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The Political Economy of Deregulation and Commercialization of
Radio Broadcasting in Nigeria, 1992-2017: An Assessment of
Access, Participation, Content and Peacebuilding

Ph.D. Thesis

By

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Abstract

This work analyses the effect of deregulation and commercialisation of the broadcast media in Nigeria since 1992. Concretely it focuses on radio stations, the nature of their programming decisions and what informs them. It studies the effect of deregulation on three dimensions: a) Production and distribution of Programmes. The broadcast industry manufactures and distributes content, so when a deregulation policy is applied to communication industry, the immediate effect is on content production and how this content is distributed in order to remain in business and maximize profit.

b) Pubic services function of these programmes in relation to development communication/journalism, education, peacebuilding, amelioration of hate speeches both online and offline, culture and social cohesion. In the early beginnings of radio broadcasting, attempts were made to make it a public service for citizens' enlightenment, entertainment and education. British broadcasting was a pioneer of this tradition. This tradition remained for a long time before the policy of deregulation swept across the world. This work will analyse how deregulation and commercialisation may have affected the contribution of radio as Nigeria faces one of its biggest problems today: hate speech, ethnic and religious violence, radicalisation and terrorism.

c) Access and participation for a broad range of segments in society, the rich, the poor, marginalized groups, women and others. In what ways have access and participation been constricted or improved for these groups as a result of deregulation and commercialisation of radio?

It looks at hate speech in Nigeria, analysing its forms, dimensions and magnitude. It also, proposes strategies that could be used to ameliorate its impact. While legislation and regulations are potential strategies to consider, It argues that, even in this digital era, radio in Nigeria is still a powerful and popular medium in countering hate speech in the country, and if properly deployed, radio can be a potent tool in countering hate speech offline and online, although it would need to adapt programming for the new

media generation to achieve this goal. Through the convergence of new media forms, radio can contribute in the battle against hate speech.

The deregulation and commercialisation of the broadcast media was the demand of international political economy through the Structural Adjustment Programme and other economic revival programmes of the international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. They were framed as market-driven policies that would reduce state-funded wastages and lead to economic prosperity, diversity and the ascendancy of market-driven democracy of choice.

The conceptual frameworks and models that guide this analysis of deregulation and commercialization of broadcasting is a number of key ideas and theses on the literature of the political economy of communication as well as McQuail's the Democratic Participants Theory. Analysis is on the ways in which political and economic structures and processes, in this case the public policy of deregulation and commercialization of broadcasting impinge upon the production, dissemination and appropriation of communication by economic forces seeking profit. The critical political economy of communication sets out to show how different methods of financing and organizing our communicative needs, including ownership have consequences for the range of discourses and representations within the public domain and for audiences' access to them (Mosco, 2008; 2009; 2015).

Under the Democratic Participant Media Theory, the primary role of the media is to ensure the individuals' rights and society's right to access relevant information. Providing a feedback mechanism for the people to answer back as a right, and the right to use the means of the communication process for their interaction and among their communities of interest, are critical issues raised by the theory. One of the key elements of the theory is access and participation for a broad spectrum of society not on the basis power, influence and wealth but focusing on communication as the right of every citizen. The theory advocates the freedom and rights of persons especially minority groups and

their rights to access media and for the media to serve them according to their dictates and needs (McQuail, 1983:96-97; Asemah, E. S et al, 2017).

This study employed qualitative methods of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions of listeners of four radio stations in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja, Nigeria.   The study selected two radio stations that were established after deregulation and commercialisation and are privately owned. They are Raypower FM managed by the Daar Communication Company, later substituted with Vision FM operated by Vision Company Limited, Rhythm FM owned by Silverbird Production.   It also selected one old public interest, public broadcasting station that is government-owned and still partly government-subvented, Kapital FM and also a new generation FM station established after deregulation but government-owned called ASO FM. It believes that such disparate stations would exhibit significant differences in our analysis of variance. The study also employs document analysis of programme schedules and two weeks of audio broadcasts of these four radio stations to triangulate and validate findings from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussion sessions were transcribed and the transcripts were uploaded and analysed, using NVivo, a qualitative research data management and analysis software. Thematic coding was done and major themes relating to the research questions were identified and classified in relation to basic concepts of the study.

Codes identified from the theory and literature, as they relate to access, participation, content, programing etc. were used to code interviews and focus group discussions. The codes were also framed using questions that examined the issues of access and participation/content and peacebuilding. For this study, two weeks' audio recorded broadcasts of the four radio stations audio recordings of broadcasts of four radio stations were analysed. The hardcopy textual programmes schedules were used for cross-referencing. In analysing the audio texts, the codes created by the researcher were guided by the key research questions of the study.

The study found that there is some development and peacebuilding content on radio post deregulation but not enough. Only 37 broadcast hours out of 1008 hours of four radio stations' broadcast hours in two weeks were devoted to development and peacebuilding content. Peacebuilding content was a paltry 8 hours of 1008 hours. It also found that there are instances of hate speeches on radio, post deregulation occasioned by the drive for profit and the privately-owned radio stations are, due to the quest for profit, more prone to disturb the peace and escalate violence

But for the convergence between radio, cell phones and social media, access and participation would not have increased. There is more access for the poor and marginalized groups but not enough participation. The situation could have been worse without the emergence of cell phones, despite the multiplicity of radio stations. Higher levels of participation are not happening to any group without money. You can only produce your own programmes and broadcast them at the time of your choosing, if you pay for them.

Despite improved access and participation for the poor, they do not contribute to the weightier issues of national development and governance, on the contrary, their participation is limited to whimsical, trivial and mundane issues like sports, riddles and jokes.

Contrary to the concerns of political economy, post deregulation, radio stations are granting access and participation to the people who are in need for social justice and humanitarian concerns especially for the poor. We have tagged this new genre in radio broadcasting as "human rights radio"

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Introduction

All over the world, the media play an important role in educating, informing and entertaining the public. As the watchdog of society, the media have a critical role to play in shaping the political, economic and social lives of the people. In Nigeria, the media are in the forefront of promoting human development and democracy. As arbiters and mediators of the public sphere the media play key roles engendering peaceful coexistence, transparency in governance and the rule of law. Despite these significant roles, the radio, in Nigeria, in view of its wide reach and accessibility, has not been successful in playing these roles fully when compared to the print media (Global Advocacy Project, 2004-2005). Apart from being in predominantly urban/commercial centers, radio stations in Nigeria are largely elitist and heavily commercialized in their programming and content (Global Advocacy Project, 2004-2005).

Other factors like deregulation, liberalization and commercialization of the broadcast media have had unintended negative effect on how radio is perceived by listeners and other players in the media industry. For example, Oketunmbi (2006 & 2007) argued that liberalization has "widened the avenue for cultural imperialism", minimizing veritable platform for national cultural expression. According to him:

> "during the era of government monopolization of the broadcast industry, profit motive was not a major factor in programming. But in this era of liberalization, the case is reversed. Thus, powered by the profit motive, private broadcast stations invest more in programmes that people *want* rather then what they *need*" (p.8).

> Another question is the role of deregulation and commercialisation in shaping access to and participation of the public in radio programmes. This study attempts to respond to these issues. This is because radio that is participatory and dialogic, provides the highest possible ingredient for national cohesion and peaceful coexistence.

Background and Justification

In the 1980's, the economy of Nigeria suffered severe crises due to a combination of reasons but most noticeable, the drastic slump in the international oil market. This led to severe balance of payment deficit. From 1980 to 1986, Nigeria's real gross domestic Product (GDP) declined two to three percent a year (World Bank, 1994, p.51) and the standard of living of many Nigerians deteriorated. (Omame, 2016). Prior to the ascension of General Ibrahim Babangida as the Military President in August 1985, two previous regimes had attempted to grapple with Nigeria's economic crisis. Both regimes of General Obasanjo and Alhaji Shehu Shagari had put in place austerity measures in a *homegrown* attempt to reverse the decline. They introduced a belt tightening regime as a response to the precipitous decline in oil income in 1977 and an Economic Stabilization Act in 1982 called austerity measures respectively.

In Nigeria, the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida surrendered to the pressures of the International Monetary Fund's packaged Structural Adjustment Program—SAP (Bwala, 2014; Nsereka, 2016). After capitulation to the IMF's demand to adopt a structural adjustment programme, Nigeria implemented components of the programme. This study is specifically concerned with the commercialization and deregulation components of the IMF, particularly Decree No. 25 of 1988 listed a total of 35 Enterprises for commercialization, 24 were for partial commercialization while 11 (eleven) were for full commercialization. That decree 25 provided the legal framework for the Government's programme of commercialisation as an important component of the restructuring of the Nigerian economy.

Under that decree, commercialisation was defined as the reorganization of enterprises wholly or partly owned by the federal government in which such commercialized enterprises shall operate as profit-making commercial ventures and without subvention from the Federal Government (TCPC Final Report, 1993). In a fully commercialized enterprise, government will no longer subvent it rather it is expected to operate profitably on as a commercial venture that will raise funds in the capital market without any

government guarantee. On the other hand, a partially commercialized enterprise is expected to generate enough revenue to cover its operational costs. However, the government may consider providing it with capital grants to finance their capital-intensive projects. Commercialized enterprises were given powers to fix their rates, prices and charges for goods and services rendered. They could capitalize assets, borrow money and raise debenture stocks, sue and be sued in their corporate names (TCPC Final Report, 1993; Nwagbara, 2011; Kalejaiye et al, 2013). Some of the commercialized enterprises include the media, radio, TV and the press agency.

Although there was a widely-held notion that commercialization and deregulation of the broadcast media will democratize communication and increase access and participation for a broad range of citizens, the problems of access, as well as participation for ordinary people remains a major problem. Media have, therefore become increasingly competitive and hence access and participation is out of the reach of the poor making them more marginalized and excluded (Asogwa and Asemah, 2013; Ayu, 1983; Bogart, 2000; Downing, 2001; Golding and Murdock, 1991; Keane, 1991; Opubor, 1978; Oso, 2012).

Deregulation of broadcasting thus became a new site for capital accumulation for the rich, particularly advertisers and media owners. Deregulation constricts the space for public service broadcasting, limiting educational, informational, developmental and peacebuilding content in radio in Nigeria (Akeem et al, 2013; Bagdikian, 2004; Baym, 2008; Jibo, 1997 cited in Onoja, 2005; McQuail, 1983; Servaes, 2008; Siochru, 2005; Cage, 2016)

This study assesses how deregulation and commercialization of radio stations shape programming decisions, access and audience participation in selected radio stations in Nigeria between 1992 and 2017. It is timely and relevant in Nigeria for several reasons:

1. In recent times, radio broadcasting in Nigeria, like other human development sectors like health, agriculture, governance etc., is not immune from national and global development in the socio-political and economic contexts in contemporary times.

2. Research findings have shown that policy changes in radio broadcasting, especially regarding funding mechanisms have a range of implications for the nature of content provided.

3. Similarly, available content may cater to the needs of a narrow segment of society, marginalizing many of the people especially with respect to access and participation.

4. As outcomes of globalization and internationalization of economic activities, deregulation and commercialization may splinter the national public sphere, introducing a cacophony of commercialized voices and in the process eliminating a national voice- the moderator of the national public sphere- responsible for the mobilization and socialization of the citizenry for civic engagement, social cohesion and political participation.

To achieve these objectives, the study takes an interdisciplinary approach. Two theoretical frameworks guide this study: Democratic Participant Media Theory (McQuail, 1987; Asemah, E. et al, 2017) and Political Economy of Communication (Symthe, 1977; Schiller, 1984; Mosco, 1996; 2009; 2012; Murdock, G. et al 2011; Winseck, 2016; Pendakur, 2017). The chapter also includes the history of broadcasting globally; radio broadcasting in Nigeria and the emergence of regional broadcasting in Nigeria. It, in addition examines the origin, causes, and nature of conflicts in Nigeria.

Problem Statement

Despite the arguments on the importance of the market as the fulcrum of policies leading to deregulation, liberalization and commercialization, there are pitfalls in the implementation of policies emanating from the West, which, while suited for their levels of development, might be detrimental to a developing economy such as Nigeria. (Gonzalez, 1988, Nwuzor, 2014; Allen and Stemlau, 2005; Mohammed, 1994; Calabresse and Mihal, 2011. Teer-Tomaselli, 2004). This is important because radio, which is required to play a significant role in national development might be hampered by deregulation with reference to   the commercialization of news, content and programming.

The logic of deregulation informs the logic of the commercial system as Williams (1968 cited in Jakubowicz, 1993) posits that "anything can be said, provided that you can afford to say it and that you can say it profitably" (p.119). This means that a large chunk of citizens who cannot afford to finance and operate media are marginalized, contents and messages that are necessary for human development would be excluded. Similarly, the profit orientation of the commercial media significantly reduces the range of content being communicated. (Hanretty, 2012, Foster and Meek 2008).

This study therefore assesses how deregulation and commercialization has affected the programming, content, the development and peacebuilding functions of radio in Nigeria, as well as access and participation.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine how deregulation and commercialisation of the broadcast industry has shaped the operations of public and private FM radio stations in the country. Radio broadcasting, in this case, provides an important platform for public awareness and information sharing, education, political participation and development. (Asemah, 2011; McQuail, 2005; Myers, 2008; Salter, 2011 cited in Santas and Asemah, 2013).

The radio and television communication technologies have the greatest potential to support development, peace building and deradicalization (Anifowose, 2013; Apata and Ogunrawo, 2010; Ariyo et al, 2013; Goldfrab, 2006; Allen and Stremlau, 2005; Poopola, 2009; Putzel and van der Zwan, 2006; Voltmer and Beck, 2006; Bratic, 2015). However, in a fully deregulated and commercialized environment, this great potential could be diminished due to an increased focus on private commercial interest (profit making) by broadcast stations.

It is therefore, important to study deregulation and commercialisation of broadcasting to understand what new forms of economic, social or political consequences they engender. Considering the above, the study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To find out how deregulation and commercialization of radio broadcasting have shaped the media landscape in Nigeria. The goal is to assess some media outlets and identify whether the Nigeria audience-member is better off today in gaining access and participation given the multiplicity of channels. To find out the perception of the audience about the benefits of diversity – music, entertainment and numerous advertisements in programme content and choices.

2. To determine how deregulation and commercialization has affected programming content in peacebuilding, development, political mobilization and education

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to our understanding of the effect of deregulation and commercialization on the radio broadcast industry in Nigeria. It is a contribution to knowledge about a policy and how to remedy its most unwholesome effects on an instrument of social and political mobilization, development and peacebuilding. The policy of deregulation and commercialism of the broadcast media is unlikely to be reversed in the near future. This work provides recommendations and policy thrusts that accommodate both deregulation and public interest in radio broadcasting. The work posits that both can coexist; however, it would be necessary to make some adjustments to ameliorate negative effect of the former on public interest broadcasting. Findings from this study may provide tools or perspectives that could be useful for regulating broadcasting in Nigeria.

The study could be regarded as a formative research in the political economy of communication in Nigeria, a field that has been hardly used in its entirety to explore the media in Nigeria especially radio. The private ownership of the broadcast media in Nigeria is still quite young compared the developed economies, so we are yet to witness the issues of massive conglomeration, oligopolies and the vertical integration of all forms of media into a single holding giant company through cross investments in all forms of

businesses, we are yet to see the extent of patterns of capital accumulation, relations of production and its effects on the free flow of information and media contents that have become so prevalent in the advanced economies particularly the western world. These patterns will increase as time goes on, so this work positions itself as a reference material to further researches in this field of political economy of communication in investigating the media especially the broadcast media in Nigeria.

Research Questions

Based on the purpose of the study and statement of problem identified above, the study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped access for a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

2. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped participation of a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

3. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped peacebuilding content in radio in Nigeria?

4. To what extent have deregulation and commercialization shaped content and programming decisions in radio stations, limiting development information content?

5. Is the struggle to make profit constraining the broadcast media to produce and disseminate more entertainment programmes than informational and educational programmes?

Scope and Limitation of the Study

A longitudinal study of the broadcast media landscape from the date of deregulation and increased commercialism in 1992 till date would have been ideal. This would lend itself to a trend analysis and a greater validity to our research findings. However, there are more than 300 radio stations scattered across the country. We compensated for this by

getting perspectives, through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews from a broad range of radio listeners, radio journalists and broadcast media executives from 35 out of the 36 states of Nigeria, though resident or visiting the Federal Capital Territory.

The study, therefore, limits itself to the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja (FCT.) where in-depth study and analysis of programming in selected radio stations were conducted. The choice of the Federal Capital Territory is informed by its rapid infrastructural development and the transformation of the rural area since nearly forty years ago, into a bustling city and capital of Nigeria. The FCT is still surrounded by rural areas and has gradually become a microcosm of Nigeria. The Federal Capital Territory is home to every segment and ethnic group in Nigeria, with an urban population, thus, allowing for a diversity of voices to be included in the study. Apart from the population, the Federal Capital Territory also houses several public and private radio stations. Other than Lagos, the commercial capital of Nigeria, no other city has more radio stations than the Federal Capital Territory.

Also, in limiting the scope of the study to a manageable proportion given the resources available to this researcher, we selected for analysis four radio stations in the FCT Abuja, two are privately-owned stations while the other two are commercialised government-owned stations which still receive public funds for their operations. Though the numbers are low, we compensated for this through thorough and in-depth analysis of our focus group discussions and key informers' interviews. This selection provides the required attributes for answering the research questions. For instance, it is assumed that the privately-owned stations would be different in programming style, orientation and constricted by the pressures to make profit to survive in addition to the political leanings and philosophies of their owners.

On the other hand, commercialised government stations would have to contend with new challenges of canvassing for funds in the marketplace as well as a new management ethos based on result-oriented performance contracts. They would have to find ways to balance out their traditional public service and public interest mandates with the new order to

watch the bottom line: the profit motive while remaining government-owned and still subject to political interferences.

These four radio stations lend themselves to a comparative analysis that enrich our data and the study findings. This would have been unavailable if we had restricted ourselves to just one choice of same stations, the divergence and diversity would be lacking. During field work, we had to add a fifth radio station, Vision FM, because, when we started the document analysis, we found that Raypower FM, one of our selected radio station did not have any recorded broadcast for the period chosen. They explained that their equipment broke down so they could not record their live transmissions for a long time. We then had to choose another radio station, comparable to Raypower in all characteristics, private, for profit, similar business model and all, for the document analysis.

We have selected the year 2017 for study because twenty-five years after the phenomena of deregulation and increased commercialism of the radio broadcasting, the radio media landscape would have settled and acquired its own essential character and philosophy. The early mistakes of beginners would have been corrected and a survival behavioural characteristic formed. Any other period would have been too early and probably anecdotal. The profiles of radio stations selected for this study are discussed below:

Rhythm FM
Rhythm FM belongs to the Silverbird Communications group, a conglomerate of entertainment group spanning radios, televisions, cinemas across the West Africa sub region. The group is also involved in beauty contests, shopping malls, property and hotel management. Silverbird's main business focus is entertainment.

Given the background of the parent company, Rhythm FM Abuja is noted for music and entertainment. The station prides itself as fully devoted to music with the catchall phrase "much more music". Its daily radio output is uniquely distinguished by highly interactive

call-in shows, Its *On-Air Personalities* (OAP) are very popular for playing the most current top of the chart music hits as well as evergreen smash hits from the past.

Given its entertainment orientation, Rhythm's programmes and news are racy, interactive, targeting the urban youth population and focused on advertising revenue. The group describes itself this way, "a notable attribute of our radio and TV offerings is the commanding brand trust and affinity that the Silverbird brand enjoys with the younger generation of Nigerians, the majority demographic grouping in the most populous country in Africa" (www.silverbirdgroup.com, 2017, p.1). The owner of the group is a senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Though a politician, you do not see the overbearing influence of his politics on the operations of the station. The entertainment progeny and DNA of the station is too strong to be overwhelmed by the politics of its owner.

RAYPOWER FM

DAAR Communications Plc is the foremost private independent broadcast outfit in Nigeria. In the wake of deregulation of broadcasting on 24 August 1992, DAAR Communications Plc applied for and was granted approval to operate an independent radio station. On 15th December 1993, the company launched the first private radio station in Nigeria with the establishment of *Raypower 100.5FM* and commenced commercial broadcasting in September 1994 in Lagos as the first 24-hour broadcast service station in Nigeria.

The company set up the Raypower FM in Abuja in January 1, 2005 which started broadcasts on the same *100.5 FM* frequency from Abuja, FCT, Nigeria. Today, Raypower FM Abuja is one of the network of 19 stations of the DAAR Communications Plc which has holdings in several television stations as well.

As a fully privately-owned profit driven station the Raypower FM targets a broad range of high net worth individuals, companies and government agencies with its programmes and news for advertising and commercial sponsorships. It prides itself as a voice of the people by trying to broadcast in major Nigerian languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

The station's highly interactive *Political Platform* which dissects sensitive political issues in the country is very popular among listeners, politicians and government. Politicians consider it a platform for visibility and a launch pad for their political ambitions while government uses it to explain thorny political and governance issues to the electorate. All at an expensive appearance fee. The owner of Raypower FM is an influential politician, therefore, the programmes and news of the station follow the politics of its owner.

VISION FM

Vision FM 92.1 commenced operation in 2006, determined to take radio broadcasting beyond entertainment and information to be a tool for development and the growth of participatory democracy. The station considers itself a community-friendly radio, communicating to its audiences in their own local languages with a view to granting access and participation to a larger number of the local population who are their priority audience. The target audience of the station are Nigerians in all strata of the society and it has bias for local languages. It broadcasts in the languages of the people such as Gwari and Gwandara in addition to other major Nigerian languages such as Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. English is also a language of broadcast.

Its mission statement is "to proffer realistic solutions to developmental challenges using our community broadcasting format to attain a more prosperous, homogenous and egalitarian society", with a vision to be "Nigeria's most development-oriented FM station working with the community to promote development in Nigeria" (http://visionfmradio.ng, 2017. P.1). It seeks to empower Nigerians to make a difference in their communities by providing the needed platform to bridge the gap between the government and the governed via the radio.

Though domiciled in the Federal Capital, Abuja, it is received in the neighbouring states in the North Central Nigeria including, Nasarawa, Niger, Kaduna, Kogi, Benue and Plateau. Vision FM is expanding its stations as well. It currently has stations in Sokoto and Katsina states and plans 10 more stations across the country. The founders of the

radio station are broadcast journalists with international experience with the BBC and the Voice of America.

ASO FM

Aso FM radio station which broadcasts on the frequency modulated band at 93.5 was established in 1997 by a former Military Administrator of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria. It is a government-owned radio station. The station was commissioned on the 19th May 1999 and began regular transmission since then.

The radio station was set up to provide broadcasting service and operate as the official broadcasting communication network of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria. The station has become one of the main radio broadcasting stations in the capital city, Abuja. In 2012, a television arm was created and merged with the radio station to form the Abuja Broadcasting Corporation, (ABC).

Being a government funded radio station, it's mission is to provide broadcasting services that would inform, enlighten, entertain, create harmony and social cohesion among the residents of the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. To this end the station attempts to broadcast in the major languages spoken in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. It broadcasts in Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, the three major languages in Nigeria as well as Gbagi which is the major language spoken by the indigenous people of the territory. Fulani is also a language of broadcast to cater to a large population of the Fulani in the territory.

Although funded by government, it is still allowed to take advertisements and commercial sponsorships to supplement the funding it gets from government. To do this, it targets getting advertising revenue from the Ministry of Federal Capital Territory Abuja and its agencies, other government establishments and institutions in the capital city, the public, religious bodies, advertising agencies, multinational companies, financial institutions, telecommunication services among others.

The radio station prides itself as a station which knows the territory like no other and a place to go if you are really interested in the affairs of the Federal Capital Territory. It is the mouthpiece of the Ministry of Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

Kapital FM

Radio Nigeria Abuja is the oldest radio station in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. It was established in 1980 as the medium wave station from the stable of Radio Nigeria, the government-owned public broadcaster. Kapital FM was the second station established in 2002 as part of the Radio Nigeria family. It came on stream as an urban-based FM station targeting the upwardly mobile residents of the city of Abuja on the frequency of 92.9.

Kapital FM's vision is allied to those of its parent station, Radio Nigeria, the country's premier sixty-six-year old network public broadcaster. The vision is to "unite the people and uplift the nation" This stated mandate drives the programming content as well as news and current affairs philosophy of the station.

As a government-owned radio station, Kapital FM reflects the diversity inherent in its area of coverage. Its main language of broadcast is the English Language. However, to be inclusive, give access and participation in the spirit of reflecting the character and diversity of the nation, it broadcasts in the three major Nigerian languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. It also broadcasts in the major indigenous language of the people of Abuja called Gbagi or Gwari, and Pidgin, the informal cross-cultural, cross-linguistic interpersonal lingo of everyday use by the lower stratum of the Nigerian society.

It also reflects the government position on issues and is regarded as the FM variant of the mouthpiece of the government in power, following the steps of its mother station, Radio Nigeria. It is not fully commercialized. It receives government subvention and solicits for advertising and sponsorship to supplement what it gets from government.
As part of the network family of Radio Nigeria, some other radio stations tune to it to receive the national network news and programmes emanating from the network service of Radio Nigeria.

History and Overview of Broadcasting

McQuail (2000 citing Williams 1975) said unlike previous communication technologies, the radio and television were systems primarily designed for transmission and reception and with little or no definition of content. It seemed that this initial drawback was quickly overcome. Wireless telegraphy as radio was known then had a technical flaw which wired telegraph and telephone did not have. The purpose of radio was for point-to-point communication (Nord,1986). However, radio had a 'technical flaw' - the 'unfortunate' property of 'broadcasting' its signal so anyone with a receiver could listen in on a conversation. It was an unwelcome facility that nobody wanted and unless something could be done to eliminate this technical problem, radio could never be able to achieve its full potential as a medium of communication.

David Sarnoff of the American Marconi Company was one of the first to moot the idea of making an effective use of radio's fundamental weakness—broadcasting. In 1916, he wrote to his superiors at the American Marconi;

> I have in mind a plan of development which would make radio a 'household utility' in the same sense as the piano or phonograph… the receiver can be designed in the form of simple 'Radio music box' and arranged for several different wave lengths, which would be changeable with the throwing of a single switch or pressing a single button, 'the radio music box' can be supplied with amplifying tubes and a loud-speaking telephone, all of which can be neatly mounted in a box. The box can be placed in the parlor or living room, the switch set accordingly, and the transmitted music received (Boada, 1982, p.50).

Although this idea was greeted with skepticism and rejected by the company, by 1920 Frank Conrad an employee of the American Westinghouse Corporation through experimental broadcast had succeeded in transmitting music, which was picked up by the radio wireless sets in the Pittsburgh area in the United States. This was to become the first radio station called Pittsburgh KDKA (Smulyan, 1985). Thus, radio as a medium of

mass communication was born and at that time 'the only means of instantaneous collective communication ever devised' (Stone, 2014, p 253)

Radio broadcasting in Nigeria. The history of broadcasting in Nigeria has been chronicled by the principal players of radio broadcasting in Nigeria including Ian Mackay (1964) who was the last foreign Director General of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. Ian Mackay was followed by several Nigerian academics, (Coker, 1967, Adejumobi, 1974, Uche, 1985) among others have done a historical trajectory of the beginnings, development and the present structure of broadcasting in Nigeria.

After the Pittsburgh breakthrough, radio as a medium for mass communication spread through North America, Europe, and with colonialism it was a matter of time before it spread to the colonies. At the early stage, the colonial government in Nigeria through the Nigerian Post and Telegraph department, developed a system called the "wired radio or Radio Distribution Service, RDS" also known as the "Rediffusion." It was a system of redistribution of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) programmes by means of wires connected to loud speakers and made available to all subscribers to the service. It was operated in conjunction with the Empire Service of the BBC.

The first of those wired "wireless distribution station" was set up in Lagos in December 1935 (Mackay, 1964). This system of broadcast spread especially in Lagos that by 1939 Nigeria had three RDS Stations operated and maintained by the Post and Telegraph Department. By gazette notice No.1098 of September 5, 1935 the government advertised the conditions under which a radio distribution line could be installed in private homes and public places to enable subscribers to listen to BBC programmes. The Colonial Public Relations Office originated a few local programmes by the RDS but mainly the RDS system was rebroadcast stations of British originated programmes running over 17 hours daily of BBC programmes and only one hour of Local programmes (Adejumobi, 1974). The management of the RDS (which had grown to 13 stations), was split in 1951.The Nigerian P. and T. was assigned the responsibility of maintenance of the lines connecting subscribers to the RDS while the programmes production function was

assigned to an official of the colonial Public Relations Office with a view to initiating more local programmes and to provide Nigerian artistes the opportunity to perform on the RDS.

Occasionally committees were set up to fine-tune the operations of the RDS system in Nigeria as well as other colonies of the British Empire like the Plymouth committee of 1936 and Turner-Byron committee of 1949 which recommended the coexistence of the RDS alongside a full-fledged Nigerian Broadcasting system for several years. In 1960, there were 48 RDS stations and 36 of them were privately owned. (Coker, 1967). They were serving a total listening strength of 53,688 (RIIA, 1960) even though by statute, the RDS co-existed with mainstream broadcasting in Nigeria, it was to die with the regionalisation of broadcasting. This was because regional broadcasting stations emphasized local programming in their broadcasts while the RDS was merely a rebroadcast station for the BBC. The last RDS closed in 1967 following the expiration of its 15 years' franchise. According to Coker (1967):

> Broadcasting in Nigeria dates to 1932. In fact, in December 1932 when the BBC started what they called the Empire Service, and Lagos was one of the receiving centres. For a short while, Lagos would only receive; it could not re-broadcast, and even then, if it had wanted to rebroadcast, there were not many receiving sets. So, between 1932 and 1934 the primary duty of the station was to receive; the programmes were wholly BBC… nothing local, and in fact until 1951, when the Nigerian Broadcasting Service was inaugurated, most of the wireless were BBC programmes with one or two local items (p.49).

This was the colonial administration's initiative to develop broadcasting in the British colonies. This culminated in the setting up of the Plymouth committee which in 1937 recommended that colonial broadcasting should be developed as an instrument to advance administration, enlightenment and education of Nigerians. After the Second World War in 1948, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies endorsed the recommendation of the Plymouth committee that broadcasting should be operated as a public service (Colonial Office, 1964 cited in Adejumobi, 1974). The BBC was immediately commissioned to conduct a survey of broadcasting facilities in West Africa

(Turner, 1949, p.1 cited in Adejumobi, 1974). The Post and Telegraph Department established a broadcasting station in Lagos. It was called Radio Nigeria and with a 300-watt transmitter on short wave, it relayed the rediffusion programmes as well as produced and broadcast its own local programmes. It closed in 1951 when the Nigerian Broadcasting Service started operations but remains on record as the first totally colonial Nigerian radio station.

What gave birth to the Nigerian Broadcasting Service was a British Act of Parliament—Colonial Development and Welfare Act - which formulated a plan to establish national and regional broadcasting in Nigeria. With an initial financial outlay from the Colonial Administration and following the Byron-Turner report, the facilities of the RDS was converted to a full-fledged national and regional broadcasting system. With the help of the BBC to train staff for the new establishment, a broadcasting department was established under the direct control of the Chief Secretary of the Colony. The first Director General of the NBS Tom Chalmers and chief Technical Engineer J.W Murray were seconded from the BBC to Nigeria to midwife the new broadcasting industry in the country (Murray, 1964, p.6 cited in Adejumobi, 1974).

The NBS started operations on April 1, 1951, a very critical period in the constitutional and political development of Nigeria. It was not long before the service was threatened by the struggle for constitutional reforms, self-government and more autonomy. These constitutional difficulties threatened the very existence of the NBS before it even started (Mackay, 1964). The NBS closed in 1957. By then it bought new transmitters, programming had expanded and were broadcast in several Nigerian languages while the staff had grown from three in 1951 to 472, of which 415 were Nigerians (Adejumobi, 1974, p.50). Thus, the NBS was born in the crises of political reforms, which engulfed Nigeria between 1952 and 1954. These crises affected and radically changed the nature of Nigerian broadcasting.

The emergence of regional broadcasting in Nigeria. What precipitated the creation of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and regional stations was a foretaste of

what would become the Achilles hills of government-controlled broadcasting in Nigeria. When in 1953, Governor-general Macpherson criticised the Action Group party and its leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo over talks in the Federal House of Representatives, following standard journalistic procedures, the Action Group asked for air time from the NBS to give their own said of the story. This was denied. The party felt that the NBS had become an official organ of government and no longer reflective of the balanced views of Nigerians. Pressure began to mount on the government to decentralise broadcasting and make the NBS a public corporation. Alhaji D. S. Adegbenro of the House of Representatives introduced a motion in the house that would remove broadcasting from direct federal government control.

Following this motion, the necessary bill was introduced on August 23rd, 1954. That same year as a new constitution for Nigeria was being drawn, the regions insisted for the inclusion of the charter that "a provision for broadcasting to be within the competence of both the central government and the regions". The bill to incorporate the NBS was delayed for two years but by 1957 by an act of parliament, the NBS became a statutory corporation, the first public service broadcasting corporation in the British Colonial Empire. The first Director General was Mr. J.A.C. Knotts followed by Mr. R.S. Postgate. Mr. Ian Mackay was the third and last expatriate head of the NBC. Mr. E. V. Badejo took over from him as the first Nigerian Director General. The Act that created the NBC required it to be placed under regulation of the Director of Post and Telegraph department and that it should provide services that are national in scope and regional in representation. It's services…

> When considered as a whole, (should) reflect the unity of Nigeria as a federation, and at the same time give adequate expression to the culture, characteristics, affairs and opinions of the people of each region or part of the federation (NBC Ordinance, 1956, cited in Uche, 1989, p39).

This fluid directive on programming meant that the NBC as a corporate entity would have the final say in its programming. The Director of Post and Telegraph only had supervision over licensing and technical matters but not programming. Only the 1937

Plymouth committee gave indications and guidelines of what programming pattern the NBC should adopt. The 1937 recommendations of the committee suggested that Nigerian broadcasting should include educational, public health and agricultural programmes (Colonial Office, 1937 cited in Adejumobi, 1974). The intention was that broadcasting should play a vital role in the spread of knowledge and understanding. The ordinance that created the NBC stated that it should be modelled after the BBC with national and regional organisations. The regional organisation should, in large part, have autonomy in deciding programme content.

The aggressive pursuit of regionalisation meant that the politicians of the day were not going to accept a total reliance on the newly created NBC for coverage of their activities. The NBC's highly centralised operational method did not help to allay their fears. The NBC operated a centralized system of broadcasting with Lagos as the core and the three regional broadcasting stations as extensions. It was not long before the regional stations seceded with the West starting the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in 1959. The East followed on Independence Day, 1960 and the North created the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) in 1962. The intense rivalry of the regions was further magnified with the creation of three different voices to articulate their various ethnic and regional agenda. Ian Mackay, the last expatriate Director General of the NBC saw this as unhealthy for a developing country which should rather have an articulate national voice, a rallying point for national aspirations and patriotism (Mackay, 1964).

The onset of the Nigerian civil war in 1966 saw to the further balkanization of the radio broadcasting structure to include the Northeastern State Programming service, the Midwestern State Broadcasting Service and the Southeastern Programming service. This was to reflect the 12-state structure that was been created by General Yakubu Gowon in 1967. Between 1967 and 1977, NBC had one radio station in each state. Ndolo (1987) puts it thus:

> The NBC of 1967 operated on a three-tier system designed to cater for varying
> tastes and audiences. The Home Service has a national programme to serve the

common heritage of Nigeria four regional services in the middle tier to give
expression to the characteristics of states of the federation, and, at the base of the
tier, thirteen local stations which are conveniently positioned to focus attention on
the culture and development of areas removed from the principal centers of
government and other activities (p.165).

Table 3:Nigeria's States and the NBC Stations, 1967—1977

Region	Radio Station	Old States	New States
North	Kaduna	North Central	Kaduna
	Kano	Kano	Kano
	Ilorin	Kwara	Kwara
	Sokoto	Northwestern	Niger/Sokoto
	Maiduguri	Northeastern	Bauchi/Borno/Gongola
	Jos	Benue-plateau	Benue/Plateau
Midwest	Benin	Midwestern	Bendel
East	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Rivers
	Calabar	Southeastern	Cross River
	Enugu	East Central	Imo/Anambra
West	Ibadan	Western	Ogun/Ondo/Oyo
	Lagos (National)	Lagos	Lagos

The structure of the NBC continued to respond to the political development of the nation
in conformity with the federal character. The emergence of General Murtala Mohammed
as the Head of State in 1975 and the subsequent creation of seven additional states meant
that the NBC stations increased to 19 to cover all the states of the federation. Henceforth,
rather than grow at pace with the political and structural growth of the country, the NBC
due to economic exigencies would contract as the nation grew. The Decree No. 8 of April
1978 that abolished the NBC and created the Federal Radio Corporation handed over the
States stations to the respective States. These were however recovered by incoming
civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari and used as outreach propaganda
instruments in the States of the Federation. They were used to counter the press barrage

from states not controlled by the National Party of Nigeria, the ruling party at the Federal level.

By the time the NBC closed or rather evolved into the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), the 1950 conception of a single national noncommercial broadcasting service had evolved into a national and 19 states radio structure as well as a couple of States' owned radio stations. Despite charges of bias by the politicians of the day there appeared to be a conclusive evidence that the new medium of radio had helped raise the level of political consciousness, social mobilisation, cultural revival and education in the country. We find this in two submissions in the federal House of Representatives (Shaibu, 1996) The honourable I S Usman member for Wukari put it this way:

> Indeed, the NBS has brought political education and enlightenment to many people in this country. It gives also wonderful educational possibilities as it scatters knowledge more easily than any other agency. it has acquainted many of us with new ideas and ideals in literature, philosophy, science, politics; it is imparting lessons in languages, history, civics—in fact on every subject. For the common man or an illiterate, the radio is perhaps his best teacher (Federal House of Representatives Debate, 1956, p.2987 cited in Shaibu, 1996)).

The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). The coming of the FRCN through Decree No 8 of 1978 was to restructure and decentralize broadcasting in Nigeria. "The aim was to ensure political stability, coexistence, national integration and above all national unity and understanding among the various ethnic groups in a nation of almost 100 million people" (Uche, 1986). Through the restructuring which handed over FRCN's stations to the states governments to run services of their own, the corporation has evolved into a six-zonal structure which correspond to the geo- linguistics zones of the country, while the external service is now an independent corporation of its own catering to the external publicity needs of the country. Called the voice of Nigeria it is more like the Voice of America in structure and orientation.

The zones have been renamed National stations and are headquartered in Kaduna, Enugu, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Bauchi and Abuja. Operationally six national stations broadcast in English and 20 Nigerian languages to cover about 85.3% of the Nigerian population, thereby achieving the necessary penetration and impact for national coverage. The Kaduna National Station caters to the linguistic zone of Hausa, Kanuri, Fulfude, Nupe in addition to English. Broadcasting in these languages, the station linguistically effectively covers the northeast, northwest and northcentral parts of the country.

The Enugu National Station has the mandate to cover the southeast zone of the country. The station allots its broadcast time to the major language of the zone, Igbo and English to reflect grassroots and federal government objectives and to serve as a vehicle of enlightenment to communities in the zone.

The Ibadan Zone, which was launched in June 1978, broadcasts programmes in Yoruba. Its programme content caters to the needs of the people in the southwest zone. These programmes reflect national development aspirations and grassroots mobilization.

The stations in Abuja covers the federal capital territory in addition to broadcasting in the three main Nigerian languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, the main idea is to reach the peoples in and around the federal capital with programmes and news in their own languages. The Abuja National Station also broadcasts in Gwari, Egbura, Koro, Ganagana, Gade; the major languages spoken in the Federal Capital Territory. As the nation's capital, Abuja also houses the Headquarters of the Corporation and the Directorates of Network news and Programmes from which the network and programmes are beamed across the nation.

The Lagos National Station lost its status to Abuja with the movement of the seat of government to Abuja the capital territory. Yet its stations are vibrant broadcasting in the three main Nigerian languages in addition to English and Pidgin. The Directorate of Marketing and what is left of the Educational Service also reside within the Lagos operations.

The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria otherwise called Radio Nigeria on air remains an octopus in the radio broadcasting landscape in Nigeria. It has a network of 32 FM stations across the country and power short wave transmitters in four of the six zonal

headquarters. It has six zonal management structures, one zonal headquarters in each geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Its headquarters is in the capital city Abuja from where all the zones are managed.

The Decree that setup the FRCN stipulated a sixteen-point broad objective, which the Corporation must strive to achieve. They include;

- The provision of efficient broadcasting services to the entire federation of Nigeria, based on national objectives and aspirations.

- The provision of a professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture, to promote cultural growth through research and to disseminate the result of such research works for the benefit of the Public.

- The positive contribution to the development of Nigerian society and the promotion of national unity by ensuring a balanced presentation of views from all parts of the country.

- Ensuring the prompt delivery of accurate information to the people.

- Providing opportunities for free, enlightened and responsible discussion of important issues and providing a 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.

Ever since the restructuring, the FRCN operated within the confines of this six-zonal structure imposed on it by the government until lately. Whatever development or expansion has been within the confines of this zonal structural constrain. Such developments have taken the forms of increased stations within this zonal structure and improvement in the wattage of its transmitters for wider coverage of the country.

Broadcasting was government-driven, supported, funded and controlled. The rise of regional radio stations was the first-time broadcasting 'slipped out' of the hands of central government with the provision in the Macpherson constitution placing broadcasting in the concurrent list. With the complete decentralisation of the system through decree No. 8 of 1978, most States established their own stations. In 1992 for the first time in the history of broadcasting, there was complete deregulation of the industry

allowing private citizens to own and run radio /television stations. To understand the concept of broadcasting in Nigeria, it is important to examine two key models-the British and American, with a view to identifying how both models shape what can be described as the Nigerian model of broadcasting. This, we shall discuss in chapter two.

Conflicts in Nigeria

Politics, elections and religion are drivers of violence-prone content on radio.
The dereliction of this important role radio should play in respect of enhancing peace and ameliorating conflicts in Nigeria is grave against the background of the conflictual nature of the Nigerian state. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria is no stranger to conflicts of all sorts; religious, communal, ethnic and a civil war which lasted for three years, from 1966 to 1970.

Since independence in 1960, Nigeria's history is replete with fear of domination by one ethnic, religious, or regional group over another. This has caused a lot conflicts, including a civil war and several threats of succession (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Mustapha, 2004; Paden, 2008). There is the popular notion that since the return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, there have been more ethnic and religious divisions (Ajayi, 2005; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

There are huge educational and economic gaps in Nigeria, massive inequalities exist between Nigeria's wealthiest and poorest citizens. The gap is increasing according to John Campbell who noted that the number of people living on less than one dollar a day increased 20% between 2004 and 2010 (Campbell, 2013, p. 11). About 70% of Nigerians live under this mark (Paden, 2008, p. 13).

Movements such as Boko Haram, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Niger Delta militants and other violent groups, are to a very large extent caused by increased poverty, injustices, miscarriages of justice, inequities, disillusionment with the government, and lack of educational and economic opportunities (Campbell, 2013). Scholars believe that conflicts in Nigeria which emphasize ethnic and religious differences are manipulated by

elite and politicians (Campbell, 2013; Falola & Heaton, 2008). Encouraging ethnic conflict allows politicians to shift the blame for ongoing conflict away from unjust structures and onto ethnic and religious factors.

The fragile state. Nigeria has been described as a "dysfunctional state" because it does not provide neither economic, social nor any welfare opportunity to its citizens, and has had "sustained period(s) of civil unrest, economic decline, state atrophy and social corrosion" (Herbst and Mills, 2006; p. 1). While Hagher (2011) does not accept that Nigeria is dysfunctional others like Francois & Sud (2006) agree that it should be categorized as a fragile state. Whatever categorization is given to Nigeria, the facts are that the country has failed to meet the most basic needs of its citizens, needs in terms of education, welfare and security. It ranks low (152 out of 188 countries) in the United Nations Human Development Report (2017). More than 10.5 million of its school age children are not in school (UNICEF, 2015).

Nigeria is one of the world's largest oil producers. In ranking, it is the 7th. Despite large revenues coming from the sale of oil, the country still has a large population of poor people. It is estimated that more than 70 percent of Nigerians live on less than one dollar a day (Bach, 2006; Paden, 2008, p. 13). Nigeria has one of the most unequal income distributions in the world (Campbell, 2013, p. 12; Paden, 2008). These inequalities lead average Nigerians to doubt that their government is working on their behalf, and to question the fairness of the opportunity structure. Widespread corruption and the failure of the state to improve ordinary citizens' lives have undermined many Nigerians' confidence in their government and nation. Maier (2000) writes, "The primary task facing Nigeria's leaders is to convince the majority of their people that the government exists to serve rather than to prey upon them' (p. 46)

When the government does not meet people's needs for security and a sense of belonging, some people turn to ethnicity or religion as substitutes for citizenship. Groups are, therefore, segregated and marked by religion, region, ethnicity, and politics. In such circumstances, people may have stronger ethno-religious identities as a reaction to the

weakness of their state. The deep divisions between groups in Nigeria are partly results of a weak state. When ethnic and religious identities provide a sense of security that the state has not provided, the recourse is to fall back to identifications with ethnic and religious groups, and increased conflict between such groups is the outcome. In current conflicts, extremist leaders are calling on Nigerians' religious identities.

When people prioritize their religious identities over their national identity, extremist groups such as Boko Haram can frame anti-government terrorism as religious warfare and recruit disaffected youth (Campbell, 2013). Failure to provide basic amenities and protection has greatly undermined the Nigerian government's legitimacy and created a conflictual state with little prospect for patriotism and nationalism. When states fail to give groups and entities rights and protection as is the case with Nigeria, the recourse for individuals is to rely on their own resources, these resources can be ethnic and religious networks. When citizens receive no provisions in the form of security, education, or electricity, they feel little connection to the Nigerian state or to their fellow citizens (Falola & Heaton, 2008, p. 205).

There is a nexus between Nigeria's dysfunctional state, feeble national identity, an upswing in ethno-religious identities, and increasing violence. In Nigeria, the elites of all shades be they political, religious or economic have often manipulated ethnic and religious identities to fuel or further conflict. In situations like these such identities become more deeply entrenched, making it less likely that groups could build peaceful and filial relationships and attitudes towards others (Bekerman & Maoz, 2005; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Definition of Terms
For this study, the terms listed below are defined as follows:
Commercialisation. This is generally defined as a process by which programmes and services that were hitherto free are monetised with a view of collecting revenues either for the government or as a means of recouping parts of the operational costs of providing such services (TCPC, Final Report, 1986). It is the process by which media structures

and contents are to reflect the profit-making goals and are governed by market consideration. In the case of the media and in the context of this study, the concept means accepting paid advertising and sponsorships of programmes, news and other services.

Deregulation. Deregulation in recent times have been made popular by World Bank/ IMF conditionalities. But in economic terms it simply means withdrawal of state – the political subsystem- control from aspects of the economy to allow free reign of the forces of the market and economics to dictate the trend. It means the dismantling of all forms of regulations in an economy to allow for the laws of demand and supply to operate unhindered. In realm of broadcasting, deregulation takes the form of government relinquishing its monopoly of the sector and allowing for private participation.

Infotainment. As the names implies, it is a marriage of information and entertainment. It is a more recent programme format in response to the demands of capturing audience in a modern fast-paced world. It is a mixture of entertainment with tidbits of information. Infotainment is light programming with a lot of emphasis on entertainment which is quite contrary to the concept of edutainment which seeks to educate through the medium of entertainment. The objective is to educate while the emphasis on infotainment is in the entertainment.

Commodification. Has its origin in the works of Karl Marx (cited in Mosco, 1996) in which all entities are assigned material cash value. Marx (cited in Mosco, 1996) criticized capitalist relations of production for commodifying all exchange relation by assigning values to them without recognition of the use values of certain relations. Relating this to the media it refers to the treatment of all media messages as 'product' to be bought or sold in the media market without reference to other criteria of value. On the other level media audiences are also commodified, i.e. they are treated as commodities measured, assessed, quantified and sold to advertisers at different prices per head.

Prime time. Prime-time in broadcasting refers to the peak listening or viewing time. At that period, the largest number of people listen/watch programmes or stations. In

Nigeria, for radio broadcasting, audience peak listening periods are usually in the early to late mornings and the late afternoon. For television, it is usually in the late evening to early night hours.

Hegemony. The concept of hegemony is credited to the Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (cited in Downing 2011). Mostly conceptualised in his prison notes, imprisoned by the Italian fascist dictator Benito Musolini, Gramsci utilized the term to counter the economic determinism of traditional Marxism. Traditional Marxism predicted that internal contradiction between classes would inevitably result in the collapse of capitalism (Karl Marx cited in Mosco, 1996) Gramsci argued that the more important struggle was not between classes – even though this was important – but the struggle to overcome the dominant ideology which he termed hegemony. As a definition hegemony is regarded as the ideological subordination of the working class by the bourgeoisie which enables it to rule by consent. The concept therefore refers to values, beliefs and attitudes in society that support a system. This concept is used to understand how the capitalist system is supported by the masses even though the system has created an uneven distribution of wealth or resources.

Public sphere. German scholar Jurgen Habermas (1962/1989) conceived the expression public sphere to mean an abstract 'space' which provides an open arena or forum for public debate. Ideally access to this space is free and there is freedom of speech and association. This space lies outside the political subsystem where people/citizens meet to discuss issues of national importance especially as it relates to political system. Historically, in the 18th C this space and arena of public discourse was provided by coffee houses and debating societies where participants and citizens met to discuss and set the agenda for political life. But with the growth of modern society, the mass media are expected to provide that arena and space as well as mediate the discourse to ensure the health of democracy in society.

Public interest: The concept of public interest remains problematic and contentious in the literature of political science and philosophy, especially as it lends itself to contextual

and relative definition. But it seems safe to say that pubic interest is that which produces 'public good' to many of the people. It is action that is of the highest political good which conforms to the values of a given society at a given time. It is like a standard of goodness by which political acts can be judged.

Access: Regarding the media especially radio and television, access is making it possible for people or creating the situation, so people can hear or see a radio or television programme or news. This is often referred to visual and auditory access which happen when radio and television stations broadcast programmes that people can understand and identify with. This means the programmes relate to their circumstances and resonate with them. It also means that the radio or television is within the range whereby the people can receive the programmes. It also means that people have receivers; radio and television sets to receive the transmissions from these stations. There is also physical access which means people having a direct experience of how these stations work. They would have to visit the stations to witness the operations there.

Participation. Participation is a higher level of access. At one level, it is being physically present at a radio or television station and be involved in the operations of the station. Forms of participation include being part of the production of programmes, participation in programmes like phone-in shows, talk shows, interviews, discussions, drama, reality shows, community forums, town hall meetings, programme scheduling and planning of these stations. A higher level of participation which is most effective but difficult to achieve is allowing ordinary people especially from the lower wealth quintile of society to be involved in stations management and other operations of the radio or television station.

Choice. Choice is an individual's opportunity, freedom and autonomy to engage in an action selected from more than one available options. About the media, it is the ability to choose from a wide range of media products, like radio or television programmes that are of interest to an individual. For choice to be possible means there must be a broad range of radio or television programmes catering to the needs of all segments of segments of

the society, the rich, the poor, the educated and non-educated, women, children, people with disabilities, and the elderly. Something on radio should appeal to these range of people, hence they are able to choose from there.

Diversity. In the lexicon of radio and television, indeed all communication endeavours, diversity means the availability of several and different media products on offer by radio and television stations. Choice and diversity are intricately linked; one must exist before the other can be possible. There cannot be choice without diversity. It is the diversity of programme genres on radio and television that enriches the listening and viewing experiences of the individual person. Diversity ensures that we do not have more of the same but a variety which will serve diverse group including the rich and poor.

Public services. Public services refer to actions and services provided by the state/government which are largely free or subsidized for the benefit of the citizens. Education, health, especially at the primary level, broadcasting and public water works are examples of public services which the state/government provides free of charge or at a subsidized rate for the enrichment, education, development, growth and well-being of the citizens of that country providing such services. These services are considered essential to the public's interest.

Peacebuilding content. Peacebuilding contents are radio and television programmes and news produced and broadcast with the intention of engendering peaceful coexistence and social cohesion among people especially in fragile states and conflict-prone areas. These programmes and news are disseminated and in form of truthful information, alternative views, dialogues for peaceful resolution of conflicts in society and the countering of hate speeches emanating from the media and other sources.

Developmental function. This is the use of radio to promote development through the production and transmission of programmes with a pre-determined objective to enhance development. Examples of such programmes are in health, agriculture, life skills and empowerment.

Content. A radio content is all the programmes produced and broadcast by the station. Examples of radio content will include news programmes, drama, music and all forms of entertainment. Others are phone-in shows, talk shows, interviews and discussions, etc. When one tunes to a radio station, everything one hears is regarded as the content of that radio station.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

The section looks at the British and American models of broadcasting, with the view to identifying how both models shaped what is currently known as the Nigerian model of broadcasting. Also, included in the section is the role of media in national development, radio and development, radio and peacebuilding, hate speeches, the concept of deregulation and commercialization, and its implementation, particularly in Nigerian broadcast industry. Finally, the last section of this chapter provides an overview of the theoretical/conceptual frameworks guiding the study: political economy of communication and the democratic participant theory of communication.

