Management of Radio and Television Stations in Nigeria

I.W. UDOMISOR

Associate Professor in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Maiduguri; Borno State, Nigeria.

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ABSTRACT

Broadcasting is very important in Africa because majority of Africans get their information, education and entertainment chiefly from radio and television. Because of this vital role of broadcasting in developing countries, radio and television mediums have become the most controlled for both technical and political reasons.

The study aimed at critically examining the role of government in the management and control of radio and television stations in Nigeria, its policy thrust and impact on editorial and programming independence.

The study also examined how government strict monopoly affects programming content which in turn also affects political, social and cultural development of the country. The study relied mostly on historical data generated through documentary sources for analysis.

The study found out that mass media policy which affects media management in Nigeria has been a sensitive, undecided and unconcluded phenomenon, not only because of diversity of the Nigerian society but also because of the failure of majority of Nigerians and their leaders to visualize the role of their mass media in the development of Nigeria. Mass media development in Nigeria has not only been painstakingly slow and erratic but has also followed the western pattern.

The study therefore recommends that government must regard the media industry as an agglomeration of stakeholders all of whom are important to the business. It is improper to assume that all that is important to the formulation of media policies are government and journalists with a total disregard to the role of end-users.

INTRODUCTION

Broadcasting is the distribution of audio and video contents to a dispersed audience via any audio-visual medium. Receiving parties may include the general public or a relatively large subset thereof. It has been used for purposes of private recreation, non-commercial exchange of messages, experimentation, self-training, and emergency communication such as amateur (Ham) radio and amateur television (ATV), in addition to commercial purposes like popular radio or TV stations with advertisements. Broadcasting is a very large and significant segment of the mass media and the two major types are radio and television.

Originally all broadcasting stations were using analogue transmission techniques and more recently broadcasters have switched to digital signals using digital transmission. The world's technological capacity to receive information through one-way broadcast networks more than quadrupled during the two decades from 1986 to 2007, from 432 exabytes (of optimally compressed information), to 1.9 zettabytes. This is the information equivalence of 55 newspapers per person per day in 1986, and 175 newspapers per person per day by 2007 the world over. Broadcasting is very important in Africa because a majority of Africans get their information, education and entertainment from primarily radio and then television. The press tends to have an urban bias and is dependent on literacy. Radio uses more African languages than television and is therefore more accessible. However, the influence and role of television has grown among urban dwellers in Africa. Television has low penetration because of the high costs of sets, lack of electricity and weak coverage. In the overwhelming majority of African countries, broadcasting has been the most controlled medium for both technical and political reasons.

Broadcastings ability to reach the majority of citizens in a country has obvious political implications. Colonial administrations, which introduced -broadcasting to Africa, controlled it and used it for largely political propaganda purposes. Post colonial African governments also followed a policy of control of broadcasting mainly for political reasons. Between 1960s and 1980s when coups were West and Central Africa's most favored mode of change of government, broadcasting stations were often the first institutions to be taken over by coup plotters.

TYPES OF ELECTRONIC BROADCASTING

Historically, there have been several different types of electronic media broadcasting:

• Telephone broadcasting (1881—1932): the earliest form of electronic broadcasting systems, which were telephone-based distribution systems allowing subscribers to listen to live opera and theatre performances over telephone lines, created by French inventor Clement Ader in 1881. Telephone broadcasting also grew to include

telephone newspaper services for news and entertainment programming which were introduced in the 1890s, primarily located in large European cities. These telephone-based subscription services were the first examples of electrical/electronic broadcasting and offered a wide variety of programming.

• A Radio broadcasting (experimentally from 1906, commercially from 1920): radio broadcasting is an audio (sound) broadcasting service, broadcast through the air as radio waves from a transmitter to a radio antenna and, then, to a receiver. Stations can be linked in radio networks to broadcast common radio programs, either in broadcast syndication, simulcast or sub channels.

• Television broadcasting (telecast), experimentally from 1925, commercial television from the 1930s: this television programming medium was long-awaited by the general public and rapidly rose to compete with its older radio-broadcasting sibling.

• Cable radio (also called "cable FM", from 1928) and cable television (from 1932): both via coaxial cable, serving principally as transmission mediums for programming produced at either radio or television stations, with limited production of cable-dedicated programming.

• Direct-broadcast satellite (DBS) (from circa 1974) and satellite radio (from circa 1990): meant for direct-to-home broadcast programming (as opposed to studio network uplinks and downlinks), provides a mix of traditional radio or television broadcast programming, or both, with dedicated satellite radio programming.

• Webcasting of video/television (from circa 1993) and audio/radio (from circa 1994) streams: offers a mix of traditional radio and television station broadcast programming with dedicated internet radio-webcast programming.

