Nigeria as a free market economy allows the operation of social media without any intervention. Since the advent social media, Nigeria's economy has been improved upon as many have been employed through the sector. Advertisers too, have found social media platform as new avenues for operation thereby opening up this new trend in media practice. However, the only challenge to this is lack of control for the social media. While a communist state can yank off or screen what comes into their country or what the people see or write on the social media, the same cannot be done in a democratic setting as citizens enjoy some sorts of rights as it is established in Nigeria for instance in section 39 of 1999 constitution.

Recommendations and Conclusion

Communication play vital roles in every aspect of our lives as and most especially in shaping the society. From the information gathered, nations of the world no matter the system of government being practiced should ensure there's a well specified and agreed communication policy that defines the operations of the media. It is suggested that communication scholars and media practitioners should be actively involved in developing communication policy in every nation in order to have meaningful contributions. Also, in order to have effective communication as well as making nations to have access to happenings in other countries of the world, communist states should relax their stringent laws being used to cripple the media. This would help to facilitate positive foreign incursions that will promote and develop the economy. It is also recommended that the imposition of heavy tax on media equipment be looked into so as to enhance more revenue generation and also to encourage more media outfits from springing up.

In conclusion, both Nigeria and Vietnam may be operating different types of political systems, it is noted that there's a kind of leverage between the two in the area of communication policy. While Nigeria operates under democracy which seems to be a free market economy, Vietnam goes the other way. However, globalization has helped in shaping the position of Vietnam as the country is now practicing what can be termed " Modern Communism". Through the media, economy of a nation can be improved while freedom of expression can be enhanced. It also helps in charting the way forward for professionals in the business. Though, there's no absolute freedom anywhere in the world, yet, the media or communication policy should be formulated in such a way that it would not stifle the activities of the media through draconic laws and conditional policies.

References

- Adekoya, H. O. and Ajilore, K. (2012). *Singaporean Journal Of business Economics, and management studies* Vol.1, No.4, 2012
- Akinreti Q. O., Odegbenle L. and Jegede, O., (2013). Comparative Study of National Communication Systems of Nigeria and China. *Journal of Research and Development*. Vol. 1. No. 4, 2013
- Alao, Dayo (2012). Lecture series- Comparative studies of National Communication Systems. Babcock Postgraduate School. Delotte, 2017
- Daramola, I (2003). Introduction to Mass Communication. (2nd ed.) Rothan Press. Lagos.
- Jide, Ojo (2013) Imperative of a new Nigeria National Communication Policy. www.punch.com/imperative-new-nigeria-national-communication.
- Lasswell, H.D. (1948) The structure and function of Communication in society, in Bryson, L. (ed) The Communication of ideas, New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Laurel B. K., (1993). Communication Development in Vietnam: The politics of Planning. *Sage journal Publications*.
- Laurel B. K., 1993. Communication Development in Vietnam: The politics of Planning. Sage Journals. www.pressreference.com,2009. pressfess.com,2019.
- Marr, David (2007). A life with Vietnam, in Nicholas Tarling(ed), *Historians and their Discipline: The call of Southeast Asian history*, Royal Asiatic Society, Selangor. Pp. 99-108.
- Nguyen, H. (2007). A glance at Public Relations Evolution in Vietnam and its Current Issue. Unpublished manuscript, Sosang University, Korea. www.studyguide.com Lasswell 1927;Field 1991, Klapper 1960; Cantul 2005
- Nigeria Community Radio. (2010). www.nigeriancommunityradio.org/mascompolicy.pg5.
- Oguchi, U and Alao, D., (2013) Analysis of Media Policies in Nigeria and Ghana. *Arabian Journal of Business Review* (OMAN Chapter) Vol. 2. No. 8
- Report of the Core Working Group on the review of the National Mass communication Policy (November, 2004). <http://nigeriacommunityradio.org/Report/working/group.pdf>
- Iredia, T., (2016) Diagnostic Review of National Communication Policies and Strategies (1987-2018). A paper presented at the NIPSS conference, Kuru, Jos. (The Punch Newspaper).
- Umar Danbatta, (2017). Viewpoint, retrieved from www.thecable.ng. www.worldometers.info