

PATTERNS AND DETERMINANTS OF ALCOHOL USE AMONG NIGERIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: AN OVERVIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Use of licit and illicit drugs among students is a growing global phenomenon. Studies from different western countries reveal that students use and misuse substances such as alcohol and tobacco more than non-students. In Nigeria, cultural restraints prevented young people from consuming alcohol in the traditional era. However, recent studies show that many now consume alcohol and other substances in harmful ways. Findings from this recent literature indicate that while some Nigerian university students use alcohol to enhance sexual performance, boost confidence and reduce stress, others use heavy episodic drinking as means of constructing social identity. Other findings reveal that a majority combine alcohol with other drugs and that anxiety, depression, injury to self and others and failing examinations are some of the alcohol-related problems among users. It can be argued that factors such as lack of policy, aggressive advertisements, brewer-sponsored promotions and sponsorship of youth-oriented programmes are some of the facilitators of students' alcohol use. The paper discusses the implications of these developments for contemporary Nigerian society and recommends that alcohol policies should be formulated and implemented.

Keywords: alcohol misuse, alcohol-related problems, determinants of alcohol use, Nigerian university students, patterns of alcohol use

INTRODUCTION

Alcohol has been used for various purposes in many human societies for over ten thousand years (Smart, 2007). In Nigeria and other parts of Africa, locally produced

alcoholic beverages date back over many centuries (Obot, 2007). Though alcohol has been used for many purposes in the communities that make up the place presently called Nigeria, drinking patterns and purposes were culturally controlled (Umunna,

1967). A consistent characteristic of the patterns was that alcohol consumption among women and youths was not popular (Odejide, Ohaeri, & Ikuesan, 1989). In contemporary Nigerian society, this group is said to be drinking alcohol as well as using other psychoactive substances harmfully (Klein, 2001). This shift has been attributed to many factors, but to date, there has been little agreement. While some say it was ignited by the oil boom of the 1970s that led to the proliferation of breweries (Hathaway, 1997), some argue it was due to the effects of modernisation or globalization (Ikuesan, 1994) while a few others (especially recent studies) blame all the foregoing, in addition to the influence of the media, advertising, sophisticated marketing and lack of alcohol policy (Dumbili, 2013a; Jernigan & Obot, 2006; Obot, 2007; Odejide et al., 1989).

Though there is a 61.7% abstention from alcohol consumption among Nigerians due to socio-religious factors (World Health Organization, 2011), studies have revealed that high episodic consumption exists among those that drink alcohol. For instance, Umoh, Obot, & Obot (2012) reported that while the average per capita consumption for adults in Africa stands at 6.2 litres, Nigerian's adult per capita consumption is 12.3 litres which ranks it among the highest in Africa. This lends credence to an earlier study (Room & Selin, 2005) which ranked Nigeria second in Africa behind Uganda, but also reported equal alcohol-related problems among male and female drinkers.

Currently, one of the most serious discussions in substance use literature globally is hazardous alcohol consumption among young people, (Foxcroft, Ireland, Lister-Sharp, Lowe, & Breen, 2003), especially students (Kaynak et al., 2013; Pasch,

Perry, Stigler, & Komro, 2009; Wechsler, Lee, Hall, Wagenaar, & Lee, 2002; Wechsler & Nelson, 2008; Wemm et al., 2013; Young, Morales, McCabe, Boyd, & d'Arcy, 2005) because of this is leading to many problems amongst this group. This has been attributed to many predictors; one such is the growing culture of intoxication in western countries (Piacentini & Banister, 2009). Additionally, scholars from these western countries have argued that not only do students drink more alcohol than non-student populations (Kypri, Langley, & Stephenson, 2005; Kypri et al., 2009; Kypri, Cronin, & Wright, 2005), but that they also use other drugs. For example, Dawson, Grant, Stinson, & Chou's (2004) comparative study in the USA revealed that students drank heavier than their non-students counterparts while Caldeira, Arria, O'Grady, Vincent, & Wish (2008) reported other drug-related disorders among this group.

Though substance research generally is undeniably in its infancy in Nigeria (Dimah & Gire, 2004), a considerable number of research has been conducted focusing on Nigerian students. These studies (past and present) have produced evidence to show that Nigerian students use different psychosocial substance for diverse reasons (Adelekan, Abiodun, Obayan, Oni, & Ogunremi, 1992; Adelekan, 1989; Fatoye & Morakinyo, 2002; Ihezue, 1988a; Makanjuola, Daramola, & Obembe, 2007; Olley & Ajiteru, 2001). In spite of the growing number of research among students in the country, to date, there has been little agreement on the pattern of substance use, factors that engender substance consumption among Nigerian students, the category of students that use substances, and to my knowledge, no review article among the student population exist in Nigeria.

It is against this background that this paper fills this gap by reviewing studies conducted among Nigerian university students between January 2000 and May, 2013. Though the focus is on alcohol, it is difficult to ignore the fact that substance literature in Nigeria is replete with findings to show that the majority that use alcohol (a licit drug), also use one or more illicit substances together (Makanjuola et al., 2007 p.113). The review, therefore, will highlight the findings of these studies, discuss their implications and suggest remedial measures for contemporary Nigerian society. The article is divided into four sections. The ensuing section highlights the methods adopted in the review. This is followed by the section that synthesized the findings of identified studies and discussed their implications. This last section highlighted the factors that engender alcohol use among students and concluded by recommending some remedial measures and areas that require further research.