BRIEF HISTORY OF BROADCASTING IN NIGERIA

Radio broadcasting was introduced in Nigeria in 1932 by the then British Colonial authorities as an experiment of the empire service of the BBC. One of its main tasks was to relay the overseas service of the BBC through wired systems with loudspeakers. This service was called Radio Diffusion System (RDS). The Radio Diffusion System (RDS) became the Nigerian Broadcasting Service, NBS in April 1951. Full broadcasting services in the country began with the establishment of the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS). In 1954, broadcasting became a concurrent legislative matter in Nigeria. The NBS Act was enacted in 1956. By 1957, the RDS also underwent a name change and became the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) to provide a nationally representative domestic service and external service. Seizing the opportunity of colonial - constitutional review which gave federal and regional governments concurrent powers in the ownership of broadcasting stations, the government of the western region established television and radio stations in 1959.

In 1961, the NBC act was amended to give the Federal Minister of Information power to give general and specific directives to NBC in matters of policy and appointments to the board. By 1962, NBC External Service (Voice of Nigeria) was inaugurated and the first Nigerian director-general was appointed. In 1977, AM/FM Stereo was inaugurated as second sound channel. In 1978, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation was re-organized to become the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, FRCN.

Television broadcasting in Nigeria started with the initiative of the first Western Region Premier, Chief Obafemi Awolowo who on October 31, 1959 launched television broadcasting at Ibadan, the then headquarters of the region. With a small 500 watts transmitter mounted on Mapo Hill at then, and another at Abafon near Ikorodu, the Western Region Government commenced operations in partnership with British Media Company, Overseas Rediffusion Limited. The Western Nigeria Radiovision Service Limited was also created, with the responsibility of managing radio and television broadcasting in the Western region.

The television was therefore established to disseminate information and entertain viewers. The radio and TV stations in the Western Region pioneered commercial broadcasting in Nigeria to supplement government subvention. The governments of the eastern and northern regions followed suit in 1960 and 1962 respectively. The federal government also set up a television station in 1962. After the military had overthrown the Civilian constitutional government in 1966, it created 12 states to replace the regions as second tier of government. New states established their own broadcasting stations. The Western region government took full control of the WNIS/WNTV by buying over all the shares held by the Overseas Rediffusion Ltd.

In the same year, the Nigeria Television Service (NTS) was born in Lagos with the radio corporation of America (RCA) and the national broadcasting company international limited managing the station. But the management was eventually handed over to Reverend Victor Badejo, who was then the acting Director General of the NBC. The NTS later changed its name to NBC/TV.

The Federal Broadcasting Corporation, NBC. also began to expand in 1967, building a station in each state. But this was reversed by a policy change in the 1970s. Government ordered the transfer of most NBC stations to the

states, with the exception of those in Lagos, Ibadan and Enugu, and added the Kaduna station of the Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria. It also transformed the NBC into the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). In 1976, television stations started beaming colour programmes. By 1978, the Federal Government under General Olusegun Obasanjo (as he then was) took over the television stations in Nigeria and changed their name to Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) and these stations were made to beam network programmes.

At the same time, the government centralised all federal and state television stations under the control of a new body, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). When the country returned to civilian rule in 1979, state governments exploited a constitutional provision which granted them powers to establish new television stations. Federal radio also expanded its operations through building stations in all states. The military seized power again and scrapped the new federal radio stations in 1984. In the mid-1980s, the government embarked on the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which included steps to cut down on state subsidies. This led to the introduction of commercialisation in the state broadcast stations - FRCN and NTA. For the first time, government designed a National Mass Communication Policy which was published in 1990. The policy retained government's monopoly over the broadcasting sector.

In another reversal of policy, government promulgated a decree in 1992 which established a regulatory body, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), and opened the door to private participation in the ownership and operation of broadcasting stations. In 1992, a new vista was opened in the annals of Nigerian broadcasting history. The Federal government under then Commander in Chief, General Ibrahim Babangida deregulated the broadcast industry by granting license to private individuals and organizations to set up radio and television broadcasting stations. The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was founded to monitor and regulate broadcasting on a national basis. One goal of the organization is to open up the industry to the marketplace paradigm. Both foreign and domestic participation was sought. A total of nine mandates are itemized in the charter of the NBC.

Additionally, the agency has the role of arbitrator between the industry and other areas of the government. Education is also a component of the organization's work. It is charged with ensuring the development of trained personnel through accredited curricula and programs that offer courses in mass communication and broadcasting. And the final mandate is to guarantee the liberty and protection of the broadcasting industry under the constitution.

