BROADCASTING AND THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA IN NIGERIA

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by
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To the affectionate memory of my father

IYIMOGA OGAH

who has not lived to see this moment
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C.O. Iyimoga
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INTRODUCTION

Background

Is it possible for aspects of traditional Nigerian culture to be effectively incorporated into the broadcast systems? This is the central concern of this thesis as it looks at some Nigerian folk communicative forms and how they are utilized in broadcasting.

The review of literature indicates that a number of research projects have been carried out in the area of the effects of transnational communications on the national cultures of recipient countries. It is argued for instance, that the massive importation of media products by the Third World nations which are said to be primarily geared towards change-oriented programmes, has led to the one-way dominance of communication systems and materials by the exporting Western countries, particularly the United States. This situation, others have argued, is eventually leading to some form of 'cultural imperialism'.

In the quest for 'development', Nigeria, like most Third World countries, is caught in this international web of dependency for both hardware and software. A number of suggestions as to the best way out for these Third World nations points to some form of 'isolation' so as to maintain their national cultures. Other strategies have included the indigenisation of the broadcasting systems in terms of programming. But the situation of cultural isolation appears rather difficult in view of the economic, political and overall network of international relationships among nations.

Research Question:

In the light of the debates and issues raised in the review of literature,
this research looks at the relationship between the traditional media forms and
the Broadcast Media in Nigeria, with particular reference being given to the
situation in PLATEAU STATE. The main research therefore attempts to
establish the kind of relationships that exist between the traditional systems of
communication as found in the performing folk arts (dance, drama and music);
or the oral folk genres (proverbs, chants) and the broadcast media (radio and
television). Is this relationship reciprocal; or, are there constraints in
incorporating these traditional forms into the broadcasting systems? Along with
this major research question, are the following subsidiary ones:

To what extent are the State (regional) and National Governments in
Nigeria aware of a "National Culture"?

What are the main objectives for establishing the broadcast media
and organizations responsible for the administration of Arts and
Culture?

What roles do the intermediaries, for example, policy-makers play
in the relationship between the traditional and broadcast media?

Why have the traditional communicative forms persistently existed
alongside the modern media?

What constraints do the producers face in indigenising broadcasting?

What problems do the traditional artistes encounter in adjusting to
the requirements of the broadcasting media?

To what extent does the presence of foreign programmes shape the
tastes of the local artistes and particularly the producers?
How does one reconcile the issue of 'cultural authenticity' with the effects of the transnational flow of communications?

METHODOLOGY

Conceptual Framework: The research was centred mainly around the objectives of three government organizations in Plateau State, viz: Plateau Television; Radio Plateau and the Plateau State Council for Arts and Culture. Research was also carried out among some traditional performing groups within Plateau State. The major research questions along with the number of subsidiary questions formed the basis upon which I collected the data. References to earlier works that dealt with similar aspects of my research were made as long as they provided useful information that supported my analysis. Such information was however secondary, since in the end, I relied essentially on the bulk of evidence and data collected through interviews, observations and personal interactions with the broadcast media and arts council personnel and the traditional performers. The following Research Techniques were employed.

Participant Observation: I had access to the facilities of the broadcasting organizations during, and even after the research period. Initially, I spent five weeks (July to early August 1983) with the Plateau Television and later, was with the team that did the field recording of the traditional performing groups in the rural communities in November of 1983. I also spent five weeks (August to the end of September) with Radio Plateau. In addition to these specific periods, I visited each of these organizations between October and December of 1983 to clarify certain issues related to the research. For instance, despite the 'official' period granted me to stay in the corporation, it was only possible to do the interviews with the Managers of Programmes in mid-October.
During my stay in these broadcast media houses, I was introduced to producers with whom I specifically worked. However, this did not in any way, hamper my getting access to information of any kind from the other producers or personnel of these corporations. At the Plateau Television for instance, I worked with the producer of a local drama production 'HELIMA', and the producer of 'REYE REYENMU', a programme that relied essentially on the traditional performances within Plateau State for its contents. While not observing, I sometimes participated in the recording stages of these programmes which were done in the studio, shooting sites a few kilometres away from the administrative blocks of these corporations, and in the rural communities. The experiences gained during the field recordings of the traditional performers and some episodes of 'HELIMA' (discussed in Chapter Nine) were particularly enriching.

Interviews: Traditional artistes, broadcast media personnel and Arts Council personnel were interviewed on a number of issues. The questionnaire outlines shown in Appendix 4 were used essentially as guidelines, and not necessarily completed by the respondents. Based on fairly structured formats, most of the interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed for the analysis. The open-ended nature of many of the questions which was dictated by the kind of data required has meant difficult periods of analysis for me. However, since these were not distributed to large audiences, the responses were not cumbersome for me to handle.

Apart from the interviews, I relied on some government publications for the information on the objectives for establishing the broadcasting organizations and the councils responsible for the administration of Culture in
Plateau State and at the federal level.

Analysis and Interpretations: While I have concentrated on the television and radio programme schedules (appendices 1-3) for the main period of study (July to September 1983) by breaking these down into categories for analysis, I have also found the programme schedules for the July-September 1984 and 1985 quarters useful for comparative analysis since I was also in Nigeria during these periods. These data have been analyzed in percentages, and have been used as a basis for comparing the trend of domestic productions vis-a-vis the reliance on foreign programmes.

In interpreting the data, particularly those on the traditional groups, I have relied on some years of experience gained from direct contact and association with some of them, which has enabled me to come up with the kind of symbolic interpretations in the discussions. Apart from such earlier familiarity, the observations and interviews made during the recording sessions provided the forum for a more systematic documentation of the details about the traditional artistes. I also did detailed recordings of song texts of the traditional performances and some of these were translated and incorporated in the discussions (particularly in Chapters 5, 6 and 9). To a large extent, the interpretations of the traditional performances were based on the theoretical frameworks of the fields of Folklore and Ethnomusicology.

What Limitations? There were basically no problems with my gaining access to the broadcast media organizations and the traditional artistes during the research period. The main problem however, was that of communicating with some of the traditional performers who spoke only their indigenous languages. Since I personally spoke only Alago and Hausa, I had to rely on interpreters.
within such communities. This situation to some extent, has hampered my ability to translate many more song texts than the ones used in the discussions. The other problem was that of being in a position to effectively decipher the intricate patterns of interactions between one artiste and the other; and between the artistes and their audiences during the performances. For instance, some of the expressions were so quickly communicated that they needed more than one visit for more detailed interpretations.

SYNOPSIS:

The following is a brief introduction of each of the Chapters.

Chapter 1

In a rather brief form, Chapter One gives a background of the area in which the research was carried out - Plateau State - one of the nineteen states that form the federal Republic of Nigeria. The chapter gives a brief profile of the cultural, political and socio-economic development of the area of study. As a background to the discussions on the broadcasting systems in the country (Chapter Seven), I have also discussed some of the political structures in Nigeria since independence.

Chapter 2

Chapter Two discusses two central concepts - 'Communication' and 'Development'. There is a section on past Nigerian national development Agenda and the provisions made in such plans for the broadcast media. The last section looks at the role of communication in development and discusses such theories as those of 'Empathy', 'modernization' and 'diffusion'; and asks if the indigenous resources, social values, the political and economic factors are considered in the formulation of national communication policies.
Chapter 3

In discussing the concept 'culture', Chapter Three looks at the impact of the transnational communication systems resulting from the transfer of both hardware and software. The role of the multinationals and their activities in such spheres as the cultural industries and the transfer of technology between the Western industrialized countries and the Third World is argued in the context of transnational relationships. The concluding part of the chapter looks at the impact of this unequal relationship and the resultant implications on the national cultures of the recipient countries.

Chapter 4

In view of the discussions in Chapters Two and Three, Chapter Four takes a look at how culture is administered at state and national levels in Nigeria. A number of questions are raised in discussing the cultural organizations established by government. For instance, are such institutions built to enhance any systematic form of national cultural development, or for the propagation of the ideology of particular governments? Are these administrative arms of government merely out to promote a culture that serves the interests of the urban elite, or do they have projects that facilitate the participation of the rural communities? Two such federally controlled bodies administering culture in Nigeria - the Federal Department of Culture and the National Council for Arts and Culture are discussed in terms of their objectives. A similar discussion is made on the 'Plateau State Council for Arts and Culture' which is controlled at the state level. Other than the statement of objectives which established these cultural machineries, there are no more definite cultural policies for Nigeria. The implications for this, and further suggestions are made in Chapter Ten.
Chapter 5

The central theme of discussion in Chapter Five is the Traditional Media Forms. I have tried to establish what I refer to as 'folk' or 'traditional' means of communication and used such oral and performing genres as the traditional dance, festival, drama, music, poetry and song texts to illustrate this point. While I have relied on these forms mainly for the purposes of this research, it is indeed difficult to isolate them from the other traditional forms as found in the 'material culture' (for example, costumes, tools) of the people. Along with the discussions on the characteristics, limitations and broad 'oral' techniques and formulae used in these traditional forms, I have also placed emphasis on the importance of grasping the dynamics of the traditional communities which enables a better understanding of the performances as symbolic representations of the daily existence of the people.

Chapter 6

Based on the experiences with the traditional artistes during studio and field recordings, Chapter Six discusses the Key elements in music as a traditional form of communication. As I pointed out in the introduction to Chapter Five, even when I was dealing mainly with the 'musical' aspects of the performances, these were found to compliment the other folk genres like the dance, costumes and symbolic references embedded in the song texts. Translations of some of the song texts were made while other sections discuss such aspects as the place of music among the communities from which the groups came; song or overall musical delivery styles and techniques; and the traditional musical instruments common to these artistes. In addition to discussing traditional music, this Chapter also reiterates some of the theoretical discussions in Chapter Five. The constraints and other experiences encountered
while meeting these groups of performers in their communities are discussed in Chapter Nine.

Chapter 7

The historical developments and particularly the political structures in Nigeria have to a large extent, influenced the development of broadcasting in the country. Chapter Seven therefore traces in a nutshell, the historical growth of radio from the 1930s, to the introduction of television in one of the regions in 1959; to the present situation where there has virtually been a proliferation of these media forms in all the nineteen states of the federation. Apart from looking at the issues of training of the broadcast media personnel, this Chapter also looks at the implications of government's role in financing and subsequently controlling them. These issues are further developed in Chapter Ten.

Chapter 8

Chapter Eight looks at the types and structures of programmes transmitted by the broadcasting organizations. Programme schedules for the July-September quarter for three consecutive years (1983, 1984 and 1985) were analyzed under six broad programme categories, viz: 'Informative' programmes; 'Cultural' programmes; 'Religious' programmes; 'Educational' programmes; 'Children's' programmes, and 'Entertainment' programmes. The interviews with some of the broadcast media bureaucrats, producers and cultural affairs personnel were useful in illiciting their programme preferences and to some extent, suggestive of the types of policies they had on both indigenous and foreign programmes.
Chapter 9

The establishment and growth of broadcasting in Nigeria has meant having enough programmes for the transmission time. In looking at indigenous productions which rely on the traditional media forms therefore, Chapter Nine discusses the content, contexts and formats of such programmes when incorporated into broadcasting. The discussions are centred on the processes of programming within the Plateau State government-owned broadcasting organizations - Radio Plateau and Plateau Television. Mention is also made of a number of administrative and field constraints observed during the processes of production. Along with these, are responses from the traditional artistes which offered details that might otherwise, have been considered minute and therefore ignored in drawing up useful conclusions.

Chapter 10

Rather than merely being a recapitulation of the discussions in the previous chapters, Chapter Ten addresses these issues in the light of the main and subsidiary research questions. For instance, although the debates on the national and international contexts of culture and communication were presented in Chapters Two and Three, this chapter looks at the implications of the research findings on these debates and offers some suggestions. This chapter also offers suggestions towards the formulation of alternative communication and cultural policies for Nigeria.
1. NIGERIA: A POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROFILE

"... this country has had since independence, a history mixed with turbulence and fortune. We have witnessed our rise to greatness, followed with a decline to the state of a bewildered nation. Our human potentials have been neglected, our national resources put to waste. A phenomenon of constant insecurity and overbearing uncertainty has become characteristic of our national existence" (Ibrahim Babangida, 27th August 1985).

This chapter briefly looks at the historical development of Nigeria as a nation. Some attention is given to the cultural, socio-political and economic issues as they relate to the people and nation as a whole. I consider this necessary because as we shall see in the chapter that deals with the development of the Broadcast Media in Nigeria, most of the political or administrative policies at the national level have in some way, shaped the growth of Radio and Television at the regional or state levels. There is also a short section on Plateau State, the main area in which the research was carried out.

People and Culture

The 1963 census provided a population count of 55.7 million people and ten years later, the population was estimated at 79.8 million. Based on these figures and projections, it is estimated that Nigeria's population will be over 100 million by 1990. Having over two hundred ethnic groups with a variety of customs, languages and traditions, Nigeria is a land with rich cultural heterogeneity. Family and ethnic links are strong and for a long period before the advent of colonial rule, these served as the basis for political control and the maintenance of law and order among distinct groups located in different geographical areas.
While English is used as the official language, it is estimated that there are well over two hundred indigenous languages in Nigeria, the most commonly spoken include: Hausa, Fulfulde, Yoruba, Igbo, Kanuri, Nupe, Tiv, Edo, Jukun, Efik, Ibibio and Itsekiri. Even when there are strong social and cultural ties among most of the ethnic groups, it is possible for any two of them living in the same geographical proximity to speak two separate languages. In other words, there may be as many ethnic groups as the corresponding number of indigenous languages spoken in Nigeria. It is however possible to find that within some of the communities, the differences may appear as mere variations of dialects within the same language group. Such linguistic variations are also explicit in the differences or similarities among the groups themselves. This sometimes makes it difficult to see any Nigerian and conclude that he is a Tiv man, an Egbura man, an Igbo man or representing any of the other ethnic groupings. For instance, Elizabeth Isichei makes the point when she writes about who, or what constitutes a Hausa:

"Hausa identity is a complex cultural package. It is not essential for a Hausa to be Muslim, as witness the Abakwariga of the Benue valley or the Maguzawa south of Kano. It is possible to become a Hausa by assimilation, a process much in evidence in Central Nigeria in this century. A Hausa is defined by his language and lifestyle, and to some extent by his religion" (Isichei, 1983:4). Despite the minor ethnic differences, Nigerians generally have a way of identifying with the nation. Apart from major cultural similarities that cut across the country, there are ideological commitments resulting from many years of historical, socio-economic and political experiences that unite the nation.
Politics

The amalgamation of what was then known as the Northern and Southern protectorates including the area of Lagos in 1912 as a unitary administrative structure presided over by a Governor General, marked the beginning of colonial rule and the existence of the area referred to as Nigeria. By the early 1950s, three Regional Governments - the North, the East and the Western regions were formed after the promulgation of a constitution giving each of them some degree of autonomy. By 1960, Nigeria gained independence from colonial rule and in 1963 became a Republic. In the same year, the Mid-West Region was created, with similar autonomy.

Independence meant self rule by the Nigerians. But in their interests that were as diverse as representing the interests and aspirations of the various segments of the country, the fight for political power became fragmented and non-nationalist in outlook. Unwholesome rivalry mainly between the major and dominant ethnic groups became more pronounced as the call for ethnic balancing in politics and other sectors of the economy, along with other issues brought about lots of arguments during the first Republic. In the process, the situation encouraged tribalism and nepotism. For instance, the need for the equitable sharing of the so-called 'National Cake' among ethnic groups to some extent, constituted the main tool which leaders, politicians, corporation executives and even university personnel used to convince their 'countrymen' of the justness of their cause for votes, promotions and sometimes, the retention of their jobs (Imevbore, 1972:5).

January 1966 marked the end of the first Republic as the military intervened with a coup which was necessitated by the rate of corruption, and the
tribalism and ethnicity that characterized the period of Nigeria's first democracy. By July of the same year, another coup led to the assassination of General Aguiyi-Ironsi and brought General Yakubu Gowon to power. In May of 1967, General Gowon restructured the administrative patterns of the country by creating Twelve States out of the regions. This was meant to lessen the dominance of the major ethnic groups, while giving the minorities the opportunity to participate fully in the development programmes of the nation. Hitherto, the four main regions, the North, West, East and the Mid-West were predominantly Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and Edo respectively. An attempt by the Eastern Region to secede from the Federation of Nigeria following a period of communal strife triggered off by the political crises caused by the January and July 1966 coups led to a civil war between the federal government and the secessionist force led by Odumegwu Ojukwu in July 1967. This war lasted two and half years, ending in January of 1970.

In July 1975, a bloodless coup ousted the Gowon regime with whose government people had become dissatisfied, and General Murtala Mohammed was appointed Head of State. He also restructured the country by bringing the present total number of states to nineteen in February of 1976. In his attempts at wiping out corruption and other social vices in Nigeria, General Murtala took many bold steps. Isichei notes:

"There was an energetic inquiry into corruption and inefficiency, which led to many dismissals and compulsory retirements, and confiscation of ill-gotten assets. On the whole, the measures were popular, though it is impossible, perhaps likely, that some men's careers were wrecked by secret enmities and unjust accusations, while much greater culprits sometimes remained unscathed" (1983:475).
Unfortunately, General Murtala Mohammed was assassinated in an abortive coup after barely two hundred days in office. In February 1976, General Olusegun Obasanjo came in as his successor, and thereafter, made arrangements for the country's return to civilian rule. Country-wide general elections were held and in October 1979, Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected as the first executive President of Nigeria. The 1983 general elections also returned President Shagari for his second term of office in October of that year.

The creation of states which was aimed at lessening the dominance of the major ethnic groups, to some degree, paid off by reducing the kind of rivalries that dominated the period of the first Republic. During the election periods for instance, a new set of alliances and associations were common among ethnic groups from the 'northern' states belonging to the same national parties as their counterparts from the 'south'. Perhaps, as was realized later, this was all aimed at purely political goals. There was a tendency on the part of the people to put the interest of self, state of origin or party first in their deliberations or considerations on national issues. Akande (1970:30) notes that even when there were agreements on 'selfishly-inspired expediences', some of these were motivated partly by the rivalry on the part of the main political leaders to stabilize and expand the influence and positions of their respective nationality groups and partly by the general lack of a sense of 'National Nationalism', and ignorance of the dangers such sectionalism entailed for the nation in terms of development.

The same kind of societal vices that ended the first Republic in 1966, led to the military intervention of December 31st, 1983, and once more, Nigeria is back to military rule, as one source puts it:
"... to deal with the parlous state of the economy ... to investigate and purge the ills of the previous regime, and implicitly, find a way of introducing a more responsible system of government with real accountability" (West Africa, Dec. 1984:2616).

Under the supreme military council headed by Major General Mohammed Buhari, the regime's main concern has been the attempts to halt the downward slide of Nigeria's economy, and settling Nigeria's foreign debt while bringing to book all those that led the country to such an economic state. In March 1984, the regime launched the 'War Against Indiscipline' (WAI), a nation-wide drive or campaign to restore as it were, national pride, instill a sense of order among the Nigerian citizens and help curb corruption. In another phase of the campaign that deals with 'Nationalism and Patriotism', for instance, Nigerians of all walks of life are expected to know the words of the national anthem and the national pledge, and they are also expected to be able to recite them. The mass media have been used in these campaigns. We shall be seeing a detailed discussion of the role of the media in these campaigns in Chapter Nine.

On the 27th August, 1985, the army struck again in Nigeria. The Buhari regime had stated that "the mismanagement of the economy, lack of public accountability, inaccessibility of the political leadership and a general deterioration in living standards which had subjected the common man to intolerable suffering" were the reasons why they took over power from the civilian administration in December 1983. According to the new military regime led by Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, the army was forced again to intervene because "Nigerians have since then been under a regime that continued with those trends. Events today indicated that most of the reasons which justified the military takeover of government from the civilians still persists". While it
may be difficult now to make any predictions about the miracle the current
administration is out to perform, it appears safe at this point to conclude that
the unsteady political state of Nigeria has longstanding effects on the socio-
-economic and cultural development of the country.

Socio-Economic Profile

Before Nigeria's heavy reliance on oil, groundnuts and cotton were
produced on a large scale in the northern part of the country, while agricultural
products like cocoa, palm oil and rubber came mainly from the southern areas.
Over the years, there have been drastic declines in these products. This has
meant that despite Nigeria's vast land and other potentials for large-scale
agricultural production for both domestic consumption and exportation, food
production still lags behind local demand. Daily rising demands for the
importation of basic food items, goods and services have therefore ended the
once-robust surplus economy, subsequently increasing Nigeria's borrowing
and the almost total reliance on external goods and services.

Generally, there has been very little improvement in the Nigerian
economy from the agricultural sector since independence. The situation, it is
believed, has been largely due to some major constraints, the most serious of
which include: the inadequacy or total lack of farm credit (only recently, some
commercial banks like the Savannah Bank and United Bank for Africa started
giving some small-scale agricultural loans); shortage of qualified manpower;
the absence of effective storage facilities; the very poor condition or sometimes
absence of feeder roads and other transport facilities; the problems caused by
disease and pests; the constant problem posed by labour shortage in the rural
areas as a result of the rural-urban migration which is always on the
increase; and to a large degree, the lack of technological equipment and trained personnel.

One of the most serious socio-economic problems Nigeria is currently facing is the rate at which the rising costs of basic and essential items are affecting the life of the ordinary man, and the consequences the situation has for most of the programmes planned in the state and National development Agenda. Poor productivity is therefore evident in both the private and public sectors of the economy.

The constant rise in the country's population also causes serious socio-economic problems. Unfortunately, "with the population dilemma, and with the rate of increase over the census figures, very little attention has been paid by either the Nigerian government or private organizations to the implications of population growth and the structures for economic development" (Diejomaoh, 1965:80).

The well-acclaimed 'Universal Primary Education' (UPE) scheme has successfully brought out thousands of primary school leavers. However, the failure of the scheme to adequately take care of children beyond primary or elementary levels has added to the influx of large numbers of such pupils to the urban centres in search of jobs. Such partially-educated groups end up being unemployed; or when they do get any menial jobs, these often yield insufficient income to sustain their wellbeing in such urban centres.

By the beginning of the 1970s, there was a steady growth in Nigeria's foreign reserves. For instance, by 1972 the figures stood at two hundred and seventy million
naira as against four hundred and eighty thousand naira in 1960 (Adedeji, 1974:5). But with the fall in oil prices in 1983, there has been the gross reduction in domestic oil production. This situation has affected all sectors of the economy since Nigeria relies on oil for about 95% of her revenue. On the other hand, by reducing and delaying payments for imports of goods and services, Nigeria has reduced its balance of payments deficit to about three thousand, four hundred million naira in 1983, as against five thousand, two hundred million in 1982. One source has it that:

"... the government has been able to service the existing debts regularly, has kept its budgets within the targets and has been able to provide a regular, if reduced, flow of essential imports particularly of raw materials" (West Africa, Dec. '84:2617).

Currently, the military is taking a number of measures aimed at restoring Nigeria’s economic position. But while the drastic reduction in imported goods and services has led to an improved external financial position, it has also worsened the market conditions for the ordinary man who relies on such essential items as milk, sugar and detergents in the local markets. Such rising prices have led to the slowdown in private enterprises. Another measure taken by the Buhari administration, was the retrenchment of civil servants in government departments and companies. In addition, some of the State governments placed more levies on the normal tax deducted from the earnings of their employees. All these were meant to help government meet its budgets. While the situation gave undue hardship to hundreds of people, the measures were necessitated by preceding conditions.

Writing on the conditions that led to Nigeria’s current economic position, Tony Hawkins (1985) notes that the problems have been a 'cash-flow'
one which has its roots in three historical developments:

(a) the bunched maturities arising from the medium and long term debts negotiated in the 1970s;

(b) the rescheduling of trade arrears that accumulated in 1982-83; and

(c) above all, the current oil glut which meant that Nigeria simply has not had continuing access to the $25 bn annual oil revenues enjoyed in 1980.

Critically observing the table on 'Nigeria's cash-flow problems' below, one notices that the figures after 1981 are much greater particularly in the area of 'Debt Service' which have risen from $0.3 bn in 1979, to $3.5 bn in 1984, and to an estimated $4.5 bn in 1985 (see Table 1.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Debt Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite this strained economic position, Nigeria has continued to reject the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) terms for a loan of over $2 bn which would in turn open the way to a $300 m World Bank structural adjustment programme and the end to the deadlock over rescheduling the £2 bn in insured trade arrears. The stalemate in the negotiations between Nigerian and the IMF have been largely due to the preconditions set for Nigeria involving the devaluation of the naira by almost 50% and the demand for the liberalisation of trade. Since Nigeria finds these terms unacceptable, it also means that she cannot get any loans from the World Bank. The devaluation of the naira as required by the IMF for instance, means high costs for the importation of raw materials by Nigerian industries, a situation that is definitely going to lead to inflationary prices, one of the problems the current regime is out to fight.

From all indications, the government does not appear to be totally closing its doors on loans or other forms of assistance from the World Bank or other organizations, but insists that the conditions must be favourable to Nigeria before such loans are received. However, Tony Hawkins (ibid) is of the opinion that if the 'import squeezes' intensify, and 'there are further falls in oil prices', the government may be forced to think over the issue again. But this position does not appear probable as there seems to be a trend towards self-reliance in Nigeria today. For instance, Onosode has noted that:

"A new generation of farmers, and a redirection of agricultural policy to ensure that it does not overlook the role of small farmers, are already holding out the promise of substantial increase in food production. A determined effort aimed at reducing public expenditure and bringing it more within the limits of anticipated revenue is also evident at Federal and State levels" (G. Onosode, F.T. 25th Feb. '85).
The retrenchment of workers and current reduction of import licences are in no doubt stringent policies that affect Nigeria's domestic and foreign engagements, but are measures necessarily employed by the current Administration to let Nigerians live within their limits. There is no doubt that Nigeria requires adequate manpower, or the proper use of the already existing manpower in all sectors of her economy for a sound national socio-economic development. There has to be an end to the current position of almost total reliance on external sources for both technology and the personnel to man them and a need for policies towards self-reliance.

PLATEAU STATE: An Overview.

Located in the central part of Nigeria (see map 1), Plateau State derives its name from the geographical features of the landscape that predominates in this area. With a population of about three million people and over fifty ethnic groups, this area illustrates the kind of heterogeneity that is common in Nigeria. Some of these groups include the Alago, Goemai, Berom, Angas, Egbera, Gwandara, Affo, Mighili, Eggon, Rukuba, Gbagyi, Taroh, Mada, Mwahavul, Kwalla, Kulere, Jarawa, Iragwe and Fulani. Among some of these groups there are major cultural similarities, one of which is the language for which there are minor dialectal differences. This point is made clear by Elizabeth Isichei who writes:

"... a large number of the peoples of the Plateau speak Chadic languages which are so closely related that they are mutually intelligible and could perhaps be regarded as dialects of a single language... This large continuous group of related Chadic languages has sometimes been interpreted in terms of flight from the north towards a less densely populated and more defencible habitat" (1983:7).
This statement is particularly true of the Northern area of the State. Most languages spoken in the Southern areas of Plateau State are believed to be of the Benue-Congo language family group.

Although cultural and geographical factors were considered in the creation of states in Nigeria, there was also considerable attention given to the issue of administrative convenience. Ethnic groups with similar cultural experiences can therefore be found in more than one State. Similarly, in the creation of Local Government Council Areas within the states, one finds the same ethnic group in more than the specific area for which it is predominantly known. For instance, in Plateau State, the Berom are found in B/Ladi and Jos Council areas alone with other groups; while one finds the Taroh in both Langtang and parts of Wase; and the Alago, in Awe and Lafia areas. The large number of ethnic groups in Plateau State therefore means a diverse set of cultural values. But the proximity of the groups and the cultural experiences shared through various forms of association over the years, has meant more similarities than differences. As the studies in Chapter Six show, the diversity may be in forms, names, particular variants, or symbolic functions that are specific to particular groups.

The reasons for outlining the political developments in Nigeria since Independence are that these and particularly the administrative structures at each stage, have to a large degree, not only contributed to the development of the Broadcast Media, but also its spread in different parts of the country. Once formed, these media have been to some degree, utilized by each of the administrations for specific cultural, socio-economic and particularly political objectives. A great awareness of the nature of Plateau State and Nigeria as a
whole, have meant the choice of specific languages for use in each of these media organizations. This is described in more detail in Chapter Seven.
Map 1: Nigeria with Plateau State shaded in black.
THE CONCEPTS OF COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Manifesting themselves with pressing practicality as hunger, disease, early death and the quest for work and housing among others, the problems of development are in everyday life among Third World nations. While the question of development poses concern among some of the policy-makers in the developing countries, the overwhelming majority of the people have little or no opportunity to influence policy, and their perspectives on the situation are often ignored. The first section of this chapter therefore looks at the concept of Development. This is followed by a brief discussion on the Nigerian national development Agenda, and the provision made for the broadcast media and culture. The third section of the chapter concentrates on the concept of communication and some theories of the role of media in development.

DEVELOPMENT:

Some Theoretical Approaches

A variety of theoretical approaches have been made to the concept of development. While some have been made purely from the economic perspective, others have tried to encompass the social aspects to it. For instance, Colman and Nixon (1978:2) have argued that development can be considered either as "a process of improvement with respect to a set of values or with comparing the relative levels of development of different countries, as a comparative state of being with respect to such values". Although this may not appear all-embracing, such an approach appears better than one that sees development as a process which is only synonymous with economic growth.

A number of people have explained the concept of development by listing some criteria which they claim are capable of leading to development. Such
lists show that in development, there are sets of objectives in which the dimensions are economic, social, political or cultural. It is along such thinking that Streeter (1972:30) notes that "development means modernisation, and modernisation means transformation of human beings. He also notes that 'development as an objective and development as a process both embrace a change in fundamental attitudes to life and work', and in social, cultural and political institutions. In the same manner, Muhbub Ul Haq sees development as the "eradication of poverty rather than the pursuit of economic growth; as the generation of employment more than the GNP, and as requiring the injection of distributional issues into the very pattern and organization of production" (Ul Haq, 1976:9).

Within the last decade, most theoretical assumptions of development have taken into account the fact that it is a 'process'. Rodney (1972:8) says that "development in human society is a many-sided process", and Majid Rahenma holds the notion that development should be conceived as an endogenous process of transformation and liberation from structures of dominance, dependency and destitution" (Rahnema, 1976:16). Hudson (1978:48) sees development as "an awareness action process in which access to information is critical to enable people to understand problems, evaluate alternatives, plan and act". All these led to what Everett Rogers calls:

"... a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about social and material advancement ... for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control of their environment" (Rogers, 1976:225).

Despite the importance given to the social and economic aspects of development as goals usually set by national policy-makers, there still seems to
be no universal consensus on a definition of development, nor is there an appropriate means of measuring it. Dewnoski and Scott (1966:7) for instance, saw development as comprising essentially two factors: The level of living and the level of development of a country. According to them, "the level of satisfaction of the needs of the population is assured by the flow of goods and services enjoyed in a unit of time ... to provide additional resources for future economic growth".

The outcome of such discussions show that the purely economic approach which uses the Gross Domestic Product or Gross National Product does not reflect a country's structure of production, nor its pattern of distribution. Another criticism is that this monetary concept does not measure the real values of development objectives, but mainly, the amounts of money spent on such objectives. It would appear therefore, that the adoption of such concepts of development have been purely for international comparisons where it becomes easier to measure development in quantitative terms.

What is obvious is that there exists a broad consensus on the main areas of the social and economic determinants and a wide range of nomenclatures of the concepts that constitute development. Most of these generally include the issues of housing, health, communication, nutrition, education, agriculture, industry, transport; the issues of foreign trade and balance of payments and the demographic aspects of development. What is also significantly noticeable is that these various components of the level of development are often interrelated to some degree.

For a fuller debate on Development, it is necessary to look at the concepts of 'Imperialism', 'Dependency' and 'Underdevelopment'. Some of the
theories on these concepts lead to a better understanding of Development through viewing it in the context of the world systems and the network of interrelationships between nations.

Imperialism

Brief definitions for a phenomenon like imperialism may lead to deducing the main characteristic features of the concept. While some theories have been Marxist-oriented and others based on historical trends, this concept has been given a number of definitions. The works of Lenin show that imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental attributes of capitalism in general. In brief, he says "imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism" which embraces five essential features:

(a) "The concentration of production and capital, developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.

(b) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy.

(c) The export of capital, which has become extremely important, as distinguished from the export of commodities.

(d) The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves.

(e) The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers is completed" (Lenin, 1966:237).

He further notes that imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; and in which the partition of all the territories of the world among the great capitalist
powers has been completed (ibid). Samir Amin (1977:106) argues that the characteristics of imperialism must be sought out in the conditions of class struggle, in the centre, the periphery, and especially at the global level of the imperialist system.

A number of criticisms of Lenin's proposition have been made. One of such criticisms made by Ian Roxborough (1979:57) is that implicit in that definition of imperialism, was an "inherent component of a stage of capitalist development. According to him, 'the transcendence of that stage must call into question previously accepted notions of imperialism ... when people talk about imperialism, they refer to some kind of relationships between countries". Roxborough's position shows that imperialism means more than a stage in the development of capitalism. By implication therefore, it is possible for imperialism to exist in non-capitalist systems. Another criticism of the early theories of imperialism was that very little attention was paid to the effects of foreign capital investment in the underdeveloped countries:

"The net effects of foreign investment is to create an outflow from the periphery to the metropolis ... for every investment in the Third World, there are returns in form of repatriated profits, royalties, services, repayments of debts and interests" (Roxborough, 1979:58).

In defining imperialism, Cohen (1974:16) refers to it as "any relationship of effective domination or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one nation over another". Brown says it is a complex of economic, political and military relationships by which the less economically developed lands are subjected to the more economically developed (Brown, 1970:86). And for Beckman (1981:10), "imperialism is concerned with territorial monopoly through political (or military) means". He maintains
that the relationship between imperialism and underdevelopment shows an extent to which the domestic bourgeoisie through its control over State plays a strategic role in providing the territorial monopoly conditions for imperialism. Though approached from a more radical standpoint, Beckman’s position does not appear totally different from those of Cohen and Brown.

Whether we are to go by the Leninist analysis of imperialism which sought to see the intra-imperialist rivalries in which there was the struggle for the control over raw materials or markets which eventually led to colonialism; or look at it purely from the point of view of political domination, there is implicit in each of these theories, the notion of economic relations between the imperial and the colonized. It is against such a background to my mind, that the grounds for unequal relationships which has now matured into total domination in all spheres by the imperialists and their agents within the Third World nations were formed.

Dependency

There seems to be no clear cut division between the theories of imperialism and dependency. In fact, one writer notes that the "genesis of dependency theories began with the failures of the theories of imperialism to explain the continued economic stagnation of the Third World. For instance, Roxborough (1979:63) has argued that:

"... the mode of articulation of the underdeveloped economies with the World System may result in the transfer of resources from the periphery to the centre ... which hold back or 'distort' the economies of the periphery, thereby preventing an allocation of resources which will produce economic growth."

While some emphasis is placed on the economic aspect of dependency, it has
also been observed that there is a constant need by the Third World nations to be "developed". This need for development has to some extent, led to the perpetual dependence of the Third World countries on the technologically advanced Western Nations for goods and services. Part of this, it is also argued, is as a result of the relationship between the world historical process of uneven capitalist development. The transfer from the Third World countries to the centre, of raw materials in place of technological expertise has always been on the basis of unequal exchange. It is this dependence which is "alleged to result from material needs of international capitalism ... which leads to exploitation of the periphery" (Cohen, 1974:189).

Along with Roxborough, Gunder Frank (1978:140) also notes that the relations between the world processes which are uneven, are the exchange relations and mechanisms that "drain capital from the colonized countries to the metropolis and the transformations in the modes of production in the latter do help or permit the constant dependence." However, I do think that there is more in their approach to the concept of dependence. For instance, the social notion of dependency as is formed and articulated by the constant networks of inter-relationships both at the local and international levels could also generate conducive factors for dependence. It is along such a line that Amin argues:

"... the questions must not be studied in terms of 'economic' laws of capitalist mode, but by going back to the global plan of historical materialism, that of class struggle, and placing this struggle once again in its true world context" (Samir Amin, 1977:104).

To him, the active search for markets is a product of class struggle, and it is through this manner that the "Internal national conditions of accumulation are
inter-related with the conditions of the world systems of premonopolist and then imperialist capitalist formations" (ibid). Internally therefore, there is the building up of a domestic elite who are constantly used to assist international capital to overcome contradictions which have been built within the imperialist system.

The analysis of Samir Amin indicates both the social and economic factors or determinants. The same pattern of economic exploitation and dependency seen at the international level, could be seen internally within the Third World countries which could be associated with "sharply differentiated class structures which separate the owners of the means of primary production ... the dominant class is well integrated into the national elite and participate actively in various national issues like economics, politics and culture" (Long, 1977:76-77).

At all levels, the review of literature on dependency theories constantly shows that dependency flows automatically from participation in any given system of inter-relationships. But as Cohen puts it, there is a "dominance-dependence" relationship between the rich and the poor. Cohen (1974), Amin (1977), Frank (1978), Beckman (1981) and Colman & Nixon (1978) all share the view that the concept of dependency must take into account, the articulation of dominant interests in both the metropolitan centres and the dependent societies. In other words, domination is only possible when it is supported by local groups who gain from it. Colman & Nixon have therefore, under a 'Structuralist/ Marxist' framework of analysis, developed a theory of dependency with the following features:
(a) Historical background (Colonialism) in which particular structures of production and trade were inherited;

(b) Dependence on imports of manufactured goods;

(c) Dependence on imports of foreign technology, agriculture, education, communication, medicine, etc.;

(d) Penetration of foreign capital largely under the guise of the multinational corporations - leading to dependence on these corporations with associated patterns of production, consumption, marketing and expertise;

(e) At a general level, there exists a condition of cultural, psychological, social and political dependence (Colman & Nixon, 1978:38-39).

There is no doubt that such a framework is all-embracing. Any of these features or a combination of some of them, is a fertile ground for dependence.

Underdevelopment

Among the early studies done in the area of development and underdevelopment, are works that have generally assumed that underdeveloped nations had to follow the same path that countries of Western Europe and the industrialized nations travelled in their transition from feudalism to capitalism. It would appear that most of these approaches were those that looked at purely the economic dimensions while ignoring the socio-political and other factors that caused underdevelopment. Such thinking also led the Third World countries to equate development with Modernization or Westernization.

Some of the early writers who saw modernization as the total process which is associated with economic development were Lerner and Apter. While Daniel Lerner (1967:21) saw modernization as "the social process of which development is the economic component", Apter (1967:68) saw "development, industrialization and modernization as terms of decreasing conceptual
generality". Other writers have however, addressed the issue from the point of view of cultural transformation rather than the social or ecological aspect alone. There should be more to the economic approach to the concept of underdevelopment. It should be re-examined with the relation to the historical and expansionist effects of capitalism and how these gave serious retardations to development within the Third World countries. For instance, the relationships created in the process of dependency shed some light to the concept of under-development. Equally important, is understanding the theory of modernization vis-a-vis underdevelopment.

Among others, Henry Bernstein has made a number of criticisms of some of the early theories of modernization and the causes of under-development. According to him, the 'evolutionary' model of modernization for instance, was based purely on the model of the American Political system with the problems, conditions and determinants of progress towards ideal-typical destination, being the West. He notes also, that the characterization of a process of change in terms of these ideal-typical end-points leads to the evolutionary scheme which is "usually subsumed under a more general traditional-modern dichotomy and the differentiation model of social change both evolving an evolutionary rationale which is further emphasized by the super-imposition of the former on the latter" (Bernstein, 1971:144).

Another criticism of the traditional cum modern dichotomy of development is that 'traditional' is negatively defined to 'modern'. Modernization therefore becomes a process in which modern elements accumulate and the traditional ones are displaced. The concept of empathy (Lerner, 1958) as leading to the desire to develop or achieve - which is mainly by individuals,
leaves little room for the generalization of the issue. For instance, does the desire to achieve at the individual level automatically lead to general development at the national level? In a similar manner, Bernstein criticized McClelland's concept of "the need to achieve" which according to him, denotes "a desire to do well, not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment" (p. 148). His criticism is that such a claim is reductionist since the attributes of social structures and processes cannot be derived from statements about individuals. In a nutshell, Bernstein states:

"The dynamics of modernization theory consist of mechanisms such as the introduction of a market economy, monetization, urbanization, industrialization, the spread of mass communications and of literacy, and so on, which are subsumed and related at the theoretical level in the differentiation-integration model of social change" (p. 151).

He therefore concludes that there should be alternative approaches, mainly: the 'historical-sociological' in which the modern world should be seen as an inclusive international structure of economic, political and cultural relationships.

In a detailed analysis, Alejandro Portes who traces the issue of development and theories of underdevelopment through the theory of Evolution, to that of the enactment of values (empathy) and to that of development as liberation from dependency, concludes that "the passage from earlier evolutionary theories to modernization theories and thence to dependency studies has most clarified what a sociology of development should not be concerned with. It should avoid for example, a social philosophical perspective in which processes of change are described in such abstract terms as to be of little use for the
Portes' criticisms, although basically same thematically, slightly varies from those of earlier writers. For instance, his argument against the Evolutionary theory is that it provides typologies with no theoretical framework for enquiry into the determinants and constraints of developmental processes. To him, this theory is full of abstractness with the imagery created making development look as a relatively smooth, gradualistic, and an irreversible social process. Such a theory does not accommodate the many contingencies of contemporary social change in underdeveloped countries; and is also mainly based not on the extensive knowledge of the underdeveloped countries, but on mere reflections on the European past. His criticisms on the theories of modernization and that of dependency, are that they have some structural constraints. For instance, the "fundamental individualism apparent in the theory of achievement" may be irrelevant in the struggles for national development. Portes concludes that the weakness of dependency studies is based precisely on the absence of autonomous data for each country to validate such inferences since they are usually limited to aggregate economic figures on production, distribution, capital flows, export and import (p. 82).

Some Recent Theoretical Contributions

From the discussions, it is obvious that underdevelopment may not necessarily be the absence of development because every country has developed in one way or another to a greater or lesser extent. For instance, Rodney notes that underdevelopment makes more sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It "expresses a particular relationship of exploitation ... it is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation" - the
exploitation of nation by nation through external relations, namely trade (Rodney, 1972:29). Like the early theorists, Szentes’ position is that the development of some countries led to the underdevelopment of others, and that underdevelopment is thus, a ‘normal’ part of the development of the world capitalist system. He argues:

"... the socio-economic state of the developing countries is not merely 'economic' underdevelopment, nor just a sign of not having participated in development, or their having fallen behind in progress, but it is a product of a specific development, which is most closely connected with, moreover, derived from the development of capitalist world economy" (Szentes, 1971:54).

In one of his writings, Everett Rogers redefined the causes of underdevelopment. According to him the "dominant paradigms put the blame for underdevelopment on the developing nations rather than on the developed countries, or jointly on both parties". In this redefinition of the problem of underdevelopment, he concludes that the causes of underdevelopment should be seen as external to developing countries as well as from within them (Rogers, 1976:217-219).

The continued quest for westernization has for instance, led large areas of the Third World to be incorporated into the expanding world economic system through the mass transfer of technology and manpower from Europe and particularly the USA. Carter (1981) has argued that such an atmosphere has brought about the existence of a wide gap between the rich and the poor countries which determines their relations and makes the system so interdependent that it is ‘unrealistic’ or even impossible to consider the development of the poorer and more dependent units separately from the effects of the co-existence with the richer and more powerful countries. This situation has led him to conclude that:
"... the long term prosperity of the rich 'North' depends to a great extent on its own ability and willingness to share its advantages with the deprived 'South' " (Carter, 1981:31).

Carter's thesis implies that there are ideal conditions within the world system. But in basing his arguments mainly on the 'economics' of the issue, he fails to realize the socio-political and cultural tensions that exist and which have continuously led to the dominance in the dependence relationship.

Summary

The early theories propounded on the concepts of development and underdevelopment have been found inadequate for explaining the key issues of development and underdevelopment as different phenomena. This has led to more recent approaches which seek not only to relate the issues to the socio-cultural facets, alongside the economic, historical or evolutionary theories; but also to address the issues with reference to the working relationships of the world system. It is against such a background that Paul Hartmann has called for "the need for a more multidisciplinary approach to development problems and for detailed micro-analysis of relationships between economic and social processes ... instead of the blind application or over-aggregated macro-concepts" (Hartmann, 1980:5).

Some of the highlights in the discussion show that the 'traditional - modern' theory of development divides the world into the backward and advanced without due regard to the symbiotic relationships between them which in fact are the genesis of underdevelopment. While some of these theories have neglected the notion of dominance in the interdependence relationships, others failed to look into the composition and orientation of the issue of the elite within
particular countries, and their control of both the economic and political power and how these are manipulated for development or underdevelopment. What is obvious is that the process of historical evolution cannot be replicated. Finally, while the focus on the international economic system to the study of underdevelopment has contributed immensely to understanding dependency theories, it has in most instances, neglected the analysis of the internal dynamics. Also noticeable is the fact that while the dependency approach has been useful in clarifying the origins of the situations of underdevelopment, it has not proved equally useful in providing processes which could lead away from it.

For Development to take place

From the literature available in the area of development, one can conclude that while there is a pronounced degree of influence at the international economic level, there is also a lot to be learnt about the domestic governments of the Third World countries in terms of their policy and decision-making processes. Peter Berger (1974:10) has for instance, noted that the problem of the underdeveloped countries "is not that they lack resource, technological know-how, modern institutions or cultural traits conducive for development, but that they are being exploited by a world-wide capitalist system and its particular imperialist agents, both foreign and domestic." He then argues that development can only take place if "an exploited country frees itself from dependency on the international capitalist system". To him, socialism is the only system within which the problems of underdevelopment may be successfully attacked. While sounding utopian, Berger also relies heavily on the economic theory of underdevelopment.
Mervat Shoukry has rightly noted that most strategies for change are not oriented to the cultural values, attitudes and behaviour of the people, and often change and training strategies are not linked to specific countries. According to him,

"... every development process should shape its strategies for change not only according to the natural resources and potentials of the country and its limitations but also according to the needs, skills and aspirations of the people" (Shoukry, 1977:26).

About sixteen years ago, the report of the Man Power Development Committee (the Council for International Economic Co-operation and Development, Taipai, 1969) stated many of the issues which are still current in underdevelopment studies. The outcome of that committee's deliberations showed that the educational systems in the underdeveloped areas of the world are characteristically those left over by the colonial powers, or are those borrowed from western models. According to their conclusions, "such educational systems have little or nothing to do with the problems of underdevelopment, and probably the greatest single barrier to national development within Third World countries".

What is lacking, is the conscious effort toward national development based on the nurturing of the human resource. Against this background, William Blaisdell argues that "until the human resource knows how to use and maintain physical resources effectively, the latter can be a grievous burden, even though donated from abroad ... sophisticated planning which appears to be a 'favourite gambit of development economists', does nothing to speed up development unless it fully integrates political, social and cultural factors in the planning. He has also emphasized the need for the underdeveloped countries to have or acquire the know-how needed to control population growth (Blaisdell, 1970:2-5).
Apart from having the human resource, there is also the call for underdeveloped countries to acquire the know-how needed for large scale food production and the effective control of population growth. These should be seen as priorities rather than contributions of material resources from the 'developed' nations which may not be used properly or effectively because of a number of internal factors.

Studies by Angelopoulos (1977:12) show that there is some lack of co-operation among responsible government leaders, particularly among the industrialized countries which have at their disposal, the necessary machinery to tackle today's economic and monetary difficulties. According to his findings, "the same lack of co-operation exists among the oil-producing countries and other underdeveloped nations who oppose each other on such issues as the 'enlargement of generalized system of preferences, tariff advantages, the contribution of reserve stocks of raw materials and the means of co-ordination' " as was found during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the North-South conference held in Manila in 1976.

The ideas of "indigenization, domestication and diversification" are some of the strategies which Ali Mazrui suggests underdeveloped nations can strive towards development. This would involve the indigenization of the personnel and programmes which would lead to the development of further indigenous resources as against relying on imports where the option is open. Here too, he suggests that the struggle for simpler forms of technology is part of the process of reducing reliance on outsiders for sophisticated know-how. Domestication involves making a resource which is foreign less relevant and less appropriate for use in the underdeveloped countries. For instance,
"domesticating the economy itself involves a reduction of its export orientation, and an enhancement of the focus on domestic food needs and other local requirements". The strategy of diversification involves the cultivation of skills to have more than one hegemonic power competing for the underdeveloped nations. According to him,

"... to be dependent on two giants, especially when the giants have rivalries between them, is sometimes an opportunity to play one against the other - and maximize one's options" (Mazrui, 1980:84).

This position may require that such underdeveloped nations also diversify what they produce, and avoid predicaments of excessive dependence on one or two commodities. The relationships at the international level between the developed and underdeveloped nations has reached such a stage that Haq has described this dichotomy as:

"... a 'poverty curtain' which has descended right across the face of the world, dividing it materially and philosophically into two different worlds, two separate planets, two unequal humanities - one embarrassingly rich and the other desperately poor. The struggle to lift this curtain of poverty and unequal relationships is certainly the most formidable challenge of our time. And it is likely to cover many decades and consume many generations" (Muhibub Ul Haq, 1976:xv).

Haq's stand questions the present position of an international economic structure that leads to ever widening disparities between the developed and underdeveloped countries and to a persistent denial of equality of opportunities to these nations. While looking at both the international and domestic dimensions of underdevelopment, he notes that there is evidence to show that the underdeveloped nations cannot get an equitable deal from the present international structures, much the same as the poorest sections of the society within a
country. In other words, "at both the national and international levels, there are wide disparities". Haq is of the opinion that this gap of economic and social disequilibrium is also causing a "tremendous imbalance today in the distribution of international reserves; the distribution of value added to the products traded between the developing and developed countries which is weighed heavily in favour of the latter; and the protective wall erected" by the developed countries prevents the developing countries from receiving their due share of the global wealth (p. 25).

One area constantly ignored is the fact that the unequal bargaining power of the underdeveloped nation shows up quite dramatically in the relationship between the Multinational Corporations and the underdeveloped countries. Such relationship is weighed heavily in favour of the latter.

Summary

There is no doubt that for development to take place, development goals must be defined in terms of the progressive reduction and eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and inequalities. People like Haq argue that such levels cannot be attained without a 'profound structural change in the economy' and societies through the call for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The issue is that not all underdeveloped countries are necessarily poor. His constant emphasis on the removal of poverty ignores vital issues like planning within the domestic set-up. A line of action towards solving or at least minimizing the problems of underdevelopment has also been suggested by Angelopoulos (1976:8) in which he calls for the need for a "new international development policy which requires a concrete and effective programme to develop world resources", which should
be considered the patrimony of humanity as a whole. Ideal as this sounds, one wonders about its practicality.

I think that there is more to Haq’s euphemistic ‘poverty curtain’ which should not be restricted to the economic theory alone. Perhaps there is a ‘leadership curtain’ in addition to Haq’s poverty curtain which separates and blindly directs the decision-making processes within some underdeveloped countries. There should be new attempts at looking at the structure of the domestic political power; the formulation of alternative development strategies, and the search for new areas of collective reliance. While part of this struggle is at the international level, there is the need to change past patterns of hopeless dependency to new concepts of equality, partnership and equal-interdependence, not dominance-interdependence among all nations.

NIGERIA: NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

Background

Aimed at all-round national development, Nigeria has had a series of National Development Plans under successive governments since achieving political independence in 1960. For each of such Development Plans, the project contents are expected to originate from the submissions of the various Ministries and extra-Ministerial Departments responsible for Economic Planning and Development in the Federation. Thus based on such proposals, the policies and projects said to be required for solving or alleviating the problems constitute the hardcore of the Development Plans. But a significant point worth noting, is that not all submissions from the various sectors of the Nigerian society are necessarily accepted or implemented. For instance, the clear-cut set up of the urban-rural dichotomy, already calls into question, the judicious acceptance of
the proposals from the rural sector. The implication here is that the policymakers who have the final say in approving and implementing each of these development plans, have the privilege and often do manipulate them to suit their definition of what a 'national development programme' is.

First and Second National Development Plans

The first national development plan covered the period 1962-68 (Table 2.1), while the second one was a four year plan, 1970-74 (Table 2.2). Implemented barely two years after independence, the first national plan was purposely geared towards raising the economic growth and increasing the standard of living for the people. Part of this plan was however affected by the civil war in Nigeria between 1967 and early 1970. The second development plan was therefore aimed at restoring and rehabilitating the economic activities which were adversely affected by the war, and "geared towards achieving as much development as the available resources would permit".

**TABLE 2.1**

**Nigeria's First National Development Plan 1962-68**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure on:</th>
<th>Amount (₦ million)</th>
<th>Per cent Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and communication</td>
<td>348.0</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>205.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary production</td>
<td>181.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and industry</td>
<td>179.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>141.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>139.6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>103.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water supply</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1353.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2.2
Nigeria’s Second National Development Plan 1970-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure on:</th>
<th>Federal (₦ million)</th>
<th>All States (₦ million)</th>
<th>Total of all Governments (₦ million)</th>
<th>Percentage Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>90.650</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90.650</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary production</td>
<td>68.046</td>
<td>197.238</td>
<td>265.334</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resettlement and rehabilitation</td>
<td>20.000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20.000</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and industry</td>
<td>108.746</td>
<td>106.344</td>
<td>215.090</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communication</td>
<td>419.548</td>
<td>150.932</td>
<td>570.480</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>98.244</td>
<td>179.542</td>
<td>277.786</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>20.250</td>
<td>87.362</td>
<td>107.622</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>9.564</td>
<td>12.298</td>
<td>21.862</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and social welfare</td>
<td>6.003</td>
<td>17.940</td>
<td>23.948</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town and Country planning</td>
<td>10.574</td>
<td>27.576</td>
<td>38.150</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and sewerage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>103.392</td>
<td>103.392</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense and security</td>
<td>192.720</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>192.720</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Administration</td>
<td>46.864</td>
<td>58.876</td>
<td>104.740</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial obligation</td>
<td>18.964</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.964</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1110.188</strong></td>
<td><strong>940.550</strong></td>
<td><strong>2050.738</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Third National Development Plan (1975-80)

One of the major differences between this plan and the first two was that it was the biggest and most ambitious one ever prepared by Nigeria. For instance, while both the first and second plans involved a total capital expenditure of about six billion naira (over five and half billion pounds), the third plan was estimated at thirty billion naira (approximately twenty-nine billion pounds). The size of the plan was "designed to ensure radical transformation of the national economy". As General Yakubu Gowon (former Head of State) put it then:

"... it is the development strategy of the government to utilize the resources from oil to develop the productive capacity of the economy and thus permanently improving the standard of living of the people. In a relatively short time it is intended that maximum effort will be made to create the economic and social infrastructure necessary for self-sustaining growth in the longer run ..." (in Fed. Rep. of Nig. Third Nat. Dev. Plan, 1975:349).

A major emphasis of this plan was on those sectors of the economy which directly affected the welfare of the ordinary citizen, ranging from housing to water supply, health facilities, education, general electrification and community development. Apart from the hope that the programme had, " - that of achieving a rapid increase in the standard of living of the average Nigerian thus putting Nigeria in the list of developed countries", it was also hoped that among others, there would be: "increase in per capita income; more even distribution of income; reduction in the level of unemployment; balanced development; and the indigenization of economic activity" (Third Nat. Dev. Plan, 1975:8).

The issue of ethnic diversity is very pronounced in Nigeria. This often creates a lot of conflicts among the policy-makers, which at times, leads to
some of them ignoring the national developmental projects in preference to regional interests. It was in recognition of such obvious facts that the Third Development Plan was also structured to generate growth simultaneously in all geographical areas of the country. It was also hoped that in order to arrest the disparity in the standard of living in urban and rural areas, a situation which has continued to aggravate the problem of mass migration of population from the rural to the urban centres, efforts would be made to ensure that rural development programmes were effectively implemented.

What had been the central focus during the Third National Development Plan was its size and magnitude as was then reflected in Nigeria's increased oil resources. This optimism in large scale oil production raised a lot of potentiality in public sector investment, leading to the creation of seven additional states in the country and therefore bringing the total number to nineteen in 1976. These additional structures caused some retardations in the development plan since it meant redistributing the initial resources meant for twelve states. However, there were some remarkable achievements.