METHOD

The literature for this review was obtained from searches of the African Journal Archive, PubMed, MEDLINE, PsychArticles, Cochrane Library, EBSCOhost and Sociological Abstracts. Further searches of Google Scholar and the African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies (that publishes peer reviewed scholarly work in Nigeria) were conducted to identify recent literature. A combination of search terms was used such as: “patterns of alcohol use/ consumption among Nigerian university students”, “determinant of alcohol use among Nigerian university students”, “alcohol misuse in Nigerian universities/ tertiary institution” and “alcohol use dis-

orders among Nigerian university undergraduates”. Other search terms were “perceived benefits of alcohol among Nigerian students”, “motives for consuming alcohol by Nigerian undergraduates” “alcohol adverts in Nigeria university”, “alcohol marketing in Nigeria university” and “alcohol promotion in the Nigerian universities”. It is noteworthy that the search was based on only English language databases. Following the multiple check and cross examination of the literature, 19 articles were identified. Though the scope of this paper was to include papers published between 2000 and 2013, no study published in 2000 was identified. Thus, ten titles met the inclusion criteria because they were published between January 2001 and May 2013 in peer reviewed journals.

RESULTS

As noted, the searches yielded 19 titles, but after a further sifting, nine studies were eliminated. While four of these studies (Enekwechi, 1996; Ihezue, 1988a; Ihezue, 1988b; Ohaeri et al., 1996) were published before 2000, three studies (Adewuya, Ola, & Aloba, 2006; Adewuya, 2006; Odenigbo, Agbo, & Atinmo, 2013) did not sample only university students. Similarly, two studies (Gire, 2002; Welcome, Razvodovsky, & Pereverzev, 2010) examined Nigerian and non-Nigerian students due to the fact that they were not conducted in Nigeria. In all, ten studies (see Table 1) (all employed quantitative methods) that met the inclusion criteria were included in the review.

Patterns of alcohol use among Nigerian university students

As noted, all the studies included employed quantitative approaches. Abikoye

Table 1. Studies included in the literature review

Author	Year	Aims	Demographic Characteristics	Results	Predictors alcohol use
Olley & Ajiteru	2001	To document the prevalence and pattern of alcohol consumption	525 Female students from all levels of study; mean age: 22.06.	A prevalence of 54.2% of alcohol use was found; while 87.3% from this number were drinking normally, 7.7% used alcohol hazardously and 5% harmfully abused alcohol	Severe family relationships and social anxiety
Adewuya	2005	To validate the instrument for the detection of alcohol-related problems	248 students (mean age: 22.5years) completed the two instruments; 225 undergraduates, 23 postgraduate; 229 were single	141 had no alcohol-related problems; 107 had alcohol-related problems; 76- hazardous alcohol use; 25-harmful alcohol use; 6-alcohol dependence	NA
Adewuya et al.	2007	To estimate the prevalence and explore the socio-demographic correlates of alcohol use disorders	2658 (males: 1913; females: 745) students	The 12-month prevalence for alcohol abuse is 3.5% (Male: 4.4%; Female: 1.1%) and alcohol dependence is 0.8% (Male: 1.1%; female: 0.13%)	Parental drinking; being a male; non-religious; higher economic status
Makanjuola et al.	2007	To determine the prevalence, pattern and factors associated with substance use	961 medical students (males: 625; females: 336); aged between 16 and 43 participated	43.2% noted they have been offered alcohol; with 122 (13.6%) current users and 341(38.0%) had lifetime use	Having study difficulty; living alone; male gender; being a clinical student (who mostly live off campus)
Olley	2008	To examine the prevalence and associated factors of sexual risk behaviour	841 (16-25 years) year one students; 538 males; 303 females; 819 (single), 22 (married)	180 were sexually active; 53 (male), 20 (female) used alcohol normally; 10males and 11 females use alcohol hazardously; one female use alcohol harmfully	NA
Abikoye & Adekoya	2010	To examine substance abuse in a non-residential university	325 undergraduate students (183 males; 142 females); mean age: 22.5. 148 are in 1 st and 2 nd years; 120 in 3 rd and 4 th years; 57 in year 4 and above	204(62.8%) had ridden in a car driven by someone who was high on alcohol/drug; 193(59.4%) had used alcohol/drug to relax; 159 have received warning to stop alcohol/drug use; males use more drugs	Inability to delay gratification; being of younger age; social pressure; freer environment; off campus
Chikere & Mayowa	2011	To examine the prevalence and perceived health effect of alcohol use of undergraduates	482 Males students with mean age of 24.7 years; 79% single; 1 st year 53(11%); 2 nd year 90(18.7%); 3 rd year 152(31.3%); 4 th year 188(39.0%)	While 78.4% prevalence of alcohol use was for all respondents, 92.2% was for those aged 26 and above. Being unmarried predicted higher alcohol(p-value <0.001)	To feel good; because all my friends drink alcohol; to feel high; to be famous on campus; to enhance sexual performance