The Commercial Presence in Radio Broadcasting

The American Model

Commercial broadcasting first started as a phenomenon in the United States. Regarded as the 'fourth dimension' of the advertising quadrangle after billboards, magazines and newspapers, commercial advertising on radio completed the appeal to all the senses (Arnold, 1926 cited in Smulyan, 1985). The American way of life, their orientation to business and a nation whose independence was founded on the demand for freedom of trade, free and private enterprise and a rational competitive spirit made it a fertile ground for the first use of radio for commercial advertising (Bogart, 1995; 2000).

The commercialisation of radio did not come in one fell swoop. It was tentative and slow especially given opposition to the whole idea of filling the airwaves and the still exotic medium with 'advertising chatter.' The first radio station, known as the KDKA went on air in 1920 in Pittsburgh, United States. Nobody knew how to make money from radio broadcasting. The medium was new and took everybody by surprise. Some people thought that radio could be paid for through metres like electricity while others thought that manufacturers of receiving sets (Radio) would support radio stations and provide programming to boost the sales of receiving sets (Smulyan, 1985; Benjamin, 2013).

However, within a few years, broadcasters sold radio airtime to sponsors and advertising became the financial basis of broadcasting. This support for radio by advertising affected both the

structure of the industry and the form of radio programming. By the mid 1930's a fully commercialised radio broadcasting was in place in the United States and was carried over into television in the late 1940's. This phenomenon was preceded by attempts in the American system to avoid the commercialisation of the electronic medium. Initially, manufacturers of radio receiving parts supported the first transmitting stations. Privately owned radio stations also asked listeners for contributions during the late 1920's. The Radio Music Fund Committee sought gifts to engage the best musical talents, artists to perform over WEAF in New York (Brackett, 1931cited in Smulyan, 1985).

Public schools and universities were considered as the rightful sources of revenue for broadcasting. The American Secretary of State Hoover who oversaw the department of broadcasting noted that as a "matter of extension of education and out of funds provided for public education" (Rothafel, 1925, p.149 cited in Smulyan, 1985). Because of this position, universities established radio stations as part of its extension of education programme. By 1925, ninety educational institutions had licences to run radio stations.

The development of a commercialised radio is intricately tied to the American free enterprise spirit. The first steps towards a private, commercialised broadcasting system came with the choice of technology to provide a national radio service. The importance of a national network radio system was well noted by the politicians of the day but early policy decisions regarding the telegraph, the telephone made the private development of a national radio most unlikely. The new communications technologies had developed as private monopolies. Like other technologies e.g. the railway, the United States government was not interested in running a non-profit radio system. In the early days of radio, politicians viewed the new communication technology as no different from other private enterprises, like the railway, which needed some government regulation, but which otherwise could function on its own.

The government regulated the telephone and the telegraph but allowed them to grow in response to market forces rather than social factors. Radio broadcasting was to follow this same organisational and political model (Czitrom, 1982). Also, worthy of note here as a causal factor

to the privatisation and commercialisation of broadcasting was that the radio invention patent was held by large business corporation like General Electric, Westinghouse, AT&T and RCA. These were purely business concern.

> Despite an American predisposition for private rather than public support of radio, the actual form of American broadcasting developed slowly. Participants in the debate over the sources of funding for radio didn't have a clear picture of how broadcasting would work. While there was no demand for larger public support for radio, listeners' antipathy toward broadcasting advertising certainly existed (Smulyan, 1985, p.13).

Having said this, it is important to note that all-American broadcasting was essentially commercial. The radio industry in America prospered because of a patent pool and because of investments of large receiver manufacturers. In addition, many businesses including Feed and Grains merchants, Newspapers, Department Stores and Radio sets retailers founded radio stations to generate publicity for themselves (Pusateri, 1981, p.15 cited in Smulyan, 1985). The American broadcasting maintained a delicate balance between direct and indirect advertising, between support and sponsorship for years, but by the late 1920's however broadcasters and advertisers began to reject indirect advertising as they undertook to attract wealthier advertisers to finance national radio service to improve programmes.

The full-scale commercialisation of the radio in America did not go through without opposition even from the chief regulator of the medium, Hubert Hoover, then secretary of Commerce. Hoover was however to make an about face in the face of opposition from corporate America, to support full commercialisation but with a proviso for public interest programming format for the radio stations.

There was however dedicated, small but powerless groups of professors, educationists and reformers who were afraid of broadcasting system controlled entirely by advertisers. They foresaw a dire consequence for the new medium and worked to prevent it.

Opposition to the commercialisation of radio. Despite the strong believe in the spirit of free enterprise and invisible hand of market forces, there was strong opposition in the early attempts

of radio to unbridled commercialism. Early attempts by the United States Congress to reform or regulate radio industry paid scant attention to the issue of commercialism. Attempts were focussed mostly on licensing and frequency allocation. The 1927 Radio Act created the Federal Radio Commission, which was empowered to issue licenses. In 1932, following charges of bias against non-commercial radio, a congressional directive led to a survey of commercial presence in the United States Radio system. The report was overwhelmingly supportive of commercialism in radio. The Federal Radio Commission explained that at most one third radio broadcasts were commercial while the rest of the airtime was filled with non-commercial programmes. The FRC reasoned that this policy was a way through which stations helped to serve the public interest as mandated by the 1927 Radio Act, and enlarged and held an audience, thereby increasing the value of time available for commercial programmes.

Observers of early radio broadcast had worried about the potential influence of commercialism on radio. Opposed to the idea of commercialisation were a small but vocal group of educators and reformers who feared a national broadcasting system controlled by powerful commercial interests and advertisers. They worked hard to prevent such a system. Some suggested that specific wavelengths be set aside exclusively for the dissemination of educational materials, this band could be used by universities and colleges and the widening of broadcasts to include isolated communities, people in the farms to gain access to the medium for information and education.

Although congress voted for the ascendancy of commercialism in broadcasting, continued pressure from reformers, educators and grassroots organisations led to the United States system giving concession to public broadcasting in 1967. In the 1950's the Ford Foundation put in money into the efforts of the educational broadcasters' lobby with a view to energising it for greater success. By this time television has joined radio as the second broadcast medium of mass communication and this gave an added impetus to the lobby. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 established a Corporation for public broadcasting to help develop public television and radio stations, and programming of "high quality, diversity, creativity, excellence and

innovation." But the 1996 Telecommunication Act which completely deregulated the media made no requirements of public interest on operators of the new media (Bagdikian, 2000).

In recent times, America's policy instruments in entrenching the hyper commercialization of radio and other media is through budget cuts or stagnation of levels of funds already appropriated. In his 2017 budget, President Trump maintained levels of funding to the Corporation of Public Broadcasting, the country's noncommercial broadcaster (Matt Gertz, USA Today, 2017), while revenue from radio commercial broadcasting soared to over 19 billion dollars (Statista, 2017).

Although within the period the Federal Communication Commission opened a tiny funding reprieve by allowing the noncommercial radio station to embark on third party fundraising. This relaxation allows noncommercial radio stations to raise money for well-meaning and public interest causes, "such as disaster relief and assistance for the poor, while educating their audiences about important issues. Stations that engage in this type of fundraising can only be reimbursed by the third party for their expenses directly related to the fundraiser." (FCC News, 2017).

However, in the 2018, the financial lifeblood of noncommercial broadcasting was reduced when President Trump's budget cut funding to the Corporation of Public Broadcasting and the National Public Radio by 30 million dollars. (Brian Stelter, CNN, 2017).
Tom Wheeler (2017), who served as the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission from 2013-2017 recently noted that through revocations of regulations meant to protect local broadcasting against the effects of unbridled commercialization, the United States' broadcast policy is killing local programmes and productions in the broadcast media.
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Public Interest in Broadcasting

In tracing the history of commercialisation, the opposition to it, in the two different broadcasting models we find two recurring expressions; the free market and the public interest/public service.

We have discussed the concept of the free market, its origins and essential features in our earlier chapter. We now turn our attention to the concept of public interest and the public sphere.

The concept of public interest has engaged political scientists for years. They have grappled with a shifting conceptual framework in the definition of what is the public interest. From the crass vulgarity of the former chairman of the US' Federal Communications Commission's Mark Fowlers' definition of public interest, 'Public Interest is whatever the public is interested in', to Frank Stanton former CBS chairman's, 'A programme in which a large part of the audience is interested in is by that very fact… in the public interest'; and David Sarnoff's (former NBC Chairman), "public interest is whatever the public chooses to watch and listen to" (Bagdikian, 1992, p.206), public interest remains a thorny and controversial issue.

Despite all these uncertainties and controversies about the significance of the concept of 'Public Interest', this concept has been deeply integrated into the development of broadcasting. Ever since the initial launching of broadcasting in the United States, the approach to broadcasting has created a constant tension among the several objectives that the broadcaster must serve concurrently--- operating as a business and following the United States congressional mandates and their Federal Communications Commission FCC—and the public interest (Powell and Gaie, 1987, p.177).

Both the Radio Act of 1927 and the FCC Act of 1934 required the licensed Stations to operate in the 'public interest, convenience or necessity'. The provisions of National Broadcasting Commission to Nigerian license holders require them to foster national growth and development through presenting all issues of public interest fairly to the Nigerian people recognising that they hold the licenses in trust for the people. The Radio Act of 1927 upheld some important items that have been regarded as significant for the future development of non- commercial broadcasting system. It stated that the spectrum is a natural resource belonging to the people and therefore a private person cannot own a channel but can use one for private purposes only if such also serves the public interest. This act also granted the government discretionary powers to regulate radio communications limited by the 'public interest, convenience or necessity' (Blakely, 1979, p.X11). Following this act, the Communications Act of 1934 reiterated the principle by calling

upon the FCC to study new uses for radio, provide for experimental uses of frequencies and generally encourage the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest (Blakely,1979).

With the mandate of broadcasting in the public interest, the congress however delegated judgement concerning what is in the public interest almost entirely to the commercial operators of stations. But the law was broad enough to encourage the development of another broadcasting system in which non-commercial sectors could share in determining what is in the public interest (Blakely, 1979). Beside the influences from legalists, commercial and non-commercial broadcasters, other segments of society e.g. altruists, opportunists, consumers and government policy makers, have all influenced in building and interpreting the concept of the public interest (Sawyer, 1978 cited in Smulyan, 1985).

Under the commercial system, the broadcasting industry depends on advertising for revenues. Advertisers must reach as many audiences as possible to build mass markets for their products. The obligation of serving in the public interest for commercial broadcasters is thus driven by what interests the largest number in the audience. One-time president of one of the three networks in America Frank Stanton described broadcasting not as an elite medium but a mass medium that should be operated in the public interest.

Nonetheless, leaders and scholars disagree with this philosophy and the media whose philosophy are akin to Stanton's were described as a 'vast wasteland' which underestimates the tastes and interests of the people (Simonson, 1966, p.368). For instance, Simonson condemns the fact that irrespective of the history of broadcasting in the United States during which Station Managers have been badgered, insulted and prosecuted, the same staple pattern of programme content still fills the air. The reason for this phenomenon is commercial licensees' self-serving definition of the public interest as that which interests the public, while polls serve as "the barometer of public interest and thermometer for the economic market' (Simonson, 1966, p. 368)

The second element—interest—is best defined as a composite of public wishes, values and policy. These wishes can be detected in several ways for example by votes, by interviews and, as in the case of the media by ratings. It is the ratings, in fact that have bedeviled the sponsors by implying that the public's wishes are revealed best through the ratings, that these ratings reflect public demand, that this is the demand that creates the supply of much that is mediocre in programme content (Simonson, 1966). This remains the bane of commercial broadcasting even today and will continue if the commercial system of broadcasting dominates any arena. The American response to the decay of commercial broadcasting and the potential of the educational and cultural roles of this medium was that educational stations were established and started operations from the mid 1950's. To address the difficulties faced by educational broadcasting in America, the Carnegie Commission came forth with ambitious designs for non-commercial broadcasting. The Lyndon Johnson administration in 1967 passed the Public Broadcasting Act and prompted the birth of the Corporation of Public Broadcasting (Blakely, 1979).

The Carnegie commission spoke of the opportunity for public broadcasting as; providing a voice for groups in the community that may otherwise be unheard; helping the public see America whole, in all its diversity; increasing people's understanding of the world; opening a wide door to greater expression and cultural richness for creative individuals and important audiences; seeking out able people whose talents might otherwise not be known and shared; exploring new dimensions of artistic performance not ordinarily available to our nation's audiences; carrying the best of knowledge and wisdom directly into the home. (Branscomb and Savage, 1978)

The American people moved from the FCC preservation of television and radio channels for educational stations in 1952 to the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 believing that public broadcasting could better serve the public interest, which unlike commercial broadcasting, is the single purpose of public broadcasting. The American public broadcasting emerged from the assumption that television and radio have become an integral part of American life that these media can uplift people toward enlightenment and enrichment and commercial broadcasting cannot give much attention to the needs and desires of minority audiences. Macy (1974) gives a philosophical underpinning of public interest broadcasting;

Non-commercial television and radio should address

itself to the ideal of excellence, not the idea of acceptability

which is what keeps commercial television (and radio) from

climbing the staircase. I think television (and radio) should be

the visual (and auditory) counterpart of the literary essay

should arouse our dreams, satisfy our hunger for beauty, take

us on journeys, enable us to participate in events, present

great drama and music, explore the sea and the sky and the

woods and the hills. (Macy, 1974: xi)

The Public Interest: The British Model

While the United States voted for a free market model, most of Europe and Asia for example Japan favoured the public service/ public interest model. The nature of European socio-economic configuration, the ascendancy of aristocracy were important influences that shaped the choice of public service model of broadcasting (Bogart, 1995, 2000).

In Europe, the British model of public service broadcasting is the best example of the public interest approach. The British experiment with public service broadcasting was to avoid the chaos and "air war" taking place in the broadcasting landscape in America in the early days of radio. In 1929, the Postmaster General, the officer in charge of wavelengths and frequencies in Britain told the House of Commons that in contrast to the American situation "what we are now doing at the beginning is to lay down very drastic regulations indeed for the control of wireless broadcasting" (Lewis,1989, p,52). The British Post offices had the task and was concerned about how to allocate wavelengths to all who had applied for it, the Armed forces, maritime commercial shipping, wireless Telegraph companies etc. The frequency spectrum was not limitless hence the need to ration it.

The establishment of the BBC was a farsighted action to avoid control of broadcasting in the United Kingdom by several competing companies like the Marconi Company and several companies manufacturing receiving sets. Monopoly of broadcasting by the BBC was a compromise to avoid the monopoly of another kind; the commercial monopoly of broadcasting by a group of manufacturing companies and the Marconi Company, which had happened in the United States. It was therefore agreed that the commercial companies should be replaced by a public corporation, licensed for ten years and 'acting as a trustee for the national interest in broadcasting' (Crawford, 1925 cited in Lewis, 1989). The Crawford committee which considered how broadcasting should in the UK recommended that a board of Governors should be appointed by government to serve for five years. The British Parliament was asked to grant maximum freedom to the corporation and corporation must be allowed to broadcast any issue no matter how controversial.

> The particular solution devised by the British State for the control of broadcasting, while fitting the European pattern of centralised control of Post and Telegraph, followed the British tradition of the public corporation as a means of conducting public services or sharing public resources (Lewis,1989, p, 56).

Sir John Reith the first Director General of the BBC's remit for the corporation was a non- profit structure, unified control, universality of service and maintenance of high quality standards of programming. To Sir John Reith this meant non-commercial broadcast, extension of services to the whole population, a unified control and the treatment of the public as humans and a great audience. John Reith's broadcasting audiences were treated with great respect. They were not a nameless aggregate of statistically measurable preferences. They were not 'targets' for programme sponsors or advertisers. They were living audiences capable of growth and development (Briggs, 1961, p.236 cited in Lewis 1989). Assurances of finance, Reith believed "enabled the BBC to make of broadcasting what no other country in the world has made of it" (Reith, 1949, p.99 cited in Lewis, 1989).

Lewis (1989) believes that it is possible to trace the origins of public service broadcasting back to the way in which the telegraphs were run in Europe and America. In Europe, it was run as

public utilities, in the United States as a private enterprise. From the very beginning of broadcasting this led to two different and often opposing models of broadcasting.

Funding public radio broadcasting. Public Service broadcasting especially its funding by the state has been under attack for a long time (Coase 1974; Armstrong and Weeds 2005; Stuhmeier & Wenzel 2012; Hanretty 2012.) They ascendancy of free market orthodoxy which question the role of the state and state-owned enterprises eroded the argument of spectrum scarcity, which was the pillar of arguments for public service broadcasting funding. Despite the arguments, according to a report by Mckinsey and Co (2004), funding for public service has not declined over time. There has been shifts in funding mechanisms and models but not decrease in funding in Europe, US and Canada until recently. "Regardless of the model on intervention, funding for PSB remains strong. Public funding for PSB increased at an average of 5.5% p.a between 1998 and 2003 across the countries we evaluated. Growth as a percentage of current funding levels was particularly strong in countries with lower levels of PSB funding" (Mckinsey and Company, 2004, p,2). The BBC's (2013) study on public and private broadcasters across the world validates this position.

There were several ways of funding public service broadcasting in the past. These remain but new funding mechanisms and models have emerged, but four main methods remain the most used.

License fees. This remains the most popular way of funding PSBs. License fees are charged to devices capable of receiving specified broadcasts. Governments decide on what devices should be charged and who collects the fees, either itself or the broadcaster. License fee funding provides a stable long year of funding. It reduces the dependence on revenue from advertising and direct funding from the state. There is also the bonding link between the broadcaster and the audience which translates to high acceptance of the license fee by the public. But revenue from the license fee is static and in time gets eroded by inflation. In countries with governance systems, if the license fees are transmitted to the PSB through the government the issue of interference and editorial independence of the PSB may be called into question.

Direct state grant. This is another method of funding PSBs. In some cases, this follows a decline in the license fee often inflation and the state have eroded the value lacks the political will to increase the fees. Direct grants were favoured by the government of Nigeria before deregulation and continues in some forms today. This funding method exposes the PSB to undue interference and political pressure from the state.

Hypothecated taxes. These are levied on businesses or consumers and represents a new and stable method of funding PSBs. There are two types of hypothecated taxes. There are those levied on individuals and those levied on companies. For example, in Italy, Greece and Portugal, a certain percentage of consumers' electricity bills is reserved for PSBs. (Markechova 2010 cited in Hanretty, 2012). There are also the hypothecated taxes reserved solely for companies like in Spain and France where telecommunication companies pay a certain amount for PSBs.

Public grant. This is yet another form of funding methodology used a lot by countries. Public grants can be a one-off grant for special projects like digitalization or any special projects. An example is the BBC World Service which was funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth grants for so many years. Some countries like Canada, Spain, Portugal and Australia use public grants as the main source of funding for their Public Service Broadcasters. Commercial Revenue from advertising or sale of programmes is part of the funding mix but hardly provides sufficient funding for PSBs.

A report by the BBC (2013) notes that license fees generates only 23% of revenues for its operations while in France more than 70% of its operations are financed through license fees. In the United States, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, a tax-funded non-profit provides about 20% of all funding for non-profit broadcasting (The Guardian, 2015). This disparate funding mechanisms have led to calls for a mix of funding methods, waivers, tax havens, foundations, in addition to the foregoing (Buckley, et al, 2008; Cage, 2016).

The Nigerian Model: A Hybrid

The Nigerian model is a hybrid of both the British and American broadcasting models, suing both economics and geopolitical imperatives, combined government media, ownership with

commercial broadcasting--- a nuance departure from the tax supported BBC model. The hybrid model is a mix of commercialisation and public interest. For public interest, the model takes a progressive approach to the application of radio for service for the 'public good, market-determined and not what government prescribed as being desirable.' Also, using a the commercialisation approach, the Nigerian model uses the United States competitive market approach, which focusses on free enterprise.

An overview of the Nigerian model. Being a colonial entity in 1951, the Nigerian broadcasting system would not be different from the British system. Adejumobi (1974) tend to believe that the introduction of broadcasting first with the Radio Distribution Service (RDS) before mainstream broadcasting proper was responsible for the public service model of Nigerian broadcasting. Governor General MacPherson insisted from the beginning that the Nigerian Broadcasting Service be non-commercial but permitted the development and expansion of new RDS operations. Commercially operated and privately owned, most of such operations were run by British Companies… so while the RDS systems ran advertising particularly on the local level, the newly born NBS was not permitted by the British colonial government to advertise and had to rely on annual license fees for its revenues (Adejumobi,1974, p.51).

In the United States, both the Radio Act of 1927 and the FCC Act of 1934 required the licensed Stations to operate in the 'public interest, convenience or necessity.' The Radio Act of 1927 upheld some important items that have been regarded as significant for the future development of non- commercial broadcasting system. It stated that the spectrum is a natural resource belonging to the people and therefore a private person cannot own a channel but can use one for private purposes only if such also serves the public interest. This act also granted the government discretionary powers to regulate radio communications limited by the 'public interest, convenience or necessity' (Blakely, 1979, p. X11).

The United Kingdom bequeathed the public interest model to its former colony. The Governor General and his staff left behind a broadcasting culture "patterned on the tradition of the BBC." The first corps of staff of the Nigerian Broadcasting Service was seconded from the BBC and the

BBC trained the corps of Nigerian Staff. According to the 1956 Ordinance, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) was to run as a public service without selling airtime but supported by license fees just like the BBC. However, this contradiction of running two different broadcasting models was met with stiff opposition by the elite of the day especially within the Lagos and Ibadan axis. They felt that it was exploitative and discriminatory against Nigerian Broadcasting and the Nigerian people.

When the regional broadcasting services took off on the strength of the 1954 constitutional provision, they began immediately running commercial services, accepting personal paid announcements and sponsored adverts. Thus, for so many years until 1988, Nigeria had a non-commercial public service national broadcasting system and a regional/states commercial broadcasting system. A mixture of the British and American models, the only difference being that both of Nigeria's systems were government controlled unlike the privately-driven American system.

The provisions of National Broadcasting Commission to Nigerian license holders require them to foster national growth and development through presenting all issues of public interest fairly to the Nigerian people recognising that the hold the licenses in trust for the people.

Funding the Nigerian model. The Broadcasting Act provides that the NBC relies on license fees for its operation, However, with the estimated 143,000 broadcast receiving sets present in Nigerian homes in 1960 and an annual license fee of ten shillings charged by the NBC, it was not difficult to foresee trouble. The problem was that most radio sets owners in Nigeria then earned an annual salary of thirty pounds and the license fee of ten shillings represented 3.3% of their annual income. The implication is that most radio set owners could not pay (Mackay, 1964). The then colonial government resolved that the license fee revenue be used for the development of NBC programming and facilities while the government subsidised the NBC capital budget. The regional stations apparently were better off financially than the NBC because they derived revenues from three sources. Their various governments subvented them, they ran commercial advertising and charged a regional license fee like that charged by the NBC.

From its origin, the Nigerian broadcasting was national and non-commercial like the British system. The British used the BBC, its own national broadcaster as a model for the Nigerian system. When regional stations took off they copied the commercial rediffusion system which existed before the NBC and ran advertising from the beginning. The license fee system was not funding broadcasting adequately, so the federal government had to give subvention for capital and recurrent expenditures to the NBC. The regional stations even though they ran advertising and collected license fees, still had to rely on their governments to fund capital projects. Manyozo (2011) notes that media and communication policy vacillate between the market, underpinned by deregulation and commercialization and the public interest. The American model is anchored on the market model of private ownership to engender the "marketisation of ideas" while the United Kingdom model as most Europe placed more importance on public service broadcasting which emphasise a strong relationship with the public. As a former British colony, Nigeria at independence adopted the British public service model.

However, the American model of market-oriented broadcasting policy became flown blown in Nigeria as part of the package of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank-supervised economic recovery tools like the structural adjustment programme (Adepoju, 1993; Bwala, 2016). The policy of deregulation and commercialization are outcomes of the globalized economy spearheaded by the neoclassical orthodoxy of the United states hence the upsurge of marketisation of broadcasting in Nigeria.

The neoclassical attacks on state institutions and state financing as inefficient ushered in the marketisation of emerging economies like Nigeria (Murdock, 2011). These neoliberal tendencies promoted by international actors like the World Bank and the IMF promote the interest of the global capitalist elites like the United States (Goodfriend, 2012). Some of the outcomes of this is note Ogundimu (1997) and Chioma (2013) are forms of cultural imperialism in content and policy.

In 1988, at the height of the Structural Adjustment Programme, through the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Amendment Decree (1988), the Federal Radio Corporation of

Nigeria became a partially commercialised organisation. With this ended the era of the FRCN being solely involved in public broadcasting with government subvention as the sole source of its revenue. The corporation had to from then on hustle with the states stations in the market place for financial survival. The situation was further compounded and made more precarious for the financial survival of the corporation with deregulation of the broadcasting industry in 1992. This meant that for first time government was no longer the sole sponsor and provider of broadcasting in Nigeria, individual and the private sector moved in 1992. The decree meant that government funding of the system was divested to allow for a certain degree of commercialisation as an independent source of revenue. It was also decreed that the FRCN would continue to provide social services as a model for public service broadcasting in Nigeria despite its partial commercialisation. The incompatibility of rational market forces and public service was glossed over in the decree.

In the Nigerian system, commercialisation of the Public broadcasting media represented by the FRCN and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), took place within a military dictatorship. This may have contributed to the lack of opposition to it or perhaps people lacked adequate knowledge of what the impact would be. However, this cannot be said of the academia, the educationists who had in 1974, moved for the use of radio for adult and non-formal education and as well as the vigorous pursuit of a Schools broadcasting system. There was some opposition to the commercialisation project by a few like Dr. Christopher Kolade, who was the Director General of the FRCN and expectedly from the states stations who feared that the network reach of the FRCN and the NTA would deprive them patronage from advertiser. Ogundimu (1997) noted that there was strong agitation for the deregulation aspect of the medium by the private sector that wanted to participate in what was thought to be the lucrative business of broadcasting.

The Decline of the Public Interest
The section above describes how broadcasting in its very beginning incorporated the concept of the public interest. The American model though private sector led was regulated to ensure that it operated in the public interest. The United States Federal communication commission in 1946 set the standards of what should be considered in the public interest in its memorandum; "*The public*

service responsibility of Broadcasting Licensees " According to the "Blue Book', as it came to be known, broadcasting stations were expected to balance their programming by including in their weekly schedules reasonable numbers of programmes on education, news, agricultural information and issues of public importance as well as programmes serving the interests of local non-profit civic and religious groups and labour organization and progammes intended to appeal to minority interests and tasks such as classical music. In addition, the number of commercial sponsored programmes and the number of advertisements included in the station's weekly schedules were to be limited (Canter' 1986, p. 89 cited in Ferguson, 1990).

It was a public policy in the United Kingdom right from the start to broadcast in the public interest using John Reith's ethos of public service broadcasting as guardian of the national culture, to focus in bringing education, information and entertainment to the whole country. This has been of profound social and cultural benefits to the British society. It is still operated to reinforce the democratic open nature of the society.

The Nigerian Broadcasting had also in its mandate to broadcast in the public interest to enlighten the citizenry, mobilise and bring government closer to the people. It was to be a forum for education, information and entertainment. It was mandated to uplift the culture of the people and unite them. But the 1980s saw a gradual decline in concerns for the public interest and its protection by the state. In 1984, the United States Federal Communication Commission deregulated some aspects of both radio and television broadcasting by removing the requirements for public interest programming and allowing increased airtime for commercial messages.

Finally, in 1996, the Federal Communication Act removed whatever was left of requirements for public interest in American programming with a full deregulation of the sector. Given its public service tradition, the BBC has been more resilient in fighting the onslaught of commercialism since 1954 with the establishment of the independent broadcasting Association that broke its monopoly on broadcasting. A committee was set up to consider the issue of alternative funding for the BBC. The Pilkington committee's Report as published in 1962 was:

A huge vindication of Broadcasting as seen by the BBC, public service values were praised, commercial values seriously questioned. BBC gained everything it wanted, new Channel, colour, a switch to 625-line, maintenance of license fees as the source of revenue (Tracey, 1998, p.99; 2011).

To a large extent, the media played an important role in disseminating the ideas of democracy. The struggles for freedom both the west as well as anti-colonial struggles in Africa were built on the mass platform provided by the media and the ideas they helped to disseminate. Habermas (1989, quoted in McQuail, 2000) suggested that the rise of the public sphere in the world was to a large measure due to the growth of a press-fed reading and listening public. The public sphere according to Habermas is the space between society and the state in which people discuss freely and evaluate matters of public concern.

In support of Habermas, Tracey (1998; 2011) agreed that the concept of the public sphere the media is key in mediating discourses and engaging with the society about common concerns that affects us all. The classic western European model of public service broadcasting is a deliberate expression for, and an understanding of this role. Quoting Venturelli, (1993) Tracey 1998, notes that the tradition of western democracy and practice places public communication as central to the democratic process within the very core of the notion of civil society. He concludes that if such is the function of a public/civil sphere, anything that happens to alter, affect, damage, and dilute that sphere alters, affects, damages and dilutes democratic practice and culture. However, given the overarching influence of market rationality within a bureaucratised state and the values of pragmatism this role is now in question.

Reasons for the decline. Jay Blumler (1998) believes that the notion of a public interest cannot be completely removed from the fabric of societies to which they are applied and that in the last twenty years most modern societies have changed in ways that make the public interest in communication more difficult to define and to implement. He identified six processes of transformation of these societies that impinge on the public interest. They are:

Individualization. This means the elevation of personal aspiration, fragmentation of communal experience, reduced conformity to the tradition and demands of established institution.

Consumerism. The increased channeling of personal goals toward the consumer role, and the pervasive encouragement of commercialization that results.

Privatization. More preoccupation with personal domestic pursuits and reduced involvement in public commercial ones, a diminishing "social capital" (Putnam 1995, 2001).

Specialization and social complexity. An increased differentiation of functions performed by societies subsystems and the emergence of more subgroups with their own formed, identities, goals and political strategies.

Anti-authoritarianism. Increased skepticism about the credentials, claims, performance and credibility of authority holders in all walks of life.

Globalization. Increased awareness of and engagement with events, personalities, ways of living and cultures beyond one's national borders (Blumler 1998, P. 53).

These trends are inimical to the concept of public interest. They reduce public life, institutions, authority, and diminish the realization of the public interest in the media arena. They regard previous attempts at public interest as old fashioned and belonging to needs and societal conditions that no longer exists and values that no longer apply. The strongest impetus against the decline of public interest and use of commercialism, can be found in the economic sectors.

This position by Professor Friedman for maximum profit making against social responsibility is based on the dialectics of what is in the public interest? What is social responsibility? Friedman believes that determining social responsibility or public interest is so subjective that it is useless for anyone to decide what constitutes a socially responsible public interest corporate act (Friedman, 1962, 1982). Coase (1974) says the distinction between the market for goods and the market for ideas is not valid. Coase believes that there is no fundamental distinction between these markets and that in deciding on public policy regarding them, we need to consider the same considerations. But Stuart Hall (1989 cited in Jakubowicz, 1993) argues that in studying the communication system we must start with the understanding of how they are linked to the structures of power and cross cut by the field and operation of power.

When Radio was invented, the power elite took control over it because of its great potential for persuasion. It was first to neutralize it politically and later to use it to reproduce a social order favourable to them. However, the counter cultural movement of 1960s and early 1970 in the West sought a democratization of the arena of mass communication, they sought an open system of pluralistic, participatory, mass communication. The power elite feared that this would make broadcasting an agent of destabilization in the political system, so only a limited process of change from government or state-run system to some variety of public service broadcasting took place. For instance, in the UK there was the establishment of the Independent Television Network to further break down the monopoly of the BBC while in the U.S congress enacted a public broadcasting Act in 1967 in response to the public interest lobbyists.

In the 1980s came deregulation. Mosco and Wasko (1988, p.120) believe that in the US deregulation was a response to a situation in which "non- dominant groups were beginning to achieve success in applying pressure on the regulatory apparatus to implement public interest values more frequently… deregulation is one way the state reforms itself to eliminate the arena of potential class conflict" (Mosco and Wasko, 1988, p.120). This view was supported by Amin (2000) who argued that that the relentless aggressive onslaught of the free market economy with its emphasis on commercialization and deregulation is predicated on the fall of the Soviet Union and the present uni-polar global structure.

Amin (2000) notes here that the ideological buffer and alternative modes of production provided by the former Soviet Union having been removed with the collapse of communism, gave an unfettered reign to the onslaught of the marketisation of the global economy. Keynesian economics and the era of state-supported social policies and programmes were over. Broadcasting, considered for decades as a social good for the public would now have to contend for relevance in the market place and the "invisible hand" would now determine if it can still play a role, like other media forms, in national development.

The Media and National Development

Although the literature of the role of the mass media in development abound, John McNelly (1974 cited in Ndolo, 1987) posits that there is a paradigm of four stages, which have emerged with reference to the role of mass communication in national development. The first is the null position, which holds that mass media have little or no role in national development. The second is the enthusiastic position, which is being pushed forward by UNESCO and some academicians. This position supports and assigns a decisive role to the media in national development as well as bringing peace and stability. The third approach is the cautious position, which sees a lot of intervening variables that may intervene to obstruct or nullify the impact of the mass media. It therefore cautions that the mass media are not omnipotent denying the magic bullet theory of Harold Laswell (1927). The pragmatic position leaves open the possibility that the media may have impact (Laswell) or a limited impact (Klapper 1961) depending on the circumstances.

Schramm (1963) also emphasised the support role of communication in national development listing among its major functions that of; contributing to the feeling of nation-ness; extending the economic market, preparing people to play their parts in the development process (1963) widening horizons; focusing attention, raising aspirations; creating a climate for development; feeding channels of interpersonal communication; conferring status; enforcing social norms; helping form tastes; assisting in education (1964). Schramm agreed that feed back in the mass media communication process can contribute to policy formulation by providing a channel by which the needs and concerns and achievements of a local community can be communicated upward and outward. (1963).

Schramm gives a caveat "The mere presence of a communication system does not necessarily contribute to national development, it depends on the use of, and content of the media" (1964, p.149). Agreeing with Schramm, Lucian Pye (1963) warns against excessive faith in the potentialities of modern means of mass communication but insist that they could play a role in development if they are fully supported by the informal, social channels of communication, which are intimately related to basic social process.

Nwankwo et al (cited in Ndolo, 1987) concurred that communication serves an important role in four major sectors of the economy. According to him:

> The economic and technological sector which adapts the society to its physical or natural environment, the political sector with power to formulate and implement public policy, the legal and administrative sector which coordinates the activities of the other sectors, and the cultural sector which socialises individuals into the society's ideological and value premises (p.208).

Inherent in these function is the coordinating rule of communication in societal and modernisation roles. Lateef Jakande (1975) proposes a six-point role for the media; information role, historian role, the educator role, the forum role, the watchdog role and the leadership role. In the *information role*, the mass media inform its audience on a continuous flow of information, which is an instrument of unification without which nation building would be a difficult task. The *historian role* "arises from its function as a mirror of society". The mass media is the reflection of the political, economic and social structure of that society. As they publish, broadcast and record all events in the country, they serve as recorders of history. The mass media in true Jurgen Habermas fashion is the moderator of the public sphere where national issues are debated, thus stimulating political participation.

As *an educator* the media provides that forum for both formal and non-formal education through its programme content. As the repository of the conscience of a nation the media through its *watchdog role* crusades for social justice, public morality, civil liberties and human development. It *leads* not only as the reflector of public opinion, but also as guide and lead to society.

Enthusiasm over the role of media in development has been dampened over the years given the failure of the modernisation theory and the central role assigned to the media in its realisation. However, recent studies tend to blame not just the media for failure to push the modernization theory but more on the mis-application of the media to the development agenda. Snippets of evaluation research tend to show that the media especially Radio in the developing world can play a role in development. Some reviews of radio in development including the World Bank

evaluation, and the US Agency for International development-supported series of project files have documented decades of application of radio to development effort. Examples – include the Nicaragua Radio Mathematics Projects; Kenya's Radio Language Arts Projects; Radio Basic Education in the Dominican Republic; as well as Teacher Training through Radio and correspondence in Kenya etc. (Oxford, 1985).

The idea of using the Mass Media in development draws some of its foundations from the powerful effects theory of the mass media. Studies conducted after the World War One led to a general belief in the power of the media when these are used in specific ways. The media were believed to be able to influence how people reacted to circumstances based on the kind of information they heard or read in the media.

The powerful effects theories were developed by scholars like Harold Lasswell (1927) and David Lerner who had pioneered the use of war propaganda during the First World War for the United States Army. Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld (1974) had also studied the propaganda tactics of the German army during that same war. These theories had ascribed to the media a hypodermic needle or magic bullet effect because it was believed that the mass of the people is helpless atomized and defenceless to powerful effects of the media and therefore could be directed toward any point of view. This theory was perfected for use by Joseph Goebbels for Adolf Hitler during the Second World War. Goebbels propounded the Big Liar theory, which was simply a twisted and an escalated variant of Lasswell's, magic bullet theory.

It is in the context of the assumed power of the mass media that Wilbur Schramm formulated a model of mass media in national development (1964). Schramm and David Lerner envisioned the media as "mass multipliers" – they were thought to have the powers to enhance the adaptation of modern methods of industrialisation and modern behaviour (Stevenson 1988:3). However, media effects theory has moved on since the early days and now places the audience member at the centre of analysis of media effect.

The uses and gratification approach differ from the hypodermic needle theory for it recognises that the mass media audience is an active one. It believes that the audience members have needs, and these needs are fulfilled or gratified by certain messages that are found in the media – audience members use the media selectively to fulfill these needs (Blumler and Katz, 1974). The uses and gratification approach studied both media effects on people and the uses of the mass media by the audience. It was a move away from the concept of the persuasive effects of the media. It also represented a shift in focus from the purposes and objectives of the sender of information to the purposes and goals of the receiver of information for it looked to the audience as being active users of the media (Severin and Tankard, 1992:269). This paradigm shift led to more of a psychological exploration of media use.

Despite the contentious debates about media effects on the audience, communication scholars, political scientists, sociologists like Wilbur Schramm, Karl Deutsch, Lucien Pye, Talcott Parsons and other identified roles for media in nation building.

Nation building. Wilbur Schramm (1963) correlates the society and the media, positing that the size of a communication system reflects national economic development; the structure reflects political development and the content reflects the values. This gives a proper springboard in considering the role of the media in nation building. Karl Deutsch and William Foltz (1966/2017) suggest a five-stage process through which a group may pass on the way "from tribe to nation". First, the group may consider itself distinct and separate and resist all efforts of incorporating them into another group or state. Next the group may be incorporated but will need a garrison to coerce them into obedience. The third stage will see the group cooperating minimally. During the progression to the fourth stage the state can count on their "unsupervised compliance in most situation and on their active support in case of need (p. 7). The fifth stage is one in which the group becomes indistinguishable from other groups within the state whether linguistically, culturally or even physically.

Eleazu (1977 cited in Ndolo, 1987) labeled these five stages as independence, progression, amalgamation, integration and assimilation. Atimomo (1981 cited in Ndolo, 1987) also counts five instruments that are necessary for national integration: common services; coordination of the

society; propaganda and education; organization of the police and armed forces; and ethnic problem and economic development.

Common services cover communications in general, means of information, money, justice, defence, diplomacy, and uniformity in education. Coordination of the society entails a social integration which depends on material elements like justice in the distribution of revenues, economic abundance, development of interdependence among various states, and communities of interests. Economic planning should embrace the promotion of Nigeria's cultural heritage, art, scientific progress, and urbanism.

The third instrument, propaganda and education are the responsibility of the federal government through its centralised media, to promote collective tendencies, denounce egoism while exalting devotion, civic virtues, and national sentiments.

The fourth instrument is an efficient and well-organized police and armed forces that will offer equal protective services to all groups within the nation.

Finally, there is the instrument of ethnic problems and economic developments. It supposes not only the suppression of ethnic conflicts, but also the development of solid ties. The gap between the needs of the citizens and the availability of resource should be closed, while equal access to revenues, resources and opportunities should be established.

Nation building in Nigeria, in terms of communication is the process whereby the ethnic, cultural, educational, economic, religious and political barriers between the different people of Nigeria are broken down so that people can learn to communicate over a range of topics thereby breaking down ethnic walls of suspicion and mistrust. In a quantitative analysis of the role of the media in nation building, Eleazu, (1977 cited in Ndolo, 1987) said the potential utility of the mass media is measured by the extent to which they enhance the integration of the social unit. This he argued could be in the way the content of the media is packaged and delivered in a standardized form. The assumption here is that widespread national uniformity in attitude and patterns of behaviour will be the result.

Blake (1974, cited in Ndolo, 1987) sees the key function of the media as that of (a) nation-building, (b) national/political integration and (c) source of significant information for the populace (p.226). He argued that:

> In the process of nation-building, an atmosphere where one could not identify the "Voice" that speaks for the nation could create significant disturbances among the population. The presence of conflicting ideological battles could prevent the collective strength of the nation from creating a condition conducive to human growth and create a condition of entire "Chaos" (p.226).

The second function of national/political integration is related to the first and Blake insists that if nation building is to succeed especially in Africa national/political integration is paramount. Hinging his argument on the disparate multifarious ethnic groups in the nation --states of Africa, Blake asserts the need to communicate to all these groups to forge national and political integration, "communicating with all these ethnic groups is a phenomenal task – the financial responsibilities are overwhelming, and a government owned media stands in a better position to better tackle it" (p. 227).

The third function of government is serving as the significant source of information. The foregoing analysis of Cecil Blake and Uma Eleazu seem to situate a public interest media to better perform the roles enumerated so far, that the disparate commercial and privately-owned media may not concern itself with such lofty ideals especially if they are concerned with financial solvency.

The role of communication in the dynamics of the social system is perhaps best approached through a description of the system. Harry Johnson (1973 cited in Oxley, 1975) pulls together the elements of descriptions offered by Talcott Parson's, Robert Bales, E. A. Shils and concludes that the social system is made up of structures through which it solves four basic functional problem: pattern maintenance, adaptation, goal attainment and integration. The members of various structures realize their achievement through the performance of roles. What we call the political and economic system is according to Johnson, subsystems within the societal system.

The basic function of the political subsystem is the harmonization of small-groups goals to produce a consensus on priorities and policies for the achievement of societal goals. That of the economic subsystem is adaptation to the environment through appropriate resource allocation. The economic and political systems are not structural as the social system is; rather, they are functional subsystems. In other words, they are not composed of concrete groups, but each is made up of all the aspects of the total social structure bearing on one of the four basic problems of a society.

Yet a consensus on societal priorities (the function of the political subsystem) comes through effective communication between the rulers and the ruled mediated by the media of mass communication. And since the allocation of resources (the function of the super structure; political subsystem) must be based on a society's priorities, communication helps identify these. The social system according to Johnson is, however, an ideal, which in practice is not often realised. Consensus is assumed to be the premise on which a perfect democracy would operate, but the further a social system drifts from being perfectly democratic, the more likely it is that coercion will replace consensus as the basis of social priorities.

Since all societies operate on a basis of something less than perfect consensus, all depend to some degree on balancing of coercion and information. Therefore, sociologists often discuss communication and information in terms of social power – the power to control or to change the system. But while most theorists would argue that communication is necessary for the effective exercise of power, no one could suggest that it is a sufficient condition. Communication only works effectively in a system that can complement it with real capacities to reward, punish and solicit support. It is in this context that Almond and Powell (1966) speak of communication and they suggest some functional roles for it in the process of political and economic change in developing countries. Still the thrust of their argument is that, communication's most contributive role is in the stimulus it can bring to "the social mobilisation which must precede development of political and economic capabilities" (p.177).

The term "social mobilisation" was borrowed by Almond and Powell from Karl Deutsch who defined it as a "process in which major clusters of old, social, economic and physiological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour" (1963, p.589). Social mobilisation, then, is a process, not a single event; and communications' contribution to it and its consequences are detailed in Deutsch's later work (1966, p.76). Acknowledging his debt to Norbert Wiener, Deustch describes a cybernetic model of communication which could animate an entire social system. It is a network "that produces action in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own action in the new information by which it modifies its subsequent behaviour" (p. 88). Important to Deutsch's model are:

1. Monitoring of the societal effects of policy

2. Measuring the time lag between the observation of negative effects and the implementation of corrective action.

3. Measurements of the gain achieved through corrective action. In this way, the system becomes self-steering.

An attractive feature of Deutsch's model is that it elevates communication to something more than a function of publicity or public relations. It brings it directly to bear on policy formation. In its application to developing countries it also has the advantage of being unaffected by political ideologies or by a given country's stage of development.

In combination with the communist approach to mass communication in developing countries as described by Ithiel de Sola Pool (1963, p.234), Deutsch's model offers a theoretical framework for creative experimentation. According to Pool, the communists value a communication network not only for what can be said through it, but as a social system in itself "an effective organization device" which, apart from its content, can have effects on other social institutions and on many individuals within a society. The media network does this by serving partly as "a processing point for theory under the direction of a central political agency (Hopkins, 1970 cited in Oxley, 1975)" and partly as an instrument in the organization of men and ideas. Logically,

therefore, the communists stressed the complementarity of media and interpersonal communication.

Melvin Defleur (1970) provides a detailed breakdown of the component parts of a media system as a social system and identifies many of the individual actors and instruments of communication which might operate within it. In that context, one can recognise several potential points of communication and feedback transmission necessary to Deutch's cybernetic model. Almond and Powell (1966, p.165) dissociate themselves from Deutsch's position emphasizing instead the importance of communication in support of national policy, backing away from an unqualified assertion that it can also contribute significantly to policy formation.

But Lycian Pye agrees with Deutsch although without specifying the cybernetic process of Deutsch;

> The role of communication in political development is considerably more than merely supporting… policies of the government… the very act of communications represents in themselves the essence of political involvement in a policy (Pye, 1963, p.232).

The cybernetic approach to communication in national development springs from the understanding of the dynamics of social change rather than the structural support that can be brought to it. Writing on how the cybernetic approach to communication applies to the modernization of developing countries, Eisenstadt (1966) describes the process as beginning with the emergence of small, peripheral social groups with their values different from those of the central institutions of society. These groups grow and unite to impinge on central authorities through the articulation of their demands. Finally, there develops at the centre new structures flexible enough to accommodate the immediate needs of the new groups and of absorbing continually changing demands.

Eisenstadt stresses the role of mass communication in stimulating the values and changes that create the new groups and in the process by which these groups grow and unite. But it seems likely too that the sensitivity and response of the central authorities could be considerably sharpened through an effective cybernetic communication/feedback network. The cybernetic

feedback loop ensures that receivers are actively part of the communication process through which demands are made on the political subsystem. It is a variable on governmental performance to see how decision-making deal effectively with the demands of the people. All communication, therefore, must be connected through the feedback cycles (Holmes, 2005; Merrit, et al, 2001; Sutzl, 2016).

The Role of Radio in Development

In "Many Voices, One World," MacBride (1980) advocates inclusion of information for development and education, "communication is not only a system of public information, but also an integral part of education and development." The report called for "Utilization of local radio …and other appropriate technologies would facilitate production of programs relevant to community development efforts, stimulate participation and provide opportunity for diversified cultural expression." (p.39)

Radio broadcasting as mediated communication is believed to be playing this important role in social change and development in Africa. (Skuse 2005; Slater and Tacchi 2004; Myers 2008, 2011). Myers (2011) notes that with liberalization/ deregulation of broadcasting in most of Africa, the low production and distribution cost has made radio very affordable and available to large segments of the society compared to other forms of mass media. "Furthermore, community-based radio has demonstrated a remarkable potential to facilitate development and social change agendas given that it speaks in the languages and dialects of its community and its programming reflects local interests and voices. Many people, especially in rural areas, continue to depend on the radio for diverse and everyday uses – from news of the latest innovations, to market prices, to advice on tackling agricultural, health and other developmental problems' (Gilberds and Myers, 2012, p.2)

Radio for development. Jemal Mohammed (2013), using McLeish (1996) work, outlines below some characteristics that make radio a great tool for development, peace building, conflict prevention and deradicalisation.

The speed of radio as information disseminator. Being the medium of sound, radio has speed and travels at the speed of sound. The advent of the new media, the internet and mobile phones has not blunted the speed of radio but has rather enhanced it through convergence and integration of both. "Radio speeds up the dissemination of information so that everyone… knows of the news event, the same political idea, declaration or threat" (McLeish, 1996, p. 3).

Radio speaks to millions. While television reaches large numbers of people in urban and peri-urban settings, radio reaches millions of people at the same time especially in the rural areas of Africa where large numbers of illiterate people reside, breaking down the barriers of language and illiteracy. (Desta Tesfaw, 2007; Coldevin, 2003, p. 11 cited in Mohammed, 2013).

Radio speaks to the individual. As an aural medium radio speaks individually to each of its listeners creating a bond which makes for greater impact and involvement. "Unlike television where the viewer is observing something coming out of a box 'over there', the sights and sounds of radio are created within us" (McLeish, 2012).

Radio makes mental pictures. Radio is a "blind medium" therefore it must create mental pictures to stimulate listener's imagination. Because radio employs only sound it must use it for maximum effect to provide the whole pictures of the story.

Radio has no boundaries. Radio signals cannot be bound to territorial boundaries unless deliberately jammed. Otherwise radio signals go across mountains and difficult terrains with easy (ibid.). Thus, for developing countries those are mountainous and have rugged terrains with very poor transportation facilities, radio is the ideal medium to reach the rural areas and people who reside there.

The simplicity of radio. Other media forms like television have complex and expensive production techniques but radio which totally dependent on sound has simplicity in the whole processes of content generation and production – from reporting to broadcast. Radio production entails limited technical skills compared to television or print media.

Radio Is cheap. Setting up a radio station is relatively cheap compared **"**to the other media, both its capital cost and its running expenses are small" (McLeish, p.4). Radio is also "the prime electronic medium of the poor because it leaps the barriers of isolation and illiteracy, and it is the

most affordable electronic medium to… receive in" (Fraser and Estrada, 2001, p. 1). Radio sets are cheap and affordable to most rural people and with the advent of mobile phones equipped with radio functionality, its reach is now further extended. "Radio is much more pervasive, accessible and affordable" (Servaes, 2008).

The personality of radio. Radio is personal and intimate. "A great advantage of an aural medium over print lies in the sound of the human voice – the warmth, the compassion, the anger, the pain and the laughter" (McLeish, 2012, p.6). Most radio content is delivered by voice but overcome the possibility of marginalizing some voices thereby excluding an important segment of society, McLeish (2012) warns that it is, "important that all kinds of voices are heard and not just those of professional broadcasters, power holders and articulate spokesmen".

Radio for change. Radio "acts as a multiplier of change" (ibid. 9). It is an effective medium for spreading and speeding up information, for exchanging of ideas and dialogue when it is at its most interactive. "Through the new knowledge that it introduces within the community, radio can help to change mentalities" (Souleymane and Kadiatou, 2006, p.139 cited in Mohammed, 2013). But according to Souleymane and Kadiatou, it cannot achieve this goal if its broadcasts continue to "reflect the viewpoint of the elite rather than that of the majority. The advantage of the participatory approach lies precisely in its capacity to give everyone a chance to express their expectations and their viewpoint" (Bessette, 2006, p.187).

Radio can also support peace building, conflict prevention, national consensus and political participation of a society. "It helps to develop agreed objectives and political choice, it enables social and political debate, exposing issues and options for actions" (McLeish, 2012 p.10).

Radio is portable. Radio sets' smallness and adaptability to other platforms like mobile phones allows for people's frequent mobility and suitable for all professions including highly mobile jobs. People can listen to radio on the move.

Radio in development examples. Several evaluations and impacts studies show that radio has made giant strides in terms of development. The Development Communication Evidence Research Network (DCERN) website lists 33 radio evaluations and impact studies while The Communication Initiative website shows 300 impact studies relating to radio and development.

They all show compelling positive evidence correlating radio and development. (Myers, 2008, 2011). Panos London (2007) in its overview of researches in radio and development has delineated three ways in which radio carries out its function of development, firstly 'radio as an instrument for development' (i.e. development communications, programme-making with a predetermined development objective), 'radio as a development actor in its own right' (community radio, emphasis on empowerment) and 'radio professionals in support of good governance' (the radio sector taking an effective fourth estate role).

Studies show broadcast media that the have been widely and variously used in communicating development programmes to the rural people. Soola (2003) on a global scale, but particularly in developing countries, show that radio has been a potent tool for development. Salter (2011 cited in Santas and Asemah, 2013) puts the role of community broadcasting, particularly in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria in a better perspective when she said: "Community broadcasting is designed to fulfill social and cultural needs, by allowing members of the audience to participate in decisions about programming and, in the case of radio, in the ownership of stations; it serves local communities, reflecting the diversity of their views and needs, and provides access to volunteer participants. It is public broadcasting, but it is not operated by a government or a government agency" (p.22).

Fraser and Restropo-Estrada (2002) note that when communication is recognised as a social process, a process which allows people, ordinary people to dialogue and analyse situations among themselves and about issues affecting their lives then will social change and development happen. They posit that radio does provide the platform for this dialogue that brings change and build capacity for sustainable change and development. Radio that is rural not necessarily in its location but in its programming and news concept provides the platform for this dialogue at the grassroots levels which can make demands on policy makers and implementers thereby engendering development.

Community radio can promote development through the transfer of information and because information and knowledge are powerful change agents, they are able to breakdown some social

and cultural constraints that impede development (Servaes *et al.*, 2012). When radio, be it community or local focuses its programmes on issues and problems relevant to the community, creating access to information that is empowering, ordinary people will appropriate those empowering messages to improve their lives and those of their towns and villages.