During this plan period, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), an agricultural project was launched; UPE (Universal Primary Education) was launched in 1976; cement projects were established in Yandev, Calabar and Nkalagu; while oil production refineries were built in Warri and Kaduna. The building of the Murtala Mahammed International Airport at Ikeja and airports at some state capitals; the establishment of the steel rolling mills at Jos, Katsina and Oshogbo; and the iron and steel plants in Aladja and Ajaokuta are among other achievements of this plan period. By the end of the plan period in 1980, enrolment in schools, colleges and universities increased by millions. This
also gave rise to the establishment of additional polytechnics, Advanced Teacher's Colleges and Universities in many parts of the country.

Fourth National Development Plan (1981-85)

The coming into power of another civilian regime in 1979, saw the end of the Third Development Plan and the emergence of the fourth which, like the second, was planned for four years. Before the return of the military after the coup of 31st December 1983, the civilian administration had prepared a budget for the plan period in which the former President of the Country, Alh. Shehu Shagari said:

"The projects and programmes contained in the Fourth National Development Plan have been conceived and fully geared towards strengthening the foundations already laid by the earlier plans. It is geared towards removing known constraints to the growth and modernization of our nation and our national economy" (Tijani and Williams, 1981:141).

Some of the highlights of this plan programme included some long term objectives aimed at building "a strong and dynamic economy in a democratic political culture" (Ibid), which in the end would lead to national self-reliance. Like the other development objectives, there was also provision for the need for achievement of increased real income for all Nigerians; more and even equitable distribution of income; increase in the supply of manpower; high priority to agriculture, water supply, education, health-care facilities and the provision of adequate raw materials for the industries.

Nigeria and the World System

A major constraint on Nigerian development has been the lack of adequate manpower. There is no doubt that for a sound economic and social
development, Nigeria requires more trained hands in all sectors than has been available.

Figures of Nigeria's external reserves have continued to grow since Nigeria is becoming increasingly integrated with the world economy. To a large extent, Nigeria has increased its strong support of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) by entering into a number of bilateral cooperative economic projects with other West African countries and has provided economic assistance to some African countries, particularly the drought-affected states.

The United States of America has been the major foreign market for Nigeria's crude oil. In addition, the U.S. has private investment - largely in the joint production of petroleum worth over one billion dollars. In turn, Nigeria welcomes this investment as a means of obtaining managerial and technological talent and training. For instance in 1976, the United States exported goods and services to Nigeria worth about seven-hundred and fifty million dollars; and in turn, imported oil for four million dollars (Nigerian Review of external trade 1976).

Nigeria also has trade relationships with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) countries along with others like the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France and West Germany. These countries usually account for about seventy percent of Nigeria's exports and imports. It may not appear obvious at this stage, but eventually, we will see how these relationships affect to some extent, the communication systems in Nigeria. At this point, one wonders whether there is the continued need to rely entirely on the United States and other Western countries for manpower and technologies; or to begin to strive for a greater sense of direction and hardwork internally as Nigeria strives towards building a better tomorrow.
Provisions for the Broadcast Media and the place given to Cultural Development

There was hardly any specific provision for culture in the National Development Plans. In the case of the broadcast media, sometimes provision was made for them along with transport and communications (which includes post and telecommunications). In other instances, separate votes were made under the Ministry of Information. This is not to say that culture was not given a place in the Nigerian Development Agenda since, within the State and Federal governments, all the departments of culture are under the Ministry of Information. In some states where the Department of Culture is an autonomous board or council, it is still responsible to the Commissioner for Information.

In the First National Development Plan (see table 2.1), ₦340.0 million was provided for transport and communication; while in the Second Plan period (see table 2.2), ₦570.480 was provided for transport and communication, and a separate ₦21.862 million specifically provided for Information. During the Third Development Plan (1975-80), an estimated ₦380.225 million was earmarked as Capital expenditure for the Information Sector. During his budget presentation for one year just before the end of the third development period, President Shagari had this to say:

"The administration recognises the unsatisfactory situation in which we have found our communication system. We are taking every possible measure to correct the situation because without an efficient communication system, the economy as well as life in the country would be paralysed" (Tijani and Williams, 1981:164).

There is no doubt that there are major problems facing communication services; the most obvious being the shortage of facilities, equipment and personnel to cope with the task. A critical look at the development agenda shows that different policy-makers have been aware of these problems in their effort to
make information services more efficient in the task of promoting the nation's basic ideals, such as unity and the projection of her image abroad. The third plan particularly indicated the need for emphasis on radio and television, for, it was hoped that through these media, the larger section of the population could be reached.

Summary

Often, the inadequacies or absence of some fundamental facilities and structures cause serious obstacles to productivity and growth in all sectors of national development. Some of these are usually the ones echoed year after year in the government development plans, and yet, very little change is noticed in terms of tangible development projects completed as compared with the billions of naira proposed and put into them. The concentration of economic activities in the urban areas encourages rural-urban migration. And rather than go back after failing to acquire a job, the flashy looks of the urban centres are still convincing alternative places of stay for the rural migrants. To a large extent, such influx are causing more social problems for the governments and the migrants themselves.

It may therefore be safe at this point, to conclude that there has been little change in the national development agenda since Nigeria acquired political independence twenty-five years ago. For instance, the same colonial models seem to be replicated. There is this continuous exploitation of both human and material resources from the rural areas, and these are used to modernize the urban centres. It is this kind of relationship that leads Olatunbosun to conclude that:
"The failure of the development plans to pay adequate attention to education, social amenities and job opportunities in the rural areas is further proof of the continuation of the dichotomy between the rural and urban sectors by the Nigerian local elites who have now replaced the colonial administrators who created it" (Olatunbosun, 1975:63).

At the surface value, the budgets and plans reflect a wide and varied set of objectives and also to some degree, interests of the cross-section of the Nigerian population. The end product, in terms of implementation however, reflects the kind of relationships that exist between the national and international systems, causing rural-urban inequalities and perpetually enhancing development in the latter to the detriment of the former.

COMMUNICATIONS:

Some Approaches and Methodologies

Based on their backgrounds and interests, communication theorists have approached and defined this concept in many ways. It may therefore, not be entirely uncommon to find a Linguist concentrating most of his research findings in the area of Semiotics, while an Anthropologist or Sociologist may work more in the social and cultural aspects of communication as relates to the other networks of interactions within communities or cultures. The idea in this section, is not to go into detailed discussions of communication theories and models, but to have an overview of the kind of working definitions and approaches that have been developed in this area over the years.

Writing in the early fifties, Dallas Smythe traced the historical developments in communication theory which were essentially set on traditional forms relying mainly on face-to-face interactions. Two main factors - "mechanization and commercialization of these traditional forms have led to
communication theory" which according to him, could be "the cutting off of feedback through dealing in stereotypes, through specializing in a manipulative view of humanity both directly through advertizing and indirectly through the plot structures and motivations portrayed in entertainment and other programme materials" (Smythe, 1972:32). Although not directly mentioned, but seemingly implied, is the notion of regarding communication as a 'process' which appears in later writings. This notion directly appears in the works of Beegle and Loomis (1957:45) who saw communication as "the process by which knowledge, opinions and attitudes are formed or modified".

In the early sixties, Raymond Williams saw communication as "the interactions and forms in which ideas, information and attitudes are transmitted and received ... the process of transmission and reception" (Williams, 1962:9). Just as in the early approaches by Smythe, Williams traces communication from its traditional forms to later forms, with this growth mainly based on the area of commercialization through advertisements. In the early 70s, George Gerbner saw human communication as "social interaction through messages ... the production, perception and grasp of messages bearing man's notions of what is, what is important and what is right" (Gerbner, 1972:36). And elsewhere, Gerbner (1958) defined communication as:

"Social interaction through presentation of messages which are formally coded, symbolic or representational events of some shared significance in a culture, produced for the purpose of evoking significance".

There is no doubt that these early approaches to communication theory relied to some extent, on the importance of the human aspects like organization, production, composition, structure, function and distribution of the media forms.
By the beginning of the seventies, additional views were added to the earlier approaches to the study of communication. For instance, Robert Goyer (1970:6) says to communicate is "to make common, or to share experiences regardless of the nature of the event or the method of its transmission or projection". His argument in this context is that the direct communicative event can be experienced by any living organisms interacting with other living organisms at the most biological level. Arguing further, Goyer notes:

"Like other living organisms, man exhibits the ability to directly share experiences with others of his species. In addition, he often shares experiences with other living things. Implied in this statement is that living organisms constitute relatively 'open' behaviour systems capable of some degree of self-organizing ability, while non-living objects are incapable of any sort of generative behaviour, including 'sharing' ... perhaps man's most unique attribute is his manifest ability to generate, store, and subsequently employ a high order of sign/symbol behaviour by way of implementing vicarious experiences with other men, and some other animals" (ibid).

Frank Dance concludes that it is difficult to give a definition of communication. According to him, a variety of approaches and methodologies is often more beneficial than remaining with single rigid definitions.

"Certainly the concepts relate to experience, but they also, within a theory, relate to other concepts. A family of concepts should also facilitate the treatment of communication in a systems fashion" (Dance, 1970:210).

The position taken by Dance appears wider in scope and encompasses more than the earlier approaches. To him, given such a family of communication concepts, perhaps those who identify themselves as communication theoreticians, could better "systematize their pursuits, move towards reducing their professional dissonance, work towards eliminating conceptual inconsistencies and contradictions, and in the end, come closer towards producing a satisfying
systematic theory of communication" (p.210). In a rather more detailed approach, Raymond Williams views communication as:

"... the detailed process of language and of gesture, in expression and interaction, and of course any general features of underlying human structures and conventions ... open to the effects on these processes and features of particular technologies which range from books and the photograph to broadcasting motion pictures and beyond these, to the specialized electronic media" (Williams, 1974:18).

Approaches to the concept of communication in the late seventies and early parts of this decade have not been entirely different. And rather than subtract, the recent approaches add in a more concise manner, information that sheds further light to the earlier approaches. Such works include those of Dennis McQuail who sees communication as 'a social process ... the sending from one person to another of meaningful messages' (McQuail, 1975:1). To him (1983:3) communication could also be "any, or all of the following: an action on others; an interaction with others and a reaction to others"; And John Fiske briefly puts it thus: "Communication is social interaction through messages" (Fiske, 1982:2). With the vast literature in this area, it is obviously difficult to conclude that one specific approach is the ultimate definition of what communication is. However, such approaches are each in themselves very important in understanding this multidisciplinary concept.

The Role of Communication in Development

After many years since the old paradigms of the role of media in development (Lerner, 1963; Schramm, 1964), some Third World countries still rely heavily on them without giving due regard to the other socio-economic factors that could make such paradigms workable. For instance, Schramm writes:
"... the mass media can create a climate for development ... the mass media can contribute substantially to the amount and kinds of information available to the people of a developing country ... they can focus attention on problems and goals of development; they can raise personal and national aspirations; and all this, they can do largely themselves and directly..." (Schramm, 1964:131).

Lerner (1963:335) also concludes that "the mass media ... are a major instrument of social change. They make indispensable inputs to the psycho-political life of a transitional society via the minds and hearts of its people".

Such assumptions have led most Third World governments either to have so much expectation of the role of the media in development, or think that these communication processes can be used to mobilize or indoctrinate their populations into particular patterns of modernization or development. Ignoring issues like the serious geographical obstacles, the diversity of population coupled with the lack of trained manpower among others, such Third World countries have in a large scale, transferred communication techniques and adopted general approaches to development programmes where the social, cultural and economic settings are totally different from those that obtain in the United States or Western Europe where these theories were formulated.

**Lerner's 'empathy' and 'modernization' theories**

Lerner's studies of Iran about three decades ago led to what many Third World Nations have relied on in planning their communication strategies for development. 'Empathy' refers to a person's ability to put himself in the place of another and to see the world as the other person does. According to Lerner (1958:49-50), this ability is essential for development since it is only by assuming the viewpoint of more 'modern' persons that a peasant can desire to change his present life. In *The Passing of Traditional Society* Lerner's view
of development which also stresses 'modernization', has the orientation that
underdeveloped countries must adopt values, social organizations and technology
of the already advanced countries. As in his theory of 'empathy', the role of
communication here is to help promote these orientations.

Lerner's early studies of the Middle East which led some communication
strategists to believe that the mass communication media could act as magic
multipliers for rapid development in underdeveloped countries has not gone un-
challenged (Golding, 1974; Rogers, 1976). The criticisms notwithstanding,
these old paradigms are still applicable in many developing communities where
members of the lower strata of the society attempt to identify with the elites
by adopting their perceptions of the world - their values and ways of relating to
each other. Of course, such values are perpetuated by the communications
media. As a matter of fact, such imitation of the 'upper class' is leading to
many social vices as the economically disadvantaged want to be as 'modern' as
the more economically advantaged.

In his later writings however, Lerner realized the shortcomings of his
earlier theories. In his new approach, modernization is looked at as an
"upward movement, assuming a set of goals that people are striving for, such
as income, status and power". With more emphasis:

"The most important change that I want to make is not to call
the whole process 'modernization' anymore but rather change ...I would think of the factors not as indicators of modernity but
'propensity to change' or readiness to try new things"
(D. Lerner, 1977:5).

The Diffusionist Approach

It was generally believed that the communications media had the
wonderful role of national development through non-formal education, health and particularly agricultural projects. The diffusionist theory also had a lot of influence on Third World communication and development scholars trained in the United States who thought they could replicate the kind of success this approach had in the U.S. As the works of Combs and Ahmed (1974) show, the use of this approach which was mainly sponsored by UNESCO or financed by the World bank centred mainly on the fact that the non-formal programmes would lead to increase the skills and productivity of farmers, artisans, craftsmen and small entrepreneurs. The notion of this approach was that communications could diffuse such information for adaptation by their audiences.

It was also hoped that the establishment of such programmes in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America would lead to large masses of the rural poor to change, becoming more agriculturally productive, have the basic education and produce fewer children if communication was used to support the development-oriented projects. While using these strategies, the basic fundamental knowledge of the contexts was ignored. In fact, Emile McAnany (1973:22) who studied the use of radio in such development oriented programmes in Latin America concludes that 'radio strategies for social change in rural areas cannot operate in a vacuum of institutional support'. This again points out one of those weaknesses in transplanting wholesale, strategies developed and experimented on in the United States with the hope that they would be applicable elsewhere.

Like Lerner (1958), Schramm (1963:36-38) also relies heavily on the diffusionist approach in which he sees the role of communication in development as that of helping to teach certain skills needed for agricultural production.
According to him, 'this is perhaps the point which communication can make its
greatest contribution to national growth'. Again, Schramm holds the notion that
communication could be manipulated by the leaders of a nation 'to even out the
strain ... in contributing to this manipulation of goods and strain, social
communication does not work as the exclusive servant of any particular
philosophy'. Far from it, Schramm fails to realize that in some nations, this
manipulative device or power could, and often is, used or geared towards
personal rather than national development goals. Of course, he rightly points
out that for a nation to have its feeling of nationness, communication must be
used to contribute to this notion, but that in such a process, 'there must be
avenues for criticism of policies and practices both locally and nationally'.
This position I consider too idealistic and may only work as a theory since it
fails to take cognisance of certain constraints within nations. For instance, the
situation in Nigeria in which the Buhari military administration enforced Decree
No. 4 - 'The Public Officers Protection Against False Accusation' - has meant
that to a great extent, the responsibility of the media professionals in
disseminating information to the Nigerian populace is controlled, if not hindered.
The decree prevents media men from giving any kind of information which may
be considered by the government as being in criticism of the administration. In
fact, two Nigerian journalists working for The Guardian Newspapers (produced
in Nigeria) were convicted and jailed after the promulgation of this infamous
decree in 1984. This shows an instance of how the ruling body with the powerful
apparatus of government uses them to their advantage. Under such conditions,
communication and development policies and strategies may not be open to
useful criticism that will benefit the nation at large.
Often, when such development-oriented programmes are said to be national, the content of the messages are urban-oriented and therefore irrelevant to the problems that obtain in the rural areas. In most cases (see discussions on programming in Chapter Eight), the said national programmes only aim at 'westernization'. Despite its shortcomings, Diaz Bordenave (1977:15) has argued that among the various applications made, the diffusion theory was helpful in discovering 'the usefulness of impersonal and personal channels' at the different stages of the adaptation. In addition, he argues that it also generated a 'great deal of enthusiasm for the use of opinion leaders as channels of information and influence' which in turn produced a search for more reliable techniques for sorting out and using such leaders effectively.

The 'Systems' Approach

Unlike the concept of diffusion which took little or no account of the constraints within the structures of the Third World nations, the systems approach shows how different aspects and facets function within networks of inter-relationships. Here to, there is attention and careful analysis made at both the planning and implementation stages and issues like feedback from the government to the rural areas and vice versa are taken into account. According to the essence of this model, communication supplies information about environmental needs and conditions, facilities internal interactions and co-ordination through information exchange, the system's influences on the environment and the information about the environments reactions and its changing needs (Bordenave, 1977:19). The systems approach concept therefore makes communicators aware of how intimately communication is related to the other elements in development processes.
By this view, it is important to note that the concepts of communication and development should take into account a number of variables, including among others, the source, societal values, experiences, expectations, subtle variations of meanings, symbols and all other socio-economic and political contexts in which communication may be used in development processes. At least the introduction of the systems approach into the theoretical study of development communication has led to more positive consequences than the concept of diffusion. Viewing things systematically reveals how the various aspects of development are inter-related, and shows how both communication and development are sub-systems within larger systems.

On the whole, the common shift in approach is now that of viewing communication as a process that is inseparable from other social and political processes necessary for development. According to Majid Teheranian (1977:1), communication is a 'newly emergent, interdisciplinary science dealing with the most basic of human activities ... development is a problematic process', but that both of them are inextricably intertwined. The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has rightly noted that:

"... the mere transformation of content from a knowledgeable and authoritative source to a passive receiver does nothing to promote the receiver's growth as a person within an autonomous and critical conscience capable of contributing to and influencing his society" (in Bordenave, 1977:20).

This position further challenges the earlier approaches. The success of the role communication can play in development therefore depends to a large extent, on the ripeness of the circumstances and commitments in the other segments of society. For communication to be effective, its roles are supposed to be purposeful or indirectly played with other roles vis-a-vis development. This
marks how intricately linked communication and other elements of development are (Robert Hemik, 1980:15).

These new approaches to media role in development imply wider roles for communication than the diffusion theory offered. Hitherto, communication 'was considered to play an important role in development by conveying information and persuasive messages' from the government to a people in a rather hierarchical order. Everett Rogers therefore concludes that,

"... the role of mass communication in self-development is more permissive and supportive than in the usual top-down development approach, where local citizens are told what their problems are and persuaded to follow certain specific lines of action to solve them, usually involving a good deal of dependence on government" (Rogers, 1976:232).

According to Rogers, the self-help projects approach calls for a completely different role of the media in development. Rather than being totally initiated and implemented by a central government, government's participation in this regard may be that of only assisting with the mass media in giving information to the local groups, having their feedback, and helping to disseminate certain innovations that may meet certain needs (p.233). He also concludes that the advantages of such self-development approach are that the rate of accomplishment is often higher than the top-down development projects initiated and implemented by government.

Summary/Conclusion

The early communication models of the 1950s and 60s based on the concepts of 'modernization' and the theory of 'diffusion' which were transformed from the developed West particularly the USA to the Third World countries did not take into account, other variables in the development processes of these
A number of writers have criticized these early approaches and paradigms. For instance, Peter Golding (1974:46) argues that 'the correlation approach which measured media artifacts per capita bear no indication of media use'. This position particularly questions such issues as UNESCO's figures for some nations as regards to educational institutions, pupils, number of television and radio sets without relating these to the concern of communication for their use and what implications they would have in turn. He further maintains that such approaches:

"... share an ahistorical view of development ... the conception of developing countries emerging from static isolation, requiring an external stimulus to shake them into the 20th century ... to conceive the future as a bigger version of the present ... the adaptation of values and ideals tried in the Western World" (Golding, 1974:52-53).

Golding's critique therefore challenges the earlier assumptions in development theories and the role of the media in achieving development based on the kind of historical events that led to development in the West. It was such assumptions that led to the transfer of the diffusion model that neither took cognisance of the farmers (if it was an agricultural programme), who were the main subjects, nor, their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Such transfers in the end, proved to be rather mechanistic in the development process.

The new approaches to communication and development are now opening wider avenues to understanding both processes. While Hartmann (1980:19) notes that 'the old assumptions are being questioned; and new suggestions being made'; Halloran suggests that all aspects of the communication process should be studied. The factors (historical, economic, political, organizational, technical, personal) which impinge on the production process and determining what is
produced demand close scrutiny as well as those which influence how what is produced is used. This approach also shows the futility of studying communication in isolation, or of studying communication policies without reference to other related policies - education, cultural, economic and social (Halloran, 1979:9).

The understanding of how best to approach the concepts of communication and development therefore, is to take into account, a much more embracing model which gives due attention to all the variables that are both in the contents and contexts of these processes. With the diffusion model for instance, very little attention is given to the structures, working organizations, audiences, feedback and control of the media. In most instances, the communication model or approach used does not provide forums for the participation of the people for whom the development programmes are initiated, and implemented. In short, all these factors are vital in understanding the relationships between communication and development processes.
3. NATIONAL CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

In the quest for development, massive media products have been utilized and are still being flown to developing countries with the hope that these would either help economic or social growth. Detailed research is beginning to show that the mass media or Transnational Communication in general, go beyond merely disseminating information for change-oriented programmes. In view of the transfer of both hardware and software, the argument is that the reliance in these communication systems is gradually leading to a situation where the recipient countries are becoming 'culturally dominated' since the contents are mainly those of the donor countries. This Chapter therefore looks at the media of communication not as part, but an overall complex of interacting systems within and across cultures. In addition, it tries to look at how transnational communications affect patterns of, or generally influence national cultures. If there are influences, do they constitute some threat, or, are the influences gradually assimilated by recipient countries without adverse repercussions on their national cultures? In short, what is culturally at stake for countries that are obviously dominated by the flow of communications from particularly the United States and Western Europe?

Before addressing these issues, one needs to look at the notion of 'national cultures' and if in fact these exist despite the transnational communications. Are there possibilities that such cultures are authentic or dominated? If the latter is the case, what chances are there for such nations in lieu of the economic and technological dependence on the advanced countries?
If indeed cultural domination exists, would a country gain her 'national culture' by isolating herself from the global network of relationships or, are there other options towards achieving national cultural autonomy?

The Concept of Culture:

Defining the Concept of Culture is as problematic a notion as that of looking at the concepts of 'dependency' and 'underdevelopment'. However, since it is the central theme in this work, it will be worthwhile to look at some of the approaches given to this concept so as to clarify some of the underlying issues within it. Over a century ago, Edward Tylor described Culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society'; while the Anthropologist, Melville Herskovits, sees culture as including 'all elements of man's natural endowment that he has acquired from his group by conscious learning or by a conditioning process' (Herskovits, 1947:4). For John Clarke et al (1981:53), the culture of a group or class is the particular and distinctive 'ways of life' of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas are embodied in institutions, in social relations in systems of beliefs, in modes and customs, in the use of objects and material life; or "the symbolic expressive aspect of human behaviour ... verbal utterances, gestures, ceremonial behaviour, ideologies, religions and philosophical systems" (Wuthnow, R. et al, 1984:3). In essence according to them, understanding and interpreting the experiences of such groups in their various structures and relations are also important in this
notion of culture. Along the same line, Paul Hartmann views aspects of culture as:

'Commonly held perspectives on life, shared images of reality, prevailing ideas about what is desirable and possible, and appropriate ways of achieving desired goals ... culture is based upon actual life experiences which the individual acquires either directly or indirectly through others in the group' (Hartmann, 1979 : 87).

Stuart Hall has also viewed culture along these perspectives. According to him, culture has its roots in what Marx in *The German Ideology* called 'man's double relation: to nature and to other men ... in effect, the adaptation of nature to man's material needs is effected only through the forms which has social collaboration with other men assume ... the relations surrounding the material reproduction of their existence forms the determining existence of all these other factors' (Hall, 1977 : 315-318). Although Hall accepts the fact that a concept like culture is problematic in terms of having a single definition because of its complexity, he argues that the anthropological definition which sees culture as 'a whole way of life' is being 'too neatly abstracted' because of the active and indissoluble relationship between elements or social practices' which he considers are normally separated. He maintains that it should be treated as all social practices, and is the sum of their relationship. While conceptualizing culture as interwoven with all social practices and what these practices in turn, have as a common form of human activity. He therefore concludes that culture should be seen as:

'... the dialectic between social being and social consciousness ... as both the meanings and values which arose amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions and relationships' (Stuart Hall, 1980 : 59-63).
Hall's position appears to have been influenced by earlier Marxist writers like Althusser whose theoretical analysis to the study of culture was an alternative to those of the social or cultural anthropologists. Bloch (1983:157) notes that 'as a result of Althusser's influence the task for Marxist anthropologists became that of 'constructing' modes of production so that, first their internal structure could be demonstrated and their potential dynamics hypothesized, and secondly, so that the articulation between different modes of production in social formations could be understood.' Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer also address culture from the same perspective. For instance, they argue:

'Culture as a common denominator already contains in embryo that schematization and process of cataloguing and classification which bring culture within the sphere of administration. And it is precisely the industrialized, the consequent, subsumption which entirely accords with this notion of culture' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1977 : 357).

The approaches by Hall, Bloch, Adorno and Horkheimer imply the notions of industrialization and other productive forms of culture which, as we shall see later, are means or processes of cultural domination or imperialism. This analysis leads Alan Swingewood to come up with similar conclusions. According to him, 'there is an ideology of mass culture and that capitalist domination necessarily rests on many myths for it is a mode of production based on the exploitation of labour power and its transformation into a commodity' (Swingewood, 1977 : 119). The growing awareness in cultural studies has led Raymond Williams (1981) to classify the concept of culture into:
(a) the 'ideal' in which culture is seen as a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain universal values;

(b) as 'documentary' in which culture is the body of intellectual imaginative work, in which in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded; and

(c) the 'social' definition of culture in which culture is seen as a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in the art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour (p. 45).

These various approaches are each useful in understanding the concept of culture. In sum, while they give us different notions of the concept, they show that culture if anything else, has to be shared experiences of a people; refers to social processes of a group and that cultures are recognizable and distinguishable only through a means of dialectal or historical relationships. Set against such a background, it is possible to make interpretations within specific cultures. And rather than separate any of these notions of culture, my intention is to follow an approach which sees Traditional Communication - be it in music, dance, drama or a song text, as part of an overall cultural pattern. Analyzing any of these aspects of culture as a separate or interdependent motif or genre of social behaviour does not lead to understanding the working relationships or interconnectedness within a given culture.

Dynamism and Change:

Often, reference to culture calls to mind, the notion of 'conservatism' or the idea of its being a static concept. This is one of the paradoxes one faces
particularly when the work is said to be based on Traditional societies. In helping to clarify some of these paradoxes, Herskovits (1947: 4-12) argues along the following lines. That 'culture is universal to man's experience, yet each local or regional manifestation of it is unique'. This position shows that despite the fact that there are some general attributes to all human groups like religion, language, politics or a means of survival, when viewed from another perspective, cultures also present various aspects which make their study individually possible. Through either shared experiences or a historical past, an analysis could provide details of a particular culture-group. In Herskovit's view, the 'universals in a culture ... provide a framework within which the particular experience of a people are expressed'. This theoretical stance tallies well with the Marxist concept of culture as viewed from the perspective of historical materialism.

His second paradox is that 'Culture is stable, yet it is also dynamic, and manifests continuous and constant change'. This stand argues, and favourably too, that cultures are not static, but dynamic as they constantly make room for change to fit existing challenges. Such cultural changes which often appear like minor variations, are normally slow rather than abrupt and come in such patterns or manners that they are assimilated into existing patterns without noticeable difficulties. With the gradual acceptance of new cultural forms or patterns of behaviour, there is often little or no generation of tension within such groups. However, since elements of change are observable, it is possible to identify the level of conservatism or flexibility of particular cultures - though they could be stable and at the same time, ever-changing.

Herskovit's third paradox hinges on the notion that 'culture fills and largely determines the course of our lives, yet rarely intrudes into conscious thought'.
This position which he argues, can be resolved by two vital questions - psychological and philosophical, and concludes that 'while culture, a human attribute, is restricted to man, culture as a whole ... is more than any individual human being can grasp'. So, while there are psychological realities for the individual mind or a whole culture-group to construct, they are similarly faced with philosophical concepts and approaches to the nature of the world in which they exist. One of today's cultural issues for any Nation may not merely be that of only having a means of livelihood for her citizens, but also that of coping with the network of relationships with other countries and the effect such relationships in turn have for the nation. It is therefore, the ability and the continuous determination by a culture-group to grapple with such issues that determines the degree of change within such cultures.

National Culture:

The problems of identifying a National Culture lie more in understanding the implication of the concept of culture within specific geographical entities sharing or exhibiting some high degree of similarities while differing or varying to some degree with other cultures. In addition, administrative or political boundaries have historically led certain areas to be regarded as having cultures unique to themselves. What I regard as highly essential in understanding specific national cultures, depends to a large extent on knowing the value-systems of such cultures. While Spradley, J. et al (1975 : 472) view values as mental conceptions which are heavily weighed with emotional feelings, Rose, P. et al (1976 : 80) see it as 'the preferred or desirable goals, conditions, and modes of behaviour of a culture'. These imply that the values people hold and the norms they follow, tend to show the patterns of their culture. Every
culture therefore, contains these values which when identified, could lead to a better understanding of the overall cultural patterns within given nations. These positions may appear as only anthropological, since the economic dimension of communications calls for a more critical approach to understanding national cultures.

Since communication systems are said to dominate 'national cultures' whose culture do we determine as 'national'? Is it the culture of the rural folk or, is it the culture of the urban elite who are both the policy-makers and collaborators with the multinationals that represents the national culture? For instance, other than denoting a mere geographical area which is politically administered, how would one define the national culture of a country like Nigeria with the heterogenous ethnic groupings? Both the internal conditions among nations and the global relationships make these rather difficult problems and with solutions also difficult to attain. What then constitutes national cultures?

Often, catch-phases like 'national identity' and 'national pride' are used by leaders to mobilize the sympathy of the people at moments of national crises. These same people are usually socially neglected at times of peace. Fanon (1963:187) for instance, notes that 'to fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of a nation'. As seen from the point of oppression or domination, one of Africa's liberation leaders, Amilcar Cabral, has identified national culture as:

"... the positive cultural values of very well-defined social groups ... and to achieve the confluence of these values into the stream of struggle, giving them a new dimension ... a struggle as much for the conservation and survival of the cultural values of the people as for the harmonization and development of these values within a national framework" (Cabral, 1980:146-147).

In a similar approach, Salinas (1978:6) concludes that 'national culture expresses in every moment the peculiar, unique form in which every nation
deals with its heritage and unfolds its contradictions and potentialities'. Her analysis however is dependent on a system of class relationships, as, implicit is the notion that the national culture is particularly the culture of the dominant or ruling class. In this regard, the fostering of a national culture would necessarily be in the interest of such dominant classes or groups. She maintains that this is possible whether during an independent or colonial life of a nation and also, that 'the character of such culture expresses, at each specific period, the actual internal dynamics of the relationships between the varied groups in the society'. Elsewhere, Salinas and Paldan (1979:84) argue that national culture therefore is the "expression of the basic relations of domination as they exist in the cultural sphere, the representative of the dominant culture itself, imposed upon and indicated in the subordinated social group". What this means is that within nations there is some form of domination based on the class system or groups in position of power to direct the national culture. At the same time, the global trends also culturally dominate such powers within nations.

The kind of class analysis made by Salinas and others clarifies some of the operational settings in most of the Third World countries. The class system may not exist per se, but the 'middle men' who are at the same time the policy-makers can represent one side of the spectrum. They form policies based on their tastes and aspirations, which in turn, pave way for the kind of global relationships that generate forms of cultural domination. And it is only when their positions appear threatened that they look to the other side of the spectrum - the bulk of the rural masses through 'national' cultural appeals. In viewing this kind of relationship, some writers have argued that it builds around the theory of 'core-periphery' analogy. That is, the advanced or Western countries being the core while the urban centres of the Third World act as the
semi-periphery or intermediary and the rural areas serve as the periphery. Moscow and Herman (1980:352) maintain that 'the core not only uses the semi-periphery as a source of surplus value, but also as a buffer to protect itself from the periphery'. According to them, such a 'perspective is useful for understanding the communication infrastructure that provides both a basis for core capitalist accumulation and legitimation'. Such core semi-periphery relationships are in no doubt pronounced in the transnational communication systems, and therefore implicit in them, is the possibility of dominating certain national cultures.

If we take Antonio Pasquali's (1930) definition of national culture as being the 'synthesis of the spiritual legacy of a national community' (p. 29) or the notion that the designated components of national culture quite clearly serve the social and political aims and objectives embedded in the ideologies of nationalism, and nationalist ideology and organization draws on what is conceived to be, and what is constructed as, the national culture' (p. 34), then, the argument brings us back to the notion that a country talks of a 'national culture' only at times of nationalism or liberation of some kind.

Sometimes, the call for a national culture never questions the heterogeneous nature of some countries. In such cases as Frantz Fanon points out, within a country,

'... the intellectual throws himself in frenzied fashion into the frantic acquisition of the culture of the occupying power and takes every opportunity of unfavourably criticizing his own national culture' (Fanon, 1963:190).

By the time such intellectuals, in this case, policymakers, think about alternative policies in attempts to 'revive' their nation's culture, they realize the extent to which they have been involved in the transnational relationships. In this regard, Fanon has argued that the need for national cultures should not be seen only when
it pertains to liberation struggles. It should also be seen 'as the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence' (op cit : 188).

The historical processes through which countries were colonized and later got their independence are now taking newer and more sophisticated shapes and forms through the transnational systems and these are gradually becoming a threat to the national culture and identity of some nations. Cabral has noted that even though the culture of the colonial powers did not go beyond the urban and metropolitan centres of the colonized territories, 'the subject of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression and attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of what is essential in the subject people's culture' (1979:206). On the other hand, Ithiel de Sola Pool has postulated that countries or nations who call for 'the integrity of cultures, and most particularly those nationalist authoritarian governments who use that slogan to resist change often seem to imply that each national can be an island, doing its cultural activities for itself' (Pool, 1977:144). This position further backs up the need for national cultures only at times of political need, a position not far from those of Cabral and Fanon, but goes beyond, to question the issue of nations resisting cultural influences as if they were 'cultural islands', a position difficult to imagine.

The problems inherent in identifying national cultures have so far been found to be from within and without. Unlike in the process of colonization, part of the reasons for national cultures to be dominated or alienated as argued, is caused by the domestic powers. There are however, possibilities of looking at the problem of national cultures more carefully. First, the role of the urban or cosmopolitan centres who come into closer contacts with foreign cultures; the
influence of these groups on the greater masses who are far removed from the heart of the transnational engagements; and the reactions of the rural cultures to the new and emergent cultures.

Transnational Communications: Imperialism or Domination?

There is no doubt that many studies and research carried out in the field of communication, particularly with reference to development, show that in the quest for modernization or westernization, educational policies, communication techniques and other instruments of development have greatly increased the amount of flow of cultural images from the United States and other western countries of the world. This flow, which has in most cases been non-reciprocal, has led to some form of 'cultural domination' or 'cultural imperialism'. This position now shows the gradual drift from the traditional models of looking at the role of communication in development through the techniques of diffusion, to more structuralist approaches. There is now, more concentration not only on the content of such programmes and issues like news flows, but also, the international implications of such communication systems across nations. Armand Mattelart et al, in a recent work, have concluded that the international flow of communication is now breaking barriers through cultures and countries. Under 'the spell of instantaneous communication', they note, 'a global culture shuffles the everyday lives of different countries' (1984:7). This position does not fail to explain whose culture is shuffled around through the transnational communication, a position which has led to the notion of 'cultural imperialism', a concept which Herbert Schiller describes as:

"... the sum processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system" (Schiller, 1976:9).
Part of Schiller's argument has been that the concept of cultural imperialism can best be understood within the world capitalist system, with the nations dominating the market system, seriously seeking the means of extending their ideology. He notes that through these 'profit-seeking objectives ... cultural penetration has occurred ... embracing all the socializing institutions of the affected host area' (op. cit.).

Cultural imperialism within this context does not only mean the spread of foreign ideologies for the host countries to emulate, but the eventual substitution of the local or indigenous cultures. Boyd-Barrett has argued extensively that the world's system in which the direction of media flow is predominantly one-directional means that there is 'media imperialism' within the global communication system. He further maintains that 'the absence of reciprocity of media influence by the affected country combines ... the element of cultural invasion' (1977: 123). Along with Schiller, Boyd-Barrett is of the opinion that part of the culturally imperialist media may be for social or economic gains. In other words, a need for economic realization rather than deliberate attempts of cultural domination could be the main basis for the enormous dissemination of media to various parts of the world. However, he agrees that there is a deliberate 'influence of advertising as reflected in media imperialism'. Of course, this is part of the economic pursuit rather than making concerted efforts at culturally dominating the recipient audiences. But as Dajani (1975: 165) points out, since there is a continuous fight by the East and West in the developing world, each of these competing nations 'has its own culture, its own conception of life and its own interest. Each wants its ideology to dominate.' This does not only lead to the commercialization and eventual
economic exploitation, but opens new avenues where they succeed, to cultural domination by the foreign investors.

Agents and Forms of Cultural Domination

Current debates on Transnational Communication show that a number of factors are responsible for not just the transfer of ideologies through the mass media, but a whole domination of ideological concepts and cultural forms of the recipient countries through a number of agents and forms ranging from news-flow to the importation of technology.

Multinational Corporations

Perhaps the most dominant agents are the multinational corporations. Although there has always been a tendency to concentrate and blame the external factors leading to the penetration of the multinationals within host countries, I think a great amount of internal collaboration exists within these nations, a point I will be looking at later. One writer has noted that cultural imperialism is 'generated and upheld' by the multinationals in various forms. Drummond Hislop (1981) has argued that apart from the fact that cultural imperialism is constantly being reinforced in international activities like tourism, and replications of institutions and organizations of the foreign cultures, that:

'Communications media have provided them (multinationals) with powerful backing or assistance ... and that the communication industry itself is increasingly being used and adapted to develop the market ideas, tastes or beliefs embodied in the products of the corporations'.

In their continued quest for international markets, the multinational corporations, which are mostly 'American owned, dominate the global market
in production and distribution of goods and services'. Schiller also notes that 'this dominance extends to the production and dissemination of communications - cultural outputs as well' (1976: 7); a position he developed in his later writings (1979: 22) that the multinationals who are mainly engaged in industrial matters and manufacturing, are also at the centre of transnational communication system always doing their best in financing and to a large degree, controlling the varied enterprises of information and being assisted in their operation and success through world-wide advertising agents.

By virtue of the economic strength and area of coverage of the multinationals, these agents which Graham Murdock refers to as 'Communication Conglomerates', 'operate mainly or solely within the media and leisure industries' often using 'their profits from the original operating base to buy into other sectors. Because of their purchasing power, 'the communications industries are increasingly dominated by conglomerates with significant stakes in a range of major media markets giving them an unprecedented degree of potential control over the range and direction of cultural production' (Murdock, 1982: 119-120). Since the multinationals have the markets and representative agents at their disposal, their ability to organize market and audience research to find out tastes are simplified through the transnational communication systems.

Technology Transfer and Internal Collaboration:

The multinationals have also been the main source of technology transfer to the developing nations. Steven Langdon (1975: 12) in his analysis of the processes of technology transfer from the developed to the developing countries insists that it is a 'capitalist process which reinforces the process of inappropriate transfer'. Along with the transfer of technologies, are trans-
national advertising which Hamelink (1983: 23) argues 'constituted the greatest threat to cultural autonomy and are the two axes around which much of the global expansion of transnationals is centred'. Sometimes, in addition to importation of inappropriate technologies, there is also 'direct investment or some form of co-operation with the domestic enterprise' (Carter, 1982: 204) a situation which leads the local elite to go into partnership or some form of collaboration with the multinationals. In a rather serious example, Terisa Turner analyses a situation in which there is internal collaboration with one of the multinationals, in what she calls the 'triangular formation':

'A foreign businessman, comes to Nigeria to sell his firm's products. He hires a Nigerian to assist him in executing his business. Assistance involves the Nigerian acting as his principal go-between with the State. If he awards a contract, the State official may be rewarded with payment arranged by the go-between or middleman' (Turner, 1981: 64).

In another example, Breen Myles (1975: 184) writes of how a proposal was made in the early '70s in Australia for the establishment of an 'Australian film authority' to foster the production, distribution and screening of Australian films and television programmes. In addition, a department of media was also to be established with the hope that it would reduce or lessen the dominance of imported mass media materials in Australia. These were said to be 'rejected by the Minister for Media and Cabinet' a situation,'later discovered was a result of influence by some overseas film distributors, who launched a major lobbying campaign against the idea'.

The Australian example may not be similar to the Nigerian, but both show instances of the middle role played from within. In such forms, foreign firms
compete with each other by offering inducements to state officials who act as
middlemen. In turn, such inducements which may be in form of bribes, then
guide the officials to act as compradors, organizing access of raw material and
local markets to the foreign investors. Within such contexts, one can see why
Oliver Boyd-Barrett (1982) is of the opinion that most attention had been
focused on the international level of cultural dependency caused by the media
and looking at 'overt forms like the multinational interests ... programme
contents and formats, while the role of the demand for cultural imports is under-
emphasized'. This position appears therefore, to be questioning the role of the
recipient or host countries and their tastes for such cultural products, rather
than seeing every aspect of it as imposed by the multinationals. But Armand
Mattelart has, through rigorous data analysis captured the role in which the multi-
national corporations have not only continued their imperialist motives through
the supply of technology, but that:

"...in the course of the process of industrial concentration, the
owners of high technology have increasingly become the ones
who determine not only the manufacture of hardware and the
installation of systems, but also the development of programmes ...
the internationalization of products has posed the problem for the
internationalization of cultural merchandise' (1979: 2).

Mattelart has also noted that along with these technologies, the United States
is also the world’s greatest producer of entertainment and educational forms
which mainly reflect American culture. And 'destined to become the universal
culture which encourages the expansion of empire ... contributes to the
enslavement of each country’s national consciousness, this is a culture which
is beginning to take account of specific needs and interests of each group' (Mattelart,
1979: 3). In other words, imperialist domination rather than economic gains
could be the main aim underlying the activities of the multinationals. But the question one should always ask is: are the recipient countries making any desperate moves to halt the activities of the multinationals? It appears as if such nations are caught between their tastes and sometimes the individual greed among some members of the policymaking body to initiate the alternative policies needed to counter the strongholds of these multinational corporations.

The fact that the almost uncontrollable and total dominance of the transnational communication is a problem not only to the Third World nations but other countries as well, shows the extent to which the multinationals have penetrated into them. Anthony Smith for instance, has noted that even a country like Canada has not been able to survive the influence and cultural domination of the United States. Canada, he maintains,

"...has always been obliged to struggle to maintain a thriving indigenous culture because of the proximity of the United States with its enormous output of information and entertainment ... it has conceded the right of free flow and has suffered the consequence' (Smith, 1980 : 52).

Apart from the problem of technology transfer, the choice, packaging, installation and the complete dependence on the suppliers for service and proper maintenance are other major issues. Tauber (1974) has remarked that the transfer of 'scientific and technological progress in most cases introduced from abroad, created in the developing countries economically relatively developed enclaves'. A position not only illustrating the economic disadvantage to the host countries, but which also shows that the content of the packages are capable of influencing and dominating them.
Adorno and Horkheimer (1977) in a Marxist perspective, view the basis on which technology acquires power over society, as the power of those whose economic hold over society is greatest. To them, "a technological rationale is the rationale of domination itself since it is the coercive nature of society alienated from itself". This analysis views technology as the main apparatus for domination in all spheres, not only the cultural. The communication technologies like cable, satellite and computers in which mass media are utilized as in advertising or other forms of broadcasting, illustrate the degree to which such technologies as infrastructure could be easily used or manipulated to both economic and political disadvantage of recipient nations, a situation which later creates difficulty in gaining cultural sovereignty. Through technology transfers, the multinationals are therefore able to 'establish some form of hegemony' (O'Brien, 1975: 92) in the host countries, and once this is done she further argues, the multinationals consolidate their positions by introducing more sophisticated technologies, increasing their costs and even going as far as creating some form of dominance in standards and techniques to challenge or thwart the ambition of other firms.

It would appear then, that the consequences for the importation of technologies are many although the situation is rather paradoxical. Developing nations have to import the technological know-how for their development programmes. But while importing such technologies, host countries fail to realize their complicated and diverse natures. So while acting as accelerators and catalysts of national development, underlying them, are forces of cultural imperialism. Despite this obvious situation, Tomo Martelane has argued that no country develops and amplifies its communication needs without the
international dependence of the achievements of science and technology:

"The uneveness of technological development has brought about manifest differences, sometimes, extreme polarities between the "haves" and "have nots"... those countries with generally lower social and economic standards, and a correspondingly less developed communication infrastructure, are forced to import technology' (Martelanc, 1977:30).

This dilemma may not just apply to transnational communications alone, but also, to all development-oriented programmes in the developing nations that require some form of technology transfer. The issue here is that it may not be wrong after all to import technology, but the problem lies with most host countries either not knowing the appropriate technology or through collaborations the 'middlemen', go in for those that may in the end, not yield optimal results.

Although there is beginning to be growing awareness of the internal factors that have continued to create room for exploitation by the multinationals, Schiller (1976) insists that the active and initiating drives are mainly from the United States. But agrees that there is a 'strong collaborative role of the ruling groups in the dominated areas of the world-capitalist economy, in what otherwise appears to be a one-way process of cultural domination'. More detailed research needs to be carried out within host countries to show the extent of the collaborative processes.

Cultural Industries:

The cultural industries can manifest themselves in all forms ranging from books to language, broadcasting skills and technologies, agricultural leaflets and packages, to industrial technology. Culture today, according to Adorno and Horkheimer, is characterized by the importance of its industrial dimension ... as it is disseminated throughout the world through the media and
various forms of technology. They conclude:

"... the development of industrial societies ... with technological innovations following rapidly on each other, particularly of economic considerations since the advent of capitalism, have revolutionized the way in which all forms of cultural expressions are produced and disseminated' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1982:10).

The implication here is that capital and communication systems are the two vital agents necessary to uphold the cultural industries, a concept which Berndt Miege (1979) argues, does not, as a response to demand, but rather, 'basing itself on the dominant conceptions of culture ... creates a social demand and gives it a consistency while leading certain social groups selected as commercial targets to prepare themselves to respond to the producer's offers' (p.300). With the utilization of culturally accepted artistic approaches with large capital, the cultural industries are able to sustain market trends to their advantage. In other words, the cultural industries can only succeed if they rely on accepted standards or tastes of their audiences. It is against such backgrounds that there is a great imitation of programme format and contents in the broadcasting systems of the Third World countries. Some observers have rightly noted that if anything else, the imitation of such programme models ceases potentials for originality and at the same time, increases the continued level of dependence on imported media forms.

The increasing wave of commercialization of cultural products has mainly been in the interest of the world capitalist systems functioning through the activities of the multinationals. It is they, who through transnational communications, project and direct the position of the cultural industries. They cannot, as
Augustin Girard (1982: 31) argues, 'keep within national boundaries or language areas which are too narrow for production to be economically viable'. He further maintains that 'just as the structure of supply with the technology and economics involved, necessarily becomes worldwide in scope, so the demand for the programme's cultural contents ... by the public the world over is often directed towards international products'. Such circumstances have forced host countries to rely on the importation of programmes and programme-formats, abandoning any systematic attempts at developing or originating anything from within.

Transfer of Programmes, Formats and Ideology

Transnational communication has left the recipient countries either totally relying on such programmes, or imitating their formats. Recent studies in France for instance, show that almost 40% of these imported films in 1983 were from the United States. Out of a total of 196 foreign films, the United States dominated this figure with 132 within the same period (Mattelart et al., 1984). They have argued that apart from the lack of technical machinery necessary for good programme production, that there are other factors which inhibit them in the Third World countries. Some of these include what they call the 'rigidity of the home market, giving rise to little variety in production; ignorance of well-known authors and actors; a tendency to consume the latest novelty, thus favouring those countries able to produce on large scale' (p. 9). In another study of broadcasting within some Third World countries, Katz and Wedell (1977) found out that the constant dependence of countries like Great Britain or America for programmes, was what they called a 'further proof of neocolonialism'. The contents of such programmes were found to be totally alien in the host countries;
but part of the excuses given by such countries was that it was generally more expensive to produce original programmes, and cheaper to import them.

Often, the heavy preponderance on such transnational media-contents does not question the rationale for use in the host countries who always accept them without questioning the values portrayed. The implication here is that such programmes obviously with different aesthetic structures, are bound to deviate the trend of a country's national culture. The set models in such programmes often lead to the home-made ones being entirely set or based on them since "the companies that market television films also sell programme formats that can be replicated by local producers" (Katz and Wedell, 1977: 166). This seems to fit in well for the cultural imperialist since some of the reasons for setting up radio in Third World countries as found by the Katz and Wedell studies, was the extension of political and cultural influence of the colonialists.

Even when programmes and their formats are not imported, these are embedded in the training of the 'experts' from the Third World countries, which are later sort of transferred wholesale at the end of their courses or attachments to broadcasting corporations or some institutions in foreign countries. The studies by O'Brien (1975) and Golding (1977) among others, show the extent to which the desperate bid by the Third World countries to acquire professionalism in various dimensions has led to the transfer as it were, of the Western Ideology. In her studies of Algeria and Senegal, O'Brien (1975: 152) found out that the consciousness in the idea of professionalism within those countries 'did not emerge with the growth of industry and technology and accompanying social differentiation but was grafted into the system from outside often through the training and ideology of professionalism."
It is in the bid to be of professional standard that the media personnel do not just go beyond the limit of imitation but, as Golding puts it, this 'ideology has been transferred parallel to the transfer of technology', and that such a situation rather than improve the production of programmes within the host countries, increases the level of cultural dependence, a position which leaves him to conclude that:

"...professionalization has been, in effect, integration into a dominant global culture of media practices and objectives as developed in the media of the advanced industrialized societies' (1977 : 293).

The history and success of the American film industry is said to date back to the end of World War I. This success has led to so much influence as to almost total domination of the market. The case cited earlier of the French studies by Mattelart is one of many. Phillips (1975) in his findings also concluded that the 'great weight of the U.S. film market and film industry, gives this product a cultural bias'. By dominating the world market, the film industry in effect, culturally dominates other cultures. The situation further reinforces the host countries that attempt to produce or make their indigenous films, to rely on such American formats.

Tourism

Cultural domination is in all spheres of transnational communication. Tourism and tourist attractions as areas largely popularized by transnational media are in themselves, extensions of neocolonial imperialism. As in the other forms and agents of cultural domination, tourist industries are set up mainly through the local elite or powers of the urban centres of developing countries and sometimes financed by international agencies. For instance, one writer has
noted that tourism in the West Indies has 'remained a uniquely metropolitan activity, directed by American capital and patronized by American travellers' (Perez, 1975: 136). In illustrating some of the internal dynamics that support these systems, Perez has noted that the governments play active roles in guaranteeing the safety of the tourists:

'... more perhaps than any other form of foreign investment, the tourist industry requires political stability and internal order. National systems organized around tourist economies assign political priority to the safety and well being of foreign travellers ...' (p.139).

Insofar as such arrangements are made within the West Indies to take care of American travellers, there is no doubt that it is going to provide direct boost to American exports, while introducing alien cultures to the host country. His other works (Perez 1979) also show that tourism 'renews and reinforces the historical processes of underdevelopment' since the high import 'coefficient of tourism in the West Indies contributes directly to aggravating inflationary spirals'. Since part of the government's policies on tourism would be creating a false impression of the country to the tourists, such a situation Perez argues, could lead to one in which the culture of the people may cease to function within the national experience and aspirations of the people. The situation in the West Indies has reached a state where:

'... the collective historical consciousness - the vital basis of national consciousness - has been defined by the requirements of tourism. The remains of the colonial past seems as the props of the neocolonial present. The colonial regime reappears as an exalted tourist attraction ... the very culture passes into dependency on tourist patronage' (Perez, 1975: 140).

The success of tourism depends to a large extent, on the media coverage given to an existing tourist attraction. Lent has demonstrated how the Caribbean
mass media which used to serve the colonial masters have changed gears to meet the interests of tourism. According to him, the 'Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation during the peak tourist months, televises a preponderance of United States, Canadian and European fare for the benefit of tourists who represent the buying power to which the advertisers aim' (Lent, 1975 : 129-130). This position shows the degree to which the contents and aims of such advertisements would be entirely unrelated to existing problems and aspirations of the people in whose backyards the events take place. Such interactions bring with them ideological and cultural effects particularly through the advertisements. In addition, a situation of cultural dependence is generated by the activities of the multi-nationals who sponsor such occasions and commercialize the cultural products of the people for the enjoyment of the tourist.

The Argungu Fishing Festival and other cultural activities in Nigeria are beginning to face similar situations. While the government is said to be conscientiously attempting to improve the traditional fishing techniques of the people, this has gradually led to the commercialization of the festivals. They are beginning to incorporate the expertise of, and financing by the multi-nationals operating in Nigeria. The featuring of a motor race during the Argungu Festival has certainly led to a situation where various firms are finding markets for the models/types of their vehicles. Of course, along with these, are the spare parts and the personnel to man them. Among other events is the 'Miss Argungu' featuring girls of various nationalities. In the bid to win the event, local girls abandon as if with ignominy, their traditional attires, imitate not just the 'fashionable' western ones, but go as far as to replicating their footsteps and facial expressions. And while these communities are in dire need for good sources
of drinking water, contracts are awarded to foreign firms with local partners for the erection of majestic architectural structures to take care of these same imperialist and local bourgeoisie who are guests at these occasions.

Language:

A case may be made for using an international language within a heterogenous country with many ethnic groups and almost the same number of languages and where there is an internal problem in selecting one of these as the national language (lingua franca). Robert Arno (1975: 148) however, argues that in a situation where the use of a metropolitan language is chosen, there will be the following consequences:

(a) the perpetuation of an elite mass gap between the western-educated and the majority of the people;

(b) the widening of a generation gap between children who are brought up in the new cosmopolitan, foreign-oriented education system and their parents who follow traditional patterns;

(c) the disruption and destruction of indigenous values; and

(d) the continued dependence of a country on the metropolitan centre for technical assistance.

The historical generations created under colonial administrations have handed down the language the latter introduced when they arrived. It has now been established that even in one's own country, he cannot survive without learning the imperialist language of the colonial masters. Despite the years that have passed since some of these countries acquired political independence, the
accepted and often official language is that of the colonialists. This position makes one wonder whether the policy-makers who hold and control various government machineries can effect any changes in the near future or continue to rely on the past pattern of hopeless Dependence on the language of their masters.

Sometimes, the internal problem is more complicated than appears on the surface. For instance, a call for a lingua franca has been made in a country like Nigeria and others with similar problems and who have to depend on a foreign language for both internal and international engagements. Perhaps within or among these groups, there is fear of internal domination, thereby creating some dilemma of selection among the options. The case of Nigeria which is believed to have more than two hundred languages may call to mind which single one would best be adopted for national usage as the country's official language. Perhaps there is fear of domination if such a language is selected - a situation that leaves Nigeria and other nations in the same predicament to hang on to the accepted foreign languages which are in themselves, effective tools for cultural domination. The network of interrelations across nations even worsens the present state of dependency to that of almost total domination since such languages are internationally used in transnational engagements, conferences and above all, decision-making processes.

Knowledge (education)

I earlier on mentioned the role that instructional material can play in increasing the already existing state of cultural domination. The content and context of the imported video-games and cassettes are totally removed from the socio-cultural contexts of the consumers. In a bid to encourage faster and
easier learning skills, such instructional materials are imported en masse to the host countries. There is no doubt that through viewing these learning aids, students of all levels are gradually exposed to foreign cultures. The more these materials are used, the sooner would such students begin to associate with their kind of portrayals. Salinas (1978) has interestingly pointed out that it may not only be the content of the materials that are culturally dominating, but that the intellectuals within a nation who cannot establish their research institutions but rely heavily on those of the already advanced countries, would definitely fall prey to imperialist or dominant cultures of such foreign institutions, therefore leaving room 'for alienating their own intellectuals'. She therefore suggests that developing nations set up and finance their research institutions without foreign intervention.