Abikoye & Osinowo	2011	To examine alcohol use pattern and perception of student-patrons of bar	1705 (965males and 740 females) students from 3universities; mean age is 21.52 years; low economic status 30.7%; middle 42.7%; high 26.6%	44.5% are low-risk drinkers; 43.3% are high-risk drinkers (recommended for simple advice); 10.4% high-risk drinkers (need advice, counseling and continued monitoring); 3.7% fell under alcohol dependence (need referral to specialist); 72.6% noted that alcohol is good for socializing; 57.7% noted that it reduces stress; 36% (alcohol enhances sexual performance)	Parental alcohol use; high parental socio-economic status; living off campus
Umoh et al.	2012	To examine perception of alcohol promotion and policy	492 (265male and 227 female) students with mean age of 24.84 years. 127 males use alcohol, 138 do not use alcohol. 98 females drink while 129 are abstainers.	84% believe alcohol harm exceeds its benefits; above 88% want the government to intervene in order to protect the populace; 85% noted that alcohol can be bought anywhere	NA
Abayomi et al.	2013	To examine the relationship between alcohol consumption and psychological well-being	443 (291 male and 152 female) second year students from the 32 departments. Age is between 14 and 28	12 months prevalence of alcohol was 40.6%; 14.9% had alcohol-related problem, 31.1% reported heavy episodic alcohol use. 8.9% had alcohol-related injuries.	Older age, higher parental education and male gender predicted more alcohol use

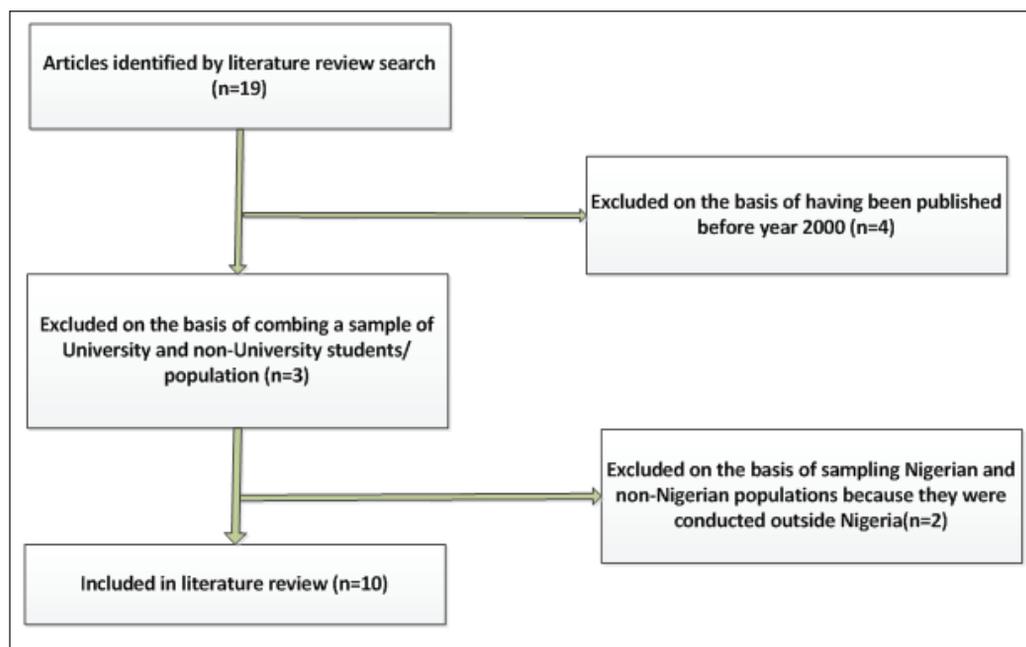


Figure 1: A flow diagram for literature review on patterns and determinants of alcohol use among Nigerian University students, 2000-2013

& Osinowo's (2011) study of alcohol use patterns *and* alcohol-related perceptions of students who patronised drinking bars within the host communities revealed that 44.5% had scores within Zone 1 in the AUDIT scale, and this means that they were low risk alcohol users, recommended for just alcohol education; 43.3% had scores within Zone 2 and were "high-risk drinkers recommended for simple advice" (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011 p.261). The authors reported that 10.4% of the respondents were high-risk alcohol consumers that did not just require advice but also "counselling and continued monitoring" (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011 p.261). This is because their scores were within the third Zone; about 3.7% could be categorised under alcohol dependence because their scores fell within the fourth Zone and this group needed to be referred to specialists for further diagnosis and possibly treatment (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011).

The results of perception, revealed that 72.6% participants believe that alcohol facilitates a group's socialisation, 67.9% reported that it helps to reduce stress, and 57.7% use it because drinking is a mark of maturity (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011). Findings also revealed that 39.2% use alcohol because it provides them with alertness or concentration, 36.2% believes it enhances sexual performance, 25% use it to have fun while 21.7% and 10.4% respectively, reportedly use alcohol to enhance boldness/confidence and to avoid being bored (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011). These scholars argued that these themes of perception were central in all the different study sites. The respondents were also knowledgeable of alcohol-related problems such as injuries, accidents, violence, etc. The findings further revealed other independent predictors of alcohol

consumption among respondents to include: parental drinking, socio-economic status of parents and place of residence in the university (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011).