Milan (2009, p. 600) contends that community media has a socializing educational mission especially in Africa covering health and child care programmes, farming tips, human and women's rights, literacy classes and so on. According to him community media "cover diverse topics, but often they embrace what can be called a 'social mission'". In other words, radio in its programmes and news can focus on issues that can bring positive changes in society. Such changes can come through new knowledge in agronomy, fisheries, reproductive health, immunisation and sanitation. This is radio with a public service function (Milan; 2009, p. 600).

Servaes (1999) reiterates that radio functions as a platform to educate illiterate people, equipping them with life skills and important information that could help in their development. Servaes believes that the essence of development is to enhance people's capabilities to take control of their lives and their environment.

Radio stations can be used to disseminate information to specific target audiences about the importance of adopting a health practice in a top down method. These messages are designed, conceived and produced by government, development partners and other stakeholders. These messages are then be sent to the radio stations to be broadcast to the people. It is a top down message design and dissemination. However, interpersonal communication does play an important role in the effect of those messages on the audience. Philip Keefer and Stuti Khemani (2014) In their work studying the effects and access to radio in Benin found that interpersonal communication does extend the impact and reach of radio messages, "effects of radio could be large even if a few influential households, or opinion leaders listen and persuasively transmit the messages within the villages".

Inagaki (2007) supports the thesis above, "in the diffusion theory framework, the expected function of interpersonal communication is primarily to amplify and relay the messages to peers, spouses and clients" (p.37). When ordinary people are exposed to public health messages through radio programmes, influencers and forums such as the Rural radio forums help amplify the messages to the wider community through one-on-one communication. This is the central plank for Rogers' thesis on the diffusion of innovation theory (Rogers, 1976). It is cost effective.

Fraser and Estrada (2001) note that radio especially when it is community based should help people improve their lives; that is its fundamental objective. Hence radio is used to disseminate information which addresses development issues such as sanitation, hygiene, girls' education, child trafficking, family planning and early marriages. Acceptance of these information by the people help to expand their capabilities and promote their self-development. Berrigan (1979) agrees noting that "the mass media have been used to support development initiatives by beaming messages or directives encouraging people to support development projects" (p. 10).

Radio, be it governmental or driven by development agencies have applied this to inform and educate people about several development issues. Depending on the area of focus such information could contribute to a reduction in maternal deaths, improved family health and improved food security for the family. Radio stations make this information readily available to the people and this has the potential of adding value to people's lives. Quebral (2012, p. 14) agrees that communication media can "circulate knowledge that will inform people of significant events, opportunities, dangers and changes in the community…; teach those ideas skills and values that people need to achieve a better life".

Radio has played the role of a radio school which is often referred to as *School on the Air*. This notion of *School on the Air* was "introduced in the Philippines in 1952 when a freelance broadcaster started producing educational agricultural programmes" (Librero, 2004 cited in Manyozo, 2012, p. 32). It was an innovative form of education to help reach large audiences in rural and peri-urban communities with formal education through the radio. Nigeria has used it

lately to reach nomadic and fishing communities which are constantly on the move with formal education.

At the very beginning of radio in Nigeria in 1932 it started with the relay of the programmes of the British Empire Services of the British Broadcasting corporation. The first use of radio in Nigeria for education and development purposes were the once a week educational radio programmes in English in the 1940s by the Radio Distribution Service (RDS). Subsequently, radio for education and development entrenched in the Nigerian Broadcasting Service in 1951 (Ogunranti, 1988 cited in Babalola, 2012). With the advent of regional governments in Nigeria, the regions established their own radio stations between 1959 to 1962. These regions realized that education and public enlightenment were keys to development and that radio was crucial to achieve this. For this reason, the expanded and further extended education broadcasts to the rural areas. The then Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) installed community listening kiosks with dry battery receivers in the mid-1960 to transmit to its rural audience, health and educational programmes and the Nigerian broadcasting service experimented with operations in community listening. Some of its indigenous programmes were translated into nine languages- Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Fulani, Kanuri, Tiv, Ijaw, Edo and Efik, to reach a significant population of Nigerian citizens then. population. (Onabajo, 2002).

In the realm of agriculture, radio was pressed early into service to support agricultural extension services. In the late 1960's the National Agricultural Extension and Research Liaison Services (NAERLS) institutionalized the use of radio for teaching farmers modern agricultural methods. It's Farm Broadcasts Programme unit produced agricultural radio programmes in Hausa and English languages. These were disseminated to farming families who had radio sets (Omenesa and Shittu, 2005).

The programmes, produced every week, and lasting thirty minutes were designed to teach farmers about high yielding and early maturing crops, problems associated with various crops and how to resolve them. It answered farmers' questions and educated them on how to organize radio listening clubs and cooperative societies. The radio programmes helped to make the work

of agricultural extension agents easier. The extension agents had the task of face-to-face contact with the farming communities in explaining agricultural extension packages. Between 1986 and 1999, this researcher as a radio producer also collaborated with the Agricultural Development Programmes to disseminate new crops and farming techniques to rural farmers in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

Empowerment. The creative use of radio can empower people especially the marginalised and excluded and empowerment is a form of development. Empowerment has been defined severally by a lot of scholars in different ways. common in all the definitions is the transformation of all disenfranchised and vulnerable communities to be masters of their own destinies and be proactive in all issues affecting their lives, their environment and without succumbing to influences and decisions taken without their own inputs. (Dugan, 2003). It is defined as "a multilevel construct that describes a social action process for people to gain mastery over their lives, their organizations, and the lives of their communities" (Butterfoss, 2006, p. 326 cited in Mhagama, 2015). It therefore, follows that when people are aware of their personality, environment, capacities and capabilities, and work to convert this into action, then they are empowered. Empowerment allows people to participate with some level of assurance in development activities in which they are involved. Therefore, empowerment is necessary for development to take place.

The concept of empowerment is that power should be diffused throughout the community, that every individual must have a measure of enlightenment capable of supporting that individual through participation in community life and activities. The individual must be able to contribute to community life in meaningful ways. The individual must have a measure of power to shape community decisions. Radio creates and disseminates information which enlightens individuals to be aware of opportunities available for them. It affords ordinary people the opportunity to participate in the media and through the media in development projects. Radio, since inception has worked to facilitate development, be in agricultural extension, health communication and literacy projects. It has worked to explain development plans of government and other national and international non-governmental organisations.

Myers (2010) has noted the correlation between strong democratic traditions in Benin, Ghana, Mali and Senegal in West Africa and vibrant flourishing radio stations with empowering interactive talk shows. Also in the words of the economist Paul Collier: "the media…are the most effective forms of scrutiny. In the societies of the bottom-billion the key media are probably the radio channels…" "In most bottom-billion countries television is too limited to be the key medium; it is more likely to be radio. Thus, among the checks and balances I would place keeping radio out of government monopoly control is vital." (Collier, 2007, pp. 147-8 cited in Myers, 2010). We could therefore, say that radio supports development that is related to building people's capabilities.

Sen (1992) theorized the capabilities approach to development (Sen, 1992; UNDP, 1994; Nussbaum, 2011). The capabilities approach to development is defined as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Sen, 1999, p. 3). The focus of development here is to "create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 1). With this approach in mind we can safely say that radio that is focused on programming on peace and development is public service, helping people with information and platforms to enhance their capacities. Radio broadcasts valuable information to raise people's awareness. More so, radio can also be a tool for achieving poverty reduction and gaining food security as it complements the role of agricultural extension workers by broadcasting agriculture programmes to rural dwellers.

There is several health, social, and agricultural successes that can be attributed to radio campaigns. Inagaki (2007) states that the success of any communication is when it has made an impact on the lives of the recipients of that information, for instance a campaign on reduction of HIV in a community. Information from radio can help to motivate the people to action leading to social action at the community level or individual action which in turn leads to a reduction in HIV prevalence rate. Making available such empowering and life-saving information to the wider community helps in self-discovery among the people. It activates critical thinking which leads to self-awareness and the desire for problem solving.

Mhagama (2015) using findings from his research establishes how community radio stations have been used in Malawi to give information to people on family planning, education, HIV/AIDS, malaria control and safe motherhood among others. As a result, the information received on these subjects, people could address other development issues like health and sanitation, literacy, food supply and having smaller families. These changes have led to improved well-being for majority of the people. Also, from Madagascar we have evidence that knowledge about HIV/AIDS, safe motherhood and vaccination is higher among radio listeners. Radio dramas also helped large numbers of women of reproductive age in Tanzania to adopt family planning methods (Metcalf et al. 2007 cited in Myers, 2010; Mediae Company, 2010 cited in Myers, 2010).

Radio played a major role in the 2014 Ebola crisis in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In both countries, more than 80 per cent of households have access to a radio. It was used to broadcast lessons to different age groups at different times throughout the country through the countries 41 radio stations. The lessons were a combination of the national curriculum's academic work and health and hygiene to help stop the spread of Ebola. About 3 million people received the messages in both countries. The project was in partnership with the countries' Ministries of Education, UNICEF and World Vision. During the crisis, BBC Media Action worked through a network of 36 radio stations in its response to Ebola (BBC Media Action, 2015)

The Masai Radio also in Tanzania which caters to the Masai pastoralists in their own language regularly broadcasts programmes on cattle rearing, family, women's issues including the taboo subject of female genital circumcision, rights to land and forests. The radio broadcast is improving livelihoods among the people. "With illiteracy rates of an estimated 80%, the radio has become the only realistic tool for social and economic transformation; people are talking together, recording their music, revitalizing their language and culture" (Lwanga-Ntale & Jallov, 2006 cited in Myers 2010).

In Mali, local radio stations have engaged in campaigns to promote the making of composts by poor rural farmers for greater farm yields. The radio programmes which featured agricultural experts when evaluated showed tremendous increase in the number of farmers adopting the practice. So also, in Uganda when a disease-resistant cassava variety was promoted through a radio campaign. There was an increase of up to 510% in yields planted with the improved cassava (Farm Radio International 2010). In Ghana's Volta Star FM, a campaign on a new variety of rice showed there was a 50% uptake by the group that listened to the radio campaign.

David Smith (2017) believes that for radio to make an impact in development, behaviour change and peacebuilding it must be dialogic bringing people through its programmes from diverse background to talk, engage and reaching shared understanding that helps in accommodation and resolution of conflicts. For Mary Myers (2008), interactivity for radio is impactful, so are entertaining, engaging and compelling content. "Dramas are especially effective for engaging audiences, and long-running series and soap-operas (edu-tainment) ensure audience loyalty and regular listening (AFRRI 2008). Sustained and regular listening seems to be more crucial for behaviour change than exposure to a specific radio campaign (AFRRI, 2008 cited in Myers, 2008). It all boils down to effective use of radio, reaching the people where they are, involving them, speaking in their languages and raising issues that are concern to them.

The need for radio's proactive intervention
UNESCO notes that, "the mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace (UNESCO, 1978, p.1)". A deliberate and strategically planned use of media with peace building and conflict prevention slants in focus could help transform cultural violence into the culture of peaceful coexistence. It is possible for the environment through radio programmes and to be filled with positive representation of the order, reduce the fear of the unknown, and promote the issues of social justice and equality. The culture of peace can be achieved using professional and unbiased journalism, whose outputs are active persuasive attempts that point out the advantages of peace over conflict.

Shaw (2011) agrees that the media has a moral responsibility to preach peace and in a proactive and preventive way, "it should focus on deconstructing the underlying structural causes of political violence such as poverty, famine, exclusion of minorities, youth marginalization, human trafficking… than focusing merely on attitudes and behaviours of the elite that benefit from direct and uncensored violence (Shaw, 2011).

Proactively, it is much better to intervene earlier and prevent violence because violence once it starts can psychologically undermine messages of peace and tolerance. Once conflicts have started messages of peace are met with doubts, skepticism, and suspicion. In some cases, peoples are even offended, regarding such messages as hypocritical. Daniel Bar-Tal (2000) notes that shifting to an "ethos of peace" away from a "conflictive ethos" is very difficult in times of conflict. He says that in conflict-ridden societies individuals psychologically develop a "conflictive ethos" – including beliefs about the adversary group, their own in-group, the causes of conflict, and so on.

Bar-Tal doubts the efficacy of peace building public enlightenment during intractable conflict, saying it may be able to provide some support, but if hostile societal events and rhetoric are ongoing, the "ethos of conflict" undermines any efforts to promote coexistence (2004). This is a pointer why radio in peace time must devote ample time and space for peace education and peace building programmes because it is much effective then than when the crisis has begun.
It has ample time outside the news slots to perform this role. The narrow focus on the news in the theoretical discourse of conflict prevention journalism is problematic especially for radio. The plethora of content generated in 24 hours of radio broadcast time is not all news (Bratic, 2015). How can we ensure that this content is conflict-prevention sensitive?

According to peace journalism scholars (Uvin 1998; Alia 2004; Lynch & McGoldrick 2005), understanding the root cause of violence and conflict is key to determining how to plan programme schedules for radio, what programmes and nature of news should a station broadcast to create the right environment for peaceful coexistence. This understanding of the environment and the root causes of conflict enhances peace journalism capacity to increase the media's role as

the watchdog in society and develop a thriving public sphere. So, from the study findings, while there is the urgent need to increase airtime both by government and private stations, investments in training of staff in peace and conflict-sensitive journalism is of the utmost importance.

Radio and hate speeches.

Although hate speech is a contested expression and lies at the tenuous nexus with the freedom of expression, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2013:4) which notes that hate speech includes: (a) all dissemination of ideas based on racial or ethnic superiority or hatred, by whatever means; (b) incitement to hatred, contempt or discrimination against members of a group on grounds of their race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin; (c) threats or incitement to violence against persons or groups on the grounds in (b) above; (d) expression of insults, ridicule or slander of persons or groups or justification of hatred.

To reduce regulatory abuses by state actors against the freedom of speech or non-action against the incidents of hate speech in the guise of protecting the freedom of speech, Benesch (2012) further categorises hate speech into forms with the highest propensity to lead to violent outcomes. This she called "dangerous speech". "Dangerous speech has the highest probability of "catalysing or amplifying violence by one group against another". To easily identify dangerous speech, Benesch provides guidelines that include, a) the character and popularity of the speaker; b) the emotional state of the audience; c) the content of the speech act itself as a call to action; d) the historical and social context in which the act occurs; and e) the means used to disseminate it (including the type of language adopted, e.g. if speech is in the vernacular, a person from the area where that language is spoken may hear it differently than if it is in the national language).

Facebook argues that "Content that attacks people based on their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability or disease is not allowed… but, we do, however, allow clear attempts at humor or satire that might otherwise be considered a possible threat or attack. This includes content that many people may find to be in bad taste (ex: jokes, stand-up comedy, popular song lyrics, etc.)" (Facebook, 2017). YouTube agrees that, "It is generally okay to criticize a nation, but not okay to post malicious hateful

comments about a group solely based on their race" (YouTube, 2017). While for Twitter it is simply abuse that threatens safety (Twitter, 2017).

***Effects of hate speech*.** Hate speech involves disparagement of others and groups based on their belonging to a group of collective identity. It uses discriminatory descriptions to insult and stigmatise others based on their ethnicity, race, sexual orientation or what Kaufman (2006 cited in Y. Kalyango Jr. and F Vultee 2012) refers to as the "out-group". Hate speech targets "the others", a phenomenon that Canales (2006) describe as "othering". Othering is based on what people regard as differences. People consider as others those who are racially, religiously or culturally different from them. Canales notes that othering takes two forms; the exclusionary and inclusionary. Othering is a negative, exclusionary process with dire consequences. Othering is the creating of a distance between groups and is usually a condition for violence against the other outgroups.

It is a precursor to violence against others. Violence, especially at the genocidal level, requires first the exclusion of some people –the others- from what Helen Fein (1993 cited in Hoffman, 2015) called the "universe of moral obligation". Canales implicates media as playing an important role in othering, "because they are essential transmitters of stereotypes and stereotyped perceptions of the external and internal enemy". Through the representation of "we' and "those" the media help shape collective public opinion in society.
Other scholars like Benesch (2012), note that hate speech through abuse, threats and hurtful stereotyping based on ethnic origin, gender, race, religion and sexual orientation dehumanizes members who belong to another group, leading to psychological and emotional pains. It can lead to dangerous and aggressive reactions from those targeted.

The UN Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues in 2014 warned against the incidence of hate speech, incitement to violence, the rise of misinformation, discrimination and hostility on the internet and in the media targeting mostly minority communities (HRC, 2015). Like the case of Kenya in 2008, these hate speeches both online and offline culminated in real life cases of violence which left several hundred-people dead and thousands injured and

displaced. It is important to note that some theorists have argued that there is no empirical evidence linking hate speech to violence to warrant undue worry about hate speech.

However, David Yanagizawa-Drott (2012), using data from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda has provided some robust evidence linking hate speech and genocide in that country. He illustrated a causal relationship which proved that there was a ten per cent increase in violence in communities that received the strongest signals of the hate radio, Radio-Télévision Libres des Milles Collines (RTLMC) compared to more far flung communities to which the radio signals were weakest. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda acknowledged the nexus between hate speech and genocide, and in 1997 convicted the most prominent voices of hate speech at its sitting for incitement to genocide (Ring, 2013).

It is important not to point to only the infamous hate radios in Bosnia, Rwanda etc. and Adolf Hitler's propaganda media as the proponents of hate messages because every radio station plays a role through its audience, in creating tension in society or in reinforcing a culture of peaceful coexistence among people, a culture of dialogue and tolerance. Depending on the type of content it generates, radio contributes in ways groups perceive other groups, and therefore society, perceives different groups and the conflicts which bring them into opposition. For instance, unprofessional flippancy in the use of words, jokes about other groups on air can reinforce stereotypes and tensions. These contribute to increasing tensions and to making dialogue difficult among groups difficult (RFPA, 2006).

There has been debate since Harold Lasswell's work on the effect of radio in the First World War (1935 cited in Myers, 2008). By the nature of radio, it can be a double-edged sword. In this study, we have explored the capacity of radio to do good, yet in its history radio has always been applied to commit or help people to destroy what it supported to build. While it has fostered development, community cohesion, it also stoked hatred, ethnic cleansing and violence. In a three-country analysis of radio, development, hate speech and conflict escalation, Mary Myers (2008) used examples from Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya to illustrate the

power of radio both for evil and good. "Rwanda, DRC and Kenya are also interesting for presenting us with instances where the dream of local radio has occasionally turned sour".

This is perhaps most notoriously manifested in the case of Rwanda and the role that *Radio-Télévision Libres des Milles Collines* (RTLM) played in the genocide in 1994. But we also see this in the context of the war in the D R Congo in the late 1990s where hate radio emerged again, and very recently in the post-electoral bloodshed in Kenya in 2007, where local radio was found to have been inciting ethnic violence" (Myers, 2008). However, scholars have noted that if radio can be manipulated for evil and conflict, then it also be a positive force for good (Bratic, 2015; Munteanu, 2011; Hattotuwa, 2002 cited in Jan, M and Khan M, R 2011). It is logical to assert that since radio can incite conflict, it can also have a positive impact on peace building as well. The link between communication and peace is firmly established in Article 3 of the 1978 UNESCO declaration which states that," the mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement of war" (UNESCO, 1978).

Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) between 1993 and 1994 was owned by politicians and business men from the Hutu ethnic group in Rwanda. After the aircraft carrying the President of Rwanda who was Hutu was shot down in April 1994 by the Tutsi ethnic group-led rebels, the station began broadcasting hate messages calling for the hunting down and eliminating the 'cockroaches' and 'snakes' who want to exterminate the Hutu of Rwanda. The radio station was complicit in the genocide that followed. It encouraged the militias and provided logistical support in the form of providing names and addresses of Tutsis and moderate Hutus to be killed. With this support, about one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed in Africa's worst genocide in recent times (Frère, 2007 cited in Myers, 2008).

Abdi and Deane (2008) found in Kenya that the commercial FM stations were responsible for much of the hate speech and ethnic prejudice that emerged onto the airwaves in the aftermath of the elections earlier in 2007. "The ethnic hate our radio station was propagating about those from outside the community was unbelievable. The unfortunate thing is we let these callers speak vile

and laughed about it", a Kenyan journalist said. One broadcaster from one the FM stations said, "We took sides in the issue and we became subjective, forgetting our professional tenet of objectivity and neutrality. In fact, this polarization was so bad in the newsrooms that some broadcast journalists refused to cover or read news that was not favourable to the candidate or party they supported." (Oyaro, 2008 cited in Myers, 2008)

Manifestations of hate speech on radio. Hate speeches in radio are more prone to emerge mainly from boisterous and noisy disc-jockeys who host several free-ranging music shows that is the staple of most commercial FM stations; interactive live phone-in programmes where people can express its opinions uncontrolled by the show hosts and the reality shows in its total formlessness. Hate speeches are insinuated by way of jokes, proverbs and vernacular sayings. It also emerges and gains impetus through careless reporting of rumor as fact, through allowing extremist politicians free-rein, and from inflammatory language used, often wittingly, by demagogues and religious fanatics. For example, in 2014, a radio station in Kano in northcentral Nigeria hosted someone who made inflammatory statements against polio vaccination that led to the killing of three vaccinators in the city.

Making derogatory statements or jocular snide remarks about other ethnic groups on air in Africa is usually treated as a joke and radio stations in Nigeria are replete with such jokes given the country's bludgeoning stand-up comedy industry. But as Linda Ochiel, principal human rights officer at Kenya's National Commission for Human Rights said, "People treat it [derogatory statements about other ethnic groups] as a big joke. They don't know such stereotypes eventually get fixated in people's minds when they begin to kill people. It's one of the triggers of violence in this country. When we begin to dehumanise other Kenyans and depict them as animals, it's easy to take a machete and hack them to death" (Reuters/Alernet, 2008 cited in Myers, 2008).

Radio for peace building. Peacebuilding is defined as the process aimed at addressing the root causes of conflict, engender reconciliation, normalization of relations, differences and help build institutions that can self-sustain peaceful coexistence of societies with recourse resorting to violence. For peacebuilding to endure it requires the involvement of a broad range of state and

non-state actors like government and civil society which work to put in place actions and activities to prevent violence. Peacebuilding can encompass a range of tasks that include identifying and addressing the underlying political, economic, social and structural imbalances that have contributed to a conflict, reconciling the competing objectives/interests of opponents, preventing the re-emergence of past conflicts and ensuring broad citizen participation in the peace process and transitions to peace, and building the capacity of those institutions that support a secure civil society (USIP, 2010) Canadian government would add that 'peacebuilding refers to far-reaching interventions and programmes whose aims are to support the prospects of peace and reduce the chances of violent conflict in society. Bush (1996) notes that peacebuilding involves both short term humanitarian goals and in the long-term objectives that are developmental in nature. These include political, economic and social objectives (Bush, 1996 cited in Curtis, 2000). In these shades of definition, we see a definite for communication and media especially radio.

Distilling from the broader role of peacebuilding in society, scholars have carved out a role for media and specifically for radio in the overall goal of keeping society peaceful. (Gustafson 2016; citing Curtis, 2000; Brisset-Foucault, 2011) believes that for radio to proactively promote a culture of peace and inter-ethnic harmony and aim to change the attitudes of and perceptions between different groups, it is important that the language use and the news and information they disseminate further promote of the overall aim of peace. Further, radio that promote peace and reconciliation can be identified thus:

- Broadcasts activities that improve the general media environment to facilitate peace building. One of such activities should include tackling hate speech and hate media
- Radio broadcasts that disseminate information and educational material connected to peacebuilding activities.
- Radio broadcasts that proactively aim at reconciliation by aiming to foster a culture of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence, and
- Radio activities that train its broadcasters and journalists and whose programmes and news are diverse, participatory, dialogic and inclusive of the voices of the poor. Adapted from (Curtis, 2000,148).

Bratic and Schirch (2007) proposed a framework of how the media including radio have been involved in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. It is a functional analysis of media's role, delineated in a framework of seven functional roles:

• Media as Information Provider and Interpreter;

• Media as Watchdog;

• Media as Gatekeeper;

• Media as Policymaker;

• Media as Diplomat;

• Media as Peace Promoter;

• Media as Bridge Builder.

The use of this approach especially with radio's dramatic programming and provocative documentaries laced with entertainment, shows how media have been used in diverse forms and ways in peacebuilding and conflict situations. They had defined and with different purposes and served different interests in all settings. It shows that depending on how radio is used, it does play different valuable roles in promoting peace and preventing conflict.

In fragile societies like Nigeria, the media is key in the reduction of communal differences. It should avoid stereotypes, frames and negative identities that may worsen the tensions inherent thereof. The media should rather create and promote positive frames and themes that unites and are accepted by all members and communities of interest. According to Sofos (1997) what is produced and disseminated by the media must promote "identities other than ethnicity." For Sofos, in fragile societies with a propensity for conflict, media can focus on issues of common interest and benefits to the society such as human rights, equity, gender equality, climate change, good governance, health, agricultural productivity, economic development, disaster risk reduction and relief etc., "for promoting and strengthening of trans-ethnic identities that laydown the foundation for non-ethnic notions of citizenship" (p. 269).

Communication is a dependent variable, radio cannot, therefore on its own and singlehandedly be responsible for a peaceful society. There should be a comprehensive good governance

structure, conflict resolution mechanisms which radio will support. Radio and the media generally are essential but not enough component of peace development. They can provide the communication component for a society in search of peace, but they cannot address the deep-rooted causes of conflict. It is the role political subsystem.

Media impact people in both the short and long term but the impact is dependent on certain variables and in the right circumstance. Media have powerful effects when appropriate communication techniques are used (Severin and Tankard, 1992; Myers, 2008). As argued by McQuail (1994), "the entire study of mass communication is based on the premises that the media have significant effects" We have seen that a conflict environment is a situation that gives media more prominence and that certain techniques are more likely to impact the audience. Media effects are considerable and must not be ignored in the effort to transform a society of conflict into a society of peace.

A deliberate and coordinated use of radio that depict and frame images of peace with in tandem with other variables can help transform cultural violence into a culture of peaceful coexistence by conflict groups. When the depictive environment is filled with positive representation of the other, it reduces fear, tension, and promote the issues of social justice and equality. Radio can help achieve a culture of peace using skillfully produced peace content programs and news, professional and unbiased journalism, entertaining soap operas and participatory platforms for dialogues which elevates the advantages of peace over conflict. Restructuring public or private radio broadcasting with a view to imbuing the system peace-oriented content can support the elimination of practices that perpetuate structural violence.

Peace as development. While communication for development has addressed issues of health, agricultural development, poverty, family planning etc. it has ignored the question of violent conflict and peace. Yet violent conflict is a major impediment to development. As Jose Tornerro (person communication, 2016) said, "without peace there will be no food nor health for any society" (Pérez Tornero, J. M. and Varis, Tapio 2010).

Tehranian (in Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1990) sketched some correlation between communication, peace and development, but merely stopped short a of deep analysis of violent conflict and development. It is difficult to fathom anything with a higher and more devastating force to impede development than war and violent conflict. To compensate for this conceptual gap, Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (1998) in the definitive work on communication and development, expanded the definition of development to include possible media channels and techniques for resolving conflict in society.

Examples of radio in peacebuilding. Radio was put to good use in support of peace after the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The power of radio was brought in sharp focus when people recalled the heinous role played by Radio Mille Collines in stoking the fire of the genocide. After the war a deliberate attempt was made to build on the prominence and believed potency of radio in Rwanda but in the right direction--- for peace and reconciliation. In 1995, Studio Ijambo (Wise Words) was established in neighboring Burundi to broadcast peace messages into Rwanda. The studio produced a diversity of messages that contributed toward peace development. It used the slogan "Dialogue is the future," and produced media products such as dramas, documentaries, children's programmes, news and current affairs programmes, etc. Most of their programmes addressed the roots of conflict in the Great Lake region.

Radio Okapi is a successful peacebuilding radio station from the Great Lakes of East and Central Africa region. Radio Okapi, jointly set up by the Foundation Hirondelle and the UN mission, started broadcasting from Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2002. It broadcasts in five languages, from ten studios across the country under the slogan "Okapi – peace frequency, Okapi – voice of dialogue, Okapi – 100% Congolese". With a focus on peace information, news, programmes, local reports, and music, the station was key to the peace keeping operations of the UN mission in the Congo. It was so successful that Jamie Metzl (1997) suggested that the UN set up a department of "information intervention" within the organization. Radio Okapi broadcasting in local languages reached almost one million refugees. It was the most popular sources news and programmes with a peace content shortly after its launch (David Smith, personal communication, February 2017).

In Senegal, in response to the conflict in the Casamance region of the country a radio soap opera was used for peacebuilding and conflict resolution. The radio drama was a love story between a man and a woman from the ethnic groups in conflict. The opposition from the families on both sides against their relationship, the ethnic inflections and stereotypes portrayed were used by the writers to address the ubiquitous stereotypes in the larger society and the wider conflict in the region.

Sierra Leone. One of the most brutal wars in the post-Cold War era took place in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002. It was a horrendous war with amputations, rapes, cynical use of child soldiers and brutal killings. The civil war left a society rift in several places, shattered and in need of reconciliation and healing. To help in the healing process, rebuilding, peacebuilding and reconciliation, the Talking Drum Studio (TDS), the production center responsible for media content of all kinds in September 2000, established a large studio in the capital (Freetown) and two smaller regional studios (Bo and Makeni) engaged in production of peace content for the entire region (Parks, personal communication, July 22, 2004 cited in Bratic 2005).

The programmes were broadcast in several radio stations in Sierra Leone including the national broadcaster. TDS produced in diverse formats – a range of news and information programmes, children's news programmess and soap operas for women. The informational programmes advocated for journalism of credibility, of issues over personal values and the reduction of sensationalism. "The internal management strategy of the studio is guided by four principles: staff balance, professionalism, collaboration and media partnership" (Howard et al., 2003).

The Voice of Hope radio project established by Dutch radio NCRV (Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging – Netherlands Christian public broadcasting corporation) in 2000 in the Sudan was aimed at promotion of mutual understanding among the people in the region. Radio Voice of Hope became the first radio broadcaster in southern Sudan at independence. Broadcasting peace news, programmes and educational content, the station tried to improve information flow in the region.

Violence creates disorder and impacts on all aspects of life including the means of communication. People's lives are disrupted. Displacements of population means that people are often people driven from their homes and families are separated especially children and violence around them threatens everyday existence. In situations, such as this, information provision becomes critical both for the displaced persons and the entire population at large affected by the violent conflict.

The critical information required now are basic reliable details about displaced families and how they can be reunited, how to remain safe, health and survival tips. News about the areas cut off and with no direct communication is important as well as areas where violent acts are still ongoing etc. Reliable information of this kind is crucial in minimizing the impact of the disorder produced by violence. This is what is now called lifeline communication and radio broadcasting has often been in the forefront of this sort of communication in line with communication. In crisis and conflict situations across the world almost all the radio projects have been concerned with this kind of broadcasting.

Lifeline communication (BBC Media Action, 2015) notes that the most important information in times of crisis are where to find food and water, basic hygiene and sanitation messages, where to access health services, reunification of separated family members etc. These are essential basic information required in time of post-conflict recovery. Radio is the primary source of news and information of this kind in crisis more so in Africa.

Entertainment Programming
Scheepers et.al. (2004 cited in Myers, 2008) noted that impactful radio content must be interactive, entertaining, engaging and compelling (Myers (2008). This is so because entertaining, engaging and compelling radio programmes encourage interpersonal dialogue. With very high penetration of cell phones even in Africa, more and more radio programmes have become participatory and dialogic giving room for greater engagement, empowerment and enrichment of the audiences of radio. Dramas in the form of soap operas are especially effective

for engaging audiences, and long-running series and soap-operas (edu-tainment) ensure audience loyalty and regular listening (AFRRI, 2008). These entertainment formats on radio are less controversial and they are in a better position to play a proactive role in support of a peaceful society. The edu-tainment genre in radio programming, which is an amalgam of educational messages and entertaining media content has been used for social development in health, HIV/AIDS, agriculture etc.

Radio broadcasts is dominated by entertainment. In a 24-hour broadcast cycle, only a fraction of the time is used for hardcore news programmes. The rest of the time is used for music and other forms of light content- soap operas, game, reality and talk shows etc. These programmes offer several slots and opportunities to infuse peace content in daily broadcasts of radio stations. It is insufficient to rely only on the news segments of radio broadcasts for peacebuilding and peaceful conflict resolution messages. Having entertainment programming and slots to support peace programming greatly enhances the media's ability to impact the environment.

This type of programming is unbiased, neutral and would not attract the ire and censorship hammer by media owners be they government or individuals. Entertainment productions in support of peaceful outcomes have great potential in maintaining credibility and appeal to a broad section of the society even across conflicting divides.

It is important to note that it is not only entertainment programmes on radio that have the potential to impact peace and the peace process. David Smith (personal communication, February 2017) who pioneered radio for peacebuilding across Europe and Africa notes that radio programmes that are participatory and dialogic are very good for peace programming and have a high potential to impact people. Radio has been used in severally as part of peacebuilding tool in mostly post conflict situations, but we argue that radio should be more proactive in its peace roles working to help maintain peace even in fragile states.

Where radio has been used, radio dramas, have successfully been used embedding cleverly embedding peace-oriented plots in their productions and broadcasts. Radio dramas are by far

very popular with the audiences. Currently, running in the crisis-ravages northeast Nigeria is a radio drama, "Dadankula". The radio programme is in response to the Boko Haram insurgency that has ravaged the northeast of Nigeria. It aims to create an environment for reconciliation, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. With donor funding the project, hopes to expand to three other countries in the Lake Chad basin; Cameroon, Chad Republic, Niger which also affected by the Boko Haram insurgency.

Young people are the canon fodders of every conflict and because of their youthful exuberance, they are easily influenced and coopted to lead the charge of every conflict. They are also the greatest victims of conflicts especially in terms of casualties. Radio has been used to help young people resist the pull of war and rather involve peacebuilding efforts. Radio is a force which can be used by youth themselves and by radio professionals to mobilise young people to build peaceful communities.

Sawa Shabab (Together Youth) is an example of a radio programme targeting youths in South Sudan to promote peace and stability, empower them to be confident, broadminded and accept the diversity in their societies. The soap opera dramatizes the lives of young South Sudanese, their highpoints and low points as they learn how to coexist in a diverse society like theirs and become peacebuilders in their communities. *Sawa Shabab* (Together Youth) is based on an educational and peacebuilding curriculum developed with local partners. The curriculum seeks to change the attitudes and behaviours of young people regarding peace building in South Sudan. It had three components which local experts thought were key to peacebuilding in the South Sudan.

La Benevolencija radio in crisis- torn Democratic Republic of Congo in Central Africa provides skills to groups and individuals on how to handle hate speeches and associated acts. Using dramas, talk shows, discussions and educational programmes, it empowers citizens in conflict-prone societies like the Congo with knowledge to fight attempts to coopt them into violence and how to heal trauma, boosting their courage act peacefully against incitement and violence. The programmes provide people with an understanding of how violence evolves, what they can do to prevent violence and how contribute to reconciliation.

Search for Common Ground (SFCG), an international United States based non-governmental organization has used various radio programmes across different regions of the world to address a range of conflict resolution and peacebuilding topics. One such example is the most popular radio drama in the Great Lakes region of Africa, "Our Neighbors, ourselves" It is set in a rural area and the story is about a Hutu and a Tutsi family living next to each other. The play shows the intricacies of the conflict their homeland through the relationships between these families. The Angolan radio soap operas, "Vozes Que Falam" (Voices that Speak) and "Coisas da Nossa Gente" (Things of Our People) are other examples of SFCG production in support of peacebuilding.

In the Congo alone in partnership with more than 80 radio stations, it is estimated that its radio programmes on peacebuilding has reached more than 30 million people. As well its Radio for Peacebuilding Africa (RFPA) has built capacities of more than 50 broadcasters in 20 sub-Saharan African countries in radio and peacebuilding techniques
According to Bratic (2015), the Panos Institute West Africa used radio drama to drive for peacebuilding in the Casamance region of Senegal. In addition to the regular drama of all soaps, there was a lot of interaction and audience participation through telephones and mails. The mails are read on air and the audience interact. This project placed a special emphasis on the participation of local people in writing, producing, and acting, and worked in close cooperation with the local broadcasting company.

In Afghanistan, *New Home New Life* is a radio soap opera broadcast on **BBC**. The drama uses characters run commentaries on very important national issues be they economic, social or security. Some of the issues discussed in the programmes include "mine awareness, post-conflict psycho-social trauma, heroin addiction and community conflict" (Curtis, 2011). In Somalia there has been attempts to use radio to promote peace and foster reconciliation. The *Geedka Nabadda* (Tree of Peace) radio drama, uses a similar entertaining format to effect peaceful change.

In Plateau State, located in northcentral Nigeria, the Search for Common Ground, in response to the outbreak of large-scale ethno-religious violence in 2002 in the city of Jos started a radio

drama there to help prevent and resolve inter-community and interreligious violence. The radio programme encouraged youth, women, men and religious leaders to work for peace, build commonalities of interests and take actions to prevent violence and ensure social cohesion. The organisation followed up with another radio programme in 2012 called Voices of Peace. Using real-time conflict monitoring SMS and mapping software and working with civil society groups, the programme monitored and debunked rumors in its twice-daily peace messages broadcasts. These broadcasts helped in maintaining the peace. Preparatory to the general elections in Nigeria in 2015, the group launched the voices of women project to elevate the voices of women in the electoral process and ensure they were heard (SFCG, 2017).

Although the media play a significant role in national development, peacebuilding and social cohesion, some scholars argue that the introduction of deregulation and commercialization will minimize this role by constricting space available for these functions especially on radio, yet the international political economy of the 1980s, the oil shocks and its attendant dwindling of revenues for Nigeria made it inevitable that the government of the day would succumb to the IMF and World Bank pressures to privatise, deregulate and commercialise the economy (Tracey, 1998; Mosco, 1996; Nsereka, 2016; Ugande, 2011).

Section Two: Deregulation and Commercialisation

Deregulation and Commercialization: The Theoretical Underpinning

As a component of Structural adjustment programme conditionalities, commercialisation aimed at grappling with deteriorating economic development. The Bretton Wood institutions prefer three main macro- economic prescriptions for the Third World borrowing countries. These are a reduction in Government budget deficits, taking policies that would limit money supply growth to bring down inflation and currency devaluation to boost exports and restrain imports (Anunobi, 1992; Thomson, 2010: Bwala, 2014).

Most African economists and development experts have wondered whether these classical and neo-classical economic tools would accelerate national economic recovery and assure self-reliant

growth and development. Adedeji (1989) noted that from the economic stand point, the orthodox SAP by their design, assure the classical instruments of control of money supply, credit squeeze and others work well in developed western economies, helping them revive when they go into recession. But in weak African economies with undeveloped and unstable structures, these classical instruments hardly work. However, there's documented evidence that in many cases sustained economic growth has not materialised (Ihonvbere, 1994, AAF-SAP, 1989).

However, some economists like Burke, Dillion, Milton Friedman, Peter Quirk, Russell Kincaid believe that well implemented IMF policies could solve Third World economic and debt problems (Anunobi, 1994). For example, Peter Quirk and Burke Dillion analyzed the Fund's policies as effective fiscal and monetary instruments designed to achieve economic and self-reliant development in the third world. These neoclassical orthodoxy, though stated in more modern terminology, were little more than an elaboration of elements contained in the classical model of development. Smith, Ricardo, Malthus and J.S. Mill on the other hand, concentrated on how the market might be extended on the possibilities of increasing productivity by the division of labour, and on the problem of capital accumulation (Meier, 1988).

The neoclassical approach to development, a minority view until the 1970's puts emphasis on economic growth, capital accumulation, free trade policies, open markets and individual decision making. The neoclassicists argue that the choice between agricultural and industrial commodities should be based on comparative advantage. The rigidities and bottlenecks of the Third world economies, which justify public intervention, are according to the neo-classicists the outcome of previous state-- directed development. Governments they claim have important role to play in creating the right kind of institutional arrangements, which will allow economic decisions based on market prices derived from competitive markets. The call was for governments to minimize the State, liberalize all markets and pursue privatization to increase incentives and achieve gains and economic efficiency (Friedman, 1979).

The intellectual fillip to these theories, now revived in the 1970's, which culminated in the modernization theories of the 50's and the 60's emphasized ideal social structures and

institutions for sustained development. The 19th century works of sociologists Emile Durkheim and Max Weber believed that modern society with its complex economic arrangements was dependent crucially on changes in values, attitudes and norms of people (Webster, 1990).

Therefore, in commercialization and deregulation are attempts by social scientists to (Parsons, Rostow, Mclleland, 1961) combine Durkheim and Weber's ideas into a theory of development that combines an analysis of changing normative systems, differentiation, rationalization, business motivation and individual ambition. These theorists drew inspiration from the classical sociology of Weber and Durkheim, which emphasized tradition and modernity. Like Weber and Durkheim, they placed a lot emphasis on the values and norms that operate in these two types of societies and their economic systems. It was argued that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depended on a prior change in the values, attitudes and norms of the people. Bauer (1976 cited in Webster, 1990) argued that:

> Economic achievement and progress depend largely on human aptitudes and attitudes, on social and political institutions and arrangements which derive from these, on historical experience, and to a lesser extent on external contacts, market opportunities, and on natural resources (p.41).

Economic development then depends on 'traditional' primitive values being displaced by modern ones. W.W. Rostow in his stages of Economic growth: A non-communist manifesto (1960) suggests that it is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimension as lying within one of the five categories; the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, take off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption. These five stages are derived from an analysis of the British industrial revolution, and take off, he defined as the great watershed in the life of modern societies when obstacles to economic growth are removed, particularly by the onset of an adequate rate of capital investment so that growth becomes a normal condition. This entrepreneurial ambition combined with sustained capital accumulation and investment is the principal planks and forces of economic growth. As Roxborough (1979) says:

This emphasis on entrepreneurial ship and capital accumulation is the single most pervasive theme in the literature of economic growth. It always appears as the lesson to be learnt from western experience and to be mechanically applied to the rest of the world so that they can repeat the transition (p.16).

It therefore follows that the evolution of societies occurs as traditional behavior patterns give way under pressure of modernization. Thus, the experiences and the development of western societies could be diffused to the Third world from outside.

The Third World could be helped along the road to modernity with the assistance of the developed countries whose ideas and technology can be introduced and diffused throughout the region. Also the modernization by diffusion should encourage the development of certain features in the less developed countries including urbanization based on the nuclear family household, educational growth for literacy and training, the development of the mass media to disseminate ideas and encourage increased awareness about society, heightened political awareness and participation in the democratic system, increased business opportunities through providing capital for investment, the replacement of patterns of authority based on traditional loyalties(e.g. monarchies, local chiefdoms) with rational systems of law and order coupled with representative government. Although this study does not go beyond here to consider the critique of the above but for balance, it is important to present counter theories and conceptual frameworks.

Wallerstein (1991) and Rodney (1980) disagree that the underdevelopment of the Third World is because of their internal economic, political, social and cultural deficiencies but linked to imperialism which not only brought the less developed countries into the global economy but did so in a structural disarticulated unequal manner. The present pattern of international economic relations results in a skewed exchange. The benefits are shared unequally between core (the industrialized center of the world capitalist economy) and the periphery (the underdeveloped countries of the Third World) (Wallerstein 1991; Rodney, 1980; Frank, 1981, 1972).

After the depression of the 1930s, the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes received a renewed focus. This interest was revived once again after the Second World War because of the need for public funds for the postwar reconstruction of Europe. The Keynesian economics, a-mid way between aggressive market forces classical approach and a more interventionist planned economic model was adopted in the early postwar years in the West. It was adopted both as a basis of economic planning at the macroeconomic level and as an argument for the deficit financing of development plans (Myint, 1970).

The State's intervention in the domestic economy offered the opportunity for the elimination of the problems of the market such as recession, fluctuating business cycles and unemployment. By a deft management of economic tools like interest rates, money supply and government spending, welfarist economists achieved social justice and the course of economic progress (Gilpin, 1987) Factors like, stable currency, full employment, growth, post war economic boom and a fearful global stability based on the nuclear terror of the cold war contributed to the acceptance of the Keynesian mixed economy approach and the boom of the welfare state. But all these were to change as the 1970s approached.

The global economy declined in the 1970s. The oil crisis, stagflation, under-investment, competition from the Third world, a costly arms race and the cold war, shook the post war economic boom in the West. The economic boom of the post war years led to a commitment to the provision of welfare services to the working population, rise of the labor unions to engage with the State and protect workers were all trappings of Keynesian mixed economy. The argument was that everyone should share in the fruits of a booming economy. In response to all these, liberal labor regimes were elected in the West.

But the economic decline of the 1970s led to the election of right wing regimes of Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon. This change to the right enthroned an ideological order that provided the basis to justify the process of the dismantling of postwar welfare mixed economic order. The neoclassical economics of Thomas Friedman, his Chicago School and Paul Samuelson was once more on the ascendancy. These theorists preached that the crisis of the

economy and society of the 1970s had nothing to do with the structural contradictions of capital. They argued that the postwar mixed economy, had killed individual initiative and the free market. They pointed the need for a return to rationality, the free market forces and the 'invisible hand' of Adam Smith.

Given the inherent mix of politics and economics, the far right which gained power in the West in the early 1980s pursued a more aggressive rational market capitalism in their countries, using the international financial institutions of the World Bank and IMF they spread the neoclassical ideology to the rest of the world. With this shift, the process of globalization gained filip and fast-tracked the widespread adoption of policies of deregulation and economic liberalization internationally.

Arguments for Commercialization/Deregulation of Broadcasting

Coase (1974) argues that the distinction between the market for goods and market for ideas is not valid. He believes that there is no fundamental distinction between these two markets and in deciding on public policy regarding them, the same consideration should apply. According to Coase, we should take the free market analogy seriously and use the same approach for all markets when deciding on public policy (p. 389).

The Peacock committee was set up to examine the feasibility of the BBC's Home services being in part or in whole financed by advertising. The change in the existing financial structure of public service broadcasting in Britain would accord with the definition put forward by the then Home Secretary that;

> Public service and private enterprise are entirely compatible in the sphere of broadcasting, as in other areas of economic activity … (in the past) the task was to make a smooth transition from monopoly to duopoly for us it is the passage from duopoly to multiplicity (Air waves, 1985, in Ferguson 1990, p.65).

The Peacock inquiry (1986) into the future financing of the BBC concluded that British Broadcasting move towards a market system based on consumer sovereignty. Capitalist commercialism lies in the radical conservative political hegemony in the 1980. Charles

Jonscher, a prominent adviser to the government of Mrs. Margret Thatcher on communications policy attacked what he described as 'the myth of broadcasting' that 'used to shape the thinking of governments on all public services from the railway, to the national health, and which still survives to this day in the field of broadcasting. The chief myth is that because an activity fulfils a public service it is not subject to basic laws of economics … the principles of supply and demand' (Jonscher, 1988 in Tracey, 1998) Jonscher's argument conformed to years of propositions which says that broadcasting is primarily an economic and industrial process and should be treated as such. Mark Fowler, Chairman of the United States' FCC from May 1981 – 87, in an address to the International Radio and Television Society in 1981, summed up the whole philosophy in one sentence "from here on-ward, the public's interests must determine public-interest. (Tracey 1998, p.48).

The argument that the frequency spectrum is limited and belonged to the people and therefore should be used to benefit the people has been destroyed by advances in new communication technologies, microelectronics and Direct Satellite Broadcasting. These advances have created a multi-channel environment and hence the notion that audio-visual communication must be treated as a societal good because it employs the radio spectrum, a physically scarce resource, is no longer tenable. (Bimber, 2003, Keane, 2013).

Armstrong and Weeds (2005) would agree that public funded radio were coherent responses to market failures in advertising-driven broadcasting and therefore relevant in the era of analogue broadcasting. But in this era of digital broadcasting, the commercial media is unlikely to succumb to market failures hence it will broadcast programmes that will appeal to every taste and group. For this reason, they believe that the rationale for market failure for funding public radio has largely disappeared. (p44)

The case of Nigeria. In Nigeria' multi-ethnic, multicultural society, tolerance is important. Diversity of information on different cultures and different values, norms and ideas would contribute to mutual respect and acceptance. Many theorists suggest that diversity best flourishes in a free market place of ideas. If people can freely enter this market place to exchange

information and opinions, then we may expect cultural variety and diversity to happen. Indeed, what could be regarded as the first deregulation of broadcasting in Nigeria happened in 1959 because of the need for a diversity of opinions and free exchange of information. In developing fragile states like Nigeria, the propensity to coopt radio in service for the elite in governance rather than the people is usually very high. Radio easily becomes "his master's voice", reflecting only the viewpoints of the government in power (Sobowale, 1986 cited in Mohammed, 1994).

The rapid expansion of broadcasting in Nigeria was a result of the Colonial government's refusal to grant a right to reply request of the leader of the opposition to the government, Chief Obafemi Awolowo to negative portrayal by the then Radio Nigeria run and managed by the Colonial government in power at the centre. Chief Awolowo's reaction was to set up the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation in 1959. The Eastern region set up its own in 1960 and the north followed in 1962. This phenomenon no doubt enriched the market place of ideas in Nigeria, bringing in diverse perspectives in circulation and granting access and participation to a greater number of Nigerians (Uche, 1989).

Radio in Nigeria has played a great role in public enlightenment, mass mobilization, education, peaceful coexistence and social cohesion. The first reason for this is the unique advantage it must reach large numbers of uneducated persons across several divides, its cheapness, no requirement for electricity and ability to speak in multiple languages. The first radio in Nigeria, and the national public broadcaster, Radio Nigeria, has as its motto to uplift the people and unite the nation. The second reason is the mystique about the unity of Nigeria which makes every Nigerian leader dedicate energy and resources towards it. Elites in governance want to preserve the unity of Nigeria not for the interest of Nigerians but simply to maintain a large base for the continued primitive accumulation and pillage of the people's patrimony. Radio in their hands is a ready tool to preach peace, tolerance and social cohesion. In times of crisis in Nigeria, starting with the civil war, radio, especially at the national level rises to be the bastion of peaceful coexistence, oneness, unity and togetherness. Deregulation and commercialization may splinter the voice of unity (Mohammed, 1994).

It is also important to note the argument that commercialism; a deregulated broadcast environment could make for more choice and diversity in programme content. The idea of a regulated environment we have noted was rooted in the argument of scarcity of the radio spectrum but from the late 1970s the rapid development of new communication technologies obviated that argument because it created a multi-channel environment in the field that was hitherto thought impossible. Ithiel de sola Pool (1983) believes that increased choice, diversity and democratic communication will emerge automatically as it were, given that there are enough new technologies and outlets to go around. Pool regards the new technologies of communication as technologies of freedom, which allow for more knowledge, easier access and free speech than ever enjoyed before and it will be difficult to control them. To enrich media choices, it is important to provide the largest numbers and variety of channels and to improve quality. No one can "dispute the value of enlarging opportunities (of the media) to pursue different, interests, aesthetic appetites, and political view points' Bogart (2000, p.287).

Armstrong and Weeds (2005) argued that without the financial discipline occasioned by the market, public service broadcasting will continue to exhibit productive inefficiencies which are inimical to the gains associated with the provision of universal free services. Awash with public easy money, the public service broadcasters are less inclined to innovate, and this reduces dynamic efficiency according to them.

A global media market to drive the globalization agenda was necessary. Without a global media the transnationalisation of economic activities will not have run smoothly. Only a commercialized media can be global, the public service media by its nature, structure and focus cannot drive and nurture the globalization process (McChesney, 1997, p.18). "Neo-liberalism as a political theory posits that society works best when business runs things and there is little possibility of government interference with business" (McChesney, 2000, p.6).

One of the strongest arguments against public service broadcasting is that it lacks editorial and cultural independence. That rather than being a national institution and remaining a public trust, it is easily coopted to defend the interest of capital and the political elite. Unfortunately,

examples exist that public service broadcasting have been captured and controlled by the state and the dominant political and economic forces in some countries especially countries in the developing world. By this token, it lost the support of the people thereby encouraging the recourse to commercial broadcasting as a panacea to freedom of choice and away from powerful political and economic forces.

Arguments against Commercialization and the Impact

On the flipside of the coin, antagonists of commercialisation of the media argue that using the market as a determinant for the media has led to various negative outcomes. Rather than freedom, multiplicity of choice and diversity of content as argued by Ithiel de Sola Pool (1983), Szecsko (1986) believes that this "fallacy of trying to model the system of social communication on the liberal Market place concept "only produces a homogenisation of contents, the concept of 'more of the same'. A commercial control of the different media makes those media look more alike than ever (Bagdikian, 2004). The desire to keep the attention of everyone to sell them advertised goods is a natural motivation of commercial media operations, which is in business for profit. This has costs which include the loss of diversity of information and ideas (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Bagdikian, 2000; Guveritch, 1990; Foster and Meek, 2008; Postman, 1987).

In theory, digital broadcasting and multi-channel electronics would create and foster multiple perspectives and voices in news and programming (Ithiel de Sola Pool, 1983). But in practice choices are being limited and constrained in the market-driven media. As the media struggle for audiences to sell to advertisers, news programming and current affairs have not improved the public's familiarity with events. Journalists struggle for ratings and work towards how to evoke the public's interest in the news, and of how news itself should be defined. The direct consequence of this is that programming and news tend towards the rules of show business; light, unserious and entertaining. Many scholars (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995, Brokaw et al, 1997, De Bens, 1998) have linked the commercial basis of the media as the causal factors in the low level of political knowledge and participation, and the quality of the democratic system.

Foster and Meek (2008) note that in the world of multi-choice radio as it is today there would still be market failure and public service content is needed to correct the market failure, ensure quality and protect minority tastes. Broadcasting has high fixed costs which may discourage new small players. A vacuum created thus may encourage big players to emerge with huge powers. Companies with large market powers can distort the system. They can over charge and under supply and audiences will lose out.