Walter Rodney (1972) has excellently described the educational development strategies set up for the African countries by their imperialist masters. On arrival he notes, the colonialists met the Africans with an informal system of education through which members of the society learnt about the social systems. Rodney has insisted that the colonialists educated the Africans to a level that they could take over the lowest administrative posts 'at the lowest ranks, and to staff the private capitalist firms' owned by some of the Europeans. Obviously, the books, techniques, contents and standards were much less than those of their European counterparts.

'At each further stage of education, they were battered by, and succumbed to the values of the white capitalist system; and after being given salaries, they could then afford to sustain a style of life imported from outside' (Rodney, 1972: 273).
Cultural domination could be inherent in the transfer of educational technologies, foreign aids, technical assistance and knowledge from the advanced to the developing countries since these forms are not in themselves culturally neutral. Michael Gutelman (1981) has remarked that 'imported knowledge imposes through the practical modes of consumption of which it is the object, socio-cultural hierarchies and values which affect cultural thinking and behaviour' of host countries. This means that the introduction into a culture of a new knowledge of external origin is liable to cause disruptions in the societies' cultural systems. Another writer also arguing along this line, notes that:

"...the transfer to knowledge confers power. Such power leads to the imposition of dominant cultural models'.

As has been noted earlier, the transfer of knowledge leads to technical and economic dependence. Many of the intellectuals within the developing countries who are in charge of policy-making decisions and who have been permanently influenced by Western educational systems, insist on transferring such models home even when the facilities and resources are not available. Such intellectuals also insist on the recruitment of foreign personnel to man such institutions, so in transferring models, ideologies are also transferred; another major source of cultural domination.

The Way Out: Isolation and Authenticity

Attempting to avoid the agents or forms capable of creating cultural domination would appear like wanting to isolate a country from the global network of interrelationships. There is no doubt that the technologically advanced
countries do seize the opportunity through all forms of transnational engagements along with a high degree of collaboration with the domestic policymakers, to infuse their cultural and ideological might thereby alienating recipient or host countries. Most of the issues seem to lie with the economic position of these countries and the thrust of the multinationals, mobilizing their technologies. There is no doubt too that the transnational media with their content, transmit and disseminate alien cultural values to recipient countries. But the paradox that remains is the position of the Third World countries. Their need for modernization (or Westernization) means relying on these same sources for the technological know-how and personnel to man them.

Although most of the discussions on the concept of dependence on transnational media seem to be based on the Third World countries, studies by Tapio Varis (1974), Herbert Schiller (1974) and Thomas Guback (1974) show that the flow of particularly American films, also influence the production and consumption of such materials in European countries like France, Great Britain and Italy. Guback for instance, writes:

"...the dependence of the European film economics on American corporation means that Europeans have lost effective control of their industries ... they cannot expect to retain autonomy in cultural or social sphere" (1974: 98).

In a similar manner, Varis suggested that the sales of television programmes were often aimed 'at enhancing the national image of the producing country' (1974: 106), being mainly the United States. The international situations caused by the dominant (one-way) flow of media, therefore shows the extent to which the capacity of cultural influence affects the host countries.
With the transnational influence of the American cultural industries, the question of host countries thinking of authentic national cultures would be a difficult phenomenon. What Katz (1977) and Wimal Dissanayake (1977) have often referred to as 'authentic culture', have mainly been the traditional arts or media forms with their festive characteristics, and which makes them sometimes difficult for adaptation by the broadcast media. At this point, it is therefore difficult to think of any cultures as authentic. The many years of colonial rule and influence in a Continent like Africa for instance, and various trade links among countries show how cultural processes have changed within or among the countries. Therefore, even the folk media are not authentic, since they are dynamic and therefore everchanging. This notwithstanding, both Katz and Dissanayake agree that they have advantages of reaching rural areas. Dissanayake in particular, has suggested that:

'there is a need to create programmes that will give authentic expression to the culture in the process of its confrontation with modernity ... to employ broadcasting in ways which will better fit the moods and styles of the national heritage' (1977: 121).

But the question I have always raised and which I intend to deal in detail with later is: would trying to adjust these traditional media to fit the models and styles of production required by the technicalities of the modern broadcast media still keep the former authentic? To me, the mere fact that these forms are removed from their contexts and the processes through which they go during productions already allows the foreign elements into them. Another suggestion, (Teheranian, 1977: 45) is one that sees the integrative role of the media 'at the national level particularly in countries with a heterogenous population', where such media could be employed to create national cultures. But this has been
found to be problematic in such heterogenous countries since the situation calls in the difficulty of which indigenous language would serve the purpose. This situation which further encourages the deliberate stagnation and lack of zeal, for the production of programmes using indigenous materials appears to suit the continued desire of the urban-centred policy-makers in the Third World and their tastes for the foreign alternatives.

Even if the chances for programme production using the internal cultural material exist, it would still be difficult to reconcile the idea of authenticity with the transnational media flow. Along this thinking, the idea of cultural isolation or independence, to avoid being culturally dominated would be a difficult position to imagine. Rather than think of such possibilities, countries which are both economically and culturally dependent, should begin to think of alternative approaches to their international engagements, to at least reduce these levels of dependency.

A starting point would be devising strategies to reduce the oligopolistic nature of the world systems which leaves Third World countries totally dependent on the technologically advanced nations. The rather dominant position of the multinationals which are out for purely profit-seeking ventures poses one of the most serious threats. Charles Carter has suggested that 'the most sensible thing is to try to offset the social and economic inequalities created as a consequence of foreign investment by government policies that aim at controlling the multinationals and inducing it to transfer an increasing position of its profit to the government'. To achieve this, he has proposed the following:
(a) It is necessary to increase the ability of the LDCs to tax foreign investors for the simple reason that investment invariability creates economic and social imbalances within the host country.

(b) That such governments should be able to implement economic policies that control the activities of the multinationals.

(c) Host countries should create environments in which different economic groups co-operate and function in a way that is conducive for the development of the economy, and

(d) The international integration based on co-operation between national states will be preferred to one that would result from an uninhibited expansion of profit-motivated foreign private investment (Carter, 1982: 214).

If only some of these suggestions could be properly implemented by the host countries, there is no doubt that the unequal economic and social imbalances within nations would be minimized.

Most of the transactions of the multinationals have been centered on the transfer of technology, a position difficult for developing countries to withdraw from since they are poised for development. What is necessary in this area, is that the level of dependence be minimized with the hope that it also reduces the economic and cultural dependence. What is equally important, is that such countries chose appropriate technology that reflects their immediate or necessary requirements. Since international technology transfer appears inevitable, host countries should try to select those they can adapt, bearing in mind the economic implications and particularly, the capabilities of the local manpower.

Instances have been cited in some socialist countries where the methods and transfers are said to correspond much more closely to the interests of the developing countries. This is as a result of the scientific and technical co-
operation between socialist countries which render the developing countries their newest in technological achievements and also assisting them in their introduction and application (Tauber, 1974: 104). The efficiency of such socialist countries however depends on the co-operation from both ends because instances have also shown that the attempts in one socialist country at 'nationalization' to prevent the increasing domination of the multinationals did not pay off. When such multinationals were made in form of government parastatals, the control of the industrial sector and decision-making were not properly planned and co-ordinated.

'The parastatals remain at the mercy of the foreign technical expert, or of the management in agreement with the former multinational. The development of an independent technological base requires not only trained scientists and technologists but cadre committed to a socialist and self-reliant development strategy. Nationalism further means workers' participation and control' (Loxley and Saul, 1975: 54).

The strategy by some governments in the host countries to nationalize the multinationals does not even lead to greater government control, but sometimes to further bureaucratization which means further dependence on the former. It is argued that possibility exists that attempts at nationalization are indeed plans by the decision-making body, who are compradors and close associates of the multinationals to encourage further dependence on the latters' services for the continued importation of foreign cultural values capable of influencing the national value-system of the host country through their supply of technology.

Programme production, initiation of models and techniques of the advanced countries leads to further dependence and cultural domination. In the study by Katz and Wedell (1977) some countries were found to be making attempts to cut down the amount of imported programmes. Nigeria for instance, came
down from 70% to 30%, while Algeria was found to be moving closer to reliance
on other Arab countries for exchanges of programmes. They also found that
most South American countries were relying on the telenovela - a local drama production
based on the formats of US soap operas. While the moves made by these countries
appear encouraging, there is still the fact that they rely on the models, formats and
techniques of production of the West. What was found to be more disturbing was the
fact that the 'producers never had deeper grounding in their own cultural traditions'
(op.cit., p.204). With such backgrounds of the producers, one wonders what
constitutes the bulk of their domestic programmes. Elsewhere, Katz also notes:

'indigenous self-expression or broadcasting is often little more
than a copy of metropolitan models ... there is a need to create
programmes that will give authentic expression to the culture in
the process of its confrontation with modernity' (Katz, 1977 : 127).

The transfer of educational technology has also systematically eliminated all
forms of traditional education. Lauwe (1981 : 62) has suggested that the
'selection of endogenous knowledge which a country regards useful .. and which
have been stifled by the pressure of the dominant countries' could be an essential
way of preserving a country's national culture. Communication planners and
policy-makers within host countries should be aware of the economic
involvements in dealing with the multinationals and their internal collaborators
while designing national policies to take care of the unequal exchange that exists
in the transnational media which lead to any form of cultural domination. But
based on the current stage of the unequal flow or exchange of media, the
MacBridge Commission notes that:

'... it may still be debatable whether such cultural policies are
strong enough to compete on equal terms with external influences
epitomized by the communication/information cultural force of
However, the commission rightly argues that the problem should be seen as 'shared responsibilities' of both the advanced industrialized countries and the recipient countries, and that:

(a) '... the transnational operations in national and world communication were not responsible for existing inadequacies, it was merely up to the developing countries to improve their capacities and not restrict those to others.

(b) Remedies must be found in joint actions by both developed and developing countries. The free flow of information is not only threatened by defensive attitudes against cultural intrusion, but also by attempts to safeguard positions of privilege and power.

(c) The transnationals could not operate as they did without their acceptance by elites in developing countries' (p. 165).

While agreeing with most of the issues raised by the MacBride Commission, the situation already created in the host countries makes these suggestions appear difficult to implement. Any deliberate attempts at withdrawing to the nation's past, would look like wanting to retain a fixed culture - a non-pragmatic position. Although the idea of adapting themes from the cultural patterns of the nation's past relies on the Western models, it appears as a necessary starting point among the possible options.

CONCLUSION:

The world system and transnational communications have led to the internationalization of dominant cultures. These are carried through various cultural industries and agents, and almost 'imposed' on recipient countries, most of them with either little, or no means of resistance. Unfortunately the host countries absorb the alien cultural values without hesitation, and often, in preference to theirs, gradually creating complex situations that later become intolerable. Most of the contradictions lie in the quest by the Third World
countries to be 'developed' and having to rely on the transfer of technologies from the already advanced and industrialized nations. Then, the oligopolistic role of the multinationals is introduced, and with the co-operation of the domestic policy-making body, who are often mere appendages of the multinationals, room for exploitation is created, leading not only to economic and social disparities within the host countries, but also, economic and cultural domination by the foreign investors.
In Chapter Three, attempts were made to look at Culture and see how the global pattern of communication influences, or in certain instances, dominates the national cultures of host countries who rely essentially on them. Aware of this situation, the Nigerian Government while maintaining political and economic ties internationally, also realises that Cultural Development is an integral aspect of the socio-political and socio-economic development of the country. To this end, cultural machinery have been established both at the national and state levels to administer cultural activities in the country.

It would appear that the main task is seeing how the observable human aspects of culture rooted in society, could be politically regulated or controlled to the benefit of the people nationally. But in looking at the organizations responsible for the administration of culture within a nation, one wonders at the relationship between culture and the political power of the day. For instance, are such cultural organizations or institutions built to enhance national development or propagate the ideology of the Government of the day? There is no doubt that the development and implementation of cultural objectives by the intellectuals in government rarely justifies the wishes and aspirations of the millions of illiterate rural majority within a nation like Nigeria. The situation is further compounded by the problem of an indigenous language common to all ethnic groups which makes all attempts at integral cohesion almost impossible. Are these administrative arms of government then merely promoting a culture that serves the urban elite or do they have projects to facilitate the access and participation of the rural dwellers? Before further discussions on some of
these issues, the first section of this Chapter looks at some of the government-established cultural organizations and their functions.

THE FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE

Background

The Federal Department of Culture was carved out of the Federal Ministry of Information in the early seventies. Before then, it was a Division which had grown out of the Nigeria Magazine - a journal set up in 1937 and a major source of projecting, documenting and preserving the country's cultural resources (Annual Report 1983:1). The Nigeria Magazine was also the main instrument of information and dissemination of Nigerian Culture until the Federal Department of Culture was established with a Chief Cultural Affairs Officer taking charge of both the professional and administrative management with the following general objectives: the

(1) Formulation and implementation of cultural policies for Nigeria.

(2) Planning and execution of cultural and protocol agreements with friendly countries.

(3) Advising the Federal Governments on matters relating to Arts and Culture.

(4) Planning, execution and co-ordination of cultural activities in Nigeria.

Organizational Structure: To enable it to perform its duties effectively, the Federal Department of Culture is administratively sub-divided with a professional Head to man each of the Divisions (See Figure 4.1).

(a) The Publications and Distribution Division is charged with the duty of carrying out research into the various aspects of culture in the Nigerian context 'as a means of intensifying our cultural relevance to the social and educational needs of the country and disseminating same through the publications' (1983 Annual Report, p.7) such as the *Nigeria Magazine*, the Cultural News Bulletin, and other periodic publications. It is also the responsibility of this Division to organize book exhibitions and fairs, plan and execute research projects in various aspects of the Nigerian Culture. The aim here is to publish such research material along with the production of annual diaries, calendars and greeting cards whose themes are reflections of the Nigerian Arts, and therefore a means of portraying Nigerian culture. Occasionally, this Division organizes creative writing competitions. Recently, it is understood that seven of the entries in Hausa (one of the major Nigerian languages) have been published and are currently in circulation, while it was expected that works in Yoruba and Ibo (also Nigerian languages) which were also selected during the competition would be out in 1984. A number of works in many aspects of the Nigerian culture like Dance, Museum Studies, Theatre, have also been commissioned by the Federal Department of Culture for Nigerians to write on.

(b) The External Relations Division is responsible for formulating cultural agreements with other countries in addition to initiating an effective
machinery for the adaptation of a cultural policy for Nigeria. This Division also occasionally sponsors artists and researchers for international conferences, seminars and exhibitions along with intensified negotiations with African countries for the signing of cultural agreements. The 1983 Annual Report shows that among other things, this Division made some outstanding achievements during that fiscal year. Some of these included arrangements with, and in some cases, the signing up of cultural and educational agreements with countries like Mexico, Guyana, Haiti, Brazil, Ethiopia, Togo, Mali and Barbados were made. During the same period, cultural exchange visits were made between Nigeria and countries like Bulgaria, Cuba, India, Pakistan, China and Korea, featuring events like the exhibition of paintings, books and crafts, film shows and performances.

(c) The Cultural Preservation and Statistics Division as the name implies, mainly handles the documentation and preservation of the various aspects of Nigerian culture through both audio and video tapes; the upkeep of the Federal Department of Culture's library as well as carrying out research on areas like: States' expenditure on Arts and Cultures; Traditional Festivals in Nigeria; Profile of Artistes and Artists (including both traditional and modern) and the documentation of the institutions or agencies responsible for Arts and Culture. Such materials are made available from time to time on request to Federal or public organizations like the National Television Authority (NTA); the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN); educational institutions and interested researchers.
(d) The Fine and Applied Arts Division is expected to handle matters relating to the maintenance and development of the National Arts Gallery which features a variety of exhibitions of both local (mainly modern Nigerian Art) and international status, in addition to producing posters, programmes, greeting cards and calendars for the Department for commercial purposes. It is also hoped that this gallery which is open daily to the public will in no small measure promote and publicize the Nigerian Art to both Nigerians and particularly foreign tourists. Recently international tours were made to Western Germany, German Democratic Republic, the U.S.A., India, U.K. and Australia for exhibitions.

(e) Performing Arts Division handles the implementation of government's policy on the Performing Arts (dance, drama, music) and therefore researches into Nigerian performing art forms and modern scripts, selects and produces them. Such presentations are then made, with the aim of propagating and promoting Nigerian culture through the selected themes. The figures in the 1983 Annual Report of the Department shows that plays which relied more on indigenous Nigerian themes and languages (Indigenous Nigerian Drama) recorded '90.33% of the total audience turnout' (p. 49). According to this source, this position has been attributed to factors like the 'understanding of the language employed, cultural similarities and a long tradition of theatre-going habit prevalent even before the advent of Nigerian Drama in English' (Ibid). Drama productions which recorded the remaining 9.67% of the total audience attendance during the same period were equally by Nigerians, scripted and performed by Nigerian artistes (Nigerian Drama in English). It was noted that the poor attendance in this sector was largely due to the unfamiliarity of audiences with such groups, and at times, the intellectual approach given to this type of drama. The intellectuals within society did not as was noted
even attend such performances. Such audience tastes show who responds to what kind of cultural productions - the majority often considered the illiterates, identifying with the indigenous productions, and the intellectuals, not even attending productions by Nigerian artistes.

(f) Other Divisions: These include the Theatre Management Division which is responsible for the day-to-day management of the National Theatre, taking care of the theatre facilities, bookings and hires; compiles data on the events and attendance during engagements, and handles security matters on the theatre. The Theatre Maintenance Division takes charge of all the technical facilities along with the maintenance of the main building while the Administrative Division handles administrative matters - general staff welfare like the recruitment, training, promotion and discipline of personnel. The Accounts Division is responsible for all accounting matters; and the Box Office unit sees to the effective running of the national theatre Box Office and cinema halls; takes care of the revenue accruing to the government from all activities at the national theatre; programming of all films for screening and liaising with all hirers of national theatre facilities - including occasional film exhibitors.

The remarks in the 1983 annual report show that the Federal Governments embargo on films among other items, affected sales seriously at the cinema halls since they were left with the old stock which meant repeats for the viewers. And sadly enough, out of 167 films screened in 1983, only three were indigenous Nigerian films. Although a number of films were also received from the National Film Distribution Company (NFDC) within the same period, the details do not specify whether these were domestic or foreign.

Despite the fact that some revenue is generated yearly through the
Box Office and internal productions by the performing arts Division, statistics show that such revenue-yielding ventures are meagre when compared with the gate-takings at performances by foreign artistes. This situation is worsened by the exorbitant charges made by the Nigerian musicians or artistes. In addition to this, is the fact that most of them have been viewed on television. This situation therefore leads to very poor patronage of the indigenous artistes by the Nigerian audience.
Note: The Federal Director is the overall head of both the professional and administrative arms of the Department. He is assisted in his duties by an Assistant who heads three Chief Cultural Officers directly. Each of these Chief Cultural Officers in turn, controls two Divisions which are headed by Principal Cultural Officers who do more of the professional work than the administrative or managerial. Notice the first two boxes on both extremes of the Chart comprising of the Administrative, Accounts, Theatre Maintenance and Box Office Divisions. These have direct access to the Director.
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ARTS AND CULTURE (NCAC)

Background

Another body nationally responsible for the administration of Culture in Nigeria is the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC). Broadly speaking, the activities of this council are said to be calculated at complementing national efforts in the areas of social, economic and political development. How different or complementary her role is to that of the Federal Department of Culture will be discussed later. The NCAC was established in 1975 by the Federal Military Government with the following functions:

(a) to promote and foster the appreciation, revival and development of Nigerian Arts and Culture;

(b) to plan and co-ordinate cultural activities in Nigeria and foster the development of literary, visual and the performing arts in Nigeria; and

(c) to assist the Antiquities Commission ... in the creation, acquisition and preservation of artistic works, cultural monuments and depositories.


The NCAC is also vested with the responsibility of assisting the Federal Government in planning the co-ordination and encouragement of Arts and Cultural activities in Nigeria through the promotion and development of the nation's culture in association with people or organizations which are mainly in the following areas: traditional dancing, drama, cinema and films, photography, folklore and oral tradition, literature and poetry, painting,
sculpture, architecture and town-planning, and general arts and crafts. In another
document (1977), the NCAC has also drawn up a number of objectives for itself. Some
of these include: the support and encouragement of the preservation, protection
and continuity of the components of Nigeria's cultural identity; the development
and improvement of the knowledge and understanding of the various Nigerian
art-forms by making them increasingly accessible to the public; by acting and
co-operating with government ministries, departments, local agencies and
organizations in the development of art and culture such as States’ Arts Councils,
States’ Cultural Divisions, Historical Society of Nigeria, National Film Makers
Association, National Society of Nigerian Musicians, Institutions, Theatre groups,
Geographical Society of Nigeria; the promotion of international co-
operation in cultural activities by liaising with the Federal Ministry of
Information and the Federal Ministry of External Affairs, Federal Ministry of
Education, Communications, National Theatre Board, the Federal Ministry of
Trade through the promotion of tourism; and the dissemination of these through the
Mass Media (FRCN, NTA and the press). In striving towards the achievement of
these objectives, the NCAC occasionally organizes the following:

(a) **Annual National Festivals of Arts** which are usually platforms for
national cultural exchange between the States and numerous ethnic groups within
the country, and forums for the growth, development and enhancement of national
unity. Until the organization of the 2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts
and Culture (FESTAC) hosted by Nigeria in 1977, such festivals were cramped
into activities that lasted a week at most and featured the presentation of all
forms of the visual and performing arts. The criticism for such lumpish
treatment was that in addition to the inconveniences caused to the large number of artist(e)s and other participants and the huge economic involvement, there was no concentration on particular aspects which could aid a further understanding and development of such specific aspects of the Arts. They were therefore regarded as mere jamborees which featured the whole of the nation's cultural facets within those limited periods.

In 1981 the NCAC decided that while each of these annual festivals featured a variety of activities, they should focus on specific aspects of culture to give it an indepth treatment. It was envisaged that such an approach would better promote the development objectives of government, while ensuring a sense of purpose in the budgeting and thereby, avoiding extravagance. Along this line, the 1981 National Festival of the Arts held in Port Harcourt centred on the theme of the Visual Arts, while that held in Maiduguri in 1983 was thematically based on the Literary Arts. It is expected therefore, that subsequent festivals would each take an aspect per year. For example, dance, drama, music or film and photography could therefore take the next five years in that sequence as separate annual themes. Again hitherto, such annual festivals were almost exclusively held in Lagos, the Federal capital. The recent arrangements which involve the rotation of both events and venues now allow individual States to host the annual festivals in turns.

The current decision taken in the area of the States hosting the national festivals has been very useful and timely. In a sense, it means that the nationally constituted decision-making bodies realized that they cannot continue to remain in Lagos, the Federal capital, and hope that they can effectively grasp the information on,
or have a detailed knowledge of the value-systems of the other sections of the country. The situation also enables governments to identify with the cultural aspirations of the people and therefore facilitates the establishment of necessary infrastructures while generating the conscious attempts at cultural awareness by individual states and the nation at large. Although the NCAC along with the national festival committees which comprise of the Chief Executives of Arts and Culture or Cultural Divisions from the nineteen states, decide the modus operandi of the Festival, individual host states can improve on such without tampering with such matters as the guidelines for adjudication. In addition, hosting by individual states provide the forum for extra sideshows which normally feature non-competitive events, and the display of the rich diversity of culture within particular states.

(b) The NCAC organizes national competitions in the visual, literary and performing arts along with the sponsoring of exhibitions, seminars, workshops symposia and colloquia in each of these areas.

(c) The insurance of publicity and information by means of monthly bulletins on cultural activities throughout the country through circulation to states and institutions. It is hoped that a research journal will be established to cater for the documentation of research and general scholarship in Nigerian culture and the occasional publications based on the seminars, colloquia and workshops. A documentation centre for tapes, photographic materials, films and other audio-visual materials is envisaged. There are also sponsorships for the documentation of aspects of Nigerian Arts and Culture as it is hoped that the development of the film arts to international standards would be a valuable medium of cultural projection. Towards the achievement of this objective, proposals have been made for the establishment of laboratory and training
facilities for a film industry in Nigeria. So far, this dream looks far from being accomplished as recent embargos on importation seem to hamper such objectives.

(d) A Visual Arts Division has been set up to expand the present gallery facilities in Lagos and locate centres and galleries in other parts of Nigeria. At this point, one wonders whether the location of the NCAC which is barely three hundred metres from the National Theatre which houses the Federal Department of Culture and therefore the National Arts Gallery, does not duplicate the idea of another national gallery. Ideally, the need for decentralization should be noted with urgency. With the present arrangements, the NCAC is hoping to encourage the exhibition of works of both Nigerian and foreign artists; preserve Nigerian art works by maintaining a national collection; assisting local agencies in the organization of workshops and art nurseries in the sub-urban and rural areas; and the promotion and development of Nigerian Arts through aids, grants, fellowships and commissions to individuals and organizations.

(e) In the area of the Literary and Performing Arts, the NCAC's objectives are the documentation of oral traditions (folklore and folk music), the issuance of phonographic records on Nigerian folk and contemporary music and literature and occasional workshops for the improvement of skills in the literary and performing arts. Support and sponsorship is also given to artistes through the organization of performances, cultural exchange between states and national competitions.

(f) There is a section on the Protective Laws on Arts and Culture meant to sponsor research into traditions and government institutions with a view to
discovering significant links between them; documenting same and encouraging the study of Nigerian Arts and Culture as part of the overall educational programme in schools and other institutions within the country. This section also engages on the production of calendars of cultural festivals, inventory of artists, film makers, literary men, musicians, sculptors, etc. and the preparation of these into guide books to be used for teaching the various aspects of culture in Nigerian schools.

Figure 4.2

**NCAC: Organizational Chart**

**MEMBERS**
- Members from State Arts Councils or Government Cultural Divisions;
- Representatives from the Federal Ministries of Education and Information;
- the National Theatre, Nigerian Universities, Nigerian Police and Nigerian Army; NTA, FRCN;
- Traditional Institutions, women's associations and representatives from different cultural fields (e.g. dance, drama, poetry, sculpture, etc.)

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
- The Chairman;
- Head of Federal Department of Culture; Director-Generals of FRCN and NTA; four chairmen of States' Arts Councils; one representative each from the Nigerian Universities, women's associations, traditional institutions, the Nigerian Armed forces and police.

**FUNCTIONS**
- The promotion and fostering of the appreciation of, and the revival and development of Nigerian Arts and Culture etc.

**SECRETARIAT**
- The Executive Secretary and other Secretariat staff who co-ordinate the planning and execution through:
  - Visual Arts Section
  - Literary Arts Section
  - National Festival Committee
  - Publicity and Information Section
  - Performing Arts Section
  - Protective Laws on Arts and Culture
PLATEAU STATE COUNCIL FOR ARTS AND CULTURE (PSCAC)

Background:

Before its formation as PSCAC by the civilian administration in March 1980, the council functioned under relevant ministries like Trade and Industries; Information, and the Ministry of Social Welfare as a Division. With the establishment of the Cultural Division into a council, it became the autonomous body in Plateau State responsible for the running of the government's cultural policies. In an interview with Mr. P.B. Cuktu, the Plateau State Director of Arts and Culture on the main aims behind the establishment of the PSCAC, he said:

'It was established by the government primarily to preserve, promote, present or develop the available human, artistic and cultural resources of the State, that is, the development of all aspects of Arts and Culture within the State ... There is particular attention given to Fine and Industrial Arts, that is, drawings, painting, graphic designs and textiles. We also centre our attention on the Performing Arts which comprises of dance, drama and music; cultural education, research and publications are also cherished very much indeed. There are quite a number of non-material culture that are also being explored'.

Although not all-inclusive, the Director's statement in a nutshell, sums up the main functions or objectives of not only the PSCAC, but similar cultural organizations. His last sentence may lead to a number of inferences since it is such a blanket statement. Implicit could be the notion of the Council's function being mainly that of serving the ideological commitments of the government that established it, or, it could be that of generating a meaningful cultural awareness aimed at national development.

Against the background of the general objectives enumerated, the PSCAC
strives towards investigating, developing, promoting and publicising the cultural resources of Plateau State through their implementation by the organizational Divisions within the council. These objectives are generally pursued by the constant encouragement of indigenous craftsmen and women; participation in indigenous traditional and national festivals, exhibitions, displays, and presentations. While publicising these within and outside the state, there is the conscious fostering of the need for appreciation and self-pride in traditional culture. This is encouraged through the council's compilations and publications on both traditional and contemporary festivals for public consumption - and particularly, within schools and other institutions.

ORGANIZATION

In the implementation of her objectives, the PSCAC like all organizational bodies has a number of bureaucratic processes (see Figure 4.3).

The Council Members: For all-round cultural development and awareness within the state, the PSCAC is made up of a body (council) of representatives - one member from each of the local government council areas. These members who constitute the main decision-making body on most matters affecting the council, also have as their primary responsibility the management and promotion of all cultural activities. Although part of the need for the Cultural Division becoming an Arts Council, and therefore an autonomous body, was to ease the kind of ministerial (bureaucratic) tendencies that hampered or delayed spontaneous decisions on matters that concerned cultural development, this problem was only partially solved. The council members represented their Local Government areas and hence, were expected to be knowledgeable in the cultural matters of such areas. However, this was not the case in
actual practice. But despite such shortcomings, they still had the final say in almost all major cultural development proposals within the state.

(a) The Directorate: This is headed by a professional cultural officer (the Director), who is versatile on not only the cultural resources of Plateau State, but the country generally. He is also the person around whom all cultural matters both within and outside the state revolve. For instance, he represents the interest of the state at the national level for all policy-making decisions and at the same time, runs all the administrative and professional traffic within the Arts Council. All projects or matters initiated by the professional arm of the organization are therefore forwarded to the Council Members for rectification or approval by him. At times, it is on the strength of his defence and ability to make the members realize the importance of such projects that convinces them to make decisions on whether to approve them for implementation or not.

The Director is assisted on such administrative matters as general staff welfare by the Secretary to the Council, and on matters relating to finance, by an accountant. The rest of the members of staff are professionals who have had different background training in the fields of Arts and Culture and are therefore employed in their areas of experience and interests. This is with the aim of achieving an effective all-round cultural development. While these areas or Divisions as they are called, have been carved out for administrative conveniences, in essence, there is no clear cut line between them as their duties, functions and objectives are more or less interrelated.
(b) **The Visual Arts Division:** This Division deals with the material aspects of Culture of the people of Plateau State by endeavouring to expose them to a variety of visual experiences; articulating artistic creativity; fostering a network of dialogue between visual artists while constantly enquiring into the traditional and contemporary development of the visual arts with a view to documenting a critical history of the artistic manifestation within the State; and the creation of avenues or forums for the encouragement of artists both within and outside the state. The Division has a museum section which deals with the collection and preservation of artifacts through surveys and research. There is also, research into the traditional architecture and conservation as well as archeological findings of historical relevance for documentation.

(c) **The Festivals Development Division:** The documentation of the types of festivals - both traditional and contemporary - with detailed ethnographic data is handled by this Division. In addition, it is within the official schedule of the members here to assist local communities in the organization of some of these festivals along with documenting information within the context of performance for seminars and other educational purposes; and the encouragement, assistance and handling of theatrical and traditional performances by groups, individuals and institutions.

(d) **Research and Cultural Education Division:** All matters related to the dissemination of information on cultural matters or activities through the various media organizations and institutions are handled by this Division. It therefore constantly conducts research into the wide range of cultural sources within the state and documents these for public consumption. This Division is
also expected to handle matters relating to the encouragement of artistic and cultural development within the primary and secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges through occasional seminars, and organization of cultural activities such as festivals and creative competitions. It is hoped that such activities would encourage and foster better cultural awareness within such educational institutions.

(e) Zonal Cultural Centres: The PSCAC operates Local Government Council area cultural offices which ensure a reciprocal flow of cultural information between the administrative seat of the Council in Jos, and the rural areas. By this arrangement, it is hoped that the various communities would be provided with ample professional assistance at promoting, preserving and developing their culture. During my research, there were in all, twenty five such cultural offices which were further grouped into eight zonal centres and manned by senior officers. According to Mr. Cuktu during the interview, the establishment of such centres have been done 'primarily to serve as channels of communication for the upliftment of Arts and Culture at grass-roots level'. The sad aspect however, has been the fact that the calibre of officers sent to man these centres has not yielded the required results. The enormous task of cultural development lies in these communities rather than the urban centres which normally host both the administrative seat and usually over 90% of the professional staff who, for one reason or another, prefer not to be posted to the rural areas. My belief is that it is only by remaining in, and working among such societies that government
representatives can be effectively exposed to the cultural experiences needed for the formulation of better working cultural policies.

Figure 4.3

PSCAC: Organizational Chart.

Note: The organizational chart loosely shows the working relationships particularly at the bottom where the professional officers have better access to each other because of the interconnectedness in the field of Arts and Culture. The upper part of the chart deals more with the administrative and policy-making processes of the council.
Having taken a look at the Federally established machinery for the organization of culture and the Plateau State Council for Arts and Culture broadly in terms of their main objectives and functions, the following discussion is centered on issues like the administration, financing, coordination and the constraints faced by these organizations in their efforts to promote or develop a national cultural awareness.

ADMINISTRATION

(a) **Community-based System.** At the local level within States, communities initiate and administer their cultural activities. Such a system existed during the pre-independence period and has survived with time, to the present period, though, with a variety of adaptations to suit current trends of modernization. Within such communities, the traditional Head who is sometimes regarded as both the spiritual and temporal leader, may not necessarily be at the helm of affairs but has one of his men whose duty it is to administer such functions. The initiation, organization and particularly participation and administration of such cultural duties exist as part of the social functions of such communities. In other words, if there was an occurrence, like an annual festival within a community, such members already knew the societal expectations and members assumed and performed their respective roles accordingly. In some communities, such roles are either ascribed or achieved. In any case, the networks of obligations are fulfilled without much ado in traditional societies.

The respect for tradition and obedience to one's community coupled with spontaneity rather than mere need through government's programmes to a large extent, accounts for the total involvement of such communities in cultural activities. To them, such involvements are part of every day life since they continuously enhance
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communal feelings through social participation. Though totally informal, the system tremendously communicates and sustains mutual co-existence in the traditional communities.

(b) Government-administrative machinery/modernization: Currently, there are both federal and state administrative organs handling the development of culture in Nigeria. While each state, through either a Cultural Affairs Division in a government Ministry or an Arts Council initiates and implements the cultural policies of individual States, there are forums for cultural participation at the national level, whose administration could either be by the Federal Department of Culture or the National Council for Arts and Culture.

Since colonial rule and particularly with the yearly government cultural development programmes, artistic expressions based on traditional themes are being gradually displaced by the mass-mediated cultural forms. The arrival of Christianity and Islam have for instance, led to many societies to abandon their traditional rituals which were usually manifested in the performances that enabled them commune with their ancestors or dieties.

So far, the administrative structure of culture also reflects the overall administrative mentality of most government machinery which are mere reflections of the colonial administrative set up. In one writer's words, 'a new elite of western-trained technocrats, professionals, administrators and political leaders have been substituted for the traditional and time-tested patterns of leadership indigenous to our societies' (Balogun, 1984: 9). Balogun further argues that since it is this 'new elite that has been most affected by the cultural influence of the western world and has suffered most greatly from the
contradictions involved in reconciling itself simultaneously with the needs and aspirations of their own societies while initiating alien modes of life", it follows that the cultural attitudes of such elites have often been confused and one wonders which culture they are out to administer.

The importation of alien modes and patterns along with the techniques of cultural administration of the West is bound to lead to the transfer of foreign ideology which ends up serving the elites in the urban centres of Nigeria since in the long run, all cultural activities administered by them do represent their tastes. By implication therefore, the 'standards' of performances and exhibitions are expected to match those acceptable by Western audiences while Nigerian cultural values portrayed in traditional dance, drama, music, sculpture or other art form, may be regarded as being too 'native' by these cultural 'experts'.

(c) Staffing: In some instances, there are problems which arise from some of those chosen to administer cultural affairs not being fully conversant with the communities they are expected to perform their duties. While in some cases, this problem is sociological, in other instances, it is intellectual. At times, while over-relying on officialdom, the conscious tailoring of cultural patterns through government administrative machinery ends up with culture losing its social values in the communities which they serve. For instance, the deliberate attempts to catalogue as it were, cultural activities by the administrative apparatus leads to a high degree of distortion of the cultural events since such documentations sometimes lack detailed ethnographic data. In other instances, people chosen to administer specific cultural duties have little or no idea of what is expected of them apart from the satisfaction they derive from the fact that they have secured
a job. Even in instances where there are capable hands to administer effective cultural assignments, they are made redundant by being placed in large air-conditioned offices in the urban centres merely shuffling files around. The enormous task of cultural development as I have noted earlier, lies in the local communities rather than in the urban seat of government. The current practice where over 90% of the professional members of staff remain in the State Headquarters or Lagos, the Federal capital, should therefore be reverted. It is only through long periods of observations and stay in such communities that there ever would be a vital documentation, parts of which could then be useful for the formation of better working cultural policies.

(d) Centralization and Decentralization: As obtains in the Nigerian situation today, despite the establishment of the National Council for Arts and Culture and the Federal Department of Culture, culture is also planned and administered under the Ministries of Trade and Industries, Education, Information and Social Welfare, both at the national and state levels. When the administrative machinery is centralized, it enables easier co-ordination between the Federal and State governments, and between the latter and local council areas, while also facilitating better budgeting systems.

Decentralization particularly enables the spread of government-organized cultural programmes or projects to most communities. So while centralization is necessary at the planning stages, decentralization is equally required at periods of implementation. What may not be very important for the former, is insistence that the state or local areas commit themselves to undue intervention which may lead to serving the ideological goals of particular governments rather than pursuing cultural development for the sake of unifying
and developing the nation as a whole. But this may be impossible since it is the government that finances, encourages, gives guidance and administers the coordination of such programmes. As N'Diaye puts it:

'When we observe the men and organizations responsible for defining and orienting cultural policies in Africa, the relationship between politics and culture becomes apparent ... in many states this responsibility falls under the jurisdiction of a unique party ... in this case, political power assumes the rights of cultural power and puts it to service' (N'Diaye, 1981: 13).

Such obvious conditions do not only lead to the perpetuation of the culture of the government of the day, but its dominance through the use of the cultural organizations which are eventually reduced to mere praise-singing institutions helping to consolidate the power of the day. The direction of national cultural development is then manipulated and controlled by the directives stipulated by such governments. There are therefore greater advantages in decentralizing the administration of the cultural organizations since these enable more participation across sectors of the society.

(e) **Financing:** The bulk of financing national and state established cultural organizations is done by the respective governments and such are reflected in their annual budgets or development plan periods. The Federal Department of Culture in particular, continuously assists Nigerian artistes/artists along with other institutions of culture and cultural organizations. Such financial aids are given to enable them to attend seminars, meetings, conferences and cultural engagements both within and outside the country. In 1983 (Annual Report, p. 94) for instance, a total of one hundred and five thousand, eight hundred and sixty nine naira, ($105,869.00) was provided as assistance to such people to enable them to continue with the task of the development and propagation of Nigerian culture.
Although it is really difficult to determine the specific proportion of government allocations to overall cultural development either within specific states or nationally, financial subsidies are also reflected in Ministries like Education, Information, Trade and Industries, which in one way or another, have projects associated with the propagation of culture. Even within states, these situations are equally reflected in local government council area budgets. Both the Federal Department of Culture and the National Council for Arts and Culture indicated interest at taking a research into the proportion of government's expenditure devoted to all-round cultural development.

Cultural development may not be turned into statistical indices as may be portrayed by the amounts spent in cultural programmes since the figures budgeted may not necessarily reflect the needed qualitative development as the matters of administration; the putting up of infrastructures that may not even be culturally relevant, and the random award of contracts for projects not feasible, consume the bulk of government's financial resources earmarked and allocated.

(f) Administrative Constraints: One of the obvious constraints faced in the administration of culture is finance. In most cases, the sum allocated both at the Federal and State levels are often inadequate although there are instances of mismanagement of the little provided. What is critical at the moment is the need for the government to realize the important role culture can play in national development, and therefore increase the budgets in this area.

Nigeria built an ultra-modern national theatre where most of the events of the 2nd Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) took place in 1977. Today it houses the Federal Department of Culture and most
international engagements on matters relating to culture are held in this building. The lack of indigenous engineers taking up appointments with the national theatre management in preference to the private sector where there are more lucrative jobs, necessitates the appointment of foreign personnel to man the equipment at the national theatre. In addition, the problems of acquiring the foreign exchange so as to replace the theatre equipment along with other spare parts is a difficult task to accomplish. This has therefore brought most of the work to a standstill.

The area of coverage of the activities of the Federal Department of Culture and the National Council for Arts and Culture seem to be limited to the city of Lagos and the immediate outskirts. The excuse for such actions has been tied to the lack of financial resources. This certainly should not be the case for any federally controlled administrative machinery aimed at all-round national development. For instance, out of the forty events covered and documented for the 1983 fiscal year by the Federal Department of Culture, only two were from outside Lagos; a fishing festival in Congola State; and the 6th National Festival in Borno State. Most of the book fairs and exhibitions were also held in Lagos and its environs like Ife or Benin. Even when the Department's publications are distributed, attention is centred on the southern area of the country. Constant trips are made to the Universities of Ife, Lagos, Calabar and the Imo State University for the distribution of the Cultural News bulletin, the Nigeria Magazine and other special publications of the Federal Department of Culture. After many years in operation, hope was only expressed in the 1934 proposal of 'creating new outlets in states like Kwara, Sokoto, Niger, Benue, Ondo, Ogun, Rivers and Bauchi, because of new higher institutions of learning ... and appointing reputable agents in major centres to collect advertisement for Nigeria
Another major constraint is that of co-ordination and co-operation between these national establishments and the states outside the area of Lagos. As one section of the 1983 annual report claims, 'It was observed during our research tour of the whole country that most cultural institutions in the states refused to render the desired help to research officers under such flimsy excuses as non-availability of data' (p. 30). Such a statement distorts the obvious attitudes and approach to research needed by people who call themselves experts in the cultural matters of their country. The present practice where officers at the federal level remain for eleven out of twelve months in any given year, in the confines of the structures of the national theatre and hope that they can gather enough cultural information about the eighteen other states within one month does not speak well of their commitments to duty. This has been the case. The country is split into zones and such federal officers are given return tickets to cover about five states within a week. This, as has been proved over the years, cannot be effective. The same analogy could be drawn at the regional or state levels. Remaining in the State Headquarters and handling mainly administrative matters cannot be substituted for detailed research at the local level.

Perhaps the most serious constraint is the absence of a dedicated research-oriented staff to man such projects at the community level. The general attitude of recruiting people to fill up existing vacancies merely ends up providing jobs rather than opportunities for the right calibre of personnel to manage cultural matters both at the state and federal levels.
CONCLUSION:

The present discussion has been centred on the two government-established institutions at the national level, and one state government-sponsored organization that handle the administration of culture. While deliberate mention of CULTURAL POLICIES was not made, these I regard as implicit in the aims and objectives of establishing these organizations. Also, inherent in them, are those systems of administration that operate in the other ministries which are perpetually likened to such bureaucratic structures. Such a network of bottlenecks makes it difficult to maximize the potential of the few members of staff who are committed to cultural development. The attempts to put up structures to compete with western models rather than the formulation of cultural policies that would benefit the generality of the people seems to be the order of the day within the government cultural organizations.

With culture as a phenomenon that is always changing, attempts by governments formulating any policies should be geared towards flexibility so as to place culture in a dynamic perspective. Government's participation particularly in the way of administration should have certain limits so as not to hinder the full participation of all sections of society. All communities should be encouraged through government policies to participate and not be onlookers. This can only be made possible through an awareness of the socio-economic backgrounds of such communities. In essence, the present situation in which cultural personnel remain in their offices should be reverted to serious field works. This is of course being integrated at some State levels through the decentralization of the administrative bottlenecks of government's machinery. It is hoped that with such steps, some of the cultural problems generated by the influence of transnational communications and the power of the mass-media culture could be minimized to some extent.
5. THE TRADITIONAL (FOLK) MEDIA AND THE TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE.

Attempts here are geared towards looking at some forms of traditional communication and their general characteristics. Although mention will be made of aspects of folklife (traditional or social folk customs and material culture); more attention will be given to the area of folklore (oral traditions and the performing folk arts), since as we shall see in Chapter Six, the research specifically deals more with the latter. In effect, some of these traditional communicative forms would include such oral genres as the proverb, songs; and within the performing folk arts, the traditional theatre as found in the areas of indigenous dances, stories and rituals. These discussions are made in the light of the importance of these forms within rural communities since, to a great extent, the problems of identifying them lie in the nature, value and particularly their functions in particular societies.

TRADITIONALITY AND THE 'FOLK' CONCEPT:

The notion of 'tradition' and the concept of 'folk' could be regarded here as synonymous since in either case, there is implicit, the notion of transmission or handing down from generation to generation, life patterns of societies or a people mainly through oral forms. One can therefore conclude that a dance, music or song traditionally handed down could be regarded as a 'folk dance', 'folk music' or 'folk song'. The idea here is not to regard the concept of 'tradition' or 'folk' as being totally 'authentic' or 'static' as some of the models of the 'traditional-modern' or 'folk-urban' dichotomies suggest. This is not just tenable because as these societies evolve over the years,
they come into socio-cultural contacts with other communities, and this consequently leads to some hybridization of these lores or traditional forms.

The 'folk' or 'traditional' forms should not therefore, be regarded as merely static remnants of the past, in which case, the concepts may appear prejorative; but should be seen as on-going dynamic forms, which are flexible and do adapt to the changing requirements of particular communities or societies. Within the context of this discussion, these terms - 'folk', 'traditional' - will be used interchangeably to refer to the cultural forms as they exist in rural communities, and not as often associated with negative connotations. Therefore, if there are any divisions between what could be regarded as 'traditional' as in referring to pre-colonial societies, as compared with what is termed 'modern', such a division may be considered ambiguous, particularly when one sees the former as a transition from the latter.

There is no doubt that a set of generalizations could be made of traditional societies which are mainly characterized by a subsistence economy and their restricted forms as compared with modern groups; a sociological set up which is mainly based on ethnic groups, communities and to a large extent, lineage set ups which binds members of these societies together with the traditional forms regularly ensuring and maintaining social integration and some form of equilibrium.

The concept of 'folk' therefore relates more to a people and embraces the whole panorama of traditional culture. Dorson (1972:2-5) has placed these
forms into four large categories:

(a) **Oral literature**: This includes (verbal art or expressive literature) spoken, sung and voiced forms of traditional utterances that show repetitive patterns. Folk narratives, including songs and tales, traditional poetry, short anecdotes, rhymes, proverbs and elaborate epics, all fall within this rubric.

(b) **Material culture**: These deal with the visible (physical folklife) aspects of folk behaviour that existed prior to, and continue alongside trends of modernization. Material culture responds to such aspects of the tradition as skills, recipes and formulae transmitted across the generations and subject to tradition and some individual variations as is the case with the oral literature. These aspects range from how traditional societies build their homes, make clothes, farm, fish or design their tools.

(c) **Social folk custom**: The area of traditional life which emphasises group rather than individual skills and performances. These include large family observances, connected with villages, households, communities and could include such rites of passage (Van Gennep, 1960) as initiation, marriage and death. To a large extent, these customs are often closely bound up with deeply held folk beliefs. The celebration of yearly or periodic festivals which often involves the participation of large social units or communities and the areas of folk religion and folk medicine also fall within this rubric.

(d) **Performing folk arts**: Here, these aspects include traditional music, dance and drama.
These four categories are merely subdivisions of a whole to enable a fuller understanding of the various aspects of these forms. For instance, the social folk customs' can appear in conjunction with the 'performing folk arts' or any of the other sub-categories. It is therefore difficult to separate the traditional communicative art forms since most of them incorporate other elements particularly in the course of a performance. For instance, a traditional ritual ceremony or folk gathering of some kind may within a particular genre like a story-telling session, involve elements of traditional dance, music, incantations or poetic chants. Balogun, for instance, writes:

"... we may admire the grace and rhythm of the Sonianke warrior as he dances, or the virtuosity of the drummers or praise singers, but the fact remains that the performance cannot meaningfully be held outside the specific context and occasion for which it was conceived, and the success or failure is almost entirely dependent on the ritual function which it aims at achieving" (Ola Balogun, 1979:73).

He argues further that 'the Sonianke warrior does not seek to perform as an artiste in the strict sense of the word, but in so far as the ritual which enacts in the course of collective ceremonial utilizes artistic elements as a vehicle for the manifestation of ritual content, he may be said to manipulate artistic factors to achieve his end, hence, the artistic dimension in ritual performance' (ibid).

There is therefore, no clear cut line between any of the folk or traditional art forms. So, whether one thinks of the concept of 'folk' as being 'small, isolated and homogeneous ... integrated by its tightly knit kinship structures, common sentiments and shared values' (Garbarino, 1977:71); or their arts as being 'unsophisticated, localized ... ethnic dances and many other forms' (Real, 1977:7), these forms are mainly transmitted through traditional
communicative means from one generation to the other through predominantly oral means. However, these media are becoming increasingly popular in entertainment forms in the urban centres and among the elite audiences. Consequently, the traditional performers or artistes are beginning to adopt some 'sophisticated' techniques and mannerisms common with these areas, and effectively incorporating them in their performances (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 9).

THE TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATIVE FORMS.

In traditional communities, news, information and knowledge are generally disseminated orally. Although such informal and face to face means of communication may be considered unsophisticated and therefore inefficient, they have on the contrary, survived and linked many generations. These traditional forms of communication are today, used in most of the rural areas of developing nations and as development policies continue to favour the urban centres, these forms would for a long time, be the main sources for transmitting cultural values to future generations at the rural community level.

Broad Characteristics:

In trying to identify the major characteristics of the traditional communicative forms, some comparison may be made as relates to their unsophisticated nature and the techniques employed. However, such analysis should not create grounds for derogatory conclusions, but be used on the basis that they provide a better understanding of these forms.

Oral literature and the performing folk arts appear to be the main
media of traditional communication. Through them, storytellers, singers, jesters, minstrels and folk entertainers act as sources for the transmission and dissemination of news and information mainly through face to face communication. Families, social groups, organizations and community celebrations then serve as the main forums and at the same time, sources for feedback for the folk performers. The folk performers particular members of the community or issues mainly in form of satires to correct societal ills. Information on the other hand, is received from the more highly socially placed members of that particular society. Pye (1963:24) notes that 'the most striking characteristics of the communications process in traditional societies was that it was not organized as a distinct system sharply differentiated from other social processes. He further maintains that 'information usually flowed along the lines of social hierarchy or according to the particularistic patterns of social relations in each community'. This still holds to some degree in certain societies. The tendency here however, is that if the news or information to be passed on is not of a restrictive nature, social orderings or relationships may be ignored. This is particularly typical of issues that can be easily picked up by the performing folk artistes.

Feedback is very essential in any form of communication. In traditional communication, particularly as in dance, drama, music or a narrative session, such feedback is often spontaneous and in most cases, enables the traditional communicators to remold their future presentations. In comparing the relationship between the traditional communicator and his audience, Dallas Smythe notes:
"... his performance was subject to immediate review ... the success of the communicator depended in a large measure on his personal skill and his personality ... the style of delineation, the news report and the interpretation was free and fluid' (Smythe, 1972:27).

Feedback in terms of direct responses or attendance to folk performances, also keeps the traditional communicators abreast with how they are judged by their audiences. Their role is so crucial in traditional communication that 'the audience has learnt to attach great significance to it', and as Ugboajah (1978:80) remarks, traditional media have force and credibility. They put stability in Africa's indigenous institutions. These institutions on the other hand, have to rely on the informal and unstructured ways and forums like the market place and festival meetings in which communication takes place in form of exchange of ideas and information, through socio-economic transactions where people of various social hierarchies meet and interact.

Although the bulk of the traditional means of communication could be said to be informal where contacts between individuals and groups may not necessarily be organized or partially organized as in ceremonies marking the rites of passage (birth, marriage, death or initiation rites), in which case, news or information may be passed or circulated, Fred Omu has noted that there are more formal means of communication among traditional communities. These he argues, would be more 'concerned with the more systematised dissemination of information not between persons and persons but between the government and the people ... the tools employed were recognised officials and recognisable sounds, signs and symbols ... the most common of these indigenous officials was the town-crier or bellman (Omu, 1978:3). Such formalised systems of traditional communication rely more on the hierarchical
flow of messages from either the elders, titleholders or in some cases, the
chief of the community. With the information in hand, the sounding of the
bell by the towncrier immediately draws the attention of members of the
community as the message is delivered. Such messages could range from
announcements for communal work, to the issuance of new government
directives.

What Limitations?

Unlike the modern media systems which require sets of equipment,
formalized structures and a web of organizational setups and personnel to man
them, the traditional forms are normally informal, unstructured and inter-
personal. Denis McQuail (1969:7) in discussing the modern communication
systems notes that 'the production of a newspaper or television service involves
the use of capital resources hence financial control; it calls for the deployment
of highly skilled personnel, and thus management; it involves the acceptance and
application of normative controls, and thus for mechanism of accountability to
external authority and to the audience served.' The folk media may not be
mass-produced, but they surely have forms and formulae for performance;
they may not be commercially biased, but do serve societal functions, and they
are indeed responsive and accountable to their audiences.

Due to the lack of technological devices employed, the traditional media
reach very limited audiences within given times. Large-scale reception is
therefore denied to audiences in need and this makes the spread of particular
information less effective. This situation tends to reduce the services of the
traditional communicators to that of socialization rather than economic profit.
In other words, the need for social justice and respect for moral values in
communities rather than large-scale dissemination of commercial propaganda would be the motif of the traditional communicators.

Apart from their inability to reach large audiences at a given time, another limitation is that of reaching heterogenous communities. Although, as earlier mentioned, one of the problems is technological, the case for an indigenous language common to communities appears to be a greater obstacle. Such adverse conditions make it difficult, if not impossible, for the traditional communicators to satisfy the needs of widespread audiences with different linguistic backgrounds. Traditional media can therefore only be effectively received by an audience that understands and shares the same socio-cultural values. At times, this limitation may not only be within communities, but may cut across geographical boundaries. This is obvious in view of the technologically unbiased nature of traditional media forms. The spread of information is therefore limited to the receptors within the confines of that culture-group that can interpret the messages rendered.

As earlier stated, the focus of this study is mainly on the areas of the oral folk forms and the performing folk arts. This is not to say that they exist in isolation of the social folk customs or the material culture of the societies or communities in which they exist. Infact, as earlier stated, they are mutually all-inclusive.

THE ORAL COMMUNICATIVE FORMS:

The folk communicative genres include all forms of oral literature as found in songs, folktales, proverbs, poetry, chants, riddles and jokes; including anecdotes and all forms of verbal utterances. The main medium used is words though in some cases, this may, and often is complimented by accompanying
musical instruments with various tonal variations. The fact that these forms are orally transmitted, does not mean that they are replicated verbatim by current generations. In fact, as N'Diaye notes:

"Oral tradition is not inflexible and immutable. It is not synonymous with backwardness and primitivism ... it is more simply the oral transmission through the ages of a body of ideas, customs and emotions which belong to a society, a people, or given group of human beings" (Gueye N'Diaye, 1981:57-58).

In essence, the oral lores are ever present forms in societies which are also always evolving. They are dynamic as well as integrated components of the culture in which they operate. Though they may appear simple and spontaneous since they are spoken forms, understanding them may be as complex as looking at consciously created written forms. For instance, because of their narrative forms (as in chants, folktales), they may exist in many variations, and though with similar origin, could function differently in particular social environments. In this context, Finnegan (1970:2) argues that 'oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on specific occasion ... the nature of the performance itself can make an important contribution to the impact of the particular literary form exhibited.' She further notes:

"Appreciation depends ... on our knowledge of the particular art form used, its whole literary setting, the rhythm, phrasing, and music line, and, not the least, on the emotive overtones of such familiar words ... which bring us a whole realm of associations, sounds, and pictures, all of which ... are an essential part of the meaning" (Finnegan, 1970:22).