Their findings lend support to an earlier study conducted in one of the universities they studied (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010). In this 2010 study, 59.4% respondents reported using alcohol/drug for relaxation and to "feel better; 48.9%, had received warning to cut down substance use while 32.6% had gotten into trouble using alcohol or drugs" (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010 p.303). The authors revealed that males and younger students used and misused substances than females and older students because of the inability to delay gratification (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010). In fact, these two studies have produced some interesting findings that corroborated another related study (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011). In that study Chikere and his colleague note that 24.4% of the respondents use alcohol because "it makes them feel high or on top of the world", 6.6% use alcohol because "it makes them belong to the group of happening guys" in their various campuses (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011 p.118). The scholars argued that 52% of the respondents use alcohol for relaxation and stress reduction, 16% drink because of having friends that use alcohol, and 51.1% use alcohol to enhance sexual performance or pleasure (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011). That these students use alcohol to enhance sexual pleasure may not be unconnected to the way some alcoholic beverages are portrayed by producers in Nigerian as Obot & Ibanga (2002) reported: "even before Power added his charm to marketing of the stout, Guinness was associated with strength and sexual virility. It is not surprising, therefore, among many lovers

of the beverage *that Guinness is called 'black power' and Viagra*" (p.6).

The fact that a majority of respondent Abikoye & Osinowo (2011) sampled are in the category of risky drinkers show that alcohol use among students in Nigeria may be high as it is in western society among the age group studied. This can be argued to be a paradigm shift from what obtained in the traditional Nigerian society because young people hardly drank alcohol and if they must drink on festive days, they must not drink independently:

Even though, Nigerians drink a great deal of alcohol, it is generally believed that it is bad to drink too much.... The youngest person present, pours drinks from a container or bottle, handing the first cup to the oldest person and then to others, in descending order of age (Oshodin, 1995, p. 215).

Though the foregoing may not depict the entirety of how alcohol was used in all the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria, it buttresses, the point that elders were the group that drank alcohol being served by the youths. Based on data from Abikoye and colleagues' study, it can be argued that young people are not just beginning to drink, but some are misusing alcohol. In the same vein, these three studies (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010; Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011; Chikere & Mayowa, 2011) have revealed findings on motives for drinking in the contemporary Nigerian society that are also inversely related to the motives for drinking in the traditional Nigerian society. This is because in the latter, alcohol was used for religious worship, entertainment of guests, and for pleasure (Odejide et al., 1989), but in

contemporary Nigeria, drinking motives include inter alia: for sexual pleasure and for the construction of social identity.

Another finding of Abikoye & Osinowo's (2011) study that is worth noting shows that the non-residential university's status has an influence on students' drinking, and this is because of the increasing drinking bars and 'Joints' in these communities. This finding has serious implications because it predicted risky sexual behaviours among undergraduate students in Enugu (Okafor & Obi, 2005). One main reason is because, in Nigeria, universities prohibit sales of alcohol on campuses, especially in the hostels. Thus, host communities often take advantage of this to sell alcohol and food around campuses. One undeniable fact is that in Nigeria, hotels, nightclubs and bars are increasing built around universities. Because most universities provide partial or no accommodation for their students, many live off campuses and due to lack of monitoring, a majority that drink attend nightclubs and visit bars regularly (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011).

In the same vein of alcohol and risky behaviours, a study conducted among year one students at the University of Ibadan revealed that 33% of the respondents had used alcohol before that study was conducted (Olley, 2008). Out of the 30.8% participants that were active sexually, 53% reported consuming alcohol while 8.5% males and 18% females haz- ardously use alcohol (Olley, 2008). Again, Benjamin Olley revealed that, among males, alcohol abuse has a significant relationship with risky sexual behaviours. Similarly, he argued that 3% of sexually active participants had sex in exchange for drugs, 7.2% for alcohol and 11% use alcohol heavily before intercourse (Olley, 2008). That some students exchanged sex

for alcohol is recent evidence in Nigeria, but has been reported in South Africa where alcohol serves as currencies for exchange of sex (Townsend et al., 2011). Also, that 18% of females drink hazardously corroborates an earlier study among females in that same university (Olley & Ajiteru, 2001) which revealed that there was a 54.2% prevalence of harmful use of alcohol among female students. Studies concerning western countries have reported that young people, especially males see drinking and getting drunk as part of growing up or becoming a man (Iwamoto, Cheng, Lee, Takamatsu, & Gordon, 2011; Nayak, 2006; Roberts, 2004). This is rapidly becoming part of females' life-style, especially in cultures where female drinking is normative (MacNeela & Bredin, 2011), but scholars have reported that rape, sexual assaults and other risky behaviours among females are higher when they are drunk (Parks & Fals-Stewart, 2004; Roberts, 2004). This culture of intoxication has arguably encroached into Nigerian universities.

In another study conducted among medical students of the University of Ilorin, Makanjuola et al. (2007) reported that 32% of the respondents either lived with their friends or were living alone. Further, the data revealed that 74.1% claimed to be "very religious", and among them were 68% and 32% Christians and Muslims respectively (p.113). Additionally, 40.4% currently use at least one of these substances, and the findings revealed a 78% lifetime prevalence of substance consumption (Makanjuola et al., 2007). Further, 13.6% were currently consuming alcohol, and this makes it the second most used drug among the substances examined. There were significant differences between males and females who