Nigeria's president appoints the Board of Commission for the NBC based on the advice of the Minister of Information. The Commission consists of a Chairman and a Director-General. Ten other members are also on the board representing law, business, education, social science, broadcasting, public affairs, engineering, and state unity service. Members serve on the board on a part-time basis. The Director-General, who occupies the role of chief executive, conducts day-to-day oversight. That position is assisted by the Secretary to the Commission and the Board of Management, which includes the Heads of Directorate and Departments. The NBC began its work in 1993 and issued the first set of licences the same year. The NTA and FRCN started on a new expansion programme with the setting up of more stations beginning in 2000/2001. Government initiated a review of the 1990 mass communication policy in 2004 and started to design new policies for community radio development and frequency spectrum management in 2006.

There were two government controlled television broadcast stations in Nigeria in 1999 and 14 licenses to operate private television stations. The nation has 82 AM radio stations and 35 FM stations. There are 11 short-wave stations in Nigeria. Throughout the country there are 23.5 million radios and 6.9 million television sets.

Nigeria has thirty six states with each having her own television station. The federal government also established a branch of NTA in each state. Today, the Nigerian Broadcast industry reaches daily over 9 million television sets; reaches over 100 million listeners; broadcasts in 15 languages; from offices all across Nigeria. Many state governments have however, established more television and radio stations since then. Most of the state television stations have been competing favourably with the federal government stations.

In the recent democratization processes of the 1990s, privately owned FM radio stations, where they have been allowed, have been cited as an important factor in giving the position a platform during elections and in ensuring that elections are conducted fairly. In Nigeria, talk shows and discussions have been influential in providing a forum for robust political debates. Equally, control of broadcasting has been seen as impediment to democratization. FM radio stations have tended to be dominated by popular western music rather than local music or programmes in local languages.

In most, if not all countries in Africa, broadcasting has since independence been a monopoly of the state justified on the grounds that it was a public service critical to development, the fostering of unity and the promotion of national culture and identity. To achieve these policy goals, broadcasting was often located in Ministries of

Information and the state broadcaster was answerable and accountable to the Governor, through their ministries, up to the Minister and then the President. This arrangement allowed the Minister and President a direct say in appointments to boards, management issues and programming content in the national interest.

The national interest was often defined as or meant the political and policy choices of the ruling party. Rarely was there a reference to the 'public interest', which was more pluralist and inclusive. More often than not, these institutional arrangements violated the editorial and programming independence of the public broadcasters and turned them into state broadcasters.

In the immediate post independence period, it seemed also that the tasks of nation building and development were clear priorities and governments which had led the independence struggle were undisputed leaders. Also, in developing countries, private broadcasting was not permitted and the only broadcasting entity to regulate was the 'public' broadcaster operated under the ambit of the government.

Broadcast media in Nigeria is a complex warren of interconnecting global and local media relations that affect content that in turn, affects political, social and cultural issues. Overall, the forms and content of media in Nigeria arise from material and practical social relations over time, and so, give evidence of these concrete relationships as they have evolved from the colonial era to the present. Although there are positions that argue the media shapes social relations, there seems to be a preponderance of evidence in this review been able to tip the argument that is in favour of the opposite view. More accurately, it is the dialectical interaction of the media and social relations that produces histories and current trends.

Although the development of international communication was driven, in part, by the necessity of commerce to communicate over distances with other countries, the ever expanding and more efficient means of communication afforded a mass media that could serve political, social and culture interests as well. It is not feasible for any country to maintain economic and political dominance over large populations through military force alone. Thus, a hegemonic mass media functions as this term suggests, a mass mediator for the negotiation of power in a global social system.

In the post-colonial era, the media was used in much the same way by the governing class to gain legitimacy among the governed class. In the current era of global and local communications, the Nigerian elites function as affiliates, albeit dependent affiliates, among the dominant global class. As affiliates, they negotiate nationalism among the local class that is often experiencing the extreme poverty created by globalization of social production. While at the same time, national borders are transcended by the dominant class during commercial ventures

TYPES OF BROADCAST MEDIA STYLES

If we accept that the free flow of Information and ideas is indispensable for democracy, then it is easy to see that ownership patterns are essential indicators of the extent of democratization of media in any country. In most, if not in all African countries, the patterns of ownership are of two forms:

a. Government monopoly of the media, as in Nigeria, especially the electronic media.

b.   Monopoly of the media by a few individuals or groups.

A. Government Media

Writing on the history and development of journalism in Nigeria, Obijiofor (1985) expressed concern over government monopoly of the electronic media in Nigeria. He called on government to allow privatization of the broadcast media pointing out that by so doing government would be sowing the seeds of a political culture that fosters tolerance of criticism, social responsibility, public accountability, and at the same time, helping to make broadcasting respond more to the needs of our people.

Obijiofor's views on government monopoly of the media, especially the electronic media, are shared by many people in Africa. Nnaemeka (1986) considers government monopoly of radio and television in Nigeria an aberration because, according to him, they constitute a major process of influence over thoughts and when they are in the hands of one agency that is equally controlling the coercive powers of the state, then you are not advancing the human rights philosophy.