In Chris Hanretty's (2012) study of public service broadcasting across several countries, he found that the output of public service broadcasters is different for the output of commercial broadcasters. The findings are based on the amount of time broadcast in news and current affairs, documentaries, arts and cultural programmes. It was clear that 'public service broadcasters are more likely to broadcast hard news than commercial competitors and are also more likely to broadcast children's programming" (p.9).

Another argument against commercialization is that content tends towards mass market and not that which satisfies niche and minority interest. Commercialization is shifting serious communication and information towards entertainment. News bulletins now concentrate on dramatic and arresting events, shallow analysis and discussions. Current affairs programmes are focusing more on personalities and producers are now more concerned with audiences' spectator interest than their enlightenment. Slogans and sound bites predominate over substance, information and dialogue.

The International Women's Media Fund pointed this out in a report: "No longer monopolies, state media have undergone severe budget cuts; they struggle for audience share against hundreds of new outlets; and hoping to remain financially viable, they are shifting away from public interest programming and toward "commercial" content. Media-for-development, in other words, is drying up" (IWMF, 2009 cited in Mary Myers 2009).

Infotainment is the increasing reliance of the electronic media of news and programmes in entertainment formats. In the political realm, Blumlers' "infotainment of politics" hypothesis

contends that the content of political communication is marked first by a degree of depolitization because, due to diminished space, there is little time to devote to policy issue rather more attention is given to appearance and sloganeering that would be easy to remember. According to the infotainment hypothesis there is a growing focus on entertainment, sensationalism and human interest than serious discourse. In the era of the print media, this akin to the tradition of the tabloidization. Bogart (2000), points out that in 1989 study by the Centre For Media and Public Affairs, former US President, George Bush's dog, Millie, was mentioned in more evening TV network news stories than the secretaries of Energy, Education, Agriculture and Veteran Affairs.

McChesney and Schiller (2003) citing Mishra (2000) note that in India, in response to media globalization, "the revamped news media…now focus more on fashion designers and beauty queens than the dark realities of a poor and violent country." The logic of infotainment is that it is more important to increase the size of your audience and for that audience to be the right type; that is the affluent consumer, urban, young, between the ages of 18 and 49 and with so many buying years ahead of him/her. Since deregulation, does the pattern of growth in Nigeria's broadcast industry testifies to this hypothesis? All the private media are concentrated in the urban affluent cities of Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Abuja, Port Harcourt and Onitsha and expansion is towards other big cities with higher purchasing powers. Between Lagos and Abuja there are than 50 radio stations. Community radio stations were licensed for the first time in 2015. We find the trend of concentration of radio and television stations towards metropolitan merchandising and industrial markets.

According to Bagdikian (1992, 2004), broadcasters do not just want any listeners but the right kind of listeners and tilt news and programmes to attract that right kind of people that advertisers want. He quotes Otis Chandlers, one of the early America's media operators to support this thesis, "the target audience is … in the middle class… the upper class… we are not trying to get mass circulation but quality circulation… we arbitrarily cut back some of our low-income circulation… the economics of American media is based on an advertising base, not a circulation base" (p.130). Equally, Michael Mander, who was the Deputy Chief Executive of the London

Times newspaper in the later part of the 1960's said that," From 1967 to 1969 the Times....sales shot up from 270,000 to 450,000— a remarkable achievement. But its higher sales made it no more attractive as an advertising medium.... adding to the readership just watered down the essential target group and increased the cost of reaching it. A reversal of policy changed the situation with a consequent dramatic improvement in profitability." Roy, (2015, p1)

Since the airwaves is public property, radio and television stations cannot stop the poor and elderly from watching or listening to news and programmes, the recourse, therefore, is to design the content of programmes to attract younger, affluent viewers and listeners, he noted.

Postman's (1984) seminal critique of the commercial media sees it as leading to a people's death through amusement. The commercial media, writes Edward Herman (1990 cited in Sussman, 1997), "offers a model case of market failure in both theory and practice." He sees it as exploitation of sex and violence to build audience and tend increasingly towards ratings-driven escapist entertainment and away from public service programmes (p.63). For entrants into the broadcast industry since deregulation, the pressure has been to create and preserve audience share resulting in increasing sensational and tabloid-style programming catering to the lowest common denominator of taste, intelligence and interest (Parenti, 1992:184).

Advertisers are not interested in current social condition. Serious news and current affairs programmes tend to make the audience think and reflect on human problems. But soap operas, reality shows are escapist. The logic of light programming is that it keeps the audience in a buying mood. The fantasy world of make believe, the beauty queens and glamour girls are appealing. Shell petroleum one of the biggest advertisers in Nigeria, big businesses like Proctor and Gamble, Cadbury, PZ and Lever Brothers are unlikely to invest money on critical programmes about the environment or the government.

The work of John Stuart Mill (1859/1989 cited in Nordenstreng, 2011) highlighted the importance of opinion diversity. He argues that truth is a 'questioning of, reconciling and combining the opposites'. Diversity is advantageous because even for a true opinion 'a conflict with the opposite error is essential to a clear apprehension and deep feeling of its truth' (Mill,

1972, p.1859/1989 cited in Nordenstreng, 2011). But diversity can only come from a multiplicity of ideas if the number of different providers of information is great and the competition between them is full and fair so that power domination does not exist. Classical economic market model is not concerned about this but profit. Frequently situation of oligopoly and monopoly do occur in the free market. Five firms own most of the newspapers, magazines, book publishers, motion picture, radio and television stations in the United States. They control media market and much of the rest of the world (Bagdikian 2000, 2004, McChesney 2000, Bogart 1995, 2000). Bagdikian (2004) notes that Clear Vision, the largest radio chain in the United States owns 1240 radio stations. It has only 200 workers. Most of the stations are operated nationwide by remote control with same prerecorded material. "Owners prefer stories and programmes that can be used everywhere and anywhere. Programmes are broadcast simultaneously in major cities" (p.3)

Media diversity refers to media content that is diverse with one or more specified characteristics. The focus is on media content rather than on media market. Media market refers to the number of media organizations in the market. This helps us to avoid the trap of thinking that the number of media outlets mean diversity. Highly competitive media market may still result in excessive sameness of media content.

Jan Van Guilenburg (1998 cited in Brants, et al 1998) has proposed a media diversity gauge meter. He believes that diversity should be externally gauged not by numbers but rather be compared with variations in society and social reality. Guilenburg's media diversity variable includes:

- Do media relate to society in such a way as to reflect, pro rata the distribution of opinion, allegiance or other characteristics as it appears in the population.
- Is the content of distribution within the media such that perfect equal attention is given to all identifiable streams or groups or position?

Guilenburg (1998) believes that if the media conforms to the first question, then they adhere to 'reflection' as the norm of media diversity that is media content reflects the opinion, politics and religion and social conditions of the dominant powerful groups in society. If the media conform

to the second criterion, then they satisfy the norms of openness, which is equal access for all people, and ideas in society. Unless the media in any society satisfy the latter, no matter the number of media outlets, the question of diversity remains problematic. "Reflection" is conservative since in reflection the media focus attention on the mainstream, the powerful, the dominant and on the conventional, "thus making them more mainstream and more conventional". Valcke, (2014) has synthesized the Council of Europe's position on media diversity noting that the notion of media diversity is rooted in the diversity of media supply, that is the existence of a multiplicity of independent media channels and the diversity of media content and types the public can choose from.

Media openness is democratic and corrects the bias of reflection. "Depending on advertising ensures the dissemination of values, concepts and stereotypes from the dominant culture" (Gonzalez-Manet, 1988, p. 36) Gonzalez-Manet x-rays the paradox in the claim of more diversity in a commercial media environment. He points out that there are two forms of diversity; one as reflection and the second as equal access and notes that media markets are better in producing reflection of majority civic interests and consumer preferences than equal open access to political opinions from minorities. Therefore, reflective diversity usually goes with less diversity in terms of equal access. This paradox is referred to as "more of the same" which is the tendency of the media to gravitate to the middle of the road by serving mainstream audience preferences.

This homogeneity or convergence we find in a commercial media market. Due to competition from commercial channels we see a convergence of programmes between the commercial and public channels. Els d Ben (1998, p.23) finds in the study of commercialization of Dutch media that public and commercial stations are growing closer and rather than diversity, convergence evolved "The market model is evolving towards convergence and with the multiplicity of channels broadcasting will be replaced by narrow casting and even bit casting (Gilder 1992 cited in d Bens, 1998).

Murdock and Golding (1977) mention that the effect of deregulation work to exclude those voices lacking economic power or resources. The logic of costs works to consolidate the position of these groups already established in the main mass media market and excluding those who lack the capital base required for entry into the system. They conclude that the voices, which survive in the commercial media environment largely, belong to those least likely to criticise the prevailing distribution of power.

Conversely those most likely to challenge the prevailing power relations are unable to gain access and publicise their dissent or opposition because they cannot afford the resources to gain access to an effective mass media to a broad audience and are therefore relegated to small ineffective alternative media. With broadcasting companies consolidating and concentrating on urban markets, the options for station rivalry and whatever the content diversity that sprang from it are diminished.

Implicit in the concept of diversity are such variables as access and participation because if the whole idea of commercialisation and deregulation is to free communication from the dictatorial stranglehold of the state, then availability to all shades of opinions and class is implied. Berrigan (1981) identifies these two variables as the defining characteristic of democratic media systems. Diversity and choice, access and participation are variables in the theoretical literature as precondition and central to the democratization of communication.

Deregulation and Commercialization of the Nigerian Broadcast Industry
What gave fillip to the policy of privatization, deregulation and commercialization of the state enterprises which included the broadcast media was the severe economic depression in the 1980's in Nigeria and the need for a recovery programme with required the assistance of international monetary institutions, notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The assistance package came with conditionalities, a critical element of their Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). These included privatization, deregulation and commercialization of state enterprises.

In 1989, the chairman of the subcommittee of the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialization (TCPC), S. O. Asabia recommended the partial commercialization of the government-owned media, affected were the Nigerian Television Authority, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria and the News Agency of Nigeria (TCPC, 1989). Commercialization and privatisation are respectively defined as "the reorganization of enterprises wholly or partly owned by …government in which such ...enterprises shall operate as profit making commercial ventures without subvention from ... government...." and; "the relinquishment of part or all of the equity or other interests held by ... government or its agency in enterprises whether wholly or partly owned by the ...government" (Privatisation and Commercialization Decree, 1988).

Before 1992, broadcasting was a state monopoly in Nigeria, only the federal and state governments had radio and television stations. This is despite the constitutional provision in Section 39 (2) of 1999 Nigerian constitution which says that "Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) b of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinion". But a proviso in the same subsection bans anybody to operate a broadcasting outfit other than the government of the federation or of a state without approval from the president of Nigeria and endorsement of the National Assembly. This section of the constitution was a carry-over from the 1979 constitution.

However, with the promulgation of Decree no 38 0f 1992 by the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida, which has now become an act of parliament in this democratic dispensation, broadcasting was deregulated. The Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was established to oversee this deregulation and manage the onboarding of private individuals into the industry. It was also to provide guidelines and the management of the industry on a day to day basis. During the state monopoly, while radio and television stations owned by the federal government were free of advertisements and sponsorships, the broadcast media in the states were commercially-oriented.

Opposition to the commercialisation of radio in Nigeria

In the Nigerian system, commercialisation of the Public broadcasting media represented by the FRCN and the NTA took place within a military dictatorship. This perhaps may have contributed to the lack of serious opposition to it or perhaps people lacked adequate knowledge of what the impact would be. However, this cannot be said of the academia, the educationists who had in 1974 moved for the use of radio for adult and non-formal education and as well as the vigorous pursuit of a Schools broadcasting system. There was some opposition to the commercialisation project by a few like Dr. Christopher Kolade who had been a Director General of the FRCN and expectedly from the states stations who feared that the network reach of the FRCN and the NTA would deprive them patronage from advertisers who naturally look for the largest audiences. Folu Ogundimu (1997) has however noted that there was strong agitation for the deregulation aspect of the medium by the private sector that wanted to participate in what was thought to be the lucrative business of broadcasting.

In the United States, despite the strong belief in the spirit of free enterprise and invisible hand of market forces, there was strong opposition in the early attempts of radio to unbridled commercialism. Early attempts by the United States Congress to reform or regulate radio industry paid scant attention to the issue of commercialism. Attempts were focused mostly on licensing and frequency allocation. The 1927 Radio Act created the Federal Radio Commission, which was empowered to issue licenses. In 1932, following charges of bias against non-commercial radio, a congressional directive led to a survey of commercial presence in the United States Radio system. The report was overwhelmingly supportive of commercialism in radio. The Federal Radio Commission explained that at most one third radio broadcasts were commercial while the rest of the airtime was filled with non-commercial programmes. The FRC reasoned that this policy was a way through which stations helped to serve the public interest as mandated by the 1927 Radio Act, and enlarged and held an audience, thereby increasing the value of time available for commercial programmes.

Observers of early radio broadcast had worried about the potential influence of commercialism on radio. Opposed to the idea of commercialisation were a small but vocal group of educators

and reformers who feared a national broadcasting system controlled by powerful commercial interests and advertisers. They worked hard to prevent such a system. Some suggested that specific wavelengths be set aside exclusively for the dissemination of educational materials, this band could be used by universities and colleges and the widening of broadcasts to include isolated communities, people in the farms to gain access to the medium for information and education.

In agreement, Mosco (2008) notes that was radio broadcasting was recognized very early as a key component of democractic growth and enhancement, hence various groups and individuals intervened to democratize it. They worked had to ensure that ordinary citizens had access to it and tried to counter corporate control of radio. Groups fought to democratize policies that granted licenses and assigned spectrum to users weighing in on the part of fair use of the airwaves. At the core of the struggle for radio was the fight to democratize it.

This study seeks to understand or find out what has happened to the broadcast media in Nigeria 25 years since the policy of deregulation and commercialization of the media took place, specifically, radio. This literature review helps us to understand what the issues were and predictions of what might happen post deregulation and commercialization. It provides us the context and benchmark within which we can evaluate and test our research questions.

Deregulation: Access and Participation.

Since deregulation of radio broadcasting in Nigeria, there has been an exponential increase in the number of radio stations rising from less than forty to over three hundred currently (NBC, 2016). Despite the increase in the new media of communication, radio remains the most important communication tool to reach large segments of populations in Nigeria. According to the Broadcasting Board of Governors Gallup polls (2014), 77.4% of Nigerians still listen to radio at least once a week making radio the most dominant means of mass communication in Nigeria. Only 28% of Nigerians get their news from the internet. While 64.7% listen to the radio using conventional radio sets, listening through the mobile phone is high at 37.3%. Because of its ability to elicit discussion through group listening radio can extend its reach beyond its listeners

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to reach larger parts of the society to groups disadvantaged by poverty and lack of education. It is cheap and breaks the barrier of literacy by broadcasting in the local languages of the people, providing more access and participation to marginalized groups as well in far flung rural communities. (Greene, 2008)

Access and participation

Access and participation are key variables in discussing media (Radio) that is democratic, decentralized and devoted to citizens' empowerment, development and providing the greatest reach to all citizens in ways that are inclusive. But defining the terms is problematic. However, what constitutes access in media literature is easy to define and media scholars tend to quickly reach a consensus of what it is, how it is achieved and when it is achieved. However, what is participation remains fluid in meaning and application leading to Gallie (1955) calling it an "essentially contested concept… the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users" (Cited in Willems, 2013).

Nevertheless, a synthesis of shades of definitions by various scholars found that access and participation with regard to the media have a relationship with contact and involvement. Access to Carpentier (2011), "as a concept is a very much part of everyday language that is utilized conceptually in a wide variety of fields which implies in assumption the existence of absence or limited restriction".

While Berrigan (1981) believes that access includes the individuals' right to communication materials, the right to listen to or view desired programmes which a person wants, where he /she wants. It includes a broad range of programmes and content available for the audience and reading public. The public would have a say on how these contents are produced. They should not be imposed (informal and educational materials, services and alternative programmes). These should be disseminated/broadcast when the public asks for them.

At the level of feedback access implies:

a) The interaction between producers and receivers of messages.
b) Direct participation by the audience during the transmission of programmes.
c) The right to comment and criticize (Berrigan, 1981, p.19).

Applying the concept of access to the media will be to quantify people's (non-professional and non-capital owners, or contributors) involvement in decision making, finance, programme content design / production and scheduling, information (knowledge and exchange of it).

Coyer (2007) states that access means both content and infrastructure where content is provided by non-professional independent producers with a focus on programmes with different points of view as opposed to professionalized mainstream media while infrastructure is the making available the communication opportunity for groups to legally establish their own radio (Coyer, 2007). Lewis (1993) however sees access as "the process that permits users to provide relatively open and unedited input to the mass media" (p.12). This means that while there are different shades of opinion and nuanced definitions of the concept, there appears to be an agreement that access is opening up the airwaves in a manner that it will be accessed by all in terms of programme reception and programme production and dissemination by people in different strata of society.

The consensus therefore, is that access is the availability of diverse content richly available to all levels of society irrespective of social economic level, literacy and other abilities. It also means availability of opportunity for all to create or influence the creation of content through the feedback mechanism, that would be distributed to all at all levels.

The World Bank Participation Sourcebook says "a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 1994, p. xi). This definition is problematic because it broadly applies to the general realm of participation in development rather than specifically to participation in the media and radio in our case. Berrigan (1981), however, focuses her definition specifically to the media when she said that participation "implies the involvement of the public in production and in the management of communications systems" (Berrigan, 1981, p.69) it is seen to operate at the levels of production, decision-making and planning.

- At the production level, participation implies: Unrestricted opportunities for the public (individuals or groups) to produce programmes and have access to professional

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help. Making available to the public technical facilities and production resources (a more advanced levels of participation). At the decision-making level, participation implies involvement of the public in;

- Programming; content and duration of programmes, scheduling of programmes. The management, administration and financing of communication organization.

At the planning level participating comprises the right of the public to contribute to;

- The formulation of plans and policies for communication enterprises definition of objectives principles management and future programming.
- The formulation of national, regional and local communication plans (Berrigan, 1981).

Some media scholars see participation in media in three strands. First is the participation of non-professionals in the production of media content which is often referred to as content-related participation. Here audience members are the producers, presenters and programme planners. They tell their own stories and focus on issues affecting their lives. The second strand is participation in media decision-making, referred to as structural participation. The third strand is participation through the media. This strand allows audience members to ventilate their concerns and contribute to the discourse in the public sphere. (Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier, 2008; Prehn, 1991 and Berrigan, 1981). Carpentier (2011) puts it as participation *in* the media and participation *through* the media. He said that "participation *in* the media deals with participation in the production of media output (content-related participation) and in media organizational decision-making (structural participation)" (Carpentier, 2011). While "participation *through* the media deals with the opportunities for mediated participation in public debate and for self-representation in the variety of public spaces that characterize the social" (Carpentier, 2011, p. 67).

Carpentier (2011) differentiates between minimalist and maximalist forms of participation. Minimalist participation occurs when "media professionals retain strong control over process and outcome, restricting participation to access and interaction, to the degree that one wonders whether the concept of participation is still appropriate" (Carpentier, 2011, p.69). For Carpentier, maximalist participation is, "the consensus-oriented models of democracy (and participation)

emphasize the importance of dialogue and deliberation and focus on collective decision-making based on rational arguments a' la Habermas in a public sphere" (Carpentier, 2011, pp. 67-8).

Dagron (2007) opines that the terms access and participation can mean the same thing depending on how they are used. Dagron drew inspiration from radios set up by the government of Mexico in 1980 where the local population and listeners visited the operation bases of the radio station and at the same time producers and reporters from the stations would go into the communities to tape record interviews and voices of the people for news and programme making. To Dagron, therefore, interaction serve dual purposes of both access and participation. For this reason, Dagron believes that it is difficult to strictly draw the line and a make a definitive assertion of what constitutes access and what constitutes participation being as they were dynamic terms that manifest differently in practice. (Dagron, 2007, p.198)

For Manyozo (2012) the practical application of the term participation to communication has three related dominant approaches; - Participatory and community development, media for development and media development. Media for development, Manyozo clarifies is the use of media to support development projects especially in the developing world like Africa. Here media reports and communicates development, media are also involved in public communication and advocacy campaigns with the objectives of educating its audiences and influence behaviour change in areas like exclusive breastfeeding, abandonment of female genital cutting and access for girls to attend school. Under this genre media also seek to provide a platform for voices of the oppressed and marginalised.

A synthesis of all the arguments on access and participation show that access is the intended use of the media especially radio for public service, providing every audience member the opportunity to choose from a diverse offering of programmes and news, creating a credible platform for feedback where these audience members can react to the contents of these broadcasts and the radio stations are obligated to transmit these reactions. While participation is intended to be a higher level of audience members' involvement in radio broadcasts beyond

listening and reacting to the contents of broadcasts. Here the public should be involved in the production process, content generation, planning and scheduling of programmes and news. Participation may be no more than representation and consultation of the public in decision-making, but self-management is regarded as the highest form of participation. Here, audience members have decision making powers and are fully part of the policy making apparatus of the radio station. (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005, p.96).

Forms of access and participation in radio broadcasting

"The radio would be the finest possible communication apparatus in public life, a vast network of pipes. It would be if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him. On this principle, the radio should step out of the supply business and organize its listeners as suppliers" Brecht (1932 cited in Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2005).

When the German writer proposed this role for radio eighty-four years ago he was thinking of a more bottom-up participatory role for radio than was the case in his days. Radio made amends and evolved into some form of interactive tool later. So, although Ithiel de Soola Pool (1983) celebrated new media as technologies of freedom because of its interactive nature, which is to be part of the content production process, radio, however, was and has historically been interactive too even though in the mainstream and selective form (Spitalnick, 2009; Carpentier, 2009)

There is very high globalization and commercialization of the media including radio, decentralized radio, it is assumed, and serving the community will continue to give access and participation to the poor, marginalized rural people, minorities and women. This overtime will engender democratic tenets in emerging democracies like Nigeria. Kevin Howley (2010) notes that by creating a communicative environment through its programmes that reach the local people, radio that is local in its programmes and broadcasts offers an alternative to large scale centralized radio that represses local cultural expression and "privatizes the channels of public communication and otherwise threatens the prospects for democratic self-governance" (p.4).

Radio listening clubs are widespread participatory approach used to help rural dwellers and even the urban poor to access and participate in radio. Villagers form small groups and congregate at the villager square mostly in the evenings to listen to radio programmes, make their comments and criticisms of the programmes. In some radio stations, they can make and present their own programmes. They are an informal audience research group who relay their comments and observations to the radio station. Where they are very well organized, they are a pressure group for access and participation for its members as well as quality control of the programmes broadcast on these stations. A lot of access and participation as well as quality control happen through the radio listening groups format.

Access and participation in radio also take the form of radio programmes like vox pops, town hall meetings where a station sets up a town hall meeting and broadcasts its proceedings live or a recorded version after the meeting. Other participatory radio programmes are in the form of talk shows, round-table panel discussions, text messages and listeners' letters read on air, live phone-in interactive shows where listeners call in or through SMS contribute to issues under discussion, recordings or broadcasts that are made from outside the studios like in village squares or market and simply sending request for greetings to loved ones. These various forms of people's participation in content production are called by different names; U report, I report etc.

Citizen participation is now assured as listeners can now phone in or SMS news as they happen in their areas or alert reporters and producers of possible news or programme story angles. These civic journalism interventions feed into news, programme planning and editorial decisions radio stations make. These programmes have very empowering potential, "Just hearing themselves on radio is an empowering experience for people, who realize that this, truly, can be their voice and help them get a better deal from the government' (UNESCO, 2007).

Levels of access and participation in radio

McCain and Lowe (1990 cited in Day, 2008) give a useful categorization of how to gauge levels of participation where the highest and best level of participation is at seven which is "Full and Active Participation. Ownership by community "and the lowest is at number one which is

"Reactive Access. Responding to content broadcast". In between these levels are levels two to six; 6 Self-management Management and decision making, open to community, unmediated by outside groups, 5 Participation, Schedule, programme planning, autonomous production after training by station, open to community and access media, 4 Mediated Participation Producing and presenting programmes, 3 Controlled Participation Presenting programmes with professional producers and 2 Controlled Access speaking on air. They placed forms of media like public service, commercial media and community media at various levels of participation.

According to them all radios fall between levels one and three. (Day, 2008, p. 126) which focus on cheap and entertainment programing. Day, (2008) notes that it is only at the highest levels of McCain and Lowe (1990, p. 95 cited in Day, 2008) categorization that is at levels 6 and 7 that participation is meaningful both for the individual and to the society. At other levels, they are merely driven to extend audience reach to increase profits from advertising.

Benefits of access and participation. For media to cater for the needs of the poor, more so for radio which has the widest reach to Africa's poor, participation is very important. Mobile phones which has penetrated Nigeria in such great density has made this possible. There is a plethora of live radio programmes on all radio stations irrespective of ownership structure. These live programmes which address all subjects, politics, economics, lifestyles, relationships most often have studio guests who field questions from audiences spread far and wide in the country. Because of their reach and popularity, Governments at all levels and politicians appear on these programmes to give account of their stewardship and explain unpopular policies like increases in the pump price of petrol as in Nigeria.

These programmes maybe driving the democratic processes and improving governance if even very slowly. Through on location, broadcast in rural communities using the mobile phones, rural folks who hitherto have been denied a voice now have a platform to voice their concerns and to ventilate issues dear to their hearts and hope that they would be given attention by their elected representatives. (BBC, 2010). Participation in radio helps development agents and peasant farmers and provide them the opportunities to participate in content creation for their own benefit

and the benefit of other community members and farmers who are and cannot be reached by agricultural extension workers. This interaction among farmers, development agents and experts mediated by the radio helps ordinary farmers validate the development message through their own experience.

Lennie and Tacchi (2013) caution on the possibility of achieving high levels of participation and inclusion in societies with wide socio- economic indicators, where levels of poverty are high and structural violence are regularly unleashed on the poor. Inequalities and unequal power relations still exist in most of Africa hence the euphoria of access and participation for all occasioned by the ubiquity of the mobile phone in Africa needs to be subdued.

Limits of access and participation.
Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2007) believe that the participation for ordinary people is key to a democratic and community media. When the voices of disadvantaged and marginalized groups are heard, and acted upon, this can enable social change and development. However, access and participation in radio can be selective and contrived. Barlow (2002 cited in Nafiz, 2012) found in studies of access and participation that it can be preferential, granted to those who would maintain the status quo in their views. By bringing in like-minded people who do not express the different opinions of that community, radio stations do not necessarily encourage equal access for all their community members. The "process of exclusion" ensures that access to broadcasting is limited to those whose views best represent a station's values, purpose and interests (van Vuuren, 2003 cited in Ahmed Nafiz, 2012).

There is also the issue of the quality of audience participation which some media scholars have queried asking for scholarly study of the forms and content of what is seen in media as access and participation (Carpentier 2011, Carpentier and Hannot 2009; Carpentier and De Cleen 2008; Gargliardone, 2016). No doubt the market influences the nature and operations of radio broadcasting in Nigeria as in elsewhere, so the logic of the market place may not be far-fetched in audience participation in radio. What motivates the need for audience participation? Media scholars enthuse that the liberalization of the airwaves and the advent of the new media have empowered citizens to participate in public debates within the public sphere in the Jurgen

Habermas sense. But a closer look at the topics of debates indicate a lot of trivia, lifestyles entertainment, celebrity gossips, movies and game shows pandering to base tastes and pop culture. Also, opening the airwaves for audience participation is the easy way out for stations who lack expertise and funds to engage in serious researched and well produced public enlightenment and educational content.

In the highly-commercialized radio broadcasting environment occasioned by deregulation, radio stations struggle to remain solvent and are therefore willing to offer airtime to anybody, corporate or otherwise. Phone ins, texting and other cell phone-enabled participation are driven by the need to get sponsorships from cell phone companies. Most messages and content of phone in shows revolve around lifestyles that would increase use of cell phones, love themes, celebrations, holidays, interactions with celebrities and the likes. Dean (2010) notes that messages and themes of audience participation programmes on radio are not geared towards enlightenment but merely "The exchange value of messages overtakes their use value. So, a message is no longer primarily a message from a sender to a receiver. Uncoupled from contexts of action and application – as on the Web or in print and broadcast media – the message is simply part of a circulating data stream. Its particular content is irrelevant" (cited in Willems, 2013).

The increase in audience participation programmes on radio may be viewed not as an altruistic gesture by the radio stations to give voice to the voiceless and contribute to a democratising communication but rather as part of the corporate strategy to attract revenue from mobile phone companies. Shingler and Wieringa (1998) note that access and participation offer very little to the people as they are contrived to serve more the interest of the radio stations than those of the people.

Despite radio's wide reach and accessibility, it has not been successful in fully maximizing its potential for development, advocacy and peace building because of the pursuit for profit. Most of the radio stations set up since deregulation are based in urban and commercial centres (NBC 2016). According to the Global Advocacy Project (2004-2005), locational imbalance in the citing

of radio stations has restricted news coverage to the cities and urban areas with reporters making occasional trips to the rural areas mostly to cover conflicts and disease outbreaks. "Indeed, research has found that only six percent of all stories carried in the Nigerian media (broadcast and print) come from the rural areas and that 'development stories' constitute a paltry 13.5 percent of total news coverage. Yet, over 70 percent of the total national population live in the rural areas" (Global Advocacy Project 2004-2005, p. 4).

Current trend in radio programmes tend towards a reflection of power, influence and wealth in society, generally alienating majority of poor and ordinary people. The programmes focus attention on a small number of government functionaries, the educated, middle and upper classes elite. Radio news has become very commercialized even in government owned stations but more so in private stations. Hence what dominates the news are activities of government, corporate private sector, wealthy and influential individuals. Excessive entertainment slots are dominated by news of celebrities both local and foreign, reality shows and gossips. Since deregulation ownership of radio stations in Nigeria are concentrated in the hands of government, corporate entities and the rich in society. This scenario ensures that what we hear, the information we receive is controlled by government and small group of corporate elites.

The new media especially mobile phones have increased opportunities for radio listeners to participate in the radio content production process. But there is a commercial logic to the upsurge of mobile phones and new media by radio stations to include the audience in their content production which inevitably is not noble. Cut throat competition in the deregulated and hyper commercialized radio broadcast landscape, stations are using the new media and their potentials to increase audience reach as a strategy for expanding their markets; generating mass audiences for advertisers. Data mining by telecommunication communities and social media platforms ensures that radio listeners who use these tools to gain access and participate in radio programmes are simply target for commodification. Datamining ensures the right demographics and psychographics for advertisers and revenue for the radio stations (Dean 2010, p. 30 cited in Willems, 2013).

With the increase in mobile phones as compared to landlines, more Nigerians may now have access and can participate and contribute to radio programmes through SMS or phone in to live discussion to contribute their own views. However, the radio station managers can still censor calls from mobile phones and social media contributions to their content, thereby, limiting both the opportunities and involvement of audiences in radio stations' content production.

Despite the plurality of radio stations occasioned by deregulation, for marginalized and minority groups participation in radio can be problematic. It is a not given that marginalized and minority groups will be in focus in programme making and news. There would have be a deliberate effort through public policy strictly enforced to guarantee that minority religious and ethnic groups, the young, old or disabled find space in the airwaves. The rural poor still lacks access to radio that allows them to participate in the national public sphere where national or state-wide public discourse takes place and unless governments empower the national broadcasting corporations to cover the entire country with public service content, the rural poor will remain marginalised and their right to information and their right to a voice will continue to be infringed upon (Panos London, 2008).

Convergence: Radio and Mobile Phones

Of the new information and communication tools, mobile phones have become the most important drivers of access and participation in radio. This new media tool has helped to redefine the relationship between professional radio broadcasters and their audiences. It is believed that mobile phone is tilting the power to audiences more than ever before. Literally speaking mobiles phones are everywhere in Africa now more so in Nigeria where there now more than 151 million mobile phone users in 2017. (NCC, 2017). The distribution of ownership is far more widely spread across all the socioeconomic strata of the society. The near ubiquity of mobile phones in Nigeria has altered the way people now participate and access radio. They have moved away from participation through letter writing, fixed phone calls from homes or a trip to the studio to on the move participation and access; in their cars, farms, barber's shop, offices, drinking palours and so on. Mobile phones have created the opportunity for a larger number of Nigerians to access radio and participate to some extent in the production of radio programmes.

This large penetration of mobile phones coupled with the fact that most cell phones now has a radio functionality has expanded opportunities for access and participation, listeners can now call or send SMS messages into a radio programme to participate and contribute to debates on social or political issues as well as music programmes.

Gilberds and Myers (2012) note that "promoters of ICT for development programmes argue that convergence of new digital technologies with radio will enhance the ability of ICTs to contribute to development outcomes by facilitating two-way flows of knowledge" (p.76).
Since the double deregulation of radio broadcasting and telecommunications, the explosion in the channels and mobile phone networks meant at some point there would be integration of both. The new private radio stations placed emphasis on integrating ICTs such as mobile phones into their production and content regeneration practices to enhance and expand opportunities for access and participation. It has been observed that "in many developing countries, more people own, have access to, or use mobile phones than fixed-line telephones" (Goggin and Clark, 2009, p. 586). Given this current state of affairs, on the face value of it, everyone, irrespective of class can now use cell phones in trying to bridge the digital divide and information gap that prevailed before now.

In Nigeria, as in the rest of Africa, because of the double functionality of mobile phones, - they now have facilities to receive radio programmes and news-, they have become both a form of media and a means of communication. People now use them for making and receiving personal calls, sending and receiving personal messages as well as listen to the radio. As a form of media, they are used for listening to the radio, sending and receiving SMSs to and from the radio stations. In Nigeria, 37.3 per cent of all radio listeners do so from their mobile phones (BBG Gallup, 2014).

This combination places radio at the vantage to reach the poor and marginalised both in the urban and rural areas to support their communication needs, very effective for dissemination of development information, for peace building, for use in de-radicalisation projects and programmes aimed at prevention of terrorism. "Until other ICTs can replicate these advantages

at the same cost, then it is likely that radio will continue to be the most relevant technology for the rural poor" (BCO 2008, p. 63).

Mobile phones and radio working together can help transmit peace building messages transmit programmes on de-radicalisation and provide a counter balance to hate speeches made on other platforms by preaching tolerance among all in society. This combination works well for health promotion intervention, agricultural extension/media literacy through radio and social mobilization. Messages on health and agriculture can reach the audience quickly. The dialogue that ensues through immediate feed can be beneficiary for a deeper understanding of issues and resolution of conflicts.

Rennie (2006) believes that with mobile phones "has come a greater acceptance of the fact that people can, and do, produce media outside of professional contexts" (p.187). It has helped ordinary people to participate in citizen journalism in far-flung rural communities. This is "where the ordinary community members have been empowered to participate by sending in stories, calling to give their views, and giving comments on policies thus challenging the hegemonic control of content production by journalists" (Gordon, 2012 cited in Mhagama, 2015 p.259).

Gilberds and Myers (2012) say that "in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the boom in mobile telephony, […] has facilitated the rise of radio call-in programmes and the ease with which listeners can now connect directly with broadcasters to give feedback, ask questions and have a say" (p.78). This feature was not possible less than two decades ago before the advent of mobile telephony. Radio broadcasting was very top down then with very little feedback from the audience except the occasional "listeners' letters" that filtered in.
 Phone-in programmes, according to Crisell (1994) are to radio stations' identifiers. They are used to measure the audience share of the stations and whether the stations connect with their audiences in terms of knowledge and understanding.

Nonetheless, Murdock and Golding (1977) see phone-in programmes as "an attempt to accommodate the mounting pressure from excluded and underrepresented groups for greater access to scarce communications facilities" (Murdock and Golding, 1977 cited in Crisell, 1994,

p.192). The combination of radio and mobile phones are attempts to the scale up of participation to approach what Carpentier (2011) refers to as participation at the maximalist level where there is also "acknowledgement of audience diversity and heterogeneity, and of the political nature of media participation" (p, 69). Greene (2008) notes that "the combination of ICTs and mass media is as well recommended for urban areas or the modern sectors of developing countries. For instance, regime critical messages get a far larger outreach when different media work together" (p. 22).

The convergence of radio and mobile phones is making it easier for radio broadcasters who for decades have been the agents of knowledge transfer to the people, producing and broadcasting programmes on health, agriculture, environment and poverty alleviation to reach their audiences, get their feedback and incorporate their concerns in later productions. "There is also greater potential for broadcasters themselves to engage with their audiences more energetically than before and to harness the technologies at their disposal to provide more and better coverage of development issues". (Gilberds and Myers, 2012 p.3)

For radio broadcasters, with mobile phones now they communicate with their audiences more easily, generate higher quantities and quality of listener participation, can mount more easily high quality outside broadcasts, send reports from remote places and interact more with community members. As Girard (cited in Myers, 2011) notes: "Mobile telephones are community radio's remote broadcasting units … [they] cost less than $100 and are so simple to use that community members with phones can become empowered correspondents, commentators and critics." (p.35). A survey by Panos (2008) in West Africa found that 40 per cent of 108 rural radios surveyed used mobile phones as part of their content generation.

Like all technologies before it, the issue of unequal access rears its ugly head here also. Many people in the rural areas as well as the poor districts of the cities and especially women do not own mobile phones and when they do can ill afford the use of them for calls to radio stations (Thompson, 2013).

With the multiplicity of radio stations and channels occasioned by the deregulated media environment in Nigeria, there are now more than 300 radio stations in Nigeria (NBC, 2016). This phenomenon has improved access for those who now receive radio programmes, which was hitherto not the case for them, and this may have improved participation for a lot more people on the face value of it. But a disaggregated data of improvement in access and participation would show for whom access and participation have improved. If most new radio stations are located in the city as is the case (NBC, 2016), rural dwellers and the poor would be marginalized. Depending on the nature of access and participation, the urban poor may be marginalized too, despite the fact that most of the radio stations are city-based. Myers and Gilberds (2012) have noted increased use of cell phones by citizens both to access radio, participation in content generation and feedback, and studies by Panos (2008) show increased use of cell phones to listen to the radio. However, research done by Somolu (2013) show that women in Nigeria are marginalized when it comes to the convergence of mobile phones and radio.

Studies on the impact of deregulation/commercialisation of media in Nigeria

Although several studies have examined the deregulation and privatization of the Nigerian broadcast industry, few have focused on the causative factors or the larger context of deregulation and commercialization of the media. In a study, Akeem et al (2013) appraised the deregulation of the broadcast media in Nigeria by focusing on the impact of deregulation on content with emphasis on the influx of foreign programmes and content into the Nigerian broadcast market since deregulation. The study looked at the use of new technologies, coverage, production quality, as well as accessibility to wider segments of the society. The findings showed that programming has expanded since deregulation, although there has been an unwitting abandonment of local content in the media in favour of foreign programmes and an erosion of local languages and cultures, a subjugation of national values and social heritage. It argued that ownership and control has tilted largely in favour of private ownership. This appears not to be so until recently because for a long time government-owned radio and television stations in Nigeria far outnumbered those that are privately-owned.

Akeem et al also looked at what impact deregulation has had on news content in the media including radio. They used Nwosu (2007) terminology of "Broadcast Media Content Commercialisation, BMCC" as a basis for analysis and confirmed in their study that the media have lost their sense of social responsibility and pander to powerful elites of the Nigerian society. They cited Oso (2012) to drive home their point;

> …as far as media organisations are articulated to the structure of power and constrained by economic and commercial imperatives, the channels of communication will largely express the voices and interest of dominant social groups in the society (Akeem et al, 2013, p.5).

In another study, Asogwa and Asemah (2013) focused their study on news commercialisation, news valued now not for its role in information, public enlightenment, persuasion and creation of an environment for political, cultural and social mobilization, but as a commodity valued for the money it brings to the media organisation. They noted that this affects the objectivity of news, impacting negatively on democracy and sustainable development. The news media, they say, is departing from their social responsibility role and becoming organisations driven by profit and economic determinism. They cited Aina (2002) to buttress their point:

> "Producers must be reoriented to embrace and prioritise development communication and do less of the prevailing commercial staff." (Asogwa and Asemah, 2013, p.28).

For them, only individuals who have money to pay can gain access to the media in Nigeria today.

Mohammed (1994) took a preemptive strike at deregulation very early in the process. He endorsed the role of the media in peacebuilding and asked the rhetorical question, "what extent the unity of the nation can be safeguarded, promoted… (in the light of the deregulation of the broadcast media) … whose primary motive is profit making". Oketunmbi (2006/2007) says the one major "pain" of deregulation of the broadcast media in Nigeria is the commercialization of news because private stations are businesses whose interests is the maximization of profit and the minimalization of public service content. The main vulnerability of this according to Omenugha and Oji (2008) is the capture of the news by powerful interest groups with money to pay.

Odulami and Adaja (2015) did focus on a similar theme in their study of media commercialization, public interest and sustainable development in Nigeria.

There is also the focus of foreign cultural imperialism (of content) due to deregulation in Chioma's (2014) and Ogundimu (1997) studies. Oso (2006) notes that "the debate is no longer a normative question of the proprietary of commercialization of the media, rather it is coming to terms with the opportunity cost of a media system weighted in economics at the expense of social responsibility to the society" (p.8)

Only Lwanga's (2002) research which looked at the levels of commercialization of Radio Uganda after deregulation of broadcasting in that African country comes close to our study. The research used quantitative and qualitative methods to reveal that Radio Uganda still espouses degree of the public service remit in their broadcasts but also found that commercial considerations have increased and have been decimating public service content. His evidence showed the rise of commercialized and profit driven programmes and the decline of development and educational programmes. The study did not use the political economy lens as its theoretical departure. It focused narrowly on education and development, while our study looks both at these but includes audience commodification, excessive entertainment, peacebuilding and the minimalization of hate speeches. Moreover, the study was carried out in another African country- Uganda.

Onoja's thesis (2005) examined the political economy of news reportage in Nigeria but used television as a case study. It looks at the preferential access given to powerful individuals in society and the denial of access to political opponents of those in power by owners of television stations in Nigeria, be they private or governmental. In-depth, though and anchoring the phenomenon of his findings on deregulation and commercialization as their root causes, Onoja (2005) mainly focused on the philosophy of news reportage by television in Nigeria, what socio-economic or cultural basis underlined such philosophy and what extent ownership of television stations affect objectivity and neutrality of news reporting by television stations in Nigeria.

Telwa and Githoria's (2015) study did focus on the impact of media ownership, commercialization and commodisation on editorial independence in the media generally. Their work leaned heavily on the declining watch dog role of the media; their inability due to ownership patterns to investigate society, hold political and economic leaders accountable. They opine that commercialized interests, consolidation of several media forms has compromised media's capacity to interrogate the system due to the overbearing influence of special interest groups and owners. Also, Suraju's (2013) study focuses singly on the declining airtime in broadcast media for agricultural programmes due to the spike in fees necessary to gain access to the airwaves for agricultural programmes, which were formerly free pre-deregulation and commercialization in Nigeria. Udomisor and Kenneth (2013) note that a key impact of news commercialization occasioned by deregulation and commercialization is the credibility of news itself. Their work looked at this impact on the broader National Broadcasting commission's communication policy itself.

In his presentation at the conference on deregulation of the broadcast media in Africa organized by Nigeria's broadcast regulator, the National Broadcasting Commission, Moemeka (1997) notes that what should be of concern is not deregulation of the broadcast media per se but how a deregulated media system should function. He advised a balance between a free commercialized broadcast media system and the responsible restriction of the freedom concomitant to the market system for the benefit of public service principles of broadcasting. He notes that if the principles of public service broadcasting were used to moderate market forces, the deregulated media system would be more relevant to the needs of the poor.

Only a few of these studies have focused on deregulation and commercialization of the broadcast media in Nigeria. Many of these works looked at news commercialization and its impact on the credibility, value, objectivity, impartiality and the import of news as a value-free event organized to inform, elevate, mobilise, enlighten and conscientise the individual person in society. A few looked at the impact of private ownership, consolidation and the profit motive on content, access for the poor and space for development programming. However, they all had a piecemeal approach and focus on the concerns of the political economy of communication. Only the

Ugandan study by Lwanga (2002) combined two elements of our variables in one study. These are development programmes and the upsurge of commercially-oriented programmes on radio. A few of the studies were on television and one of them used the political economy approach to look at ownership patterns and its influence on news coverage.

No study combined several variables of the political economy of communication like our study. This study, however, combined several variables of the political economy of communication. The political economy of communication studies the processes of commercialization, consolidation, internationalization, diversity, the profit motive in the deregulated media environment, the search for audiences leading to commodification, and the range of consequences of these variables to citizens' cultural and media health, to education, enlightenment and upliftment. The study also examined commodification, excessive entertainment and light programming, access and participation, peacebuilding and the reduction of hate speeches.

Section Three: Theoretical/Conceptual Frameworks

In view of the important role of the media and specifically, radio in national development and peacebuilding, and recognizing the place of deregulation and commercialization in shaping this role in Nigeria, this study was framed using the theories of democratic participation and political economy of communication.

Political Economy of Communication

The political economy approach to the study of communication draws heavily from the Marxian and Neo Marxian traditions, although Winseck (2016) posits that it predates the Marxian tradition. Citing Karl Knies, Karl Bücher, Albert Schäffle, Ferdinand Tönnies, Charles Horton Cooley, Edward Ross, Albion Small, Franklin Giddings, Richard Ely, Thorstein Veblen, amongst others, Winseck notes that "such a view, however, obscures an older, trans-Atlantic political economy tradition forged by Europe and North American scholars who made communications media central objects of their analyses in the late-19th and early-20th centuries" (p.2).

Current political economy approach to the study of communication focuses on the incorporation of communication into the wider corporate economy and its exploitative and undemocratic tendencies. It looks at giant communications industries, their growth, power, influence and impact throughout the whole world. (Schiller, 1989, 1969; Smythe, 1977, 1981, Mosco, 1996). Using Neo Marxian analytical tools to analyse communications, the works of Garnham 1990; Golding and Murdock 1991, Murdock and Golding 1979, have emphasised class power, the integration of communication within the wider capitalist economy and state policies that promote liberalization, commercialisation and privatization of the communication industries. It has analysed this market-- based policies to instruments of social communication and its consequences (Ferguson, 1990, Tracey, 1998, Garnham, 1990; Schiller, 1982). Mosco (1996) captures the thrust of this argument in the following way:

> The global pressure to privatization and commercialisation then led Political Economy to address the instrumental and structural roots of the process. More recently and particularly in response to the tendency of privatization to create disparities in access and changes in content that reflect largely market pressures, Political Economy has revived interest in exploring a wide range of alternative forms of the public sphere, civil society and community communication (Mosco, 1996, p. 60)

Political economy of communication places media as central to the production and reproduction of a social system. The media in society contributes to socialization, political education and mobilization. Political economy of communication places emphasis on production or supply rather than consumption or demand. It also places the media within a wider social relation of production (Garham 1990; Mosco, 2008; 2015).

The Third World political economy of communication, where Nigeria can be categorized, focuses on the question of access, participation and media use for development. Its focus is the attack of the developmentalist theory of modernization. Political economy provided the tools for the critique of conservative and liberal developmentalist approaches especially in the use of the mass media for national development and nation building efforts. Theories were developed on innovation and social changes and how the media can play a supportive role to the effort. The

works of Schramm (1964) Lerner (1958) and Rogers (1976) theorized on how the media would help achieve the goals of modernisation and development, and how it could create a market economy and provide the ideological and political bases that would help build a supportive class of national leaders.

Oliveira (1991 cited in Mosco, 1996) disagrees with this approach:

> Underdevelopment appears to be a synergistic process involving dependent industrialization; mass media, global advertising, imported consumption pattern and income concentration. Media and advertising … promote a consumerist climate that materializes by increasing wages for a few and repressing the earnings of most (p. 211).

He concluded that national media are controlled by national elites with close ties to western capital, depend on it for technology, and support it through programming that promotes consumerist values that most of the population cannot attain.

McQuail (2000) on the other hand, synthesized the various concerns, concepts and variables of all the variants of political economy approaches to the study of communications. He maintains that the central foci are: (i). Economic control and logic as determinant of media operations; (ii). The tendency of media structures towards concentration focusing on patterns of ownership, conglomeration, oligopolies and capital accumulation; (iii). Development of international media integration vis-à-vis the globalization agenda;(iv). The commodification of contents and audiences;(v). Decrease in content diversity and question of infotainment/ light programing; (vi). Marginalization of opposition and alternative voices leading to issues of access and participation and (vii). Subordination of public interest to private profits. Here focus is on media use for development, mobilization, nation-building, the defence of democracy and the public sphere vis-à-vis the sole motive of making profit (p.83).

Commodification. Commodification originates from Marx's analysis, which argued that objects are commodified by acquiring an exchange value, instead of having merely an-intrinsic use value that is taking goods and services, which are valued for their use e.g. information, works of art and transforming them into commodities that are valued for what they can be bought in the market place (Mosco, 1996).

There are two strands to political economy's approach to media commodification: the first strand of commodification looks at patterns of ownership, class power and interests and how state policies have contributed to the development of media monopolies for capital accumulation giving rise to a commodified public space and audience (Bagdikian, 1992, 2004; Bogart 1995). The second strand is the media content and its propensity to shape audiences. The political economy of communication posits therefore that the mass media (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, Schiller, 1973 cited in Sussman, 1997; McChesney 1997, 2000); in a capitalist society, have expanded the process of commodification by among other things, producing messages that reflect the interest of capital and through this process advancing support for the interests of capital for specific fractions of a class in society (Mosco, 1998).

The audience commodification. As a concept audience commodification means the reduction of the mass media audience into a statistically configured and demographically segmented buying entity. It evolved out of people's dependence on commercial mass media and the use to which the audience is put – commodified and sold (Williamson, 1978) instead of "as citizens who must be reformed, educated, informed as well as entertained; a relationship that should have an intrinsic value not exchange value".

Commercial broadcasting with its sponsored programmes and advertising inserts exist to deliver audience to companies for advertising who sell their products to them. Advertisers and sponsors are interested in the profits on the money they put into advertising on Radio and Television. It seeks to capture people's attention to sell them a product or service or better put, the goal is: "delivering audiences as commodities to advertisers is the primary function of commercial media" (Smythe, 1977, p.3). Smythe (2001 cited in Biltereyst and Meers, 2011) notes that the principal product of commercial media is audience power. Audience power is produced, bought and consumed, hence it commands a price and it is a commodity. "Like other labour power, it involves work". Although the production process of audience power is different from the production of other products like clothes, drinks, etc., the underlying logic is the same (Gandy, 2002 cited in Biltereyst and Meers, 2011).

Commercial communication is a component of mass media content and influences the character of all media content. Media survival depend on it and because content is produced for sale, quality programming is subordinated to the demands of the market. (Sussman 1997, p.10). Hence media organisations work hard to generate large audiences because large audiences are the real commodities they sell to their real customers – the advertisers (Bogart, 2000:70).

The third world political economy of communication. For Nigeria, like other third world countries, the political economy of communication and information as distinct from other variants has noted the centrality of the broadcast media especially radio as a vehicle for national development, integration, social mobilization and education. Even before the political economy of communication gained currency as an analytical tool, western modernization theorists that sought to incorporate the African continent into the western capitalist mode of thinking and production and a buffer to the post Second World war ravages of soviet communism had positioned the media as a tool for modernization, for breaking down traditionalism and creating the liberating environment for economic development and the disintegration of 'backward" values. From the economic plank, people like WW Rostow had hypothesized the basis and stages of economic growth for the Third world, which precluded a communist manifesto.

Although in recent time such optimism and euphoria of the earlier media scholars and Political Scientists have been dampened by the lack of the expected powerful effects of the media in various forms of development, the optimism remains, of the appropriate application of this technology of information to aid development, social mobilization and in the spreading of modernizing influences. This optimism remains because the electronic media especially radio is regarded as a medium for the dissemination of messages.

Radio's potential and efficiency has been measured largely because of its ability to reach unlimited numbers of people in a continent devoid of basic infrastructures like electricity; its portability; inexpensiveness and preclusion of illiteracy. Hence as an instrument, the information technology of radio has been used for public enlightenment messages, in health, education, agriculture and other non- formal educational types of programmes that had attempted to

replicate formal education (Vergeldt, 1983 cited in Olorunnisola, 1995; Moemeka 2000; Myers, 2008; Manyanzo, 2005). Equally Governments have used the medium for social and national integration and mass mobilisation for efforts like the civil war in Nigeria, Environmental education, infant immunization, political and democratic participation. As Sedney (1974 cited in Balikowa, 1994) points out about broadcasting in Africa:

> Programming in general tends to be heavily colored by the concept of nation building...literacy, civics, public health, agricultural improvement, cultural traditions, political commentary and social guidance (p.12)

Commercialisation and deregulation take place when the State withdraws regulation based on public interest, public service with forms of regulation by markets. Practically this means that a lot more emphasis is placed on the market as the regulator through profit motive, the audience size and revenue from advertising. Opponents of this model maintain that commercial based decision making inevitably means one class of users' benefits over others (Castells, 1989; Katatzi-Whitlock, 2011).