currently use alcohol (17.6% and 4.7%, $\chi^2 = 26$, $p < 0.001$), and the lifetime use [42.8% and 27.0%, $\chi^2 = 19.84$, $p < 0.001$] (Makanjuola et al., 2007) while factors that predicted alcohol use include: "living alone during school period", having difficulties in ones' academics and "being a clinical student" (p.113). The data further revealed significant relationships between lifetime alcohol use, tobacco and cannabis showing that those who were mentally healthy according to self-report were those likely to be non-current users of alcohol (Makanjuola et al., 2007). This finding corroborates the fact that alcohol misuse is harmful to health and supports Chikere and colleague's study that reported that 45.5% of the participants who use alcohol agreed that it makes them feel bad, 63.8% reported that it makes them feel drowsy, encourages drunk-driving, hangovers and causes weakness (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011). Further, Makanjuola et al. (2007) argued that those who claimed to be very religious were less likely to use alcohol which lends support to a previous study conducted in the same university where Adelekan, Abiodun, Imouokhome-Obayan, Oni, & Ogunremi (1993) reported that being "very religious", reduced use of alcohol and other substances than being "just religious" (p.250). What we know about substance use and religiosity is largely based upon empirical findings from western countries. For example, Pedersen & Kolstad (2000) argued that those who attached much importance to religion were likely to be non-drinkers in Norway while Gryczynski & Ward (2012) reported that religiosity has associations with abstinence, less drinking, as well as less binge drinking in the USA. These Nigerian studies were conducted in western Nigeria cohabited by Christians and Mus-

lims. Therefore, such empirical studies are required in other parts of the country where 98% and 2% of the population respectively are likely to be Christians and traditional worshippers.

Makanjuola and colleagues' finding that students who lived off-campus are likely to be using substances than on-campus students, lends support to two other studies conducted in that same region (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010; Abikoye, 2012). The study produced surprising results that are relevant to the debate on students' use and misuse of substances, especially because it was conducted among medical students who supposedly, would have known the consequences of substance misuse. It arguably shows that the motive for using a substance supersedes the perception of a likelihood of substance-related problems, and this is in agreement with the study that reported that students rode on a car under inhibition with their driver-friends who were also drunk (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011). Similarly, it supports Chikere & Mayowa's (2011) finding that 52.1% current alcohol users had no intention of quitting harmful alcohol use. This finding that though people may know the consequences of harmful alcohol use, they may not be willing to stop drinking may not be unconnected with the fact that drunkenness among young people is used for constructing social identity. This is in agreement with Demant & Järvinen's (2010) findings that drunkenness serves as social capital or resource among young Danish.

In another study conducted in Osun State, Adewuya et al. (2007) reported a 4.4% alcohol abuse for males and 1.1% for their female counterparts. The scholars argued that 1.1% males and 0.13% females can be rated under alcohol dependence

categories. Adewuya and colleagues also argued that not being religious, parental alcohol use, being a male and having higher socioeconomic status predicted alcohol use disorder (Adewuya et al., 2007). That higher parental socioeconomic status predicted alcohol is in consonance with Abikoye & Osinowo's (2011) study, and this has been attributed to parental permissiveness. There is a popular maxim among parents who might have passed through economic difficulties growing up that "their children should not undergo hardship because they (parents) had it tough in life" (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010 p.305), and this arguably encourages young people to consume substances. Though there is a dearth of empirically result in this debate in Nigeria, scholars outside Nigeria have argued that parental leniency, less monitoring and permissiveness predict young people's substance misuse (Ledoux, Miller, Choquet, & Plant, 2002; Pokhrel, Unger, Wagner, Ritt-Olson, & Sussman, 2008).

Similarly, Abayomi et al's (2013) study of year one students, revealed a 14.9% hazardous alcohol drinking prevalence. They also reported that 24.3% and 49.1% female and male students respectively used alcohol in the past one year. Further, 67.8% use alcohol monthly while alcohol-related injury to self or others occurred among 7.3% of the participants (Abayomi et al., 2013). Factors that predicted more harmful alcohol consumption include: male gender, having a father with high educational status or having a severe relationship with one's father. The scholars also noted that those who reported hazardous alcohol use were "four times likely to have psychological distress" (p.3). The ensuing section will examine probable reasons for using this drug among Nigerian students.

Determinants of alcohol use among students and consequences

One factor that arguably popularised alcohol use on Nigerian campuses is the founding of the palm wine drinkers' club, called Kegite at the University of Ife in 1962 (Ohaeri et al., 1996). Though the intention of this club was to reinforce African culture, the glamour at which members dance and drink palm wine on campus, the fact that it is a legally registered confraternity in Nigerian universities, the popularity of Nigerians who founded the club and the spread of the club to many university campuses contributed to the normalization of drunkenness among Nigeria undergraduates. Nonetheless, other plausible explanations that can be grouped under community, structural and individual factors are hereunder examined.

Community and Structural Factors

Lack of policy

Suffice it to say that Nigeria to date, is one of the countries with high alcohol and other substance-related problems (World Health Organization, 2009) but without a corresponding measure in the form of policy (Obot, 2007; Umoh et al., 2012). Scholars in the 1970s (Anumonye, Omonifa, & Adaranijo, 1977) and 1980s (Odejide et al., 1989) identified this problem and called on the various governments to formulate policy to regulate alcohol but to date, no policy has been formulated. In 2010, Nigeria had a delegate at the World Health Assembly's meeting that adopted the 10-point resolution for countries without an alcohol policy to adopt and formulation policies (Chick, 2011), yet has eschewed any initiative towards formulating policies that will regulate alcohol sales and consumption.