A number of volumes on the oral forms of many societies are at times collected without a full documentation of the contexts of such performances. Since these forms are mainly oral, it is extremely difficult to identify and skillfully put down on paper such details as the facial expressions, mimicry or other
dramatic elements that make such oral performances more than mere 'oral utterances'. The ignorance often associated with the lack of familiarity with such oral communicative forms and their context of performance coupled with the failure to understand certain minute details which usually are essential elements in such media, often leads to some researchers concluding that they are either 'trivial' or 'primitive'.

**Oral Poetry, Chants and Songs:**

Although I will be limiting myself to these three forms of oral communication, all the other genres of oral literature are generally characterized by similar features particularly as is related to the style or mode of performance, the context of the performances and the transmission of these forms between the folk artists and their audiences. What is immediately noticeable is that these forms are composed and delivered through oral means; the performers employ certain formulae which are used as guidelines for such folk utterances, and above all, rely on their memories which serve as the repertoires for their renditions. The oral nature of the folk media therefore means that the folk artistes mainly rely on certain thematic structures as guidelines to their performances. In effect, these oral formulae enable them to judiciously apply in the context of the performance, spontaneous utterances that are more or less accepted by the audiences as being within the provisions of the entire performance.

**Techniques and Devices:**

By its nature of oral transmission, folk communicative forms are loaded with a number of exigencies. It therefore means that the traditional artiste must rely on a stock of repertoires mainly in the form of short descriptive
lines, phrases, formulae, thematic or episodic structures which he utilizes
in the process of performance. While relying on these structures, there is a
great amount of improvisation to make up what the memory forgets.

The oral formuliac device appears very prominent and serves as a
theory of folk performance. This theory is based on the notion that oral
literature is based on oral formuliac frameworks. Albert B. Lord, in his work
which deals with the Yugoslav folk bards, notes that "Oral poems reflect
extensive narrative patterning, obvious or subtle, on almost every order of
magnitude from the main story patterns down to brief themes" (Lord, 1960:66).

Memorization is an essential technique in traditional communication.
This is however, not done to perfection as long as key elements are retained
at the back of the minds of the performers and guided by the entire framework
of the particular genre being delivered. In his studies of some Yoruba chants,
Babalola (1981:5) writes: "the ijala artist admit that untiring effort to
memorize the words of each chant is the basic means of their remembering their
chants quickly and accurately". On the other hand, improvisation or
extemporization could also be noticeable rather than the deliberate rendition of
the lores handed down verbatim. This often varies from one performer to the
other. The traditional communicator may introduce new variations on the old
themes or may in his style of rendition, blend such with new dramatic effects.
The extent to which he can go out of set down patterns however, depends on the
responses from his audiences.

Extemporization could also be made on the ordering of motifs, episodes
or plots to suit the particular performance or delivery style of an artist once the
basic formats are mastered. Again, the folk artiste is capable of
spontaneously changing or substituting some words, phrases or tonal variations to suit the entire framework of performance while at the same time, adhering to the expectations of the traditional audience.

The use of tonal variations for specific effects by the traditional communicator is of immense importance both to him and his audience. Though used as a structural element in his expressions, understanding such effects would depend on one’s knowledge of the particular language in use since these structures are largely based on the linguistic structures of the culture. Such tonal effects could be used to emphasize sadness, joy, emotional grief, as well as excitement. At times, the tonal expressions are juxtaposed with the accompanying musical instrument which is softly used to back up the performer. Here again, a knowledge of the speech patterns or material culture and other sources from which the folk communicator draws his expressions is necessary in understanding the subtlety of the entire performance.

In the performance of folk song, poetry or chant, there are always a number of dramatic materials drawn from the traditional folk arts. Henry Glassie (1972:278) notes '... folk art, whether oral or material, is characterized by repetition, by forms that are composed of repeated motifs, by forms that exhibit over-all symmetry, by forms that are memorized and repeated', and Dorson (1972:11) rightly notices that the folk communicators in their performances, while "facing their live audiences employ gestures, eye contact, intonation, pantomime, histrionics ... and probe as the author of written words never does". And for Ruth Finnegan, (1970:2-3) the "expression of tone, gesture, facial expression, dramatic use of pause and rhythm, the interplay of passion, dignity, or humour, receptivity to the reactions of the
audience ... (are) an integral as well as flexible part of its full realization as a work of art." Such devices employed show how the rendition of the folk oral traditions cannot be isolated from the other material and non-material aspects of culture.

The Context of Performance:

The relevance of the oral communicative forms of any traditional communities cannot be appreciated or understood, except in their context of performance. This is also true of the other genres, and particularly with the riddle or proverb as we shall be seeing later. Since these oral forms appear as accepted codes in the societies in which they are a dynamic part, they also change with the evolutionary structures of such communities, thereby making it difficult to know their exact origins. However, such modifications are made within the acceptable conventions defined; and digressions of any magnitude can either be sanctioned, or rejected by the community within which these forms function.

The delivery style of these oral forms, their overall stylistic structures, and the relation between the folk artiste and his audience can only be meaningful in their context of performance. This is where the transmission of messages takes place particularly through such occasions as the annual festival, funeral ceremonies or such social times as during marriage or birth. In each of these occasions, the appropriateness of the particular folk genre is also determined by the audience addressed. Instead of merely looking at these forms and their manner of composition, Dandatti (1981:33) has suggested that "Investigating the place of the song in the life of the community and the relation of traditional songs to their social environment" could be an important aspect of learning about them.
Diagram 5.1 : The Context of the Folk Communicator.

Note: The folk performer engages in forms that arise from the society. Notice that there is a great deal of interplay between the artiste, his audience and the context of performance. All these are influenced or guided by particular frames of reference within specific cultural contexts.
In the study of oral forms among the Edo speaking community in Nigeria, Ogieriaixi (1972:28) notes that "Edo oral poetry is generally associated with some social purpose ... because of the highly centralized nature of the society, even events which have no direct connection with court festivals must revolve round a social unit such as the family or round the rites of groups."

He further maintains that:

"... the experience is not individual but collective, and the poems turn out to constitute one of the traditional ways or media our ancestors found for effectively conserving their experiences, their philosophies, their ethos and their history" (E. Ogieriaixi, 1972:34).

Among the Tiv, for instance, oral poetry has been described as part of the daily life of the people. Hagher (1981:55) concludes that "poetry is the heart of all Tiv performing arts ... these art forms whose continuous focus is to seek for social equilibrium, poetry then is the agent through which Tiv emotion is turned to motion - manifested in the performing arts of the Tiv".

This may also be true of most traditional societies since these oral forms can be used in a number of ways to shake up and release tensions among members of the community. While the use of oral expressions can help settle minor disputes, riddles could be used to sharpen wits and validate conduct, while satirical expressions in form of songs or chants may help release societal hostilities. Functionally therefore, these oral forms are effective instruments for regulating the society or community by organizing and guiding it along social and moral lines.

Narrative folk poems, that is, 'a poem that no matter how it was composed, has been transmitted primarily by word of mouth and changed in the process' (Richmond, 1972:85) and chants are also common oral forms of communication.
among traditional societies. They serve various societal functions. Some elaborate work in this area has been done among the Yoruba of Nigeria. In one of his works, Wande Abimbola distinguishes the various oral poetic forms among the Yoruba:

"Ifa (chants associated with the profound system of Yoruba divination corpus)... Ijala (hunters' poetic chants), rendered mainly for entertainment. Related to Ijala both in form and content is Ewi (chants associated with Egungun, the Yoruba ancestor god). Closely related to Ijala and Ewi is Oriki (praise poems) which is chanted as a salute to Yoruba lineages and personalities" (Abimbola, 1972:13).

The distinctions show the context in which each of these poetic forms could be used among the Yoruba community. In other words, the performance of the Ewi—the chants meant for the ancestral gods of the Yoruba cannot for instance, be substituted by Ijala—the poetic chants meant for the entertainment of hunters. Similarly, it will be out of context for Oriki—poetic chants meant for the salute of the lineages and personalities—to be rendered in a situation that demands the performance of Ijala. Apart from knowing which poetic form should be performed and when, the members of the society expect certain standards from their artists. Considerations of the greatness or wisdom in an Ijala piece as Adebayo Babalola (1981:9-10) notes, would be determined by the "remarks, and how far the diction of the piece consists of idiomatic expressions; words 'peculiar to hunters, and metaphorical turns of phrase, rather than ordinary words of everyday speech ... (employing) historical narratives about particular towns as well as life stories illustrating the efficacy of a quoted incantation."

Oral poetry, songs or chants among the Hausa are so integrated into each other that it is difficult not to call one the other since 'oral Hausa poems are sung and chanted rather than said' (Muhammad, 1972:45). *Waka* in Hausa language
applies both to poetry and song though the Hausa do not necessarily regard song as poetry. However, since these forms imply the oral nature of delivery "Hausa oral poets are called makada, mawaka and maroko" (Daba, 1981:209); literally meaning, drummers, singers and beggars. The performance of Hausa oral lores is usually backed up by an accompaniment. This can either be in the form of a solo musical instrument or a group of instruments with the traditional chordophones dominating.

Although they deal with a variety of subject areas, majority of the Hausa songs I have come across, are in the form of social satires and praises. One of such solo performers is Alhaji DanMaraya Jos, a prolific folk artiste who has gained both national and some international recognition. A talented poet-lyricist, this artist's repertoire of compositions can best be understood in the way he intricately and at times, meticulously combines his Kuntigi (a small lute) with his songs which are infused with a lot of wit, satire and comedy. Although he relies on folk themes, most of them are infused into contemporary settings and deal with issues ranging from songs aimed at enlightening the populace about government programmes, to those aimed at comforting the poor and people in all facets of the society, and embracing such natural phenomena as death, good and bad luck. In the following song for instance, Alhaji DanMaraya discusses one of the social ills encroaching on the Nigerian society, and warns particularly the youth who flock into the urban areas against the dangers they are likely to face if they engage in taking drugs without the doctor's prescription.

Kwaya (drugs)

To Kara sha Kwaya,
Kakanka ba ya sha,
Bahanka ba ya sha,
Me ya kar ka shan kwaya?
Do not take drugs,
It is not good,
Give me your attention,
Drugs should not be taken anyhow.

(The second stanza when translated
gives the following meaning: )

Do not take drugs without Doctor's prescription
Since your grandfather and your father did not take them,
Why should you take drugs?


Notice the constant reference made to members of the family like the
father and grandfather - a key factor in socialization among traditional
communities. Such themes are always recurrent in Dan Maraya's performances.
Habib Daba (1981) notes that among Dan Maraya's repertoire, the artist has a
high regard for the labourer. In the following song, he views the labourer as an
important member of the society who should be given equal treatment as the
other members.

Iebura (the labourer)

Yau lebura ne kamar zakka,
Aiki rani zuwa kaka,
In Gwamnati za ta sa doka
Shi lebura ba ya karya ta . . .

Today the labourer is regarded as an outcast,
Working from the dry season up to the harvest season,
If the government promulgates a law,
the labourer will never violate it,
Working the whole day for the public
It is executed like an order,
If people fear Allah,
A labourer will never be destitute ...

Kai lebura ko waliyyi ne,
Aikin da yake na lada ne,
Ba don karfen Bature ba,
Da don karfen Bature ne,
Da lebura beu yi aikin ba.

Good God’. The Labourer is a saint,
The work he does is for the sake of Allah,
Not because of money,
If it is because of treasure
He will never do such a work ...

Don haka nan mutanenmu
Ku daukaki leburoinmu
Ku agaji leburoinmu
Ku agaji leburoinmu
Ku taimaki leburoinmu
Kar ku tabbata ba su aikin yi.

Our people, because of all this,
Give our labourers a better status,
Help our labourers,
Aid our labourers,
Do not think they have nothing else to do.


According to Daba (ibid), the 'singer believes that the labourer is very productive and that he also respects the law of the country. This is how every citizen should be ... he lists conditions like richness and possession of valuable property which make some people boastful and arrogant. The property cannot exist by itself without a labourer working on it' (pp.216-217). In all, I have personally counted over four hundred songs in Dan Maraya's repertoire which discuss historical events of the people, social problems in the society and support songs to aid government projects. Most of these have been recorded on plastic records, tapes and documented in other forms. Even so, it does not prevent him from infusing a number of folk themes each time any of them is rendered.

Training, Audiences and Patronage

While in some societies the training of the folk communicator starts
from early childhood, in others, such artistes engage in the arts when they are fully grown adults. In either case, the period of apprenticeship is mainly dominated by informal learning which is centered on the imitation of their masters who in some cases, might even be their parents. This is then followed by short public performances through which the young or new artist perfects his art. Among the Tiv, "apprenticeship begins in early life ... young men and women are encouraged to observe nature and natural phenomena as metaphor for peoples' actions or even other objects" (Hagher, 1981:38). Among the Ijala performers Babalola (1981:5) notes that the training period "varies with the degree of industry and level of intelligence of the pupil ... a pupil who starts learning ijala-chanting at the age of six or so, does not cease to accompany his master as a pupil until he is about eighteen years old". In addition to such long periods of stay, graduation of such apprentists would to a large degree, depend on their acceptance by the various audiences they face during their performances.

The audience is an important as well as an integral part of any folk performance. Therefore, the traditional performer is sensitive to both his audience's needs and pleasures. This situation leads to some form of mutual collaboration within the boundaries of the society's conventions, while in some instances, the audience responds spontaneously to sanction or reject certain utterances. In all cases however, the audience is never an isolated body in a folk performance. Also in the context of performance, the artiste is always aware of his expectations and avoidances where necessary. In achieving and maintaining such roles by the performer and audience alike, Finnegan writes:
an "essential factor is the audience, which, as is not the case with written forms, is often directly involved in the actualization and creation of a piece of oral literature ... (but) the kind of audience involved can affect the presentation of an oral piece - the artist may tend, for instance, to omit obscenities, certain types of jokes, or complex forms in the presence of say, children or missionaries ... which he would include in other contexts" (Finnegan, 1970:10-11).

As we shall see later, the role of the traditional audience vis a vis a folk performance is more pronounced particularly in the folk performing arts rather than in any of the other folk genres.

Even though most traditional communicators have as their main occupations farming, hunting, or other traditional means of subsistence, and engage in such folk performances after the harvest season, they still rely to some degree, on the patronage of their audiences. Apart from a limited number of such performers who may be engaged fully in palaces where they form part of the Chief's or Emir's entourage, another relatively lesser number are freelance and so have to move from one community to another. These groups of folk artists depend on large repertoires of folk narratives centered on individual personalities, communities or historical developments of a particular family or people. Their audiences in turn respond financially in addition to other valuable gifts and clothes. The Emir's palaces particularly among the Hausa-speaking areas of Nigeria are forums for some of such oral performers who rely on the showering of praises on the Emirs for their past glories, while at the same time tracing their geneologies and those of their families. Undoubtedly, the traditional performers must have a sound historical background of each of these families. It is therefore true that such artistes have to rely on their performances as they must gain their means of livelihood from the art of oratory. However, when the roles demanded by the folk artiste are community-based, no traditional performer expects
members of the audience to reciprocate with gifts.

The Proverb as an oral communicative medium:

The oral communicative genres generally rely on the utilization of particular speech styles in their renditions. One of such genres is the proverb which could be used in the traditional songs, chants and as part of daily conversation among the folk. Roger Abrahams (1972:119) describes proverbs as "short and witty traditional expressions that arise as part of everyday discourse as well as in the more highly structured situations of education and judicial proceedings." This definition may not be all-embracing, but covers a lot of ground in a particularly brief manner, for, ones' ability to understand the forms and characteristics of this unique oral genre of communication lies in the metaphors and symbolisms embedded in it in addition to the content and context of the usage.

A number of proverbs I collected from some Hausa, Alago and Bini (Iyimbọga, 1980-82) friends show that the proverb as a traditional form of expression uses poetic devices which can also be associated with poetry in English. Some of the forms and characteristics which the proverb uses include the binary construction, rhyme, balanced phrasing, conciseness, metaphor, assonance and alliteration (Abrahams, 1972:119). To illustrate some of these characteristics, let us take a look at the following Alago proverb:

"If you burn your finger, you'll be afraid of ash".

Here, the binary construction implies that the proverb is divided into two phrases - the first and second parts. In its original form, the rhyme comes in the manner the proverb is said with emphasis placed on the two equal parts. Metaphorically this proverb signifies a lot of meaning to the Alago people, but
this, I hope to go into later. However, not all proverbs are concise as has been exemplified by the Alago proverb. Although the Bini proverb 'Age is no criteria for wisdom' illustrates some form of conciseness, it does not show the other characteristics common with the proverb. It is a flat one-sided statement and does not have any binary form, nor, strictly speaking, rhyme as in this Alago proverb: "The child who says he'll not listen, will see the things of his eyes".

Of all the characteristics, the binary form appears to be the best structure that enables one to deduce meanings from proverbs because, while giving a feeling of relationship between both parts of the proverb, it usually proposes an attitude or mode of action in relation to a recurrent social situation. The Bini proverb "A stone that is noticed at a distance, cannot blind you", justifies the statement.

Proverbs could be said to be witty in the sense that they make general references in the context of usage. Such a position allows for the subtle application of proverbs among the social structures of traditional societies. Even when a proverb is used at someone in the context of a conversation in traditional communities, reference to such persons could be made impersonal since the proverb relies on some objective frame of reference which is in most cases, on abstract terms as in the English proverb "Honesty is the best policy". Abrahams (1972:122) also observes that even when it is possible to use a personal pronoun as in the following English proverb "You can lead a horse to the stream but cannot make him drink", the pronoun is essentially transferable to the impersonal "One can lead a horse to water but cannot make him drink". In the Bini proverb "Age is no criteria ...", one notices the abstractness of the terms of reference; while in the Hausa proverb "No matter how high you throw a stone, it will surely fall down",
Depersonalization could be achieved by replacing you with one and the proverb would still hold essentially the same meaning.

Abstractness in proverb usage also suggests that even in a conversational context, such proverbs could be used to tell a story. For instance, if in the course of a discussion or simple daily usage, one applies a short example from one of Aesop's fables, "He is just crying wolf"; it could be difficult for his listeners to comprehend the meanings implied without knowing the story and how it could be applied in the context of the conversation. This is the more reason why, a detailed knowledge of the proverb in use; in what situations; to whom; when, and how used could determine to a large extent, the proverb's functionality or usefulness in its particular society.

**Metaphor and Context of Usage:**

As a folk medium, the proverb is used in relation to the social context to which it is applied. In addition, factors like the age group, sex, and social status of the listener could determine the choice and application of particular proverbs by the user. For instance, it would be very much out of place to use the proverb 'Age is no criteria for wisdom' to a group of children who have not been fully assimilated into the societal norms of a particular culture group. Again, understanding the proverb would depend on knowing the mechanisms of the metaphors or simile manipulated in the situation to which it refers. Peter Seitel (1969:155) notes; "the process of metaphorical reasoning has to do with the application of an imaginary (proverb) situation to a real (social) situation through a process of correlation". For one therefore to understand specific proverbs, they must have a knowledge of the cultural concepts through which the metaphors are applied in daily speech.
Understanding the cultural concepts within cultures furnishes both the background and relevance of proverb usage in particular situations. It also enables one to draw the analogies and relationships between the structure of the proverb although not all proverbs are necessarily split into two phrases. Such societal concepts also guide the choice of metaphors, application and interpretation of proverbs the use of which varies in societies. According to John Messenger who worked among the Anang people in Nigeria;

"...proverbs were used for amusement, in educating the young and to sanction institutionalized behaviour. They are also used as a method of gaining favour in court, in performing religious rituals and ceremonies, and to add colour to everyday conversation" (Messenger, 1965:230).

A number of proverbs are currently being adapted by Nigerian novelists and writers of the literary and performing folk arts generally, to sound and reiterate themes, sharpen characterization, clarify conflicts and focus on some of the values of their societies. Often, readers of such texts are either thrown off by such proverbs because they do not have the necessary cultural frame of reference, or their use in the literary texts changes their meanings from those of their socio-cultural contexts. In the proverbs I have collected for instance, there is no way that claim could be made of their authenticity because they were not collected in their actual contexts of usage. The problem of translating them to English sometimes makes them lose their meanings since it is difficult to successfully give adequate English equivalents of each of the words. While such literally interpretations may lead to omitting certain vital motifs in such oral expressions, the essential ingredient, the metaphor could still be understood in the light of such explanations. Let us look at some sample analysis of the following Alago and Hausa proverbs:
a) The child who says that he will not listen, will see the things of his eyes. (Alago proverb).

b) If you burn your finger today, you will be afraid of ash tomorrow. (Alago proverb).

c) Here is the field and the horse. (Hausa proverb).

d) He who is patient can cook rocks. (Hausa proverb).

e) Leave the chicken in its feathers. (Hausa proverb).

f) If you see fire burning your brother's beards, rub water in yours. (Hausa proverb).

Symbolically, in the Alago proverbs, 'ashes' stand for peace; 'not hear' means rudeness, and 'things of his eyes' mean consequences which are often disastrous. The Hausa proverbs have the following symbolic interpretations; 'fire' meaning trouble; 'beards' means mistakes; 'water' stands for avoidance; while 'field' means problems and 'horse' stands for solution. The Hausa proverb 'Leave the chicken in its feathers' could be equated to the English proverb 'Let the sleeping dog lie'. In the proverb 'He who is patient can cook rocks', reference is not meant of the actual geological substance, but in this instance, 'rock' in its symbolic reference means perseverance the end product of which could be some huge success. Similar interpretations or explanations could be made of each proverb and their relevances to the user and his audience.

As a summary, the use of proverbs to inform, make or gain points in daily speech and to reform, plays vital roles in traditional communities. However, without a detailed ethnographic approach, the understanding of this important genre in the daily lives of the folk may be impossible since they rely on metaphors and symbols which are essential parts of the society. The content and contexts; and to whom these proverbs are directed (whether in song, chants or the folk performing arts) are all important in understanding this folk genre of communication.
THE TRADITIONAL (FOLK) PERFORMING ARTS.

The need for merrymaking which involves playing, singing, dancing or celebrations of all kinds involving thanksgiving performances at the beginning or end of the farming seasons; or events marking traditional year-circles is an ever-present phenomenon among traditional communities. Although in such traditional societies the dominant means of subsistence is through non-mechanized agriculture, some members engage in other professions as hunting, blacksmithing and fishing. These professions along with the year-circle rites associated with them, form a huge repertoire of oral traditions around which the folk performances are held. In each of these occasions - including marriage, birth, initiation, death or burial - the ceremonies are marked differently while there exists a great amount of communication or interaction between the celebrants and members of the family, friends, social groups or, in some instances, as in the case of the festival, the involvement of the entire community. Within the context of some of these folk performances however, there are traditional demands for ritual observances either before or during the celebrations.

Ritual, Folk Drama and 'Theatre'

The presence of ritual in some of these merrymaking or initiation ceremonies along with the concept of 'play' or drama involved in performing these occasions has led to some sizeable volume of literature in which attempts are being made to classify as it were, the distinctions or characteristics of the concepts 'ritual' and 'drama'. Some of these look at ritual as a concept that occurs alongside traditional drama; others are of the opinion that drama evolves from ritual; while there are those that maintain that ritual is not necessarily drama even though it uses dramatic elements. In making these conclusions, the criteria seem to have been based on either the aesthetic or
functional implications of each of these concepts. Oyin Ogunba (1978) has opined that some of the difficulties in understanding and replacing these English words sometimes leads to such linguistic implications that the traditional equivalents end up relying on the 'Aristotelian' meaning which places more emphasis on the aesthetic rather than the 'entire dramatic' event or occasion.

Diciphering the concepts of 'ritu al' and 'dram a' poses so much linguistic problems that within some traditions, both words may mean the same, while their differences are often determined by their context of application. In Alago (my language) for instance, the words 'iga' (play), 'igye' (song and dance) and 'wu-igye' (to sing) have similar but confusing meaning. Each of them could be used to connote the others, but such confusions in diciphering does not arise to the users. So, one can talk of 'iga' when reference is made to a ritual performance since there are dramatic elements in ritualization. In such a context, even though there are traditional performances involving song, dance, chants, evocations, incantations and other dramatic expressions, 'iga' is performed not solely for aesthetic appreciation, but is geared towards a positive-resultant feedback. In other words, rather than being geared towards the secular, it is to the sacred function. This position may be difficult to illustrate as Ogunba suggests:

"A situation in which a King or priest performs a set of dances at a festival, it is usually argued, cannot constitute drama by itself because the essential element of representation, of role change is missing ... the argument seems to be based on the assumption that as the King or priest in a ritual situation is in real life still King or priest, the essential role change has not taken place" (Ogunba, 1978:10).

But, as the writer points out, this is essentially based on the Aristotelian claim that drama is the representation of an action, not the action itself nor its mere
presentation. This position further illustrates the need to understand the linguistic implication of 'play' at both levels of ritual or drama. For instance, in the illustration by Ogunba, does the chief or priest come out with the aim of 'playing' a role or 'performing' an art? In both cases, the word play is implicit. A difference may be found in the 'need' for the performance by either the King or priest and particularly the occasion that calls for such specific actions. Against similar backgrounds, Donald Baker (1976 :56) argues that play "provides a clue to the origins and nature of theatre, and leads to a structural theory of theatre in which play is the dynamic". He further argues that the phenomenon of play as manifested in such theatrical or dramatic occurrences are also 'determined by the place, time and purpose of playing' (ibid).

Baker's structural approach to the theatre relies heavily on linguistic anthropology and attempts to relate the concepts of play and ritual which he regards as 'the total theatrical field' to the daily human needs to play. Also essential to his theory is the notion that both ritual and play which are part of a total cultural process, and which could be performed for individuals or the entire community in their various methods of expressions could best be understood as one phenomenon. By implication therefore, the performance of either play or ritual could be to seek the fulfilment of either specific or community functions and also based on the aesthetic participation of members of the same community. In what he considers the 'total theatrical field' are the three evolutionary stages of participation which he says, "can exist coincidentally and may be regarded as synchronic phenomena ... the evolution of one phase or genre may not necessarily mean the disappearance of others" (p.60).

In this classification, Baker's evolutionary stages of drama and theatre
are seen as beginning from festive drama; to folk drama; and theatre which he considers synonymous with the other classifications - "ritual; festival and theatre; or folk, popular and sophisticated" (p.53). By these distinctions even though he maintains that they are all "related phases as different expressive modes of the human need to play", this staging shows that each is in itself, an evolutionary scheme. On the contrary, it is possible to find within his 'phases' or 'stages' an event, the content of which can have all the phases simultaneously occurring. Similarly, a situation where a community goes through certain ritual process as a prelude to a festival which involves large performances at the village square does not necessarily have to be 'sophisticated' to be regarded as a complete 'theatrical field'.

The difficulties found in applying discrete classifications to the concepts of 'ritual' and 'drama' appear to do with the application of either the functional or aesthetic role of each of these concepts. While maintaining that there is no definite list of criteria which could be used to measure the differences between ritual and drama, Graham-White (1979) is of the notion that such differences could be seen in "the total context of the performance and the way in which it conditions the performers ... the most basic distinction between ritual and drama lies in the belief that a ritual will leave consequences beyond itself" (p.340). The performance of a ritual therefore calls for functional rather than aesthetic ends. Certain results are expected at the end of a ritual occasion. On the other hand, in the performance of a drama even though moral messages may be imparted, the effects are more aesthetic than functionally oriented. This is not to say that in folk drama, the moral effects of a performance do not linger on after the presentation, though concrete actions are not expected by members of the community as in the performance of a ritual.
Like Donald Baker, Graham-White (1979:342) argues that "ritual may develop towards drama ... through the modification of the performance, through the reason for the performance changing, and through its adoption by another tribe". The mere thinking of the fact that it is 'adopted' means such a ritual has lost its traditional context. However, an argument could be made for enactments by such traditional occupational groups as the hunters or fishermen whose ritual performances have over the years become assimilated into the daily folk performances. By implication, such 'ritual' rites have lost their functional purposes and their presentation assumes an aesthetic role. The gradual social change within the community in which a ritual loses its sacred power and becomes embedded in the daily traditional music and dances of the people is now a common phenomenon among traditional societies with the advent of 'modernization'. With easier communication links between such villages and communities, elements of cultural borrowing make the ritual performances lose their magico-religious functions since they are often portrayed in the context of (play) drama in the communities that adopt them.

There is no doubt that with the trends of adoption and borrowing, the role of traditional performance may develop from the functional (ritual) to the aesthetic (dramatic). Since there are instances that both ritual and drama overlap, it could be difficult to make absolute distinctions between them. Let us take a look at the OYI among the Alago. The rituals related to Oyi (which literally means shadow) are expected to be performed seven days after the burial of the deceased. During the performance which takes place at night, a silhouette (shadow-like image) mimics or mimics the actions of the deceased. By all standards, his foot walks and the way he carries his entire physique are portrayed by the Oyi. Since it is really dark, the spectators are made to 'believe' that it is the deceased
making his last appearance. The action between the oyi and his audience which is all male, is dominated by occasional supplications, invocations and the recitation of some incantations. At the same time, there are dramatic elements employed. The impersonation in form of the oyi combined with the dialogue that takes place between him and his audience, all mean that these forms can co-exist. As in this ritual performance of the oyi which starts with secular intentions, "the participants recognize the dramatic performance as differing from the ritual, although the dramatic is contained within the ritual framework" (Graham-White, 1979:344). Also in the performance of the Bori ritual, found in the Northern areas of Nigeria, the performance "achieves its meaningful objective only by the strict adherence to the use of dramatic elements in their symbolic connotations" (Kofoworala, 1981:179). In Bori which is a trance ritual, all dramatic elements are controlled by the ecstatic involvements of the possessed performers. Here too, both ritual and drama occur simultaneously.

The bori illustration is a tricky one since it combines rituals that have to do with moments of trance, and at the same time, involving dramatic moments which could be interpreted as performed either consciously or unconsciously by the possessed performers. Among the Ijaw people, it is believed that "things unseen enter the man", the actor may become a medium, a votary or some ancestor spirits or divine powers filling him with the gift of prophecy (Clark, 1981:68). This shows the kind of difficulties common with attempts to neatly group the traditional or folk performing arts. E.T. Kirby (1974:22) for example, classifies African traditional performances into "simple enactments; ritual; storytelling performances; enactment of the spirit cult; masquerade performances; ceremonial and comedies". But as Andrew Horn (1981:182) observes, the Bori performances fall into about "three of Kirby’s classes: the ritual; the spirit cult;
and the ceremonial". According to him, both ritual and drama share certain similarities 'despite important divergencies of substance and function'. Some of the shared elements include dance, gesture, movement, costume, masks and scenic settings. While in ritual the primary purpose is some magical effect in which case, communication may be achieved "between performer and audience, performer and spirit, or audience and spirit ... man attempts to communicate directly with the supernatural and with the world of forces beyond his control", in drama, "human actors, act upon or talk to other human actors, or to a human audience which may talk back to them" (Horn, 1981:195).

Horn concludes:

"In ritual the actor is seen either as a representative (a priest) or as another being entirely (a spirit) ... the degree of his dissociation ... is perceived by the audience, if not always by himself, as the spirit incarnate. He is therefore more profoundly involved in his 'character' than the actor of drama ... (in drama) performance (is seen) as conscious mimesis and of the performer as actor as well as character (what is implied is) 'only acting' " (p.197).

From some of the literature, we can now establish that both ritual and drama can develop independent of each other, but with some degree of reliance on some of the elements of the 'entire theatrical field'. Depending on the purpose of performance for instance, a ritual display which uses dramatic elements could be said to be 'drama' if aimed towards an aesthetic rather than a functional end. Rituals are almost always performed at the same time and place (within year-circle rites, and some rites of passage) with the symbolic attachment to these rites determining the functional response expected by the performers. At the surface level for instance, both ritual and drama (theatre) share the representation of man in action, but beneath such similarity, the ritual expressions are sometimes magical, sacred and purposely directed towards
achieving some individual or communal results - like birth, rainfall and good harvests. To a certain degree also, drama could be said to be symbolic in the sense that play is an initiation of some form of reality. In both cases, roles adopted by the characters (either the priest or artiste) are not of everyday life although large-scale communal participation is limited in the case of the ritual.

**Traditional festivals as folk drama**

Attempts by non-Westerners at classifying or defining these concepts, as any other concepts, relies heavily on what obtains in Western traditions. Against such backgrounds, some writers ignore the major processes within a traditional performance while looking out for neatly organized similarities that will perfectly fit Western conceptions of such phenomena. For instance, Michael Etherton (1982:32) writes: "The definition for Western dramatic art derive from the model and precepts of Aristotle ... concentrates entirely on the final dramatic product, the art manifest in a performance, and any socially coercive function for drama is based on this analysis of the aesthetic". Etherton argues that in the process of adhering to such rigid rules, a lot of the productive art put into accomplishing such performances are ignored.

If the Aristotelian definition of drama were applied to the folk concept of drama, a lot of meaning may be lost in attempts to associate similar basis of judgement with the entire performance. In the performance of a festival for instance, there is more than the mere singing, dancing and merrymaking seen at the surface level of the celebrations. The festivals are themselves forums for expressions of all kinds between the performers and the audiences. They may be loaded with clownish actors and actions, but since the communities in which they exist are dynamic, such traditional performances are equally
loaded with a number of symbolic and metaphorical expressions. Most traditional festivals are seasonal and have direct implications of some sort to members of the community that celebrate them. As Ogunba puts it:

"... each year there is a cycle of performances which evokes much of the history of the community and also brings to light all the artistic forms in the community. It is this total presentation that is properly to be regarded as traditional African festival drama" (Ogunba, 1978:5).

Such a broad definition discards attempts to regard festivals as mere re-enactment of yearly occurrences since dramatic elements in the presentations and the overall forms of such festivals are likely to change while new forms or trends are adopted to complement the old. For instance, the introduction of additional or alternative events within the content of performance may be attributed to either the political or socio-economic position of the community within particular seasons. It is the abundance of traditional activities which utilizes a variety of dramatic elements that leads to the kind of evolutionary hypotheses about the phases or stages of development of ritual to drama. In most cases, such festivals begin with a ritual that eventually grows into large-scale performances at the village centre. During such performances, as Ola Rotimi writes in the case of one of them, "aspects of the Egungun 'apidan' display, such as the 'mutation-scene' in which a masquerade 'becomes' a serpent through the magic of adroit costuming, and then goes on to make aggressive strikes at spectators, can be called drama" (Rotimi, 1981:78).

The Ogani, an annual traditional festival of the Egbura people of Umaisha features a variety of activities. Among them, the appearance and performance by the 'Eya'. The following, though lengthy, is a lucid account of the dramatic performance as recorded by Sulieman Adokwe:
"A traditional account has it that in fulfilment of his earlier promise to Ohimi-Inegedu (the first Ohimege of Panda) one slave warrior - Ohinoyi Echikpa - was reputed to have ridden a live buffalo to the delight and awe of the entire community in commemoration of the first Ogani in circa 1750 AD. This dramatic present action earned the slave warrior his freedom and therefore, has become a main feature of the festival ... in memory of this singular performance ... a man referred to as 'Eya' (bull) is dressed in mock-fashion of a bull to play the role. He is painted charcoal black, alligator pepper induced eyes, a leopard skin tied to his waist and lastly a twin bull's horn held in his hand, and with the horn, the Eya charges at his teasers in the Spanish matador fashion" (Adokwe, 1984:26).

When I first watched this performance in 1975, the bull character appeared more fierce-looking than in the performances I observed in 1981 and 1982. This is probably because I had spent more days during the first visit observing the events that culminated in the appearance of the Eya on the last day of the festival. On the eve of that day, amidst drumming, singing and all forms of activities by the Umaisha community and the neighbouring villages; at about midnight, all these suddenly became still as fear was instilled on the visitors and the young about the Eya. Perhaps that first experience and my expectations of what the Eya looked like, added to the glamour and spectacle of the performance the following day. However, since my first visit, very little changes have occurred in terms of the aesthetic role the Eya character plays. This is partly because the village has lost the man who acted the role, in addition some members of the community do not consider the present character as good as he was. There also has been a few additional embellishments to particularly the make-up of the ozi-eya (calves) "each armed with long cruel looking whips (who) are expected to whip within the inch of his life any teaser that the eya succeeds to touch with his horn" (Adokwe, 1984:26). A symbolic tree that stood in front of the Ohimege's (Chief's) palace served as the second stage of performance after the Eya had gone round the palace with the Ohimege on his horse back three
times. Today, that tree no longer exists, but the eya's and the ozi-eya's performance still holds around the spot where it stood. The movements round the Ohimege's palace and the symbolic tree may show great dramatic elements to the spectators, but performs symbolic ritual functions for the Egbura people. When I interviewed the Ohimege (traditional ruler) about the importance of this performance, he said:

"... the Ohimege's palace used to be guarded by slaves or subjects... and the movement three times allowed them to see him once a year. It is similar to the movement of 'Eya' and the 'Ozi-Eya'... It is a symbolic day for all Opanda people. It also marks the symbolic authority of the Ohimege. This movement therefore marks the significance of 'Empire day' for the people of Umaisha".

The initiation ceremonies of the women folk common among the Ron ethnic group illustrates another example of the hypotheses that folk drama develops from ritual, or that is is another of its stages. The 'Magbor' as the festival is now known, were "meant to advance requests to the gods for early rains, fruitful farming season, and women's fertility" (Shindai, 1984:39). The initiation rites were performed in the bush for some days in which the youth were initiated into woman-hood through the evocation of the supernatural powers, the end of which was then marked by a festival which lasted for almost a week in the village square. It was at this moment that the entire community joined in the festive celebrations that followed.

Do the activities that take place during the festivals or rituals constitute folk drama since they exhibit dramatic elements, or, what is in essence, traditional or folk drama? Roger Abrahams (1972:353) defines it as "traditional play activity that relies primarily on dialogue to establish its meaning and tells a story through the combination of dialogue and action." Graham-White sees it as "primarily the drama of the community; prepared by members of the community according to well established modes and performed for or on behalf of the whole community" (1976:13); Rotimi (1972) while talking of the Nigerian context, sees 'traditional drama as the immediate offspring of ritual
drama ... (the) idealized representation of spirits in the form of masked actors and impersonators (masquerades)' who rely on oral communicative forms like legends, myths, riddles, songs extolling the examples of our forebears, and stories recalling the virtues and courages of their actions lived after them' (pp.36-40). Along the same line, he considers 'folk opera' as what

"...covers that type of representation that thrives on music, song, dance, extended story line, a message of moral nature ... broad acting gestures, and the vernacular of the people which may range from an isolated local dialect to community understood pidgin English" (Rotimi, 1972:36).

The most essential ingredient in traditional or folk drama appears to be its orientation towards the community in which it functions. As Amoda notes in a much broader perspective: "In its concept, African drama, in its various forms (story, drama, festival drama and mask drama) implies the idea of a performance which is at once a work of art and a collective work of both the artist and spectators ... this performance interpretes and formalizes African culture" (Amoda, 1978:185). Although there are dramatic moments that occur during the annual or periodic celebrations within the traditional societies, folk communities also have social occasions in which such dramatic manifestations are featured. The scope of such occasions are however limited to the social or occupational groups which feature dramatic performances that re-enact aspects of their means of livelihood. Based on such community or societal representations, Kofowolora (1981:164-169) has grouped Hausa dramatic forms into: 'the Royal court forms; the occupational - as those of the hunters dramatizing their bravery in the bush; the social forms, which he says 'are performed principally for the entertainment of public audience made up of different social groups'; the religious forms and ceremonial forms which also
'take place on special occasions involving all the members of the society'. On each of these festive and dramatic occasions, a variety of paraphernalia are used to create the needed atmosphere, common among them are costumes of various shapes and sizes and portraying a number of symbolic representations to the community members.

The importance of masks, masquerades and maskers cannot be overemphasized in the performance of traditional drama, some of which have their origins from ritual. Among communities where the traditional religious systems are practiced, the use of masks as a method of harnessing the power of the supernatural or the benevolent spirits of the community plays crucial roles in ritual performances. It is expected that the ancestors and spirits are invited to join the community in celebrating the festivals. Distortions of all kinds ranging from disguising the masker's voice to applying clay or charcoal on all parts of his body that are exposed, help to conceal his identity. Since some of the maskers appear during the day and women are allowed to observe their performances, such women, even when they feel they know the masker's identity, are expected to keep such information to themselves; a contrary action would be punishable by the laws of the community, since it is a taboo for them to do so. In the performance of 'Oyi' which I mentioned earlier, women are not expected to have a glimpse at the action, and since it is believed within the Alago community that a woman who sneaks to have a look may bear no children, such instilled fears are effective enough that they create some communication gap one would say, in matters of traditional worship between the men and womenfolk.

Among some folk communities, the appearance of masks and masquerades seems to perform both the functional (ritual) and aesthetic (dramatic) roles.
In the areas of the Niger Delta as Onuora Nzegwu writes, masquerades are believed to 'represent gods, water spirits, village heroes and the dead', and therefore in all masquerade displays, the people believe that the masquerades 'are possessed by the spirits they are representing' (1981:133). Nzekwu also notes that these displays are dramatizations of the myths and stories behind each of the masquerades since apart from re-enacting the gods and spirits precautions were taken to prevent any disturbances of the 'play'. Since the masks that feature predominantly in folk festivals are representatives of the different supernatural beings in particular communities, symbolic communication is noticeable in the carvings and decorations of such masks. This added to the costume, accentuates the role performed by particular masks.

In terms of the salient communicative functions embedded in the act of masking, Ogunba notes that they "do more than disguise the person of the actor ... since the masked actor still has to speak, perform certain actions, and relate himself to other actors and the prevailing situation ... more is put into the physical mask in terms of symbolism and spectacle" (Ogunba, 1978:22-23). Ola Rotimi (1972:42) emphasises that masks "also form part of a cultural triad (along with costume and headpiece) that constitutes the masquerade. Masquerade, in turn is a concrete evidence of the Nigerian's world-view that asserts the union between man and the powers - the mortal and the immortal. It is a testimony of the continuity of the life force". There are instances however, when some of the excessive decorations and traditional carvings on the masks may not necessarily be geared towards any functional roles. For the purpose of sheerly beautifying them (for aesthetic appeal), additional form and flashy colours may be applied.
Folk performances particularly the traditional art forms, are often dominated by large-scale musical accompaniments and dancing. Despite the hundreds that throng community or village centres, the conspicuous nature of the masquerade and masked performers often leads them to be the central figures within the performances. For most of the period therefore, music and drumming set the masquerades in such dramatic scenes that some members of the community and at times, visitors to the scene are put in some mood of ecstasy. In trying to capture one of such moments after observing the ODU one of the annual traditional festivals in Doma, I wrote:

"A swaying of the inhabitants

In their psychic involvements,

Encaptualized in quick,

And well tormented rhythms,

The syncopated drums and flutes,

That set the dust rising,

And quickly following and swallowing

The feet that rose them.

The Ekwu is master of ceremony,

His dance steps no one can beat.

His body movements,

Set a pulsating mood

In the heart of one

And all admirers.

War cries are heard,

Bows, arrows, matchets,

Spears and knives all accompany

In the rhythmic heartbeats,

That set the village blooming " (Iyimoga, 1983:183).

In the performance of Odu, the Ekwu - the dominant masquerade is the focal attention of the people. In his case, he performs both the ritual and aesthetic roles to the folk community of Doma. His ability to make brisk somersaults and a lot of acrobatic displays does in fact, make the community to believe that
he is possessed by some spirits. Even the flautists and drummers are thought to be equally possessed since the entire musical performance synchronizes with every movement the Ekwu makes.

The use of masks is not restricted to festival or ritual performances alone; it is also assimilated in folk puppetry. Some studies among the Tiv of Nigeria show that their puppet theatre - Kwagh-hir, uses masks, dolls, figures representing both humans and animals which are made to act the story lines as they are told. As Enem (1981:250) puts it; the "embelishments in the form of the colouration of carved puppets, accessories and masquerades help to reinforce the visual impact of the theatre". While this form of folk art relies on the rural traditions particularly the Tiv oral lores, performance of Kwagh-hir now extends to the urban centres where the predominantly low-income Tiv communities settle. This high artistic form of expression of the Tiv, like any other folk performances, relies strongly on historical traditions for its interpretations. The performers are therefore said to draw their themes from the cultural, economic and political life of the Tiv people which are demonstrated by the puppets, backed by chants and drumming. In their performance, as Bala Muhammed describes:

"... the semblance of the real by the unreal epitomizes the height of Kwagh-hir imitation of the supernatural ... the movements of the puppets merely dramatizes a Kwagh-hir story, a tale which the audience, being united by a common knowledge of its subject matter, its forms and content, is prone to judge, as the reality of the supernatural" (1984:5).

Muhammed also observes that beyond the dramatic expressions which are portrayed by the puppets and other performers "lies a meaning, historical and archetypal ... they reveal in art forms the communal journey of Tiv people
from mythology to reality" (ibid). Among the Kanuri people of Bornu, the puppets take the form of rag dolls which are manipulated on sticks rather than the form of masks or masquerades. The puppets - dogodogo - are said to have scenic performances which last for about four minutes each. Like the Tiv Kwagh-hir, whose performances reflect "the moral prejudices and sanctions of the community" (Enem, 1981:250); Ellison also illustrates that the Kunuri (language of Bornu people) puppet shows are sometimes geared towards corrective social measures. He describes one of the scenes in which "a thief enters a man's house and is just making away with his swag when the man's wife wakes up and gives the alarm; the husband then emerges and gives the thief a sound beating" (Ellison, 1981:253-254). There is no doubt that such scenes are meant to reiterate the fact that the act of stealing is punishable under the social regulations governing the mutual coexistence of members of the community as reflected in the performance.

Some Characteristics of the folk performances

Based on the folk-urban continuum theory, analogous conclusions can be made on the nature of the folk drama or folk performance with what obtains in the urban theatre. One of such differences is in the area of the schedule. Whereas in the urban centres, regular theatre times are specified, within the folk communities, such may be dependent on periodic or annual requirements, and at times, as in the case of marriage, a birth or naming ceremony. Even though in both cases the presentation involves oral renditions and acting of some sort, in traditional performances, such texts are non-existent and the performers have to rely on some oral formulae unlike in the urban theatre where a great deal is relied on the memorization of written texts. In both cases, however, there is some reliance on improvisation. Like in the oral traditions,
the entire repertoire is based on the folk genres like riddles, jokes, proverbs, songs, chants which are also learnt through observations, participation and informal instruction. A lot of the communication between the actor and audiences are loaded with repetitions to help clarify points or re-emphasize issues. For example, Graham-White writes:

"At the beginning of a Peking opera ... the character will state his or her dilemma once in a terse sentence, then sing a few lines transmuting the same idea into metaphor, then return to spoken prose to explain the situation more fully. Similarly, a character in Yuan drama may sing some lines on entrance that reflect upon a general human situation and then outline his or her particular problem" (Graham-White, 1976:17).

The relationship between the folk performer and his audience is so binding that one hardly notices if there is indeed an 'audience' in the context of a traditional performance. Depending on the nature of the play, members of the audience from time to time, break in to mix with the main performers. Except on occasions when performances are meant to serve particular symbolic functions, there are no specific settings or stages, but the open village arena with the audience staying in close proximity to the actors. Such a forum creates a free atmosphere for interaction between all classes of observers. Again, since the idea of the box office is non-existent, the folk audience interacts freely, and informally presents gifts when they feel inspired or praised by the performers. If such performances are within small family units, the gifts may be reciprocated, thereby, helping to sustain the social cohesion among members of the folk community.

Function and Symbolic Representation

During, or at the end of folk performances, some moral (social) lesson or ritual (functional) results are expected to be achieved. To some
communities, such functions could be the communication of historical or religious traditions which are dominantly embedded in the oral traditions. Some ritual or dramatic performances are performed, where the aim of communication is to appease the gods who are in turn, expected to strengthen the fertility of the earth while protecting the folk community from illnesses of all kinds. It is such 'therapeutic function attributed to performances that probably accounts for the rarity (perhaps the total absence) of tragedy as a genre of traditional drama' (Graham-White, 1976:20). So, instead of re-enacting some form of misfortune, such traditional performances satirize societal events. In the performance of the 'Udje among the Urhobo of Bendel State, the songs are straight satirical pieces although a good number are parables passing oblique social comments and criticism' (Clark, 1981:64). In the study of dramatic forms among the Hausa, Kofowolora (1981:172) concludes that "the 'Wasan Gauta' is performed to draw the attention of the ruling authorities to some important administrative issues in the society" since the improvised narratives are thematically based on the characteristic representation of the royal authority, in which case, the roles of the chief and his lieutenants are played. Such satiric performances do not just cue the rulers, but also demonstrate the reflective public or community opinion about their methods of ruling.

While folk performances provide spectacle for members of the traditional community, such occasions also help to provide ground for communication across social hierarchies. The young learn as they are initiated to the responsibilities of the community. And for the so-called literate members of the communities who have flocked the urban centres in search of fortunes, such periodic occasions mark moments of reunion with the community folk.
To understand these folk communicative forms, means more than analysing the song texts, dance sequences, riddles, jokes, or any other folk genre expressed. It demands a broader approach, one that will lead to grasping the dynamics of these traditional communities and understanding their performances as symbolic to their daily existence. In the study of the folk drama of the Javenese village of Surabaja, James Peacock (1968) argues that the symbolic actions which Javanese proletarians carry on inside the ludruk theatre are related to the more or less technical actions (daily actions) ... which they perform outside the ludruk theatre" (p.235). Through the ludruk drama, the folk could speak on national issues and social conditions. Peacock therefore concludes that ludruk performances which have a combination of aesthetic and social features, are symbolic actions which he says are:

"... more directly oriented toward creating beautiful or stimulating form, and expressing emotions, moral ideals or conceptions of reality than towards achieving emperical economic, political or social ends. If ludruk depicts peasants sowing their seeds ... or a family striving to resolve its conflicts ... the ludruk actors are not really struggling to make crops grow on stage, or to resolve a quarrel among themselves. Their main concern is to entertain ... to portray a conception of reality ... to express emotions, and perhaps to make a moral point. Although this symbolic action may ultimately have economic, political, and social consequences, it is not so immediately and fully oriented towards (these ends) ... " (Peacock, 1968:234-235).

This folk drama of the Javenese community therefore has no ritual significance to its members hence, the heavy reliance on the aesthetic aspect. However, it also demonstrates that no matter the aim behind a folk performance, members of such folk communities have some symbolic attachments to them. Communication is done in a simple folk manner but beneath such simple forms, lie their subtle meanings.
Conclusion

In traditional societies, art forms, and folk performances as in dance, drama or music, and all other forms of communication exist as part of the social pre-occupation of the members of such communities. The end or beginning of the farming season, along with other periodic moments of celebrations usher in family or community-organized performances that feature the various genres of the folk. In the process, the oral nature - as in the transmission of texts and the informal devices utilized - help to sustain the elements of traditionalism in the folk performances. In view of the aesthetic and functional significance to the communities in which they are a dynamic process, such traditional forms should not be regarded as archaic products or worse still, be considered as 'native' or given other derogatory connotations when compared with the Western forms. They are essential sources of understanding about the socio-cultural contexts of developing nations particularly. There is nothing wrong with carrying out detailed research into such areas to determine the vitality of such art forms which might be relevant and could be utilized for national development policies apart from mere documentation. A move in this direction will certainly be of benefit to the rural masses.

There is a gradual relationship now growing between these traditional communicative forms and the modern mass media. The application of particularly the radio and television as discussed in Chapter Nine, in transmitting these traditional media forms is gradually evolving, though with major constraints and limitations.
TRADITIONAL MUSIC AS MEDIUM FOR FOLK COMMUNICATION

"What turns one man off may turn another man on, not because of any absolute quality in the music itself, but because of what the music has come to mean to him as a member of a particular society or social group... It is the human context of the humanly organized sound..." (John Blacking, 1973).

In this chapter, I have discussed the empirical data based on my research of some traditional performing groups in Plateau State (see map that shows the location of each of the groups mentioned). Although emphasis here is placed on the 'musical' aspects of the performances, other details on the dance formations or choreographies employed, the costumes, musical instruments and other sub-genres will be mentioned to reiterate the notion that it is indeed difficult, and not proper, to isolate the various elements that make the entire performance meaningful to the folk artists and their audiences. In addition to the aesthetics of the performance, I have also looked at some of the song texts to see what social or functional meanings they have for these folk communities.

The bulk of the groups discussed in this chapter are therefore those that have to some extent, lost most of their ritual roles and mainly serve aesthetic functions in their traditional communities. The groups for this study have been chosen from some communities across Plateau State to help sample their general characteristics. Towards the end of the chapter, a section discusses the similarities of these folk performances in their adoption or borrowing of other musical cultures, rendition or song delivery styles, musical instruments and the thematic expressions of folk social occurrences within the traditional societies.
Although to some degree, I was familiar with some of the musical groups discussed here; a more systematic documentation for this research was based on my observations and interviews of the group-leaders and in some instances, other members of their communities (see Appendix 4) during the studio and field recordings. Details of the experience related to the recordings are discussed in Chapter Nine. I took photographs of the traditional musical instruments which were later sketched out and used at the end of this Chapter. I also had to rely on the organized performances from which I got the song texts, some of which have been analyzed in my discussions. Obviously, such organized recording sessions meant that I was tampering with the 'actual' performance because at times, the situation made the performers so conscious of my presence that the informal relationship between them and their audiences for instance, was affected. I am hoping that the following discussions will not only illustrate the key concepts raised in the previous chapter, and also help show that a great deal of folk communication does not rest on the oral texts of the performance alone, but that forms like costumes and body adornment also form essential elements of the folk communication process.

UNDERSTANDING TRADITIONAL (FOLK) MUSIC.

Traditional/Folk Music:

Like the other folk genres, folk music is also a complex phenomenon which cannot easily be isolated from the total folk culture. It is the product of a musical tradition that has evolved through the process of both oral and aural transmission. Aural, in the sense that apart from oral transmission of the lyrics or song texts, the dance aspect of the performance and the instrumentation demand more than mere oral transmission as in proverbs, folk tales or riddles. Folk music has the essential characteristics of the other folk genres. It is
therefore, the unwritten musical traditions of the predominantly rural communities whose origins may begin from compositions by individuals or groups, but relying essentially on the traditional experiences of the folk community. John Blacking sees music generally as 'a produce of the behaviour of human groups, whether formal or informal: it is humanly organized sound' (1973:10). He also concludes that 'it is a synthesis of cognitive processes which are present in culture and in human body; the forms it takes, and the effects it has on people, are generated by the social experiences of human bodies in different cultural environments' (p.89). The survival of the folk musical traditions therefore depends to a large extent, on the ability of the individual composer or folk group to utilize the folk experiences in their performances. Such occasions as annual harvest ceremonies, birth, marriage and community labour, are all forums for the performance of folk music. Funeral songs, dirges and lullabies also fall within this rubric, and in the end, folk music is seen to exhibit more or less, specific functions within the milieu of usage.

Clear-cut distinctions can therefore be made between what the folk see as their genre of music as compared with for example, Western classical music. Such differences it seems to me, have to do with the functional aspects of these music types as relates to their specific cultural experiences. For instance, the songs of a folk performer like Ogga Omaku (one of the artistes discussed in this chapter) may not make sense to any other audience or particularly the Western audience in the same vein as any of the symphonies of the classical composers like Mozart or Beethoven may sound meaningless and therefore functionally useless to his community. In a much broader perspective, Bruno Nettl (1974:466) argues that "folk music is understood by broad segments of the population while cultivated or classical music is essentially the art of a
small social, economic or intellectual elite”. In either case, the interests and social experiences of the audiences are borne in mind by the composers and performers, although, in the case of pop music, the interest is likely to be more commercially-biased.

Some Theoretical Approaches:

A number of theoretical approaches have been postulated in the fields of Anthropology, Folklore, Music and particularly Ethnomusicology, an area which deals with understanding music through a cross-cultural analysis. Each of these disciplines has its unique approach to understanding music in various cultures. While the expert with a purely musical orientation is bound to approach such musical traditions mainly on the basis of 'sound' as music per se; the Anthropologist has the tendency of studying such musical traditions as human behaviour, and therefore sees music as a related aspect of culture. The tendency for the Folklorist is to concentrate essentially on the song texts and words, rather than any other aspects of the entire performance. The Ethnomusicologist therefore appears to be the best placed since his discipline involves not only having a background in Anthropology, but he also has to have some knowledge of music and musical traditions. Even among the ethnomusicologists, there are those whose orientation is more towards the 'musical' aspect of the discipline. In such cases, their interests are those of understanding the relationship between the minute qualities of sound in the folk traditions rather than the relationship between the music and the rest of the culture.