Two models opposed to each other are the central issues in the debate of broadcast media deregulation and commercialization. The struggle between the two models are about citizenship, enlightenment, democratic rights and freedoms in the realms of cultural productions and what economics and market forces will deliver to the people. One model maintains that the sustenance and the general well-being of society and its culture is dependent on the political subsystem to make strategic decisions and intervene through state agencies for the 'public good' (Islam, 2006 cited in Nafiz, 2012; Traber, 1988; Gonzalez, 1988; Nwuzor, 2014)

On the other spectrum of the argument are antagonists of any form of regulation or intervention by the political subsystem through public policy. They argue that in a democratic society the State should be minimalist and not interfere in choices people make on matters of audio-visuals, on what to listen to or watch. Tracey (1998; 2012) argued:

> Here then are two models between which the audience-as-citizen is being asked to choose: policy guided by the hand of 'public' regulation employing 'public' values,

serving the 'public 'interest; and policy as the ad hoc result of a myriad individual choice with the collective good and interest in effect being what the public, using economic judgment, say they are. In country after country one can see a collision between a cultural civic model for development of broadcasting and the 'economic' or circus model for the larger construction of a culture of communication of which television and radio are part (p.12).

Even then, the public service model of broadcasting given experiences from the Third World has not been all roses and no thorns because of its hegemonic tendencies of reflecting the ideas and ideologies of power and social relations. Yet, it may have nurtured Nigeria and supported it through its most difficult periods in history, mobilizing, educating and entertaining by excellent programmes, high standards of creativity and patriotism, shaping the future of society and its culture.

The European model of public broadcasting which Nigeria copied in its early history, is a model that factors in this mediating role of the media for democratic health, "the tradition of western European democratic theory and practice situates modes of public communication at the heart of the democratic process within the very core of the notion of civil society" (Venturelli, 1993 cited in Tracey, 1998, p.49). While those who favour a complete deregulated and commercialized media environment would counter that in a multi-channel environment, the public sphere is enriched rather than constricted, they point to the multiplicity of the media landscape of the United States as the triumph of peoples' power, the freedom to choose from a market determined staple. (McChesney, 1997).

A social policy for communication should be based on the people's real communication and information needs rather than on what the market supply makes available (Preston, 1989). The rhetoric of deregulation and commercialization that swept the globe in the 1980's was therefore a response to the gradual emergence of an international public sphere in which economic activities have become transnationalised. This process of globalisation has been boosted over the last thirty-five years by a shift in favour of market forces as well as in the widespread adoption of

policies of deregulation and economic liberalisation on a global scale (Mosco, 1996; Calabrese and Mihal, 2011). For Nigeria, it was the need for an economic recovery that thrust the policy on it, and this affected the broadcast media.

The Democratic Participant Theory

Unlike the political economy of communication, which views communication within the context of production/supply rather than consumption or demand, the democratic participant theory views the media as having a duty to provide a platform for ordinary people to express diverse opinions freely. The theory notes that although public service broadcasting, which raised high expectations of media to promote democracy and democratic values, these expectations had not been met by mostly government operated public broadcasting organisations. These stations had become too pro establishment reflecting the concerns of the establishment and the elite in society. In the process, the concerns of the ordinary people were pushed back, ignored in preference of the establishment and of those who wield political power and corporate influence in the society.

The democratic-participant theory advocates that the function of the media is primarily to cater to the needs of their audiences, and not the promotion the interests of the state and capital. The theory avers that the media exists to provide a platform for individuals to disseminate diverse views and opinions freely, but this had not happened because the mainstream media had been coopted to serve the interest of the establishment and those with political influence and capital. (McQuail, 1983, p.198). The fulcrum of the theory is rather than focusing all its attention on people of power and influence, the media should more closely align with the socio-economic life of ordinary people giving them a fair chance for access and participation in terms that are favourable to them to allow for meaningful reflection of all segments of society. (McQuail, 1983, p. 198). The theory advocates the freedom and rights of persons especially minority groups and their rights to access media and for the media to serve them according to their dictates and needs.

Under the democratic participant theory, the primary role of the media is to ensure the individuals' rights and society's right to access relevant information; providing a feedback

mechanism for the individuals to answer back as a right; and the right to use the means of communication process for their own interaction and among their own communities of interest. Furthermore, the theory places emphasis on local communities organizing themselves to establish their own community media against the current practice of being fed by the centralised, expensive, professionalised, commercialized and state-controlled media. It seeks small-scale media whose operations are flexible catering to the needs of individuals and small communities of interests. (McQuail, 1983).

The idea of democratic participant theory took roots in the 1960s with the emergence of grass-roots level media and alternative media forms. The theory emerged because other normative theories of the media such as libertarian theory, social responsibility theory and so on appeared to have failed society or not done enough to be inclusive (Asemah, et al, 2017). The democratic-participant theory believes that there is professional hegemonic control of the media today by a monopolistic, centralized and capitalistic clique which has totally commercialized the media. It seeks that these anomalies should be removed for the media to be democratic, easily accessible and participatory. It argues that monopolization, be it public or private, centralization and top down approach in the media should end. The media, according to the theory should be pluralistic, decentralized, bottom-up, horizontal and accessible to everybody in society. Its major concept is participation.

Attributes of the democratic-participant theory. The media are important in rural settings and the local cultures. However, these are gradually being degraded over time (Asemah et al, 2017). The theory is believed to conserve and revive local cultures by promoting the right to information (global and local), right to expression (feedback), right to use new technologies (means of communication), freedom to local data, freedom to take part in social action, etc. In the process, it expects the government to provide funds, trainings and subsidies after identification if they have financial or technical difficulties (Businesstopia, 2018; Asemah et al, 2017).

Furthermore, the theory considers local information sharing, feedbacks and social action at the community level as the pivotal roles of the media. It discourages the uniform, monopolized and commercialized media culture. Rather, it wants the local non-institutionalized media to provide the information relevant to small groups of population (Asemah et al, 2017). This theory makes interaction between the media and the audience possible as the population is less. It also encourages feedback which is only possible in small groups and communities. The model is completely non-political and does not bolster political control; its main objectives being encouraging national development, supporting local culture and maintaining a good relationship with other countries. It also promotes equality between various genders, classes, castes, races, etc. controlled by the group. This focus on equality is known as the association mode which is the opposite of the command mode (Businesstopia, 2018; Asemah et al, 2017).

Major features of democratic-participant theory of mass communication. These features are:
- Encourages horizontal and bottom up approach in media
- Supports democracy, existing political rule, national socio-economic development efforts and to implement policies
- Media has supportive rather than critical role
- Government controls some aspects if media does not act as it should by the process of registration, licensing, censorship, by preparing guidelines for media, monitoring, etc.
- Self-regulation of media is also encouraged
- More applicable to new media
- Development of creativity and innovation in small media
- Replacement of media from big media houses to small media
- Participation and interaction of media and audience (as both are from the same group of population)
- Different communities, groups and organizations possessing their own media (Businesstopia, 2018)

Some examples of the democratic-participant theory include the concepts of community newspapers, community radios and televisions. The trend of social action through all forms social

media, other web-based technologies of information that are available for all to use, mobile technologies with their attendant convergence to older media forms like radio. Creating access and participation are other examples today. Underground and alternative press are other examples of the democratic-participant theory. The strong points of this theory are that participation of the audience and access are guaranteed, and they should get alternatives if not satisfied with one media, the community can work for themselves as social action and there are the concepts of equality, inclusion and equal access which makes it eliminate marginalization. The small media gets the chance to work for local people as well (Asemah, et al, 2017).

Weaknesses of the theory. The theory has some weaknesses. Its focus on local community media is too optimistic. Community members may not have the resources and relevant skills to run a media outfit and though it prescribes that government should subsidize local communities and build their capacities to manage such media, governments in the developing world may not have the resources as well to set up such media outfits. The downside of setting up such media by government is that it may not engender the necessary ownership spirit in community members who may just see it as another government project, not theirs. Equally there is nothing that stops government from interfering with the editorial independence of the media if it was the one that set it up.

To regulate the contents and programmes of disparate local media outfits may be a herculean task for regulators in fragile states where the capacity to monitor and regulate the few existing media is at best perfunctory. Too many local medias in the hands of squabbling communities and ethnicities in fragile states may be a recipe for vitriolic hate speeches spewing out of so many transmitters. Small scale media may be overwhelmed by giant media conglomerates.

Relevance to this study. The focus of this study is on the impact deregulation and hyper commercialism on the media, specifically radio. Some of the variables under investigation are access and participation especially for the poor and marginalized groups, constriction of space for relevant social change and development information as well as diversity of choice in media content. Using the political economy of communication approach as our first framework of

analysis, a lot of issues like media conglomeration and centralisation, the profit motive with concomitant audience commodification, light programming, and elite capture of the media leading to minimalization of the poor and marginalized groups emerged.

These also are all concerns of the democratic media participant theory. It lays emphasis on popular participation, access to the media for everyone. The theory seeks to empower citizens for the national development efforts and participation in the development process. It stresses the importance of availability of relevant information necessary for human development, the right to reply and of media for dialogic interactions. It challenges centralized, commercialized and hegemonic media systems, favouring local grassroots pluralistic media which express cultural pluralism, interactions and social actions at the community level. There is a synergy of concerns between our two frameworks of analysis and the variables under study. The democratic participant media theory will add validity to results achieved in this study.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we did an overview of the history of radio broadcasting globally and narrowed down to its history and evolution in Nigeria from the colonial times in 1935 till date. We surveyed the early beginnings of commercialization of radio in the United States of America and oppositions to it as well as its variant in Nigeria. We x-rayed the British public interest model of radio broadcasting and the funding mechanisms of public service radio. The opposition to public service broadcasting and reasons for the decline of public interest which includes the ascendancy of neoclassical economics and globalization were noted. The media in national development, the role of radio in development were discussed including radio for peacebuilding, peace as development and excessive entertainment on radio.

Section two of this chapter focused on deregulation and commercialization, its theoretical underpinnings and reasons it affected the Nigerian broadcast media sector. The question of access and participation, the conceptual definitions, and forms in radio broadcasting were also reviewed. The phenomenon of convergence between mobile phones and radio and what it portends for access and participation for marginalized groups were analysed and concluded that

these forms of convergence, while increasing access and participation may be benefiting only some people in society. But we are leaving the definitive conclusion on this after the analysis of our data.

The political economy of communication, including its third world variant and the democratic participant media theory as theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the study were discussed and analysed, teasing out the strength and weaknesses of the theories and justifying why they were fitting for the study. The concept of commodification, audience commodification was also highlighted.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of deregulation and commercialization of the Nigerian broadcast industry, in shaping access, participation, as well as content and programming decisions in radio stations.

This study employed qualitative research design, using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to collect data. A textual analysis of programme schedules of selected radio stations in Abuja, Nigeria was conducted for data triangulation. The NVivo qualitative research software was used for data analysis. The NVivo software provides data management tools that allows the researchers to compare or separate diverse components within their projects. It makes sorting and instant comparisons across different types of data easy. It helps the researcher to store and sort all data in one platform, from quantifiable demographic information to qualitative open-ended questions and interviews. It is a useful and powerful tool to categorize and classify data.

This chapter presents the methodological approach used to collect data for the study, profile and demography of study participants, and study location. Others are data collection and sampling methods as well as a presentation of how the data was analysed.

Methodological Approach: Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is defined as is research which gathers and uses non-numerical data, interprets such data to help in the understanding of a social phenomenon by studying a target population or places. Its strength is 'interpretivist" of the social world leading to an understanding of how such social world is constituted (Mason, 2002)**.** Denzin and Lincoln (2005, cited in Cited in University of Southern California Research Guides, 2018)) would describe it as "… an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them." (p. 3). It uses interviews, open-ended surveys, focus group discussions, observations, textual and visual materials and oral

history. Qualitative research is based on procedures of data generation which respects the social context in which the data are produced, and analysis involves an understanding of the detailed complexity and context. "Qualitative research aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data," (Mason, 2002). Yin (2011) reminds the researcher that the essence of qualitative research is "the use of close up detailed observation of the natural world by the investigator" (p. 25).

A major advantage of using qualitative research method is the generation of rich, exhaustive data which factors in the participants' perspectives, providing multiple contexts for a deeper understanding of the social phenomenon under study. The University of Southern California, using work done by Anderson (2010), Denizen and Lincoln, (2000) and Merriam (2009) has synthesized the key advantages of using the qualitative research methods. They include the ability to:

- Obtain a more realistic view of the lived world that cannot be understood or experienced in numerical data and statistical analysis;
- Provide the researcher with the perspective of the participants of the study through immersion in a culture or situation and because of direct interaction with them;
- Allow the researcher to describe existing phenomena and current situations;
- Develop flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information;
- Yield results that can be helpful in pioneering new ways of understanding;
- Respond to changes that occur while conducting the study e.g., extended fieldwork or observation] and offer the flexibility to shift the focus of the research as a result;
- Provide a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation;
- Respond to local situations, conditions, and needs of participants;
- Interact with the research subjects in their own language and on their own terms; and, create a descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data (University of Southern California Research Guides, 2018).

This study is a formative and exploratory research in the political economy of broadcasting deregulation in Nigeria. Qualitative research methodology offers the latitude to explore the

phenomenon, understand the perceptions and viewpoints of participants, amass a wealth of data and through deductive analysis arrive at some conclusion that sheds light on the phenomenon under study. It offers the flexibility in data collection and analysis which helps gain a contextual understanding of the subject under study on the basis of a nuanced, detailed and rich data collected.

Participants

A total of 142 people participated in the focus group discussions and 59 in the in-depth interviews. The participants, who are between the ages of 24 and 61 years are resident in Abuja, the Federal Capital of Nigeria and other parts of Nigeria. The focus group consists of 89 Males and 53 females while the in-depth interviews had 25 females and 34 males. The interviews broadly covered persons who listen to radio; regulators of the broadcasting industry in Nigeria; veteran radio broadcasters; current radio broadcast journalists; producers and on-air personalities; previous and current managers of radio stations; journalists in general; broadcast journalism trainers; trainers of journalists in general; development workers who use radio for social mobilization and behaviour change communication; as well as pioneers of radio for peacebuilding.

For analysis and to compare the private, commercial and public service style broadcasting, four senior level managers each and two operational staff in news and programmes sections were interviewed from four radio stations namely, Rhythm FM, Raypower/Vision FM, ASO FM and Kapital FM. These are the General Managers, the Managers of Programmes, News and Marketing. These are decision makers who interpret and implement policies of the media owners, be they private individuals or government. Rhythm FM and RaypowerFM/Vision FM, are private commercial stations while ASO FM and Kapital FM are government-owned, partly commercialized and partly funded with public funds. These added up to 24 in all.

Two senior level managers of the National Broadcasting Commission, the regulatory body for broadcasting in Nigeria were also interviewed to get their perspectives on government regulation of radio broadcasting and how is radio regulated to ensure a balance between social responsibility and the profit motive. Ten veteran broadcasters from different parts of the country,

who have more than 30 years' experience who had managed radio stations at the top management level were also interviewed. From the international development circle, seven staff members from UNICEF and World Health Organisation who use radio in their tasks were also recruited as participants.

The number of current radio broadcast journalists, producers and on-air personalities, previous and current managers of radio stations, journalists in general were 16. Each interview lasted for an average of one hour. Some were however much longer than others because of the issues raised and additional follow up questions.

The study reached saturation point after it had interviewed a specific number of participants from the selected radio stations under study. Fusch and Ness (2015) indicate that data saturation is that point when the research has collected enough information to replicate the study. It is "when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained and when further coding is no longer feasible (Fusch and Ness 2015, p.1). It was felt that perspectives from other radio listeners, broadcast journalists, print journalists, journalism trainers from other parts of the country would be help in understanding the phenomenon under study. We felt that such perspectives would further enrich and validate the data collected from the study radio stations.

Demographics of the participants. In all, 59 in-depth interviews were conducted with broadcast journalists, Radio Station Managers, broadcast media experts, Radio Station Programme Managers, Radio Station Marketing Managers, Radio Station News Managers, trainers and radio broadcast regulators. Also, 15 focus group discussions were conducted with 142 participants, which included journalists both print, online and broadcast (91), university lecturers of journalism and mass communication (21) and radio listeners (30) from the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. Below is the breakdown and profile of the study participants:

Table 4:Breakdown of Participants

Veteran Broadcast Journalists (10)	In-depth interviews

Current Broadcast Journalists (10)	In-depth interviews
Print Journalists (6)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' General Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio Station News Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio broadcast regulators (2)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' Marketing Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' Programme Manager (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio stations' operational staff (8)	In-depth interviews
Development Workers (7)	In-depth interviews
International Radio and peacebuilding experts (2)	In-depth interviews
Journalists (print) (36)	Focus group discussions
Journalists (Online) (9)	Focus group discussions
Broadcast Journalists (46)	Focus group discussions
University lecturers of journalism and mass communication (21)	Focus group discussions
Radio listeners (30)	Focus group discussions

Profile of participants. The profile of participants including age, gender, occupation and location. These are listed below:

a. Broadcast Journalists: (Age: 27-51 years, for in-depth interviews we interviewed six females and four males, for focus group discussions we interviewed 31 females and 15 males drawn from 46 radio stations in 18 states of Nigeria and Abuja. Ten states are in the north, seven in the south and Abuja.

b. Radio Station General Managers: (Age: 40 -55 years, two males, two females, drawn from the four radio stations under study; Kapital FM, ASO FM, Raypower FM and Rhythm FM.

c. Radio broadcast regulators (Age: 55-59 years, two males, from the National Broadcasting Commission)

d. Journalists (print) ((Age: 27-51 years, for in-depth interviews we interviewed three females and three males, for focus group discussions we interviewed 22 females and 14 males drawn from more than 20 newspapers in 16 cities in Nigeria both from the north, south and Abuja.)

e. Journalists Online (Age: 27-50 years, four females and five males drawn from online media in Abuja, Kaduna, Lagos and Benue States were part of the focus group discussions.)

f. Veteran Broadcast Journalists: (Age: 51- 66 years, for the in-depth interviews we interviewed three females and seven males, resident in Abuja, Lagos, Ibadan)

g. University lecturers of journalism and mass communication (21) (Ages: 45- 52, for the focus group discussions, 6 females and 15 males drawn from seven universities and four polytechnics.

h. Radio listeners (30) (Age: 20- 60 years, comprising 18 females and 12 males made up of civil servants, business people, artisans, farmers and students.

i. International Radio and peacebuilding experts (2) (Age: 58- 61, two males from the United Kingdom and Canada).

Sampling Method

Purposive sampling method was used to select all the study participants except the radio listeners' group. The goal of purposive sampling in qualitative research is to select specific study units that will yield the most relevant and rich data given our topic of research (Yin, 2011, p. 88). We used purposive sampling for most of the study participants because our study is explorative and formative, therefore, focusing on certain characteristics of a population that would help answer our research questions was key. This is the goal of purposive sampling. It also helps you narrow your study population to experts in your field of study who you will glean knowledge from about the phenomenon under study. Broadcast journalists, journalists generally, radio and peacebuilding experts, veteran broadcasters, regulators of broadcasting, managers of radio stations, content manager, marketing managers have a rich repertoire of knowledge, experience and expertise to offer. If these are properly mined, they would yield a goldmine of valuable data for the study.

We used similar arguments for the selection of the radio stations. In addition to other variables we are looking to compare how different radio stations are responding to the ravages of deregulation and commercialization. We sought to compare contrasting radio stations; government-owned, partially funded and partially commercialized stations and full-fledged privately-owned profit-driven stations. There are only two government-owned stations, partially commercialized and receiving government funds for its operations. These are Kapital FM and ASO FM. They were, de facto selected. In our quest to select privately-owned profit-driven radio stations which will deliver rich data for our study, we thought that the oldest and biggest operators of private profit radio would fit the bill. Raypower FM/Vision FM and Rhythm FM are the oldest and biggest private stations in Abuja

However, in selecting study participants for the general listeners of radio category for our focus group discussions, we used a simple random sampling method. We thought that no special/expert knowledge is required from this group of radio listeners. We held two of such focus group discussions.

Research Location

The activities of four radio stations were analysed. These include two public interest and two private commercial stations, all were established after the deregulation policy in Nigeria went into effect. The stations are: Raypower FM/Vision FM, Rhythm FM, ASO FM and Nigeria's Kapital FM. ASO FM and Nigeria's Kapital FM are the only two public interest and government-owned radio stations in the city. Both stations are still partly government-funded. with slant on public interest broadcasting. Raypower FM was included in the selected stations but during field work related to document analysis, it was found that the station did not have audio transcripts of its broadcast. Vision FM, comparable in all characteristics was used to replace it. We compared these stations to test our research questions.

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Data Collection

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In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used to collect data for the research as follows:

In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are qualitative research data collection techniques which involve detailed intensive interviews with one person or a small group of respondents designed to elicit in-depth responses about the participants' perspectives on the research topic. It offers the opportunity to capture rich, descriptive data about the study. It gives an interpretative perspective of how the interviewee sees the research topic under study. In-depth interviews yield more detailed, and rich information than other data collection methods like surveys and focus group discussions (Mason, 2002; Kvale, 1996; Boyce and Neale, 2006; Edwards and Holland, 2013). The purpose of in-depth interviews is therefore:

> …not to get answers to questions… At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experiences of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.… At the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth. (Seidman, 2013, p. 9 cited in Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

Types of interviews. Both the structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with participants. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (n.d.), structured interviews are interviews with a prepared set of questions which are administered to all study participants in the same way and the same order. This rigid protocol is meant to reduce the effects of the interview protocol and the interviewer's foibles on the research results. Some of the advantages of the structured interview format are that because questions are structured and asked the same way, study participants' answers are clearly understood and easier to analyse. Also, because questions are standardized, answers given by study participants can be compared by the researcher and trends observed. It yields a richer and comprehensive view of the phenomenon understudy and it is easier to repeat structured interviews to check the reliability of the data generated. The in-depth interviewing helps to achieve four key objectives, namely it enables one to know from the interviewee what she "thinks and feels", it gives the opportunity to "ask a question and get an answer" and with follow up and "more open-ended questions identify the real issues".

Also "through consistency in questioning" the interviewer is able to identify the "emerging issues" and it is only through in-depth interviewing that one would be able "to get knowledge

about things one cannot physically observe" (Simons, 2009:43). Yin (2008:101) believes that interviewing is a strong tool to gather information as it can be "focused" directly on case study topics and it is "insightful" and "provides perceived causal inferences and explanations", however, he also points out "poorly articulated questions", "response bias", "inaccuracies due to poor recall", "reflexivity-interviewees" giving what the interviewer wants to hear are weaknesses.

The structured format. This form of interview allowed for the researcher to collect uniform responses to all the questions. The interviews with station managers, was conducted to gain an insight into the daily struggle they go through running radio stations, programmes, news and marketing departments of radio stations in a hyper deregulated commercial radio broadcast environment where profit is ostensibly, everything. The interviews attempted to find out their struggles and pressures mounted on them every day, how are they coping and balancing the need to make money and social responsibility. Structured interviews do not allow wholly for deep exploration of materials received from other areas and literature review. Therefore, more open-ended questions were used to dig deeper and gain useful insight and new information that could only be gained through the use of an unstructured approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Unstructured format. After reviewing the responses from the interviews with the station managers- the General Manager, the News Manager, Programmes Manager and Marketing Manager- the researcher also conducted unstructured interviews, which are more open-ended questions to dig deeper and gain useful insight and new information that could only be gained using an unstructured approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). This offered me the opportunity to clarify and contextualize the responses. It allowed me to explore more and gain a deeper understanding of the responses. This is the flexibility offered by the unstructured interview format.

Most of the interview participants were interviewed twice. All the first interviews were face to face and for the second interviews about half of them was by telephone but recorded. I tried to limit interactions and response bias as these were busy executives running radio stations as

businesses. The second interviews were follow up, to clarify issues arising from my transcriptions. Yin (2011, p.81), notes that "conversing with the participant on two or more occasions" help to "make sure the participant's views were "correctly represented", and it is the height of in-depth interviews, which "aim to elicit rich information from the perspective of a particular individual and on a selected topic under investigation" (Pranee, 2009, p. 43).

Given the nature of this study, all the interviews were mainly focused around the themes, audience commodification through excessive entertainment, access and participation, peacebuilding and reduction of hate speeches, development and public affairs programming. I aimed to identify how deregulation and commercialism have influenced or impacted these variables.

Main areas covered in the structured Interviews. The widely-held notion is that commercialization and deregulation of the broadcast media will democratize communication and increase access and participation for a broad range of citizens, enhance choice and diversity, as well as provide alternative voices for the poor. The core argument is that the problems of access, participation for ordinary people will improve. Equally, it is theorised that commercial media, attendant of deregulation, will constrict space for development programming, peacebuilding content, cultural expression, social responsibility in favour of programmes and news for the mass market.

Interview Protocol

To ensure uniformity in the questions, an interview protocol containing more than 10 structured questions were applied during the interviews with General Manager, as well as programmes, News and Marketing Managers of the four stations (Aso FM, Kapital FM, Rhythm FM and Raypower FM). An interview protocol (Appendix 1) consisting of more than 10 number questions were used for the interviews.

Question structure. In researching access and participation in a deregulated radio broadcast environment since 1992, the questions for both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were broadly based on examining access and participation and content/programming decisions as presented below:

Access and participation. To examine these issues, the interviews and focus group discussions focused on nine key areas. These include (a). The state of access and participation for people in radio today; (b). The nature of access and participation in radio today; (c). News and programmes intervention for the poor, women, children and other marginalised groups and (d). Forms of dialogic community broadcasting in the operations of radio today. Others are: (e). Elements of access and participation in radio broadcasting today; (f). access and participation for the voices of poor/marginalised; (g). The inclination for access and participation between commercial private radios and public government radios; (h). The drivers of access and participation; economic, political, or knowledge power and (i). The nature of participation in radio and through radio participation since deregulation.

Content and programming decisions. The political economy of communication also addresses the issue of commodification of contents and audiences, decrease in content diversity and question of infotainment/ light programing (Smythe, 1977; Postman, 1984; Parenti, 1993; Bogart, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; Mosco, 1996; Herman & Chomsky, 1988, Schiller, 1973 cited in Sussman, 1997; McChesney 1997, 2000). This makes profit making a significant component of radio broadcasting. As a result, the interviews were also guided by three key considerations: (a). The struggle of radio stations to make profit and its impact on content; (b). The preference or preponderance to produce and disseminate more entertainment programmes than informational, peacebuilding and educational programmes; (c). Ownership structure, broadcast types and inclination to light programming and excessive entertainment.

The Interview Process

All the interviews were preceded by a short introduction on the purpose of the interview; this included information about the study, and how the data collected will be used. Each participant signed consent forms (see Appendix 2), in line with the European Commission protocol on research. Signing of the consent form indicated that they freely participated in the interviews and were not coerced in any way. In cases where it was impractical to sign the forms as in the focus group discussions with large numbers of participants, the requirements were read out to all the

participants. The interviewer's voice and the participants' consent and acceptance were recorded on tape. It is usually the first voice recordings to be heard whenever the recorded interviews and the focus group discussions are played back.

The researcher also asked for the permission of participants to record the interviews. During each interview session, notes were also taken; this allowed the researcher to cross check facts. At the end of the interviews, I requested and got a few minutes from my interviewees to summary the key points that they made.

Although Pranee (2009) says that not giving out too much details and not identifying interviewees "adds protection and credibility to their story", my interviewees did not seem to mind about identification and the sort. Contrary to Pranee assertion, I believe that identifying interviewees adds credibility to the data collected. It makes clear that data was not made up. In any case, some of the interviewees hold positions that clearly link them with some of the institutions under study and are well known in the areas of coverage. The interviews were dated, named and the place where it took place was identified in my notes. The names of all the interviewees were quoted in relevant sections of my analysis. The names of all the interviewees are listed in the reference list for this work.

The interviews were conducted only by me. By doing all the interviews personally, I could get a thorough understanding of the various perspectives, nuances and shades of opinions expressed by every interviewee. This helped tremendously during the analysis phase as I could recall innuendoes, phrases and in some cases body language and facial expressions.

Focus Group Discussions

Berger (2000 cited in Mhagama, 2015) defines focus group discussion as "a free-form discussion by a group of people, led by a moderator, designed to obtain information about some topic". It comprises, the groups which are "focused" because you have gathered individuals who previously have had some common experience or presumably share some common views. When conversing with such groups, you would serve as what has been defined as a *moderator*. (Yin, 2012). The moderator must try to induce all the members of a group to express their opinions but

with minimum, if any, direction" (Yin, 2012, p141). The researcher had this guiding note when conducting all the focus group discussions.

The researcher moderated all the focus group discussions. FGDs is an important method of data collection because "the type and range of data generated through the social interaction of the group are often deeper and richer than those obtained from one-to-one interviews" (Rabiee, 2004, cited in Mhagama, 2015). It is a "focus" group because a collection of people is gathered to perform a mutual activity, in this arguing and giving their individual perspectives to a series of questions on a research question/s or topical issue (Yin, 2012). One of the major strengths of the focus group discussion, an advantage over other forms of group interviews is that it makes room for intense interaction. According to Creswell (2014, p. 214): "these interviews involve unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants".

The researcher's work with UNICEF provided the opportunity to travel to virtually all the States in Nigeria. This created opportunity for interaction with media organizations, journalists and management staff of different radio stations. I used the opportunity to organize focus group discussions in the research. This also gave my research a national flavor bringing in perspectives from every part of the country. There are far less private radio stations in most parts of northern Nigeria. Radio listeners are heavily dependent on government-owned radio stations and foreign radio stations like the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America and Duetche Welle, the German public broadcaster among others. The perspectives they contributed emerged from the experiences from both state-owned and public-owned radio stations in Abuja.

The FGDs were scheduled to contain different questions arranged thematically relating to the aims and objectives of this research. The themes covered by the questions included: access and participation for a broad range of citizens in society including the poor, women and marginalized groups, peacebuilding, hate speeches, social cohesion and national unity, development communication in areas of health, agriculture, education, excessive entertainment and music.

On average, each discussion lasted about 45 minutes. Krueger (1998) advises that "care must be exercised in scheduling the focus groups. Only a limited number should be conducted in one day, and a reasonable amount of time should be allowed between focus groups". He noted that more than two focus groups per day could lead to 'analytical risks' (Krueger, 1998, cited in Mhagama, 2015, p.231).

I followed Krueger's recommendation and conducted only two focus group discussions in a day. In some cases, I conducted one. The reason for conducting not more than two focus group discussions in a day was to give me time to review the preceding FGD, how it went, what new questions arose, what was done well and what went wrong to feed the outcome of the review into next the sessions with other groups. This went well for me because subsequent discussions I conducted showed a marked improvement over the previous ones in terms of the rich data mined and the efficiency of the entire process. I made the necessary adjustments to the questions asked. I recorded all the discussions and later transcribed them for analysis using thematic qualitative analysis.

Number of focus groups. In discussing the number of focused group discussions to be held for any research, Nacimento et al, (2018), say that "data collection is considered saturated when no new elements are found and the addition of new information ceases to be necessary, since it does not alter the comprehension of the researched phenomenon. It is a criterion that enables the establishment of the validity of a data set". Nacimento et al echo a general principle by scholars and researchers which calls for flexibility about the sample size and numbers of focus group to be conducted. The rule of the thumb is to continue to sample until you are confident that continued data generation will not add new insights to your analyses. And given the national flavor I intended to bring into my research, though focusing on the federal capital territory, to give some validity to my result, I conducted 14 focus group discussions with 142 participants from every state of Nigeria represented in the discussions. After 14 and having made improvements in the questions asked in a rolling format as the discussions progressed, I felt I have achieved theoretical saturation. Krueger (1998, p72 cited in Mhagama, 2015) contends that "in this form of research [focus group], the quality of the study is not dependent on the size of the sample. The intent is to achieve 'theoretical saturation', which is akin to redundancy"

(Krueger, 1998: 72). I used purposive sampling in line with Krueger (1998: 71). "In focus group research, the strategy is to use 'purposeful' sampling, whereby the researcher selects participants based on the purpose of the study".

Composition of the focus groups. Critics differ in terms of group composition for FGDs Scholars. (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2012; Edwards and Holland, 2013) note that the composition of focus groups should be determined by the topic of research and research questions. They suggest that focus group could be comprised of people from the same organisation but at different levels, "or people of the same age, class, gender; people of varying ages, classes and genders depending on the issue under study; naturally occurring groups – for example, occupational, or members of specific groups as in a rowing club. So, members of the group might know each other, as in the latter, or know some or none of the group (Edwards and Hollands, 2013, p. 37)"

But there are no differing opinions on the homogeneity of participants composed for a focus group discussion. Sim (1998) prescribes that "generally speaking, the more homogenous the membership of the group, in terms of social background, level of education, knowledge and experience, the more confident individual group members are likely to be in voicing their views" (Sim, 1998, p.348).

In selecting participants, the researcher ensured a broad based social economic class, gender, age of radio listeners, professionals and the experts in the field with varied experiences in both private and public broadcasting. Yin (2011, p. 88) notes that when selecting participants, you should deliberately interview and seek opinions of some people whom you suspect will hold different views related to your subject of study and research. This helps you avoid bias in your study. For this reason, some of our participants were deliberately chosen. The older experienced broadcasters, and managers who were in practice before the deregulation and commercialization of broadcasting in Nigeria were expected to hold such differing views.

In the focus group discussions, not all participants knew each. I would say that familiarity with each other would be something like 10%. But the groups were homogenous in terms of social

background, levels of education, knowledge and experience. I had groups of mass communication and journalism lecturers who brought in the academic perspective as well as audience members perspective, being also avid radio listeners, to the research questions. The practicing journalists and broadcasters were also homogenous in terms prescribed by Sim. They were all radio listeners as well.

Size of the focus group. Experts have varied numbers of prescription for a focus group discussion but are agreed that size is also important if intends to get quality data. Regarding the ideal size of a focus group, however, Edwards and Holland, (2013) say that, "appropriate group numbers can range widely and will depend on the nature of the study and the specific situation of the group, but six to ten is often suggested in the literature. Many groups reported have perforce been smaller. Particular emphasis has been placed on the interaction that takes place between the participants, the group dynamics, and the insight and data that this can produce". On the average, mine was 10.

Document Analysis

Document analysis was used as an additional method of data collection in this study. Altheide (1996) describes the method as "an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, analysing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning". He categories documents important to researchers into three broad categories; 'primary' 'secondary', and 'auxiliary' (Altheide, 1996). Examples of primary documents for a study include television and radio newscasts and broadcast audio logs, radio and television programme schedules, diaries, or archaeological artefacts, newspapers and magazines. Published reports about primary documents and other accounts are categorized as secondary documents for example field notes. There are documents regarded as auxiliary documents or support documents of a research project. While not being directly linked to your research, they illuminate your research work. (Altheide, 1996).

For this research, two types of documents which are closely related enough to be considered as one document were analysed. However, the documents differ in the sense that one (programme

schedule) is a record of intent and the other (audio recordings of broadcast) the record of actuality of what really happened. These are the programme schedules of broadcasts of all the four radio stations and the audio recordings of what was really broadcast.

In Nigeria, radio stations, design programmes they would broadcast in a quarter which is usually thirteen weeks. A cursory glance at a radio station's programme schedule immediately tells you about the philosophy, vision and mission statement of the station. If a radio station is more entertainment-oriented, you will easily find that out from the programme schedule. A programme schedule indicates the programmes, news and current affairs a radio station will produce during its broadcast week. In a programme schedule, programmes are allocated times and duration and assigned a place in the week when it would be broadcast. A good programme schedule would have a synopsis of the programme attached. Usually in the Nigerian broadcasting ethics, the programme schedule is to be religiously complied with daily during broadcasts.

When properly prepared, it shows the programme's time of broadcast, duration and a synopsis of the programme. Analysis of a radio station's schedule can give you hours of broadcast time devoted to development, peacebuilding, de-radicalisation, health, education, agriculture, music and entertainment programmes. Programme schedule analysis will identify total number of programmes in development, entertainment, peacebuilding, access and participation oriented programmes, how many hours are allocated to each and total number of sponsored programmes. These programmes will include Public Service Announcements, jingles and exhortations on peace or citizenship. With a good synopsis, a schedule can show access and participation, minority and marginalized programming and the nature of such access and participation.

Technically, the analysis of a radio station's programme should tell a researcher the number of hours devoted to a genre; music, entertainment, public affairs, news etc. However, the reality is, in the context of commercialization and interference by owners of the radio stations, a smooth adherence to the prescriptions of the programme schedule remains only a wish of the designers of the schedule. Daily programmes are knocked off and replaced with new ones brought in by advertisers or politicians. For instance, advertising or sponsorships can override what is

scheduled. For government owned radio stations, an event of government can take up half a day's broadcast time, so also for privately owned stations where the owner's personal birthday party or a friend's naming ceremony may equally take up half a day's broadcast time.

Therefore, an analysis of a programme schedule alone will not give the researcher the true picture of what was broadcast by a radio station in any given period. The best place to get an accurate result of what was broadcast by a radio station in any given period, is the analysis of the audio recordings of that radio station. It is a recording and transcript of what was broadcast live over a period.

Audio recordings of broadcasts of four radio stations were analysed. The analysis is to further validate the research findings from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. We analysed two weeks recorded broadcasts of the four radio stations we focus on. The stations are two government-owned ones ASO FM and Kapital FM and two privately owned stations, Vision FM and Rhythm FM. Eighteen hours of broadcasts for 14 days in the four stations were analysed giving total of 1008 hours of broadcasts. How many of these hours were allocated to the four variables in investigation, how did these stations fare? We analysed for disparities and similarities.

I randomly sampled four days each from each radio station to test code. I shared the result with two peer review experts who are currently radio broadcast media executives for review. Yin (2011) suggests that peer review experts could add to the reliability and validity of a research. I received full agreement from them in my coding categories and decisions. Thereafter, I proceeded to categorise, code and analyse the entire 1008 hours of the four radio stations' two weeks' broadcasts. The hardcopy textual programmes schedules were cross-referencing checks as I proceeded. It took me two months to do. Predictably, there were differences in what was broadcast and what was put down in the schedules as planned.

The stations with more public affairs programmes in health, agriculture, peacebuilding, news, educational content etc. were more difficult to categorise and code while the more musical and

entertainment stations were easier. But this is tricky and can lead to pitfalls and mistakes. The rule of the thumb was not to minimize any station no matter its orientation. It was important to apply all the listening protocols to all the stations with the same intensity and focus, listen to every minute of the broadcasts irrespective of the programme bent of the stations for the simple reason that radio stations in Nigeria no matter their orientation can and do intersperse musicals and entertainments with public service announcements in health, agriculture, disaster reliefs, motivational jingles on peace, unity, oneness and love.

During these periods, too, on-air personalities and disc jockeys make extemporaneous free bowling talks that could have public enlightenment and educational values such as road traffic warnings, crisis/accidents on the roads, quips on HIV/AIDS and other health tips and security warnings. Hence to lower your guards, abandon your set protocols and rush through musicals and entertainments would mean a loss of these "development or public service' incidents when they occur and an unfair assessment of that radio station and most importantly this would put a question mark on the results of the research and its conclusions. It was a drudgery, difficult and slow-going but I listened to everything.

The consistency and full concurrence I received from my peer reviewer experts was due in part to the fact that I had my sub samples of the audio transcripts and the texts of the programme schedules to cross-refer. Two of the schedules included synopsis for each programme on the schedule. This was extremely helpful. It was also consistent with my extensive technical knowledge and nearly two decades of years of expertise in radio broadcasting. In addition, List (2002) notes that there is a high level of reliability and uniformity if coding is done by a single coder. Inter-coder reliability is not too significant when coding is done by a single person. I was careful during my coding to reduce "individual inconsistencies, 'carelessness', 'openness to distractions…or the tendency to relax performance standards when tired." (Krippendorff, 2004 p.215 cited in Nafiz 2012). I coded only when I was 'fresh" and stopped when I felt tired.

Data Analysis

All the audio recorded in-depth interviews and focus group discussion sessions were transcribed and the transcripts were uploaded and analysed, using NVivo, a qualitative research data management and analysis software. Thematic coding was done and major themes relating to the research questions were identified and classified into parent nodes. Other themes related to the major ones were classified as child nodes. The same was done for emergent themes. Finally, all related themes were grouped in accordance with the basic concepts that were earlier defined in Chapter One, namely: "deregulation and commercialization"; "access and participation" as well as "content and programming decisions"

Data analysis was therefore both deductive and inductive. Deductive approach means that codes identified from the theory and literature, as they relate to access, participation, content, programing etc. were used to code interviews and focus group discussions. The codes were also framed using questions that examined the issues of access and participation/content and programming. In the inductive approach, new codes emerged from the data.

For this study, two weeks' audio recorded broadcasts of the four radio stations audio recordings of broadcasts of four radio stations were analysed. The hardcopy textual programmes schedules were used for cross-referencing. In analysing the audio texts, the codes created by the researcher were guided by the four key research questions. For instance, the codes were identified by asking the following questions:

1. What is the level of audience access and participation?
2. What is the extent of access and participation in the stations compared to the overall duration of broadcast?
3. Who usually gain more access and participation, the poor or the elite?
4. Which stations provided more access and participation?

Other units of analysis include:

- Use of Phone-in programmes
- Use of SMS text messages

- Presence of interviews programmes

- Presence of request programmes

- Use of testimonials on radio

- Convergence of Social media – Face book, Twitter, WhatsApp with radio productions

- Presence of discussion programmes

- Broadcast of independent productions by ordinary people that are not sponsored.

- Use of Vox pop in news, current affairs and other programmes

- Use of email messages as part of programmes

- Presence of programmes on women, children, people with disabilities and other marginalized groups

For content and programming decisions, the researcher examined variables such as the presence of development and public service content in the stations, as well as peacebuilding, music and light entertainment.

Development and public service content

1. Where there development and public service content?
2. What was the percentage of these compared to the overall broadcast time?
3. Which stations provided more development and public service content?

In the analysis determinants of development and public service content were coded as;

- Programmes on health, agriculture, environment, women, children, security, youth, governance, accountability, corruption and education not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations.

- Programmes on voter education, business and personal development not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations.

- News and current affairs progrmmes.

- Jingles, public service announcements, pay offs, exhortation on health, agriculture, politics/voter education, business and personal development not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations.

Peacebuilding and National Unity

1. Were there any peacebuilding and national unity content that were not sponsored or paid for by government, companies and non-governmental organisations?
2. What percentage of peacebuilding and national unity content was achieved compared to the overall broadcast time investigated?
3. Which stations broadcast more peacebuilding and national unity content?

In the analysis determinants of peacebuilding and national unity content were coded as;

- Programmes on peace and national unity
- Jingles, public service announcements, pay offs and exhortations on peace and national unity
- Songs on peace and national unity.
- Interfaith religious programmes preaching peace and national unity
- Editorials, Informed commentaries, opinion pieces, reports, news, balanced political programmes and current affairs programmes.

Excessive entertainment and light content

1. What percentage of broadcast time was used for entertainment and light content?
2. Which stations did more entertainment and light content?

In the analysis determinants of entertainment and light content were coded as;

- Entertainment News
- Music solely for entertainment
- Jokes and comedy for entertainment
- Reality and Games shows
- Skits solely for entertainment, without any didactic, development and peace content.
- Musical request programmes.
- Phone-in entertainment shows.
- Social media entertainment shows

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, qualitative research as the methodological approach underpinning this work was discussed. The chapter, examined the study participants, including demographics and profiles. Also, covered in the chapter are methods of data collection (in-depth interviews, focus group

discussions and document analysis), sampling method, study location and the approach used to analyse data for this study.

Chapter 4
Findings

This study looks at the policy on deregulation and commercialisation of the broadcast media in Nigeria, specifically the radio in 1992. The theoretical frameworks of the study are the Political Economy of Communication approach as the main and McQuail's Democratic Participant Media Theory respectively. To keep us focused and guide our analysis of findings, we repeat the research questions here again:

1. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped access for a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

2. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped participation of a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

3. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped peacebuilding content in radio in Nigeria?

4. To what extent have deregulation and commercialization shaped content and programming decisions in radio stations, limiting development information content?

5. Is the struggle to make profit constraining the broadcast media to produce and disseminate more entertainment programmes than informational and educational programmes?

The research seeks to examine how deregulation and commercialization shaped access and participation for people in various strata of the Nigerian society, and content/programming decisions like development information/communication, peacebuilding, music/entertainment and light programmes.

The four radio stations selected for this study are based in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. Data for the study was collected using focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and document analysis. In all, 142 people participated in 15 focus group discussions. The Participants

included journalists with various years of experience, radio listeners, teachers of journalism and mass communication, etc.

Recall that for the in-depth/key informers' interviews, the researcher interviewed 59 study participants made up of broadcasting regulators, veteran broadcasters, management stuff of radio stations under study, current broadcast journalists, development workers from the national and international development organisations including the United Nations who use radio as part of their official functions, and international experts on radio and peacebuilding. All study participants for the in-depth interviews are based in Abuja except the radio and peacebuilding experts who reside in the northeast city of Maiduguri where the terrorist group Boko Haram is carrying out an insurgency. We got perspectives from other groups outside to enrich our data. After the data analysis, findings of the study are organized in line with participants' responses and the concepts that emerged from the five research questions; access and participation, content and programming decisions. These are discussed below.

Access and Participation

Access and participation are key variables in any media that is democratic, dialogic with capacity to enhance democracy, peacebuilding, empowerment and development. The literature on the political economy of communication note that with deregulation and commercialization, access and participation are constricted for all segments of society except those with the financial wherewithal to pay for them (Williams, 1968 cited in Jakubowicz; Ayu, 1983; Downing, 2001, Murdock and Golding 1991; Nafiz, 2012; Onoja, 2005; Asogwa and Asemah, 2013)**.**

The key characteristics of access with respect to radio is that individuals in society can receive signals from the stations, understand the content/output of the radio station, and in terms of physical access, community members are able to visit the radio stations to experience how it works. In discussing access and participation, the participants in this study first agreed that radio in Nigeria is an ideal and effective medium for development, enlightenment, empowerment, peacebuilding and social mobilization for the reasons of portability and now with the integration of mobile phones, highly mobile and ubiquitous. The medium reaches large audiences even in

rural areas, can serve a diversified, multilingual group simultaneously. In societies like Nigeria, with large tracts of rural areas and non-literate people, radio can reach them in their different languages and dialect. In one of the interviews conducted, a participant had this to say:

> Radio has been able to perform that role as a catalyst for development. People at the grassroots level can participate in development activities. They can air their views. The role of the radio basically is to educate the people, it is to inform, sometimes it is to entertain because that is what radio does most of the time and then radio is a voice to the voiceless. Many people are aware of millennium goals, now the sustainable development goals because of radio (Ismail, Radio broadcast journalist of 15 years' experience; In-depth Interview participant, May 12, 2017).

Similarly, the perspective of another study participant with regard to radio and peacebuilding coincide with the above;

> Oh, that's good, I mean that why I say yes or no, I do not --, I don't want to leave you with the impression that everything they do is not good. Of course, is good. To talk on any subject, including peace is better than not to talk at all. I have spent a lot of time in Maiduguri and when I mean Maiduguri (the heart of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria), I listen to Borno State Radio, I listen to Peace FM station, the national broadcaster a lot. And the public service messages of peace are good. So, I think, perhaps, one of the most important roles radio can have in peace time in a fragile state and then in all the countries in the Lake Chad region, where we're right now are fragile states, peacebuilding. To a minimal extent, they are doing it. It's a bit of an event, it's a bit of a safety valve that if people listen to what the listenership/followership is saying, to what people in the field are saying, and then they can deal with problems before they escalate out of control. (David, more than 30 years' experience, radio broadcast journalist; international radio for peacebuilding expert. In-depth interview participant, February, 2017)

After analysis of both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, findings show that despite the anticipated effect of deregulation and commercialization (as indicated by literature), there was consensus among participants that access and participation has improved among radio listeners in Nigeria. Several interview participants argued that deregulation and

commercialization has not had a negative impact on the level of access and participation of radio listeners. Though, they argued, this may not have happened at the desired levels expected. Most participants interviewed for the study, overwhelmingly agreed there is now more access and participation in radio, post deregulation. The reasons for this are not far-fetched; the increase in the number of radio stations since deregulation, 40 to over 300 now. For instance, one participant said:

> I think there is more access, there could be more. I'm sure for those who are thinking about universal access for the public to broadcasting. They may not have reached the ideal, because access should be a situation where the commonest of people in the society should be able to have the chance to go to a radio station and air his/her view on any matter but, that's not always the case. For you to be in a radio programme even in the "phone-in" programme, you must have a phone, you should have your own air-time because it's not a toll-free call. Also, those that are calling are calling from their own phones. Yes! I think there's access but at a cost. (Auwal, 34 years' experience in broadcast journalism and broadcasting regulation; in-depth interview participant, 1 December, 2016).

Many focus group discussants also shared his view. One of them, a journalist had this to say:

> I would like to start by saying the deregulation has really helped a lot because we have varieties, you can be driving in your car and you have a lot of stations to choose from now talking about the rural, the grassroots person you see a man with a Kchibo (a radio brand name) radio going to his farm, going to his fish pond carrying his radio nowadays they have small set and they have their radio some of them don't need antennas and they take it along, you can be in the bathroom and still listen to radio (Journalist and avid radio listener; Focus Group Discussion Participant, 31 August, 2016)

Although the participant affirmed that more people have access to the radio, it is not necessarily the same experience for all Nigerians. The literature on access indicated that for "access" to be achieved, more people across different social and economic contexts, including marginalized groups should have access to a diversified media content, wherever they are, in their own language and in contexts they understand (McQuail, 1983; Berrigan, 1981; Coyer, 2007; Carpentier, 2011). Responses from data seem to suggest that this is happening, though not

sufficiently enough. Some participants argued that the reason access and participation has improved, though marginally for some groups, was the fact that of the explosion in the numbers of radio stations post deregulation from less than 40 before and about 300 now. This singular factor increased platforms for access and participation for a broad range of citizens. A few participants however, queried the essence and import of the access and participation achieved.

> Yes, many people have access to radio but how does it impact on my life, how do the programmes or whatever they do impact on my life especially in the rural communities? Yeah, but the whole thing is top down approach not the bottom up because it is what the producer or the presenter designs and presents that's what people ask so it does not come from the people who are supposed to own the thing, so it is what either the producer or presenter decides, whether it is government media or private media. (Radio listener/audience member; Focus Group Discussion Participant, 31 May 2017).

Analysis and Interpretation of Findings for Access and Participation

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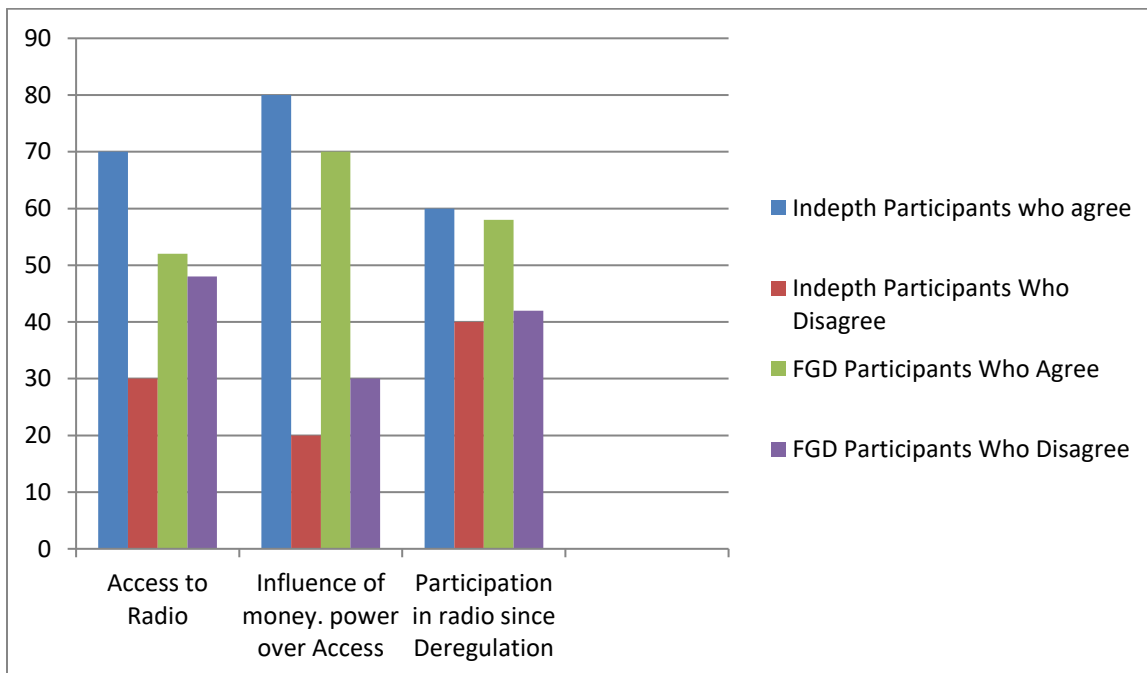
In your opinion has access in radio improved since deregulation

Participants both for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were asked if they thought that since the deregulation and commercialisation of radio broadcasting in Nigeria, in their own opinion whether access to radio improved for the majority of the people. This is a graphic presentation of how they responded.