Presently, Nigeria has no specification/definition of standard drinks, no standard measurement for selling alcoholic beverages in bars as it is found in western countries, and alcoholic beverages do not carry ABV on their labels. Unsurprisingly, what exist in Nigeria are the self-imposed brewers' self-regulations (Dumbili, 2013a). One of these self-imposed regulations is either the *drink responsibly* warning message that often hurriedly ends electronic media adverts, or the International Centre for Alcohol Policies' (ICAP) *drink responsibly campaign* (Dumbili, 2013b). Scholars (e.g. Barry & Goodson, 2010; Dowling, Clark, & Corney, 2006) have argued that the brewer-sponsored responsible drinking message is not effective mainly because it is often designed with ambiguity to promote brewers' image (Smith, Atkin, & Roznowski, 2006). In the Nigerian context, it has been argued to be ineffective due to various reasons. Firstly, how can irresponsible drinking be determined where responsible consumption has not been defined? This is why Dumbili (2013a p.25) described the *drink responsibly* warning message as "a paradox of semantic deception" because for one's alcohol consumption to be defined as irresponsible, what constitutes responsible consumption must have been defined. For instance, the UK has stipulated that male and the female's responsible drinks per week are 21 and 14 units respectively (Farke, 2011); thus, there is a basis for judging irresponsible consumption.

In the same vein, Nigerian brewers have been collaborating with ICAP in the 'drink responsibly' campaign (Vanguard, 2011), but this has been described as an attempt to silence policy formulation because ICAP is a brewer-funded pro-drinking organization (Jernigan, 2012; McCreanor, Cass-

well, & Hill, 2002) that cannot support anti-alcohol policies. In terms of tobacco policy, a Bill was presented to the National Legislative House, but to date, it has not been passed into law (Tafawa, Viswanath, Kawachi, & Williams, 2012). This lack of regulation has been attributed to several reasons, one such being “the immense benefit that the government derives in the form of tax from alcohol industries” (Ibanga et al., 2005 p.150). The non-regulation of alcohol is having serious impacts on the normalization of alcohol misuse among Nigerian students, and this contributes to the increasing alcohol-related problems in Nigeria. This is in keeping with a recent study in a Nigerian university which reported that 88% of the students agreed that lack of policy is the main cause of the increasing alcohol-related problems in Nigeria (Umoh et al., 2012).

Additionally, Umoh and colleagues reported that more than 85% of the participants noted that this makes it easy for anybody to purchase “alcohol anywhere in Nigeria” (Umoh et al., 2012 p. 110-111). This unrestricted availability has a long history according to Oshodin (1995) because “it is possible to see a five-year-old child purchasing alcohol” in Nigeria (p.219), and this corroborates Chikere & Mayowa’s (2011) finding that alcohol can be purchased anywhere. Internationally, scholars (e.g., Cameron et al., 2012; Cameron, Cochrane, Gordon, & Livingston, 2013; Pridemore & Grubestic, 2012; Young, Macdonald, & Ellaway, 2012) have argued that alcohol-problems increase with the increase in availability of sale outlets and its density. Thus, it is argued that regulating alcohol availability via policy reduces access to alcohol, deters misuse, and reduces alcohol-related problems among young people (Gruenewald, 2011). For example, Bryden, Roberts, McK-

ee, & Petticrew’s (2012) systematic review concluded that “higher outlet density in a community may be associated with high levels of alcohol use” (p. 355). In a study of 1050 American adolescents, for example, Resko et al. (2010) noted that alcohol outlet density engendered violence among these adolescents. Similarly, McKinney, Caetano, Harris, & Ebama (2009) found a strong association between alcohol outlet density and partner violence among American couples while Spoerri, Zwahlen, Paniczak, Egger, & Huss (2013) observed that, in Switzerland, alcohol-related deaths had an association with the closeness of sale outlet in the neighbourhood. Additionally, Ahern, Margerison-Zilko, Hubbard, & Galea (2013) note that it was associated with binge drinking among adults in the USA, and Schofield & Denson (2013) observed that the longer the hour of alcohol outlet sale, the higher violent crime is witnessed in New York State.

That alcohol can be purchased anywhere lends support to the fact that, in Nigeria, there is no restriction on alcohol sale (Umoh et al., 2012) (except in some northern states where Sharia laws exist) due to lack of policy on on/off licence sales. One serious consequence of this lack of policy is that minors can buy and consume alcohol in Nigeria, and this leads to early alcohol initiation. For example, Chikere and colleague reported that 11.6% of their respondents started drinking between 11-15 years, and this corroborates Odejide, Ohaeri, Adelekan, & Ikuesan’s (1987) report that 40% of the participants had their first drink at 11 years. Though this has a long history in Nigeria (Oshodin, 1995), it arguably has increased in contemporary Nigeria where alcohol industries are sponsoring different night youth-oriented events, admit-

ting youths free of charge and nurturing and arguably future patrons (Dumbili, 2013b). Another implication of this lack of regulation is that many faculty events are now sponsored by alcohol producers, and many sales outlets are increasingly located in Nigerian university campuses. Undeniably, this contributes to high and alcohol misuse among students, which often results in clashes that are rampant in Nigerian higher education (Rotimi, 2005).

Advertising, Marketing, Promotion and Availability

Presently, alcohol adverts, marketing and promotions are becoming increasingly aggressive, and brewer-sponsored promotion are rife with offers including 'drink and win free drinks', cash, cars and other gifts. As noted, brewers now sponsor different youth-oriented programmes such as fashion shows, faculty night events, etc. on and off campuses that may encourage students to drink alcohol (Dumbili, 2013b; Nigerian Breweries, 2012). Additionally, different other youth-targeted events are sponsored by brewers and tobacco producers either on the media, hotels or stadia such as Star Trek, Star Quest, Legend Real Nite Deal, Benson and Hedges Music Time (Dumbili, 2013b; Tafawa et al., 2012).