Some of the exponents of these theories include Alan Merriam, who says that the study of any form of music, has as its essential subject, the understanding of human behaviour. Thus for him, music is seen as "a single kind of expressive
behaviour among many... Music is inevitably a product produced through the medium, as in the case of all human products, of a number of kinds of conceptualizations and behaviours" (Merriam, 1971:222). John Blacking (1973:xi) concludes that "an anthropological approach to the study of all musical systems makes more sense of them than the analyses of the patterns of sound as things in themselves". Mantle Hood, the Musicologist who believes that such studies should be done purely by relying on the 'sound', claims that "some scholars attempt to bypass the heart of the problem by bypassing the subject, music" (1971:20). He is not of the opinion that concentrated effort should be given to the analyses of function, usage and symbolism of these musical traditions in their societies since he argues that this can also be achieved by approaching purely the 'sound' aspect. Such an approach, I feel, may be useful only for analyses which concentrate on such purely musical aspects as the timbre (quality of sound) or folk harmonic systems rather than for sociological benefits.

Since the approach by the Musicologists relies on the 'sound' aspect of a musical performance for its analytical purposes, and since such an approach ignores the other ingredients in a total performance, one is likely to view the Anthropological approach more useful for present purposes. In addition to giving one an idea of the styles in the musical tradition, the latter approach enables one to study the symbolic functions and relate them to the other factors or network of relationships within folk communities or cultures. Where possible however, a combination of both approaches would yield better results. Among the groups I looked at however, the Musicological approach (which looks mainly at the 'sound' aspect of the performance) would not have given me the conclusions I arrived at. Collecting the 'sound' qualities of such folk musical traditions may not tell one of their other aspects of communication. I also found the use of
the still camera very useful. Though this was not used to capture the entire performance, aspects of material culture were documented and later used in interviewing the musicians themselves and other respondents within those communities to elicit responses that served to further explain their contents. This is not to say that the camera has no pitfalls, but, the products (the photographs) have been useful in reminding me of some of those visuals my memory could not have easily recollected. Despite many years of association with some of these folk groups and individual performers, I still had to carry out interviews with each of them in addition to watching them perform in their respective communities.

SOME TRADITIONAL MUSICAL GROUPS

As mentioned earlier, emphasis here will be geared purely towards a descriptive analysis of these folk solo and group performers from Plateau State.

(1) The Sombi Group:

There is nothing more gratifying to a folk dance or musical group, or any other performing artiste for that matter, than when their audiences admire and feel involved in the total performance. This is usually the case when one watches the Bel-Sombi, a mainly instrumental group from Rankim, perform with their syncopated and dignifying dance steps which are beautifully piloted by the carefully choreographed movements of the musicians whose hocket technique of the instruments is a unique formation. The group which derives its name from the terms 'BEL' and 'SOMBI' meaning (in Angas language) 'cornstalk' and 'horn', have these as symbolic representation of the dominant occupations of these folk-musicians. Added to these horns is one drum (a double-faced membranophone) and with a traditional rattle which is used to cue the performers on some of the
songs, the group is set.

Music-making among folk communities all over the world are not only influenced by the tonal qualities of the songs, but also by other aspects of the performance like the costumes which help to add both visual effects and the uniqueness of such performers. This is true of the Sombi group. The 'Njwul-chip' a traditionally woven bag is hung over the shoulder of each musician, while the 'beat' - also traditionally woven stripes are worn horizontally across the chest and abdomen. The 'magap fer' is the headgear which is made out of buffalo skin while the 'tergem' are carefully cut out and trimmed skins of sheep which are worn around the elbows, letting them flow freely to almost ankle level. These visual displays by the performers do not only enhance the aesthetics, but also, saliently communicate the occupational abilities of the musicians and their folk societies. For instance, because of the dominance of the horns from which the group derives its name, some Angas people from Rankim believe that the music is performed to celebrate the killing of the buffalo whose horns form the main musical instruments.

Sombi music is traditionally performed annually between the months of August and October to mark the harvest seasons. Since it is performed essentially to mark the harvest of millet (a cereal), one of the symbolic aspects of the group's performance involves the participation of the chief or leader of the community and six elders who accompany him. It is expected that the first performance each year must take place in front of the chief's palace before other performances within the family or community centres. Although some of these traditional observances are still met, Sombi music is now performed on other occasions outside its folk community like during State or Nationally organized
Festivals of Arts and Culture. It is also featured during civil receptions at either community or social gatherings like installation ceremonies, death, marriage and as the folk community's symbolic gesture to welcome visitors to their homes.

The essential performance style of this group is the 'hocket' (see section on some Generalizations) either when they are using the Sombi (horns) or 'bel' (corn stalks) which are both aerophones. This technique (which I will be explaining in detail later), allows for one or two, and at times, more horns or corn stalks to play specific melodic fragments at given intervals. These, combined with other melodies by the other groups of horns, which are usually graded for tonal variations and qualities when taken together, give the entire musical piece. Since most of the musical compositions of this group are mainly instrumental, one can only know or identify their titles by asking the musicians. Except for the Angas speaking community, one is bound to feel that the songs are the same all the way through but, with minor variations. This however, is not the case. Understanding the musical repertoire of the group demands some sense of 'belonging' to the folk culture, or some ear-training in musical appreciation.

For instance, it took me many years to realize the fact that with other engagements out of their traditional setting, this group has devised a number of formulae which they utilize for such social occasions. For instance, 'Sombiyar' which the musicians describe as 'song of the road' acts as the prelude to all their performances. Another song 'res', gives the dignity of Sombi performance and applies the highest intricacies of the hocket technique, while 'shambwul' literally means 'let's move here and there'. The performance actually reflects the title of this song because when the Sombi are sounded, the musicians are actually 'here and there' though, in well choreographed formations.
Audu 'Agwatashi' and Group:

'Agwatashi' which is a linguistic derivation of 'Agbo go Tashi' (the founder of the town) is the name of the town traditionally known and called OLOSOHO by the Alago community settled in this area. The group and particularly their leader, is therefore immediately identified by his community rather than his surname. Now about sixty five years old, Audu claims he has been singing in his community since he was about twenty four. A popular folk artist, Audu's repertoire comprises mainly of praise songs and songs that deal with the geneologies or historical events around Alago communities.

Unlike members of the Sombi music who are all male, this group is made up of members of both sexes who function mainly as respondents or musicians who supply the needed chorus and accompaniments for Audu's performances. For most of their performances, there is great reliance on sponteneity which is not only common to this group, but to almost all folk singers. Audu's style of rendition employs the use of the 'call-response' techniques. There is basically a theme, or themes in some instances, around which he sings and around which the chorus responds while giving some improvisations to the main lyrics. Sometimes, Audu would take a musical phrase and sing it through at the end of which the other members would 'retain' the last part of that phrase and sing it through as he continues with occasional variations on the main theme. The chorus sometimes alternates its responses with the 'imanda' (flutes), and this combined with the drummings, gives a superb example of folk musical harmony.

Although detailed discussions will be made on the Section on 'some Generalizations', it will be worth translating the text of one of Audu's songs here.
'Igye ga Alago' which literally translated, means 'Song of the Alago', is a song which in a nutshell, describes the historical movement of the Alago people from the Kwararafa Kingdom to their present settlements.
What Audu and his group have done in this song, is the utilization of historical facts in their performances. For the youth and even some old who are ignorant of the historical migrations of the Alogo people, such a song enlightens them on the issue. There are also many of Audu's compositions that pick on such simple, but socially helpful themes like the phenomenon of unity among the Alago communities as a whole. Folk songs at this level are not therefore mainly restricted to social functions, they also communicate historical facts to members of the traditional societies.

(3) Zhimak:

Among some folk communities, musical activities which incorporate all the members of such societies may be more pronounced among certain families. This is the case with Zhimak Nkyem and his folk group. Members of this musical ensemble comprise of Zhimak himself as the lead singer, his wife and children who give both the choral and musical accompaniments. Zhimak confirmed that he learnt the art of musicianship from his late father. Other than gaining some inspirations one would say, from his father's performances, such periods of apprenticeship are not necessarily different from those of the informal acquisition of the musical knowledge which are essentially based on the folk traditions of the people.

While this group's performances serve such folk functions as marriage, burial and installation ceremonies which mark the social status of members of such societies, the melodic texts of the songs also aesthetically appeal to non-members of the Taroh (language spoken in the area where the group comes from) people. And while some of these songs are cheerful and serve social functions, others are sorrowful and used for periods of mourning. With such varieties of
songs, his performances are not only socially functional, but also feature during the ritual activities associated with 'Nzem Chik' - which is an aspect of the traditional religion of his people. Some of his favourite songs include 'Icuwuap' which is a set of dirges sung to accompany the ceremonies marking the festival of the dead; and the 'Izem-Iram' performed to mark the agricultural capabilities of the Taroh people.

Apart from a variety of rattles and clappers played mainly by the women in the group, the dominant musical instruments include the raft zithers (abua-Ndamdam) and some traditional harps (abua-cham) which are all tonally tuned to reflect the speech tones of the people. Communication is therefore not only done through the oral forms, that is, through the song texts alone, since the musical instruments are built to 'speak' the language of the people.

(4) Sarkin Baka:

Sarkin Baka is an occupational music of the hunters in Dengi. The musical performance of this group relies more on the dramatic effects achieved by some of the performers as the musicians sing their praises and the instruments give the needed complimentary role. The music of the Sarkin Baka (meaning King of bows in Hausa) is performed by the association of traditional hunters who all assemble with their hunting apparatus - usually bows and arrows and some locally made guns which when sounded, have harsh piercing effects in the ears.

As the name of the group implies, the need for performance comes up at such times as the Sallah (an Islamic Festival) or the installation of a new hunting leader within the community, or, when a big game is caught. This performance mainly demonstrates the professional skill of the hunters in dramatized hunting encounters. Inspired by the singing and drumming, some of
the performers try to portray the roles of both hunter and game. Although accepted by the folk community as 'acting', the incongruous part played by one particular performer who assumes both roles effectively convinces the audiences whose reactions assure that the needed meaning of the performance has been communicated. Each individual hunter has a set of praises which when sung or played, enhances the spontaneous excitement of such members. In such instances, performance is not restricted to the fairly organized dramatizations in a hunting expedition, but an aesthetic reaction to such praises and musical presentations. Undoubtedly, the outcome is a series of portrayals in a hunting game and the particular movements often associated with the people whose traditional profession is hunting. As is expected, the lyrics of the songs’ titles range from 'taakee giwa' (praise song of the elephant) which talks about the size of this animal and the fact that it can always be conquered by them; to 'Sarkin baka' (King of bows) which praises the leader of this group who is also the chief of all the hunters around his community, to 'wakan maharba' (hunter's songs) which is for all the hunters.

(5) **Gwaska:**

The repertoire of the Gwaska music group is mainly loaded with praise and satiric themes. Mainly a performance of the youth, the style originated from the inspirations Baba Gwaska Namu (leader of the group) acquired from his aunt as he watched her perform. Relying predominantly on some of her oral performing styles, the group utilizes popular folk traditions to fascinate their audiences. According to this group, their performances are in three broad styles: 'Gumba' comprises mainly of praise songs in honour of people who have contributed generously to the building of the nation. Under this group, are praise songs to honour the government of the day or any business tycoon who carries
out specific development oriented projects like the construction of bridges, schools or roads within the Local Government Areas. The second group of songs are the 'Kampalla' which are dominantly praise songs about individuals or personalities who are financially well off and have made material contributions to the group. 'Gwaska', the third group of songs appears to be a variant of the first two, but in addition, it includes praise songs with satiric phrases or themes which help to shape up the norms of the folk community.

The performance style is made up of intricately choreographed dance steps of the dancers (usually three in number) who simultaneously answer the chorus. The drumming compliments the lyrics, but dictates the rhythm of the dance. Relying on some oral formulae of performance, the texts of their songs, like epics, sometimes run into hundreds of lines and may not usually be repeated verbatim during subsequent performances. Below is the text of one of Gwaska's lyrics as originally sung in Hausa. Briefly put, the song discusses some of the traditional resources available to the folk communities before the arrival of the European and modern facilities. Though the group does not frown at such technological innovations, a call is made that existing aspects of traditional cultures be respected. And for the younger generation, the song could be a source of knowledge because of the issues discussed.

\textbf{Al'adun Gargajiya}

\textbf{Lead:} Yan rawa, al'adun gargajiya da ke cikin kasan mu, Ku Kula da su, don Allah Kar Ku mance.

\textbf{Chorus:} Allah ya taimake mu, (5) Al'adun gargajiya da ke cikin kasan mu, Kukula da su, don Allah Kar Ku mance.

\textbf{Lead:} Haka yan rawa da waka na, Al'adun gargajiya da ke cikin kasan na namu,
Ku Kula da su, don Allah Kar Ku mance.
Ni de Baba Gwaska, in na Kira manoman kasan nan,
don Allah manoma da ke cikin kasan nan namu,
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan namu,
Su zo mana da inji noma a cikin kasan nan namu,
Kun sani akwai makera da ke cikin kasan nan tamu,
(15) Su ka yanke karfe su sa wuta su doka
sa nan suker era garma
sa nan su yiwo fatarnya kasan nan,
da garma za noma, da fatarnya zumu gyara abinmu
don Allah manoma, in baku shawara na guda daya
Ko yau gareku idan kuna da injin noma
garma da fatarnya, don Allah kar ku mance su.

Chorus: (as in lines 4-6 above).

Lead: Don haka na yi kira ga matan aure
da ke cikin kasan na na mu,
(25) don Allah mata, in baku shawara na guda daya,
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan mata,
su zo mana da inji nika anan cikin kasan nan mata,
Kun sani iyayen mu, inji ma garesu mata,
Suka yaka dufse abin su, da su sake nikan su mata,
sa nan a sami gari kasan nan muyi tuwo kuna jiya mata,
don Allah mata, Baba na gargade ku kuma,
Ko yau gareku inji nika ya na nan mata,
Ku kula da dutse, don Allah kar ku manta.

Chorus: (as in lines 4-6).

Lead: (35) Zana baku zance na don Allah mata,
Ku karbe shawara na mata
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan tamu,
Su zo mana da inji daka anan cikin kasan nan tamu,
Kun sani akwai massasaka dake cikin kasan nan tamu;
Suka yanka itace, sanan su sassaka turmi,
Suyi nana tarbarya kasan nan, da turmu da tabarya,
Kun sani abin daka ne na kasan nan
don Allah mata, inbaku shawara na nun jiya
Ko yau gareku inji daka ya na nan mata,
(45) turmi da tabarya don Allah kar ku mance.

Chorus: (same as in lines 4-6).

Lead: Don haka zana buku zance na,
idan fa zuku gane yan uwa na,
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan namu,
Su zo mana da rasdan rasdan, anan cikin kasan nan namu
Su zo mana da diyo diyo, anan cikin kasan nan namu,
Su zo mana da gwamna gwamna anan cikin kasan nan namu,
Kafin a kawo presdan kasan nan namu,
in ba ku shawara na yan'uwa,
Sarakunan gargajiya suna cikin kasan nan namu,
Sukan kai ziya rai domin su gaishe dangyin nan nasu,
shi wanda zai yi ziya rai, a doki zai yi ziya rai;
shikwa wanda sun ziyarce shi
zai ya zo taren dan' uwar na,
idan zai tare shi, a doki zai tare shi,
Sarakunan gargajiya na baku shawara na kuma,
Ko yau kuna da mota, mota abin shawan turawa,
Ku kula da doki don Allah kar ku mance.

Chorus: (as in lines 4-6).

Lead: (65) Yara zana baku zance ko kun yi mantuwane
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan,
Su zo mana da motocin supuri cikin kasan nan,
akwai abin supuri suna cikin kasan nan,
akwai jaki da rakuma nan cikin kasan nan;
Suka dauke kayan birni su kai ta kanye,
Sanan su dauke kauye kauye su kai ta birni;
Sanan su je su sau kera ...

don Allah taji rai zana gargade ku,
Ko yau kuna da motan kaya,
(75) jaki da rakuma, don Allah kar ku mance.

Chorus: (as in lines 4-6).

Lead: Don hake zana baku zance
na tabata zuku gene
Kafin turawa su zo cikin kasan nan namu,
Su kawo mana inji massaka anan cikin kasan nan tamu
akai inji massaka a nan cikin kasan nan tamu,
Sunan nan su jiwo fari anan cikin kasan nan namu,
saisu saka saki anan cikin kasan nan namu,
ga turkudi yana nan anan cikin kasan nan namu,
du mu ka ade don mu;
to bare na baku zance na,
Ko yau kana da regan shaida, ko kana da rigan leshi,
Ko ko uwargambari kake da shi dan uwa -
Baba na gargade ka ka kula da saki,
don Allah kar ku mance -
Sa' anan ka sami turkudi shi ne abin rufin mu.

Chorus: (Repeat lines 4-6).

Below, is a line by line attempt at translating the full text of the lyric into
English. Emphasis here is to have a literal representation though not word by
word, so as to maintain the overall meaning of the song. This is then
followed by some explanations.

Our Cultural Heritage

Lead: Artists, 
Our cultural heritage, 
take care of them; for God’s sake, do not forget them.

Chorus: God help us, 
our cultural heritage, 
take care of them; for God’s sake, do not forget them.

Lead: So my singers and dancers, 
our cultural heritage, 
take care of them; for God’s sake, do not forget them.
I am calling on all the farmers of this land, 
for God’s sake, the farmers of this land, 
before the arrival of Europeans in this land 
bringing tractors into this land, 
You know there were blacksmiths in this land, 
(15) 
they cut iron, heat them in fire and beat them; 
then they fashioned big hoes 
they also made smaller hoes in this land 
with the big hoes, they farmed; and with the little ones they did their weeding.

for God’s sake farmers, listen to my advice, 
even if you have agricultural tractors today, 
for God’s sake, do not forget our traditional hoes.

Chorus: (Same as in lines 4-6).

Lead: I am calling on the women folk 
in this land, 
(25) 
for God’s sake women, listen to my advice, 
before the coming of the Europeans into this land, 
bringing grinding machines and blenders, 
you know our forebears had their traditional machines 
they used to use flat stones to grind their grains 
which then became the flour used for our meals 
for God’s sake Baba is advising you again 
even if you have these grinding machines and blenders 
take care of the traditional stones.

Chorus: (as in lines 4-6).

Lead: (35) I am going to give you another advice 
for God’s sake, listen to this one. 
Before the coming of the Europeans into this land, 
bringing all kinds of mills into this land 
you know there were carvers in this land,
making mortars out of tree-trunks,
they also made pestles in this land; and with these
our forebears pounded their grains;
for God's sake, let me advise you again,
even if you have all the grinding mills today,
do not forget your pestles and mortars.

Chorus: (repeat lines 4-6).

Lead: For I am going to give you another talk
if you will all listen, my brothers,
before the arrival of the Europeans in this land,
bringing us RESIDENTS in this land,
bringing us DISTRICT OFFICERS in this land,
bringing us GOVERNORS in this land;
bringing us PRESIDENTS in this land;
let me tell you my words brothers,
(55) traditional leaders have governed this land.
There was a system of visiting one's relations,
for such visits, horses were used;
and he that was visited,
had to come some way from home to wait for them;
for such a purpose, he also used a horse,
So traditional rulers, listen to my advice,
if you have a car today, its a legacy of the European
so take good care of your horses, don't forget.

Chorus: (repeat lines 4-6).

Lead: (65) Children, listen to me; or, have you forgotten?
before the arrival of the European in this land,
bringing all kinds of vehicles in this land,
there were means of transportation in this land,
there were donkeys and camels
which carried goods from the rural to the urban areas
and from the urban cities to the villages;
on arrival, they off-loaded their goods;
traders, for God's sake, listen to my advice
even if you have large trucks to deliver your goods today,
do not forget the camel and the donkey.

Chorus: (same as lines 4-6).

Lead: For this reason I will give my talk,
I am sure you will understand
before the arrival of the European in this land,
to establish textile factories in this land,
there were traditional weavers,
who spun cotton in this land
after which they wove the threads
into cloths, which served as our attires
with which they identified themselves;
Now let me give you my final advice,
today if you have gowns made out of the best fabrics
even if it is made out of lace materials,
I am advising you to take good care of woven materials
for God’s sake, do not forget them; for,
such woven clothes were the traditional attires of our forebears.

Chorus: (Same as in lines 4-6).

If one goes through the text of this song, it shows the use of specific
oral formulae utilized by the lead singer. The first two lines of each stanza refer
to particular members of the community although the message within each of such
stanzas is meant to be communicated to all members of the folk society, their social
status notwithstanding. Deliberate reference is made to such groups as the children,
farmers, blacksmiths, the womenfolk and the traditional rulers who are
considered the custodians of folk culture. In the process, mention is made of
most of the traditional systems that existed before the introduction of the
modern forms. Although some of these folk forms still exist alongside the
modern, reliance on them is not total. In fact, this song does not call on
members of the community to go back to such traditional means of survival but
reminds them of the great skills their forebears had and how they coped with the
local resources at their disposal. So, while the lead singer constantly reminds
his audiences of the availability of the traditional resources and calls the society
to give them due respect, he does not necessarily ask that they be retained in the
face of technological advancement.

In each of the stanzas of this song, there is constant use of de-
personalization. For instance, in the first stanza, the singer begins by calling
his 'singers and dancers'. In effect, such reference is made to all the members
of the society. In the latter stanzas, this is made more pronounced by the way he
occasionally interchanges 'singers and dancers' with children, blacksmiths, and women. Although this enables him to cut across the different spectra of the society, it also indicates that the content is for all members. The traditional weavers are reminded to keep up their trade while everyone is reminded of the role played by the traditional systems of control before the introduction of new Administrative set-ups. Saliently, there is a call for the respect of traditional political and social control systems within the community; and such a call is constantly re-echoed by the chorus throughout the song.

(6) **Kumtung:**

The performance of 'Kumtung' is usually associated with the healing process of the women folk who are constantly bereaved among the Taroh speaking community of Singhai-Duwi. Usually performed annually, it features a collective community of such women who perform the ritual aimed at enabling them being capable of bearing children that will live to mature into adults. Rather than having aesthetic functions, Kumtung music is performed to mark the ritual effects expected from such an act. This does not however, prevent the participation of members of the community after the main ritualistic performance. For this reason, Kumtung is celebrated during the dry season, after all the farm work when it is expected that all the families are present to observe the sorrowful processes which often mark the ritual moments, but which are then followed by joyous moments as such sympathizers later join in the celebrations that follow.

Kumtung music which is now performed at non-ritual times still features some of the symbolic representations reminiscent of its original functions. For instance the 'ikpang' (a Calabash rattle) which is the dominant musical instrument
is given the role in the performance similar to that at the actual ritual process. All attempts I made at trying to illicit meaning into the significance attached to 'Ikpang' did not pay off. In the end, I concluded that it was one of those things one would never know except if he was an initiated member of the folk community. Another symbolic traditional musical instrument common with this group is the 'Ichir' which is associated with ritual performances of Kumtung. 'Ichir' is also a common name among this folk community. Needless to say, people who bear this name, must have been born of mothers that have gone through the Kumtung ritual healing process. It is believed among some of the members of this folk community that people with the Kumtung musical ability must have been gifted by the spiritual powers bestowed on them when they evoke the healing powers during such ritual performances. In such a context, they do not learn the art of singing by mere observations of other artistes, but are 'gifted' the ability to sing or perform.

Kabulu:

A mainly instrumental group, 'Kabulu' (name derived from the fiddles which constitute the main musical instruments) music is traditionally performed in October during the 'Amadawa' - a Bori mediumship in which members become possessed. The ritual ceremonies last three days. Among the Gbagyi people of Karu today, the Kabulu performance functions out of its traditional ritual role. The music has now become a popular folk phenomenon during installation ceremonies. Since the musicians are predominantly farmers, the need for Kabulu music has also become part of their everyday life, suiting and serving specific occasions or functions as may be required by members of this society.
This folk orchestra as it were, is made up of large sets of drums, flutes (mwayi), the Kabulu fiddles and some 'gogyes' (aerophones). Each of these plays complimentary roles although the Kabulu fiddles dictate the rhythm of the performance. This they do, by plucking away at the two strings of the Kabulu while sometimes combining the action with occasional striking of the body of the instrument. The size of each of the Kabulu fiddles along with the tightness of the strings often determine the outcome of their capacity for musical production. While the Kabulu dictate the rhythm of the musical rendition, a fascinating aspect of this group is that the mwayi (flutes) have the master role of introducing each new song. In fact, if one merely listens to Kabulu music without watching the performance, there is the tendency to conclude that the mwayi (flutes), and not the Kabulu, are the leading instruments. The mwayi is a one reed aerophone with four holes which are manipulated to get the desired tones. The flautists have a unique way of positioning their tongues and lips as each musical tone is produced. The performance technique unlike those utilized in playing the oboe or trumpet, is similar to that used in blowing the trombone. Although one or two mwayi could be used in any performance, there are usually three of them carefully graded to give tonal variations and pitch differences.

The dominant roles played by the Kabulu fiddles and mwayi (flutes) make it difficult to get a feel of the melodic lines rendered by the 'gogye' (chordophones bowed to produce sound). Among the drums, the 'Kalengu' generally regarded as the 'talking drum' plays complimentary roles to the fiddles and in all cases, signals the cadence of all the songs.
Diagram 6.1: The performance pattern of the Kabulu ensemble. In this diagram, $a^1$ is the role played by the mwayi as they introduce the performance with a melodic line; $b^1$ is when the 'gyoge' and Kabulu fiddles join, and $c$ is when the entire ensemble performs. For a while, each group of instruments with a conscious communication between the performers, is allowed moments when their parts could be heard and when the virtuosity of such instrumentalists is displayed. In $b^2$, again, with some form of signaling between the musicians, the Kalengu (talking drum) cues them, and this is responded to by a gradual diminuendo that leads to $a^2$ in which the mwayi (flutes) take over, introducing a new tune. This cycle is repeated until the performance comes to an end or when the group has exhausted its repertoire. There is however, no exact timing between one song or tune and another although such is only taken into consideration when performances are held outside the folk context; as in State or Federally organized activities.

Like all oral traditions, music-making among the Gbagyi is said to be handed down. For instance, each of the musicians in this folk orchestra does not only make his instrument, but is able to tune it according to the speech tones of the language. Each family is identified with a particular instrument. This means that a child learns the art of musicianship from his father, and is similarly expected to hand this down to his own children. Even then, learning techniques for the mastery of such instruments would be highly dependent on informal rather than formal instructions. The observation and imitation of one's father appear to be the main sources of learning in this instance. The songs which feature during such performances are few, but they also are said to have been
handed down to the present group of musicians who however, agree that they are not in their original forms since new themes are constantly included to reflect the trends of their society. As the events in the life cycle of individuals vary, so also are the occasion for musicmaking. These are all reflected in the performance moments of the Kabulu.

(8) **Bawuya Ladan:**

Bawuya Ladan is one of two female musicians whose performances I watched during the period of the research. Now about fifty years old, she said she had acquired the art of musicianship from her late mother. This, she did by being a member of her mother's choral group. Her participation enabled her to understudy her mother's singing styles which she says is the performance style she has adopted. This technique relies on the 'call-response' manner of rendition in which the lead singer has a series of stanzas which rely on the use of some oral formulae, while the other members of the group made up of the chorus and the instrumentalists, respond to each of these by repeating specific lines or phrases. This performance style is similar to that of the 'Gwaska' group.

Although there are female rites in traditional societies which are solely accompanied by performances organized by the womenfolk, Bawuya's music does not fall into such categories. Music-making to her, is also not restricted to the dry season when the harvests are over, but performed through all the seasons on the invitation of celebrants who particularly want to mark social occasions. Against this background therefore, Bawuya is different from most folk musicians who do not regard music as their primary source of livelihood but as part of everyday socialization within the community. Patronage for her depends on the gifts she received on the spur of the moment during her
performances. This means that majority of her songs are loaded with praises for the well-to-do members of the society. Although she rarely prepares special songs for such dignitaries, she has the capabilities of spontaneously improvising lyrics based on the oral formalic devices, to impress any member of the audience. Even then, such meagre gifts do not last for long and she has to rely on some petty trading when her instrumentalists who are all male are away on their farms.

(9) **Dung Chollom:**

The music of Dung Chollom (leader of this folk group) and his group is made of the highly aesthetic blending or harmonization of the Berom traditional musical instruments and the lyrics. While the understanding of the wordings of the song texts may be important, they are not absolutely necessary for an appreciation of the entire performance. The uniqueness of this ensemble, is in the musical effects resulting from the compositions and virtuosity of these traditional instrumentalists. The ability of Dung Chollom to sing the lead while at the same time, playing his 'yom begodogodo' (traditional harp) shows an excellent exhibition of the mastery of both roles.

Although the music of Dung Chollom and his group could be performed for listening pleasures only, the nature of the folk audience makes it impossible to attract such a passive atmosphere. In some of the group's performances watched, some of the dancers and instrumentalists occasionally picked members of the audience into the performance arena which is usually circular in formation. Even without such gestures from the group, the audience at times joined in singing the lyrics and in the dances which were both familiar to them. The utilization of the folk themes common to the Berom people makes for easy
acceptance and participation by other Berom communities other than the one the
group comes from. In addition, his performance style has also earned a lot of
popularity for the group even among non-Berom speaking people.

Members of this group are traditionally farmers, and so engage in
performances after the harvest season when people are home and make thanks-
giving ceremonies for the year's harvests. Occasions for traditional naming
ceremonies and marriages are also marked by the attendance of this fascinating
collection of folk musicians. The costume of this group which is essentially a
reflection of the material tradition of the Berom people also helps to communicate
to other societies elements of the Berom folk attire. Common with this group are
the 'Nyang' which are jingles worn around the ankles; 'shuruh' - leather stripes
worn around the waist; 'nroi' - bangles put around the wrist and the 'bebungtet'
which are beads worn on the neck. The musical instruments show elements of
borrowing from other traditional communities. The 'yom-begogodo' ('yom'
meaning harp) is a six-stringed harp with a hard leather which serves as a
resonator. 'Yom -sheyi' has two strings which are rested on a calabash that
serves as the resonator; while the 'gwak' is a branch from cactus tree which is
shaped hollow from the sides. A separate stick is rubbed on the gwak to
produce the desired sound. Common to this group also, is the 'ju' (an aerophone)
which is a simple bamboo stick usually hollow in nature, but cut to size, and air
blown across the top for sound production. The length and circumference of
the 'ju' determines the tone and pitch (timbre) of the sound produced. The song
repertoire of the group also reflects the occupation of not only the musicians,
but other members of the folk society. Most of these songs talk of the
agricultural products of the year. Since performance is mostly done to mark
the harvest season, songs on 'acca' (the most common grain and food crop of the
Berom) are prominent. There are also songs on 'Nshok' which is a traditional hunting festival of the Berom people mainly in the area of Fan district, and most recently, a composition on the 'new converts' which he calls 'lele bemwat rah', meaning: a song for 'Christians' or 'followers' of Christ.

(10) **Ajigo:**

The hocket technique appears to be a common performance style of folk musical groups whose major instruments are the aerophones. Ajigo, the royal music of the Alago people in Keana, is also the name of the musical instrument which though simple looking, produces a variety of complex sounds based on the circumference and length of each Ajigo. According to the leader of this group, the art of handling the Ajigo was traditionally handed down to Keana by the people of Abuge, a village two miles from Keana. Although the village of Abuge still exists, most of the inhabitants are now settled in Keana and Ajigo music has become the permanent royal music of the Osana (chief) of Keana.

Ajigo music functions specifically during the 'Oya' - an annual salt festival celebrated in Keana every dry season. During this festival, the Osana is expected to go into seclusion for a period within which certain rituals take place. Similarly, no Ajigo music is played during this period of solitude. This music can also be performed when an Igabo (traditional title holder who functions mainly as one of the Osana's lieutenants) dies, or when one is installed. When the Osana takes a new wife, it is considered a symbolic moment for the performance of Ajigo music. The only other times such music could be played would include sorrowful periods when the people mourn the death of either the Osana's son or his wife.
Tradition demands that the Ajigo musicians perform without any caps or wear any headgear. And being a royal music, most of the songs range from praises for the Osana, to his title holders; and a large repertoire of the geneologies of all the Osanas that have ruled Keana. Just as the music is royalist, so also are the dignifying dance steps that accompany them. Along with the Ajigo which are the main musical instruments, there are two 'Ikpadi' (one-sided membrane drums) and a twin bell (gong) which softly play complimentary roles at the background.

Mase:

It is common to find among some traditional African languages, a word which has about three different meanings. For such words, their pronounciations and context of usage determine to a great extent, the meanings to be derived. 'Mase' is one of such words. Among the Rindiri people, it means a dance; an ethnic group; and a festival. Although Mase is now a musical performance held on a number of social occasions, it is traditionally an annual festival held in December to celebrate the harvests. The festival which lasts five days is characterized by a series of events involving members of the various social strata of the community. Apart from forming forums for social interaction between the members, it is also said that courtship among the youth begins at such gatherings.

Most of the songs have to do with the activities of the farming season; recounting the sufferings encountered. On the other hand, there are also songs that talk of the joy and happiness associated with the results of the harvests. Like the groups discussed earlier, costuming is an essential element of the musical performance not only because it adds to the aesthetic appearance of
such folk groups, but because such aspects of costuming reflect the current life styles or historical pasts of such communities. For instance, among the Mase performers, swords (Ajilaka) are held high symbolizing victory or protection. My informants remarked that they were not scared of any invaders on their community, but that the swords only reminded them of their prowess over other communities around, a pride handed down to them by their forebears. The 'awawa' (which I think is a derivation from the sound mechanism of the instrument) is a highly percussive instrument tied around the knees which adds to the overall musical quality of the performance. This means that sound production is not limited to the drummers, flautists or other accompanists.

Apart from serving the societal functions which involve the entire community, Mase is sometimes performed for individuals who have had some achievements. However, such celebrants must be rich enough to stage the performance since it involves the slaughtering of cows to go with the festivities. My informants told me of some instances in which some families had to perform the Mase so as to thank God for the number of issue they had, which in itself is a sign of wealth among traditional societies. The only other occasion that calls for celebration is when a traditional title is bestowed on an individual in recognition of his greatness as a farmer.

(12) Anaguta:

While a majority of the folk musical groups covered in this research have a legacy of getting such art forms from the past generations, the Anaguta musical group was formed only in 1972. However, this form of music has become an accepted part of the musical traditions of the Anaguta-speaking people who occupy areas of Maza near Jos.
What is striking and extremely fascinating about this group is the simultaneous movement of the musicians who are, at the same time dancers, is the way this is combined with the blowing of the 'isharuwa' (flutes). Having four holes, the isharuwa is handled by each of the performers apart from the drummers. Except for moments when they change from one particular song to another, or one dance style to another, which in each case, are normally done smoothly, the entire performance is full of intricate juxtapositions of both melodic renditions and well-choreographed dance steps. In their performance, the isharuwa are the master instruments while the drums play complimentary roles although there are moments when such roles change and the drums respond by dictating their dance steps. Being a musical group of the youth, the dance styles are in most cases vigorous although there are a few majestic dance steps. While not jumping into the air, they are stamping either their right foot, or occasionally both feet. In some instances, they alternate the right and the left feet. The aesthetics of the performance in addition to the music produced, demonstrate the expertise and virtuosity exhibited by each performer as the dance steps are synchronized with the blowing of the isharuwa.

Along with the flamboyance of their performance techniques, is their costumes. Simple, but smart-looking, they are decorated with leather stripes which are worn across the chest and waist level. There is also a lavish display of cowries on each musician's costumes and even the musical instruments. Since the functions of their performances are not ritually binding, most of their songs hinge on the social occasions that have to do with the life systems of the Anaguta. Even though the dance styles are new, the songs are said to be orally transmitted from the past generations. Performance which may not be limited to any particular time of the year, is also most prominent after the harvests.
Lesah:

Lesah musical performance among the Eggon of Arigbadu community, was only used in accompanying burial ceremonies. Today, the current generation of artistes say that in addition to marking such rites, Lesah is performed to mark naming ceremonies, marriages and other social occasions.

A detailed discussion of their songs and particularly their titles shows that each of the songs is performed to mark or represent a particular event during the calendar year. For instance, 'agiri' is a masquerade song associated with 'chu chu mo' (the masquerade) which is usually performed between October and November. The appearance of the chu chu mo among this community signals moments of harvest of particular food crops. On the first day of their appearance, the womenfolk are not allowed to watch them. They are however, allowed to participate in the activities that follow after the disappearance of the 'chu chu mo.' Consequences for women who break such taboos vary from one community to the other. Another symbolic song is 'allo' which is usually performed between the months of March and April. Performance of the 'allo' is set against the background of ritual expectations. Music in this case, is performed to evoke the 'spirits' for a good rainfall for the Arigbadu community. Outside this ritual context, 'allo' is also performed mainly for aesthetic purposes.

Apart from subsistence agriculture, some of the members of this folk community are hunters. This is seen in some of their costumes particularly the headgear on each performer's head which is made purely from monkey or baboon skins. Added to this, are other items used to signify a number of the material culture of the Eggon people.
(14) Agale:

Agale music is the music of the fishermen who live along the banks of River Benue, the second largest river in Nigeria. Agale is the music as well as the musical instrument of this style of performance. Agale music is essentially choral in nature and therefore, the performers rely on the 'call-response' delivery style which is based on a set of oral formulative techniques. Like the Gwaska group, there is a chorus which responds with basically the same phrase or phrases to a number of stanzas sung by the lead performer. The mastery of this style of presentation demands that one begins by being a member of the chorus.

The most significant context of performance of Agale music is during the 'Ogani' - an annual cultural festival of the Egbura people in Umaisha (see Chapter Five). Perhaps a brief historical account of this festival is necessary to show why Agale music plays such an important role during the festivities that take place. According to my informants, Ogani festival started during the second half of the 18th century when Panda Kingdom was founded by the first Ohimege (chief). That historic occasion has since then been marked by this festival. It is therefore a time of homecoming for all the members of the Egbura folk community. Tradition has it that the Ohimege came out only during this festival. Today, even when such tradition no longer exists, it is a symbolic gesture to have at least, a glimpse at the face of the Ohimege. Amidst all this, the Ohimege usually creates a moment of suspense before he appears on horseback in front of his palace on the evening of the festival. His appearance is usually responded to by a long applause which is then punctuated by heavy drumming and music of the hundreds of Agale musical groups. No wonder, the lyrics of these songs are loaded with praises for the Ohimege while
his genealogy and those of his predecessors are traced. The regatta, one of the prominent activities during this festival, is marked by the performance of the Agale musicians in the canoes. The popularity of this festival is fast making Umaisha a tourist centre. But despite government contributions in certain organizational aspects, the core of the festival is still a responsibility of the Egbura community and Agale music continues to act as the lubricant of all the activities.

(15) **Vellang:**

Like the Sombi, Ajigo and Kabulu, the Vellang folk group derives its name from the main musical instrument which the group uses. 'Vellang' is a simple aerophone made out of corn stalks. Each performer cuts his instrument to his taste, but takes into cognisance, its effect on the entire harmonic system of the group. Each of the Vellang varies in length ranging between nine inches and one and half feet. In sound production however, the shorter Vellang produce higher pitches with more sustained sounds while the longer ones produce deeper-toned sounds. Naturally hollow, the instrumentalists cut a thin piece towards one of the ends of the vellang without totally removing it, but letting it act as a 'tongue' or valve on which the tongue is placed along with the mouth tightly controlling the passage of air as sound is produced. Both palms are applied on each end of the instrument which helps to produce the tonal variations.

Performance of the vellang is dominated by the use of the hocket technique and although there are occasional alternations between blowing the vellang and the vocal songs, the former is more prominent. Vellang music is a common phenomenon of the Mwahavul people in Mangu Local Government Area. The music is closely associated with the occupational trades of the performers who
are mainly farmers and whose tedious outputs during the periods of tilling and cultivation are replaced by joyous moments mainly marked by social occasions as they await the new planting season.

(16) Agudu Loko:

Agudu Loko is the other female lead folk singer visited during the research. Like Bawuya Ladan, most of her performances are at social gatherings; marriage, naming and installation ceremonies. But unlike most folk musicians who acquire the art from either being apprentices with their parents, or develop as members of the choral group, Agudu claims no one taught her the art, but that she got inspired at early childhood to compose short melodic phrases for events or people she admired. This claim has been difficult for any practical support, for, although she may be the composer of her own songs, her performance techniques rely on oral formulae characteristic of folk or traditional methods of rendition.

Most of her songs that were analyzed are praise ones stressing the importance of hierarchical structures within folk communities. Title holders, traditional chiefs and Emirs and individual personalities that have patronized the group form the main themes of her compositions. Her performance style is that of the 'call-response'. The musicians and dancers perform in a semi-circular formation while Agudu sings as well as makes use of a variety of gestures to the audience who are so used to the tunes that I found them sometimes humming them along with her. After addressing the audience with a number of stanzas which appear as lengthy as epics, she then turns back to her musicians and dancers who then respond with a number of phrases which form the chorus, the end of which cues her to the next chain of stanzas. The
vocalizations are backed by drummings which act as continuous melodic lines, but varying with the tone of the entire performance when such variations were required.

(17) **Ogga Omaku:**

Most folk performances are held by groups, but solo or individual artistes also exist. The thematic expressions and delivery style of such solo performers often determine the size of audiences that listen to them. Audience participation in such instances are also limited since more attention will be geared towards listening to the lyrics of the soloist. Ogga Omaku is one of such successful folk singers in his community who has been able to use a lot of folk tales and songs, proverbs, riddles and a number of socially accepted jokes in his songs. There is also great use of onomatopoeia since the lyrics are centered around animals against the background of which Ogga satirises the society. He revealed to me that he deliberately uses the animals which are common to members of the society, as characters, while successfully juxtaposing such with real humans as he satirically makes his points to his audiences.

Ogga learnt his art from an uncle who was a hunter. This has greatly influenced his choice of animals as the main themes around which he composes and develops his songs. His instrument is a two-stringed chordophone ('Kumburu' in Alago language) with a simple resonator. This is mainly plucked (method of playing) with the thumb, letting it produce a continuous background music not necessarily overshadowing the lyrics, but playing a complimentary role to it. I mentioned earlier that the joy of understanding traditional music lies more in the aesthetic appreciation of the sound qualities of this folk
communicative medium. For instance, in Ogga’s performances, emphasis is placed on the lyrics while the aspect of instrumentation, though necessarily an important aspect of the entire presentation, is considered of secondary importance. Occasionally though, Ogga would, between the stanzas, give a purely instrumental rendition while he clears his throat for the following stanza or entirely new song. In one of his songs, Ogga uses the duck, a domestic bird to caution the youth in his community against taking strides that may lead them to regret for not being loyal to their parents. Loosely translated from Alago, it looks like this:

\textbf{Agwagwa (duck)}

"You ducklings that feel you can lead your mother, you'll see ....
ducklings, ducklings, what stupid pride? When the duck hatches, the ducklings follow the hen, the ducklings follow the hen. Then the duck stands and says 'qui qui', Who knows what that 'qui qui' stands for? It takes the duck three months to lay her eggs and hatch them, but when the ducklings come out of their shells, they hussle up front ... While their mother is here, they hastingly move up front. Sometimes in astonishment, their mother stops and says: 'my children, after all the sufferings, you think you can lead the way?'
Still perplexed, she would stop and say: 'qui qui' that signifies a bad omen for the ducklings; that is why when the ducklings return from their farms, they die from all illnesses, it is the bad omen, the curse on them by their mother, that kills them. Who amongst you ever saw the duck feed her ducklings with her beaks? for, the ducklings are too stubborn for her, and she decides; 'let everyone stay on his own"
Ogga has insisted that this is one of his simple songs that tells of the need for respect between the younger and older members of his society. To him, the song is not meant to be highly philosophical. But that in describing the behaviour of the duck and its little ones, reference is made to human behaviour within his community. In the song on the duck for instance, he uses the element of onomatopoeia in his selective inclusion of the sounds typically associated with the duck. In all, he places so much emphasis on each of the phrases and stanzas that making meaning from the songs is made less difficult even when some of the lyrics are highly proverbial. He also uses a lot of facial gestures as if in a story-telling session to dramatize his points. Among the other animals commonly used in his themes, is the hare, usually considered a trickster in folktales among many traditions. Such use of anthropomorphism (in which the ascription of human characteristics is not directly referred to them) enables Ogga to be effectively satirical in his songs. In fact, one realizes that he is not just telling tales in the manner he concludes his songs in which he usually says: "My people, I am talking to you; he who has ears should listen".

SOME GENERALISATIONS

While music-making varies in form from group to group, such variations are mainly in the area of names, functions, and in some cases, costumes which have come up as a result of the influence from neighbouring ethnic or culture-groups. For instance, it is fascinating to note that most of the musical instruments within the area of research appear to be fairly standardized. For instance, the 'ganga' (in Hausa and most of the languages in the Northern
a double-faced membranophone, is a common feature among most of the groups. The duct flute also featured among some of the groups particularly those of the Alago (Audu Agwatashi) and Gwandara (Bawuya Ladan). Although the playing techniques of each of the instruments varied, this noticeable difference was due to the stylistic devices of each instrumentalist. Some of the other areas in which I found a lot of similarities were on the areas of the role or function of the folk musicians and folk music in their societies; the occasions for music making; general training and the acquisition of folk-musical talents; and the performance devices of the musicians.

The Place of Music in these Societies:

Even with the elements of modernization among these groups, the nature and scope of music-making is generally related to the aims and purposes of a specific event. Most of the performances have lost their ritual functions and are therefore geared towards specific social functions or leisure after the harvest periods. However, not all the groups studied during the research have lost their ritual significance. 'Kuntung' is still performed to heal the women-folk among some communities in Wase Local Government Area. The main themes and functions of Kuntung are believed to have magico-religious connotations, while specific musical instruments are said to have symbolic capabilities for evoking the spirits needed for the healing processes. The instrumental signalling involved relates music to language in a rather specialized manner which consists mainly of codes applied and understood by the musician. The hour-glass drum, considered among many musical groups in Nigeria as the 'talking drum' also performs such linguistic functions. The communities in which these instruments are used, know their signalling methods, and can therefore codify them. In essence, the folk musicians are aware of what
their performances conjure up in the minds of their audiences. Aware of this, they select the symbols or signs from different folk experiences that have meaning for the members of their societies. In this way, the folk composer does not only communicate structurally organized sounds for the sheer sake of the aesthetics, but also realizes that his audiences share the meanings of the symbols he utilizes.

Folk music, like any other aspect of a dynamic culture, functions in relation to the other components of culture. It is on such grounds that Nketia (1974:21) notes that "the basis of association for music making ... is the community, those members of the ethnic group who share a common habit ... and who live some kind of corporate life based on common institutions, common local traditions, and common beliefs and values." Folk music therefore functions in all aspects of community life.

"Festivals and social religious ceremonies or rites that bring the members of a community together provide an important means of encouraging involvement in collective behaviour, a means of strengthening the social bond that binds them and the values that inspire their corporate life. The performance of music in such contexts, therefore, assumes a multiple role in orientation to the community " (Nketia, 1974:22).

One of the main functions which folk music performs in these communities is that of socially controlling her citizens. Through songs, the folk musicians indirectly establish what may be considered proper or acceptable societal behaviour while at the same time, directly warning erring members. Even with the establishment of the modern law systems and law enforcement agents, traditional communities supplement such through a number of social commentaries passed by the folk performer. Folk music is therefore one of the essential media of traditional communication capable of performing such functions as the maintenance of law,
order and social morality. Praises are sung for those who deserve them, while satirical utterances are equally directed to members who do not conform to the acceptable community norms of behaviour. In addition to functioning as a social critic, folk music as a medium of communication also releases information, news and makes public announcements at the forums of performance. There is no specified format or formalised way of putting these details across, but members are often aware of the issues directed at them through the themes of the songs.

Some of the texts of the songs show that folk music also acts in storing, and therefore gradually retrieving historical, mythological as well as traditional educational systems through their repertoires. The themes adapted by folk musicians like Audu Agwatashi, Ogga Omaku and the Gwaska group indicate the use and perpetuation of such systems and beliefs. But the functions of folk music extend beyond the social and that of archiving as it were. Alan Merrian notes that since it is interrelated with the rest of culture, "it can and does shape, strengthen, and channel social, political, economic, linguistic, religious and other kinds of behaviour" (1964:15).

Annual celebrations as in festivals to mark the end of the farming season, and a period of thanksgiving for the harvests, constitute forums for the performance of folk music, sometimes in thanking the gods for the good yields. In some of these communities, specific rituals are made before the new harvests are eaten. For such moments, folk music is used in community worship and acts as a medium through which the ancestral spirits are adored, while the benevolent ones are appeased through narrative incantations. It is also believed among some of these communities that for effective communication between the
spirit world and that of the normal community life, folk music is the only medium that can create the desired mood and channel of worship.

In some societies, folk music plays a significant role in giving temporary relief to bereaved members. Merrian comments on his experience with the Basongye of Zaire in which the role of the folk musician was considered vital in giving temporary psychological relief to the family of the deceased. According to him, the musician.

"...seems to help establish the magical or non-magical nature of death, allows externalization of inner tensions on the part of the women and publicizes their emotional and innocent involvement of the death of their kinsmen... It is also the musician's role to help the mourners begin to forget the tragedy of death. Upon his appearance, the entire course of the funeral is changed; people begin to smile and joke for the first time since the death; social dances whose function is specifically that of helping people to forget, are introduced and encouraged by the musician..." (1964:215-216).

The role of music in such societies is to help the individuals concerned through communal participation by sharing their sorrows. There are similar musical traditions among the Alago in which joking relations are displayed by members at moments that may be considered by an outsider as most sorrowful for the bereaved. Such chants are infused into tense and serious mourning moments and help to temporarily alleviate or lessen the pains of the loss to those directly affected.

Members of the groups I interviewed told me that their music does not only function during social events, but that they are very effective in stirring people to work in their farms. Here, specific schedules are planned and the farmers are expected to collectively move from one farm to the other. In such instances, folk music is used to incite or, at times, give false energy to members during
the communal projects. The function of music in this sense is to serve as an activator or a motivating factor for communal labour. Societal moods and aspirations are therefore expressed while existing tension between some members of the community are released through this folk medium as they share experiences and co-operate in community matters.

In other societies, folk music goes beyond the aesthetic functions it serves. Among the Venda of South Africa, John Blacking writes that their music is an overt portrayal of the political system within the society, and that their performances are set against such contexts thereby making the members aware of their political responsibilities towards each other. According to Blacking, "... various styles of Venda music reflect the variety of its social groups and the degree of their assimilation into body politic. Musical performances are audible and visible signs of social and political groupings..." (1973:76). Folk music therefore serves a variety of uses and functions, and is, an important aspect of culture that leads to the better understanding of the network of relationships within traditional societies.

Folk Musical Training:

Musical training among the groups visited was not done through any formalized channels. The principle of folk musical training is usually by gradual absorption of musical experiences through active participation. One writer notes that training is not approached from a formal and systematic manner.

"Traditional instruction is not generally organised on a formal instructional basis, for it is believed that natural endowment and a person's ability to develop on his own are essentially what is needed..." (Nketia, 1974:58-59).
A number of the folk musicians I interviewed said that they learned to sing through
the influence of particular members of their family. But cases of actually
going through some systematic or formalised instructional periods are non-
existent. The fascinating female singer, Agudu Loko, claimed that her mother
'taught' her how to sing, while Zhimak Kyem also said that he learnt the art of
singing from his father. What both singers seem to be saying, is that they had
childhood parental influences which increased their learning experiences. This
is not the same as their parents preparing a step by step guidance in the art of
singing or folk musicianship. Those who did not take up to singing or playing
particular musical instruments from members of their families, had to develop
through sharing group experiences with already existing groups. Such folk
musicians also had to go through long periods of apprenticeship, acting either
as members of the chorus or as instrumental accompanists.

Observation and participation seem to be the key words in the process
of acquiring expertise both as an instrumentalist and folk singer. In a research
I carried out on some xylophonists for instance, they told me that most of the
techniques they acquired were done through the periods of socialization with
their peers, even though their parents were also xylophonists. Although they
agreed that their parents inspired them, "expertise and virtuosity were both
mastered through informal techniques" (Iyimoga, 1982:51). In some societies,
it is believed that the young learn the skills of singing and playing particular
musical instruments when they are in the bush performing some initiation rites.
Such details are no longer existent among the groups I did the research. Rather,
learning these skills is through a gradual assimilation process in which informal
and traditional methods lead to one's folk music proficiency.
Story-telling sessions have also provided forums for some folk musicians who use some of these themes in their performances. Mention was made earlier of Ogga Omaku who learns such folk tales and songs, and uses them satirically in his performances. For instance, most of his songs avoid lavish praises of personalities, but utilize the characters in the folk tales to caricature behaviour patterns of erring members of the society.

Most of the repertoires of the songs are improvized. This therefore rules out formal learning possibilities, though there are known formulae for such performances. The most popular forum for acquiring folk musical proficiency are mainly through social experiences within these communities. Through the processes of socialization, the youth gradually absorb these forms while also taking care of thematic changes and variations based on emergent processes of enculturation and aculturation. Daily participation in community labour also serves an avenue for acquiring folk musical skills. The most prominent factor however, is that folk musical training is based on the principle of the slow observation and active participation in musical experiences rather than going through formalized training periods.

**Folk Music Delivery Styles:**

Traditional musical compositions are based on the musical motifs of the folk community from which the individual composers or performing groups draw new experiences and themes to add to the already existing ones. Even with the improvisations, occasional embellishments and virtuosity of individual performers, this merely helps to distinguish each of them. There is an essential reliance on generally accepted folk formulae which in some cases, deal with the length, opening or closing styles of each musical performance.
The traditional harmonic systems rely greatly on the tonal usage of the cultures in which they are a part. What is very prominent among most of the groups was that, even when they are only instrumental renditions, there was always a distinguishable melodic line upon which other voices (or parts, instruments) play complimentary roles to. Also dominant in the groups was a style in which the lead singer sings (monophonic) and the chorus responds; while there were also a few instances of many melodic lines (polyphonic) running at the same time - being either vocal or instrumental. In performances that use the polyphonic style, each of the melodic lines are independent of the other, but there is always a conscious awareness of the entire performance as a group output. The outcome therefore is that each of these lines put together, makes a musical meaning. Among many traditional song or musical delivery styles, I found the following common among the groups.

(a) The hocket technique: The use of this style was found mainly among the groups that had large numbers of aerophones as their main musical instruments - the Vellang and the Sombi groups. This does not mean that the performance style of this group of instruments is the hocket; or that other groups of folk musical instruments cannot be employed in this technique of performance. In fact, in some societies, the human voice is used for this kind of technique. Briefly put, the hocket technique of performance involves "the technique whereby the constituent notes of a tune, a rhythm or a tone-pattern, or the constituent notes of a supporting ground-accompaniment, are played at the exactly appropriate point in time by those particular instruments that provide the required contrasts" (Kwabena Nketia, 1962:44). Among the Sombi and Vellang groups for instance, each musician has a horn (Sombi) or a free-reed flute (Vellang) cut to specific lengths and circumferences. In a group with about twenty performers; two,
three and sometimes four or more instruments represent a particular pitch or voice range. This means that they sing particular melodic lines. The same is applicable to the rest of the members, but when performed, it produces some kind of folk harmonization, the intricacies which are best understood by the instrumentalists. Timing and cueing are carried out without any hitch among the players. For the cueing device which leads the groups to change either a dance style or song, the Sombi use (chei) a guard rattle, while the Vellang use the only horn used by the group.

(b) Repetition: Repetitions are a common feature of almost all the groups. The lead singer usually repeats a number of themes or motifs, while in most instances, the chorus is tied down to one refrain that comes up throughout the performance.

Example: \[ A \quad B \quad A \] Such patterns are often \[ XXX \quad -\quad - \quad XXX \] repeated.