Figure 4.2. Access and Participation
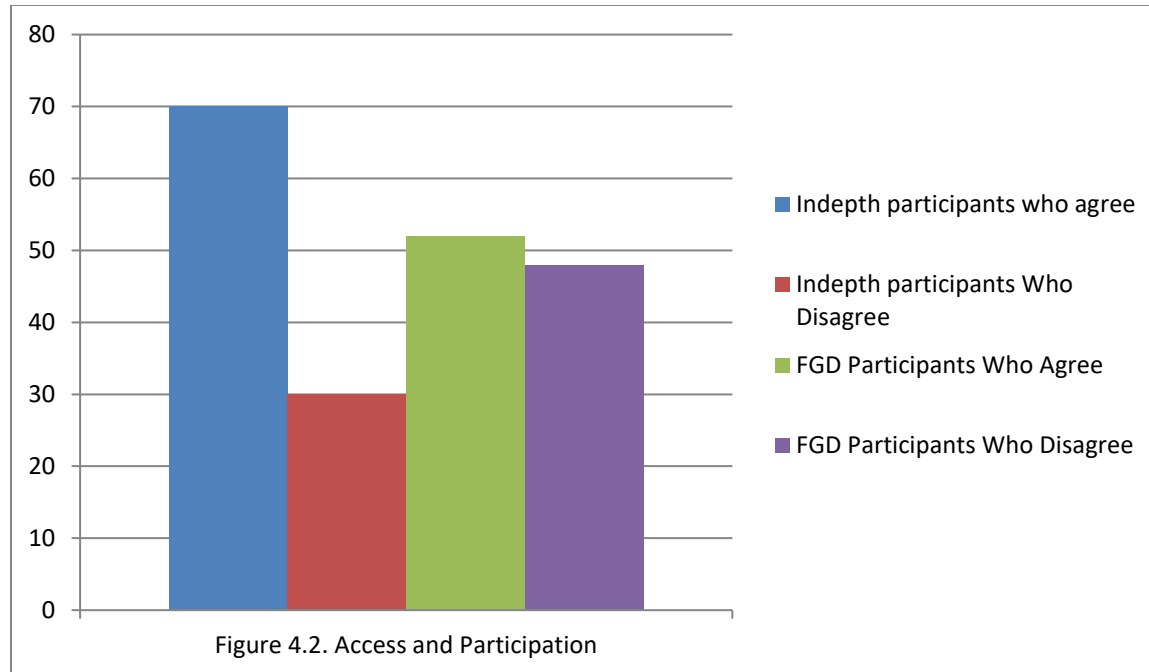
Majority or 70% participants of the in-depth interviews agreed that the deregulation increased the access to radio for a lot of Nigerians, and with a 52% on the corresponding side of the focus group discussion also tending towards the same idea of increased access due to deregulation. When government of Nigeria decided to begin issuing radio licenses to private individuals it did not only increase the number of radio stations in the country, it also opened a market place for these radio stations to operate. The research data show that the case of more radio station more access, is evident in Nigeria. With several private stations springing up all over the country and complementing, to an extent, the reach of the state-owned stations, access to radio in Nigeria has never been better. This is the view of 70% of our in-depth key informers who participated in the interviews. For focus group participants, only 52% agreed that access improved for a broad range of citizens in areas covered by the study. Although access now is way more than before according

to study participants, the research data also reveals that finance and proximity are still problems to access, especially in rural areas. To be able access radio, especially in the rural area, the people in these remote areas need to be able to purchase radio set and receive signals from the radio stations. The high rate of poverty in some rural areas will make this very difficult. Virtually every private owned radio station runs on the Frequency Modulation band (FM) whose waves do not travel as far as the Amplitude Modulation (AM). Thus, rural dwellers in the remote areas may not able to access these FM stations broadcasting from urban centres.

This brings up the issue of community radio as the research data reveal, community radio is yet to be widely spread in Nigeria. In fact, it was in 2015 that 17 community radio licenses were first issued in Nigeria. Various factors can be blamed for this; the high cost of setting up a community radio by the rural dwellers, the need for an investor to get the people to see the community radio being established as their property and not some business man's investment. There is also the problem of individual interests conflicting with the social responsibility of the community radio stations. The increase in number of privately owned radio stations catering to the need of a lot of Nigerians, does not necessarily provide the means for the people especially those in the rural areas to access these radio stations as they may not be able to receive the network signals and in some case, they must be able to purchase a radio set.

The focus group treated phone in radio programmes being broadcast from the urban centres and how the rural dwellers who access them can participate in radio discussions. The rural dwellers are often cut off from such phone in programmes as they may not have the airtime to make such calls, one of the participants stated in his informed opinion that the category of individuals based on their access to radio broadcast shouldn't be based on 'rich or poor' but 'urban or rural' Access and participation of the masses post deregulation and commercialization has increased even further with the advent of new Information Communication Technologies. People have radios on their smartphones, which is also a vital tool in phone in radio programmes.

With 30% of participants and 48% of focus group discussion participants disputing the level of access, there remains a lot of work to be done. Having various radio stations spread across the

country does not ensure that people, especially in the remote areas are able to listen. These percentage from the research data is representative of the issue of limited reach of radio channels not only along the lines of technological equipment but also due to the low standard of living being experienced in remote or rural areas.

• In your opinion has participation in radio improved since deregulation?

Figure 4.4. Participation in Radio since Deregulation
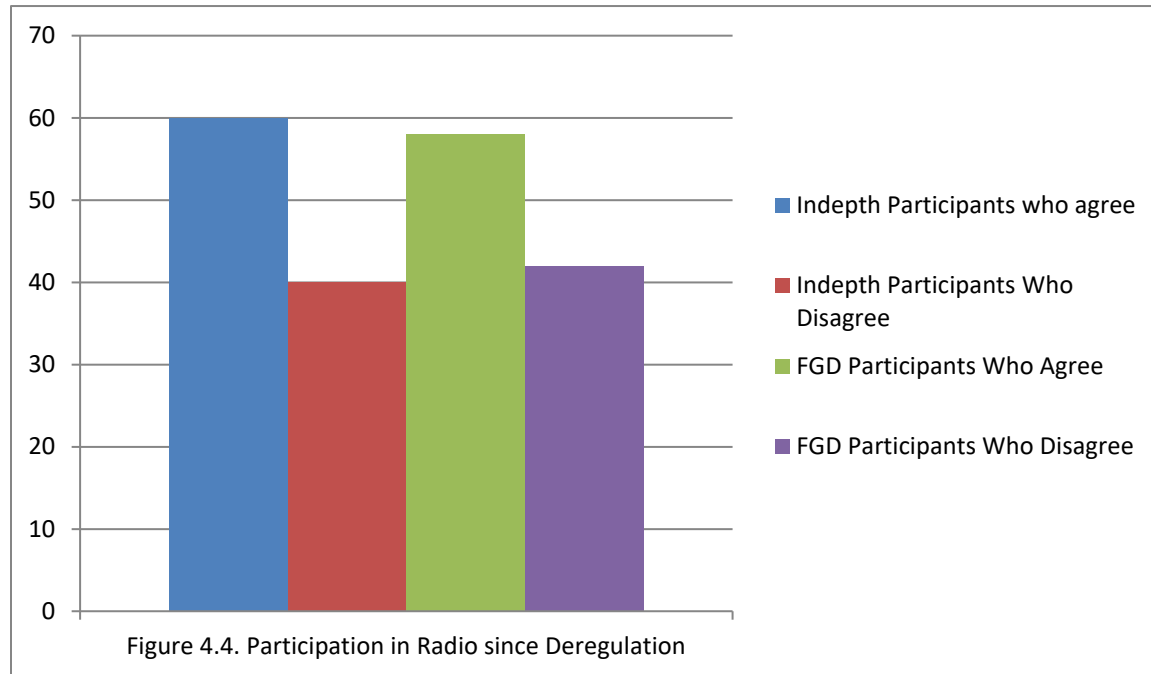
The research data shows that 55% of the participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 45% of the focus group participants are of the opinion that participation of the people in radio broadcast has increased since deregulation. The research also shows that 45% of the participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 42% of the focus group participants are of the opinion that participation in and through radio by the masses has not actually increased. This is a significantly lower numbers of study participants affirming that participation has improved post deregulation in radio. The percentage of participants who think that participation has not improved is quite high. This indicative that access is far easier to achieve than participation. A multiplicity of radio stations can grant *de facto* access by their very existence. However, participation requires costs on the part of the listeners as well as the proprietors of the radio stations. If participation is through the mobile phones or social media, there is the cost of data to be borne by the individual. Station owners on their part must offer platforms for participation to happen. They may offer this

free or input some socio-economic demographics considerations that would exclude a large chunk of society members.

Six Categories of analysis for Access and Participation

For a more in-depth understanding of how these key issues are playing out, six categories that explain the concepts of access and participation were identified from the data. These are: (a). access and participation mediated by wealth quintiles; (b) access and participated mediated by gender; (c) access and participation mediated by local languages and location; (d) access and participation mediated by knowledge, power and subject matter expertise; (e) access and participation mediated by social justice; (f) access and participation mediated by convergence of radio, mobile phones and social media.

Access and participation mediated by wealth quintile. In investigating access and participation mediated by wealth quintiles, the study applied the global definition of the poor being an individual who earns less than two dollars a day. The study participants agreed on this benchmark.

Against that background the study participants agreed that both the poor and those with more financial resources gained access and participation in radio post deregulation. Two Focus group discussants had this to say: FGD discussant one:

> I think is the rich because most of the time those are the people they call, and they are
> invited to the studio to speak, you know, the idea that we have personality, the whole
> issue of news value. (Radio journalist; Focus Group Participant, 20 July 2017).

 FGD two:

> Well, when we talk about gauging the views or the opinions of the people in the society
> one of the instrument that can be used is interview. And when I talk about interview you
> have studio interview and vox pop. So, I believe that through vox pop the common man
> can also have access and can also air their opinion. (Radio journalist; Focus Group
> Participant, 13 February 2017)

Despite this assertion, the substance of participation remains problematic. For example, some participants argued that while the poor gained access to the radio, most are widely excluded from

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participation. One of the people interviewed says while the poor gained access, they are excluded from participation. Also, they do not contribute to insights into policy making and decisions since they are not invited as studio guests to contribute to national debates on governance, money, economy, environment or democracy enhancement. The "poor" participated more through phone-in programmes, where the preponderance of issues discussed were mundane, whimsical and banal. Some focus group discussants shared this view:

The first discussant said:

> I just think that radio job has become an all comer's affair. What you hear on stations, would be call me up, what are you eating right now, where you are, give me a call now let me know, is there meat in your food? and all that, and I am wondering who do you want to reach with that, so I think content is key like he said if you listen to one it's what you are going to hear in the other they reel out the numbers. (Radio broadcast executive; Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2017).

Another discussant said:

> The issue is that this commercialization is preventing the common man from participating in radio programmes, for example a Local Government Chairman who goes to the studio to say I've done this, I have done that, and he is telling lies, nobody will query him. But when the poor man comes, and they say bring ₦15, 000 and they don't have that money, they will disappear from the radio station. (Journalist and avid radio listener; Focus Group Participant, 19 May 2017).

Similarly, although access and participation increased across the board in absolute numbers, when disaggregated, according to study participants, the findings show that participation was more for those who can pay for it, for knowledge experts, those with authority and influence like government officials. These two later, knowledge experts and those with authority and influence, did not have to pay for it.

> Sometime up to five, six minutes out of twenty-eight minutes is used up, like you are talking about giving voice to the voiceless, then how do you ensure giving access to people like that when people with money can just pay prescribed fees and have access to our airwave. Personally, I wish that such a thing should be discouraged. (Akinwummi, Radio

broadcast executive, 24 years' experience; In-depth interview participant; 7 December, 2016).

Below is the graphic presentation to responses of access and participation influenced by economic and political power.

Figure 4.3. Influence of money. power over Access
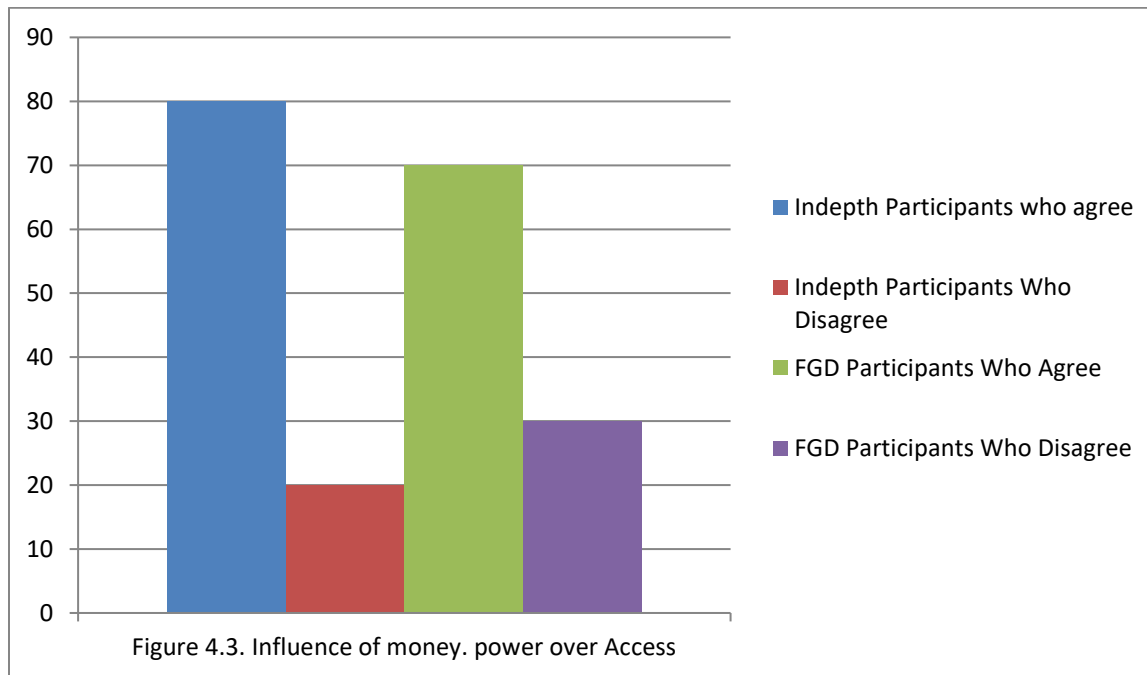
The research data shows that 80% of participants from key informers' in-depth interviews and 70% of the focus group participants are of the opinion that the people's access and participation to/in radio broadcast is influenced by economic and political power. The research data shows here that ownership is a leading factor in access to radio broadcast. It was clearly stated that in military/pre-deregulation era of Nigeria, phone in radio programmes were prearranged and people were not allowed to air their views freely; there was usually brutal repercussions for freedom of expression in that era. Now in the post deregulation and commercialization era, the research data reveals that the idea of '*who pays the piper detects the tune*' stands tall. The government owned radio do not engage in outright criticism of the government in power otherwise it will be sanctioned by its owner. The private owned radio is not left out either, the owner of a private radio station has his or her interests too, be it economic or political, and the private radio station owes it to its ownership to protect and promote such interest. One of the participants stated how his programme was taken off the radio when it was deemed offensive to the government. The research shows that

even though censorship of this sort is sometime necessary to maintain order within the country, it's also militating the freedom of speech the people should express on radio, thereby putting the social responsibility of the radio broadcast media in the country to question.

Since only 20% of the participants in the key informers' in-depth interviews and 30% of the focus group participants think differently, it shows that the influence and the pressure of economic and political power on access and participation to/in radio broadcast is very high in the country.

Access and participation mediated by gender. The literature in women's access to technology is replete with social power, unequal power relations and money, tilting the scale in favour of men (Collado, 2014; Cantos 2013 cited in Collado, 2014; Myers, 2004, Ore-Oluwa, 2012). This appears not to be different with access and participation occasioned by the deregulation of the radio broadcasting in Nigeria. According to the participants in this study, although access and participation has improved across a broad range of segments in society in Nigeria post deregulation of radio, however, fewer women than men have gained access and participation for reasons of finance, domestic work and culture.

> I also want to add that even the few poor that respond to phone-in majority are men, of recent I was listening to a program it's a woman's corner but it was men that were calling and the presenter kept saying you would not make my day if no woman calls and it was the men that kept on calling so the women are left out. They hardly respond to phone-in (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 1 September, 2017).

Power relations, cultural norms especially in the north of Nigeria, where Abuja, the site for this study is, are great inhibitors to women's access and participation in radio according some participants in the focus group discussion. Although a cosmopolitan society, this study finds that women are still faced with these challenges like others in different parts of the country.

> Just to add to what he said some of the women especially in the north they would have to take permission before they even talk on the radio because I remember when we were called concerning ante-natal attendance, some of the women refused to talk, some agreed to talk to my radio colleague, some refused completely that they would have to take

permission from their husbands. (Radio journalist/Avid radio listener; Focus Group Participant, 9 September 2017).

Other reasons given for this imbalance by some participants include domestic work and finance. For instance, a focus group discussant argued that domestic work by women impinges on their radio listening habits and therefore erode their capacity to access and participate in radio:

> I think the timing is not good, at that time it was almost 10 or 11pm in fact I was already in bed and at that time a woman would be either preparing for her children's school the following day and the man is in the parlor listening or early in the morning when a woman is doing some domestic work and they are doing a woman's programme you wouldn't have a woman to respond at that time (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 8 May, 2017).

Another participant also said suggested that finance is a major hindrance to women's access and participation even for the cheaper means which is through phone-in programmes:

> Men from the lower-cadre, mechanics, vulcanizers, some of them would say "I just go buy credit make I for call una" just because they want to participate and those are men because sports is their life. But a woman who is looking for money to feed her children would not go and buy N200 credit to phone in to a programme. (Radio broadcast journalist; Focus Group Participant, 27 August 2017).

For these participants, women in rural areas are even more marginalized:

> I am on a research on Women FM, and they say they are the voice of the women and I ask them is it the women in the urban or the women in the village? Now who comes to talk for the women? Is it the women from the village or the woman from the Lagos city? So how do you want the woman in Lagos city to understand the pain of the women in the village? With that you find out they look at who will pay them, who would provide some funding in cash or in kind. So, you don't just bring people to discuss. That person must be someone that will provide you one kind of gift or the other. (Radio journalist/Researcher/Radio listener and audience member; Focus Group Participant, 27 August 2017).

This issue created some arguments during the discussions between the male and female participants on one hand, as well as between those from the northern and southern parts of the country. For instance, some participants view this generalization as mainly a stereotypical reading of the issues. One focus group discussant argued that women do call to participate and more will call to participate especially in the northern part of the country, if radio will rejig their access and participation strategies. These strategies include the use of letter writing. This is a way to circumvent their having to take permission from their husbands, and for the sake of privacy, the use of two different telephone lines. The foregoing indicates that the digital divide between men and women, which constricts women's participation may not only be financial or lack or resources. Cultural constraints play a significant role too. However, according to an in-depth interview participant, women do participate when the programme resonate with them:

> They call and especially there is a programme that a female presenter I know handles, the person I'm representing handles the programme it's all about matrimony, so a lot of women call on that program talking about how to live with your husband. No, they say their names, it happens every Wednesday 10-11, is it 9am. It is in the morning any way on Wednesday and I am telling you more women participate on that programme than men. (Radio broadcast journalist, 16 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, August 2017).

Access and participation mediated by language and location. Indigenous languages of broadcast are important for media access and participation to take place (Salawu, 2013; Nwunelli, 1986 cited in Salawu, 2013; Owens-Ibie, 2002; UNESCO, 1980; Mbika and Salawu, 2014). Comprehension and understanding the nuances of speech and contexts are better in the local language of broadcast of a radio station. Decentralization and setting up of media closer to the population also enhances access and participation of the local community members (McQuail, 1987; Carpentier, 2011). There is emphasis on decentralization and localized media, if media must be democratic, engage with the poor and enhance peacebuilding and development.

Most study participants noted that several radio stations now broadcast in local languages of the area to reach the people better and offer more localized access and participation. The use of indigenous language improved access and participation for the poor, some interviewees said.

There is now the increased use of the indigenous languages as language of broadcast, making radio more accessible to rural non-literate people in English language. Access and participation was also mediated through locational broadcasts when stations took their microphones and equipment to the streets to feel the pulse of the ordinary people in the streets and get their perspectives about national issues.

Some participants however argued that despite these initiatives, many people in rural areas of Nigeria are excluded because most radio stations are in urban areas, particularly, privately-owned radio stations. Some participants who work in the two private-owned radio stations being analysed in this study say commercialization and funding play an important role in decisions about where to locate their radio stations. It is however different for government/public-owned radio stations. Some participants observed that only government-owned radio stations are located closer to the communities or through its operations by assigning reporters to rural communities. Two participants had this to say:

Participant one:

> A few years ago, government tried to establish radio stations in every state of Nigeria because of developmental purposes. Those radio stations were established at the federal level to have Radio Nigeria stations all over the country based on developmental purposes and broadcast mostly in the local languages of the areas (Radio broadcast journalist; Focus Group Participant, 29 August 2017).

Participant two:

> People operating privately-owned radio stations are tied to business and they are into business. It's a different business model. Government established radio stations to bring about development, it is public service broadcasting while the model for the privately owned is the commercial based broadcasting so for the privately-owned stations going into the rural area to them might not be profitable. Rural dwellers are poor. They don't have the resources and they are not the kind of targets private stations are reaching out to. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; Focus Group Participant, 14 July 2017).

Access and participation mediated by knowledge and subject matter expertise. A significant number of people who gained access and participation in radio after deregulation are experts with knowledge in various fields and those with power and authority like government officials who are regularly called upon to explain some thorny governance issues. A lot of discussions on radio require knowledge and expertise not available to the poor and uneducated rural dwellers. The subjects on health, economy, governance, environment etc. are restricted to a certain segment in society. So, when news and programmes are focused on these areas, there would be "active" access and participation for certain groups like university lecturers, economic and policy analysts, politicians, civil society activists and the likes. This is the default mode for radio without prejudice to other segments of society. It rings around the concept of news value in the media. Participants note;

> Much of the programmes have to do with the politics and economy and it has to do with policy makers, politicians and business people and experts. Contrary to your view, I don't believe is only those who have enough money or rich are invited for interview. I think what radio does is more of engaging experts or professional or informed people on the topical issues they want to discuss. It may not have to know how much wealth you have for example some of us who are lecturers are not rich. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor, Focus group discussion participant, 8 August 2017)

Despite this point of view, a participant noted that the poor with knowledge are also occasionally invited to participate in studio discussion and interviews.

> I want to make this contribution that the people are invited into – inviting people into the studio is not usually based on how rich they are. It's based on the knowledge that you have. I have seen a situation where a commoner who has knowledge is invited concerning that issue is called to come and talk. (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 27 February 2017).

Access and participation mediated by social justice and humanitarianism.

In fragile states like Nigeria, justice for the poor is a big issue, and social welfare does not exist for the poor. When you are poor, sick and abandoned, you are totally on your own. When you are aggrieved and oppressed, the cost of justice prevents you from seeking justice from the law

courts. An interesting phenomenon unearthed through the focus group discussions is access and participation facilitated by humanitarianism and the quest for social justice. Increasingly, radio stations, especially the new generation private ones, post deregulation have become the arbiters of social justice and humanitarianism.

Perhaps there were so few outlets and platforms before, perhaps today the phenomenon may not be totally altruistic. May be this could be part of the strategies to drive traffic and audience to the stations because these programmes are immensely popular in radio stations which have them. Whatever be the reason, it is providing justice for the poor and aggrieved and funds for the poor, sick and less privileged. In doing this also, they are providing access and participation for the poor who are predominantly guests in these programmes like Kapital FM's "Lean on me" and Love FM's "Hembelembe":

> If you are in Abuja almost half of the stations have dedicated phone-in programs for the public to come with their problems and they also have responses to that. I have seen so many stations, situations where the radio stations would even advocate especially in cases where people don't have anybody to stand for them, they take it up, they even go as far as calling the authorities putting them on the spot I think they are doing it to a reasonable extent. (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 15 February 2017).

The state-owned radio stations, in the spirit of competition engendered by deregulation are competing with the private profit-driven stations in this type of programming. But the state-owned stations are hindered by their Achilles heels- state control- which still dog their steps today even in the current competitive broadcast environment. As noted by study participants, state-owned stations would not touch some cases; humanitarianism, social justice or the quest for profit notwithstanding. One participant put it this way;

> It depends on what you're protesting about, if you're protesting against government who will listen to you, who will take that kind of story, nobody? Sorry, because some of the issues could even be an indictment against government. Take for instance if there is baby factory around town and you discover that young girls involved are being ripped off, no state government would want it to be amplified because it's also an indicator that the government is not actually catering for those who are used for mass production of

children, so I think private radio stations do it more and better than public owned radio stations. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; Focus Group Participant, 10 September 2017).

Access and participation mediated by convergence of radio, mobile phones and social media.

From the data, the single most important driver of access and participation post deregulation and commercialization of radio in Nigeria is the introduction of mobile telephony in 2001. Before then, Nigeria had less than 700, 000 fixed landline telephones serving a population of more than 120 million people (Knoema, 2018). There were very few telephones available for access and participation on radio so only the well to do could afford to participate in the few audience participatory radio programme available then. Only the reasonably well-to-do could afford the line and even more so the desire to use them for accessing and participating in radio programmes.

Mobile telephony changed all that and today with over 151 million cell phone users (National Communication Commission, 2017), Nigeria has one of the highest tele density in the world via the Global Satellite Communication (GSM). This phenomenon has facilitated increased access and participation in radio. The technical fusion of radio and cell phones, increased radio's traditional portability and mobility; nearly forty per cent of Nigeria's radio listeners do so through their cell phones (Gallup Polls, 2014). Every study participant agreed that there is increased access and participation in radio post deregulation but were careful to delineate that while access increased via the exponential growth in numbers of radio stations, due to deregulation and the technical possibility of the fusion of a radio facility and telephony in the same cell phone, nearly all participation achieved was because of the convergence of radio and mobile phones in programming.

> Right now, there is more participation especially through our telephones, in those days you hardly find people calling into radio program even on television stations but now you have your phones with you, you can listen and yet call. I think the coming of this mobile hand-held device, these GSM that are radio-enabled, as it is now, I have my small GSM

device which I do receive radio signal wherever I find myself. Why people have more access to radio nowadays than before is the migration by stations from AM transmission to mostly FM transmissions. So, beside the GSM handsets there are other small devices which are FM enabled more than before. (Radio broadcast journalist; Focus Group Participant, 23 March 2017).

The second set of findings centre around content and programing decisions of the radio stations under study. This is in line with the other research questions, which seek to examine the extent to which deregulation and commercialization has shaped the content and programing decisions of the radio stations. In response to this question, data collected from both the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were analysed and the findings presented below:

Content and Programming Decisions

Some of the criticisms of deregulation and commercialization of radio broadcasting are that it will limit the range of content available to citizens, that certain content necessary for citizenship education, democracy enhancement especially in emerging democracies like Nigeria and peacebuilding content especially in fragile states. In the quest for profit by commercial radio, the role of radio in development would be minimised, if not eliminated. Commercial radio, as the major outcome of deregulation would be too focused on profit- making, so much so that it would only seek audiences to sell to advertisers. In seeking audiences to sell to advertisers, content of commercial radio would be light, entertaining and appealing to base emotions.

This study sought to find out how deregulation and commercialization have impacted radio's capacity to carry out these functions effectively. The study also examined how advertising and commercialisation might have shaped content and programming decisions of radio stations in the country. In response to questions posed about these issue, study participants identified several factors that could impact on how these decisions are made. These factors would impact: (a) development content and programming decisions; (b) peace building content and programming decisions; and (c) programming content and programming decisions: hate speeches. These are discussed below.

Development content and programming decisions.

When it came to how deregulation and commercialization has hindered the development, public affairs, voter, health, agricultural education and social mobilization roles of radio, participants of the in-depth interviews were harsher than the focus group discussants. Half the participants felt that deregulation and commercialization has significantly impeded the role of radio to perform these functions.

More participants in the focus group discussions affirmed that the radio stations in Nigeria despite the quest for profit still carry out their social responsibility/development functions. Opinions were, however, divided as more participants agreed that development programmes can still be heard on radio in Nigeria. Though not an overwhelming majority, this indicates that operators of radio still prioritise development, so they make content programme decisions accordingly. A study participant argued that despite deregulation and commercialization, radio still performs its core functions of public enlightenment and social mobilization.

> Yes, we do have development programmes, because there is even a special unit created to handle special reports in terms of agriculture, politics, rural development, health care delivery, even for children. So, we have reporters that are posted to various ministries and they were given beats to cover local/rural beats because we have shifted from personality-based to issue-based reports, so this is what we are doing now. (Atta, Radio broadcast executive, 30 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 19 January 2017).

Another journalist shared his experiences of how both the Lassa fever and Ebola disease outbreaks in Nigeria were covered by the media organizations:

> Last year, during Lassa fever outbreak, Star FM really did a good job, they brought some health workers to speak in pidgin English, Yoruba language. It was from there I knew what to look out for, how to curtail or curb Lassa fever from breaking in my own household. So, I think some come up with programs that help. Like I said that Lassa fever they really tried, they brought nurses to talk using the local languages to speak. In terms of giving news now that can help

people know what is happening, let me give you another instance, during the Ebola outbreak some of the radio stations I listened to talked about Ebola, so people would know what to do and if there are things that are happening in the country they also talk about it. If this is what you mean by development, personal development or development news I think they capture it. (Journalist/Avid Radio listener; Focus Group Participant,17 May 2017).

However, almost all participants agreed that state-owned radio station do this more the privately-owned stations. They averred that privately-owned stations in their content decisions prefer content that would attract audiences.

I think from my observation that radio stations that tend to have some of these programmes on air are predominantly government owned stations, what you call the old school radio stations they are the ones that when I listen to them I still hear a bit of some development issues being talked about but for the newly established FM stations especially run privately what I hear is music, music talk show and the talk shows are usually on things that are for the young ones, love, relationship and all that hardly on development issues. (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 25 August 2017).

Given that several participants agreed that radio still does development programmes, those who disagree are quite vehement in their views. Some of the people interviewed identified commercialization as creating a situation where media organizations are driven by the need for profit making rather than the provision of social service to their communities. One study participant notes:

The best way to put the answer is this. At the time when we were told not to take money from anybody, we had free time, freedom of doing whatever anybody wanted us to do but when it became a question of money, we were now more circumspect in doing some of the things. For instance, say there is going to be a National conference on AIDS, in the past when we were non-commercial nobody will ask for a kobo. Now we will be

interested in whether money has been voted for publicity (Atila, Radio broadcast executive/Veteran, 35 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 3 January 2017).

Two interview participants argued that the focus by some FM stations on providing entertainment is also impacting on their roles in this regard. Excessive entertainment and too much of light programming is impeding this role especially the private commercial radio stations.

Interviewee one:

> In fact, some of the issues you hear on air are so absurd. Sometime last year, I don't want to mention the name of the station. At about 1 am or there about I was monitoring, I don't want to mention the name of the radio station, when they brought the issue on a phone in programme 'Have you ever had an orgasm'. I said, what! And National Broadcasting Commission is there. 'Have you ever had an orgasm'? Is that what should be on radio? Don't you have other issues that can be discussed than talking about orgasm? For God 'sake; it is so disgusting. This commercialization has stretched the issue of ethics to the limit. (Mohammed, Radio broadcast executive, 31 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 11 January 2017).

Interviewee two:

> Most of the development programmes we have today are not developing individuals per se, for government radio it is for the purpose of satisfying the government that established them or private stations, it is more commercial, if there is any programme that has to do with developing individuals, it is by accident, it is not by design, so most of the programmes we have on radio are tilting towards satisfying the owners or more towards commercial purposes. (Radio Listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 25 August 2017).

Here is a graphic representation of responses on the question of development programmes in health, agriculture, voter education and promotion of a democratic culture.

Figure. 4.5. Radio Programmes that Cater for Dev. Needs
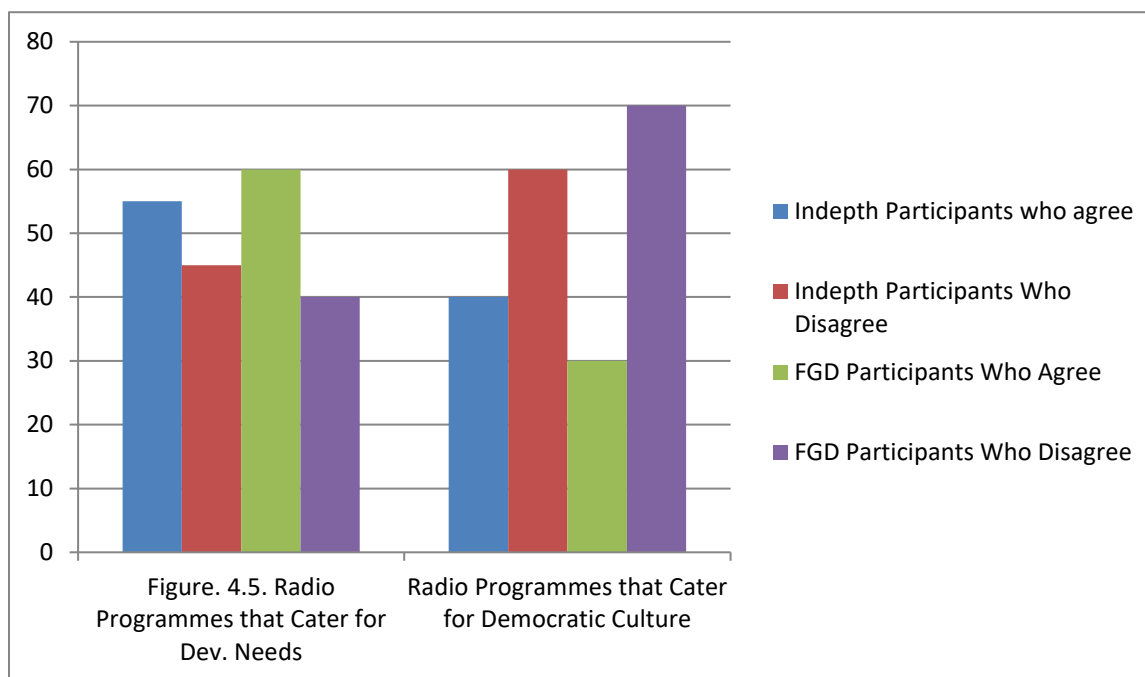
The research shows that 55% of participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 60% of the focus group participants affirmed that since deregulation and commercialisation of radio broadcasting, the various radio stations that have sprung up have created a lot of programmes aimed at men, women and children alike with themes as voter's education, health and agriculture that promote development in the society. Although the 45% and 40% of the in-depth interview participants and focus group participants respectively, do not agree that this is the case. They said that deregulation and commercialization of radio broadcasting has created a market place setting where every privately-owned radio station tries as much as it can to make profit. Hence the influx of radio commercials that take up time slots that should be for radio programmes on development like health, agriculture, voter education among others.

The research data also reveals that only 40% of participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 30% of focus group participants affirm that radio programmes post deregulation promote democratic culture. This is harmful to the democratic culture that Nigeria is trying to cultivate. This can be seen in the 60% and 70% of the in-depth interviewees and focus group participants respectively, who do not see post deregulation radio promoting a democratic culture.

Excessive Entertainment and Light Content

With regard to light content and music to attract advertisers, study participants are of the view that is happening with detrimental effect on radio's role in society. Is the profit-motif making radio to focus more entertainment than informational and educational content?
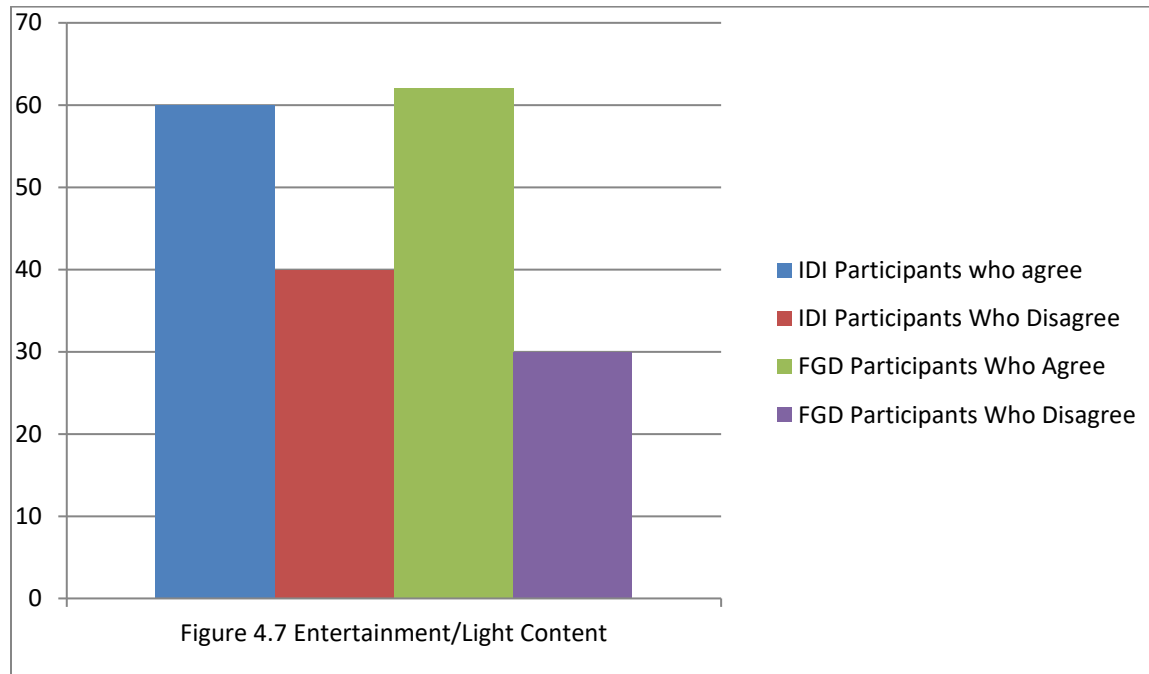

Figure 4.7 Entertainment/Light Content

The research shows that 60% of the participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 62% of the focus group participants are of the opinion that profit making in the era of deregulation and commercialization has increased the rate of frivolities, especially on private owned radio, to attract a lot of people and advertisers, at the expense of informational and educational programmes. The respondents noted the excessive play of music (irrespective of whether they contain vulgar messages or curse words) all in a bid to attract more people, especially the youths and increase their ratings with the advertisers.

On the other side 40% and 38% of the respondents of the key informers' in-depth interviews and focus group discussion are of an opposite opinion. They affirm that deregulation and commercialization have not led to the production of more entertainment radio programmes while leaving informational and educational programmes to suffer in the process.

An in-depth interview participant argues thus;

I think there is a lot more entertainment on our radio and T.V. Stations than there are educational and Information Programme. About 60-70% of our programmes goes to entertainment whether

Music, Game shows etc. In Abuja, here with more than 13 or 14 FMs stations and then they are concentrated on music, gossips, rumour mongering, propaganda and then you now begin to talk very stiff programmes, you are telling them about patriotism, about how to get injected, they think you are boring. (Meka, young radio broadcast executive, 13 years' experience; In-depth interview participant, September, 2017).

However, a focus group discussion participant disagrees;

> Please let us not be limiting the FM stations like the Orient FM station in my state, they carry quality programmes, though they have sections for entertainment. They are not over doing it. We do a lot of talk too but there is a time for music it's not just strictly one hour just music. It's a blend. (Diran, Radio broadcast journalist; focus group discussion participant, July, 2017)

Peacebuilding content and programming decisions.

One of the major findings of this study is the role that radio stations play in promoting peace building in Nigeria. This is instructive in view of the current political and ethnic divisions in the country. Several participants agreed that broadcasters in Nigeria post deregulation and despite hyper commercialization, still factor in peacebuilding content in their programme content decision making. Several people interviewed for the study, including most focus group discussants agreed that radio was doing a good job in preaching peace and national unity in Nigeria since after deregulation. one interview respondent and one FGD participant said the following

Interview respondent:

> Yes, radio stations are contributing to peace building for instance in the Eastern part of Nigeria where some people are agitating for the sovereign state of Biafra. Radio promotes the unity of our country first before any other thing. This they do in their news and in their programmes, even their radio discussion, they talk about peace first for the nation as an entity. (Radio journalist, 7 years' experience, In-depth interview participant, 10 January 2017).

FGD participant:

Yeah in practical terms most of the time we observe that the anchors of some programmes on radio, before they open the system to allow people talk, they tell you that you need to be civil, you need to talk for development, we need to bring useful information. That this is not a platform for hate messages or attacking personalities. That it's a place to talk peace. Radios in Nigeria are helping in peace building given the backdrop of the lessons people learnt from the Rwandan experience where radio was used to promote hate speech and some groups saw the other group as groups that should be eliminated and directed the genocide. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2017).

But more than anything else, according to participants, this disposition is not altogether altruistic but a survival instinct, self and business preservation. Keep the peace so you can continue to reap profit from the people, cause trouble and be consumed by the trouble also. One participant noted;

Of course, you know that the radio stations operate in communities and they are also aware even when their proprietor is on WhatsApp, you also know that if there is any problem that you create for the community, you are not going to be saved from it. You are also going to be involved. So, at the back of the mind of the persons behind the microphone they are also thinking while they are trying to express their views, they are also thinking of how to maintain peace within the community where they exist (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 29 August 2017).

The contrary view from a few of the participants suggests that there is no peacebuilding content on radio in Nigeria now.

Most broadcast media have become elitist particularly in Lagos and in Abuja. Because of the profit, public affairs programmes are no longer given the core attention. You find out that those peace oriented programmes in most cases will not fetch the broadcast stations the kind of revenue it deserves so they don't do it. (Radio journalist/Avid radio listener; Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2017).

On this question of radio stations having programmes and news that promote peace and national unity, minimize hate speech, radicalization and militancy on radio since deregulation, in graphs, participants are of the opinion thus;
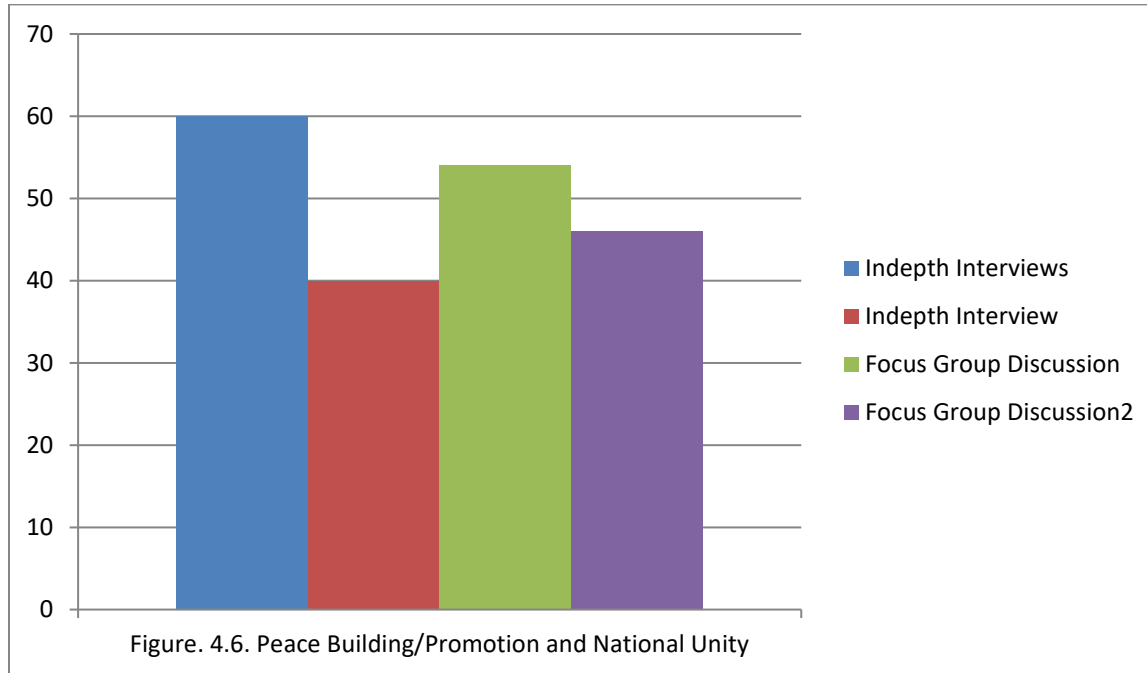
Figure. 4.6. Peace Building/Promotion and National Unity

The research shows that 60% of the participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and 53% of the focus group participants are of the opinion that radio broadcast in since deregulation and commercialization promotes peace and national unity. The lower percentage of 40% and 46% of participants of the key informers' in-depth interviews and focus group participants respectively are of the opinion that radio since deregulation and commercialization focus more on profit making and propaganda than combating radicalization and militancy in the current environment of deregulation.

Peacebuilding content and programming decisions: Hate speeches.

Commercialization and the quest for profit by radio stations do affect content and programming decisions with regard to hate speeches. This researcher included a variable on this and interviewed participants on it. How might the hyper commercialization of the radio, shape content and programming decisions with regard to peacebuilding? Participants while agreeing that there is some level of peacebuilding content in radio today, also pointed out instances where radio in the quest of profit have been used to increase tension in society leading to fatal

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consequences. Study participants felt that radio has not given unfettered access to its platforms for use in peacebuilding, national unity and social cohesion. The space, they said has been constricted by the quest for profit.

> Radio is in a rush to drive web traffic. Commercialization is a problem. More traffic attracts advertisers and hate speeches drive traffic. What they cannot say on terrestrial, they do them on their website and social media handle. I think we need to watch what they are doing online. (Chikezie, Radio/print journalist, 10 years; experience; in-depth interview participant, 15 January 2017).

Indeed, several participants argued that radio in search for audiences to sell to advertisers, are heating up the polity. A participant said that there is a deliberate attempt by stations to drive traffic to their stations through provocative and inciteful programming capable of causing disquiet in society.

> There have been instances where they have allowed unguarded utterances in their broadcast and these have contributed to escalation of conflict in Nigeria. The killing of polio workers in 2013 which was allegedly traceable to the utterances of a radio presenter is a case. Many other cases abound where radio has been used to castigate politicians and people in authority, reducing their legitimacy and their capacities to intervene in conflicts. This is same with attacks on government institutions such as the police and the military (Odoh, Journalist/international development worker, 18 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 13 January 2017).

In another instance, politics and election periods are trigger periods for hate speeches on radio. The temptation for money can be overwhelming for operators of private radio especially those struggling to survive.

> I want to draw attention to the misuse of radio especially by the politicians. There's a radio station in my state. It's a private radio station and there was a time we had election and this radio was giving blow by blow account of what was happening how some thugs were beating up some politicians and some other things. The radio seems to have sensationalised what happened, blew issue out of proportion and that heated up the polity at that time. If not for the fact that the enforcement agencies intervened, it would have led

to crisis in that state. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; Focus Group Participant, 4 August 2017).

Similarly, ownership of radio stations, which can create partisanship, was also identified by participants as being problematic for radio. Some of them said while privately-owned radio stations are more complicit in escalating tension, government-owned radios are can be overtly partisan during elections, thus helping to overheat the polity:

> Again, we have some that are partisan in their programming particularly when the private interest of the owner, the ownership factor comes in and you see them being biased at times in their presentations. In addition to – apart from private station owners, I noticed that the government owned also use the station to promote their personal agenda and sometimes their intolerance, instead of using this radio station to bring in programmes and do an exclusive, to carrying others along they rather oppress others. (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus Group Participant, 29 August 2017).

Religion is a tinder box in Nigeria. Most Nigerians prioritise their religious identities over the national identity. It is Nigeria's endemic faultline. Also, aggressive Christian Pentecostal proselytising and its Moslem variant regularly push Nigeria to the brink. The radio and to some extent television is the battleground for the souls of Nigerians. Most radio stations rely on sponsored religious programmes for the economic survival. The messages are not without prejudice and profiling. Some have argued that the early beginnings of the terrorist Boko Haram set that devastated northeast Nigeria received a lot of boost from radio which provided them the platform to spew religious vitriol, in the name of sponsored religious programmes, into the airwaves.

> If you come to Lagos come and listen to our stations, they tend to be creating religious problem. If it is Christianity, you will see the way it will be promoted by a Christian journalist. If it is Islam, the same thing. You find that things that could make people to run to the street and riot, they do it a lot in Lagos. It's just that Yoruba people are liberal people by nature. They want to make money and what to show they are greatly on the side of that religion. (Radio journalist; Focus Group Participant,17 May 2017).

Hate speeches, according to participants are also found on radio post deregulation and they are linked to the "he who pays the piper dictates the tune".

> You know such hate speeches do happen mostly in the political programmes where the politicians who have money buy airtime to say their mind and before you know it they are up to it, bringing their supporters in coalition course with one another. I'm taking a cue from recent pronouncement by the Director General of National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Dr Modibbo. He alleged that most radio are preaching hate particularly the instance of stereotyping. I know this is the tendency because even without mentioning the station there are stations where people are influential, and they pay money to air their views. So, in most cases they don't preach peace they rather preach divisive views. You even hear them say I paid money so let me say what I want to say. (Radio broadcast journalist; Focus Group Participant, 18 May 2017).

State-Owned versus Privately-Owned Radio Stations; A Comparison

Perhaps one of the most interesting finding of this study is the perception of participants about the roles played by state-owned radio stations, compared to privately-owned radio stations. For instance, state- owned radio stations are partially commercialised and partially funded by the government. They are required to use commercial revenues to fund some of their operational costs while government provides funds for salaries and key equipment like transmitters and studios. There are now more private radio stations in Nigeria, 168 private stations and 122 state-owned stations (NBC 2016).

From the data collected for this study, it was evident that the state-owned radio stations must do the heavy lifting of public affairs and cultural programming, educational programmes in health, agriculture, and voter education. They also came up tops in peacebuilding and social cohesion programmes. All study participants both from the focus group and in-depth were agreed on this. Of course, there are a few dissenting voices, but the agreements were overwhelming. Even participants from privately-owned radio stations affirmed this.

State-owned stations also have the funds or the public service obligations to;

- broadcast in more indigenous languages.
- Place reporters in more rural locations for collection and production of news and programmes.
- Have less space for music, light and frivolous content
- And in some cases, have stations in peri-urban location. (Privately-owned stations are almost 100% concentrated in state capitals and the business and economic nerve centres in the country).

The participants also agreed that the tendency to be like privately-owned stations in their programming philosophy is creeping in. To overcome this, whenever possible states set up a different FM station that are "hip and trendy" to compete with the privately-owned stations. Across the board, state-owned stations are losing audiences and market share to privately-owned stations especially in the urban areas. However, in rural settings, they are still relevant. A focus group participant puts it this way;

> I think the government radio stations are also tilting towards the private stations but there is still some difference, the content. However, the truth is that everybody is following everybody. The bandwagon effect. The government stations, they are competing with other stations too, they want to increase their listenership. They, however, portray more discipline in certain areas, and in reaching the rural areas. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; Focus group participant, 10 July 2017).

An interview participant agrees;

> Of course, they (government stations) try to be more competitive and if necessary "ape" the commercial private stations. But the "aping" is not an end in itself, it is just a strategy to get a greater share of the market or even to survive. But they, the government stations still have more and sometimes better indigenous programmes. (Nnadi, Radio broadcast executive, 19 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 1 July, 2017).

However, when it comes to dialogue and alternative views, the capacity to dissect national and governance issues, providing platforms for all shades of opinions, the privately-owned stations are doing better in comparison. For this reason, the privately-owned stations have a higher

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capacity to engender democracy and good governance irrespective of the politics and economic interests of its owners. The politics and economic interests of owners of privately-owned stations do restrict them from playing these roles effectively, but whatever shades of balanced views, balanced reporting we have on radio today, come from them. They have a higher participatory capacity for good or bad. They also have a higher propensity to cause trouble as our data have shown.

State stations are a bit more restrained because its owners, the government, have obligation for national security. They are biased towards government, stifling voices of the opposition by not providing them the platform to ventilate their concerns. But they preach peace and development more than the privately-owned stations. An interview study participant said that;

> The first objective of the entrepreneur is to make money, and not build peace. Paradoxically, peace is necessary for the creation of wealth. So, a better appreciation by entrepreneurs of the nexus between peace and profit making can help to improve their collective commitment to promoting peace. But by and large it the constitutional responsibility of government stations to preach peace. (Ogu, Journalism and Mass communication Professor/international development worker, 17 years' experience; in-depth interview participant, 10 January, 2017).

Participants from the focus group discussion agree;

> Because of the profit, public affairs programmes are no longer given the core attention. You find out that those peace oriented programmes in most cases will not fetch the broadcast stations the kind of revenue it deserves. Again, we have some that are partisan in their programming particularly when the private and the interest of the owner, the ownership factor comes in and you see them being biased at times in their presentations. (Radio listener/Audience member; Focus group participant, 4 August 2017).

Triangulation of Data Using Document Analysis
Audio recordings of broadcasts of four radio stations were analysed. The analysis is to further validate the research findings from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. We analysed two weeks recorded broadcasts of the four radio stations we focus on. The stations are

two government-owned ones ASO FM and Kapital FM and two privately owned stations, Vision FM and Rhythm FM. Eighteen hours of broadcasts for 14 days in the four stations were analysed giving a total of 1008 hours of broadcasts. How many of these hours were allocated to the variables under investigation, how did these stations fare? Here, analysis focused on the three key variables of access and participation, development and public service, and peacebuilding content. The preponderance of music, entertainment and light content across all four radio stations makes its inclusion at this level analysis nebulous and tendentious. The document analysis was as part of attempts to triangulate the data.