In the same vein, Osoba (1987), speaking on media ownership patterns in Nigeria, called on government to relinquish its absolute control of the electronic media. He sees government ownership of newspapers as running counter to the role of the press in upholding the responsibility and accountability of government to the people. Osoba believes that in order for the press to perform its traditional role of disseminating information and thereby encouraging dialogue between the ruler and the ruled, government should 'divest itself of the autocratic powers of our traditional past which make it anathema for the ruled to ask the ruler questions"

Pointing out that 90 percent of the national newspapers, as well as radio and television stations are owned by different governments in the country, Osoba asked if governments are the only ones given the power to run television or radio stations, how can such radio and television stations uphold section 21 of the Constitution which gives the mass media the duty to uphold responsibility and accountability of governments to the people?

As Idowu (1985) puts it, 'Journalism as a profession, as an idea, a commitment to the public good, a dedication to unearthing wrong, is no more as exciting as it used to be. Official bureaucracy has knocked down investigative journalism, in its purest form, from whatever height it raised. As long as Government monopoly of the media continues, for so long will free flow of information and easy access to information remain elusive. Therefore, if government controls the media, then government also controls what the media say, and who has access to what information. The roles of the media will be reduced to nothing, and one may ask at this point, who is the government? Even in the most democratic countries, only a small proportion of the people ever have the opportunity to hold office.

A government that claims to be all-knowing and which ignores the voices of the very people that gave it mandate, cannot be described as democratic in any sense of the word. For such a government, democratizing the media in the sense of relinquishing absolute control will be anathema.

B. Private Media

The second form of ownership patterns is ownership by a few individuals or groups. This form of ownership can be as dangerous as Government monopoly. In talking about privatization as a means of democratizing the media industry, care must be taken to ensure that we do not merely substitute government monopoly by the monopoly of a few. The situation must be avoided in which the same individual or group, for example, owns a newspaper, a radio station and a television station, not even if such individual or group has the resources. Such a concentration of ownership will undoubtedly reduce competition, and consequently, journalistic standards.

Apart from this, there is the fear, and a genuine one, that the concentration of ownership in a few hands will result in the use of the media for the advancement of personal and sectional interests, leading to political and religious instability. Of course, media owners will argue that joint ownership, such as newspaper - broadcast operations, will result in better service but experience in other parts of the world, notably the United States of America, show that such concentration of ownership can be a threat to public access and independent news coverage (Gormley Jr., 1977).

In the United States of America, this view is reflected in the ever increasing attacks by organized political and religious groups on both the print and electronic media. These groups often accuse the owners of big media establishments of being more concerned with making profit than with the principles of accuracy and objectivity. They say an organization that monitors press and television news reporting accused the big media corporations of using their power "in a biased and, therefore, potentially dangerous fashion". Such fears are justified, particularly when it is remembered that in performing their functions of agenda setting, and gate-keeping the media depend on relatively few people - editors or producers who determine which stories are reported by the newspapers or radio and television. The editors and producers also exercise the power to determine the degree of importance attached to a particular news event. With such powers, and in the hands of a few individuals or groups with vested interests, the media can be used in a dangerous and rather destructive way.

There is a range of ways that ownership can impact on news output. These include:
• Direct intervention by an owner
• Indirect influence of an owner through the appointment of an editor who shares his views
• The influence of the business approaches that an owner can take
• Different approaches to journalism

BROADCAST MEDIA POLICY AND REGULATION IN NIGERIA

Broadcast media policy in Nigeria has been a sensitive, undecided and unconcluded issue, not only because of the diversity of the Nigerian society but also because of the failure of majority of Nigerians and their leaders to visualize the role of their mass media in the development of Nigeria. The inconsistency in formulating mass media policies in Nigeria is also revealed in the difference between the colonial African press which was a tool for winning African independence and the post-independence press that was directed toward construction and national development.

Mass media policies in Nigeria were not federally directed but mainly in the hands of state governments until July 1975 when General Yakubu Gowons administration was toppled. In 1975, the federal government took

over the ownership of Nigeria's broadcast media. The broadcast media were taken over so as to prevent proliferation of the networks at the expense of the taxpayer's money, and to effectively participate in the Country's mass media to supplement its giant programmes in educating the masses. Nigerian mass media policies have been directed mainly toward the unification of the country, and to a lesser degree, toward the education of the masses. Thus, the present leaders have often said that they do not necessarily see themselves as censors of the Nigerian press: 'All we are doing is to harness our limited resources of capital and manpower to our best advantage and if we can establish a credible and meaningful television network to the benefit of the people, we are doing the right thing'.