Here, the entire group of performers gives a number of short phrases of songs or instrumentation. These are then repeated in the same form, but sometimes with minor thematic variations.

(c) Call-Response (Responsorial): This technique was used by groups like Agudu Loko, the Agale group, Audu Agwatashi, Zhimak and Gwaska. Here, the leader begins a song and at the end, the chorus answers a refrain. In some instances, the lead singer joins the chorus in singing the refrain, but this, he does after cueing them on what they should sing. In other words, he provides the refrain. The important ingredient of this style is that the refrain is always like an answer to a call by the solo performer or leader.

Example: \[ \text{call} \quad \text{response} \quad \text{call} \] (solo) \quad (chorus) \quad (solo) \quad (chorus)
Such a pattern is repeated through the performance. As the leader begins his line, he cues the respondents with familiar melodic lines. This style or technique of presentation is a more common feature of vocal rather than instrumental folk music. In another variation of the call-response technique, David Reck (1977) notes that the leader may sing his tune which often involves the use of improvisations while using new words and melodies to the extent of his imagination while the chorus responds in a stock of repeated refrains or melodic fragments.

Example:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>solo</th>
<th>chorus</th>
<th>solo</th>
<th>chorus</th>
<th>solo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxx</td>
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<td>xxx</td>
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</table>

In this example, while the chorus remains a set of repeated refrains, the solo part usually played by the lead singer is based on the development of themes established at the beginning of a particular song. Here, improvisation is highly used. The performances of Audu Agwatashi and Agudu Loko show typical examples of groups that utilize this technique of folk song presentation. While giving room for improvisation by the lead singer, this technique also creates allowances for teamwork and a high degree of co-ordination among the respondents.

Another device in the responsorial style is one that allows the chorus to come in at repeated intervals while the lead singer improvises his own lines. While the melodic lines compliment each other, neither the chorus nor solo lines are directly used as cueing points. In this instance, the solo and chorus form overlapping patterns.

Example:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>solo</th>
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</table>

chorus xxxxxx

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>solo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chorus
Each of the melodic lines overlap. The solo or lead singer does not come to a stop before the chorus takes over. Both solo and chorus therefore simultaneously compliment each other. Agudu Loko is the best example of the group that uses this song delivery style. In the process, improvisations and embellishments of all kinds are made to give each performance its uniqueness while the interest of the audiences are borne in mind as new themes are created or borrowed and incorporated into the entire framework of folk musical performance.

Folk Musical Instruments: (See illustrations)

The traditional musical instruments common within these groups show peculiar local characteristics in tuning devices, playing methods and sometimes, the designs on their bodies. Such peculiarities help to distinguish them from those of other culture groups. However, it is difficult to state exactly the origins of most of the instruments because of the large scale influence of borrowing from neighbouring ethnic groups. On the other hand, this issue of proximity helps one to see them on a more broadly-based classification. The literature on the classification of traditional musical instruments dates back to the beginning of the century. One of such groupings, was in relation to the material culture of the area - a system of classification which generally uses the main material of production of the particular instrument; another is classification by musical style as is commonly found in the Western orchestra viz: string, brass, woodwind and percussion; and the third classification, which is based on the acoustic principles of the instruments (Sachs and Hornbostel, 1914) into idiophones, aerophones, membranophones and chordophones. This grouping was further revised by Hornbostel (1933:303) though maintaining the same nomenclatures. It is this third classification that is widely used by musicologists, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists. The use and place of these traditional
musical instruments vary from one community to the other. Decorations, performance styles, symbolic attachments, and sometimes social and historical values are also culture-specific.

(a) **Idiophones**: According to the classification based on acoustic principles, the idiophones are the instruments which vibrate or can be made to produce sound by the nature of the substance in which they are made. Jenkins (1970:10) says that they are "instruments made of inherently resonant material, which are made to sound by percussion, by bending and release of flexible material, or by friction". Such instruments range from sticks or similar objects struck together to produce sound, to rattles, gongs and xylophones. Sound production is gained either by rubbing, shaking, striking or beating.

(b) **Membranophones**: These are instruments in which sound is produced by the vibration of a membrane stretched over an opening. They include drums of all shapes and sizes. Apart from Ogga Omaku, all the other groups included in the research had various types of drums, ranging from the double-faced membranophones, to the hourglass, the single faced, and conical drums. The skin used for these drums are either glued to, fastened, braced or laced to a pot, or hollow wood which serves as the resonator. Occasionally, pulling and tightening of strings are done to maintain the required pitch tones. At other times, the instruments are left in the sun to achieve the same results.

(c) **Aerophones**: These may be regarded as the 'wind' instruments. The basic principle here is that a column of air is made to vibrate to produce sound. This is usually performed by blowing air across particular types of flutes; to the compression of the lips in others by the player. In blowing the free-reed common
with the Vellang group for instance, a tongue is cut into the instrument and allows for the column of air to vibrate when it is blown. In blowing the horn as used by the Sombi musicians, the lips of the players are compressed and sets the column of air in motion when blown into, while the resultant vibration echoes the sound.

(d) Chordophones: The traditional musical instruments under this sub-group are those that have a stretched set of strings or chords which are primarily made to vibrate. In most cases, the strings are attached to a resonator and the playing devices employed are those of rubbing, plucking, striking or bowing. Among the groups visited, Zhimak, Dung Chollom and the Kabulu performers used a number of instruments in this category. They include raft zithers - in which strings are stretched over ridges and plucked to produce sound; harps, lutes and fiddles, some of which have pegs used in tuning them.

Summary/Conclusion

A number of research approaches are used in studying traditional music in folk societies. While the Anthropologists approaches the issue with a stress on the anthropological aspects, the musicologists for instance, concentrate on the musicological aspects. In any case, the latter approach places more emphasis on the aspects of sound, while the former views music not only as involving sound, but that it is necessary to understand the human behaviour which is a prerequisite for sound production. The anthropological approach therefore appears a better tool for understanding folk music, which is a vital, dynamic and functional medium of communication among traditional societies.

Communication in folk music is understood by members of the communities who can untangle the symbolic meanings tacitly implied in the songs
and accepted by members of such communities. For instance, part of the musical culture utilized during song performances, may not be associated with other daily aspects of behaviour. So, even when folk music is said to be a functional aspect of the daily life of the folk, the language used may not necessarily be that of everyday discourse. Folk music is therefore associated with specific activities. There are, for instance, songs to do with hunting, fishing, farming or religious worship. There are also songs that are associated with the birth rites of individuals and collective members of the society as found in lullabies, praise songs, birth and naming songs, dirges and other funeral songs and even songs that deal with royalty. There are songs of scandal and ridicule in which satire, sarcasm, along with proverbs and jokes are used to draw the attention of erring members of the society; while songs whose texts are based on the history, legends and folk mythologies serve as sources of enculturation for members of the community.

Folk songs, unlike European classical music, is based on oral and aural methods of transmission. This means that as in proverbs, riddles and other oral traditional forms, the repertory of folk music is confined to the memory and performance is based on stylistic devices or oral formulae. Such a position makes it difficult for the translation of the song texts or other forms of behaviour in a folk musical performance. For instance, in looking at the song texts, one cannot replicate the stresses and punctuations which are essential ingredients in this medium of traditional communication. Even when particular songs can be translated verbatim, one is never guaranteed that the same singer can reproduce such a text in another performance.

As a medium, folk music communicates the expressive behaviour of
community. Information is passed in the context of performance, while understanding the other aspects folk music communicates is dependent on knowing the idiomatic expressions or language in which it is couched. Communication is conveyed in the songs and the instrumental devices as in the flutes, the hourglass drum often referred to as the 'talking drum' in some Nigerian communities, and the various musical instruments associated with particular communities.
Strung rattles are common idiophones used by many traditional performing groups. Here, rattling objects are strung in a row on a stick, and shaken to produce sound. This particular set of rattles was used by the Sarkin Baka musical group. It was simply made from sets of calabash pieces cut in round shapes, but varied in thickness. When rolled or shaken from one end of the stick to the other, musical sounds are produced. The variety in tonal rendition is possible with the rhythmic timing which is controlled to a large extent by the flexible movements of the instrumentalist's wrists.
The conical drum has the membrane stretched over one side of the resonator, usually the one with the wider circumference. Both palms are used in playing this instrument which is a dominant feature of the Agale group. In fact, the group derived its name from the sets of 'Agale' (conical drums) used for the performances.
This double-faced membranophone usually called 'ganga' or 'kanga' is one of the most common musical instruments that cuts across most of the ethnic cultures of the Northern area of Nigeria. One of the faces is usually played with a hooked drum stick (notice the top of this illustration), while one palm is used on the other face, or sometimes, the same face of the drum for tonal variations. Of all the groups studied, only the solo performer Ogga Omaku and the royal band of the people of Keana-Ajigo - did not have the 'Kanga' as one of their musical instruments.
Unlike the other type of conical drum (see (b)1), the whole body of this one is also made of wood, but does not have a hollow end. Skin is also stretched over the top face. Notice the stick protruding from the top left side. It is one of the devices used in tightening the skin against the wood so as to maintain the required tones during performances. Known as 'ikpadidi' by the royal music group (Ajigo) of the Alago, this instrument is played either with both palms or the use of two drum sticks.
The 'Kalengu' (hourglass-shaped drum) also known as the 'talking drum' because of the performance capabilities is also a double-faced membranophone. Notice the diameter of the middle part of this instrument which is smaller than both ends. This allowance enables the musician to put that part between his armpit, and by pressing the tight strings that run from both ends of the instrument, tonal variations are achieved. In most cases, a stick similar to the type used in drumming the 'Kanga' or 'ganga' is used on one of the faces of the Kalengu. Both the Sarkin Baka and Kabulu musical groups had this instrument playing complimentary roles to the other instruments. In the case of the latter group, the Kalengu also served in signalling the cadence of all the songs.
This high-pitched aerophone commonly referred to as the 'duct flute' has a hole which runs down to the bottom of the instrument, but not through it. The instrumentalist blows air across the V-shaped top while two fingers are used in controlling the holes on both sides. Melodic differences are achieved by the alternation of the fingers while pitch tones are determined by the strength of the air blown by the player. Among the performers of the group led by the female singer Bawuya Ladan, the instrument was referred to as 'amada'; while it was called 'imanda' by the flautists with the Audu Agwatashi group.
The 'notched flute' has a notch against which air is blown on the edge of the upper opening. There are also four holes in this particular one as used by the 'Anaguta' music group. Often referred to as 'isharuwa' by these artistes, they sometimes prefer the group to be known as the (instrument) 'isharuwa' rather than 'Anaguta' which is basically the name of the language and people who perform with this instrument.
The horn is another type of aerophone used by traditional musicians. Usually those of animals, some of the horns are conical in shape. Performance is by side-blowing it, while the player compresses his lips to control the motion of air. Among some groups, like the vellang, there is usually one horn which is used as the cue instrument. On the other hand, the entire ensemble of performance by the Sombi group is made up of horns with different lengths and circumferences aimed at achieving a particular folk musical harmony through what is commonly referred to as the 'hocket technique'.
Stalks from which free-reed instruments are made, are common and varied as the food crops of the musicians. Among the 'Vellang' group for instance, stalks from guinea-corn serve as the main musical instrument in which a 'tongue' is cut towards one end. Sound is produced by tightly covering the lips on the tongue of the instrument, while sometimes pulling the string (see illustration) to control the column of air that is made to vibrate. Like in the use of the horn, the length and circumference of the stalks also determine the pitch of the musical tones produced.
A plucked fiddle. Two strings are stretched across a bridge from the base to the neck of the instrument. To get tonal variations, the strings are sometimes pressed against the neck of the instruments. This is the main musical instrument of the 'Kabulu' group. In fact, the Kabulu group derived its name from this instrument which usually dictates the rhythm of the performance.
Unlike the plucked fiddle, the plucked lute is quite smaller though it also has two strings running from the neck and fastened over a resonator which is usually a calabash with this particular shape. Among the groups studied, the Dung Chollom performers had two of these which they called 'Yom-sheyi' (in Berom language).
The raft zither is another member of the chordophone family. It involves the careful selection and paralleling of cane monochords which are fastened together. Bridges at both ends and the middle of the instrument are used to elevate the strings for tonal quality. The instrument is then plucked either with the fingers or thumbs. Called 'abua-ndamdam' (in Taroh language) four instrumentalists in the Zhimak group used this type of chordophone.
The arched harp has strings passing through a skin covering a wooden trough that forms part of the resonator. The pegs at the neck are used for tuning purposes. Performance is by plucking the strings with the fingers. Known as 'yom-begodogodo' by the Dung Chollom musical group, and 'abua-cham' by the Zhimak group, when used in a performance, this type of harp appears in pairs. Tuning techniques reflect the speech tones of the users.
Another arched harp. The minor differences in the shape of this harp and the illustration in (d)4 show ethnic variations in designing the instrument, but the playing techniques are similar though the tones also reflect the speech tones of the particular ethnic groups that use them.
The plucked lute is a handy instrument for most solo folk performers. It has two strings and can either be plucked by the fingers or the use of a plectrum. Known as 'Kumburu' (in Alago language), it was the instrument of the solo artiste Ogga Omaku. Among the Sarkin Baka performers, it was called 'garaya' (in Hausa language). During the research, this group had three 'garaya', and on each occasion, the artistes who played this instrument were also the lead singers.
The bowed lute as the name implies, involves the mechanism in which the strings that run from the neck of the instrument to the resonating part are bowed for sound production. Commonly referred to as 'goge' or 'gogye' this bowed lute was common with the Kabulu and Sarkin Baka musical groups. In each occasion, three musicians each had one but basically played similar melodic lines.
Map 2. Plateau State showing the Local Government Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Music Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Local Govt. Area</th>
<th>Language Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sombi</td>
<td>Rankim</td>
<td>Pankshin</td>
<td>Angas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Audu Agwatashi</td>
<td>Agwatashi</td>
<td>Lafia</td>
<td>Alago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Zhimak</td>
<td>Pil-Gani</td>
<td>Langtang</td>
<td>Taroh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sarkin Baka</td>
<td>Dengi</td>
<td>Kanam</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gwaska</td>
<td>Namu</td>
<td>Shendam</td>
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<td>Kumtung</td>
<td>Singhai Duwi</td>
<td>Wase</td>
<td>Taroh</td>
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<td>Kabulu</td>
<td>Karu</td>
<td>Keffi</td>
<td>Gbargyi</td>
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<td>Bawuya Ladan</td>
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<td>Dung Chollom</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Anaguta</td>
<td>Maza</td>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>Anaguta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lesah</td>
<td>Arigbadu</td>
<td>Akwanga</td>
<td>Eggon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Agale</td>
<td>Umaisha</td>
<td>Nassarawa</td>
<td>Egbura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vellang</td>
<td>Mangu</td>
<td>Mangu</td>
<td>Mwahavul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Agudu Loko</td>
<td>Loko &amp; Keffi</td>
<td>Nassarawa</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ogga Omaku</td>
<td>Doma</td>
<td>Awe</td>
<td>Alago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. By cross-checking the map, one can place the Local Government Area and therefore, where a particular group comes from. For instance, the Zhimak musical group comes from Pil-Gani in Langtang Local Government Area; and the traditional artistes use Taroh language in their performances.
7. BROADCASTING IN NIGERIA

As mentioned in Chapter One which briefly describes the historical development of Nigeria since colonial rule, the growth of Radio and Television have to a large extent, been influenced by the trends in the political or administrative structures of the country. This chapter therefore looks at the development of the Broadcast Media in Nigeria through these periods. Some attention is also given to the development of these media forms in Plateau State. The last section looks at such aspects as the organizational structures, training and staffing, as well as the role of the state in financing and controlling broadcasting.

RADIO

'The history of broadcasting in Nigeria dates back five decades to the introduction of retransmission, a form of word transmission provided only to homes that subscribed for the installation of such facilities. According to Ladele, et al (1977:9-10), in "1935 the wired broadcasting service was commissioned in Lagos. It was known as the Radio Distribution Service (RDS) ... in 1939, a station was opened in Ibadan ..., in Kano in 1944, and within five years ... stations had been opened in Kaduna, Enugu, Abeokuta, Ijebu-Ode, Jos, Zaria, Calabar and Port Harcourt" extending the services of the RDS to these parts of the country. Within this period, as Golding and Elliot (1979:41) note, "the history of Nigerian broadcasting is essentially the story of the BBC external services" as both the hardware and software were transferred from the colonial headquarters. Even when the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) was formed in 1951, it saw "itself as a public service organization established to provide
information and entertainment for the masses and to uphold the tradition of
impartiality imported from the BBC" (Ladele et al, p.38). This further
emphasises the degree of reliance on both the technology and manpower needed
to run broadcasting. Today, this has gone further to include the reliance or
dependence on areas like programme formats and the kind of professional
training needed by the media men.

By an act of parliament in 1958, the Nigerian Broadcasting Service
(NBS) was converted to the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The
earlier rediffusion stations were then upgraded to serve as broadcasting houses.
Soon, each of the regional governments was to have its broadcasting service.
There were therefore, "the NBC or 'Radio Nigeria' based in Lagos; Eastern
Nigerian Broadcasting Service (ENBS) in Enugu; Western Nigerian Broadcasting
Service (WNBS) in Ibadan; the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN)
in Kaduna" (Hutchen, 1971 : 159). The regionalization of Radio broadcasting
was first started in Ibadan in 1959, then followed by the one in Enugu the
following year, and finally, in 1962, the BCNN in Kaduna was established.
The creation of twelve states in Nigeria in 1967, and the administrative
restructuring of these into nineteen states in 1976, has meant that each state,
like the former regions, has a radio station.

By the Military decree of 1978, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation
(NBC) became Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). This decree centralized
the control over radio, at the Federal level and returned to the position as it had
previously been with regional headquarters - Kaduna, Enugu, Ibadan, and Lagos
the national capital, but only this time, referring to them as zones. This step
was made by the military in view of the political tensions expected when they
handed over power in 1979. With the Federal control in Lagos, it was hoped that FRCN was going to be a 'truly National Radio Organization' whose policies were guided by the following objectives:

1. The provision of efficient broadcasting services to the entire people of the Federation of Nigeria, based on national objectives and aspirations and to external audiences in accordance with Nigeria's foreign policy.

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

3. The positive contribution to the development of the Nigerian society and to promote National unity by ensuring a balanced presentation of views from all parts of the country.

4. To ensure the prompt delivery of accurate information to the people.

5. To provide opportunities for the free enlightened and responsible discussion of important issues and to provide a useful two-way contact between the public and those in authority.

6. The provision of special broadcasting services in the field of Education and in all other areas where the national policy calls for special attention.

7. To promote orderly and meaningful development of Broadcasting in the country through:
   a. Technical improvements
   b. The training of appropriate professional staff, and
   c. Programme and staff exchanges, with other Broadcasting Organizations in the country, where possible.

8. To promote research into various aspects of the communications media and their effects on the Nigerian society which will include: audience research, the investigation of fresh methods of production and the true indigenisation of the broadcasting media.

9. To make every Nigerian feel proud of being a Nigerian.

Source: FRCN 1983 Executive Diary.
In addition to English, the FRCN uses twelve Nigerian languages - Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Nupe, Kanuri, Tiv, Igala, Urhobo and Izom - in its broadcasts. In addition to the four zonal centres (Kaduna, Enugu, Ibadan and Lagos), Radio Abuja was established in Nigeria's new Federal Capital territory - Abuja in 1980. This station also broadcasts mainly in the major languages within the territory - Hausa, Gbagi, Gade, Koro, Bassa, Egbura, Ganagana and of course, Nigeria's official language, English.

TELEVISION

In October 1984, Nigeria celebrated twenty five years of television broadcasting. Television transmission had started in the former Western regional capital, Ibadan, as the Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) in 1959. In the following year, the former Eastern Nigerian regional government established the Eastern Nigerian Television Service (ENTV), and by 1962, the regional government of Northern Nigeria established Radio Television Kaduna (RTK). Golding and Elliot (1979:43) note that RTK was "established by a tripartite partnership between the regional government, and two British companies, Granada television and EMI". In the same year, Nigerian Television Service (NTS) was established in Lagos. During these early years of television broadcasting, there was great dependence on foreign news which were purchased from such companies as Visnews and other television news agencies. Very little local material was available as "news of the colonial homeland" (Golding and Elliot 1979:40) dominated the transmission time.

The creation of States in 1967, meant the decentralization of the regional governments. This therefore prompted the establishment of State-owned television corporations to serve the same functions as the regional ones. By the early 1970s,
television services were established in such state capitals as Jos, Benin, Kano, Sokoto, Owerri and Port Harcourt. By restructuring the country administratively in 1976, seven new states were created and most of them also started television transmission.

By promulgating Decree No. 24 of 1977, the military regime established the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). By this decree, Nigeria has six zonal headquarters, each with a Board for the administration of television services, with the following general duties:

1. It shall be the duty of the Authority to provide as a public service in the interest of Nigeria, independent and impartial television broadcasting for general reception within Nigeria;

2. The Authority shall ensure that services which it provides, when considered as a whole, reflect the unity of Nigeria as a Federation and at the same time give adequate expression of the culture, characteristics and affairs of each State, Zone or other part of the Federation.

3. The Authority shall, to the exclusion of any other broadcasting authority or any person in Nigeria, be responsible for television broadcasting in Nigeria.


In addition to the administration of the zones, programmes are expected to give "due regard to the distinctive culture, interests and tastes of the people of the zone on the one hand and the fulfilment of national needs on the other..."

At the National level, the NTA is also guided by a policy on programmes which is specified in Section 9 of the 1977 Decree in which sub-section (1) states:

(a) that nothing is included in the programmes which is likely to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder or to be offensive to public feeling, or to contain any offensive representation of, or reference to a living person;

(b) that the programmes maintain a proper balance in their subject matter and a generally high standard of quality;
(c) that any news given in the programme (in whatever form) is presented with accuracy, impartiality and objectivity;

(d) that due impartiality is preserved in respect of matters of political or industrial controversy or relating to current public policy; and

(e) that subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), no matter designed to serve the interests of any political party is included in the programmes.

The same reasons for the establishment of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) were also advanced for the formation of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) which was also hitherto, part of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The presence of state-owned television stations, made for the provisions of clauses which emphasize NTA's control over them by stating specifically that "this decree shall have effect notwithstanding the provisions of any law under which any other broadcasting authority is established, and every such law shall be construed with such modifications, amendments and omissions as would bring it into line with the general intendment of this Decree". This decree came into effect when some of the newly created states (1976) had gone far with arrangements for establishing their television organizations. But, with the civilian regime which started in October 1979, States which were not governed by the central party in power soon established television services alongside those federally controlled. The early 1980s therefore saw a further proliferation of television stations, bringing the total number to thirty two television stations in operation in Nigeria today.

The return of the military in December 1983, has led to the consideration of reducing the number of the broadcast media stations in Nigeria. In October 1984, Major-General Tunde Idiagbon, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters,
while speaking during the inauguration of the "Committee on the rationalisation" of radio and television services in Nigeria said that the government was out to silence what he called "mushroom" stations and in their places, re-equip short-wave radio stations in Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan, Abuja and Kaduna. While hoping that such a move would offer better services and cut down costs, he also recalled that:

"... some politicians in an attempt to win votes engaged in an unplanned establishment of radio and television stations all over the country ... such became megaphones of political parties in power, suppressing or grossly distorting information to suit the whims and caprices of the politicians..."

While all Nigerians wait for the outcome of the recommendations of the "committee on rationalisation" of the broadcast media, it is already obvious that this regime is out to reduce the number of these stations by closing some of them down and merging others.

Growth in number of Receivers

The oil boom of the late 1970s led to large-scale developments in many rural parts of Nigeria. Apart from improvements in the public sectors of the economy, rural based development projects led to the electrification of some of these areas. The regionalisation, and later, State establishment of the broadcast media along with these rural developments, led to increased acquisition of radio and television sets. For instance, the United Nation's figures (1983 : 436-441) for the estimated number of receivers in use in Nigeria per a thousand inhabitants between 1965-1979, show the following:
Table 7.1 : Number of Radio and Television Sets per thousand inhabitants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Television</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1978, the rise appears remarkable particularly with the number of television sets. While there is little change in the column that shows the number of television receivers between 1978 and 1979, there is a small decline in the number of radio sets within the same period. UNESCO (1978:40) records for about the same period, show similar figures with very minor differences. A relatively more recent research (West Africa 3rd February 1986:264) shows that "Nigerians own a total of about 4.9 million sets... The total figure is nearly double the number of sets in 1930 when Nigerians owned about 2.3 million sets". In effect, one can conclude that the proliferation of the broadcast media stations across the country and the improvement of economic standards at all levels, particularly in the area of rural electrification led to the high increase in the number of receivers in Nigeria.

BROADCASTING IN PLATEAU STATE:

Radio

Broadcasting in the Plateau area started with the establishment of Radio Distribution services (RDS) in Jos towards the end of the 1940s. Ian MacKay (1964:18) for instance, writes:

"After the second World War the RSD stations expanded and by 1946 were operating in Lagos, ... In 1947, Calabar, Kaduna and Jos were on the air, and were joined shortly afterwards by Warri, Katsina, ..."

Thereafter, the station was upgraded and functioned as one of the Nigerian
Broadcasting Corporations (NBC) service centres until 1978 when an edict established the Plateau Broadcasting Corporation, popularly referred to as 'Radio Plateau'. According to one official during an interview, "the basic objectives of the Plateau State government in establishing a broadcasting organization is the same as those of most broadcasting organizations, that is, to educate, to inform and to entertain." In a rather broad statement of objectives, the 1978 edict established the Plateau Broadcasting Corporation:

"...with the function of providing ... radio broadcasting services on behalf of the government of Plateau State of Nigeria for so much of the State as may, from time to time, be reasonably practicable"


Since services are targeted mainly at the administrative area constituting Plateau State, nine of the local languages in addition to English are used in the broadcasts. The choice of these languages has been done with the particular intention of reaching most of the ethnic groups within this area. This in turn, has been made possible because of the similarities and minor dialectal differences among the language family groups of Plateau State.

**Television**

Television services in Plateau State started in 1973 when Dr. Girgis Salama was called upon to establish the Benue-Plateau Television (BPTV), though the actual transmission began in 1974. The creation of States in 1976, led to the administrative division of Benue-Plateau State into two States: Benue and Plateau. New arrangements then had to be made for the installation of a television service in Makurdi, the Benue State capital. By 1977, the promulgation of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) decree which meant the centralization and co-ordination of all television activities in the country, resulted to BPTV becoming NTA Jos.

The return of civil rule in Nigeria in October 1979 again triggered off
the need for some state governments to establish their broadcasting services since the NTA decree meant both the centralization and control by the federal government. In 1980 therefore, the services of Professor Salama were again requested by the Plateau State government, to establish a Plateau Television Service. By the end of 1982, arrangements had been completed and Law No. 1 of 1980 was passed, establishing Plateau Television (PTV):


In June 1983, the station was commissioned and since then, has been broadcasting daily to the people of Plateau State. Just as the case with the Radio, in addition to English, some indigenous languages are also used.

Training of Broadcast Media Personnel

The growth of training institutions to cope with the proliferation of the broadcasting organizations in Nigeria has been rather slow, although there has been a remarkable stride in this area. Early training was mainly done overseas through the award of scholarships or foreign technical aid to media professionals. Sydney Head writes that such "innumerable overseas scholarships, training, attachment and orientation programs ... siphon off African broadcasting personnel" since according to him, such training programmes were attended "irrespective of the qualification of the trainees or the quality and relevance of their overseas experience" (1974:259). Thus, early training for Nigerian broadcasters did not only remove them from the realities of the Nigerian situation, but in some cases, merely introduced them to equipment they never laid their hands on, on return from such courses. The story is not very much different today as most Nigerian broadcasters would want to be identified with having travelled overseas for their professional training. But Alfred Opabor (1976:p.E24) argues that "the critical
question is not where media personnel are trained, but what they are trained for. That will ultimately determine the kind of training they get, and even where they get it."

Issues other than 'what' or 'where' such personnel had their training, were also considered basic issues for the institutions in Nigeria that offered such training. There were basically none at the time the broadcast media were introduced to Nigeria. Essentially, what happened was that such media personnel had on-the-job training, or were sent for attachments where induction programmes were hastily planned in overseas countries often with little attention to the technological expertise expected at the end of such training periods. Even when a few institutions started emerging, there were initial problems in acquiring the technological infra-structures and personnel to man them; while the issue of appropriate books and other teaching aids also constituted major problems. The total lack of the local expertise and the infra-structure necessary for such training programmes were therefore very obvious reasons why initially, nearly all training was done overseas.

With the beginning of broadcasting in Nigeria, "the BBC provided senior administrative and technical staff while local agencies such as the Department of Extra Mural Studies and Adult Education of Ibadan University and the United States Information Service, organized short courses or seminars on journalism" (Bisi Aborisade, 1976:B5). Along with these, there were internal arrangements in both the Federal and then regional Ministries and Corporations for both local and foreign attachments for training. However, "in 1951, the Jackson College of Journalism was set up at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka ... to provide a three-to four year undergraduate degree course" (Katzen, 1975:175). The Nigerian civil war which lasted between 1967-1970 lead to the temporary closure of this institution.
"... when the war broke out, many students registered at Nsukka who came from the Lagos area returned there, and arrangements were made for them to continue their studies at the University of Lagos. Before this time, the only journalism training available in the Lagos area were short courses organized by the International Press Institute since 1963" (May Katzen, 1975: 176).

Since then, many Institutions have included a number of mass communication-oriented courses in their programmes. The Theatre Arts Departments at most Nigerian Universities, particularly in Ibadan, Port Harcourt and the University of Jos offer such courses. The growth in the number of Universities that offer undergraduate degree courses have also increased. In addition to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and the University of Lagos, Bayero University in Kano also offers undergraduate communication courses. Recently, the Universities of Jos and Maiduguri also introduced undergraduate degree programmes in Mass Communication. Similarly, some Polytechnics and Advanced Teacher's Colleges offer a number of mass media related courses. Such courses are broadly based and designed to provide a number of experiences in the social sciences, the liberal arts and some professional orientation in the field of mass communications. Such training has therefore proved useful not only in the area of technological know-how of the media, but also in creating some awareness of the socio-cultural contexts in which the media function. Recent developments are therefore beginning to take care of the kind of issues raised by Aggrey Awori about a decade ago when he wrote:

"The mass media in Africa ... can only make a meaningful contribution ... if they are entrusted with responsible, skilled and properly trained local personnel. Such training can only be truly relevant to the local situation if it is carried out within an African setting ... social sciences, the arts, culture and an understanding of the surrounding and prevailing political and social conditions" (1976: C1-2).
In the media organizations in Plateau State, most of the personnel, particularly the producers, have good honours degrees in disciplines like Mass Communication, English, Theatre Arts, History, and Political Science from Nigerian Institutions. In addition to the on-the-job training, some of the Radio personnel have attended courses at the Federal Radio Corporation Staff Training School, which is in Lagos. However, the need for some three to nine months orientation courses for members of staff at the PTV to get them acquainted with the equipment, led to such officials attending overseas training in the United Kingdom, Canada and the USA in 1981. What is becoming gradually prominent is therefore the 'Nigerianisation' of the media personnel in the Nigerian broadcasting systems.

While the Federal Radio Corporation Staff Training School in Lagos is capable of handling most training requirements for radio broadcasters, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) has also established a Television College in Jos to take care of the training needs of the personnel in this medium. The growth of the television industry in Nigeria has therefore led to the establishment of this institution to train the large number of both technical and professional personnel. According to the information in the School's brochure, the Nigerian Television Authority established the institution in 1980 "in order to make training available to a greater number of officers at all grade levels in their own environment, where the local situation and problems can be assessed and solved". The brochure further states:

"... with the local and foreign expertise, and a solid understanding of the challenges and problems of the Continent's television industry, the NTA television college is confident that it is able to provide the best and most useful career education for the African television professional" (NTA Tv. College Bulletin 1984, pp.4-5).
Currently, some foreign experts are invited for short periods as guest lecturers. There is however, a great dependence on media or mass communication experts in Nigerian institutions to give lectures in such areas as production, engineering and management; while experienced broadcasters along with the television college staff form the basis of the teaching staff. The Radio Staff School in Lagos; the Television College in Jos; along with the Universities and other institutions offering courses in broadcasting and communications are therefore attempts to handle the training requirements of the broadcasting personnel in Nigeria.

Financing and Control of Broadcasting

There are some issues generated by government financing and therefore control of broadcasting in Nigeria. Some of these central issues include the social, cultural and political implications for the ownership of the broadcasting organizations which are entirely financed by government. Does such control for instance, lead to the proper utilization of these media for National development objectives, or the sustenance of political power? Observations on these issues are attempted in the following discussion.

(a) Early Control: Right from Colonial rule when rediffusion services were established in Nigeria, these were mainly used as extensions of British Administration. The main contents were meant to satisfy the European settlers and few Nigerian educated elites in the urban centres. Even when the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) was established in the early 1950s, it was under the direct control of the British administration, with a Briton as the first Director General. This legacy seems to have been transferred to subsequent Nigerian
Governments since independence. There was a short period however, when broadcasting was not directly under the control of the government. That was when the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) became the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBS) in 1957, making it a public corporation rather than a directly controlled government department.

(b) **Regionalization:** The establishment of regional broadcasting in the former Nigerian regions between 1959-1962, marked the beginning of some autonomy from federal control. Luke Uche (1985:23) notes that the aim for such regionalisation of broadcasting then was that "they were used as powerful political instruments for the integration of each region and cultivation of regional loyalty and awareness to the detriment of national integration." In a rather more emphatic statement, he concludes: "they were used to the fullest in protecting the political, economic, cultural and social interests of the regions" (ibid). And Hutchens writes: "... the ultimate effect of the broadcast systems ... was to reinforce tribal and regional loyalties to the detriment of national and 'Nigerian' tendencies. Moreover, regional broadcasting was the captive of the regional political factions" (1971:163). While serving the needs of each region, broadcasting was also used to create greater rivalry between the political segments of the country. This background led the military to take over their control when they came to power after the first coup in 1966.

(c) **Finance:** Unlike in the case of the print media, individual or private organisations have not been able to set up commercial, or any other form of broadcasting in Nigeria. Since its early history, broadcasting has been financed by either the federal or (former regional) State governments. Financing the broadcasting organisations has therefore been purely the responsibility of the
government that sets up and operates them. "Broadcasting in Nigeria ... depends mainly on annual subventions from government. In setting up its broadcasting service, each government has accepted this fiscal responsibility" (Kolade, 1974: 81). Although it is expected that the setting up of broadcasting by commercial enterprises may be directed towards enormous profits while little or no time will be devoted to national development programmes; the government sponsored and operated organisations are also devoting some time to commercial services. This is meant to subsidise government subventions, although, for the moment, this is on a very small scale.

(d) Centralisation and Political Control: Nigeria's first military rule between 1966-1979 marked a period of the federal management and centralisation of broadcasting in the country. In other words, although individual States owned television organizations within this period, the military had central political control. The promulgation of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) decree of 1977 and the Federation Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) edict of 1978 by the military formally centralized broadcasting in Nigeria before the military handed over power in October 1979. It was then argued that such steps were necessary in the national interest, since it was opined that regional or state control of broadcasting was not only wasteful, but that the national character, structure and cultural products were not adequately reflected. It was therefore hoped that such centralization would help in unifying the country's political ideologies and sense of nationalism. In an argument against the promulgation of the centralization decree, one source notes:

"The Nigerian military regime appears ill-equipped to conduct sufficient and necessary research or make the independent judgements required to formulate long range electronic mass communication policy" (M. Egbon, 1982: 27).
In a rather contrary argument, Paul Ansah writes:

"It was felt that if government did not own and control broadcasting, there was the danger of its falling under the control of a group of wealthy people who could use it for their commercial purposes rather than in the promotion of the national interest as perceived and defined by the national leadership" (1935: 8).

Ansah's argument heavily backs the claim that any form of decentralization of broadcasting would either bring national disintegration, or challenge the central or federal power. The move or urge for regions and states to establish state-owned and controlled broadcasting services therefore seems as politically motivated as the need by the federal government to centralize them. Such situations have led to struggles between the state-owned and federally controlled media to utilize broadcasting purely for political gains. During the second civilian administration (1979-1983) for instance, the situation resulted to a form of control that led to highly undeserved praises from the media for those in power while basic national development policies were either neglected or totally ignored. Viewers became bombarded with political personalities rather than discussions on the political issues that dealt with the requirements of the citizens. Writing during this tense period of Nigeria's second Republic, Graham Mytton notes that "the mass media have political backers and are therefore given a political role which emphasizes the expression of opinion and places far less importance on the reporting of facts" (1983: 124).

The issue of scoring political points either by government controlled media or other broadcasting organizations is not peculiar to Nigeria alone. In many countries government financing and ownership of the media means more effective control of the personnel that run them. In writing about the American experience
during the Nixon administration for instance, Ruben (1977 : 8-9) notes that:

since the Nixon's administration's involvement in the Watergate affair, the press has been more suspicious than ever of all governmental attempts to guide the media and to keep information secret. Its fear of political direction has been further aggravated by the memory of the misinterpretations and inaccurate information supplied by government information officers during the entire period of American military involvement in Vietnam”.

The media professionals are therefore in a position to choose news items that are considered worthy of dissemination to the people while playing safe with the fundamental issues that may be confrontational with the ruling administration. For instance, during the 1983 election campaigns in Nigeria, the broadcasters played leading roles in the propagation of the election campaigns of the major political personalities while giving low-keyed attention to the themes of their political objectives. The percentage of transmission time of entertainment programmes increased during this period; a strategy used to divert as it were, the attention of viewers and listeners. Political broadcasts were then made at intervals. Under such circumstances, government controls are direct, as in providing specific directives for the media men. In such situations as Krisham Kumar argues, the professionals "... are strategically deployed in the system of control of both contributors and producers. In this way, they prevent potentially dangerous embarrassment to the organization, by inhibiting the expression of attitudes that openly flout the codes, political and moral, or the powers-that-be" (1977 : 224).

The appointment of media personnel is another form in which the government indirectly controls broadcasting. At both the national and state levels, professionals and Board members in sympathy with the government of the day are often given considerable priority. Such political decisions which are often
prompted by the obvious fact that the governments own and finance broadcasting sometimes lead to the appointment of hard-working and dedicated professional broadcasters, who soon fall prey to the requirements, and directives of those that appointed them. In the appointment of managerial posts for the broadcast media for instance, Section 15 of the Law No. 1 of 1980 which established Plateau Television says: "the Managing Director of the corporation shall on recommendation of the board be appointed by the Governor who shall also determine the terms, conditions and remunerations thereto". Similarly, sub-sections 4 and 5 of the edict that established the Plateau State Corporation (Radio Plateau) state:

4(1) The corporation shall consist of a Chairman and such number of other members ... as the Military Governor may determine.

5(2) Whenever required by the Military Governor to do so, a member shall furnish the Military Governor with such information as the Military Governor considers necessary for the performance ... of his duties...

(3) Subject to the provisions of this section, a member shall hold office for such period ... as the Military Governor may fix at the time of his appointment.

(4) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1), the Military Governor may in his discretion direct in writing that any member shall cease to hold office ... 


Such conditions render government statutory corporations which are supposed to function with some degree of autonomy, to be subtly directed by the ruling government. Paul Ansah makes the point succinctly when he writes that "the conferring of a corporate status on a broadcasting system in Africa does not necessarily give it a higher degree of autonomy than that of a direct government agency" (1985:9).
This is not to say, that government has direct interference with the running of broadcasting in Nigeria. There is, for instance, a great amount of autonomy in the day-to-day running of the organizations, particularly, the professional arm. What is obvious however, is that since these are solely established and financed by government, particular objectives are expected by such a government as regards the role of broadcasting in national development programmes. While top level policy issues have to be approved by the authority, a great amount of political control is also subtly implied.

Summary/Conclusion

Broadcasting in Nigeria developed in the 1930s with the introduction of rediffusion services first in Lagos. By 1951, the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) was established, and by 1958, this became a public corporation - the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) with some degree of autonomy. Then there was the decentralization of broadcasting between 1958 - 1962; and with the creation of states in 1967 and 1976, broadcasting services became available in all the states. In all cases, government owns and finances them. As public corporations, this direct financing along with the fact that they have been established by Federal or State governments implies political control over them.
8. PROGRAMME STRUCTURES AND TRENDS IN PROGRAMMING

In Chapter Seven, issues like the objectives for establishing the broadcasting organizations, Government's ownership, financing, and control were discussed. The central theme in this chapter is the structure of programming in these corporations. As a background, there is a brief discussion on the programme interests and general opinions about the types of programmes transmitted, from such people as: the Directors of Programmes of these organizations, the Director of Arts and Culture, some producers and Cultural Affairs personnel. The aim was to find the extent to which their responses were influential on the policies they have on local programming. Responses on programmes by some of the traditional artistes are discussed in Chapter Nine.

GENERAL OPINIONS ABOUT PROGRAMMES:

In this section, the respondents were asked in the interviews to indicate their general opinion about foreign programmes.

Bureaucrats: In an interview with Mr. Kuzhe, the Acting Manager of programmes at Plateau Television, he argued that the station transmitted the number of foreign programmes it did at that time because of a number of constraints (details of the types of constraints are discussed in Chapter Nine). According to him:

"If we continue to rely on foreign programmes, we will be doing a lot of harm to ourselves because it means that we are not ready to learn to improve on things, and to make our television better. It also means denying those people who are creative the opportunity to put things in practice... I think the best thing for us is to start by doing something so as to avoid the problem of having foreign programmes dominating our message."

Mr. Kuzhe argued further that since television was relatively new, people
readily accepted any type of programme, but particularly the foreign programmes because there were no alternatives. He however opined that the continued reliance on the foreign programmes was indicative of not being capable of responding to the situation. In the interview with his counterpart at the Radio Plateau, his opinions were not that much different. Mr. Wadak said that if we continued to use the foreign programmes, "we will stand at a disadvantage because their culture, way of life and everything is very different from ours and it will be very difficult for somebody in the village for example, to change from his own way of life to that of the developed country". While acknowledging the fact that Nigeria could not do 100% without foreign programmes since according to his argument, the main medium of communication is English, over-relying on the foreign programmes could mean more difficulty in communicating with people at the rural level. In Mr. Wadak's words:

"Since Nigeria is a developing country ... definitely we cannot do entirely with our own local programmes. We have got to rely on some of the developed countries, so that we can learn from them ... but we should lay more emphasis on the local programme production so that our people will be able to understand easily what we have for them."

In the opinion of Mr. Cuktu, the Director of the Plateau State Arts Council, relying on foreign programmes "is an aspect of the neo-colonialism of our own culture. It means that we will be forgetting more of ourselves and remembering more of other people's way of life, which is very damaging indeed. The cultural reawakening is to redress this kind of balance." In their suggestions, both managers of programmes at the broadcasting organizations and the Director of Arts advocated for 10% of total transmission time for the foreign programmes.
Producers: In all, twenty eight producers were interviewed - eighteen from Plateau Television and ten from Radio Plateau. Apart from the three producers (two of them from PTV and the third from Radio Plateau) I worked directly with because I wanted to observe them during the production of their programmes, there was generally no specific criteria for the selection of most of the other producers interviewed other than the fact that they were the ones I met during the research period. However, a fewer number of radio producers were interviewed because the bulk of the data I wanted in this section had to do with television programming. In asking about the programme-interests of the producers, the aim was to see if particular programmes - whether foreign or local, had any influences on their individual productions. In other words, I wanted to find out the extent to which their favourite programmes had influences on the formats, contents and techniques of their individual productions.

The opinions of the producers on the foreign programmes were varied. For instance, one of them said that "some of them are good - like the comedies. Some are not relevant to the context of our society - like the cowboy films which encourage violence, or encourage the youth to adopt values which are alien to our society"; while another along the same line of argument said: "I think that foreign programmes have done us a lot of harm, especially to our youths. The alien culture has been forced on us through these programmes which of course do not respect our way of life." As if maintaining a middle ground, one of them said that some of the foreign programmes "are interesting - especially those in which stress is geared towards positive education" but concludes that "some of them are geared towards mental colonisation and therefore, modern agents of imperialism." However, some of the producers had more positive comments to make. One of them said:
"It is very interesting to watch foreign programmes because they thrill us, they are educative and we have lots of learning to do as regards their own way of life. I watch them to see how I can also do my own programme using some of their formats."

A number of comments by these producers also indicated that the foreign programmes were not only advanced (in terms of production techniques) and entertaining, but that they also served as sources for the improvement of their skills. For instance, one of the producers said: "they are more creative in their production techniques"; while another opined that "foreign programmes teach a television producer the latest techniques in directing." One of the producers categorically stated:

"I am particularly influenced by the quality of such programmes as 'Dynasty' and 'Dallas' because of such production techniques as the suspense, camera shots and the dramatic end of all the themes and episodes."

From the total number of programmes indicated as the producer's favourites, 33.4% of them were foreign with such productions as 'Dynasty', 'Sesame Street', 'Dallas', 'Hawaii 5-0', 'Different Strokes' and 'Shanana' all from the United States; 'The Avengers' from Great Britain; and external radio programmes such as the VOA News and BBC African Services.

Among the eighteen television producers, there was a slightly higher percentage of choices of foreign programmes. Out of the one hundred and seventeen programmes listed by them, forty two (35.8%) were foreign. There was however, a relatively small number of foreign television programmes listed by the Radio producers. Only two out of the ten of them indicated four foreign programmes among their favourites; and the general interest of this category of producers had to do mainly with 'News' and 'Discussion' programmes.
66.6% of the total programmes indicated by all the producers were those locally produced either within the Radio and Television organizations in Jos; or those nationally transmitted by the NTA (National Television Authority) network services from Lagos. The bulk of these programmes were made up of the variety of drama productions in Hausa as 'Karkuzu' and 'Helima', and Nigerian drama in English as 'Cock Crow at Dawn' and 'Village Headmaster'. Similarly, a number of 'educational' and 'cultural' programmes for example, 'Gomai Magazine' and 'Our Cultural Heritage', along with many 'Discussion' and 'Current Affairs' programmes appeared popular among all the producers. One of the reasons for this popularity may be the fact that most of these programmes were the products of the producers themselves.

Cultural Affairs Personnel: It was necessary to interview some members of the Arts Council in Jos because they are sometimes engaged in local productions in liaison with broadcasting media personnel. The opinions of the fifteen people interviewed here provided a number of responses on foreign programmes. One of such responses states: "I observe that children's programmes from overseas like 'Sesame Street' and 'Great Space Coaster' are very good, but a number of foreign programmes should be cut down and more emphasis put on African as well as Nigerian made programmes". The issue of language posing a constraint to understanding some of the foreign programmes was mentioned:

"Most of these programmes are in languages like English and French and not most of the people do understand these languages" (sic)
or:

"... they are not suitable for rural people who may not understand the language or objective of the programmes".

There were also responses like "most overseas programmes do not take into cognisance the cultural background of the majority of its viewers or listeners,"
and so seem to be of little purpose"; and "... most of them have no relevance to the socio-political realities of our time or society. They also silently acculturate and colonize our minds".

The responses from the cultural affairs personnel were quite similar to some of those made by the producers. Most of them did not come out clearly to say that foreign programmes were bad and therefore, should be discarded. However, they considered most of such programmes to be of little or no relevance the Nigerian context, and hence, that they should be given limited transmission time. To some extent, one can conclude that such responses - from the producers, cultural affairs personnel and the Managing Directors of programmes of the Broadcasting Organizations - may be instrumental or influential in determining the types of programmes produced or those transmitted.

PROGRAMME CATEGORIES:

For the purpose of the research, programme schedules from the broadcasting organizations were broken down into categories and analysed. The aim here was to see if the programme outputs were really in keeping with the set objectives of these organizations viz: to inform, entertain and educate, and to see where emphasis was most placed. However, it was difficult to make the analysis only on the basis of the programmes associated with these three objectives. It was equally impossible to classify all the programmes into neat categories. For instance, a 'discussion' programme depending on the content, could fall into either the 'educational' or 'informative' category. This point is well made by Varis (1973) in the report on the international flow of television programmes among nations when he says that "the placing of each programme in the programme category ... is often a question of interpretation, and a programme cannot always
be indisputably included in a single category only" (p.12). Gould, P. et al (1984) also realize the difficulties in grouping programmes when they note that "... programmes do not slip tidily into the linguistic boxes we use" (p.T16). Also on the subject of television programmes in particular, they further write:

"... television programmes are regarded as difficult, 'intractable' things, almost things with minds of their own that will not fit easily into rather general ... categories we make for them. They often seem to slop over into two or more boxes, and sometimes, we feel a sense of stress when we try to force them into a single category" (p.T26).

In the study of television programmes in Western Europe, Varis (1984a:7) made the analysis with fourteen programme categories. For instance, he breaks down the 'Informative' category into three different groups: 'News bulletins', 'News commentaries' and other 'Informative programmes'. Under the 'Entertainment' category, he also has a breakdown which includes 'Documentaries', 'TV Plays', 'Cinema Films', 'Music', 'Sports' and other 'Entertainment', each of which represents a programme category. In a later study in which he looked at the international flow of television programmes Varis (1984b:145) argues that classification is meant to be suggestive of the nature of the programme structure, rather than exact breakdown of categories, as different cultural and social environments make it difficult to create fully comparable categorizations of programme types.

For the purpose of my analysis therefore, I have grouped the programmes into six of such broad categories, viz: 'Informative'; 'Cultural'; 'Religious'; 'Educational'; 'Children's'; and 'Entertainment' programmes.
There is no programme category for Advertisements. Since these broadcasting organizations are financed largely by government subventions, commercial advertisements are rather limited, particularly with the television. While there appears to be very little to be advertized, the transmission time allocated for such commercials is so small that I find it negligible for the purposes of my analysis.

(i) **Informative Programmes:** Analysis here was centred mainly on all 'news' bulletins in English and some of the local languages involving state (regional) as well as national network broadcasts. Included in this category were programmes like the PTV 6.20 pm News in English and its translation in Hausa 'PTV Labaran Duniya a Meta 29' at 8.00 pm daily viewed mainly within Plateau State; the NTV Jos 7.00 pm daily news in English and its Hausa translation 'Labaran Duniya' at 9.30 pm; and the national Network News at 9.00 pm daily.

(ii) **Cultural Programmes:** Although I could have easily grouped this category of programmes with the 'Informative', Cultural programmes could also be classified along with the 'educational' or 'entertainment', categories. Programmes in this group included those that were not only domestically produced, but regarded in view of their contents as 'cultural programmes'. The majority of the programmes here either utilized the Traditional performers directly, or some local languages and material were used in their productions. At times, English was used in the narratives, but the central themes were directly related to, or targeted at particular ethnic groups or audiences. 'Helima' and 'Raye Reyen Mu' both produced by PTV; 'Folksongs', 'Puppet World' (mainly puppets set against the background of folktales), 'Al Adun
Gargajiya’, ‘Tabakalace’ and others, produced by the NTV Jos, and a series of programmes in nine local languages from Plateau State, ‘Ancestral folktales’, and ‘Our Cultural Heritage’ produced by Radio Plateau were among the number of programmes in this category.

(iii) **Religious Programmes**: These involved programmes that dealt with various forms of religious worship. For instance, it was common to find that before the commencement of programmes every Sunday, the NTV Jos started with ‘Christian opening Prayers’, between 7.30 - 8.00 pm. That same day, there was ‘Christian Half Hour’ while the evenings’ transmission was ended with ‘Closing Prayers’. A similar procedure was followed every Friday with Islamic prayers or sermons. Plateau Television also had religious programmes lined up every Sunday and Friday though the transmission times were slightly different. Unlike the television stations, Radio Plateau, in addition to the Sundays and Fridays, set aside for specific religious broadcasts, allocated time for ‘Morning Prayers’ and ‘Evening Worship’ each day at the beginning and end of transmission.

(iv) **Educational Programmes**: Since one of the three main objectives in establishing the broadcast media, according to government sources, was that of educating her citizenry, a number of educational programmes were transmitted daily, and directed at particular audiences. Most of these were in English, while a good number of them were in Hausa and some languages indigenous to the people of Plateau State. Within this category were programmes directed to the general public like “You and the Law”, ‘Career Guidance’, ‘Public Utilities’, “Medical Magazine”; ‘Your Health’, ‘Radio Lawyer’, ‘Radio Doctor’, ‘Management by Radio’, ‘Choosing a Career’ and ‘Police Forum’. While there was a separate category for children’s programmes, there were early broadcasts
directed to this category of audience. 'Youth Scene', 'Children's Quarter-hour', 'Yara Manyan Gobe' were some of the productions by Radio Plateau in this category.

During the 1984 and 1985 periods, Plateau Television had a number of curriculum subjects like English, French, History, Geography and Mathematics. Many 'do it yourself' programmes aimed at teaching a variety of skills were also transmitted. Another section of programmes in this group was aimed at improving farming techniques and general agricultural practice. Mainly directed at the rural populace, programmes like 'Don Manoma' (Because of Farmers), 'Noma Tushin Arziki (Farming is the Beginning of Wealth) by the Plateau Television and a number of similar ones by the Radio house were aired.

(v) Children's Programmes: A large proportion of the children's programmes came immediately after the programmes-parade/line-up, though this was particularly the case with the television and not the radio. During the main research period, Plateau television's large number of programmes in this category were foreign. Children's adventure stories and entertainment programmes like 'Great Space Coaster', 'Banana Split', 'Spiderman', 'Godzilla', 'Count of Mount Christo' and 'Battle of the Planet' were common; while 'Kiddies Time' and its Hausa version 'Lokachin Yara' were the domestic productions aired within the period. From the analysis, I realized that only a relatively small amount of time was given to this category of programmes by Radio which featured programmes that included 'Children's Quarter Hour' and 'Yara Manyan Gobe' (Children the Elders of Tomorrow).

(vi) Entertainment Programmes: Dramatic productions in English and Hausa languages; musicals and mainly foreign films and sporting activities formed the
bulk of programme types in this category. As I remarked earlier on, some of the programmes do not fit into neat categories. For instance, while some of the dramatic productions could be essentially regarded as entertainment-oriented, there could be salient educational and cultural messages in them. Both Radio Plateau and Plateau Television devoted a substantial amount of transmission time to this category of programmes. 'Tin City Show Case', 'Viewers Request', 'Soul Train', 'Dynasty', 'New Avengers', 'The Protectors' and 'World Cup '82', were viewed on PTV while programmes like 'Theatre of the Air', 'We de Sallute Una' (a request programme in 'pidgin' English), 'Hill Top Package', 'Jingle Hour' and 'Let the Music Play', were aired by the Radio Plateau.

PROGRAMME SCHEDULES

The programme schedules initially analysed were for the period of three months - that is, July - September 1983. Though covering this length of time, programme schedules for an entire week were merely repeated during the whole quarter. The main differences were however on the episodes. In other words, if 'Hawai 5-0' was viewed every Monday, different episodes of the same programme were relayed during the whole quarter.

1. PLATEAU TELEVISION: From the analysis, the Plateau Television (PTV) transmitted for 37\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours weekly, that is, an average of 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours daily transmission.
Programme Categories | Transmission time (weekly) | Overall percentage
---|---|---
Informative | 8 hrs. | 21.42%
Cultural | 1 hr. | 2.68%
Religious | 1 hr. | 2.68%
Children's | $3\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. | 9.37%
Educational | $7\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. | 20.09%
Entertainment | $16\frac{1}{3}$ hrs. | 43.76%
---|---|---
| $37\frac{2}{3}$ hrs. | 100%

Table 8.1: PTV 1983 Programme Categories and Weekly Transmission Time.

(a) **Programme Categories:**

**Information programmes:** In the analysis which was centred only on 'News' (of which there was a daily average of seventy minutes), $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours (56.25%) of this was transmitted in English, while the remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours (43.75%) was devoted to translations of these news items originally in English, to Hausa, and at times, other indigenous languages of Plateau State.

**Cultural programmes:** 'Helima' and 'Raye Rayen Mu' the two cultural programmes produced by Plateau Television during this period were in Hausa and some indigenous languages. The first, being a drama production, incorporated the use of five languages of the Plateau; while the latter programme was performed by particular ethnic groups, but with commentaries, translations and introductions in either English or Hausa. This category of programmes had 2.68% (one hour) of the total transmission time per week.