Average duration of key codes of 18 hours broadcast for 14 days

	ASO FM	KFM	VISION FM	RHYTHM FM
Development & Public Service	7:36:13	17:02:35	2:49:43	1:48:33
Access & Participation	5:51:17	7:04:29	3:24:31	3:05:16
Peace Building	2:58:38	5:24:05	0:00:11	0:09:34
Entertainment…	78:12:00	65:52:25	141:12:31	156:24:00
Total	**94:37:06**	**95:23:34**	**147:26:56**	**161:27:23**

Average duration of key codes of 18 hours broadcast for 14 days
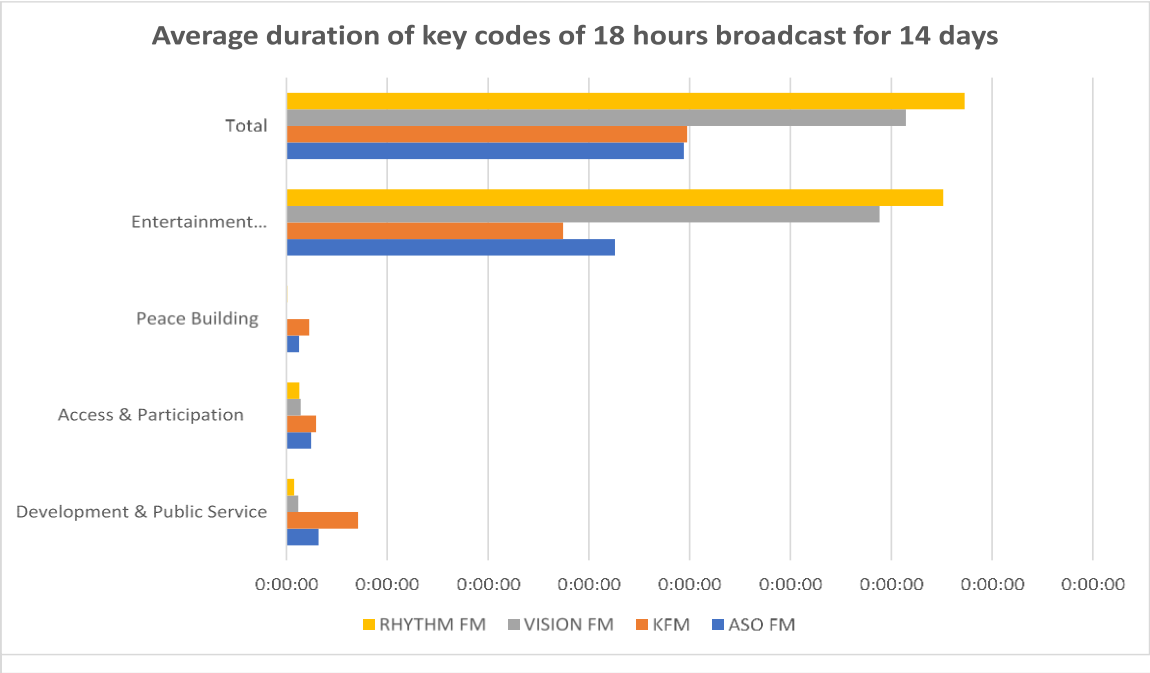
Figure 1: Average Duration of Key Codes of 18 Hours Broadcast for 14 Days

From the above table, for Development and Public Service content, that is health, agriculture, voter education and public affairs content, Kapital FM gave nearly 18 hours, and for peacebuilding, it gave 5 hours. For progrmmes that allowed for access and participation it gave slightly above 7 hours. Aso FM produced and broadcast development and public service content for slightly above 7 hours and peacebuilding content for nearly 3 hours. About 6 hours of broadcast for access and participation for a broad range of people.

Vision FM gave about 3 hours to development and public service content and allowed nearly 4 hours for access and participation while Rhythm was lowest for development, peacebuilding and all other variables, except music and entertainment in which it excelled far above other stations. It gave nearly 2 hours for development and public service content and allowed slightly above 3 hours for access and participation. Both Vision and Rhythm FM stations gave scant attention to peacebuilding content, allowing less than one minute of its broadcast time to focus on peace.

This data from the audio transcripts confirm the perceptions that there is some level of development and public service content on radio post deregulation. It also confirms some lower level of peace building content compared to development content. Study participants both from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions had asserted that there are more programmes on health, agriculture, voter education, business and entrepreneurial development than peace building content.

Both groups had also overwhelmingly agreed that the government-owned radio stations appear to be under obligation to produce and broadcast development and public service programmes than privately-owned for-profit stations. Data here support that assertion. Kapital FM and ASO FM the two government-owned stations are well ahead of the two privately-owned stations, Rhythm and Vision FM stations.

A focus group discussion participant sees it thus;

> It is the government radio stations I listen to mostly if I want to learn something. They talk about issues everyday like a particular time in the morning they pick up an issue to discuss it could be health the next day they can discuss environment. If you listen, for instance, to Radio Nigeria, Kaduna, a government station, which has one of the highest listenership, you find out that there are lots of programmes that concern peace and agriculture. In fact, they are more than sufficient. (Radio listen/Audience member; Focus Group Discussion participant, July, 2017).

A key informer interview participant agrees;

> The private radios are businesses and their first interest is profit and so if that is the issue. If you want them to do development and peacebuilding programmes, it is either they now begin to review their profit margin or expectations so that they can carry the people along or the government will begin to assist them with a little subsidy so that the people can actually enjoy the benefit of radio without any encumbrances. Otherwise it is only the government stations that will continue to do those programmes. (Journalism and Mass communication Professor; In-depth Interview participant, September, 2017).

Overall, development content was low in all the stations investigated. The Kapital FM, which allocated the highest time to development content gave almost 18 hours out of the 252 hours measured, this is barely 7 per cent of its broadcast hour. Peacebuilding content, which is also the highest is even worse, with only seven hours devoted to peacebuilding, Kapital FM gave less than one per cent to a vital ingredient necessary for conflict des-escalation and peaceful co-existence. An analysis of what the privately-owned stations devoted to these vital tools of societal enhancement can only be imagined. All four radio stations combined gave only 37 hours to development and peacebuilding content.

Entertainment, music and light programming are prominent across all four stations with Kapital FM, which gave the lowest time, granting about 66 hours out of 252 to this variable and ASO FM another government-owned station granting 78 hours. Predictably, the private-for-profit stations gave most of their broadcast time to this programme genre. Rhythm FM gave more than 60 per cent of its time to music.

Analysing Percentage Variables for key Codes

At the methodological level, we operationalized key codes that would determine the presence of our key variables, access, participation, music, entertainment and light content, peacebuilding and development contents. For access and participation, we operationalized use of phone-in programmes, use of SMS text messages, presence of interviews programmes, presence of request programmes, use of testimonials on radio, convergence of social media – Face book, Twitter, WhatsApp with radio productions, presence of discussion programmes, broadcast of independent productions by ordinary people that are not sponsored and use of vox pop in news, current affairs and other programmes. There are also use of email messages as part of programmes and the presence of programmes on women, children, people with disabilities and other marginalized groups.

For content and programming decisions, the researcher examined variables such as the presence of development and public service content in the stations, as well as peacebuilding, music, entertainment and light content. Key codes for development and public service content include

programmes on health, agriculture, environment, women, children, security, youth, governance, accountability, corruption and education not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations and so on.

Also, programmes on voter education, business and personal development not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations, news and current affairs progrmmes, jingles, public service announcements, pay offs, exhortation on health, agriculture, politics/voter education, business and personal development not paid for or sponsored by government, companies, interest groups, non-governmental organisations are operationalized here.

Peacebuilding content key codes are programmes on peace and national unity, jingles, public service announcements, pay offs and exhortations on peace and national unity, songs on peace and national unity, interfaith religious programmes preaching peace and national unity and editorials, informed commentaries, opinion pieces, reports, news, balanced political programmes and current affairs programmes.

Music, entertainment and light content have key codes like entertainment news, music solely for entertainment, jokes and comedy for entertainment, reality and games shows, skits solely for entertainment, without any didactic, development and peace content, musical request programmes, phone-in entertainment shows and social media entertainment shows.

The analyses below show the share each key code contributed to making our key variables for instance in access and participation.

Access and Participation

Category	Rhythm	Kapital FM	Aso Radio	Vision FM
Programmes on marginalized groups		18%	55%	27%
Email messages	7%	21%	64%	7%
Vox pop		15%	23%	62%
Independent productions by ordinary people that are not sponsored.		17%		83%
Discussion programmes	3%	8%	47%	42%
Social media	3%	12%	56%	29%
Testimonials				100%
Request programmes	33%		67%	
Interviews	4%	12%	24%	60%
SMS text messages	3%	14%	59%	24%
Phone-in programmes	4%	14%	50%	32%

Across all stations, Access and Participation are present. Vision FM and Aso Radio are the most assessable stations to the public and also the most participatory radio stations. Rhythm FM is relatively high on request programmes because they focus majorly on music and entertainment which is largely listened and participated by young Nigerians who frequently call in at late hours. Access to social media by young Nigerians is also an influence. There is easy access to participate while on the go.

Development and Public Service Content

Percentage (%)

Legend: Rhythm, Kapital FM, Aso Radio, Vision FM

- Jingles, public service announcements: Rhythm 14%, Kapital FM 32%, Aso Radio 54%
- News and current affairs progrmmes: Rhythm 4%, Kapital FM 4%, Aso Radio 20%, Vision FM 71%
- Programmes on voter education etc. not paid for: Rhythm 36%, Kapital FM 64%
- Programmes on health etc. not paid for: Rhythm 23%, Kapital FM 51%, Aso Radio 26%
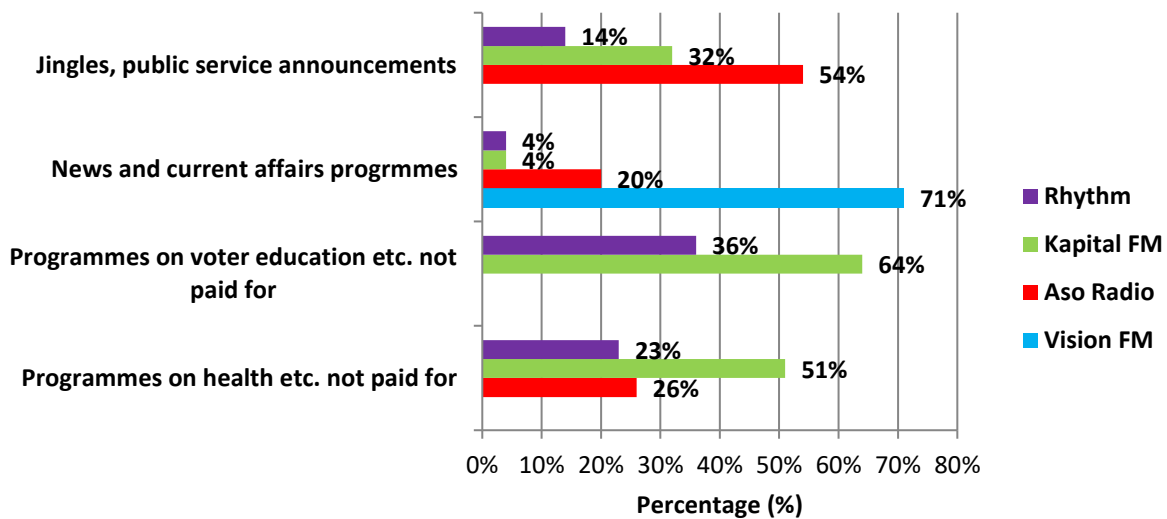
Jingles, news and current affairs are high for Aso Radio and Kapital FM. These are the two government-owned stations out of the four radio stations under study. In between two to three hours, news and current affairs is regular. There are some section programmes which are educative and are not paid for. Some stations are on the lookout for sponsors for sustainability of the programmes. During these programs, presenters will call out for interested organizations who are interested in sponsoring. For other section except news and current affairs programmes, Vision FM record no percentage.

Jingles come in between short musical breaks or immediately after the news. A programme for health and girl child education is vital in Kapital FM.

Music and Entertainment

Category	Rhythm	Kapital FM	Aso Radio	Vision FM
Social media entertainment shows	27%	16%	30%	27%
Phone-in entertainment shows	14%	20%	37%	29%
Musical request programmes	17%	17%	11%	56%
Skits solely for entertainment	36%	19%	30%	16%
Reality and Games shows	31%	15%		54%
Jokes and comedy for entertainment	13%	9%	4%	74%
Music solely for entertainment	31%	15%	23%	31%
Entertainment News	23%		27%	50%
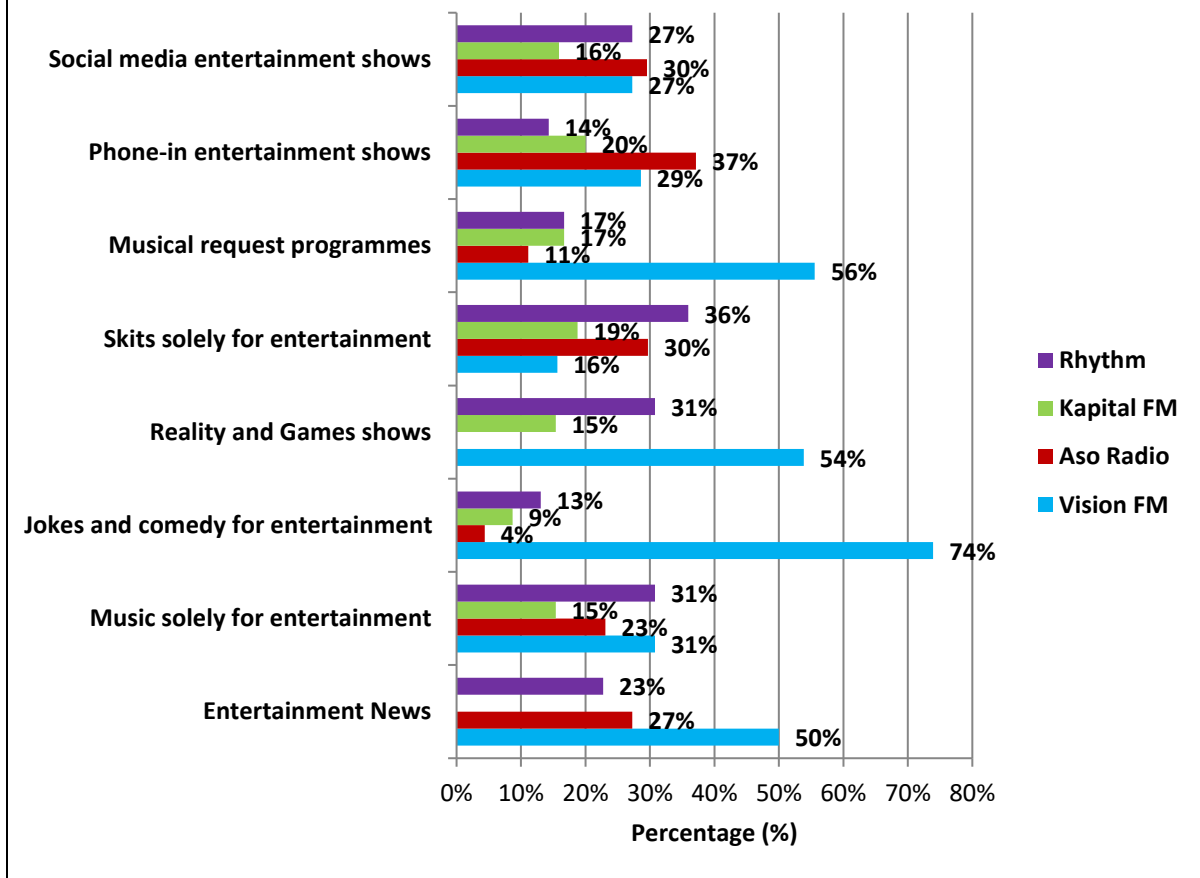
Music and entertainment is relatively high across all stations with Vision and Rhythm FM scoring the highest. There are programs under this variable that runs all through the day. Participation is high also with the use of social media via musical request programs and phone in entertainment shows. Rhythm FM air entertainment news alongside the headline news. This is because Rhythm FM is an entertainment station.

Peace Building and National Unity
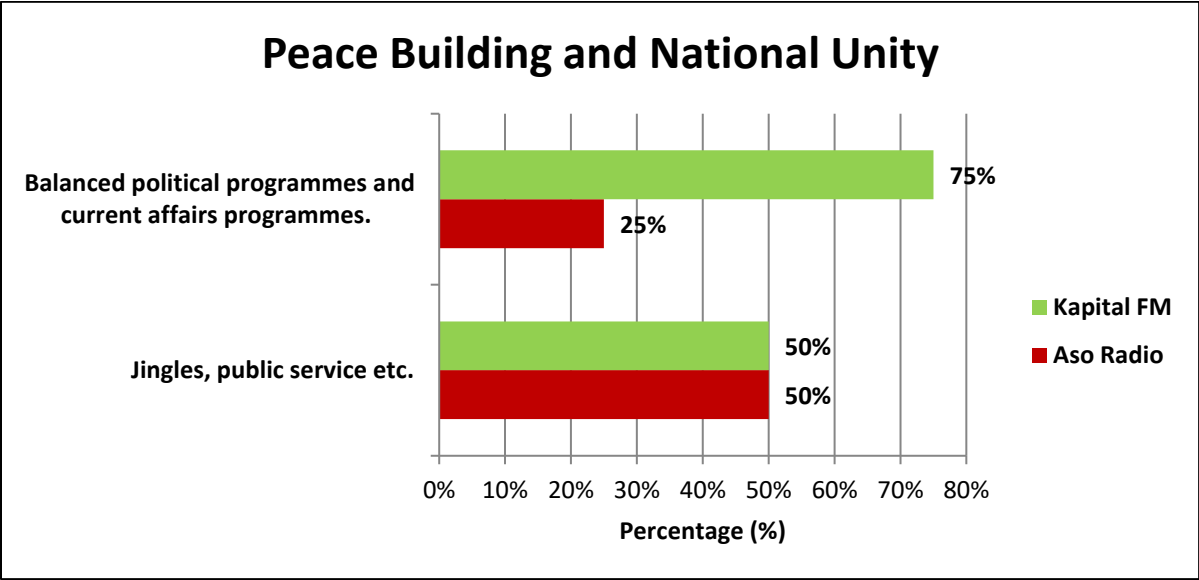
Peace Building and National Unity is major in only two station; Kapital FM and Aso Radio. There are more political programmes for listeners as things in the political sector unfold.

Percentage variables for Access and Participation for each station

Aso Radio   Access and Participation
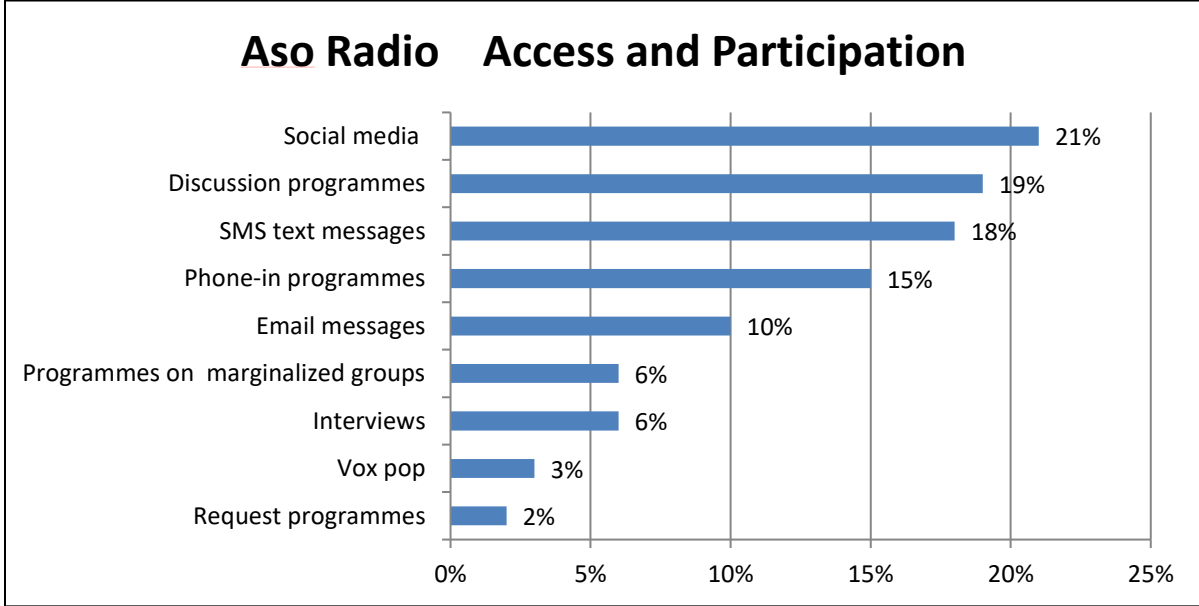
Vision FM Access and Participation

Category	Percentage
Discussion programmes	57%
Interviews	54%
Social media	36%
Phone-in programmes	32%
Vox pop	29%
SMS text messages	25%
Independent productions not sponsored.	18%
Programmes on marginalized groups	11%
Email messages	4%
Testimonials	4%

Percentage (%)

Access and Participation

Kapital FM

Category	Percentage
Social media	80%
SMS text messages	80%
Phone-in programmes	80%
Email messages	60%
Discussion programmes	60%
Interviews	60%
Programmes on marginalized groups	40%
Vox pop	40%
Independent productions not…	20%

Percentage (%)

Percentage variables for Peace Building and National Unity for each station

Peace Building & National Unity

Editorials, Informed commentaries, opinion pieces, reports, news, balanced political programmes and current affairs programmes. — 100%

Jingles, public service announcements, pay offs and exhortations on peace and national unity — 33%

■ Kapital FM

Percentage (%) — 0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100% 120%
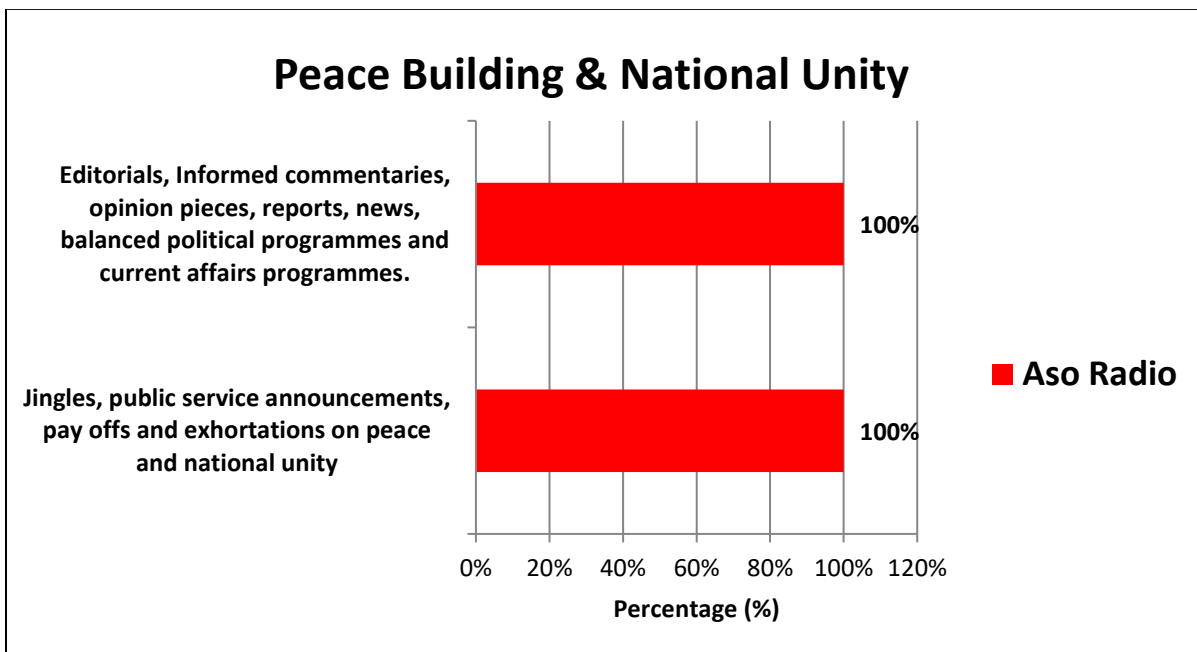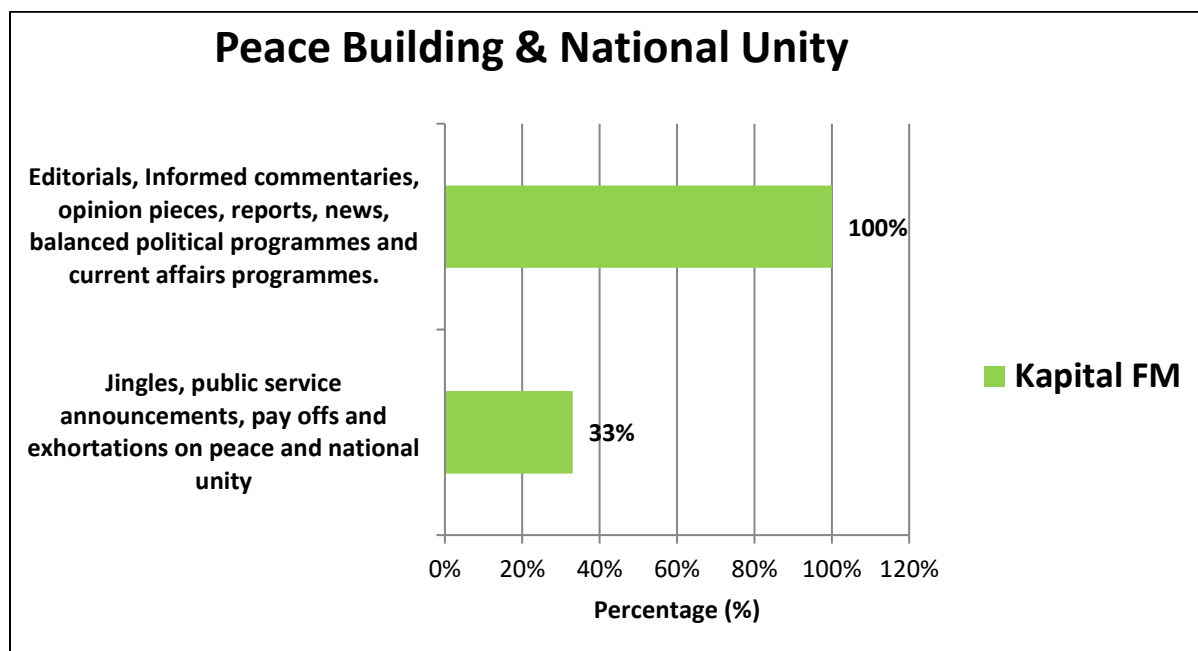
Summary of Findings

- Radio is ideal for development and peacebuilding

- Improved access and participation happened due to multiplicity of radio stations occasioned by deregulation and commercialization policy

- Access and participation are being driven by convergence between radio, cell phones and social media.

- Regarding access and participation, the poor are still marginalized, and this could have been worse without the emergence of cell phones, despite the multiplicity of radio stations.

- Despite improved access and participation for the poor, they do not contribute to the weightier issues of national development and governance, on the contrary, their participation is limited to whimsical, trivial and mundane issues like sports, riddles and jokes.

- The poor's access is driven by 'uses and gratification"; the exhilarating feeling of being heard on radio was more important.

- Post deregulation, radio stations are granting access and participation to the people who are in need for social justice and humanitarian concerns especially for the poor.

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- Access and participation is still top-down, initiated by producers and radio staff.

- Public and government-owned stations are copycatting the private stations in programming and delivery style 'to be relevant' in the current competitive broadcast environment.

- A lot of alternative/critical views are still being marginalized in government-owned radio stations.

- Despite the logic of profit-making and the politics of the owners of private radio stations, they are still offering platforms for alternative views and in the long run engendering democracy.

- Women are still marginalized in access and participation due to power relations, culture, domestic work and poverty.

- Rural voices and the rural poor are more marginalized than the urban dwellers because of the locations of the private radio stations.

- Despite increased number of radio stations post deregulation, they are still city-based, all private stations are still located in the business districts and economic centres of the country.

- Location and language mediate Access and participation. Stations broadcasting in indigenous languages and located closer to rural areas give more access and participation to the rural poor.

- Government-owned radio stations offer what approximates to rural broadcasting both in use of language, programming and location than privately-owned stations.

- There is some development and peacebuilding content on radio post deregulation but not enough. Only 37 broadcast hours out of 1008 hours of four radio stations' broadcast hours in two weeks were devoted to development and peacebuilding content.

- Peacebuilding content was a paltry 8 hours of 1008 hours.

- By a wide margin, the government-owned radio stations gave more time to development and peacebuilding content.

- The privately-owned radio stations are, due to quest for profit, more prone to disturb the peace and escalate violence.

- There are instances of hate speeches on radio, post deregulation occasioned by the drive for profit.
- Politics, elections and religion are drivers of violence-prone content on radio, post deregulation.

Chapter 5

Discussion of Results

This study investigates deregulation and its' attendant commercialism of radio broadcasting in Nigeria in 1992 and the impact it has had on access and participation for a broad range of radio listeners; and on programming and content decisions with regard to development information/communication, peacebuilding and the amelioration of hate speech both on radio itself and online social media. It used the following research questions for this investigation.

1. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped access for a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

2. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped participation of a broad spectrum of listeners in the country?

3. To what extent in the perception of study participants have deregulation and commercialization of the radio broadcast industry shaped peacebuilding content in radio in Nigeria?

4. To what extent have deregulation and commercialization shaped content and programming decisions in radio stations, limiting development information content?

5. Is the struggle to make profit constraining the broadcast media to produce and disseminate more entertainment programmes than informational and educational programmes?

The major findings of the study with respect to the variables of access and participation are that the multiplicity of radio stations occasioned by deregulation and commercialization policy increased access and participation though mainly through the convergence between radio, cell phones and social media. It found that the poor are still marginalized, but that this could have been worse without the emergence of cell phones, despite the multiplicity of radio stations. The study noted that despite improved access and participation for the poor, they do not contribute to the weightier issues of national development and governance. On the contrary, their participation is limited to whimsical, trivial and mundane issues like sports, riddles and jokes.

It also found the phenomenon of access and participation for the poor mediated by the need for social justice and humanitarian concerns. Radio stations, post deregulation are granting access and participation to the people who are in need of social justice and humanitarian concerns especially for the poor without charging them for it.

With regard to programming and content decisions in the areas of development information/communication, peacebuilding and the amelioration of hate speech both on radio itself and online social media, the study found the following.

- There is some development and peacebuilding content on radio post deregulation but this is minimal, and not enough for a developing country like Nigeria with ethnic tensions and violence.

- Only 37 broadcast hours out of 1008 hours of four radio stations' broadcast hours in two weeks were devoted to development, peacebuilding and amelioration of hate speech content. This is a paltry 3.6 per cent of their air time. In fact, peacebuilding and amelioration of hate speech content was a paltry 8 hours of 1008 hours or less than one per cent.

- Largely content and programme decision making are influenced by ownership structure and profit-seeking

The study also found that there were instances of hate speeches on radio, post deregulation occasioned by the drive for profit and politics, elections and religion are drivers of violence-prone content on radio.

Access and Participation

The theoretical discourse on access and participation lay emphasis on decentralized media systems, the ability of the poor and marginalized groups to come close to the communication infrastructure, receive diverse information from them, in languages they understand; are able to give feedback, have their voices heard, participate in programme productions and at the highest level be involved in decision making and the management of the stations (Berrigan, 1981, Coyer, 2007, Dagron, 2007; Day, 2008; Asemah, et al, 2017).

In sum, Carpentier (2011) talks about participation in and through the media. In radio, this participation is the participation of non-professionals in the production and broadcast of programmes (referred to as content-related participation) and in radio management decision making (referred to as structural participation). (Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier, 2008, Berrigan, 1979).

Therefore, access and participation speak of diversity of programmes and choice, opinions and feedback, language, location and decentralization, involvement in programme planning and self-management by community members. Berrigan summarizes it as the ability of the people to choose varied programmes, relevant to them, have a means to feed forward and feedback, transmitting their reactions and making their demands. Invariably this is taken further to making them planners, producers and performers. (Berrigan, 1979, p.8).

Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2007) reiterate the importance of having marginalized people to participate in the media:

> ordinary people (i.e. those who are not part of a social elite) are given the opportunity to have their voices heard. Topics considered relevant for their community can be discussed by its members, thus empowering them by signifying that their statements are considered important enough to be broadcast" (Carpentier, Lie and Servaes, 2007:225).

Hackett and Carroll (2006) posit that this is the ideal and difficult to achieve because in capitalist societies where the business elite have captured the media, the capacity of the media for democratic dialogue among diverse interests from every segment of society is never secure. Access and participation which a sure step to democratization of the society is impinged upon.

This is in agreement with the political economy of communication concerns that deregulation and commercialization of broadcast media will impinge on access and participation for marginalized groups like the poor, women and people with disabilities. It will give voice to the rich and powerful, collocate in business districts and economic nerve centres of countries in search of profit, ignoring the rural and poor districts whose voices are important for the growth of society (Zhao and Hackett, 2005:8; Downing 2001:39; McQuail, 1983:61; Bagdikian, 2004).

The inclination of commercial media today is to support the power elite, erode civil engagement, constrict full participation of everyone in society and hardly inform (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944 cited in Goodfriend, 2012; Postman, 1987; Putnam, 2001; Kellner, 2005/2014; Katz, 2000; Taras, 2015).

From the study findings, these categories of access and participation emerged:

Access and participation mediated by convergence of radio, mobile phones and social media. Perhaps the levels of access and participation achieved in radio post deregulation could not have happened if there had not been a mobile phones revolution in Nigeria post deregulation of radio. In 2001, nine years after the deregulation and commercialization of the broadcast media in Nigeria, the telecommunication sector was also deregulated, giving rise to an explosion of tele density in Nigeria.

This, put power in the hands of the ordinary people who hitherto had no means of accessing or participating in radio programmes. Mobile technology drives access and participation. The Panos Institute, West Africa, in 2008 in a seven-country survey of radio found that 83.8 per cent of radio stations in the zone are using SMS as a tool for participation. Equally the Broadcasting Board of Governors in 2014 found that nearly 40 per cent of radio listeners in Nigeria do so through their telephone sets (BBG Gallup, 2014).

Some study participants wondered what the benefit of such participation was since content was more trivial and frivolous but a larger number of participants agreed that it was engendering meaningful dialogue necessary for the growth of democracy and citizenship. Smith (2017) agrees that dialogue and a contestation of ideas and position was key to peaceful co-existence.

The BBC Humanitarian Broadcasting study (2015) found that engagement, access, giving people a voice, enhancing discussions and dialogue were very important in the effectiveness of humanitarian broadcast programmes and achieving its outcomes broadly. Notwithstanding, findings also revealed a monopoly of the space and opportunities provided by mobile technologies and the social media by a few individuals who are ardent callers who take up space, denying other callers the opportunity to contribute and ventilate their concerns. They constrict

space for wider participation. Gagliardone (2016), in an ethnographic study of access and participation in two radio stations in the Kibera slums of Kenya found a result, where it appeared that the audience participation in those two radio stations were constructed and staged.

Access and participation mediated by wealth quintiles. While the mobile technologies and social media increased access and participation for a broader segment of the society, not much seemed to have changed when it comes to participation for the rich and influential in society. They remain favoured for meaningful, longer lasting participation in radio. They are the studio guests who sit for interviews, in discussion panels and who get called up at home to give their perspectives on live programmes. The poor would have to call in but the influential get called up by the radio stations. The rich and the politicians buy up airtime to air their views or sell themselves to the electorate. In meaningful and impactful participation, the voices of the poor remain marginalized according to our findings in consonance with the concerns of the political economy of communication and the Democratic Participant Media Theory. In the hyper-commercialised radio broadcasting environment post deregulation, he or she who can pay the piper, will have all the airplay and airtime they want (McQuail, 1983; Williams, 1968 cited in Jakubowicz, 1993; Nafiz, 2012; Oso, 2012, Golding and Murdock, 1991; Asogwa and Asemah, 2013).

Women's domestic work, power relations, culture and poverty still restrict access and participation for them. While domestic work and poverty are implicated for reduced access and participation for women compared to men nationally, our findings indicate an additional heavier impact of culture and power relations on women in the more Islamic northern part of the country. They would have to get permission from the husbands to participate in phone-in programmes but do participate through innocuous letter writings that could not be traced to them. Some study participants mentioned this as happening. The implication of this is that despite the near ubiquity of cell phones and their potential to grant access and participation, there are still segments of society that are being left behind. Study participants noted the monopolization of the phone-in programmes by men and a certain clique of them. Equally, (Gagliardone, 2016) found a similar occurrence in his Kenya study.

Increasingly in the search for audiences, hence profit, access and participation, more radio stations are broadcasting in local languages and using deft programming formats to people in hard to reach locations. Though not a regular occurrence, stations are taking their equipment to rural locations for on-the-spot field recordings and productions. The government-owned radio stations are more implicated in this. In line with the concerns of political economy of communication, the private for-profit stations do not find this attractive. For them, rural audiences are not the right statistically buying audience.

> People operating private owned radio stations are tied to business and they are into business. It's a different business model. Government established radio stations to bring about development as it is public service broadcasting while the model for the privately owned is the commercial based broadcasting so for the privately-owned stations going into the rural areas to them might not be profitable because, they are poor they don't have the resources and they are not the kind of targets they are reaching out to. When it comes to radio you design your programme based on your reach based on your audience and that's a factor in that (Radio broadcast journalist; Focus group discussion participant, August, 2017).

This agrees with the concerns of the political economy of communication that the commercial media would only cater to the needs of the right audience (Downing, 2011; Bagdikian, 2004; Bogart, 2000; McQuail, 1983; Williams, 1968 cited in Jakubowicz, 1993). This finding also runs counter to the Democratic Media Participant theory which seeks to encourage grassroots local media catering to the communication needs of ordinary people (McQuail, 1983; Asemah, et al, 2017).

Another category of access and participation identified in our findings is access and participation that is mediated by knowledge, power and subject matter expertise. This category also impinges on space for the marginalized group on radio. This category is powered by the nature of media operations, the concept of news value and the structure of news (Fowler, 1991; Galtung and

Ruge, 1965). Essentially access and participation that is mediated by knowledge, power and subject matter expertise does not require you to be wealthy. You are actually sought after, according to one study participant.

> You see when you look at it most of the people who call in a programme, they are the poor, the average members of the society, they are the one, the elites they don't have that time, look at me, I' ve never called in for any programme, the last time they called me because they knew I'm an opinion leader, they called me, they used their own credit to call me in the Radio House so that I'll give my own contribution (Mass communication professor; Focus Group Discussion participant; February, 2017)

This study found that people with political and governmental power also frequently gained access and participation to respond to governance issues. This category of access and participation requires political/governmental position, knowledge and expertise on the subject matters frequently discussed on radio. But some study participants faulted this logic, questioning why even in matters concerning the poor, it is the rich and powerful that discuss them.

Perhaps the standout finding from this study is the increasing number of access and participation mediated by the need for social justice and humanitarianism by the radio stations post deregulation especially by privately-owned radio stations. But this is not exclusive to them. This may well be a form of the manifestation of the liberation technology theory. Liberation technology includes mobile phone with radio as the mass multiplier of information emanating from it. This allows citizens to expose wrongdoings, "express opinions, mobilize protest, monitor elections, scrutinize government, deepen participation, and expand the horizons of freedom" (Diamond, 2010:70).   Some claim it is all part of the strategies deployed by these stations to increase audience size and market share (Deane, 2010 cited in Willems, 2013).

However, the social justice and humanitarian access and participation is fulfilling a huge social responsibility need and occupying the space created by ineffectual governance system in Nigeria. On a regular basis, stations bring individuals with serious financial or judicial needs. They tell their stories to the listening public and receive financial help or in the case of abuse of

fundamental human rights, get justice. When government is the abuser of the rights, government officials have had to come on the programmes on air, to explain. These radio programmes have double roles; they grant access and participation and in addition serve as a form of social security for needy people. They are also governance and accountability programmes. It points out the failure of government to meet the needs of the people as well as abusers of citizens' rights.

This runs contrary to the political economy of communication's concerns that the media in a deregulated and commercialized environment would give voice to only those who can pay for it (William, 1968 cited in Jakubowicz, 1993; Nafiz, 2012; Golding and Murdock, 1991; Downing, 2001, Oso, 2012). While this is not overwhelming, it is happening. In fact, although not included in this study, this form of programming occupies the largest chunk of airtime in a radio station called "Human Rights Radio", within the coverage area of this study. However, in some ways it does satisfy the tenets of McQuail's Democratic Participant Media Theory of ordinary individuals having access to relevant information, interaction of media and audience, feedback, local and non-institutionalised media interacting with small groups.

Content and Programming Decisions

The four radio stations under study showed varying degrees of the effect of deregulation and commercialization on their programming and content decisions. In programming and content decisions, all study participants agreed that the government -owned radio stations in this study performed better in development information/communication, in peacebuilding and reduction of hate speech. The document analysis confirmed the position of all respondents with regard to these variables.

The literature on political economy of communication, development and public service broadcasting support this finding (Hanretty, 2012; Iosifidis, 2012; Foster and Meek, 2008; Akeem, 2013; Bagdikian, 2004; Sage, 2016). The amount of time given to these variables by the two government-owned stations is minimal; 33 out 504 broadcast hours in two weeks compared to the overall duration of broadcast time investigated by in this study. Study respondents noted

that the constriction of space for these variables in the government radio stations was due to commercialization. The government stations are now hybrid. They are copycatting.

Tambini (2015) has pointed out that in Africa where government has funded broadcasting for years, the dwindling of resources because of recession and the adoption of stringent economic policies, there is now a drastic reduction of funds available to broadcasting. Therefore, government stations are now partially commercialized and have to struggle for advertising revenues with commercially-driven stations. They have to negotiate daily where to draw the line between aggressive pursuit for revenue and social responsibility to the tax payers, even with the burden of very low funding from government.

Part of the reason for this low level of socially responsible content in these two government-owned stations are their inability to negotiate effectively. In their balancing act, therefore, they come out poorly on all counts. Hybridization is making government radio stations neither commercial nor public service.

Jakubowicz (2011) and Tambini (2015) assert that in purely commercially-driven radio, there is a lack of supply of "public good" content, noting that commercial competition in radio broadcasting leads to attempts by stations to meet the demands of audiences and advertisers rather than focus on cultural or educational objectives. Predictably, the two private commercially-driven stations in this study reflect this assertion. They performed poorly in educational, development and peacebuilding contents as seen from our document analysis and responses from study participants.

But can purely commercially-driven radio stations supply public service, cultural and educational content? Ward (2006 cited in Jakubowicz 2011) says, "they can, but only to some degree and only to a very limited area of programming that is becoming even more marginalized with the increase in competition between channels and broadcasters... in a competitive environment with multiple players, there is a strong evidence that "excessive sameness" is particularly pronounced in the broadcasting sector, where advertising is the central source of revenue" (p 243).

Nordenstreng (2011, citing Mills) notes that the state's intervention in certain instances, may be necessary to ensure social justice and other higher values. Therefore, some level of intervention is necessary to get radio both public and private to perform this important role necessary for development and peaceful coexistence in Nigeria. The performance of this role has to go beyond the occasional infusion of public service, public interest and national development content which is found perfunctorily highlighted and adlibbed by breezy on air personalities or scattered in the programme schedule of radio stations. To do it well, all aspects of radio broadcasting, its content and programming should be geared and oriented towards delivering a public service remit for peace and development.

Equally, given the poor performance radio post deregulation in the areas of peacebuilding and conflict prevention, especially the private commercial radio stations under study, Allen and Stremlau (2005) note that in fragile states like Nigeria, it may be important for government to exercise a firmer and stronger control over radio to ensure that they are not used to destabilize the society.

Findings indicate that despite their partial commercialization remit, the two government stations showed more commitment to reaching the rural areas with their news and programmes. Respondents noted that these stations are the ones with reporters and programme producers in rural locations. Myers (2008) notes that rural folks are marginalized in access and diversity of radio programme content than those in the urban areas. This denies them access to media channels that allow them to participate in public debates at the national and society-wide levels. The two government-owned radio stations are doing this to some extent. They frequently hook up to their national networks for national audience participatory programmes.

Though not locationally situated in the rural areas, through its rural programmes , these two stations to some extent satisfy McQuail's Democratic Participant Media Theory's insistence on localized media, universally accessed by rural people. But it does not wholly support the participation prong of the theory because what we find is still top down professionalized media

producers, deciding content, producing it, occasionally with the voices of the poor, and disseminating such content to reach the rural dwellers with very limited or no input from them. However, the two stations are motivated by a sense of civic service in their programming and content decisions more than the two private stations and approximate universal access to programme content by locating and reaching the rural audiences, but they do not provide objective news coverage.

The political economy of communication concerns itself with the negative effect of deregulation and commercialization of broadcasting on democracy (McChesney, 2000; Bogart, 2000; Bagdikian 2004). They have challenged the neoliberal assumptions that privatization would be of benefit to democracy, arguing that private media erode civic engagement and prevent full participation. Perhaps, this may be the reasons the MacBride report (1980, p.268) suggested that in expanding communications systems, preference should be given to non-commercialized communication, if the world intends to engender democracy that is not state-controlled. Our data seem not to support this position. Indeed, government-owned media are doing better in value-free voter education programmes on radio but study participants overwhelmingly agreed that alternative political views, capable of enhancing democracy was more prevalent in the private radio stations.

But the government stations marginalized voices of the opposition according to our findings. They offered no platform for alternative voices or opinions. Here the private stations did far better in providing platforms for alternative views despite the latent threat from the broadcast regulator and the economic survival of the stations. It is not entirely altruistic, perhaps, the economic survival of the proprietors of the radio stations may lie with the opposition parties and voices. But that notwithstanding, alternative views are ventilated. This would not have been possible before deregulation of the broadcast medium. The political economy of communication concerns note that voices and views expressed would be those of the owners of the means of communication or approved by them (Barlow, 2002 cited in Nafiz, 2012). Granted, the alternative voices may well represent the voices approved by the owners of the media channels but they are voices unheard during the period of regulated broadcast environment. Downing

(2011) argues similarly, noting that diversity of ownership of media outlets occasioned by deregulation should contribute to pluralism…" their rivalry will promote a culture of dissent which is healthy for democracy".

On the other hand, the profit motivation is driving the private stations to broadcast content regarded as hate speech by many study participants.

Programming and content decision: Development communication/journalism. The literature in deregulation and commercialization of the broadcast media note that one of its major effect is the constriction of space for public service/development content like public affairs programmes, programmes on health, agriculture, voter education, citizenship and so on. Radio, the literature say, does more than just informing citizens in any society. They are also, using various entertainment formats and other programmes, cultural ambassadors and educators (Bratic, 2015)

In its unique way, radio is educational, providing opportunities for learning to children and adults, through development programmes, sometimes in direct instructional formats, helping empower people to be part of development projects. In addition to their informational and educational functions, radio has the latent power to promote social integration by reaching across geographic and social boundaries to meld people together. By this radio helps to constitute a collective identity based on a shared commonality of beliefs that weld citizens to the society of common inhabitation.

In a highly-differentiated country like Nigeria, with diverse ethnicities and languages, radio can enrich public life, promote the national dialogue and provide the platforms for homogeneity, unity, shared experiences of cultures far removed from diverse people in their daily lives. Given this important role of radio as a contributor to education, integration and social cohesion, the narrow focus of conceptualizing a policy like deregulation and commercialization only on consumption and marketisation is insufficient and faulty. Policy needs to be linked with the notion of citizenship in a democracy. The market model as we have seen from our data, is

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constricting and relegating to the background, the cultural, peacebuilding and political significance of radio.

When the policy of social communication is based on the analytics of the "rational" individual, consumer choice of the market model, it obfuscates the social context of radio. This analytical mindset undermines the power of the radio for engendering democracy through providing the platform for alternative voices, and its capacity to support development efforts and empowerment. Cage (2016) notes that "the millions that wealthy corporations have invested in the media undermine the workings of democracy, which depends in important ways in providing voters with high quality and unbiased information" (p.86).

This study on how deregulation and commercialization of radio shapes public service/development content indicate that there is some level of development content on radio. Though not satisfactory to the level they would like, the study participants affirmed that it is still present. Using the document analysis of audio transcript to validate this and put a measure to it, we found that about 37 broadcast hours out of 1008 hour in 14 days of broadcast hours were given to public service/development content by the four radio stations investigated. This is just about three per cent of the total broadcast hours. For a country with huge development gaps and a fledgling democracy, this is very low. A tool of social communication, capable of social mobilization, empowerment and public enlightenment cannot be allowed to be captured by capitalist marketisation wholesale.

The study also found that government-owned radio stations provided more airtime for this development communication/journalism, mostly out of obligation. Being government stations, they felt it was their constitutional and social responsibility to do so. However, with declining audience and market shares, and the fact that private radio stations now far outnumber the government stations, the percentage of radio listeners exposed to development programmes would be far less than envisaged. Besides that, government radio stations cannot do the heavy lifting of public affairs and voter education alone. The private sector radio stations would need to step in to support more effectively.

Programming and content decision: Peacebuilding and hate speeches.

A very interesting and crucial finding of the study is the role of radio, post deregulation, in peace building in Nigeria. It was interesting to find that study participants viewed the radio as offering minimal peacebuilding content and, in some cases, the radio is implicated in disseminating hate speech. This position is validated by our document analysis of 14 days recorded broadcasts of four radio stations, which showed that only eight hours out 1008 hours of broadcast was devoted to peacebuilding content. This is less than one per cent of broadcast time. Participants also agreed that privately-owned stations, in the quest for profit are more prone to hate speeches than the government-owned radios. Although, in one or two cases government radios were complicit. While study participants worried about the minimal peacebuilding content in radio post deregulation, they were alarmed at the rising incidence of hate speech and violence prone-content on radio in Nigeria. Though not very significant currently, they noted, yet it has led to deaths and injuries. They said that the pursuit of profit, politics, elections and religion are drivers of violence-prone content on radio post deregulation.

Our study found this propensity by radio to heat up the polity and placed the blame on privately-owned radio stations who are undiscriminating about who the put-on air so long as the person can pay. However, Katu-Ogundimu (Personal Communication, 2018), in her studies on the crisis in Jos, Plateau State in northcentral Nigeria links the government-owned radio station with "hate lyrics". During the crisis, the radio station played Reggae star, Peter Tosh's "Get up, stand up, Stand up for your right. Get up, stand up, don't give up the fight' and the Christians' crusading hymnal, Onward Christian Soldiers marching as to war… Given the binary narrative that the conflict was a fight for land and a Moslem-Christian contest, these songs were extremely provocative, especially the last which echoes the dark days of the infamous and heinous Christian crusades in the 11th century of which Moslems bore the brunt. "The Nigeria Police Service in Plateau State identified the state government-owned media as instigating violence in the 2010 crises (Ajobe, 2010 cited in Katu, 2016)".

This hacks back to 1994 when the government of Rwanda used the national radio to whip up sentiments, spread rumours, fears and panic that led to the ethnic cleansing in that country. There would be need for stricter control and sanctions if radio must continue to be a platform for peaceful coexistence in Nigeria. As Paris (2004:76) has noted a "vibrant but irresponsible" media environment in Rwanda engineered the polarization of the Rwandan society and facilitated the genocide in 1994 to be efficiently carried out.

During research for this study, the researcher in interviews with journalists and broadcasters found that in the quest for profit by radio stations and low wages of staff of these stations make it easier for renegade politicians and other individuals with a grudge to buy air-time to cause mischief, deliberately vilify their political opponents or to whip up mob violence to exploit an already delicate ethnic or economic situation for a political end. The commercial radio stations are more vulnerable and complicit in this. While they are resource-poor, the government owned stations are not in a do or die struggle to survive, their staff are civil servants with salaries and conditions of service accruable to civil servants in the country. This does not apply to journalists and broadcasters in private commercial radio stations who are underpaid and owed salaries running into several months at a stretch.

During the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, while the government-owned radio stations were clearly partisan in favour of the political party of the government in power, they were more restrained, stopping short of whipping up ethnic sentiments. However, the worst forms of attacks and divisive programming emanated from sponsored programmes on commercial radio stations.

Public radio stations have better trained journalists and broadcasters, they shy away from irresponsible violence-prone reporting and rumour-mongering, not because they do not have wish to do so. They are also susceptible to bribes and ethnic alliances but, compared to commercial stations, they have tighter editorial policies, talk-shows and live phone-ins in their schedules are more restrained and controlled. The government-owned radio stations are more controlled in their biases because, somehow the government in power knows that the health of the political subsystem and the society in general is their responsibility.

It is a political fetish in Nigeria, no matter how bad the system is, no Nigerian leader wants the country to collapse in his or her watch. So, they stop short of any action that would lead to a breakdown of law and order and this includes restraining its radio stations. Our research findings are in consonance with this. Participants agreed that nationally and in states with homogenous ethnic configurations, politicians in power, who control their radio stations tend to steer them towards more peace-oriented content. Even the document analysis attests to this, the two government-owned radio under study showed more peacebuilding and reduction of hate content than the private commercial ones.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

This study set out to investigate what influences the policy of deregulation and commercialization of the media has had on radio broadcasting from 1992 when the policy was established to 2017, a period of twenty-five years. The study proposed that deregulation and commercialization has constrained and constricted radio's public service functions of education, development, democracy enhancement, peacebuilding and the amelioration of hate speech, in Nigeria since policy of deregulation. This chapter will, based on findings draw a conclusion and look at the implications of this study to theory and policy.

The thrust of the political economy of communication differs from typical mass communication analysis. While mainstream mass communication analysis stresses consumption and demand of communication products, political economy analysis emphases production and supply. It concentrates on political, economic and policy decisions which constrain and shape message production. It looks at the communication products outcomes of such policies as attempts by the established power system to preserve its advantages, expand its global reach and profitability.

From our findings and analysis which we have discussed in the preceding two chapters, we found that the in-depth interview and focus group study participants marginally agreed, at the margin of 55% and 60% respectively that radio in Nigeria post deregulation still has some development, educational, democracy enhancement and peacebuilding contents in their daily operations. But the document/content analysis of the live broadcasts of the four stations under study does not support this assertion. Put side by side, what the study participants said and what was found in the content analysis, there is a disparity. The peacebuilding and educational and development content found in the content analysis is far lower. We found the low figures of 37 hours out of 1008 hours of 14 days of broadcasting from the four radio stations studied. This does not compare to the approval rating given by the in-depth interview and focus group study participants. They didn't give figures, but a 55% and 60% approval rating would be far higher than the 3.6% development content and less than one per cent peacebuilding content found during the content analysis.