Although the Nigerian government has laid down these broad policies and invested a large sum of money to improve the quality of the nation's mass media, it is still argued that the government does not have a clear-cut policy' for its media. This weakness is revealed in the statement that it is not the duty of the Nigerian government to formulate ideologies for Nigeria, rather 'Nigerians can flirt with any ideology of their choosing.

POLICIES FOR BROADCAST MEDIA IN NIGERIA

The policies for radio broadcasting are guided by the following objectives:

- The provision of efficient broadcasting services to the entire people of the Federation of Nigeria based on national objectives and aspirations and to external audiences in accordance with Nigeria's foreign policy.
- The provision of professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture, the promotion of cultural growth through research, and the dissemination of the results of such research studies for the benefit of the public.
- The positive contribution to the development of the Nigerian society and the promotion of national unity by ensuring a balanced presentation of views from all parts of the country;
- To ensure the prompt delivery of accurate information to the people.
- To provide opportunities for a free, enlightened, and responsible discussion of important issues and to enhance useful two-way contact between the public and those in authority.
- The provision of special broadcasting services in the field of education and in all other areas where the national policy calls for special attention.
- To promote orderly and meaningful development of broadcasting In the nation through technical improvements, adequate staff training and development, and staff exchange with other nations, and
- To promote research into various aspects of the communications media and their effects on the Nigerian society.

STRUCTURE, REGULATION AND FUNDING

Broadcasting in Nigeria is regulated at Federal and State levels through government broadcast policies. FRCN is administered by the government through a Board of Directors which is responsible to the Minister of Information. Both the Board and the Chief Executive are appointed by the Minister of Information. Being administered by the government, the funding of FRCN is the responsibility of the Government.

ORGANISATIONAL SETUP

The organisational structures of institutions are designed in accordance with their objectives and functions. This holds true of radio and television networks stations as well. There are several broadcasting networks in the world, some are public service broadcasting organisations, and others are commercial networks. Besides, there are individual radio and television stations, mostly of a commercial nature. The policy objectives of radio and television networks stations differ widely depending on the policy of those who own them. The organisational structure of a broadcasting organisation also varies widely in relation to the size of the network, its policy objectives and capital investments.

TYPES OF OROANISATIONAL SETUP

Traditionally, there are three types of organisations, these are:

- Line organisation; In a Line Organisation, the line of authority is direct with no advisory or auxiliary activities attached. This form is simple and clear-cut, suitable for small firms.
- Line and staff organisation; In a Line and Staff Organisation, there is a provision for staff position to discharge a variety of auxiliary and advisory functions. For example, in a sale organisation, the sale is the primary activity while accounting, legal, public relations, etc., are auxiliary activities.
- Functional organisation. A Functional Organisation consists of a number of branches or divisions each of which has specialists accountable to their senior counterparts in their central office or headquarters. A multi-disciplinary organisation such as a broadcasting network with a large number of radio stations, generally adopts the functional type of organisation.

PRINCIPLES OF AN ORGANISATIONAL SETUP

For smooth functioning of the organisation, certain universal principles are generally followed by management. Some of these are: Unity of command; Span of control; Exception principle; and Scalar principle.

The Unity of command principle means that no member of an organisation should report to more than one superior. According to the Span of control principle, there must be an optimum limit to the maximum number one can supervise. The Exception principle emphasises the need for delegation of not only functions, but authority down the line while the Scalar principle deals with hierarchy in each set-up.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NIGERIA BROADCAST MEDIA

The type of organisation and the principles of management adopted by a broadcasting station will depend on its size, range of operations and ownership. In Nigeria, radio and television broadcasting had been the responsibility of government and private individuals. Organisational pattern differs depending on their size, financial outlay and activities to be undertaken.

POLICY, MANAGEMENT STYLES AND PRACTICE IN NIGERIA BROADCAST MEDIA

The relevance of these changes to broadcasting is that pluralist politics is now linked to the existence of pluralist and diverse media systems as opposed to government and state monopolies. Freedoms of expression and the media especially with regards to editorial and programming independence have become central issues linked to the provision of alternative sources of information. New buzzwords of deregulation, commercialization and privatization of broadcasting and telecommunications became popular and in some people's minds immediate policy choices that would create a new broadcasting landscape.

Demands for democratic reforms include demands that state broadcasters be transformed into public service broadcasters that enjoy editorial and programming independence, as well as the licensing of private broadcasters to exist in their own right and as alternatives and competitors to the public broadcasters. Technologically, the 1990s also witnessed the rapid development of satellite broadcasting and the convergence between broadcasting and telecommunications, which meant the presence in national broadcasting systems of foreign broadcasters not necessarily subject to local regulation. The rapid development of digital technologies also meant the promise of more channel availability, which could in technical terms mean an end to the problem of limited spectrum availability.