**Religious programmes:** Apart from Fridays and Sundays when transmission began with an opening prayer which usually lasted a couple of minutes, there were two religious programmes, 'Islam Half Hour' and
'Christian Calling'. Each of these lasted half an hour per week and together accounted for 2.68% of the total transmission period.

**Children's programmes:** Mainly transmitted as the first programmes after the programme-parade, this group of programmes had three and half hours (9.37%) per week as total airing time.

**Educational programmes:** With 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours or 20.09% of the weekly transmission period, 'educational' broadcasts were aired to a variety of audiences. 'You and the Law', 'Career Guidance' and 'Public Utilities' for instance, were directed to the general public; while 'Don Manoma' though equally produced for the general public, had particular relevance to the rural farmers.

**Entertainment programmes:** This category of programmes constituted 43.76% (16\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours) of weekly viewing time. The majority of the programmes here were not local productions. Even when there were hours of sporting activities, these programmes were also imported. Most prominently among them was the 'World Cup '82' (football).

(b) **PTV: Local and Foreign Programmes:** A further analysis of the programme schedule for Plateau Television (PTV) during the main research period (that is, July-September 1983) showed that there was a fair distribution of transmission time between the domestically produced programmes and those imported (Table 8.2). Of the total weekly viewing time (37\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours), 49.55% (18\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours) of this period was devoted to the local productions, while 50.45% (18.5/6 hours) was for the foreign programmes, mainly from the United States and Great Britain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme Category</th>
<th>Local Programmes Time</th>
<th>Local Programmes %</th>
<th>Foreign Programmes Time</th>
<th>Foreign Programmes %</th>
<th>Totals %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informative</td>
<td>8 hrs.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>1 hr.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>1 hr.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childrens'</td>
<td>1 hr.</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
<td>2 1/2 hrs.</td>
<td>71.13%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>6 1/2 hrs.</td>
<td>86.66%</td>
<td>1 hr.</td>
<td>13.34%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>1 hr.</td>
<td>6.13%</td>
<td>15 1/3 hrs.</td>
<td>93.87%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total hours</td>
<td>18 1/2 hrs.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>18.5/6 hrs.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2: PTV Local and Foreign Programmes.

Under the 'Informative' category, the news productions were made by the Plateau Television. This is not to say that these programmes did not relay information or news about foreign events or affairs, but foreign news clips or footages were seldom utilized in such broadcasts. Of the total number of programmes locally produced, 56.25% of the airing time was in English, while the remaining 43.75% was in the local languages. The 'Cultural' and 'Religious' categories also had a 100% local production time; and for both categories, 50% of the transmission time was in English, while the other 50% was in Hausa. In the 'Children's' category, one hour viewing time (28.57% of total 3 1/2 hours weekly time for this category) was the local productions in both English and Hausa, featuring programmes like 'Kiddies Time' and 'Lokachin Yara'. The other 71.13% (2 1/2 hours) was accounted for by foreign programmes like 'Great Space Coaster', 'Spiderman' and 'Godzilla'. Of the 7 1/2 hours weekly transmission time for the 'educational' programmes, 6 1/2 hours (86.66%) was given to local programmes like 'Medical Magazine', Public Utilities', 'You and the Law'. 
while the remaining 1 hour (13.34%) featured foreign productions.

The 'Entertainment' category had the largest number of foreign programmes, and constituted almost half (43.76%) of the total viewing time. The studies by Hansen (1983:13) in which he analyzed television programming in Britain and Ireland also show that "entertainment programmes make up the single largest category, accounting for 37% of the BBC output and 46% of the IBA output". Similarly, in the research which looked at the pattern of television programming in Western Europe, Tapio Varis (1984:3) concluded that the "imported programmes are most dominant in the category of entertainment." Apart from these programmes classified under the 'Cultural' and some in the Children's categories, only two local productions - 'Tin City Show Case', mainly musical production modelled after the American programme 'Soul Train' and 'Viewer's Request' were transmitted. These constituted only 6.13% (1 hour) of the entire period for this category of programmes. The remaining 93.87% (15 1/3 hours) featured such foreign programmes as 'Battle Star Galactica', 'New Avengers', 'Banachek', 'Bob Newheart Show' and 'The Protectors'.

(c) PTV: July-September '84 and July-September '85: Programme schedules for Plateau Television (PTV) for July-September 1984, and July-September 1985 were also analyzed. This was useful in determining the overall structure and trend of programming within PTV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>25 1/3 hrs.</td>
<td>57.95%</td>
<td>33 hrs.</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>18 1/3 hrs.</td>
<td>42.05%</td>
<td>12 hrs.</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Transmission time</td>
<td>44 hrs.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>45 hrs.</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3: Summary of 1984 and 1985 July-September Programme Structures.
The analysis showed that transmission time increased from 37.5 hours in 1983, to 44 hours in 1984 and 45 hours in 1985. Although new sets of foreign programmes like 'Gunsmoke', 'Wrestling', 'Special Branch' and 'Circus of Stars' replaced the old, these periods show a decline in reliance on this category of programmes. For instance, in 1983, foreign programmes accounted for 50.45% of the total viewing time. By 1984, this dropped to 42.05% and 26.7% in 1985. This meant that local programming rose from 49.55% in 1983 to 57.95% (25.5 hours out of a total transmission period of 44 hours) and 73.3% (33 hours out of 45 hours) respectively for the 1984 and 1985 quarters.

While the few foreign programmes for these periods were mainly transmitted as the last programmes before the station closed down for the day, the addition of a large section of 'educational' programmes accounted for the high increase in this category. Curriculum subjects like English, Economics, History, Mathematics and Geography were taught over the PTV. Unlike during the 1983 programme-period, the inclusion of NTA (National Television Authority) network programmes also accounted for this rise.

The number of programmes in the 'Cultural Category' did not increase during the 1984 period, but by 1985, it went from the 1983 figure of 2.68% to 4.5%. This increase in percentage was due to an additional one hour programme 'Heritage' which featured episodes that centered around folktales. There was also a noticeable difference in the category of 'entertainment' programmes. Compared with the 1983 figures of 6.13% and 93.87% for the local and foreign programmes respectively, during the 1985 period, the local programmes accounted for 36.9% while the foreign productions were transmitted for 63.1% of
the total viewing time for the 'entertainment' programmes. Among a number of factors, the Buhari Administration's embargo on the importation of certain goods and services and the general restrictions on import licences to some extent, accounted for the low and declining percentage of imported programmes. Some people have also opined that these economic sanctions were conscious strategies by the national government at reducing Nigeria's level of reliance on foreign products - including television programmes.

2. NATIONAL TELEVISION AUTHORITY (NTA) JOS:

For the purposes of comparative analysis, an overall view of the structure of programming in the Nigerian Television (NTA) Jos was made for the research period (July-September 1983). A sampling of programme schedules for the same quarter for 1984 and 1985 was equally made to help in the comparison with programme structures at the PTV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>47 1/2 hrs.</td>
<td>71.72%</td>
<td>55.11/12 hrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>18 2/3 hrs.</td>
<td>28.28%</td>
<td>11.1/12 hrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Transmission Time</td>
<td>66 hrs.</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>66 hrs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From the analysis of the NTV Jos programme schedules for the same quarter for three consecutive years, one notices a gradual decline in the utilization of foreign programmes. For instance, of the 66 hours of total
transmission period during the 1983 quarter, 47 1/3 hours (71.72%) of that was of local programmes. This figure rose to 54 hours (83.20%) in 1984, and by 1985 to 55 hours (85.93%) of transmission time for the domestic productions. This consequently meant that the percentage of airing time for foreign programmes declined. While the figures stood at 28.28% in 1983, by 1984, it went down to 16.80% and to 14.07% in 1985 featuring such programmes as 'The Avengers' and 'Whicker's World' from Great Britain and 'Battle of the Planets', 'Cosmos' and 'Wrestling' from the USA.

A large percentage of programmes that accounted for the relatively high transmission time for the local programmes were those mostly in the 'educational' and 'entertainment' categories. Educational broadcasts in English and Hausa, some produced by the NTA Station in Jos, and an equally good number aired on the network programmes from the NTA Headquarters in Lagos were regular within the early hours of transmission. Similarly, entertainment programmes like 'Tales of the Moonlight', 'Bedtime Stories', 'Folksongs' and 'Our Music' were regularly aired. A large segment of programmes in this section was the proliferation of local drama productions in both English and Hausa, and equally transmitted either directly in Jos, or through the network services. While some of these productions like 'Cock Crow at Dawn', 'Amusement Spot', 'The New Village Headmaster' and 'Masquerade' adapted and utilized traditional settings and themes, others like 'Mirror In the Sun' and 'Window on the World' were set on contemporary Nigerian backgrounds but with Western production patterns, formats and models particularly reminiscent of programmes like 'Dallas' and 'Dynasty'.

The analysis of the structure of programmes in Plateau Television and the Nigerian Television (NTA) Jos (Table 8.5) shows that the former relied more on foreign programmes than the latter particularly during the research period
Table 8.5: Comparison of % of Transmission of Local and Foreign Programmes.

(November 1982). One of the reasons for this was that the PTV had just
started transmission; in fact, the Station was commissioned on the 21st June 1983
though test transmission services had started in November 1982. Another reason
was that some of the personnel recruited were away for training. At that point in
time, PTV had to rely on foreign programmes for half (50.45%) of the airing time.
During the same quarter, NTA Jos already had 71.72% of the total transmissions
as local programmes. The 1985 figures of 73.3% and 85.93% for PTV and NTA Jos
respectively as total transmission time for local programmes, definitely show a
great reduction in the transmission of foreign programmes. Although PTV had
particularly initiated more domestic programmes during the 1984 and 1985 quarters,
the number of network broadcasts on NTA Jos accounted for the additional percentage
of the local programmes. On the basis of the data from both television stations, one
can conclude that there is now lesser dependence on foreign programmes on
Nigerian Television.

3. RADIO PLATEAU

The analysis of the structure of programmes in Radio Plateau was centered
on the programme schedule for one quarter only that is, July-September 1983.
After going through the 1984 and 1985 programme schedules for the same period,
they showed minor differences in programme types, duration per programme and
daily hours of transmission.
During the research period, Radio Plateau transmitted for 129\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours weekly (Table 8.6); that is, an average of 18\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours of daily transmission. And just as was the case with classifying some of the Television programmes, some of the programmes did not appear to belong specifically to any of the six categories I used in the analysis. There were therefore, instances where a programme had to be grouped with either the 'educational' or 'entertainment' category because my criteria for the classification and the nature of such programmes made it possible to group them in either of the categories.

The 'Informative' programmes accounted for 21.82% (28\(\frac{3}{4}\) hours) of the total weekly, and therefore, quarterly transmission time. Local News broadcasts along with hourly national network news programmes relayed by the FRCN (Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria) with its Headquarters in Lagos accounted for the main bulk of programmes in this category. News-related topics, news analysis, and news summaries also formed an important section of the 'informative'
291.

programmes. From the analysis, 20 hours of the news time was in English while the transmission in the other local languages accounted for only 8\(\frac{1}{3}\) hours.

Unlike in the Television where the 'Cultural' programmes had a relatively low airing time, here, there was a 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours weekly transmission of 'Cultural' programmes. 'Our Cultural Heritage' 'Music from the LGAs' (Local Government Areas), 'Ancestral Folktales' and a number of programmes in some of the local languages like Angas, Alago, Gomai, Berom, Eggon, Muhavul, Taro, Afizere and Irigwe were transmitted. In addition to translating some of the news broadcasts already made in English or Hausa, these programmes specifically discussed socio-economic and cultural issues. Apart from the first broadcasts, some of them were repeated during the same week.

'Religious' programmes occupied 4.63% (6 hours) of the total weekly transmission time. 'Morning prayers', 'Sunday worship' and 'Evening worship' were broadcast in English, while 'Tamboyoyin Musulunci' and readings from the Koran were done in Hausa.

The 'educational' programmes formed the third largest category, closely behind the 'informative' and 'entertainment' categories. There were 18\(\frac{1}{3}\) hours (14.41%) of weekly programming in both English and Hausa. 'Your Health', Radio Lawyer', 'Schools' Debate', 'Management by Radio', 'Radio Doctor', 'Choosing a Career', 'Police Forum', 'Schools' Challenge' and 'University of Jos Media Magazine' were some of the broadcasts made in English within the research period. Some of the broadcasts made in Hausa included 'Don Manoma' (Because of Farmers), which was similar in content to the television production; 'Ra 'ayin Masu Saurare' (Feedback from
In the category of 'children's programmes', there were only $1\frac{2}{3}$ hours (1.35%) of weekly transmission which featured programmes like 'Children's Quarter Hour' and 'Yara Manyan Gobe' (Children, the Great Ones of Tomorrow). The category with the largest number of programmes and longest hours of transmission was the 'entertainment' category. With a weekly $59\frac{1}{2}$ hours of broadcasts, it accounted for 45.81% of the total transmission time. A large proportion of time within this category was devoted to request programmes in English and some local languages which mainly utilized hours of music of both traditional and Western artists. 'Hill Top Package', 'Jingle Hour', 'Afternoon Jump', 'Jazz Time', 'Tin City Express' and 'Midweek Request' were some of the request programmes in English. Long hours of recorded indigenous music were also featured in programmes like 'Irigwe Magazine', 'Angas Magazine', 'Alago Magazine', 'Berom Magazine' and also formed signature tunes for most of the programmes. Similarly, the music of popular Nigerian and African musicians like Sunny Okosun, Ebenezer Obey, Osibisa, Fela A. Kuti and Sunny Ade were aired. Dramatic productions in this category included programmes like 'Theatre of the Air' and 'We de Sallute Una' (a request and entertainment programme in 'pidgen' English). Similar productions in Hausa included 'Zaben Maggi', 'In Da Ache' and 'Kukasa Kunne'.

CONCLUSION

The data and research experience show that radio, unlike television, essentially relies on local resources in its productions. Except for some programmes in the entertainment category which utilized some 'foreign' music (even when the productions were entirely localized, substantial information
sources and programme materials were based on domestic issues. Through the analysis of programme structures, the data from Radio Plateau implied that the cultural, religious and other ethnic characteristics of the state were either included in, or discussed in these productions. The reduction in the level of reliance on foreign television programmes evident in the analysis of the (July-September quarter) programme schedules for three consecutive years (1983, 1984 and 1935) is an indication that Nigeria is gradually embarking on more local productions.
9. INCORPORATING THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA FORMS

In indigenising broadcasting through the programme contents, a number of constraints arise. These range from the lack of finance, to the inadequate professional personnel to man both equipment and programming. At times even when both hardware and software are available, they merely exist on superficial levels. In addition to a number of problems associated with broadcasting in some Third World nations (Katz and Wedell 1977), I also found some peculiar constraints during my observation of studio and field recordings. This chapter therefore looks at these 'general' and 'specific' problems. It also looks at such issues as the relationship between the Arts Council and the broadcasting organizations. A section also discusses some current Government programmes that involve the utilization or incorporation of the Traditional Media forms in broadcasting.

NEED FOR LOCAL PROGRAMMING

The continued popularisation of foreign media forms through broadcasting systems in Nigeria, is beginning to give way to indigenous productions. For instance, in the analysis of programme structures, reported in Chapter Eight, the figures show that there is beginning to be a greater effort towards producing local programmes for the broadcast media, particularly television. A number of reasons seem to account for this realization by the policy-makers. In my interview with Mr. Kuzhe, the Acting Manager of Programmes of Plateau television, he said:

"... although we still show some foreign programmes ... the local productions we make are serving the needs of the people because we have things like the 'Agric Programme', where the producer goes to the farmers and finds out their problems and achievements. We also have the 'Ladies Programmes', 'Childrens Programmes', 'Cultural Programmes' and all kinds of programmes which involve the people themselves."
However, Mr. Kuzhe expressed the concern that not very much is being currently put into such productions and that professional expertise is still lacking among local broadcasters. He therefore concluded that the production techniques of foreign programmes are generally rated higher in view of the technological advancement and professional expertise which to some extent, is influenced by the need for commercialization. Even then, he does not consider the contents relevant to the Nigerian audience. In his words:

"In terms of contents, I will say our local productions are better because before the productions, we think of the audience for whom we are doing the programme. But the foreign programmes ... are not meant for our society. So, I think our programmes produced locally satisfy our own audience needs ... while the foreign programmes have better qualities because of two factors: the facilities and the techniques ... they spend a lot of money, spend a lot of time, and they have the manpower."

The relevance of domestic productions to the local audience therefore appears to be the crucial issue because such productions incorporate and reflect the societal realities of the areas in which they are located. Where traditional forms are utilized, audiences are able to identify with the issues, characters, or the art-form portrayed and are able to empathize when necessary with such characterizations or portrayals. The realization of the potential of the traditional forms as being essentially active and intimately helpful in weaving societal fabric while enhancing community awareness and co-operation has led to the attention currently given to their utilization in broadcasting. Since these traditional forms are not static and therefore not archaic, and since they continuously grow and are nourished by the constant interaction with new forms, while also reacting to new perspectives, innovations and aspirations of the people, they could also be regarded as contemporary since they are a reflection
of the daily life of the society. In attempting to communicate particularly with the rural populace therefore, the great potential of these media forms are considered useful. In Radio Plateau for instance, thirty-minute programmes (generally referred to as 'magazines') are broadcast in some of the indigenous languages of the State in addition to the ones in Hausa and English. The station's Manager of Programmes, Mr. Wadak, hinted that:

"... the purpose of these 'magazine' programmes is to be able to communicate with the grassroot level, what Government is doing; what the needs of the various ethnic groups are, and discussions on their culture. For example, their origins, marriage customs and ceremonies ... we also have what we call 'Our Cultural Heritage' which deals entirely with our culture ... and we make sure that we go from one ethnic group to another every week until the whole state is covered."

Mr. Wadak therefore considered it necessary that indigenous languages in addition to the programme contents need to be utilized in the local programmes. According to him, through careful research, languages with minor dialectal differences could sufficiently cover particular geographical regions. For instance, out of Plateau States' over fifty ethnic groupings, nine of these have been chosen for such broadcasts. Although, even with such arrangements, it was difficult to effectively represent all the languages, the majority of the populace is reached. Despite the large number of ethnic groups within the state, it is still possible to find a language common to, or understood by two or more of the fourteen Local Government Areas. This shows to some extent that in certain instances, the variations in languages within such areas are minimal. While such efforts are carried on at the State (regional) level, network programmes are also transmitted on a similar basis particularly on radio. On the other hand, television as a medium is yet to be exploited to similar
advantages. Such a situation led Segun Olusola to lament over what he called:

"... our inability to achieve the village community viewership which we had conceptualized several years ago. If we can effectively reach village communities, we can then afford to forget city dwellers who prefer to watch imported films." (Vanguard, 31st October 1984, p.9).

The focus here is not only on the 'village dwellers', but also the content of the programmes meant for them. The kind of opinion expressed by Segun Olusola on foreign programmes and the need to reach a point and time when indigenous forms will replace them is also shared by Katz. According to him, "the demand for local programming ... rooted in tradition ... is not simply an expression of ideological commitment. It is a question of whether one wants one's culture to be overwhelmed and homogenized" (Elihu Katz, 1977:116) by the foreign culture. Such fears along with the need for alternative programming either through deliberate government policies or local awareness within particular broadcasting organizations, has now led to a new direction in programming in Nigeria.

In the interview with Mr. Wadak, he appeared optimistic that some of the problems posed by the foreign programmes have led to bolder steps by the indigenous broadcasters. He notes:

"You find that some of the problems we are facing in this country today, I believe are because we rely so much on foreign ways of life and to bring this down to the grass-roots is proving very difficult. But, with the domestic programmes, we are beginning to make people aware of themselves, their culture ... and this is beginning to make communication with them easier."

As the years go by, there is therefore more reliance on local sources for programming. Wadak also recalls that "five years back, the Federal
Government decided to go grass-root and there was a serious campaign in this country, so that 75% of our programmes are more of the domestic while the rest of the 25% should be imported ... that is, on radio. I remember that sometime last year, the Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria (BCN) decided that the level should be increased to 90% indigenous and 10% foreign.

INCORPORATING THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA FORMS

(a) Contents and Contexts of Programmes

The process of the incorporation of the Traditional media forms into broadcasting at the moment, is largely in the area of the content of such forms, while production techniques could be regarded as still being fairly standardized with the Western formats or models. One is therefore inclined to agree with Katz (1977:120) when he says that "indigenous self expression in broadcasting is often little more than a copy of metropolitan models". While there is an increasing move to effectively incorporate traditional forms into broadcasting, little has so far been done at changing production techniques and programme layouts. In fact, 66.6% of the eighteen producers I interviewed in Plateau Television (Chapter Eight) categorically stated that they deliberately preferred viewing certain foreign programmes because they learnt a number of production formats from them. The techniques and formats of production notwithstanding, analysis of programming over the three consecutive years clearly shows that there is an increasing utilization of recordings of traditional festivals and occupational life-styles of the rural populace, and these are now being given considerable airing time.

What appears important at this stage is emphasis in adapting these folk or traditional forms in broadcasting. One source for instance, argues
that "If you use adaptations of folk forms on electronic media for small towns, where the roots of folk arts are still strong and at the same time a certain amount of exposure to various modern media also coexist, it can be quite effective" (Anil Chowdbury, 1981:68-69). So, while the production formats are essentially regarded as foreign, the contents of such local programmes reflect the interests of domestic producers in incorporating the cultural traditions of the people. 'Helima' the local drama programme by Plateau Television for instance, does not only tell the story of tin mining, but also adapts and infuses current socio-cultural realities of the communities around which the productions are based.

Through the traditional performing arts like dance, drama, music and other folk genres, traditional media-forms are incorporated and portrayed in domestic programming. As was discussed in Chapters Five and Six, the lyrics and dialogues of such forms do discuss contemporary issues of the society. Also in such traditional forms, conformity with the norms of community and ethnic values are fostered. As Jibola Dedenuola writes:

"... drama or theatre generally encourages changes by enabling us to perceive, appreciate and accept the changes taking place within society or at least need for certain changes. Through satire, lampoons, or parodies, the vices, follies, ills, abuses or malaise of society are held up to scorn ... thus guiding society to the path of true greatness" (Dedenuola, 1983:23).

It is perhaps the realization of the potential of such traditional forms being able to communicate with a number of audiences that has led to their being currently incorporated into most of the programme-categories.

Programmes in the 'childrens' category and particularly the 'entertainment' category account for the greatest amount of transmission time, while those of
the 'informative' and 'educational' categories tend to rely more on materials and news bulletins about government policies and statements. Since the basis of traditional communication is the folk forms, in adapting them as programme contents, the broadcast media should regard them as having complimentary roles to the entire process of communication. For the mere fact that such forms are often peculiar to particular communities, the effective utilization of such idioms can only be possible, if along with them, the socio-cultural realities of such communities are understood and effectively modified in the programmes. In the end, these would also be of relevance to the people. Ranganath makes this point well in his discussion of the potential for adapting Indian folk forms to contemporary themes when he says that:

"Adaptability depends on the extent of flexibility of a folk form and so, calls for identification of flexible elements in the folk forms..." (Ranganath, 1982:18).

Ranganath then concludes that "the most flexible of folk forms which handle modern themes with utmost care are the informal drama forms with a base of music and dance and superstructure of improvised prose" (p.18). Depending on the scope or nature of the programme and the issues discussed, particular genres of the traditional media could be considered of more relevance and flexibility for incorporation. For instance, the incorporation of a traditional genre like the proverb, into a children's educational programme may be meaningless and therefore out of context if the particular ages and socio-cultural backgrounds of such children are not taken into account in the programming. Similarly, in translating such traditional forms, care should be taken so as not to lose their original meanings if they are to be understood within particular cultural frames of reference.
The study by Katz (1977) shows how some of the South American countries like Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela have used the formats of the United States' soap operas in developing the 'telenovela':

"... the telenovela has been adapted to the presentation of historical drama, to tell the story of Mexico's march to independence ... in Algeria, broadcasters were debating this very question: how to translate Algeria's epic struggle for independence into television terms" (Katz, 1977:117).

These forms are not only depicted in the entertainment productions to create a sense of national cultural awareness through the recapitulation of nationalist struggles, but also relate to contemporary issues. Katz for instance, notes that "In Brazil, the largest of the networks ... has commissioned some of the country's best writers to create stories in the novela form ... relating to the real life people and contemporary issues" (p.118).

As we saw in Chapter Eight, through a number of local and network programmes, broadcasting in Nigeria is adapting and incorporating traditional themes and forms in their local productions. In addition to the utilization of folk mythologies in the dramatic art-forms, folk songs and tales are also used in most of the programme categories. Among a number of such programmes, Plateau Television has 'Helima' and 'Raye Rayenmu' (discussed in a later section). 'Ranabata Karya' and 'Karkuzu' were also local drama productions that incorporated contemporary themes of the rural communities mainly settled in the urban areas. The thematic development of these programmes is essentially based on the utilization of such popular folk forms as in dance and music. The productions of these popular traditional forms are based on unwritten scripts. A large portion of the performances are therefore based
on improvisation and spontaneous responses among the characters. Although not all that coherently organized, the ability to have a storyline and concentrate discussions on particular themes, enables the traditional performers to have successful productions - at least in the eyes of those that understand the social contexts of such performances.

The NTA television Jos productions of 'Folksongs', 'Puppet World' and 'Children's Club' do not only incorporate the traditional forms into these programmes, but all of them are essentially based on the adaptation of folk-mythologies, folktales and folksongs. Similarly, the network programme 'Children's Festivals' and 'Tales of the Moonlight' were based on the traditional folk arts. Some of these programmes featured storytelling and folksong sessions, while in others, folkmythologies were dramatized through puppetry. In certain instances, avoiding ethnic stereotyping in the productions was necessary for the programmes to be meaningful to wider audiences. Al' Adun Gargajiya' and 'Taba Kalache' (Chapter Eight) were also NTA Television Jos productions which relied mainly on the traditional resources for their programme-contents. These were musicals, and like 'Raye Rayenmu' produced by Plateau Television, were thirty-minute productions which involved the recording of artistes either in their rural settings or in the studio. Apart from the presentation techniques, such programmes were recorded in the languages of the performers.

At the national level, some network programmes (Chapter Eight) mainly in the 'entertainment' category which incorporated the traditional forms were transmitted, while a number of similar productions representative of particular ethnic groupings took care of the local interests. Popular network
productions either incorporating or utilizing some traditional themes included the drama programmes 'Cock Crow at Dawn', 'Village Headmaster' and 'Masquerade'. Reliance on such forms were however, minimal, since these were more conventionally scripted and, even though they adapted folk themes, their messages were often urban-oriented.

With thirty-two television stations across the country, the production and transmission of programmes based on the traditional themes are becoming increasingly significant. Among some of the states in the Northern part of Nigeria for instance, such programmes are exchanged between the stations. The large cultural similarities, particularly, the understanding of one language - Hausa, accounts for the success of such exchanges within these states. 'Kwashi Kwaram', (from NTA Sokoto) 'Samanjo' and 'Karambana' (from NTA Kaduna) along with 'Tashi Taka', 'Tumbin Giwa' and 'Gidan Kashe Ahu' are some of the most common and popular dramatic productions in Hausa that utilize these forms.

The second Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) which Nigeria hosted between January and February 1977, has also provided a large volume of traditional resources for broadcasting in Nigeria. This festival which featured a wide range of artistes from the entire Black world has left a useful repertoire of recordings of their performances. Today, such materials are used in place of the foreign 'fillers' and at times, as full programmes. During the 1934 July-September quarter for instance, NTA television Jos had an hour broadcast of such recordings every Saturday under the title 'FESTAC Reflections'.
Recording the Local Programmes

With the proliferation of television stations all over the states of the federation, personnel of this medium have also had the task of keeping them going with programmes that are meant to fulfill the objectives for which they were established. The past number of years have also witnessed the outcry of Nigerians, either through the electronic or print media, of the need to have programmes that depict the social realities of the country. Among the range of programmes in the various categories, dramatic productions have become famous over most of these stations. Writing recently, Theo Vincent (1985:100) notes that "one healthy development noticeable in the past few years in television programming in Nigeria is the increase in the number of locally generated and deliberately tailored indigenous drama programmes to replace previously imported Western classics or fillers." But indigenous drama has not just started on Nigerian television. Infact, Segun Olusola (1981) recalls that:

"When Wole Soyinka returned to the country ... his colleagues in radio, television and the local amateur scene rallied round him and it was not long before they saw a natural outlet in television. After an uneasy start, the first drama presentation on Nigerian television was broadcast in August 1960" (p.372).

Over two and half decades have passed since that production, and drama on Nigerian television has developed in a number of ways, utilizing and incorporating the historical and cultural themes, particularly of the areas in which the medium operates. To a large extent, most of these productions are popular with audiences of various levels because of "the dynamic attraction of the local appeal (and) ... the spectator's natural fondness for familiar scenes and ways of life of indigenous norms and moves" (Oreh, 1985:108). Among a number of factors, familiarity with the local settings, themes, and identification with the
characters seem to help in the popularization of such domestic productions as 'Helima' of PTV, and older programmes like 'The Village Headmaster' and 'Masquerade' which are nationally acclaimed network productions.

The analysis of the structure of programmes (Chapter Eight) in terms of categories, types and the relative percentages of the programme categories is only an aspect of understanding the overall processes of programming within these broadcasting organizations. In order to see how the producers went about programming, I decided to work closely with some of them. At the Plateau Television (PTV) I worked with the producers of 'Helima' (a local drama production in Hausa), and 'Raye Rayenmu' (a programme based on traditional performances featuring mainly dance and music). At Radio Plateau, I was with the producer of the programme 'Music Tour of Plateau State' (concerned with the recording and transmission of the indigenous music of the ethnic groups of the Plateau). What follows therefore, is an account of my observations in working with these producers.

Producing 'Helima' (a local drama programme).

The use of traditional dramatic themes as the Oyi (discussed in detail in Chapter Five) in local drama programmes was found to be limited from my observations of such productions at the Plateau Television (PTV). The Oyi in its traditional setting among the Alago people, exists as a form in which a deceased, at night on the seventh day of burial, in form of a silhouette, communicates with the living. While the main significance of the Oyi among this community is considered ritualistic, the actual dialogue between the deceased and the living often develops into a dramatic discourse in which incantations are chanted. The local drama productions seldom incorporate or adapt such dramatic themes in their programming. Instead, there is more reliance on themes evolving around
the social events like the re-enactment of festive occasions like naming, marriage, or the dramatization of petty squabbles common among families. However, these productions were made culturally specific through the use of such traditional forms as the local costumes and indigenous music, along with some acceptable degree of stereotyping of some of the ethnic groups common to Plateau State. Below is the detail that goes into producing 'Helima', one of such indigenous drama programmes.

(a) Themes: 'Helima', (a Hausa derivation of the English world Headman) was transmitted once every two weeks during the research period. Thematic development were centered around such episodes as 'Bashi' (debt), 'Rana Biya' (pay day), 'Sata Ta Sachi Sata' (theft), 'Bukin Sallah' (Sallah celebrations) and other aspects of life within the society. On the whole, the episodes were not necessarily sequencial, in which case, each made meaning within the context of specific themes. At times however, suspense was maintained by developing particular themes which served as episodes for two productions.

The following summary of 'Bukin Sallah' gives an idea of the thematic concepts used in this production. Annual Muslim and Christian festivals like Sallah (celebrating the birth of prophet Mohammed) and Christmas are usually work-free days in Nigeria, and so, families and friends from far and near unite to celebrate. During this episode of 'Helima', Dan Asabe travels from Zaria (which is one hundred and fifty miles or two hundred and forty kilometres away) to visit Hajiya Ladi at the mining camps. Ladi who also hails from Zaria, but settled in the mining camps is very popular among the miners because she sells food at the work sites. Garba therefore, had no difficulty in directing Dan Asabe to her house. The excitement of meeting after such a long time is
established at first sight with the breaking of some colanuts - which symbolized reunion in this respect. To my knowledge, the colanut plays similar roles among many segments of the Nigerian society.

The next day being Sallah, all the labourers were invited by Garba to his house for the celebrations. At the background during the merrimaking, was some traditional music pre-recorded and played back on a cassette recorder. This prompted some of the characters to ask why a 'live' performing group was not invited to perform at such a great occasion. One of the characters responded by bringing out his 'molo' (a raft zither) and began to pluck at the strings. Meanwhile, the cassette-recorder was turned off, and the guests danced to the molo music. The celebrations were suddenly almost brought to an end when Garba (the host) made an incongruous demand: that all those who honoured his invitation pay a token fee for having enjoyed his meals. He said this was necessary in view of the fact that he spent all his savings in the preparations. To this, the other characters replied furiously. An argument was started with Garba insisting on his demands, and his guests telling him that it was totally wrong to be invited, and asked to reciprocate financially in the end, particularly when the invitation was for an occasion celebrating the birth of Mohammed.

This episode cuts across a number of issues in society. In the opening scene, the importance of kinship relationship was established by the visit of Dan Asabe; while in the following scenes, the place of the family and friends in the celebration of festivities was demonstrated. A common notion that such occasions are accompanied by some form of traditional performances is introduced by the incorporation of 'molo' music in the production. However, the last scene in which Garba demanded some token fee in return for
organizing the occasion was incongruent with existing social norms. A background to Garba as a character in the production may be necessary. In this drama programme, he was typically known as always doing the contrary. For instance, while not causing some problems for the other labourers, he was always in confrontation with 'Helima' (the headman). The audiences having identified him as such, would therefore not be particularly surprised with his attitude in this episode.

(b) Setting: Set against the background of the rural community of the tin mining camps around Jos, 'Helima' utilized current issues to buttress the cultural realities of these communities. Before the productions started, initial background research was carried out by some producers. Informants around the mining camps, some of whom were themselves miners in the nineteen forties offered useful background information about life in the camps. The artist who played the role of 'Helima' was himself a miner who had spent most of his youthful days in the mining camps. His personal experiences therefore proved to be a useful source for the entire production team. Against such a background, the production was not based on mere fantasies, but the re-enactment of historical realities through the incorporation of current themes.

(c) Language: Although 'Helima' was produced in Hausa which is not one of the indigenous languages, but commonly understood by most of the ethnic groups of the Plateau, its educational and entertainment purposes were realised through the depiction of the cultural values of the people of the State. Four ethnic groups - the Angas, Alago, Berom and Gomai - were effectively characterized through the juxtaposition of their manners or speech and dramatization. For instance, when
the 'Angas character' spoke, it was taken to represent some stereotyped manner of speech of the entire Angas people. Such effects were realized not only by choosing people of these ethnic groups to act these roles, but some amount of emphasis was made by them to make their characterization obvious. No reason was given for the choice of these characters other than of any of the other ethnic groups. Through the use of Hausa which was the main medium of discourse, the peculiarities of individual ethnic groups were therefore characterized. And just as the scenery or background for the recordings, the language of discourse was such that could be commonly understood by large audiences.

(d) **Scripts/cast:** At the time of the research, scripts were written by the producer himself and other producers who were graduates in Theatre Arts. Scripts were initially written in English, and later translated to Hausa. This was necessary because of the composition of the members of the cast. While some of them were on the staff of PTV and the Arts Council and could read the scripts written in English; most of them were housewives, petty businessmen and villagers at the shooting site who had little knowledge of English, and had to rely on the scripts written in Hausa. At times, even with such translations, verbal explanations were given to members of the cast who were not literate enough to read them.

(e) **The Recording:** Although it was the responsibility of the producer to ensure that there was a recorded episode of 'Helima' each week for transmission, he often had little assistance in some quarters. For instance, during the research period, he wrote all the scripts, directed and produced them. Apart from the cameraman who was the other 'professional', the rest of the team was made up of the members of the cast. The recording and the editing of the programme also had to be closely supervised, and in most cases, handled by the producer.
The relationship with the members of the production team - in this case, composed of the characters, the cameraman - were found to be close and reciprocal. Despite the fact that there were scripts, these were not memorized and repeated verbatim, but served as guidelines to the final productions. For each episode therefore, those who were literate enough read the scripts but in the end, all the members of cast met for rehearsals before the recordings. During such rehearsals, the overall structure of episode was discussed and each character was told his storyline and how it related to the rest of the other members. Thereafter, it was left to individual characters to understand their role and made sure they fitted coherently into the storyline and actions. Since no scripts were strictly followed, improvisation was the paramount device in this production. As the reader will recall, (Chapters 5 and 6), improvisation is an essential technique in the traditional communicative genres. With the emphasis on this device, the characters were allowed free movements as long as they were not overdone. They were also allowed to act and speak freely as long as such utterances or actions found meaningful places in the production. As one would expect, not only did such 'freedom' occasionally cause unnecessary delays during actual recording because some characters 'over-acted' their parts, but also some form of monitoring was introduced by the producer to control extrovert characters who over-emphasized their lines and roles. Despite such flaws which were mainly conspicuous during the first two or three episodes, improvisation remained the most effective technique in this production.

Before all recordings are made, the producers are expected to book a week in advance for the use of equipment such as the camera, outside lighting facilities, the editing room, a vehicle and all items necessary for their recordings.
Another aspect of the production was that in dealing with artistes who are resident in areas where the broadcasting stations are located, and who had occupations other than those associated with those of the rural people, for instance, civil servants, there first of all has to be an official clearance. The experience during the recording of 'the Bukin Sallah' episode of 'Helima' sums it all up. At 9.00 a.m. that day, the producer had been assured that approval was given for him to use the equipment and a van for his recording. Meanwhile, the characters had been contacted a week earlier, notifying them of the recording day.

It was the practice that on such recording days, a vehicle went to each of them, collected them and drove straight to the shooting site. At about 9.30 a.m. when the producer, cameraman and myself had the necessary equipment and props assembled, we were told that a senior officer had taken out the vehicle meant for our use.

Almost two hours later, the van was eventually brought and we drove straight to pick up one of the characters in an office. There, we waited for almost an hour because he was in an official meeting, and since his role was considered vital, we had no options. At the next stop, we waited patiently for about twenty minutes for a housewife who had to put finishing touches to her husband's lunch. However, we saved some time because her daughter (also one of the characters) who was to be picked up at school, came home while we were waiting. At the Jos main market, we also had to wait for another thirty minutes for one of the characters - a tailor by profession. He too had one of his customers waiting on him, and had to finish sewing his gown. With all the other actors and actresses in the van we then drove back to the television house to pick up the main character - Helima only to find him absent. The script had to be altered, and the recording went ahead without him. With this rather unfortunate experience
one could conclude that some of the problems with domestic programming have
to do with the carefree attitude of some of the better-placed personnel who may
delay or even hamper the productions; the obstacle caused by the professions
of the artistes, and sometimes, the lack of commitment on the part of some
characters.

When we finally arrived at the shooting site, the need for the recording
to be done in some compounds rather than the mining fields meant approaching
some of the villagers for permission to use such facilities. Initially we were
informed that this would be difficult because of the absence of the artiste who
played the role of 'Helima' who was Berom and spoke the language (also Berom)
of the people of this community. Fortunately, we had no problems because the
owners were very co-operative. We were equally lucky that at that time, most
of the people were in the fields, working. The few children and fairly old women
therefore allowed us the use of two adjacent compounds. In the end, the recording
lasted almost five hours because we started by rehearsing the scenes. We also
had the problem of re-taking several shoots before the final recording.

During this recording, we ran out of tapes and the producer had to rush
back to the corporation for a blank one. Meanwhile, the artistes broke off and
bought themselves some food within the camps. I had the opportunity of inter­
viewing some of them during this time off (responses are at a later section). We
were lucky that day that the shooting site was only about six kilometres from the
television house. Nonetheless, the abrupt stop midway into the recording meant
that the artistes had to tune themselves into form again on resumption. Even when
we had everything going our way, it suddenly became so windy that the producer
had to ask for a gourd in which he hid the only microphone to help control the
quality of sound. The other problem posed by the microphone was that since there was only one, some artists had to shout out their lines. Occasionally, I was asked to move it around, pointing it from time to time to individual artistes. This was not all that easy, as in a number of times, the cameraman had to signal me to move out of his shots.

During the recording, the members of the community who thronged the area, formed the background audience and at times, their spontaneous responses or reactions to the storylines acted by the artistes were incorporated in the final production. I recall that during the recording of this episode (Bukin Sallah) which involved a merrymaking scene, some old men and an old woman who did not know then that they were merely 'playing' (drama) walked into the camera shots. That particular part was not removed during the editing since it appeared so natural. Thereafter, more spontaneous audience responses were incorporated in the productions.

Perhaps the festive mood of the 'Bukin Sallah' episode accounted for the relatively large audience turnout. Hitherto, most of the recordings were done in the mining fields with fewer scenes in the compounds. The scene in which the artistes danced to some molo music led to more villagers pouring out, while those in neighbouring compounds stood over their fences to catch a glimpse of what was happening. One of the people that turned out, an old man probably about seventy, asked a youth what was going on. On noticing him, I became interested in his inquisitiveness. I saw the youth pointing to the producer, obviously telling him he was the person in charge. Not long after, I saw the old man almost smiling to himself. Soon, he became more involved, laughing and almost looking excited with what the artistes were doing. At the end of the recording, I approached
him and asked why he appeared excited and he replied:

"I have heard about them. My grandson told me that they are here after every two market days (incidentally the market days in this community fall on every Thursday - the day of the recording). I like their attire but in those days we did not have such nice dresses - like the ones worn by the women."

From his last comment, I sensed that the youth had talked to him about the productions. Even when we gathered the recording equipment and made for the van to take us back to the television house, the old man was still smiling - obviously either still excited or pondering what was going to be done with the recording.

Some Responses:

There were responses on many issues when I interviewed the producer and artists of "Helima". According to the producer, he had problems to do with the "lack of time to visit more local areas in search of additional material for his production ... the other problem I have, has to do with language, but all members of the group understand Hausa, and that is what we use in all our productions. In addition, I rely on the knowledge of the artistes who have been drawn from different ethnic groups for some of the material we use." In the interviews with the artistes, some of them enumerated the experiences they had when they first saw the recording equipment. One of them said (the interviews were in Hausa):

"When I first joined the group, I spoke with so much fear ... my voice was stammering, and every time I tried to look at the cameraman, I missed what I was expected to be doing. Sometimes I went across the line drawn for us to act within."
Another artiste with a similar experience said his own problems had "to do with my voice which the producer said had to be okay with the microphones. Now I do not speak naturally during the recordings". This artiste who said he was involved in a similar production with the radio station in Jos also said "I like taking part in the programmes but, adjusting my voice everytime ... I do not like very much". Apart from some of these problems mostly encountered by the artistes, particularly during their first experiences with the broadcasting equipment, some of them commented on their programme. For instance, one of them said:

"More time should be allocated for our programme. It should be shown twice a week because it teaches a lot of values and how to grow in the community, giving respect."

And another said:

"Some friends have told me that our programme is good but I have not seen it myself because we do not have a television in our house, and so, I have not seen it personally. They also say that it should be shown twice weekly instead of once every fifteen days."

The opinion of many of the artistes interviewed was that thirty minutes every fortnight allocated for their programme was not enough. While they complained of insufficient transmission time, I observed during the research period that there were several repeats of the old episodes because at one stage, it was not possible to produce the expected thirty minute programme after every two weeks. One respondent felt that the production lacked certain facilities. According to him:

"... many people like to see our programme because they know some of us who participate and respect us. PTV should however,"
buy new sets of costumes so that our friends do not see us with what we wear everyday on television for the programme."

My understanding of this, was that this artiste felt concerned about appearing for the television productions in the same attire that they used in daily life. I share his point to some extent in the sense that particular costumes may add certain aesthetic qualities to the production.

'RAYE RAYENMU' AND OTHER SIMILAR PROGRAMMES

Like 'Helima', 'Raye Rayenmu' (literally meaning OUR DANCES) was a 30 minute weekly local programme produced by Plateau Television which had as its central theme, the traditional performances with particular attention given to the aspects of songs, musical performances and dance. But unlike 'Helima', this production was not based on any written scripts (except for the director's notes), rather, traditional artists and performing occasions served as sources for the programme. As was observed during the research, on some occasions the performers were either invited to the studio, or recordings were made at the local areas of the artistes.

Programme Format and Studio Recordings

Since the programme was not only meant to entertain but also to educate the viewers on the cultural backgrounds of the artists and their folk forms, detailed research was expected to be done by the producer before the recordings. In these programmes which involved either an individual performer or a group of artistes, a fairly standardized format was used during their recordings: The traditional artiste or group was first of all introduced by a presenter (in Hausa), and this was then followed by a performance. About midway through the programme, the presenter interrupted the performance and interviewed one of the artistes (or the
artist, if a solo performer). The questions were centered on such points as the aim or significance of the performance to the community or the group. Additional details about the meanings of the songs, dance movements, costumes and musical instruments were also asked. When I asked the producer of this programme why it was necessary to interrupt the artists during the recording of the performance, he said:

"... you see, not everybody understands what they are saying or doing. Most of them are not singing in a language like Hausa which many people understand so, we have to stop them and let them explain what they are singing about."

The studio recording of the 'Anaguta' musical group during my stay with this producer made it possible for me to understand some of the points he made. The reader will recall (Chapter Five) that the 'Anaguta' is a traditional performance of the youth which combines the blowing of the 'isharuwa' (flutes) to perfect melodic renditions with the well-choreographed dance steps of the artistes. During this recording for instance, it was discovered that the studio was not large enough to accommodate these twenty youthful flautists and four drummers whose vigorous performance techniques included many dance formations. For instance, when not leaping high into the air, they were dancing in circular formations or in pairs. As we found out during the recording, it was extremely difficult to effectively mount the microphones so as to get the overall musical quality of their rendition. What was even more difficult despite the three studio cameras, was capturing the energetic leaps they made as they danced. The entire performance was dominated by the blowing of the flutes although there were some moments in which they sang some songs. The little space in the studio made it impossible for these performers to move freely let alone, display their acrobatic dexterity.
Against such a background, one would see why it was necessary to occasionally interrupt the performance and interview one of the artistes. In the case of the Anaguta, this was also vital for the audience to make any meaning from their songs because they were all performed in the Anaguta language. Also during my research period, the National Television Authority network programme 'Folk Songs' transmitted every Sunday morning was similar to this PTV production, except that it was presented in English and portrayed artists from all parts of the country. For instance, each week, the programme 'Folk Songs' featured artistes from a cross-section of the Nigerian ethnic groups. The NTA Jos production 'Al' Adun Gargajiya' (Our Cultural Heritage) was also produced along the same formats.

In instances where there was only a solo performer for the studio recording, the problem was not all that complex. Here, it was simply a matter of providing one microphone and letting the presenter introduce the artiste. The situation was even made simpler for both producer and presenter when such performances were in Hausa because that often meant little explaining to be done on their parts. In one of such studio recordings in which Dan Maraya Jos sang

"Do not take drugs
it is not good for you
Give me your attention
Drugs should not be taken anyhow
Do not take drugs without Doctor's prescriptions
Since your grandfather and your father did not take them
why should you take drugs?";

the original text in Hausa had relatively become popular just as his other songs among large Hausa-speaking audiences. I remarked in Chapter Five that in this song, like many others, Dan Maraya addresses the general audience. He however has a performance technique of appealing to specific audiences by referring
either to the family or social group. And these are often influential socializing
groups among traditional communities.

In another song, Dan Maraya talked of the teacher whom he considered
along with the labourer as great people within any society. Titled *Ticha*,
Dan Maraya recalled:

"When you send your child to school,
He keeps furthering his education up to University level,
He can go overseas - Russia, Japan, Italy or USA to study,
After his course he returns home to take up a job.
He builds a house and buys a car,
while the teacher is still unable to buy a bicycle.

Now I am convinced that teachers do not work for the sake of the money.
They mainly help to build the nation,
Like the labourer,
They help to build the nation.
Teacher, poor teacher, the taproot of learning.

In my interview with Dan Maraya after this performance, I asked why he chose
the type of people he sang about and he replied:

"I sing about people, all people, the rich, the poor and everyone
in society. I also sing about anything I see in the society.
But, whenever I perform, I remember the labourer or the
teacher. Can you remember any project that can be done anywhere
without the labourer; or, is all learning not in the hands
of the teacher?"

Sometimes the decision to do a studio or field recording is determined
by the financial costs involved. If the financial implications of inviting a
particular group as weighed against that of the production crew meeting them in
their community was found to be cheaper, then such groups were recorded in
the studio. The total number of artists involved in the recording and their
nearness to the broadcasting station was another determinant. For
instance, the 'Gwaska' group which stays about two hundred and fifty
kilometers away had to be invited to the studio for a recording because the group was made up of only five members. It was therefore considered that paying their transportation costs was cheaper and more convenient than taking out the scarce recording equipment for such an exercise.

The studio recording of 'Gwaska' for the 'Raye Rayenmu' programme was not as complex as that of the Anaguta because of the smaller number of artistes in this group. It was equally easier because of the ordering of the performers. The lead singer had one camera permanently on him while the drummers had the second camera assigned to them. The third camera focused on the two dancers who combined the peculiar dance style of this group with the occasional repeat of a set pattern of chorus at the end of each stanza by the lead singer. The group performed one of their popular songs 'A\'l Adun Gargajiya' meaning 'Our Cultural Heritage' (full text of the song is discussed in Chapter Six). In this song, performed in Hausa, 'Gwaska' drew the attention of the society to the traditional resources available before the coming of the modern technologies that are now almost replacing them. The group told the society that there was still need to respect the traditional forms despite the new ones. The beginning stanzas of this song read:

Lead: Artists,  
Our Cultural Heritage,  
take care of them; for God's sake, do not forget them.

Chorus: God help us,  
Our Cultural Heritage,  
take care of them; for God's sake, do not forget them.

Lead: So my singers and dancers,  
Our cultural heritage,  
take care of them; for God's sake, do not forget them.  
I am calling on all the farmers of this land,  
for God's sake, the farmers of this land,
before the arrival of Europeans in this land,
bringing tractors into this land,
you know there were blacksmiths in this land,
they cut iron, heat them in fire and beat them,
then they fashioned big hoes
they also made smaller hoes in this land
with the big hoes, they farmed; and with the little ones
they did their weeding.
For God's sake farmers, listen to my advice,
even if you have agricultural tractors today,
for God's sake, do not forget our traditional hoes.

Chorus: (same as lines 4-6).

Lead: I am calling on the womenfolk
in this land,
for God's sake women, listen to my advice,
before the coming of the Europeans into this land,
bringing grinding machines and blenders,
you know our forebears had their traditional machines
they used to use flat stones to grind their grains
which then became the flour used for our meals
for God's sake Baba is advising you again
even if you have these grinding machines and blenders
take care of the traditional stone.... (full text in Chapter 6)

In this song which ran to over one hundred lines, the artists made special
reference to particular social groups even though in the end, the song was
expected to cut across the entire society. For instance, the lead singer began
with such lines as:

"I am calling on the womenfolk of this land"
or
"I am calling on all the farmers of this land"
or
"Children, listen to me...."

When the lead singer wanted to refer to a general audience, he had such lines
as:

"For I am going to give you another talk if you will all listen...." or
"For this reason, I will give you my talk, I am sure you will all understand...."
In effect, each of the stanzas had a specific theme discussed. In the later parts of this song, for instance, the group reminded the traditional weavers to keep up their trade, while all members of the society were reminded of the importance of the need for individual control as established by the social and political control systems within traditional communities. During the recording, it was not possible to complete this particular song because of the length and number of repetitions of stanzas. In addition, the group had started the recording session with a different song. The fact that part of the twenty-five minutes allocated for the programme had to be reserved for credits at the end of the recording and some of this was used up by the presenter of the programme, also meant a limited performance time for the group.

The studio recording of the 'Sombi' musical group resulted in similar problems. The performance of 'Sombi' (see Chapter Six) was centred on the use of horns as the main musical instrument which each performer - as in the case of the 'Anaguta' - blew. During this recording, it was very difficult to control, and therefore get the overall tonal qualities of this group's performers. The reader will recall that the group relied essentially on the hocket technique of performance (the twenty musicians had their horns graded in which case, two, three or sometimes four horns perform the same melodic lines, which when taken together, formed a contrapuntal web). Camera and microphone positions were changed many times in the hope that the problem could be taken care of. None of these proved successful, but the recording had to take place. After a number of trials, it was possible to have the desired effects when the group was asked to remain in particular positions. However, the recording could not be done in those positions because they would not have appeared like real performances. Some form of balance was therefore struck. The artistes were made to limit their movements
and to try as much as possible, to make the performance look 'natural' during the recording.

In my earlier discussion on the Sombi (Chapter Six) I said that "the visual displays by the performers do not only enhance the aesthetics, but also, saliently communicate the occupational abilities of the musicians and their folk societies". For instance, the overall appearance of the 'Sombi' artiste in his full costume with his musical instrument immediately portrays him as a hunter as well as a farmer. During the recording therefore, it was necessary for the presenter to stop the performance and interview the leader of the group during which every bit of their costumes and what their songs meant were explained. After the recording, I approached the leader and asked him if it was the first time his group was recorded in the studio and he said:

"No. We have also been recorded by the other television house (obviously referring to NTA Jos). But... I do not like it. When we go to the studio, we have little places to perform in. We reduce the number of our songs, or sing five very short ones. Sometimes, when we are to enjoy our songs, they tell us that it is time..."

The observation made during this recording also showed that while in some instances, the artistes were made to change their performance formations so as to be effectively recorded, in other occasions their performances were cut short because of the limited period allocated for the production. Infact, during the recording of the 'Sombi', one of the producers who had the next booking to use the studio kind of hurried things up because he kept signalling to the producer of 'Raye Rayenmu' that he had his own artists waiting outside and that some of them had grown impatient because they had waited too long.
While the presentation of 'Raye Rayenmu' was done in Hausa, the artistes performed in their traditional languages. It was therefore the duty of the producer to have some background information on all groups that were to be recorded. He in turn furnished the presenter of the programme with these details before the recordings. I noticed on a couple of occasions that the presenter took it upon himself to interview the leader and some artistes of the 'Anaguta' and 'Sombi' groups prior to the recordings.

On relatively fewer occasions, some recordings of these artistes and traditional performers were done in their actual traditional contexts like during some of the annual festivals in these communities. Such recordings were then transmitted after some editing, with commentaries superimposed on them. Such recordings to a great extent, appeared to be more realistic than the ones carried out at the studio although in some cases, they tended to have been noisily done. Noisy in the sense that very little was understood of the aural aspects of the recordings. The visual aspects were usually okay. For such recordings, occasional 'voice-overs' were used to explain the details of the celebrations. Apart from this kind of recording for transmission, the production of 'Raye Rayenmu' also involved the travelling of the production crew to the rural communities to meet individual artistes or groups of performers.

Field Recordings

In November 1983, the Plateau State Arts Council and Plateau Television undertook a field recording of some of the traditional performing groups (most of those discussed in Chapter Six) in Plateau State. The production crew was made up of two Cultural Affairs personnel and one camera man and a sound recordist from Plateau Television. Since I could not get back to Leicester in
October as earlier scheduled, I availed myself of the opportunity and accompanied them. We had three weeks within which to cover the recording of twenty-one groups. Before we left Jos for these areas, letters had been despatched to each group or individual artiste notifying them of the specific dates we were to be in their areas. While it may be cumbersome to narrate all the experiences encountered during this trip, illustrations of some of the observations are necessary in understanding some of the problems inherent in trying to incorporate the traditional forms into broadcasting.

The large area of coverage within the relatively short period meant that we tried as much as possible to be in those areas as scheduled. But this was not always possible. Things went smoothly during the first four days until on the fifth day, when we were travelling to record the 'Agale' music group (Chapter Six) in Umaisha. We had finished a recording in Keffi and so put up for the night there. Umaisha is about one hundred and forty kilometres from Keffi. About half way through our journey, we had a flat tyre. It was only then that the driver realized that he had forgotten his tool box. We were therefore forced to wait there for almost forty-five minutes before we had help and replaced the tyre with the spare one. Meanwhile, as soon as we arrived, the traditional ruler who had already assembled the group in front of his palace, rebuked us for the lateness. The leader of the team had to do some explaining after which he accepted our reason for the delay.