Even though time was taken to explain the contexts of development communication and information, and peacebuilding contents on radio, and the fact that majority of respondents were radio journalists and programme producers, this may well be an indication the participants have a banal or superficial knowledge of what peacebuilding and development contents mean on radio. They may not have grasped the criteria to define the terms. However, the margin of dissent may well explain this anomaly too. After all, 40/45% of the participants did not agree that there are any peacebuilding and development content on radio post deregulation.

Neglecting Peace and Media Literacy; Promoting Hate Speech
Bratić (2008) proposes "peace media" to actively support peacebuilding and transforming cultural violence. He posits that "the media are often a venue where cultural violence is created," (Bratić, 2008, p. 492 cited in Sutzl, 2016). According to Bratić, "if the symbolic environment is impacted by the messages of peace oriented media, such media environment can be conducive to the cultural transformation of violence" (Bratić, 2008, p. 493). The lack of peacebuilding content in the face of Boko Haram terrorism, ethnic/religious tensions and herdsmen attacks is worrisome.

One would have expected a higher level of peacebuilding content than recorded in our findings. The Boko Haram insurgency is more restricted to the northeast parts of the country while the herdsmen killings are concentrated in the northcentral parts of the country. From the audio transcripts, we found more news coverage of killings and attacks than deep analysis of the crises and an appeal to peaceful co-existence, harmony and national unity. Content found were more of war than peace journalism frames. They detailed atrocities and case fatalities of the crises than any appeal for peace. The crisis and terrorism were more than anything else presented as war. The dominance of tension, violence and death dominated coverage of the crisis (Akinro, 2016).

This lack of peacebuilding content could be a reflection of the national binaries of "we" and "them", a lack of nationhood and unity. The stations may have framed the crises as a northern Nigeria problem rather than a national one. Campbell, 2013; Bekerman & Maoz, 2005; Falola & Heaton, 2008 have noted the deep divisions along ethnic and religious lines in Nigeria and how

Nigerians prioritize their ethnic and religious identities over a national identity. It is possible to view this lack of peacebuilding content, in the face of a Boko Haram and herdsmen crises of international dimensions along those lines.

Mercifully, the two government-owned stations in this study showed some results in peacebuilding content. The peace songs, exhortations, pay-offs and public service announcements on peace, co-existence, harmonious living on Kapital FM and ASO FM were encouraging but hardly sufficient. With airtime lying fallow or filled with music and jokes, their deployment for peaceful overtures may set the agenda for peace in the society. Though government remains obligated to promoting peace, the amount of peacebuilding content in those stations remain appalling. Even for the privately-owned stations, social responsibility requires a focus on peace content in crisis situation as Nigeria finds itself now. When this is lacking, the onus is on the regulatory agency of broadcasting to compel or incentivize it.
Deploying a portion of such fallow airtime for media literacy campaigns against hate speech both online and offline could serve the Nigerian society better.

Instead radio post deregulation is promoting hate speech when it should be a media literacy outfit to combat hate speech be it online or offline. In addition to blatant verbal and direct hate speech, there are instances of radio in Nigeria using creative non-verbal ways to heat up the polity and cause violent clashes among ethnic and religious groups. When a radio station shuts down aspects of its broadcast, as in the case of a radio station in Jos in northcentral Nigeria, and plays only music and songs reminiscent of war, it a call to arms. When songs like "get up stand up, stand up for your rights" and "onward Christian soldier marching as to war" are played continually for hours, even without a presenter uttering a single word, the intention of that radio station is clear. The first song is a call to people to fight those who want to dispossess them of their land. It is a recipe for ethnic war. The second song taken from the Christian hymnal used by crusaders is a cheap, base appeal to religious emotions. It is a call for a religious war.

An instance of a direct verbal hate speech was found in radio station when it broadcast a rehash of the conspiracy theory around polio immunization. That broadcast led to the killing of polio

vaccinators in Kano, northwest Nigeria. In search of audiences, stations whip up religious and ethnic controversy. Controversy sells. Mostly, private stations say controversial things like hate speeches to attract audiences which are so fragmented given the multiplicity of media platforms available today.

McQuail's (1983) Democratic Participant Media Theory posits that the primary role of the media is to ensure the individuals' rights and society's right to access relevant information. Peace content and amelioration of hate speech are most relevant to Nigerians now and the stations under study failed to deliver on this vital ingredient necessary for society's existence. In line with fears of the Democratic Participant Media Theory, the stations remain coopted to serve the interests of their owners be they government or private capital.

More Access, Less Participation

There is more access than participation for the simple reason that before deregulation, there were just about 40 radio stations in Nigeria and post deregulation, we now have more than 300. This naturally created access exponentially for a lot of radio listeners. But the demographics of this access is a different matter altogether. Did access improve for everybody across the board? This appears not to be so. If more than 300 new radio stations are concentrated in the urban areas and economic nerve centres of the country, as is the case now, then access may have just improved for people in urban areas and cities while marginalizing the poor and rural dwellers.

It is important to note that what we found is technology-driven access and participation. Without the cell phones, the internet, social media, both access and participation may not have improved. Convergence is key. Mobiles phones now have radios and are internet-enabled. You can listen on the go and participate via social media, short message service (sms) and phone-ins while still on the go. But access does not mean power. We, however, found less participation than access. Participation costs money. You need a phone, data, knowledge and power to participate. Participation is higher level.

But despite the explosion in technology, power still resides with content producers, gatekeepers and media owners. The poor's participation still lacks the capacity to engender social change because, majorly, their participation is restricted to banal, superficial issues like jokes, sports, and entertainment. In the real issues of social change, democracy and good governance etc., the poor are found wanting. This phenomenon is what Jose Manuel Perez Tornerro (2018) refers to as the banalization of participation.

From this study, we found that the digital divide impeding women's access and participation in radio is not necessarily financial. There are cultural impediments to women's participation. In patriarchal parts of the country, women need the permission of their husbands to contribute to radio programmes. They may have the money, data and cell phones, which are not necessarily from their husbands, yet the culture requires the husband's nod before she can call into a radio show.

Anticipatory Commodification

The country's economic situation makes government and its agencies the biggest advertisers. This fact is orienting and creating a tendency for self-censorship even in the privately-owned radio stations. You must remain in the good books of government if you want to continue to receive it patronage. In Nigeria, government economic influence is octopoid, extending well into what should be core private sector entities simply because government has a stranglehold on the commanding heights of the Nigeria economy-oil. Private firms' patronage of radio stations deemed unfriendly to government may attract their ire. Government can exact its own punishment by pulling out businesses or threaten to blacklist such firms. This is forcing a high of commodification in the radio stations.

Data from both the interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis indicate that commodification in the study radio stations is anticipatory rather than after the fact. The literature on commodification (Bogart, 2000; Smythe, 2001; Bagdikian, 2004) show how through a surfeit of advertising, audiences are manufactured, measured and sold to advertisers for more

advertising revenues. However, in the case of Nigeria, the airwaves are not filled with advertising because of the low level of economic activities in the country.

Radio stations orient their programming to light content and excessive music in anticipation that large audience will be attracted to their stations and subsequently, advertisers would come. In other words, advertising per se is not crowding out peacebuilding and development content, the hope and anticipation of advertising is what is crowding them out. It is much like sending your family away to go stay with relatives while anticipating that your house will be rented to bring in revenues for you. Meanwhile, one year down the road, the house is empty and your family members are squatters somewhere. Peacebuilding and development contents are kept away from radio, in preference for entertainment programmes to attract advertisers but because low levels of economic activities, the advertisements are not forthcoming.

Implications for Theory

The first contribution of this research is the application of the political economy of communication approach and the Democratic Participant Media Theory to the study of the policy of deregulation and commercialization of radio broadcasting in Nigeria. It x-rayed and brought out salient findings on how radio broadcasting has responded to the policy with regard to access and participation, decentralization, constriction of very important content necessary to citizenship, citizens' participation in a democracy, peace and social cohesion, empowerment and development.

In some of the findings, radio in Nigeria has behaved predictably as theorized, in other instances, it has deviated from the theories. While it is theorized that because of deregulation and commercialization, the voices of the poor will be marginalized and only those who can pay will have access and participation, the study findings indicate that this has not happened completely in Nigeria as the theory posits. While the scale tilted more to money being a means of gaining access and participation, it was not a complete tilt. Some voices of people with lower income group, findings indicated that they gained access and participation.

Equally, knowledgeable experts, civil society activists, people with power/authority (but without the use money) like government officials consistently gained access and participation as much as the rich people. In addition, findings indicate that the major driver of access and participation for the people with less resources remain the cell phones. The findings may have been different without the emergence of cell phones when they did in Nigeria.

The second major finding of this study is that the poor are gaining access and participation through unexpected ways in radio post deregulation. Access and participation through the quest for social justice and humanitarianism is novel. Although this type of access and participation is studio-based, which is usually a privilege for only paying participants like politicians, knowledge experts and civil society activists with positions to sell to the public, findings indicate that private radio stations are doing this more than the government-owned stations. The government-owned radio stations push back when the issues being raised might be indicting or critical of the government. The government stations are also offering this form of access and participation but with strong filters. It appears the stations are doing this as a social responsibility because this service targets the poor and the oppressed who are unable to seek justice due to lack of funds.

While radio stations claim that appearance on such programmes is free, this may not be completely true. The fact however, remains that commercial radio stations are giving their platforms to raise funds for the needy; cancer patients, women with multiple births, and others in dire need of financial help and creating space for the poor in search of social justice but lack the resources to do so. This act does not portray them as hardcore capitalists, endlessly in search of profit as depicted in the literature of deregulation and commercialization of the media (Bogart, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004)

The third contribution to theory is the need for moderation on the euphoria about radio's convergence with cell phones and their contribution to voices, accountability and good governance in developing countries. Access and participation through the convergence of mobile phones is believed to be giving voice to the voiceless while at the same time engendering good governance and accountability (Gilberds and Myers, 2011; BCO, 2008). However, there are

lingering questions about the import of such access and participation (Gagliardone, 2016). For what purpose is this access and participation? For instance, the study findings indicate that the preponderance of access and participation for the poor are mainly restricted to trivial, jokes, sports and entertainment. There might be a need to begin to steer this opportunity to issues related to the lifeblood of society.

The fourth contribution is that contrary to theory that the quest for profit and the politics of the proprietors of private radio stations would make them espouse only mainstream views, we found that they remain platforms for alternative views. They are engendering democracy far more than the government-owned stations which continually repress opposition voices and deny platforms for views opposed to the government in power which owns them (Downing, 2011).

The fifth contribution of this work is that it identified various forms of access and participation hitherto not codified. Some are familiar, but access and participation mediated by social justice and humanitarianism, access and participation mediated by knowledge, expertise and power/authority/influence have thus far not been codified, delineated and explained as was done in this study.

Sixth, the study findings also unearthed new form of access and participation for women in distant areas who are marginalized in the northern parts of Nigeria due to cultural and power relations reasons. They are unable to participate in the mobile phone-mediated access and participation because they need permission from their husbands to do so and, mostly, their husbands do not allow it. Radio stations in the more Islamic north are empowering women to participate through the old-fashioned letter writing. These stations are organizing a sort of courier service with long distant drivers to the cities. Women in remote location express their views and opinions in letters, give them to the drivers who deliver them to the radio stations in the cities. They radio stations compensate these drivers by giving them a mention on air, which they appreciate. Circumventing the digital divide, what form of social change this will engender would be interesting in the long run.

Another contribution of this work is there is no full access and participation anywhere in radio post deregulation in Nigeria, neither in privately nor government-owned stations. Scholars (Berrigan, 1981; Carpentier, 2011; McCain and Lowe, cited in Day, 2008, McQuail, 1987) have theorized that the highest level of access and participation, the ideal is when ordinary people have influence and decision-making positions as well as involved in the management of the radio stations. This did not happen. Participants of the study think it is an ideal and unrealizable according to our findings. Yes, ordinary people contribute and influence increasing the duration of programmes, and in creating certain programmes through participation in vox pop and social media posts but that is how far it goes.

In consonance with the fears of scholars about conglomeration as an outcome of deregulation and commercialization (Bagdikian, 2004), findings in this study indicate that indeed the early signs of conglomeration in the media are beginning to manifest in Nigeria (NBC, 2016). For instance, three companies, Channels, Silverbird group and Daar Communications now straddle the broadcast media/entertainment space in Nigeria and it is only a matter of time before they start to foray into publishing, music/entertainment (Silverbird group already does) and telecommunication like their peers in the West.

Implication for Policy

While the study results show that there is now improved access and participation due to the multiplicity of radio stations occasioned by the deregulation policy, this is majorly driven by the convergence between radio, cell phones and social media. The poor still remain marginalized. We found that this could have been worse without the emergence of cell phones, even with the multiplicity of radio stations. Cell phones are driving access and participation in radio for most ordinary people in Nigeria. We do need, however, to interrogate the significance of this.

Furthermore, some study participants noted that despite improved access and participation for the poor, they do not contribute to the weightier issues of national development and governance, but their participation is limited to whimsical, trivial and mundane issues like sports, riddles and jokes. This brings into sharp focus the need to moderate enthusiasm on radio and mobile phones

convergence. This finding is supported by Gagliardone (2016) who found in his study that callers may not be too keen on the substance of the interactions except self-gratification. As one of the "serial callers" in Kenya's Kibera slum district noted,

> I feel that my role in my community has increased. People around can
>
> tell me that they heard me on the radio and I said something that was important, that they agreed with' Another caller made a similar point, drawing on a more vivid imagery. Now I can be heard. Before people did not know me. But now my presence is felt in the community (Gagliardone, 2016, p.8).

Women are still marginalized in access and participation due to power relations, culture, domestic work and poverty. The regulator of broadcasting in Nigeria, the National Broadcasting Commission in its broadcast code prescribed a 10% content for women and children's issues in radio broadcasting and require that all shades of opinion be heard (NBC, 2016). This is not happening according to our findings. The National Broadcasting Commission needs to ginger its regulatory apparatus to enforce this prescription.

The finding that post deregulation, radio stations are granting access and participation to the people who are in need for social justice and humanitarian concerns especially for the poor needs to be investigated and encouraged as a platform for the realization of the some of the rights of citizens in a democracy. A lot of alternative views are still being marginalized in government-owned radio stations while, despite the logic of profit-making and the politics of the owners of private radio stations, they are offering platforms for alternative views and in the long run engendering democracy, possibly citizen participation and good governance.

Last Words

Deregulation and commercialisation propose to free communication from the hands of manipulative governments, placing it in the invisible hands of the market. But communication left to the market place can be problematic and such problems cannot be corrected in the market place. It will be increasingly controlled by a handful of people who wield enormous political and economic power. Study participants are beginning to worry about conglomeration in the Nigeria

media market where only three companies are vertically integrating all media forms, radio, television, music, movies and entertainment. Media content are primarily driven by the need to maximize audience for sale, commodification, rather than the desire to communicate the truth about society, citizen, peacebuilding and empowerment.

From our literature review, advocates of state' involvement in public communication media (Traber, 1986; Gonzalez, 1988; Islam, 2002 cited in Onoja, 2005; Allen and Stremlau, 2005; Nwuzor, 2014; Valcke, 2014) have argued that state regulation makes it possible to disseminate information that is uncontaminated by sentiments and interests. This has not proven to be correct, as we have seen from our data the evils that state control can visit on the collective consciousness of the people. But there is no evidence that the information disseminated by government operated media reflects the interests of the media operators less than the content of commercial media reflect the interests of their owners and operators. The broadcast of government-operated stations advocate compliance with state authorities and glorify state elite. In a parallel manner, commercial media fan interests in everything from celebrity gossips, music, coloured toothpicks to luxury automobiles and glorify the hip and trendy world of the affluent. Commercial media are unable to provide culturally and socially relevant content (Couch; 1996, p.190; Jakubowicz, 2011).

Vin Mosco and R. Reddick, 1986; Moemeka, 1997; McQuail, 2005; Mansell and Raboy, 2011) argue that rather than a narrow choice between market and state regulation, greater understanding can be achieved by concentrating and assessing the merits of a mix of different forms of regulation that foreground the market, the state or interests that lie outside both for different groups in society.

Kojo Yankah, 1997; Suraju, 2013) caution that it is important to remember that deregulation is not about having more of the same, which is the impression one gets from "surfing" the bands and receiving the same diet. Rather, deregulation should mean the opportunity that the life and blood issues of the continent of Africa – functional education, health for all, environmental conservation, gender equality, cultural integrity, political education, good governance and

democracy, etcetera – finally receive the creative attention they urgently deserve. From our data, we have not seen these happen sufficiently enough, rather, we find a constriction of these both in our data. Yet these issues have the greatest detrimental impact on the disadvantaged sectors of our societies, while their resolution is largely dependent on their critical awareness and full participation.

Deregulation should therefore also mean that these disadvantaged sectors have substantially greater access to the medium of communication. This has not happened, rather our data point to the direction that deregulation and commercialisation may have increased the gap between those who have access to information and the means of using it and influencing others and those who do not have these capabilities.

Scholars (Soola Poole, 1983; Downing, 2011) engage in what has been called the discourse of deregulation that increased choice, diversity and democratic communication will emerge automatically as it were given full-fledged deregulation. It is the product of what Szecsko (1993) calls "the fallacy of trying to model the system of social communication on the liberal market place" (p.209). Deregulation of the communication broadcast environment has not delivered information to those who need it most. It has not given greater voice to women, children and the poor. But rather it has diminished choices of content beneficial to citizens' enhancement (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2011).

As shown from our data, information access that did occur is concentrated in urban business districts, worsening the information deficiencies between the city and rural areas and alienating the privileged classes from ordinary people. Current deregulation of the communication media has not changed completely the unequal information access prevalent in our society. A look at the spatial distribution of the stations that have come on stream since the deregulation found that they are concentrated in the big economic viable cities, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Kano, Abuja, Kaduna and Onitsha. Deregulation is a transnational impetus, a response to the internationalisation of economic activities. Garham (1990) notes that communication technologies and their deregulation thereof, do not create poverty, but their introduction into the

mix of already severe class segregation are likely to make life worse for the majority while solidifying alliances among transnational elites

An appropriate communication policy therefore would emphasize the social needs in communications systems more than the needs of capital. This would mean putting people first in the planning of communication systems. Such policy needs to answer some questions: does the communication design maximise the capacity and opportunities for human development for the greatest number as well as its poorest members? Does it encourage interactive as opposed to top down participation, is it accessible in terms of easy and inexpensive usage (Sussman; 1997). To achieve this, communication activity would have to be freed from the authoritarian economic subordination of the state through budgetary financing nor be completely left in the invisible hand of the market place through deregulation and commercialization. Scholars (Splichal and Wasko, 1993; Katz, 2000; Coyer, 2007; Mansell and Raboy, 2011; Nordenstreng, 2011; Taras, 2015; have opined that to achieve an equal initial probability for all individual opinions no matter how poor, communication must be organised as a public good managed and controlled neither by private nor state interests but rather by society as a whole; that they must be socialised.

Raymond Williams (1968:120 cited in Jakubonivich, 1993) proposed the democratisation of communication. He said that he was "firmly against authoritarian control of what can be said, and against paternal control of what ought to be said" but also, he was against commercial control of what can profitably be said because this also can be tyranny. He believes in the need for a deliberate policy of safeguarding the right to transmit and for a publicly controlled and socially accountable institutional infrastructure serving the practical exercise of this right. "No invisible hand can make that happen".

This policy regarding Nigeria would include making the broadcast media regulatory agency, the National Broadcasting Commission independent of government control and financially too. The funding mechanism of the government-owned radio should change from direct budgetary allocation from the state. No media can have editorial independence if it receives state funds.

The study looked at the merit of both the fully deregulated, fully commercialised communication system and a publicly funded system in our review of literature. What we need is a public policy on a communication system that is value neutral, which can play the critical role of conscientisation and mobilisation towards national development and unity. Taras (2001; 2015) and Gonzalez (1988) have all pointed out the fallacy of modelling all communication systems to the American market model because the United States is not engaged in the same desperate struggle for national unity as most parts of the developing world like Nigeria face. Taras noted that in a country with deep ethnic and religious divisions, fully deregulated broadcasting could simply not be trusted to do many other essential tasks of national unity, political and national preservation.

According to Taras (2001: p.10; 2015), "Everybody who is smart in bureaucracies and governments around the Western world now knows that a national broadcaster is one of the most potent remaining levers that a nation state has to communicate with itself". Private commercial stations would only broadcast programmes that would make profit. The heavy lifting of public affairs reporting, political education, nation building, and development programming is left to the national broadcaster. It must contribute to shared national consciousness and identity. Taras (2001; 2015), believes the national broadcaster is an important instrument of public policy and essential conduit for democracy. This is quite in consonance with our finding. Kapital FM, followed by Aso FM both government owned and funded provided more access to the poor, more inclusive in their concerns for development programming, peacebuilding, social mobilisation and political education. On the other hand, they fell short and far below the private stations when it comes to providing a platform for views and opinions contrary to government position.

The process of commercialisation, deregulation and internationalisation in communication systems was caused in part by the political and ideological orientation of developed western countries towards laissez-faire capitalism. The development of trans-national economy and globalisation of economic processes and by the emergence of new technologies including direct

satellite broadcasting which promote the internationalisation of broadcasting by their very nature. This process in an extreme situation results in the emergence of a global oligopolistic system of uniformizing communication, serving the purpose of world system legitimation (Mosco, 1982, 2008, 2015; McQuail, 2000; Freedman, 2006 cited in Goodfriend, 2012; Mansell and Raboy, 2011; Calabresse and Mihal, 2011).

Chapter 7

Recommendations

In this chapter, we make some recommendations for practice and further research on the subject based on our findings.

Suggested policy responses. Rural voices and rural poor are more marginalized than the urban because of the locations of these private radio stations. Despite increased number of radio stations post deregulation, they are still city-based. Indeed, all private stations are still located in the business districts and economic centres of the country while stations broadcasting in indigenous languages and located closer to rural areas give more access and participation to the rural poor. It was that government-owned radio stations offer what approximates to rural broadcasting both in the use of language, programming and location than privately-owned stations. The private stations also have far fewer number of hours allocated to development programming. This is not their core mandate according to the national broadcasting code;

> Public Service Broadcasting shall: strike a balance between programming of wide appeal and specialized programmes that serve the needs of different audiences; ... allot a minimum of 70% of its weekly broadcast hours to developmental issues;
>
> …Private/commercial Broadcasters shall allot a minimum of 5% of its weekly broadcast hours to public service programmes and announcements. (NBC, 2016, p. 77).

But both the government-owned stations and the privately-owned ones are nowhere near the requirement of this regulation. Only about 4% of four radio stations' broadcast hours in two weeks were devoted to development and peacebuilding content. The NBC needs to be tasked and adequately empowered to make the publicly-owned radio concentrate on the core areas of its mandate and strength which are provision of universal services, development and peacebuilding content. It should through government creatively engage and support the private sector to key into this area of content provision. Government-owned radio stations cannot do the heavy lifting of public affairs, peacebuilding and development programming alone. They are fewer now and its audience and market share is shrinking.

Through tax havens, reduction or outright waiver of license fees, privately-owned stations could be made to offer a certain percentage of these programmes. Cage (2016:108), has suggested tax breaks and rebates for media companies to encourage development content and we include an annual competition for best radios in peace and development content. The prize money could be one-year funding for peace and development programmes in the wining stations. A unit called the development broadcasting unit at the Federal Ministry of Information, like the one in Malawi could moderate this.

Equally, government needs to find a funding mechanism and governance structure that frees radio from the stranglehold of the government in power, making radio "his master's voice". These may include like license fees on liquor and cigarettes and forms of value added tax on products. This fund should be available to all government-owned stations irrespective of states of domicile. From this fund, also especial interventions for content not of interest to commercial radio could be funded. It should not pass through government but independently managed by a new governance structure of elected representatives. Governance structure like in the UK, France and South Africa should be emulated. Nigeria can borrow from the Republic of Ireland where The Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI), an independent regulatory body, is tasked with administering financial support to private broadcasters. Funds come from 5% of license fee paid by television viewers. In return, private commercial broadcasters commit to some level of public service remit (Buckley et al, 2008, p.239).

According to Buckley et al (2008), funding sources can be a big issue to content generation;

> Some sources of funding carry inherent risks: the possibility of withholding public funding gives leverage to governments to influence media; whereas advertisers may use their ability to switch to other outlets to gain more favorable coverage. Insufficient resources exacerbate dependence on funding sources, whether public or private, and increase the risk of partisan influence or of external or self-censorship.

Weighing in on secure and long tern funding sources, Hanretty (2012) notes the positive impact on higher levels of independence if the Chief Executive Officers and board members of government-owned radio stations have longer tenures in office. "Imposing bans on dismissal of

Chief Executive Officers and board members, a specified but limited reporting relationship with the parliament or executive are *de facto* strategies for editorial independence (p13)". This we should adopt for our government-owned radio stations.

Findings indicated that poor remuneration and now outright nonpayment of salaries is partly responsible for unethical and professional conducts on radio today. The need to be popular so other avenues of earning income could open for them is making on air personalities and radio workers take risks. They have put content and persons that could possibly overheat the polity on air in exchange for gifts and jobs like masters of ceremonies. Enforcing labour laws on payment of salaries and minimum standard of professional and ethical conduct could go a long way to ameliorating the situation.

Training of broadcasters in peace and conflict prevention programming is imperative now with the rise of hate speech both online and offline.

Policy/programme responses on peacebuilding and hate speech. Findings from this study indicate that **r**adio is ideal for development and peacebuilding. While there is some development and peacebuilding content on radio post deregulation, this is however not enough. For instance, only 37 broadcast hours out of 1008 hours of four radio stations' broadcast hours in two weeks were devoted to development and peacebuilding content. Peacebuilding content was a paltry 8 hours of 1008 hours. Findings also indicate that radio is complicit in hate speeches especially the privately-owned radios and that politics, elections and religion are drivers of violence-prone content on radio post deregulation. This finding is supported by NBC (2016) which posits that:

> despite the regulatory code of the cardinal responsibility of broadcasting to inform, educate and entertain shall not be at the expense of national interest, unity and cohesion of Nigeria's diverse social, cultural, economic, political and religious configurations. Therefore, no broadcast shall encourage or incite to crime, lead to public disorder, be repugnant to public feeling or contain an offensive reference to any person, alive or dead, or generally, be disrespectful to human dignity (NBC, 2016, p. 9).

Given the current insecurity in Nigeria and heightened hate speeches on social media, a new policy/programming thrust could reinvigorate radio to be a bulwark against hate speeches offline and online. The increased convergence of radio, mobile phones and social media stand radio post deregulation in good stead to perform this role.

The first act of radio in Nigeria in countering new media hate speech is to purge itself of bias, of being the mouthpiece of it owners be they government or individuals. An empowered regulatory body to enforce ethical standards and training of journalists and broadcasters including managing and control of the professional entry qualification is essential. If radio applies professional standards in its daily broadcasts by balancing its news and programmes, vetting people, give voice to ambassadors of peace but at the same time providing a platform for alternative and dissenting voices to create dialogue and resolve conflict peacefully, radio can contribute to peace and possibly wean some people away from the hate messages on the social media. Radio would have to deliberately court the younger generation, give them a platform to air their views.

The government should empower more grassroots community radios and get them to be more dialogic or participatory in creating awareness for people to vent their grievances and resolve their conflicts. To reduce gullibility of individuals on online hate speeches, radio messaging on social cohesion and national unity needs to be consistent, staying permanently on the peace message.

Radio can be a media literacy outfit for young people. Sometimes young people do not understand the difference between what happens on the social media and real-life situation. But radio can be an arbiter, a media literacy outfit for these younger ones. By the type of programming it does, by the kind of interviews it conducts, by messages that radio spreads, it can help provide a different perspective, open people's mind, show the real position of things and contribute to reducing tension in the polity.

> I think too many people use social media as a news source these days and if they see it on Facebook or twitter they see it as the truth. As long as people understand that just because they read it on Facebook doesn't mean that it's true, what you read on the Internet

doesn't mean that it is true. And I think radio should probably talk a lot more about that. There's a lot of what people call convergence happening these days. It's not just radio or social media; it's all linked (Smith, 2017).

Virtually every radio station has a Facebook page and a Twitter handle. Radio must engage a lot more with their Facebook pages as other social media do to counter hate messages out there. Part of today's media landscape requires that every radio station should create a social media or multimedia unit and have people devoted to social media to counter the hate and to do fact checks on what is emanating from the net. Perhaps subscribing to Africa Check or other such like agencies is the way to go. Africa Check fact-checks hate messages that are posted on Facebook and Twitter.

Creating and broadcasting programmes and news that is of interest to different strata of society but especially the social media age bracket would help shift minds away to what is right, what is peaceful and conducive to social cohesion and ethnic and religious tolerance. When these programmes and news are anchored by trusted community leaders, role models and credible religious persons, their levels of credibility increase. Radio should create platforms and use airtime fillers for peace messages and media literacy programmes.

Radio must create a vibrant multimedia section with a dedicated unit on social media hate speech. It must regularly watch, keep an eye on what is trending on the internet, it should continually monitor it and present an alternative perspective to imminent hate messages. Surveillance is a pivotal role for radio in checking social media hate message. Radio must integrate with the social media. It should leverage its extensive reach by carrying that diverse audience into the social media. For instance, an ongoing discussion programme or audience-participatory programme on the terrestrial radio could continue online on the radio station's multimedia online social media platforms.

Radio could build its own social media community, infusing all engagements there with the ethical and regulated practices of terrestrial radio. Programmes from this community could have airtime slots on the terrestrial radio. Members of this community are very likely to model the

ethical practices infused in them in these radio social media communities to other social media communities or platforms they belong. This could have the effect of introducing sanity in discourses and engagements on the social media.

A national consortium of radio stations under the auspices of the National Broadcasting Commission should create a networked simulcast weekly programme on hate speech that combines SMS/WhatsApp/Email/Tweets/Instagram/Studio Audience/Phone-ins on current trending social media hate speech with a view to deconstructing it and creating a media literacy around the subject. An integrated multimedia programme approach that brings together new media tools and applications in combination with terrestrial radio's significant reach across all strata of society to fight the scourge of hate speech. This approach requires the regulatory authority of the National Broadcasting Commission to make it happen. As we have noted, radio peacebuilding and hate speech countering efforts alone cannot defeat hate speech, strong regulation diligently enforced is required.

Radio should engage with non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders like the MacArthur Foundation and Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD) programming in the areas of hate speech. These organisations have databases or "source list" of consistent hate speakers on social media. Such speakers if provided a national platform that is regulated like radio could moderate their speech over time. Such speakers should be engaged in dialogic and participatory radio programmes where the basis of their arguments is destroyed by rational reasoning. These fellows should be the targets of radio's foray into the internet.

Radio should use its platform and broad reach to unveil unknown social media hate speakers, regularly in its programmes and news, x-ray incidences of hate speeches by them, analysing them in discursive and participatory programmes thereby creating a critical mass of visibility, public enlightenment around the issues. The hate speakers would be held in popular social imagination as not the normative nor a role model worthy of emulation.

Good reliable and credible information ameliorates hateful, jaundiced and falsehoods as perpetrated on the social media away. Radio's counter measure functions must include the supply of credible and reliable information in multimedia formats and genres that would reach a broad range of audiences wherever they are, including the social media generation. This would entail generating bite-size content deliverable through all new media platforms, mobile technology, WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram etc.

CITAD (2015) found that strong counter speech indicators include the use of influential people in society to debunk trending hate speeches on social media. Drawing up a database of key influencers in society and regularly providing them with the platform to counter statements on social media that is detrimental to society could be a key strategy that could help reduce the scourge of social media hate speech.

By embracing the internet radio will invade the traditional home of hate mongers, then its counter messages would be more effective. Radio cannot be only terrestrial because young people consume media differently, and therefore radio should adapt itself to meet new challenges of online hate speech. It must perform the role of a teacher, focus on media literacy on the Internet. Live streaming of radio counter speech can help reduce internet hate speeches.

The Nigerian government, through its broadcast regulatory agency, the National Broadcasting Commission could provide some incentives to radio stations which achieve at least a 10% benchmark on peace and social media hate speech-countering. These incentives could be in the form of tax reliefs, content production grants and outright purchase of airtime. Every radio should use 10% to promote peace and counter social media hate speeches.

It would be well-nigh impossible to turn back the wheel of deregulation. What is important is to pick and choose the things that are relevant to our own socio-economic and cultural milieu. Access and participation are not beyond the capabilities of stations even in a deregulated commercial environment provided the concept of public interest create a healthy balance among regulatory mandates, society obligations and financial stability.

Under deregulation therefore, the wise policy will seek long-term peace and steady progress towards development. It will ensure that those with less education, less capital resources, less communication competence also have access. In fact, a good policy will open communication access to rural areas, to minority groups, to the poor and the marginal, to women and children. The policy should ensure that all dimensions of life interests are represented. These include the political information and education that citizens need to participate in a democracy, information about basic needs, health, agriculture and environment.

Finally, we must find in the policy a balanced process of social and political change, allowing all sides of a public debate, providing space for new social actors.

Areas for Further Research

Scholars (Willems, 2013; Deane, 2010 cited in Willems, 2013; Gagliardone, 2016) are beginning to wonder what are the effects of access and participation on society. Is it improving governance and accountability or just another academic fad? When citizens make demands on government are they responding or just ignoring them? Further research on the impact of radio and mobile phone convergence-enabled access and participation is needed before the eureka chorus continues.

What funding models, contextualized to the needs of a developing country like Nigeria, should adopt for public communication is imperative now. A model that allows editorial independence and content necessary for development and peace needs to be researched into.

Even within the context of commercial broadcasting, it is important to research into what content the market can provide and what it cannot, then research to find the nature and extent of intervention that is required to achieve a desirable public communication outcome. How sustainable is access and participation mediated by social justice and humanitarianism in the long run? Will public-spirited Nigerians continue to respond to the call for help? In the long run, will it constitute an attack on the failure of governance requiring government wielding the big stick? A research is needed to answer these questions. Are the poor's access and participation limited

only to unserious subjects like sports, entertainment, jokes etc.; light content on radio? Why? There is need to find out.

Reflexivity

In doing research, there are issues the researcher must bear in mind and watch out for to avoid bias in data collection, analysis, interpretation and conclusion of findings. I am familiar with the subject of radio broadcasting. I have technical knowledge and expertise in radio broadcasting. I have 18 years' professional experience as a radio broadcaster, growing from a rookie radio programme producer into the managerial cadre in the profession. I produced radio programmes, was an on-air personality and my focus as a programme producer was in development. I produced radio programmes in health, agriculture, population, family planning, economic development and empowerment. At the managerial level, I was responsible for designing radio programme schedules, quality control and content management. I used all formats in designing my radio programmes, talk, drama, entertainment, dialogue etc. So, I am familiar with radio programmes and news format and categories and could identify and categorise them based on several years of work experience in the radio broadcast media. I also believe radio should add value to the listener.

So, in doing this research, confirmation bias was what I watched out for. Confirmation bias is when a researcher creates hypothesis or study design about what he or she believes about that subject and uses respondents' answers to confirm that position. The researcher weighs responses and selects those that confirms his or her position while dismissing evidence that shuns a contrary position (Rabin and Schrag, 1999).

To avoid this, I interviewed a far larger number of persons, both for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. I also made efforts to interview people from every part of the country to get rich and varied perspectives. Secondly, I kept testing my assumptions and research questions against the responses, going back and forth with some participants to cross-check if I captured the essence of their arguments. It was impossible to cross check with every 199 participants, but I felt 10% of the number would be adequate. Also, this is part of the reason why I included in my

study design an analysis of real life audio transcripts of broadcasts of four radio stations to validate and triangulate findings from the interviews. This helped in checking bias too.

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Interview Protocol

Four stations (Aso FM, Kapital FM, Rhythm FM and Raypower FM)

General Managers

Content Managers

Marketing Managers

International Development Partners

UN Radio Peacebuilding Experts

National Broadcasting Commission Directors

Veteran Broadcasters

Young Broadcasters

Breakdown of Study Participants

Veteran Broadcast Journalists (10)	In-depth interviews
Current Broadcast Journalists (10)	In-depth interviews
Print Journalists (6)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' General Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio Station News Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio broadcast regulators (2)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' Marketing Managers (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio Stations' Programme Manager (4)	In-depth interviews
Radio stations' operational staff (8)	In-depth interviews
Development Workers (7)	In-depth interviews
International Radio and peacebuilding experts (2)	In-depth interviews
Journalists (print) (36)	Focus group discussions

Journalists (Online) (9)	Focus group discussions
Broadcast Journalists (46)	Focus group discussions
University lecturers of journalism and mass communication (21)	Focus group discussions
Radio listeners (30)	Focus group discussions

Appendix 11

List of questions administered

Young Broadcasters

This interview is part of the research for a PhD in Communication and Journalism, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. Using the political economy approach the thesis investigates the impact of commercialisation and deregulation on radio broadcasting in Nigeria 1992-2015. The opinion shared in this interview is purely for research and would not be used for any other purpose. There are no right or wrong answers. It is a matter of perspective.

Thank you

1. Could you please introduce yourself, sharing with us your work experience?
2. Could please briefly describe you do on a daily basis in broadcasting?
3. What is the role of radio today?
4. Is it different from what you are used years ago?
5. In your station, do you have programmes that cater for the educational needs of people? What are these progrmmes?
6. Listening to your station today would a farmer improve her farm yields? How?
7. Would a mother learn basic hygiene and how to care for her baby?
8. Do you have programmes for the poor, women, children and other marginalised groups?
9. Who gain access and participate in radio programming these days?
10. People believe only the rich, famous and government officials gained access and participated in radio broadcasts in those days?
11. What programmes do you have to help the poor, women, children and other marginalised groups to gain access and participate in radio?
12. Do you have any form of community broadcasting?
13. Do you think people have more access and participation in radio today?
14. What kinds of programmes do we have on radio today?
15. What do you think has affected radio and its role in society today?
16. Do you think that broadcasting is better today than before? Why?

17. How can we improve the performance of radio today?

18. Do you think people learn more from radio today? Why?

19. How has advertising affected radio today?

Veteran Broadcasters

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Thank you

1. Could you please introduce yourself, sharing with us your work experience?
2. Could please briefly describe your early days in broadcasting?
3. What was the role of radio in those days?
4. Is it different from what you find today?
5. Did you have programmes that catered for the educational needs of people? What were these progrmmes?
6. Listening to you in those days would a farmer improve her farm yields? How?
7. Would a mother learn basic hygiene and how to care for her baby?
8. Do you have programmes for the poor, women, children and other marginalised groups?
9. Who gained access and participated in radio programming in those days?
10. People believe only the rich, famous and government officials gained access and participated in radio broadcasts in those days?
11. What programmes did you create to help the poor, women, children and other marginalised groups to gain access and participate in radio in those days?
12. Did you have any form of community broadcasting in those days?
13. Do you think people have more access and participation in radio today?
14. What kinds of programmes do we have on radio today?
15. What do you think has affected radio and its role in society today?
16. Do you think that broadcasting is better today than before? Why?
17. How can we improve the performance of radio today?
18. Do you think people learn more from radio today?
19. How has advertising affected radio today?

20. Did radio play a role in peace building and national unity then?

21. Is radio playing that role today?

International development workers-United Nations

This interview is part of the research for a PhD in Communication and Journalism, Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona. Using the political economy approach the thesis investigates the impact of commercialisation and deregulation on radio broadcasting in Nigeria 1992-2015. The opinion shared in this interview is purely for research and would not be used for any other purpose. There are no right or wrong answers. It is a matter of perspective.

 Thank you for accepting to do this interview.

1. Could you please introduce yourself, sharing with us your work experience?
2. How does your work in development entail the use of radio?
3. What sort of challenges do you encounter in trying to use radio in your work?
4. What do you think are responsible for these challenges?
5. How do you try to overcome these challenges?
6. Do you have to pay to gain access and participation directly or through proxies?
7. Which stations are more amenable to their social responsibility roles? Government-owned or privately owned stations?
8. Do you think that radio is playing its role as an agent of development well?
9. Without development partners/NGOs supporting development programming on radio what do you think would happen to the development role of radio?
10. In what ways has commercialisation affected radio?
11. What is the cost of commercialisation of radio broadcasting to development programming?
12. What are the elements of access and participation you find in radio broadcasting today?
13. Do you think more people have access to the radio?
14. Who do you think gains more access/participate to the radio today
15. Are the voices of poor marginalised or do they have access/participation
16. Are voices of the people more on radio now than before?
17. Is radio more democratic now than before?

18. In commercialisation and deregulation, the political economy of communication talks about;

    Excessive entertainment, light programming and more music. Are these happening now?

19. Do you see public service/government owned stations copy catting to be like the commercial stations?

20. People believe that too much advertising/entertainment is constricting the education, information and development functions of radio, what is your position?

21. Who is guiltier, government owned or private stations?

22. Which offers more development and education programmes, private of government?

23. Do we now have more diversity and choice in programme content?

National Broadcasting Commission Directors

This interview is part of the research for a PhD in Communication and Journalism, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. Using the political economy approach the thesis investigates the impact of commercialisation and deregulation on radio broadcasting in Nigeria 1992-2015. The opinions shared in this interview is purely for research and would not be used for any other purposes. There are no right or wrong answers. It is a matter of perspective.

Thank you

1. Could you please introduce yourself, sharing with us your work experience?
2. How would you describe broadcasting since deregulation and commercialisation?
3. Would say that deregulation and commercialisation has been good for radio. If yes why, if no, why?
4. How many radios do we have now in Nigeria? How many are private and how many are government owned?
5. Are they more city based than rural?
6. How many community radios do we now have? Are they operational?
7. Are they really community based/what is the distribution pattern?
8. What is the structure of ownership: by associations, groups, individuals, communities?
9. What are the elements of access and participation you find in radio broadcasting today?
10. Do you think more people have access to the radio?
11. Do they participate in radio?
12. Who do you think gains more access/participate to the radio today
13. Are the voices of poor marginalised or do they have access/participation
14. Are voices of the people more on radio now than before?
15. Is radio more democratic now than before?
16. In commercialisation and deregulation, the political economy of communication talks about;

    Conglomeration that is concentration of ownership in few hands

Capital accumulation leading to the logic of excessive entertainment, light programming and more music. Are these happening now?

17. Is public service broadcasting under threat?

18. Do you see public service/government owned stations copy catting to be like the commercial stations?

19. People believe that too much advertising/entertainment is constricting the education, information and development functions of radio, what is your position?

20. Who is more guilty, government owned or private stations?

21. Which offers more development and education programmes, private of government?

22. Do we now have more diversity and choice in programme content?

23. What is the future of public service broadcasting in Nigeria?

24. What should we do differently to make radio truly important?

International consultants, radio and peacebuilding projects for the UN

1. Could you please share some of your experiences with us in the use of radio for conflict prevention and peace building?
2. Do you think radio is in a position to play a role in conflict prevention and peace building in Nigeria?
3. How can it do this?
4. Do you think that radio in Nigeria is playing a role in conflict prevention and peace building?
5. How do you think that radio is playing this role?
6. How can radio play a role in fighting radicalisation and hate speech?
7. What do you think is hindering radio in Nigeria from playing a role in conflict prevention and peace building?
8. In what ways do you think that the quest for profit is hindering radio's role in conflict resolution and peace building?
9. Do you think that government owned radio stations do peace building and conflict prevention programmes and news as opposed to privately-owned radio stations?
10. How do think radio can be supported to play a role in conflict prevention and peace building?

Questions for General Managers of Radio Stations

1. Demographics, work experience, years in current position.

2. What are the major challenges you face managing this radio station?

3. How do you cope with the pressure to make more money?

4. What kind of programmes and news do you have in this station?

5. What percentage of your programmes are music and light entertainment?

6. In what ways is the pressure to make money affecting your news and programmes?

7. Do you have programmes and news that cater for everybody?

8. What sort of programmes and news do you have for women, children, disabled persons, illiterate persons, farmers, the poor etc?

9. What programmes do you have to improve the knowledge of your listeners in health, voting, governance, elections, agriculture, civics etc?

10. Are radio stations in a position to promote peace and minimise conflicts in Nigeria?

11. Do you think that radio stations contribute to peace building, national unity and love among ethnic groups in Nigeria in their news and programmes?

12. Do you think it is desirable to do this?

13. What hindrances are there to doing this?

14. Do you think radio stations in anyway contribute to escalation of conflicts in Nigeria and how?

15. In what languages, do you broadcast?

16. What do you consider your social responsibility to your listeners?

17. Do you think people have more access and participation in radio broadcasting?

18. What groups have more access and participation in your radio station? Who feature most prominently in your programmes and news?

19. Which comes first, programmes/news that generates revenue for your station or those that enlighten, inform and educate the audience?

20. What sort of conflict of interest do you grapple with as general manager with regard to the content you broadcast on your station? What sort of content would you rather be broadcasting?

21. How far do you push the concept of "let them pay"?

22. Has commercialization killed broadcasting and in what ways?

23. Do you think there is too much entertainment and music on radio today? What is the cause?

24. How do you try to reach your audience in the rural areas and urban slums?

25. When you plan your programmes and news, who do you have in mind?

26. In what ways is your audience involved in your programme planning? Do they contribute content?

27. In what ways, do you think your station is adding value to the lives of your listeners?

Questions for Officer in charge of Marketing

This interview is part of the research for a PhD in Communication and Journalism, Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona. Using the political economy approach the thesis investigates the impact of commercialisation and deregulation on radio broadcasting in Nigeria 1992-2015. The opinion shared in this interview is purely for research and would not be used for any other purpose. There are no right or wrong answers. It is a matter of perspective.

 Thank you for accepting to do this interview.

1. Demographics; experience, job description
2. What is your role in this station?
3. What kind of target is set for you?
4. How do you cope with the pressure from management to meet your target?
5. How do you try to meet your target?
6. Are there any challenges in trying to meet your target?
7. Do you have any social responsibility concerns as your strive to meet your target?
8. What kind of conflicts do you have with your opposite number--- the manager programmes?
9. How do you resolve such conflicts?
10. What role do you think radio should play in society?
11. Is your role as marketing manager helping radio to perform that role?
12. What do you think should happen to programmes on education, health, agriculture, voter education etc. on radio?
13. What kind of programmes and news do you prefer your station to broadcast?
14. Do you have an influence in what kind of programmes are broadcast in your station?
15. Do you usually authorize/request that programmes should be "killed" to make way for sponsored programmes /adverts?
16. People think there is too much advertising and sponsored programmes on radio these days thereby making radio boring. What do you think?

17. How do you think we should overcome excessive entertainment and music in radio broadcasting today?

18. What kinds of programmes help your marketing function?

Questions for Officer in charge of Programmes and News

1. Demographics; experience, job description
2. What kind of programmes/news do you have on this station?
3. Do you have programmes/news that cater for everyone's needs?
4. Do you have programmes/news for rural farmers, children, women, people with disabilities, poor people, and marginalized groups?
5. What are your languages of broadcast?
6. How do you try to cater for the interest of those who do not speak your language of broadcast?
7. Do you have programmes/news that cater to the development needs of your audience, programmes in health, voter education, agriculture, literacy etc?
8. Would these programmes /news normally be sponsored or do you do them as social responsibility?
9. How much do people pay to appear on your news and programmes?
10. What categories of people are these?
11. How do you ensure that the voices of the poor and marginalized are reflected?
12. People think all radio does now is to play music and entertain its audience with light programming.
13. Do you have pressure to use your programmes and news to make money for the station?
14. How is that affecting your programmes and news?
15. How do you respond to this pressure?
16. Do you have conflicts with the marketing department and what is the nature of these conflicts?
17. How do you resolve them?
18. Do people participate in your programmes and news?
19. What is the nature of this participation?
20. In what ways do you seek audience members' perspectives/opinions before concept and production of your programmes and news?

21. What is the nature of community broadcasting – (in terms of taking your equipment and going to the community to produce news and programmes) you do?

22. Is advertising affecting your news and programmes?

23. What categories of people most frequently gain access to the airwaves?

24. How do people get to participate in your programmes and news?

25. What percentage of your broadcast time is used for commercial/sponsored programmes/music and entertainment vis-à-vis educational programmes and news?

26. Are radio stations in a position to promote peace and minimise conflicts in Nigeria?

27. Do you think that radio stations contribute to peace building, national unity and love among ethnic groups in Nigeria in their news and programmes? How?

28. Do you think it is desirable to do this?

29. What hindrances are there to doing this?

30. Do you think radio stations in anyway contribute to escalation of conflicts in Nigeria and how?

Peacebuilding Questions

1. Are radio stations in a position to promote peace and minimise conflicts in Nigeria?
2. Do you think that radio stations contribute to peace building, national unity and love among ethnic groups in Nigeria in their news and programmes? How?
3. Do you think it is desirable to do this?
4. What hindrances are there to doing this?
5. Do you think radio stations in anyway contribute to escalation of conflicts in Nigeria and how?
6. Do you think that commercialization and the need to make profit constraining the role of radio as a peace builder and how?
7. What do think can be done to make radio play this peacebuilding role effectively?
8. How can radio counter hate messages on the social media?
9. Can radio play a media literacy role as a way to help peace building in society?

Focus Group Discussion Questions

Development information, news and programmes

1. Does radio now have news and programmes that cater for the development needs of its audience; programmes on health, farmers' programmes, voter education, literacy, business education etc.
2. Which stations do these better, government or privately owned stations?
3. Do you feel you are informed and educated when you listen to radio? Do you gain something from listening to radio?
4. Which stations better inform and educate its audience; government or privately owned stations?

Access and Participation

5. Do you think more people gain access to radio today?
6. If yes, why?
7. Do you think more people participate in radio programming today. In what ways do they participate?
8. Which stations do this more, government or privately owned stations?
9. Do stations now broadcast more in local languages and pidgin; which stations do this better, government or privately owned stations?
10. Do you think that radio today cater for rural and poor people through their programmes and news; which stations do this better, government or privately owned stations?
11. What sort of people appear more in radio news and programmes? The rich, the poor, children, women, experts, government officials?
12. Do we have voices of the poor on radio?
13. How can we include the voices of the poor, women, children and the marginalised in radio today?

14. Do you think that only those who have money, power, and influence have access and participate in radio programmes today?

15. Which stations, government or privately owned stations give more access and participation to the poor, children, women and marginalised groups?

Excessive entertainment and light programming

16. People think that all radio does today is to play music and other entertainment programmes. Is this true; which stations do this more, government or privately owned stations

17. What is responsible for too much entertainment and music on radio today?

Peace Building and promotion of national unity

18. Are radio stations in a position to promote peace and minimise conflicts in Nigeria?

19. Do you think that radio stations contribute to peace building, national unity and love among ethnic groups in Nigeria in their news and programmes?

20. Do you think it is desirable to do this?

21. What hindrances are there to doing this?

Appendix 111

CONSENT FORM

I understand that this interview is part of the research for a PhD in Communication and Journalism, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. Using the political economy approach the thesis investigates the impact of commercialisation and deregulation on radio broadcasting in Nigeria 1992-2015. I also understand that opinions shared in this interview is purely for research and would not be used for any other purpose.

I give this interview freely and without duress or coercion. The opinions expressed here are personal and not an official position on the issues in question.

I, ………………………………………………………………., therefore, give consent to this interview for the purpose of the aforesaid research.

Signed.

Sample Programme Schedule

3RD QUARTER 2016 PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	S
6.00 - 7.00am	THE MORNING DRIVE					MIX MUSIC	
7.00 - 7.15am	NEWS AT 7						
7.30 – 7.45am	RHYTHM SPORTS					MIX MUSIC	
8.00 – 8.05am	NEWS UPDATE					NEWS UPDATE	
8.05 – 9.00am	RIDICULOUS MONDAY	HEALTHY TUESDAY	FREESTYLE WEDNESDAY	OLD SCHOOL THURSDAY	REP YOUR CLUB	NA SO E BE	GO
9.00 – 9.45am	SITUATION REPORT			VIEWPOINT	SITUATION REPORT	TOTAL IMPACT	
10.00 – 10.05am	NEWS UPDATE					BBC 'TALK YOUR OWN'	
10.05 – 10.30pm	RHYTHM AND SOUL						M
10.30 – 12.00pm						HASHTAG	
12.00 – 12.15pm	NETWORK NEWS						
12.15 – 2.00pm	LUNCHBOX OLDIES					MIX MUSIC	SUN
2.00 – 2.05pm	NEWS UPDATE					WEEKEND DIARY	
2.05 – 3.00pm	THE VIBE						TH
3.00 – 4.00pm						MIX MUSIC	
4.00 – 4.05pm	NEWS UPDATE						
4.05 – 5.00pm	THE VIBE					SHOUTOUT SHOW	TH
5.00 – 5.30pm	SPORTS FLASH						
5.30 – 6.00pm	DH SHOW WITH MC AMANA						BL
6.00 – 6.15pm	NETWORK NEWS						
6.15 – 6.30pm	DREAM NETWORK					MIX MUSIC	CLU
6.30 – 8.00pm						RAP CULTURE	
8.00 – 9.00pm	DANCE PARTY					MIX MUSIC	SU
9.00 – 10.00pm						DREAM NETWORK [ITAL SOUNDS]	
10.00 – 11.00pm	RHYTHMS OF THE NIGHT						JA
11.00 – 12.00am							
12.00 – 1.00pm	NIGHT CRUISE					GOLDEN OLDIES	NIG
1.00 – 6.00am							