It is important to note that the advocates of liberalization of the airwaves have not often thought through the full implications of liberalizing the airwaves. Many if not most thought that the entry of private broadcasters was sufficient and would result in competition, editorial and programming independence and choices for audiences. In short, private ownership is equated to editorial and programming independence. Pluralism of stations equated to diversity of programme choices for audiences. While these equations are understandable in the light of a history of monopoly of state- controlled broadcasting being contrary to editorial and programming independence and to choice for audiences, it is a simplification that is not borne out by the practice. They did not realize that the existence of many broadcasters does not necessarily mean more choices in programmes for audiences. Private ownership does not exclude editorial controls for political and commercial reasons. They also did not realize that private broadcasters also entered the broadcasting arena as legitimate commercial activity and would operate them according to how they could make money even if it meant just playing popular music or showing popular television programmes imported from abroad with very little news or locally made programmes, if any.

They also did not realize that without transparent regulatory mechanisms licenses could and would be easily awarded to either the rich or powerful, or to those linked to powerful politicians or even to politicians who doubled up as private business people. Finally, they did not realize that building democratic societies characterized by pluralist politics and respect for human rights including freedom of expression, required not only a pluralistic media system, but media diversity as well.
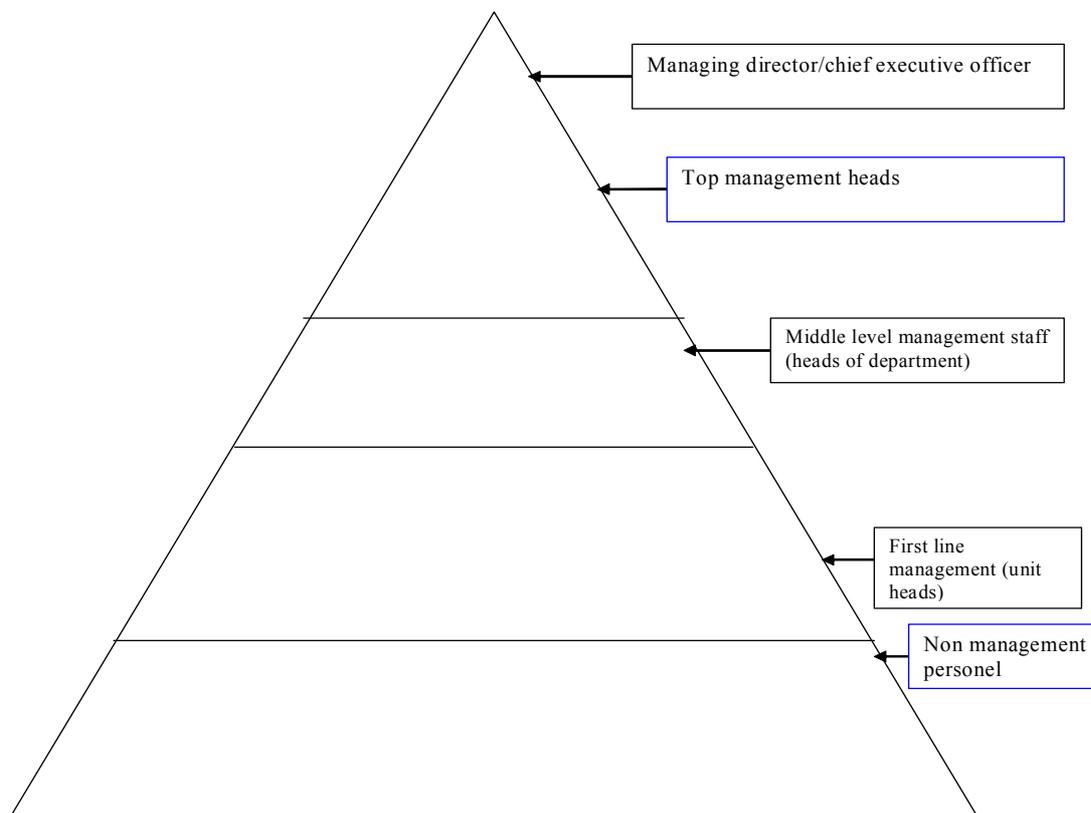
Achieving both media pluralism (many media owners and operators including genuine public service media) and diversity (different media owners and operators offering the widest possible range of content relevant to needs and wants of audiences as citizens in a democratic dispensation) required deliberate policy development.

Broadcasting policy and regulation is no longer going to be 'simple'. What is actually needed is a different policy regime from that which existed in the immediate post independence period in the 1960s and up to late 1980s. Liberalization requires broadcasting policies which favour diversity and pluralism. Government can no longer define the role of broadcasting as just nation building and development. In line with political changes, broadcasting has to play democratic roles as well. Democratic roles come with the imperatives of respecting and upholding freedom of

expression and a free flow of information and ideas. State control and regulation has to give way to independent regulation.