This aggressive advertising may have accounted for the reason 'Star beer' was the most used beverage among Chikere & Mayowa's (2011) respondents. It is noteworthy that in the 1960s Nigerian Breweries Limited [NBL] (Star producer), conducted a research and discovered that Star was not selling as the brewer intended. Following this, "NBL wrote a new advertising brief for their agency, specifying the need to build up a stronger brand image, and the aim of persuading 'light' drinkers to

drink more regularly" (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011 p.401). This persuasion of light drinkers to consume more has persisted as Obot & Ibanga (2002) argued: "the introduction of the new bottle brought a sudden revival in consumer interest for Star and at the moment, Star is Nigeria's favourite beer... Star is now the beer of pleasure, fun, leisure and shared drinking" (p.7). One reason these marketing activities may predict students' alcohol use is that:

Advertising and other marketing techniques are one potential source of information for young people about the cost and benefits of alcohol. Advertising creates the impression that, for a relatively small expenditure, young people can psychologically connect to the positive fantasy places, lifestyle and personality characteristics that it portrays (Saffer, 2002 p.173).

Though this "buy five and get one free promotion" has been since the early 2000s (Obot & Ibanga, 2002 p.7), it is becoming increasingly sophisticated. This is because brewers and tobacco producers use popular Nigerian musicians or actors/actresses as models to advertise and promote these events, admit attendees free as well as offer them free drinks. Similarly, as tradition media are promoting these events/promos, brewers upload them in their websites and social media such as Facebook and YouTube and encourage Nigerian youths to visit and view them (Nigerian Breweries, 2013), but this has serious implications. Scholars have argued that young people who are exposed to constant media messages and texts are likely to behave in tandem with 'media fact', because many receive media

messages at face value (Atkinson, Bellis, & Sumnall, 2012; Hanewinkel & Sargent, 2009; Hanewinkel et al., 2012), especially in relation to alcohol and drugs (Minnebo & Eggermont, 2007; Thomson, 2012). Thus, Atkinson et al. (2012) reported that “social norms theories of alcohol consumption suggest that individuals draw on the behaviour of significant others (e.g. peers, parents, and television characters) as a guide to what are ‘normal’ drinking practices, which then reinforces socially acceptable behaviour” (p.91-92).

Because “mass media depictions are not true, at best, they are partial truths; sometimes we may even feel they are collections of lies” (Seale, 2003 p.514), they often portray commercials and adverts that create “product hyper-reality” (McCreanor, Greenaway, Barnes, Borell, & Gregory, 2005 p.255). This creation of exaggerated messages and texts has been argued (Connolly, Casswell, Zhang, & Silva, 2006; Ellickson, Collins, Hambarsoomians, & McCaffrey, 2005; Gordon, Moodie, Eadie, & Hastings, 2009; Gunter, Hansen, & Touri, 2008; Nicholls, 2012; Saffer, 2002) to enhance young people’s alcohol misuse not just because they are often targeted at young people (Jones & Donovan, 2009), but because they “entail an interactive aspect in the sense that the content engages the audience, evoking their cultural capital in a way that rely on some of the methods of conversation” of the media characters (McCreanor et al., 2005 p.256).

In Nigeria, the implications of this media pervasiveness have been reported among adolescents. De Bruijn (2011) reported that a boy of 14 revealed that he admires the advertisement of ‘Stout’ due to “the free drinks they promote” and added that “if I don’t see the Stout ad on television, I feel bad” (p.37). Another girl said that “I

see advertising 2 or 3 or 4 times a week” and further explained why she prefers Star commercials: “because you can win so many things, for example, free drinks” (p.37). This lends support to what scholars from other countries noted that the sponsorship of events encourages people to drink (O’Brien, Miller, Kolt, Martens, & Webber, 2011), promotional paraphernalia directly induces those who received the items to use the product (O’Brien & Kypri, 2008) while “bar-sponsored drink special increased patrons’ level of intoxication” (Thombs et al., 2009 p.206). This arguably contributes to the growing culture of intoxication in Nigerian universities and may continue because of lack of regulations.

Individual factors

Scholars have argued that no amount of alcohol is risk free, therefore, “abstinence is a socially acceptable choice” (DeJong, Atkin, & Wallack, 1992 p.675). In contemporary Nigeria, many young people due to the inability to delay gratification (Abikoye & Adekoya, 2010) often take the freedom from their parents as an opportunity to drink alcohol and involve in other social vices. This is because some parents still prohibit young people from using alcohol at home. That Nigerian undergraduate students now use alcohol and drunkenness for constructing social identity (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011) as has been reported in other countries (Ridout, Campbell, & Ellis, 2012), shows that many young people use this drug with predetermined motives and arguably careless about the consequences. Many students, especially males often want to be seen as part of the elites on campus, and this makes them attend parties, nightclubs (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011) and other places where it may be difficult to resist peer pressure to drink alcohol.

This theme was consistent in all the studies that examined factors that can predict alcohol use. Again, parental factors such as having severe relationship problems with one's parents, having parents that drink and having parents with high socio-economic status predicted alcohol use. This reveals that many parents contribute to this social problem. That parental drinking predicted more alcohol among these students corroborates Cranford, Zucker, Jester, Puttler, & Fitzgerald's (2010) study in the USA.