Independent regulation requires new institutional arrangements, which are inclusive and transparent. It is important also to point out that the economics of broadcasting is much at the fore than in earlier decades. Broadcasting institutions are no longer just political and cultural institutions but also economic institutions. In this respect, the challenge of policy and regulation is to ensure that they do not become purely economic institutions to the neglect of their democratic and cultural roles. Therefore, policy and regulatory frameworks have to cover a whole range of issues.

FLOW CHART OF' MANAGEMENT IN BOTH PRIVATE   AND GOVERNMENT MEDIA ORGANIZATION

STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTING POLICIES OF PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO STATIONS

Mass communication policies in Nigeria have been inhibited by the constitutional and political instability that have existed in Nigeria since independence in 1960. The constitution of Nigeria restraints press freedom in the country and discuss the political structure and how the frequent changes of political leadership of the nation affect the country's mass media of communication and the constraints brought about by the pattern of media ownership which is tied to the politics of Nigeria.

Political instability which has existed in Nigeria since independence had placed constraints on the nation's mass media of communication. There have been seven military coups in Nigeria since independence — two in 1966, one in 1975, another in 1976, one in 1983, one in 1985 and one in 1993. Nigeria, which has been a military

government since 1966, returned to a civilian government in 1979. But after four years the civilian regime was toppled in December 1983. After which the civilian regime returns from 1999 till date. The new military government also promulgated a decree to restrain the press. It came up with Decree No. 4 of 1984. The decree empowered the federal military government to prohibit the circulation of erring newspapers or revoke the licence of offending television or radio stations. It also stipulated a two—year jail term without the option of fine for any person found guilty under its provisions. The decree was promulgated to protect public officers from false accusation.

Another attempt to restrain the press was made in 1982 by the national assembly with the passage of the electoral act in 1982. The act was designed to control government—owned media houses three months before and one month after the 1983 general election. Although the federal government has not established any clear-cut policy for the Nigerian mass media, some of the unfriendly attitudes most political leaders in Nigeria have toward the nation's press have inhibited the freedom of the press.

Before the federal government took over the ownership of   New Nigerian newspaper, acquired 60 per cent shares of the Daily Times newspaper and became the sole owner of the nation's radio and television stations, each state government was using the press as a political weapon. The states were once very autonomous. The state political leaders saw the press as a tool for stabilizing their power and also exercising almost equally strong powers as the federal government.

Media policies have also been inhibited by the pattern of media ownership. As a young nation with a multi-ethnic structure, Nigeria has experienced sporadic changes in political leadership. As a result, several laws have been made to directly or indirectly censor the Nigerian broadcast media. The foundation of Nigeria's economy was laid by the British colonial administration. The active participation of the government in the economy of Nigeria is traceable to colonial rule and economic policy. After World War II, it became necessary for the state to control Nigeria's economy in order to ensure an even distribution of development throughout the nation (Carney, 1961). The British government centralized Nigeria's economy largely by putting government in charge of all sectors of the country's development.

After independence, Nigeria continued to pursue this kind of economic system). Although Nigeria is a major world producer of petroleum, the country is still poor. Her leaders have publicly acknowledged these facts. Because Nigerian leaders are aware of their country's poverty; they do not attach much priority to the development of the nation's mass media. This is why programming for the broadcast media, especially television, has depended heavily on foreign materials and equipments

When private ownership of a nation's media is not possible because of cost, as in Nigeria, the government is bound to see itself as the sole disseminator of information. And when the government becomes actively involved in the ownership and operation of the media, the public becomes the target of political brainwashing. Because the media are supposed to check the excesses of the government, truth becomes hidden. As a result, the media become mere political tools used only to advance the wishes of the government.

The international constraints on mass communication policies in Nigeria are related to Nigeria's technical dependence on foreign equipment and assistance. Built-in economic and ideological biases almost inevitably infect even the most well-intentioned forms of bilateral aid (Head, 1974). Most of the aid is tied. The attitudes of donor nations limit options open to recipient countries. As a result, they become unwillingly loyal to their donors. It is also not farfetched to conclude that the donor countries will tend to dictate the method that their aid should be used.

Dominating Nigeria's television programmes are foreign shows, especially those of the United States. Economic reasons have led to the extensive programming of foreign shows which are by far cheaper than local productions. The lack of capital to produce local programmes also explains why Nigeria is not on the list of the countries which produce films. Thus, Nigeria's media will continue to be foreign dominated unless her economy improves and her leaders give some priority to mass media as an aid to national development.

Ethnicity and mass illiteracy are a part of the major problems facing Nigeria today. The cause of the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-70 was partly attributed to ethnocentricism. In the past Nigerians were known to be overly concerned with maintaining their ethnic loyalty to the detriment of nationalism (Post and Vickers, 1973). With well over 250 linguistic groups, Nigeria also faces the problem of mass illiteracy. Even if Nigerians were literate in their local languages, communicating with other linguistic groups would yet be another problem.

CONCLUSION

This review concludes with a call for more research that focuses on global media as an integral part of hegemonic negotiations between social classes. Such a focus may lead to new theoretical understanding of the

relationships between society and its mass media. Mass media policy in Nigeria has been a sensitive, undecided and unconcluded issue not only because of the diversity of the Nigerian society but also because of the failure of majority of Nigerians and their leaders to visualize the role of their mass media in the development of Nigeria. Evidence for this lack of knowledge of what media should do for a developing Nigeria is found in Nigeria's 1979 constitution. The original draft failed to define the role of Nigeria media and guarantee their freedom during the post military regime (Mgbejume, 1976).

Although there may not be a total constraint on Nigeria's media policies by any single factor, the highly emphasized policies of using the media to build a united Nigeria and provide education for the Nigerian masses came as a result of Nigeria's past experiences. With a low literacy level of 30-35 percent, communication among Nigerians of various ethnic groups poses a problem of misunderstanding. Since the English language is Nigeria's official language, it will be a worthwhile venture to teach as many Nigerians as possible to understand, speak and write it

Mass media development in Nigeria has not only been painstakingly slow and erratic, but has also followed the western media pattern that one wonders if Nigerian media will solely and continuously be for the elite who are a minority across the whole country.

Press freedom in Africa, Nigeria in particular, should be viewed from the perspective of the citizenry. Press freedom in Nigeria should not be isolated from other aspects of national development. Nigerians are poor and most of them are illiterate and ignorant. The urban immigrant who lives in squalor will rather value a moderate shelter and a means of livelihood than press freedom and democracy.

The basis of the existence of press freedom in Nigeria should be the provision of basic needs for all Nigerians. It is baseless and meaningless to talk of press freedom in a multi-ethnic state such as Nigeria which can explode at any misconstrued piece of misinformation. Thus instead of fighting one another, the Nigerian government and the Nigerian press should see themselves as partners whose main objective is to provide Nigerians with such basic needs as food, water, shelter, light, good roads and good education.

The press in Nigeria needs new policies; not the western type policies, but Nigerian media policies that will reflect Nigerian values. The present western type reporting system is increasingly creating bitterness between the press and government. Nigerians need the type of media which will be accessible to all remote areas of the country.

RECOMMENDATIONS THAT CAN HELP MANAGEMENT OF' RADIO AND TELEVISION STRIKE A BALANCE

It is ironic that many governments in Africa are vigorously pursuing policies that would make the media in their countries agents of unity and development but are failing to harness the possibilities that harmonious operations among the stakeholders in the media industry can offer. An all embracing framework, in the form of a comprehensive media policy, enables the platform to define how these stakeholders can relate with one another and troubleshoot in the case of face-off. A vibrant media industry that appreciates its stakeholders will enhance the performance of journalists' responsibility to their audience.

A typical government in Africa seems to be carried away by the manner in which the journalists present their news to their audience in order to safeguard the position of the authorities against any reaction from the citizens. The same governments, however, seem to be oblivious of the fact that journalists do not depend on the peanuts they generate as income from subscribers and news content consumers, many of whom even have access to these contents free of charge. Without the contributions of advertisers and their agents, as well as other media users, the media industry cannot survive.

Likewise, media scholars have vital contributions to make with regard to the destiny of professional communicators. One of the qualifications of the contemporary journalist is that he or she must be a graduate of some tertiary institutions of journalism or communication. Scholars are those who make that possible. It is also a fact that without newsmakers, there will be no news.

Practical, sound reasoning then dictates that whenever journalists and their audience become an issue, all these stakeholders should be carried along especially in the formulation of a functional media policy. To bring about such a document, the following points are recommended:

• Government must regard the media industry as an agglomeration of stakeholders all of whom are important to the business. it is improper to assume that all that is important to the formulation of media policies are government, journalists and their audience.

• Before media policies are constructed, formulators should hold stakeholders' conferences, seminars and workshops where representatives come together and share their experiences and the organizers then articulate each stakeholder's position with a view to making it available for policymaking.

• There is a note of caution here. At these meetings, no stakeholder is expected to display any preponderance, arrogance or superciliousness. All the stakeholders are appearing as equal partners who are meeting for the common good. Government agents or representatives should not see themselves as masters but as servant leaders. Journalists should bring under control "their proclivity for assigning blame" and extend their "limited range of their temporal interest" (Ungerleider, 2006).

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