In Nigeria, Oshodin (1984) had earlier noted that secondary school students in Benin City use and misuse alcohol because while some of their parents use the drug, others apply alcohol herbal medicine to their sick wards which leads to the early onset of alcohol use. He equally added that many parents often send their children (mostly minors) to buy alcoholic beverages for them or for their guest (Oshodin, 1995), and this contributes to exposing these minors to alcohol which arguably continues when they leave their homes for higher education. In the same vein, lack of parental discipline has been recently found to predict substance use in Nigeria (Abasiubong, Idung, Udoh, & Ekanem, 2012), and as Abikoye & Adekoya (2010) noted, many Nigeria parents who might have encountered economic constraints while growing up often boost that their wards will not suffer the same fate. Thus, they give large sums of money to these youths while returning to school. Because some of these students are underage (as this reflected in this review that younger age predicted more alcohol use), they tend to use the money on frivolities, one such being alcohol misuse. It is also noteworthy that factors such as living off campus, being a male, having

severe relationship with one's parents, having academic difficulties and being a clinical student encouraged alcohol consumption among Nigerian students.

Strengths and limitations of the studies

Studies reviewed varied in quality, but the overall strength is that many used relatively large samples, appropriate designs and validated instruments (AUDIT) as well as an explicit language of expression in their data presentation and discussion. Despite these strengths, many were flawed because of the choice of self-reporting instruments. Again, some did not use a representative sample while some chose to sample only male or female without giving any reason for making such choices. Additionally, all the ten titles were quantitative studies, and this is a major flaw. That no qualitative or mixed methods study has been conducted in Nigeria among university students arguably, means that addressing the rising alcohol-related problems may be difficult because quantitative data may not be enough to proffer solutions to alcohol-related problems because they do not capture people's lived experience.

Strengths and limitations of the review

The review as noted is the first to synthesis studies of this kind in Nigeria, thus has added to the literature. Secondly, the review points out clearly the findings of different studies based on the region these studies were conducted. This will arguably make intervention easier for specific regions and populations. This notwithstanding, the review is limited by the fact that a number of studies may have been missed, especially those that were not published in journals (grew literature) such as thesis and dissertation or in some Nigerian journals that do not have

online databases. Secondly, as the review covered only papers published in English, articles published in other languages may have strengthened the review if they were included. It is also worthy of note that the papers reviewed were not selected based on their qualities. Therefore, this variation in the quality of these studies may have affected the quality of the review.

Recommendations and conclusion

Moderate alcohol consumption may not harm the body but misuse engenders severe consequences which might not just affect the drinker but also others (Wechsler et al., 2002). That some Nigerian youths use alcohol for sexual pleasure (Chikere & Mayowa, 2011; Klein, 2001; Sunmola, Olley, & Oso, 2007) may lead to none or inconsistent use of contraception such as condoms due to lack of inhibition (Sunmola et al., 2007) and may engender the contraction of sexually transmitted illness. In the same vein, Nigeria's higher education (due to drug misuse among some students) has witnessed several clashes due to secret cult activities, and many innocent students have been killed by stray bullets (Rotimi, 2005). Other substance-related problems reported among Nigerian students include: depression, anxiety (Adewuya et al., 2006), alcohol dependence (Abikoye & Osinowo, 2011), and poor academic performance (Ihezue, 1988a).

Therefore, to proffer solutions to the increasing substance misuse among Nigerian students, policies should be formulated and implemented to regulate the:

physical availability of alcohol and other drugs by partial or total ban, regulating retail outlet, hour and days of retail sale, restriction on eligibility to purchase and sell alcohol, minimum

purchasing age laws, promotion of alcohol free activities on campuses and community mobilisation approach" (Umoh et al., 2012, p.113).

Brewers should be banned from sponsoring faculty activities and the giveaway of branded paraphernalia should be reconsidered. There is also an urgent need to address the sale of alcohol to minors. In order to achieve this objective, the government has to issue the citizens national identity cards as this has been effective for identifying minors in developed countries. Similarly, there is a need to designate on and off licence sale points and strictly enforce it because many of the studies reviewed reported that alcohol can be purchased *anywhere*. In the meantime, the parents, religious organizations and nongovernmental organizations should assist in reorienting Nigerian youths. This is because as the government has eschewed every attempt to formulate and implement alcohol policies, orientation and social marketing should be adopted for value reorientation.

In addition, every university should establish different spheres of intervention ranging from counselling centres to treatment of alcoholics. This will help in informing students about the health and social consequences of using alcohol as a means of reducing stress, managing academic difficulties and harmful alcohol use. It is also vital that the screening of individuals/students for hazardous and harmful alcohol consumption, brief intervention and referral to treatment (SBIRIT) should as a matter of urgency be periodically performed by trained experts with instruments such as AUDIT and CAGE questionnaire in various campuses. As it was reported that living off cam-

pus predicted more alcohol use, hostels should be constructed by many universities where such is lacking, and students should be encouraged to live on campus because alcohol sale is prohibited in most Nigerian universities' hostels. It is equally recommended that parents should desist from sending minors to buy alcoholic beverages for them and should not give their wards too much money that can lead to spending such in frivolities. Until these are implemented, the growing culture of intoxication may continue, and other motives for consuming alcohol will emerge.

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