We went ahead and recorded the musicians partly using the traditional ruler's palace and the river that lay behind this palace as backgrounds. But recording 'Agale' music alone without the actual 'Ogani' (Chapter Five) festival occasions, meant losing the vital information of the need for the performance of
this type of music. The historical significance of the 'Ogani' which cumulates in the re-enactment of certain historical processes in this community was found to be lacking. Whereas, if the recording had been done during the actual festival (which I have personally attended on three occasions) the content of the programme could have been culturally richer. This could have been made possible by recording various other aspects of the festival such as: the performance of the 'Ozi-eya' which is an enactment of the brave slave warrior; the performances of the other different musical types related to Ogani - depicting male and female royalists; and Agale music itself which is the music of the fishermen in this community. Usually during this festival, there is a regatta with an actual fishing event both backed up with the performance of Agale music. The people of this community are also great traditional weavers. During this festival therefore, an exhibition of traditionally woven cloths and weavers demonstrating on their looms are great features. Carvings, and carvers working on different pieces are also seen in action. Such details give some overall picture of the occupational life of the people of this community; while the relationship between the traditional ruling group and the other members which are made obvious in their types of music, also portrays the social groupings there. Such details when included in recordings are bound to make more meaning to the viewing audience, than just recording of the 'Agale' musical group and thereafter, only mentioning the other details as was the case with the type of recording we did.

From the experiences gained during the recording of some of these traditional groups, it was found that most of the traditional forms now incorporated into broadcasting are those that have lost their ritual significance, and therefore,
now mainly serve aesthetic functions in these communities. Some of the artistes

told us that even though they agreed to perform some musical aspects of an entire

performance for us, that some of their music was still used for ritual roles. We

had a problem with the 'Lesah' (Chapter Six). Although 'Lesah' music was

traditionally performed to mark burial rites among the Eggon-speaking people

of Arigbadu, today it is also performed to mark marriage, naming and other

social ceremonies. For instance, 'allo' the song performed by this group

between March and April yearly, is associated with the rites aimed at evoking

the spirits for a good rainfall for the community during the farming season.

Today, this music can also be performed outside the context of its ritual

significance - purely for aesthetic purposes.

When we arrived in Arigbadu, we were told that it was Agiri period - a

period in which music was not to be sounded in this community. After all the

explanations done by the leader of our group, the lead artiste said the best he

could do then was to seek approval from the traditional ruler of the community.

We were then told to go back the following day. This rescheduling affected the

other recordings because we had to return to this village the following morning.

In the end, five trips had to be made moving the artistes to the site chosen for the

recording which was about seven kilometres away from their community. Again,

what we ended up having was mainly the group without any kind of responses

because there was no audience to do so.

Another group of artists that gave us a similar problem was the 'Ajigo' -

the royal music of the Alago people in Keana (also discussed in Chapter Six).

Unfortunately, we went to this community during the period of 'Oya' - an annual

salt festival. During this period the Osana (traditional ruler) went into
seclusion, and Ajigo music was not expected to be sounded. It was difficult to convince the leader of this group to organize the musicians for the recording. I took the advantage of being an Alago and so decided to speak to the sixty eight year old leader. This further infuriated him and he said:

"I am disappointed with you. You are supposed to know better and tell the rest of your friends that it is not possible now. Tell them to come after the OYA. It is a taboo and the 'Aleku' (ancestral gods) will not be happy with us if we blow the 'Ajigo' (also name of the main musical instrument) now."

I had to persist further, telling him that it was a Government project that needed all communities to be included. I mentioned a number of ethnic groups recorded and emphasized that each of them represented their languages and people and wondered if he wanted the Alago people out of the programme. This seemed to work but he had to confer with others before finally accepting that they could be recorded. In view of the fact that the music could not be played inside the community during that period, we had to move the group about three kilometres away for the recording. As it turned out, it was without any audience response because it was done merely as an aesthetic piece rather than in any context in which it served a specific function.

The recording of Ogga Omaku - a solo performer proved particularly difficult for the recording crew. Being a solo performer, we thought that would make it relatively easy in terms of positioning the microphone, and perhaps having to do anything other than a straight recording. Unfortunately, it was a windy day and things could not work out that easily. Meanwhile, Ogga did what he could to control the windy atmosphere. While we waited anxiously for the wind to calm because we wanted the recording done outside, Ogga started with a prelude:
"Get up from here,
What brought you coming after me?
Oh, let me send them away,
back to 'Odologya' to sleep
Here - get out from here
what brought you coming after me?

It looks alright,
the hen has accepted the grains
let 'Agashu' send them away....
'Agashu' look at those witches running away
they are scared of you.
Death, death, death...
dead has come, death has come
doing away with some people for no reason.

'Agashu' has come
death, death, death,
'Agashu' oh ... fire, fire, fire
look at those witches running
they are scared of you
'Agashu' fire, fire, fire..."

Note: 'Odologya' is one of the cemeteries in Doma (where Ogga comes from);
and 'Agashu' is considered one of the good spirits in the community.

Detailed analysis of song texts may lead to better knowledge of folk belief systems.
In this song for instance, 'Agashu' the good spirit is called upon to drive away the evil ones - 'Agashu, look at those witches ... they are scared of you.' What seemed to amuse the recording crew was the serious look the artist put on as he sang this song backed with a strong throbbing of his 'Kumburu' (small lute). And despite all this, the wind never died down as quickly as was expected. But Ogga would not stop. He kept on playing, and by this time more people had gathered.
Eventually the recording took place.

From my observations and experiences in dealing with the traditional artistes, the use of individual languages makes it difficult for audiences that do not belong to such linguistic groups to understand the lyrics used in such folk forms as dance or musical performances. What is more, often such song texts
are loaded with oral communicative forms as the proverb and poetic sayings.
And satire is also used to a great extent (detailed discussion of this was done in
Chapter Five). Apart from appealing to a larger audience only aesthetically, there
is also the likelihood that making meaning from them would be impossible without
knowledge of the cultural background from which the traditional artist derives his
communicative genres. For instance, the song by Ogga Omaku (Chapter Six) in
which he satirizes the society by merely using the duck as the central theme could
not have been meaningful to all viewers when the programme was transmitted
because of the obvious fact that it was sung in Alago. Part of it goss:

"You ducklings that feel you can lead your mother
you'll see...
ducklings, ducklings, what stupid pride?
when the duck hatches,
the ducklings follow this hen,
the ducklings follow the hen.
Then the duck stands and says 'qui qui',
who knows what that 'qui qui' stands for?
It takes the duck three months
to lay her eggs and hatch them,
but when the ducklings come out of their shells,
they hassle up front...
While their mother is here,
they hastingly move up front.
Sometimes in astonishment, their mother stops and says:
my children,
after all the sufferings,
you think you can lead the way?
Still perplexed, she would stop and say: qui qui
that signifies a bad omen
for the ducklings" ... (full text in Chapter 6).

In another song, Ogga used the hare - also an animal to make his point to the
society. In this rather brief manner he said:

"The hare is the proud one
the hare, master of all tricks;
you have it wrong this time
to have collected the eggs of a bird;
Tell me, do you have any wings
to protect them before they hatch?
Proud, oh proud hare...
You have it wrong this time
I am telling you all -
For anyone who wants to listen."

The last two lines are often used in his performance to remind the audiences that he is indeed referring to them. But understanding this song as all others, would depend on having a cultural knowledge of his frame of reference. When I talked to Ogga after the recording, he told me that he "preferred using common animals, particularly those used in story-telling sessions because most people are familiar with them. But I do not just use them like that. They all have a message. In this one, I am talking to people who cannot afford certain things to be comfortable with what they have. They should not be greedy as most people are today".

Another example of the linguistic difficulties is in the historical song by Audu Agwatashi (see Chapter Six) in which he traces the movement of the Alago people to their present places of settlement. In narrating the migration of the Alago, Audu used a simple and straightforward idiom unlike the approach by Ogga Omaku. For instance, the first two stanzas of this song read:

"You see Alago,
You will know Alago today.

You see Alago,
those who came from Kwararafa,
and crossed the River Benue,
We are Alago children,
We will know Alago today (full text in Chapter 6)

All through, the song communicates historical facts to the audiences. Only those who understood Alago could understand such messages. But for my personal
advantage as an Alago man, making meaning from this song and others could have been as difficult as it was impossible for the other members of the recording crew. While in some of the instances it was possible that one of us understood one particular language or another, in most cases, none of us understood many of the languages of the groups we recorded. In such instances, we had to rely on a middle-man - usually an indigene who understood either English or Hausa and acted as an interpreter.

In each of the communities we visited, we found the traditional rulers playing an essential role. For instance, as soon as we arrived, the first place we went to for any information was at the traditional ruler's palace. After the first six recordings, this had become an established pattern. Even when we got the artistes assembled and chose a site for the recording, most of them insisted on our doing it either directly in front of the palace, or somewhere near it. When I interviewed one of the artistes why they insisted on performing in front of the palace he said:

"He is our leader. If you want anything in this village, you must first see him. He has the right to call all of us together through his messenger or anybody he finds around. And when he does so, such people are expected to meet in front of the palace. Now, you cannot come here and take pictures (referring to the recording) of some people without showing our chief's palace ... when other people see it, they will know that the pictures were taken here."

As far as this artiste was concerned, recording the group was almost synonymous with identifying with the chief's palace, which to him, was the symbol of the community to the outsiders.

Another phenomenon was how easily I observed people throng the performing area as soon as they saw our van and more so, when the artistes had
commenced their performance. Often, both the young and old came pouring out; while mothers with their toddlers clinging tenaciously, rushed to the scene at the sound of the drums. In fact, at some stages even mothers breastfeeding their babies got so involved that they also joined the main artists being recorded. Once the musical instruments were played, this sent a message across that there was a performance in session. All these show the community-centered effect of the traditional media forms and how, even when some people were regarded as the 'artistes' of 'performers', I observed that all members of those communities were artists and performers.

Although I placed a lot of emphasis earlier on the importance of understanding the texts of the songs used in these performances; an equally vital or significant aspect is the role of the traditional musical instrument (discussed in detail in Chapter Six). In each of these performances, when not complimenting the song, the instruments dictate the rhythm of the dance. In the recording of the 'Kabulu' and 'Sarkin Baka' groups (Chapter Six) this was found to be most common. In each of these groups, individual artistes had what referred to as taki. The taki signals these individuals to react to certain tunes that were associated with them. On the whole, while taki could be sung, they were most often signalled through instrumentation. Some members of the community also had their taki, and when these were sounded, they responded by giving the musicians gifts mainly in the form of money.

The recording of some groups like 'Zhimak' and the 'Kabulu' was very problematic because of the number and variety of instruments used by these artistes. There was a tendency for most of the smaller chordophones to be dominated and almost swallowed by the relatively louder sound from the drums.
Since we had only one microphone, it was difficult to place it anywhere and get the desired effects and most of the performances demanded moving around in circular formations. Where we tried to rearrange the ordering of these instruments to suit our recording purposes, we discovered that this affected the entire musical performance. In the end, we settled for their order of performance, even though this meant losing some of the sound quality of the renditions. There were also a number of instances during which performances were interrupted because the cameraman was not satisfied with some shots and so wanted them retaken. Dance formations were also recorded to suit the production requirements. As we found out, these were difficult to carry out because they made the performers appear uncomfortable. However, the extent of such restructuring of the groups’ formations was not as pronounced as the situation at the studio.

From the analysis of programmes (Chapter Eight), I found out that radio accounted for a greater transmission time for domestic rather than foreign programmes. Most of such programmes when not featured during discussion productions - as in the 'Magazines' in the nine languages produced by Radio Plateau, were centered on the transmission of many hours of recorded traditional music. During my research period with Radio Plateau, 'Music Tour of Plateau State', a programme which relied on hours of traditional music was transmitted every Wednesday, with repeat broadcasts on Thursdays. The production of this programme which involved an entirely different performer or group of artistes each week, also relied on the kind of format used in the production of 'Raye Rayenmu'. The presenter often asked the artistes about the meanings of their songs along with other details that were considered by the producer of the programme as useful in helping the listeners understand and appreciate the music.
'Ancestral Folktales' - a programme that relied on the vast repertoire of folktales peculiar to the different ethnic groups; 'Music from the Local Government Areas' and 'Shahararan Makadi' were some of the other programmes that involved the use of the traditional forms in the productions transmitted by Radio Plateau. Recording sessions were sometimes held in the studio, but in most instances, they were made in the field. Many other productions by Radio Plateau were not directly based on such performing folk forms, but were incorporated in discussion programmes like the nine 'Magazine' programmes mentioned earlier. Request programmes in these languages and Hausa were also popular forums for such incorporations.

Based on my observations and experiences in doing both studio and field recordings for domestic programmes, a number of generalizations can be made. In some instances, the producers tried to have very perfect recordings in the studio. As we discovered in the case of the 'Anaguta' and 'Sombi' traditional performers, this was not possible because of the dance formation in the case of the former, and the nature of the musical instruments in the case of the latter. It is against the background of such problems that Ranganath (1981:9) argues that since "folk forms draw sustenance from their environment, as far as possible, programmes should be made in their natural setting. In a studio because of technology, a situation foreign to the artists is created."

Along similar discussions, and stating the need for field recordings, Sidney Head concluded:

"Field recording of traditional artists remains one of the most important sources of programme material for African stations ... they help bridge the internal gap between the life of the cities and traditional rural life, to preserve the fading cultural heritage of majority of the ethnic groups and give
those groups a sense of participation in natural life via broadcasting service, to correct the cultural distortions caused by urbanism and commercialization of entertainment..." (Head, 1974:357).

The song texts of the traditional musical groups I studied, show that themes of social relevance to their communities are discussed. The main problem however, has been the language in which such performances were held. The transmission of such programmes to heterogenous groups may not be meaningful, except for aesthetic purposes. Therefore, this simplified realism as perceived by the traditional artiste and embedded in symbolic expressions (through the use of forms like proverbs and riddles) are decipherable by particular rural audiences only.

The role of the producers in not only doing the field recordings, but also creating a sense of awareness among such rural people and discussing traditional themes that could be of relevance for such recordings are equally considered important. Katz (1977) suggests that the producers:

"... could be sent out into the countryside to observe and record the traditional performing arts. They could be assigned to view television - indeed, to view their own programmes - together with families and groups in traditional settings. They could be asked to analyse the meanings and the functions of different sorts of programmes for these groups" (p.120).

While most of these suggestions are in order, the lack of television sets or centres in the rural areas in Nigeria hampers such implementation. In most cases therefore, there is no feedback from the rural performers after their recordings have been made and transmitted. For some of them, apart from the recording equipment at the recording sites, or in the studios, they hardly have an idea of what a television screen is like, let alone view any programmes.
From a number of indications, it appears more advantageous that, for the recordings involving the traditional forms, broadcasting technologies are moved to the locality rather than bringing the traditional performers to the studio - (sometimes the nature of the programme may be the determining factor). Whatever the circumstances, field recordings have an enormous advantage. It does not only give better background information on the 'real' situation at such rural areas, but also allows for a better understanding of the relationship between the traditional medium being used and the other aspects of the community. Moreover, studio recordings do not only remove the glamour, splendour or spectacle common with such traditional forms (particularly those that are aesthetically oriented), but also give little insight into the general cultural milieu of the performers. In the end, such studio recordings do not only appear tailored, but there is often little or no room for the free movement of artistes.

As we saw earlier, the recording of a traditional form like the 'Ogani' - an annual fishing and cultural festival of the people of Umaisha - for instance, involved more than inviting one of the 'Agale' (traditional music associated with the 'Ogani' festival, and therefore the people of this area) performers for a thirty-minute recording and hoping that in the end, the audience had full knowledge of what the entire festival was about. Recording 'Agale' music out of the context of this festival therefore subjects it to its aesthetic appeal only. So, while an 'Agale' musical group can be recorded in the studio, in recording the 'Ogani' festival (for which Agale music is an important aspect), broadcasting equipment has to be moved to the location of performance. The recording of such traditional forms on location is bound to provide a better means of understanding the aesthetic as well as some of the social relevance of such a performance.
Some Public Programmes Utilizing the Traditional Media Forms:

Nigeria has recently embarked on a number of programmes aimed at some national awareness, change in attitudes and dedication to national duties. For these programmes, broadcasting has been widely employed to mobilize audiences at all levels. The need to reach the rural populace has therefore led to the deliberate utilization of traditional media forms peculiar to specific geographical areas of the nation. Apart from making use of opinion leaders at the village level, traditional artistes have been briefed on themes, which they have developed and incorporated in their performances. Recordings of some of these were made and aired from time to time either as special programmes, during intermissions or as network slots. The 'War Against Indiscipline' and 'Environmental Sanitation' were some of the national campaigns that to some extent, involved the use of these media forms.

(a) 'War Against Indiscipline'

Commonly referred to as 'WAI', the 'War Against Indiscipline' was launched by the former Nigerian Chief of Army Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Major-General Tunde Idiagbon on the 20th March 1984. The campaign was regarded as some form of "social renaissance aimed at reviewing the social values" of Nigerian Culture. It was equally regarded as "a national consciousness and mobilization drive aimed at restoring public accountability and service to the nation". The campaign also sought to get rid of social vices like corruption which was believed to have eaten deep into Nigeria's social fabric particularly during the country's second Republic which ended on the 31st December 1983.

A number of strategies were employed to ensure that the campaigns were effectively carried out nationally. There was for instance, a 'National
Consciousness and Enlightenment Committee' (NACEC) involving representatives from each of the nineteen states of the Federation. A similar committee was also expected in each of the states charged with the responsibility of embarking on effective programmes that would remedy the societal vices. It was hoped that the 'State committees' would not only deal directly with the urban and rural dwellers, but that they were in a better position to give some kind of feedback to the national committee which would then enable the review of particular strategies. Since these programmes were generally geared towards informational campaigns for a change in attitudes, the state committees were also expected to involve the services of the local government council areas, and to form sub-committees at these levels. The aim was to look for possibilities of encouraging the traditional artistes to include such themes in their performances.

The launching of WAI did not only have corruption as the main theme. "National consciousness and awareness, patriotism and national cultural identity" were other targets. With the mass mobilization campaigns, traditional artistes at various levels learnt to contribute by using some of these themes in their repertoires. One of such songs aimed at drawing the national consciousness of the Nigerian citizenry performed by Alh Dan Maraya, originally in Hausa but when literally translated appears like this:

Come to work in good time
When you come to work, perform your duties;
Avoid gossiping from one office to another.
Avoid stealing examination papers
For the engineer who steals his examination papers,
Cannot even loosen the bolts of his car tyres.

Why, Nigerian youths with 'T-shirts inscribed:
"I Love New York", "I Love London";
Instead, I am urging you to put
I LOVE NIGERIA
Since this is your father's land,
this is your grandfather's land.

This composition along with others was transmitted from time to time by broadcasting organizations in Plateau State and at national network programmes transmitted from Lagos. Each of the stanzas in this short song by Dan Maraya appears to be directed to particular audiences. For instance, the first stanza mainly addresses the civil servants and other government functionaries who either disregard their responsibilities of service to the nation, and come to work at their leisure, or when they come, spend a good amount of the official hours discussing personal matters which are in the long run, of little relevance to the jobs for which they are paid. The second stanza applies to a wider spectrum of society, but with direct relevance to students. It clearly states that stealing does not pay; while in the third stanza, Dan Maraya appeals to the youth to be patriotic by identifying with towns and cities in Nigeria rather than elsewhere. Many people considered this mobilization campaign a red herring, but alternative-phases were soon introduced by the Buhari administration to occupy the minds of the people.

(b) 'Environmental Sanitation'

Another phase of the national consciousness and awareness mobilization was the Environmental Sanitation campaign launched in August, 1985. The objective of this programme was that of achieving an environmentally healthy society. Since its launching, task forces have been employed to see that homes, offices and streets were kept tidy.

Strategies similar to those used for the 'War Against Indiscipline'
were used. Although broadcasts were made on both television and radio, those of the former were restricted to the urban centres because of the obvious problems of rural electrification and lack of television centres at the rural areas. However, the ubiquitous nature of the radio (capable of reaching all nooks and corners of the society) enables programmes on the campaign themes to reach audiences of all sectors. Although the 'environmental sanitation campaign' does not readily replace the daring social changes in society, the exercise appeared to be successful. And since it involved all sectors of the Nigerian society, traditional media forms were expected to be utilized, a strategy for nationally mobilizing the rural communities. To a larger extent, some observers opined that the traditional forms would find more relevance here than in the campaign against indiscipline.

The Arts Council and Domestic Programming

A number of policies which involved the use of the traditional resources, for example, the recording of the traditional groups discussed in Chapter Six, indicated the concern between the Arts Council and broadcasting organizations to utilize local themes for their programming. For instance, it was hoped that such productions would help to unite the nation culturally through the exchange of the programmes between different state and national broadcasting organizations. There was also the general belief that such broadcasts would achieve a national success since they provided forums for understanding and appreciating value-systems within Nigeria's different culture-groups. While it is possible to say that the policy-makers in the broadcasting corporations were aware of the need to incorporate such culturally relevant themes in their programmes, it can also be argued that the reliance and development of such programmes became necessitated by the embargo placed on the importation of foreign goods and
services. The latter argument appears more realistic based on the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the structure of programming within the broadcast media, particularly the television. From these data, (Chapter Eight), the figures of domestic productions rose rather sharply between 1984 and 1985.

For the information on the cultural resources for these programmes, the broadcasting organizations have had to liaise with the Council for Arts and Culture.

(a) **Relationship with the Broadcasting Organizations:**

There has been some traditionally established relationship between the broadcasters and the Arts Council personnel. For instance, when television first came to Plateau State (then BPTV) in 1974, Alhaji Aliyu Doma who was at the Head of the Cultural Affairs of the State, was a board member of the television corporation. There are also more subtle relationships through the members of staff of the Arts Council and the broadcasting houses. Most of them have either attended the same courses, or worked together before leaving one of the organizations for the other. In some instances, members of staff of the Arts Council have been called upon to take up appointments with the broadcasting stations, and handle programmes which have relevance to their working experience. In the interview with the Plateau State Director of Arts and Culture, Mr. P.B. Cuktu, he talked of the relationship and co-operation that exists between his organization and the broadcasting stations:

"... since the beginning of the council, we have been working hand in hand in the establishment, promotion, development and presentation of Arts and Culture; that is, between the Council and Radio houses; between the Council and Television houses. We do it either collectively or individually. From time to time our artistes are presented in these media houses for excellent performances... In fact, we have deliberately allowed some of our staff at the Arts Council to join either the Radio or Television in order to improve the standard of cultural programming."
There is also a working relationship between these organizations in which information in the form of brief write-ups and bulletins about the traditional forms are obtained from the Arts Council. Similarly, there is information on a wide range of cultural activities peculiar to Plateau State which can often be cross-checked before dissemination through broadcasting. Through occasional attachment of Arts Council personnel to the broadcasting organizations and vice versa for particular productions, such broadcasters are also given further exposure to the available traditional resources needed for their programming.

During the interview with the Director of Arts and Culture, I also tried to find out if specific orientation programmes of any sort were organized for the broadcasters who had little or no idea about the cultural resources of the state, particularly if such producers handled productions that relied heavily on the traditional forms. According to him, occasional orientation programmes and workshops were held not only to educate the broadcasters, but also the cultural affairs officers and all those in charge of cultural promotion activities in schools. With emphasis, he added:

"All cultural producers at any level should first and foremost be fully educated in the Arts of which they are presenting. They must not assume that they know ... or just use any Western standards. They should go down to the grass-roots level, learn from the people ... so that the highest standard ... of presentation or the commentary must be said."

When not helping with information on particular traditional forms, Arts Council personnel have also proved very useful mediators between the traditional communicators and the broadcasters. In contacting the traditional artistes at the rural level for instance, letters from the media organizations are sent to the Arts Council, who then inform the artistes - giving them details about the
occasion or type of performance, the dates as well as the preparations needed. Often, if the recordings were for stage or studio, members of the 'Performing Arts' unit of the Council handled the issue of rehearsals.

(b) What does the Traditional Artiste stand to gain?

At the moment, there are no copyright laws guiding the recording and transmission of the traditional media forms, and so once recorded, programmes are aired for as many hours as the broadcasting corporations find them necessary. At this point, one wonders whether the establishment of some guiding principles may lead to some form of commercialization of the traditional forms. On the other hand, traditional performers are usually paid petty fees which are in the end, not commensurate with their products. For instance, after the recording of a thirty-minute programme, artistes were paid only $30 (approximately £17). The members of cast of the traditional drama production 'Helima' were paid similar sums despite the fact that the programme was generally popular. When I spoke to some of these members, one of them said: 'The money is not enough, but we enjoy it. My friends like seeing me any time the programme is shown.' This gave me the impression that they derived satisfaction in participating in the programme and regarded the artistes' fees as mere token for their contribution to domestic television programming.

In finding out details from producers of programmes, the impression was the same. They all said that the issue of artistes' fees was laid down in the corporation's policy and that the amount paid to performers or others who participated in programmes was generally low and accepted as such. The broadcasting organizations however make this clear to participants before recordings are made. One of the reasons for such low payments is that broad-
casting is mainly financed by the individual government that establishes them, and they are not in most cases, commercially oriented. But despite the 'chicken fee' for such programmes, some members of the public were still unappreciative of the efforts made by such local artistes. A friend once told me how he overheard someone in a beer parlour during an argument, (in Jos, there are quite a few of such places with viewing sets) make such derogatory statement as "why waste viewers time with such primitive programmes". Perhaps, to such viewers, the foreign programmes were better alternatives.

At this point it appears that very little has been done to educate the traditional artistes about their rights when they have had their performances documented or recorded in some form. When I interviewed the Director of Arts and Culture on the types of encouragements (whether financial or otherwise), given to the traditional artiste(s) he indicated that:

"We are always practically encouraging them ... if they have for instance, some material culture (drawing, paintings or crafts), we purchase and exhibit them at local and national levels - for these they get money. For the performing artistes (those who dance, sing or dramatize), we practically encourage them by presenting and publicizing them ... or get them fully recorded in the text or through video ... we also try to give them some financial remuneration."

He also opined that there was need for individuals and organizations in addition to the broadcast media to patronize the traditional media-forms. As of now therefore, the traditional performer has no reasonable economic remuneration for his work. Perhaps this is because of the very nature of the traditional media-forms - they are culture-based and therefore community specific - the essential factors that have led to their continued survival through the generations.
CONSTRAINTS ON DOMESTIC PROGRAMMING

A number of problems arise with the processes involved in domestic productions particularly when such productions utilize the traditional media-forms. Some of these constraints either have a direct relationship with the bureaucratic machinery of the broadcasting organizations, or the problems inherent in the nature of the traditional forms. Sometimes the background of the producers and the political climate of the day do constitute problems. The issues of language, lack of adequate finance, personnel and equipment are also major constraints in domestic programming.

The cry for adequate financial backing, sufficient equipment, and the proper personnel to man them, and the issue of a common language to reach all audiences are some of the most pressing problems facing broadcasting in Nigeria and other developing nations today. In the interview with Mr. Kuzhe of Plateau Television, he enumerated what he considered the major constraints in the television industry in Nigeria. According to him:

"Television is a very expensive project... If you want quality in television, you must be ready to spend a lot of money... Before you produce a programme, you need lots of money to buy things like the costumes, props to be used and payment of artistes. Another problem is the equipment. The equipment are very scarce and before you buy them, it comes back again to the problem of money. And besides the equipment, the manpower. We do not have many people trained in the profession. When you employ somebody, you have to train him on the job - that takes a lot of time..."

Some of these problems accounted for the large transmission of foreign programmes by Plateau Television during the 1933 July-September quarter. When the basic capital needed for such local productions was lacking and majority of the production personnel was being trained, the alternative then
was to rely on imported programmes. Even when there were qualified hands to take charge of the local productions, Mr. Kuzhe said that there was still the problem of:

"... transportation. We have a number of programmes produced locally but we do not have enough vehicles to cope with the demand of the producers. Another problem is that when the producers go to the people asking them questions, sometimes these people are not ready to co-operate. There is also the problem with the producers themselves. Sometimes some of them are not very sure of what they are doing."

The issue of lack of co-operation from the informants or artistes at the rural level, and the ignorance on the part of some producers in not being knowledgeable about the areas from which they seek their programme materials are both critical in domestic-programming. It might be understandable that some of the rural folk were scared of participating in such programmes then for fear of voicing their opinion against the government of the day (either the federal or state-controlled government). Plateau State was then controlled by a different political party from that which controlled the federal government (the research was carried out during the heat of the 1983 elections in Nigeria). For instance, one of the producers said: "For fear of showing particular party affiliation, particularly when one was not sure which of the parties was going to be voted into power in the next elections, there was a general tendency for artistes - both rural and urban - to shy away from comments they considered might have negative feedbacks either on them as individuals or their communities as a whole. This is why sometimes we have several repeat broadcasts of the old programmes."

While the fear of participating in broadcast programmes existed among individuals and artistes alike, there were equally uncompromising issues and tensions between the Plateau State Government controlled by the NPP (National
People's Party), and the NPN (National Party of Nigeria) which controlled the Federal Government. In a speech at the commissioning ceremony of Plateau Television (PTV) in June 1983, the Chairman of the Corporation, Mr. G.G. Bard counted a number of frustrations caused by the Federal Government, and how these deliberately delayed the take off of the PTV project, as well as ensuring that the area of coverage was limited by allocating the U.H.F. (Ultra High Frequency) rather than the V.H.F. (Very High Frequency) system which Plateau State had applied for. According to him:

"The Federal Government refused to allow us the use of the V.H.F. They forced us to use Ultra High Frequency which was known to have a more limited radius of transmission... It is pertinent to note that it took the NPN-controlled Federal Government one year to allocate to us U.H.F. Channel 62, which through long professional persuasion, was later substituted with U.H.F. Channel 29. Despite the fact that we applied for more U.H.F. channels to enable us to cover the rest of the state a year and a half ago, the Federal Government has not thought it worthwhile to grant our request."

The implication in using the UHF means paying more in the end to complete the establishment of a system that would serve the whole state. For instance, PTV now covers an area of about seventy five miles radius, whereas there are areas of Plateau State that are more than two hundred miles from the television station. With the use of the UHF system therefore, more masts and transmitters will have to be erected before transmission reaches these areas. In a way, the strategy then adopted by the Federal Government was to create situations that were not only frustrating, but almost impossible for individual state governments, particularly those that were not controlled by the same party that manned the Federal Government, from establishing, and thereby controlling, their broadcasting systems.
Mr. Wadak of Radio Plateau, listed a number of problems similar to those enumerated by his counterpart at the Plateau Television. Some of these range from what he called:

"... the problems from bad roads, lack of transport facilities to these areas, and now, everybody is aware that you cannot go and get some programme materials without paying for them... Some people fear giving information to the media people. You find some producers booking appointments and travelling to these areas only to find that the people are not around."

Apart from the lack of vehicles to the rural areas, and in some instances the geographical terrain which makes access to such places impossible, and the fear induced by the political order of the day, language usually poses another major constraint in broadcasting, particularly when it involves the dissemination of information to wide geographical areas that have as many as fifty different ethnic groupings. During the research period, Plateau Television rarely had major problems in this area because apart from the five minutes' 'News Bulletins' in five of the local languages, the rest of the transmission was either in English or Hausa. On the other hand, Radio Plateau transmitted for many hours in nine of the local languages of the people of Plateau State, in addition to the broadcasts in English and Hausa. Even then, there were major problems in translating the programme contents originally in English to some of these languages since there were no specialized personnel to handle some of the complex and sophisticated materials in English. In other words, such problems only come up when particular broadcasts originally in English or Hausa had to be translated to any of the local languages. But where the programmes were transmitted directly through the indigenous languages, such problems were minimal. In Radio Plateau, such problems were eliminated by ensuring that producers of such programmes were not only indigenes of the area, but also, that they were very knowledgeable
in the languages as well as being culturally familiar with the people. In taking care of the problem posed by language in domestic programming, Mr. Wadak of Radio Plateau concluded that:

"Definitely it is difficult for someone who does not understand the culture of another area to be given a programme to produce. So what we do now, is to make sure that an Alago man produces the 'Alago Magazine' and an Angas man takes care of Angas programmes because he knows when the informant gives false or correct information, and knows where he will get the right materials for his programmes."

Of all the constraints enumerated, the issue of finance appears most recurrent. From the interviews with the broadcast media bureaucrats, there was the general opinion that the lack of finance generally led to few and not well trained personnel; poor or unserviceable equipment, and insufficient working materials. A veteran Nigerian broadcaster, Segun Olusola (1984:9) had this to say in a newspaper interview marking the silver Jubilee Celebrations of television broadcasting in Nigeria: "In the last twenty five years, we have noted with dismay that each time expatriates played the role of television managers in the country, they got all the money required to operate television effectively - from our treasury; but the moment our own broadcasters assume management roles, funds suddenly become scarce." Against such a background, it could be argued that either there is not sufficient money to run the broadcasting systems in Nigeria, or that those at the managerial level have not been able to convince the policy-makers about the financial requirements. In some instances, this is quite the contrary as there are occasionally cases and accusations about the mis-management of such funds through ill prioritisation of the goals set out by the broadcasting corporations.
While the problems of finance, personnel and equipment could be regarded as generally fundamental in running a broadcasting organization, there are also some constraints that could be considered peculiar to broadcasters once the machinery has been set into operation. For instance, the broadcasters do not only face financial but political as well as bureaucratic bottlenecks in the course of their programme-production. Similarly, in the process of incorporating the traditional forms in broadcasting, issues ranging from the problems of contact and communication with the rural artistes; to those of the inherent difficulties in adapting some of the traditional forms to broadcasting are very common.

The nature of the traditional media-forms poses some constraints in adapting them for broadcasting. Katz and Wedell (1977:200-202) in their study of Broadcasting in some of the Third World Countries argue that "these art forms tend to be eclipsed by the pace of modernization". Here, they gave instances of the traditional Iranian storyteller, the dance-drama of Japan, and the Japanese theatre which have 'died' out with the establishment of broadcasting. They therefore attribute the causes of such an eclipse on what they referred to as "the causes of modernization and mobility, both social and geographical". They also argue that the:

"... difficulty in transposing these traditional forms is their limited repertoires and the demand for novelty fostered by the mass media... They cannot be made into just another program on a Tuesday evening. Here, the broadcast media are caught in a paradox. Some of the best and most authentic of their materials are approximate to special occasions, yet the imported orthodoxy of broadcasting prescribes continuous performance" (Ibid).

The notion that the traditional forms have limited repertoires as argued by Katz and Wedell gives one the feeling that these forms are as rigid as the number of
compositions by 18th century Baroque composers like J.S. Bach or G.F. Handel. The traditional forms could only be 'dying' in the eyes of the metropolitan settlers who often have little association with such forms. Such claims are therefore some of the favourite gambits of policymakers who are themselves urban dwellers, to shy away from the realities of the conditions of the rural areas. Societies or communities are never static. And since traditional forms are not laid down or written, but essentially based on oral formulae, the repertoires of such forms grow with the daily changes of the communities.

The point by Katz and Wedell that the traditional forms have very limited repertoires which quickly get exhausted by the broadcast media is therefore debateable. Katz (1977:119) in particular, argues that they are "built on very small number of classical themes and are rapidly exhausted by radio or television."

Apart from the festive nature of some of the traditional forms that makes it difficult for them to be adapted to broadcasting, the Katz and Wedell study also sees the idea of using the broadcasting studio as another problem. Because of the nature of some of the roads and other geographical obstacles, access to some of the traditional communities cannot be gained even when there are facilities like outside broadcast (OB) vans. Sometimes, even with the facilities and good roads, the onus of allowing them to be used for coverage of traditional activities at the rural areas lies entirely in the hands of managerial staff of the broadcasting organizations. From observation, such facilities would rather be used for the coverage of events that involved the state and federal dignatories than for the community-based activities.

Another inherent problem is the repetitive nature of some of the
traditional forms. These make them characteristically lengthy and pose a problem for the broadcast media to accommodate because of their duration. Since in broadcasting, there is always some form of precision required in scheduling the programmes, the interruptive stopping of certain traditional forms may lead most audiences to not understanding the overall messages. On the other hand, deliberate attempts by producers to make the traditional artiste meet some of the 'standards' required by recording schedules and durations (for example, when they are told that the programme must be exactly twenty-five minutes), may also distort their outputs. The exposure to the orientations demanded by studio recordings therefore, generally affects the idea of spontaneity and therefore 'free' performance by the traditional artistes. If carefully scheduled, particular festive occasions could be mapped out and documented for use in particular programmes. It may therefore not always be important to rely on 'capturing' all performances, while simultaneously transmitting them.

From the research, I found out that only two of the eighteen producers interviewed in Plateau Television (Chapter Eight) were not very familiar with most of the rural areas. These producers had either just taken up appointment, or according to them, had little to do with programmes that demanded their knowing such areas. For such producers who can only relate to broadcasting only as it pertains to the techniques of the media, assigning them to programmes that have to deal with the traditional media and particularly the rural areas would initially be problematic. The lack of understanding of the rural areas by the broadcast media personnel who are often urban-based with little or no exposure to such rural communities could therefore pose serious constraints. Such constraints are mainly in the area of the language and the knowledge or ability
to interpret the cultural forms of the people. Radio Plateau is taking care of such problems by assigning producers who speak the languages and understand the cultures of such people to the programmes that rely on the traditional media-forms.

When the problems are not related to the overall financial state of the media organizations or the inherent constraints in incorporating some of the traditional forms, they have to do with the producers and how they secure the approval to use the facilities, in addition to getting the artistes to feature in the programmes. Producers who handled educational programmes like 'You and the Law' and 'Medical Magazine' for instance, told me of the enormous problems they encountered each time they approached ministry personnel to participate in their productions. Since such programmes were expected to be enlightenment-oriented, civil servants were scared about giving out information on certain government policies without the due clearance from their Divisional heads, or in most cases, the permanent secretary who is the administrative person in charge of all ministerial matters. One of these producers told me of how it took more than five weeks for a letter from the television corporation to one of the ministries (which are both in the same town) to be replied to, giving approval for participation by one of the members of staff. On relatively fewer occasions, some people participated without the due permission; but in those cases, they were absolutely careful not to go beyond certain limits in the amount of issues they deliberated on and what their personal positions were. Civil servants were therefore careful, and in most cases, preferred to absent themselves from discussion programmes on either the television or radio for fear of being regarded as being against the policies of the government. Under such situations, the
producers had no alternatives but to make repeat transmissions of their previous programmes.

The bureaucracy associated with getting any script approved before a recording may be considered a necessity rather than a problem. All scripts, whether written by the producer himself or someone else, were passed to the Controller of Programmes, who went through them and then passed them to the Director of Programmes for okaying. The Director of Programmes then sent them to the Managing Director for the final clearance. When this was all done, the producer was then given the consent to produce through the reverse order of the hierarchy.

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MANAGING DIRECTOR
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The need for the scripts to be cross-checked was to help ascertain the authenticity of such materials, making sure that they fitted within the nature of programmes stipulated in the law establishing the broadcasting organizations. In the end however, their broad guiding principles were not strictly adhered to. For instance, in the production of 'Helima', while the scripts were okayed at their face value, no one really cared to thoroughly check the sources of information as long as they had nothing implicit in the content which appeared
Another pre-recording problem was usually that of having the necessary equipment on time. In most cases, all producers were expected to book for the use of the camera, studio, vehicle and all items relevant for their programmes a week in advance. Even with such bookings (which did not necessarily have to go to the Managing Director's desk, unlike the scripts), there were still problems of the limited number of such equipment or the fact that some of them often broke down. For instance, during my research at Plateau Television, only two cameras were available for recordings out of the studios. This meant therefore, that if one of the cameras was booked and taken out of the station for a particular recording, all the other producers who had outside recordings had to rely on the remaining one which sometimes broke down.

The limited number of vehicles for the contact of artistes before recordings was another problem. Sometimes these artistes had to be moved to the studio from their rural areas for the recordings, and dropped at the end of the day. In a number of cases, the delay, due to breakdown, or total failure of such vehicles led to the cancellation of some recordings.

The professional means of subsistence of most of the traditional performers (agriculturalists, hunters, petty-traders) sometimes disrupted prior arrangements for programming. These professions involved moving out of one's home. The absence of such members of the community who were also performing artistes of some kind, did hamper certain recordings for both radio and television. I had the awful experience of accompanying a television production crew to a recording at the end of November, 1933. The group to be recorded was 'Wadеббе' - a traditional performance of the Fulani people. Necessary
contacts had been made with this group in early September, but when we arrived for the recording, we were informed that the group had moved to a different location. The Fulani people - particularly the cattle Fulani - are essentially a nomadic group, who, in response to the seasons, have to move their cattle from one area of the country to another in search of better grazing land. In the end, we had to travel back another one hundred and eighty kilometres without a recording.

There were usually a few post-recording problems. Each producer was expected to book in advance for the use of the editing machines. Despite this, there were problems because of the number of producers and sometimes the fact that the editing equipment got faulty. This problem sometimes got more compounded because of the number of domestic programmes for which, in most cases, there were new episodes expected fortnightly or weekly.

Conclusion

The growing awareness among Nigerian broadcasters that broadcasting must reflect the social conditions of the people has led to a trend in domestic programming to incorporate the traditional forms aimed at reaching particularly the rural audiences which form the greater part of the population. In the process, there was the realization that both the content and context of such forms were important, thus, the emphasis on field recordings. However, a number of constraints impede the steady growth of local programme production. Some of these ranged from more general problems like the lack of sufficient finance, personnel and equipment, to more specific issues like the problems posed by the political power of the day and the multi-linguistic nature of the population. The inherent nature of the traditional forms, geographical obstacles, producers'
poor knowledge of the rural areas and a number of bureaucratic bottlenecks also created a lot of difficulties for the media personnel. On a number of occasions, these constraints led to reliance on foreign programmes which were always available in place of the domestic productions reflected in the programme-schedules. Sometimes, the only option was to have repeat broadcasts of earlier episodes of the local programmes.
10. TOWARDS ALTERNATIVE COMMUNICATION AND CULTURAL POLICIES FOR NIGERIA

"... it is not always the case that those who own or ultimately control the mass media do seek to exercise a direct and immediate influence upon their output. Quite commonly, editors, journalists, producers, managers, etc. are accorded a considerable degree of independence, and are even given a free hand. Even so, ideas do tend to 'seep downwards', and provide an ideological and political framework..." (Ralph Miliband, 1973:205).

While recapitulating the discussions in the previous chapters, this concluding chapter addresses the issues that were discussed in the research and offers suggestions on them. Currently, communication and cultural policies in Nigeria exist in fairly disjointed forms at both the Federal and individual State levels as statements of 'objectives'. The first section of this chapter therefore discusses the existing policies (also see Chapters 4 and 7).

In light of the literature review and the research experiences, the second section offers suggestions towards alternative communication and cultural policies for Nigeria.

CURRENT POLICIES

COMMUNICATION POLICIES

In discussing the current communication policies for Nigeria, concentration for the purpose of this research, is based essentially on the broadcast media. However, this does not exclude discussions where relevant, on the other mass media policies. Before looking at the situation in Nigeria, it is necessary to begin by establishing what communication policies are. A UNESCO document describes them as:
sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems. Their orientation is fundamental and long-range, although they have operational implications of short-range significance. They are shaped in the context of society's general approach to communications. Emanating from political ideologies, the social and economic values on which they are based, they strive to relate these to the real needs and prospective opportunities of communications" (John Lee, 1976:13).

In establishing the broadcast systems in Nigeria, both the Federal and individual State Governments have statements of objectives which specify their general functions. Provisions are made in sections of these documents which specify policies regarding such issues as the power and function of the organization, programming and recruitment of personnel. And depending on whether such organizations were established during the civilian administration or military regimes, these policies are referred to as laws, edicts or Decrees. A background to understanding these policies is the provision in the Nigerian Constitution regarding 'the right to the freedom of expression and the press'.

For instance, in the 1979 Constitution, Section 36, sub-sections 1 and 2 state:

(1) Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of sub-section (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for dissemination of information, ideas and opinions:

Provided that no person, other than the Government of the Federation or of a State or any person or body authorised by the President, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatsoever.

Sub-section (2) above therefore gives exclusive right of both ownership and control of the broadcasting systems to the Government, while there is more freedom given to the private sector to establish and operate other media forms.

Obviously, because of the poor literacy rate in Nigeria, there is no way for
instance, that information could be effectively disseminated through a privately owned medium like the print to wider sectors of the society. To some extent therefore, this policy clearly safeguards the interest of Government.

Television: In Chapter 7, I discussed the functions of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), the organization responsible at the federal level, for all television services in the country. With six zonal boards, section 16 (a) of Decree No. 24, which is commonly referred to as the NTA Decree, provides a policy for programming. The law (No. 1) of 1989 which established the Plateau Television (PTV) is essentially based on the same guidelines that were incorporated in the Decree which established the NTA. After careful comparison of both documents, I have concluded that the contents are basically the same except that 'Nigeria' or 'the country' was replaced with 'Plateau State'. For instance, Section 9, sub-section (1) of the PTV law which specifies the corporation's duty as to programmes and publications are word for word the same as Section 9, sub-section (1) of the NTA Decree.

Radio: The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) which was established also by a military Decree in 1978 (see Chapter 7), functions under a number of guiding objectives. But unlike the NTA which functions under six zonal boards, the FRCN is based on a four zone structure, viz: FRCN Enugu; FRCN Ibadan; FRCN Kaduna and FRCN Lagos. These structures all reflect the early regional structures which existed until 1967. In addition to the regular broadcasts in English, each of these zones has a policy on programming which is expected to feature at least four of the 'local' languages.

Section 8 of the 1978 edict which established the Plateau Broadcasting Corporation (Radio Plateau) stipulates the same policies regarding programming
as those of the FRCN. And just as the case with the Television, the details appear almost verbatim, with minor changes in places where 'country' or 'Nation' have been replaced with 'the State' or 'Plateau State'. Though guided by the same principles, policies regarding to programmes and other matters are made to reflect the cultural resources of the State. For instance, in addition to broadcasting in English and Hausa, Radio Plateau transmits in nine indigenous languages. In fact, one of the reasons for individual States establishing the broadcast media has been the claim that they would take care of local interests. The heterogenous nature of Nigeria with the language problem as a major issue has therefore meant that greater use of the languages common to the areas where these media systems are established is highly essential.

The Government and Control: In some cases, individual states have established broadcasting systems because they felt that the control at the central level was synonymous with federal political control. This was particularly the case during the civilian administration in Nigeria between October 1979 and December 1983. States which were controlled by parties other than the federally controlled (NPN) National Party of Nigeria felt it necessary to establish new broadcasting organizations in their States to take care of the local needs. To some extent, it was not very easy, and when it was possible, political confrontation dominated the main objectives for which the media systems were established.

Unlike the press which has a substantial form of private ownership in Nigeria, the broadcast media are totally Government-owned and by implication, controlled. It also means that information on government policies are disseminated by government-employed personnel in the broadcasting
organizations. Apart from the deliberate policy by Government which prohibits the establishment of any form of broadcasting by private individuals, the lack of capital on the part of private entrepreneurs to establish such private broadcasting systems is also a crucial factor. Although it could be argued that private ownership of broadcasting systems may lead to predominantly profit-oriented goals, they could equally create better forums for the checks and balances of information on, or about government policies.

Against this background, one can argue that the broadcast media in Nigeria tend, though not through direct pressures on the personnel, to sustain the political hegemony of the government of the day. The policies on the appointment of the broadcast personnel as specified in the documents establishing these corporations show that once employed, professionals must continuously demonstrate some form of allegiance in order to retain their appointments. Although this situation does not mean any direct form of censorship, useful criticism against government policies are seldom made by such media personnel. Even when attempts are made, they are often subtle rather than radical suggestions and these only end up maintaining the status quo. In emphasizing the role of the political conditions under which the media operate, J.I. Elaigwu (1981:11) concludes:

"... one realizes very often that the sociopolitical and ideological milieu in which media men operate colour their perspectives, and to some extent dictates the language used".

What Constitutional Guarantee for Media Personnel?

The situation in Nigeria where government owns and controls broadcasting contradicts the few constitutional guarantees specified for media or press freedom. Although Section 21 of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution states
that "... radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all
times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives ... and uphold the
responsibility and accountability of the government to the people...", one finds
that this is not always the case in practice. As I remarked earlier, there
appears to be no form of direct censorship, but since the media professionals
are employed either by the State or Federal Governments, the idea of censorship
may be subtly borne in their minds in the performance of their duties. To some
extent, this is bound to inhibit their freedom to openly challenge or criticize the
government.

The only policy which had implied a direct form of censorship of
information or communication material to be disseminated, was the 'Public
Officer's Protection Against False Accusation Decree of 1984' that is,
Decree No. 4 promulgated by the Buhari administration. According to that
regime, the Decree was meant to "maintain order and safeguard State
security". But many people saw it as a further instrument of maintaining
political control. What this decree did was to circumscribe the power of the
media professionals, while making them adopt roles that protected the interests
of Government by censoring the kind of information that was to be disseminated.
Decree No. 4 was also regarded as a mechanism that protected top government
functionaries from criticism for whatever they did or said. With this Decree,
no form of 'speculative' journalism was permitted. In fact, a number of
Nigerian journalists found themselves jailed when they acted contrary to the
stipulations of the decree.

In comparison with Section 36 of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution,
Decree No. 4 of 1984 if given another interpretation, had the conception of
freedom implicit in it - freedom to tell the 'truth' and avoidance of mere speculation that ended up as mere rumour. In this way, the Decree could be considered as making provision for detailed research on the part of the media personnel before disseminating any information. From public reaction, this Decree proved very unpopular, a further indication that it was mainly out to serve the interest of the Buhari administration. Complaints from the Nigerian public paid off when the Decree was repealed by the new military regime led by Major General Ibrahim Babangida. In the speech to the nation on why they took over from the Buhari administration, he stated:

"As we do not intend to lead a country where individuals are under the fear of expressing themselves, the Public Officers Protection Against False Accusation Decree No. 4 of 1984 is hereby repealed. And finally, those who have been in detention under this decree are hereby unconditionally released. The responsibility of the media to disseminate information shall be exercised without undue hindrance. In that process, those responsible are expected to be forthright and to have the nation's interest as the primary consideration" (Ibrahim Babangida, 27th August 1985).

Recently, one of the daily newspapers in Nigeria, The National Concord (Tuesday, January 7th, 1986) published a report on this issue which read:

"President Ibrahim Babangida yesterday granted unconditional pardon to the two Guardian journalists jailed in 1984 under the repealed Decree No. 4. The two journalists - Messrs. Tunde Thompson and Nduka Irabor - were released from prison last year after serving one year each, for contravening the provision of the decree which, among other things, prohibited journalists from publishing anything that could embarrass the government or a public officer."

So far, it appears that the current military administration has more tolerance for open criticism from all media forms. Perhaps it is still early to make conclusions about how much longer this situation will continue.
As a summary to this section, one can conclude that there is yet to be a consistently well-formulated communication policy for Nigeria. While the heterogenous nature of the country may be one reason for this, the political structures and lack of concern by each administration since independence in 1960, may equally be another reason for the lack of a comprehensive communication policy. Separate communication objectives in terms of edicts, laws or decrees have therefore been formulated by individual State and Federal Governments to take care of particular needs. However, the proliferation of broadcasting systems in all the nineteen states (see Chapter 7) has resulted in policies at the Federal level that are intended to maintain the national interest. The NTA and FRCN decrees therefore give the federal Government control of broadcasting in Nigeria.

CULTURAL POLICIES

Currently, the administration of culture in Nigeria (see Chapter 4) at the national level is not properly co-ordinated. There are for instance, the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) and the Federal Department of Culture where bureaucracy and officialdom seem to prevail in place of a properly organized body responsible for the systematic planning, implementation or organization of a cultural policy. Taken in this context therefore, 'cultural policy' is referred to as 'a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State...' (UNESCO 1969). Here, I am not implying that a rigid and centralized body should be solely responsible for cultural activities at all levels. Rather, that such a body be in charge of co-ordinating such activities with related Government organizations and Ministries like Education, Information, External Affairs and Trade and Industries. The need for a
A co-ordinated cultural policy is stated in this UNESCO document which suggests:

(a) "... cultural policy should be taken to mean the sum total of the conscious and deliberate usages, action or lack of action in a society, aimed at meeting certain cultural needs through the optimum utilization of all the physical and human resources available to that society at a given time;"

(b) "that certain criteria for cultural development should be defined, and that culture should be linked to the fulfilment of personality and to economic and social development" (UNESCO, 1959:8).

Similar to the situation created by the lack of a communication policy for Nigeria, perhaps the problem with Nigeria not having a cultural policy may also be attributed to the lack of an administrative leadership at the national level with an ideological commitment to establish such a policy. In a rather broad and generalized statement, Section 20 of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution stipulates that 'the State shall protect and enhance Nigerian Culture'. The lack of a coherent administrative body has consequently meant that the formulation of cultural policies are at present, based on disjointed guidelines at the National and State levels. In the event, such guidelines are limited to the urban centres and mainly centred on administrative matters rather than involving some form of participation at the local or rural level despite the fact that Section 2 (l) h, j and k of Decree No. 3 of 1975 which established the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) called for the involvement of:

(h) four persons representing women's cultural associations;

(j) eleven persons qualified or having special interest in arts and culture and who are associated with any of the following, that is to say - music; traditional dancing; drama and opera; cinema and films; photography;
folklore and oral tradition; literature and poetry; painting; sculpture; architecture and town planning; general arts and crafts (woodwork, embroidery, weaving, etc.);

(k) six persons representing traditional institutions and bodies concerned with the preservation and development of Nigerian culture.

To a great extent, the formulation of such a constitutional body has mainly been on paper, since this is seldom the practice. At best, only the administrative head at individual State levels and the officials of the NCAC headquarters seem to make and implement decisions on Arts and Culture at the National level. Similarly, the Federal Department of Arts and Culture relies on the 'professionals' at the secretariat in Lagos for the administration of Culture at the national level (details of the implications are discussed in Chapter 4). Even at individual State levels, the practise is not any different. Rather than function in assisting the systematic planning, co-ordination and encouragement of all-round cultural development, such bodies, which have their administrative headquarters in the State capitals, end up with pools of bureaucratic suggestions with little relevance to the situations in the rural areas. Often, the great attention given to cultural activities is therefore limited to the organization of traditional dances for top government officials during civic receptions, or during the annual festivals.

As a summary, the administration of culture in Nigeria is currently in the hands of civil service bureaucrats, with little involvement of the rural sectors. Since these administrative organizations are based mainly in the urban areas and employ people who have attended some form of 'professional' training in related fields of Arts and Culture, such personnel often have no detailed background information of the situations in the rural areas, and so cannot grasp
and incorporate them in the change-oriented policies proposed by government. Finally, the lack of a set of principles initiated at the Federal level, and the absence of a body charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating such policies, mean that what obtains in Nigeria today is a set of disjointed cultural objectives pursued at both the State and National levels.

TOWARDS ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

Broadly then, current communication and cultural policies in Nigeria which exist in the form of statements of objectives are to a large extent, not properly co-ordinated. In most cases, even these sets of guidelines are in actual practice, seldom implemented. Another problem is the fact that the cultural organizations and the broadcasting systems in Nigeria, hardly involve the participation of the rural populace.

Re-assessing the Role of Communication in Development: The aims of establishing broadcasting in Nigeria (Chapter 7) are centred around entertainment, education and information. But in pursuing these objectives, there seems to be a great reliance on the theoretical communication models of the 1950s and 1960s based on the concepts of modernization and diffusion (see Chapter 2) postulated by people like Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964). It was believed then that the role of communication was that of providing access to information from the urban areas where 'modern' ideas would be diffused to the rural sectors. Such theoretical assumptions have led to the indiscriminate transfer of technology and personnel from the Western industrialized nations to Nigeria and other Third World nations. Often, such transfer of both software and hardware has been made without due regard to the socio-economic structures of the host countries.
Since communication systems, particularly broadcasting in Nigeria, still rely on some of the early theories of the 50s and 60s, the position only helps to maintain the relationship between members of the ruling Government and the industrialized nations through trade and communication links. Until recently for instance (see analysis of programmes in Chapter 8), a greater percentage of the programmes for the broadcasting systems along with the professional ideologies of such media personnel were imported along with the transfer of technology. And since all these facilities are centred in the urban areas, it is constantly creating a situation where these communication structures mainly serve the interest of government while widening the information gap between the rural populace and the former.

Information to, or from the rural sector is considered useful only when directly beneficial to the Government. During the 1983 election campaigns for instance, both the State and Federal Governments made the best use of the broadcasting systems within their control. For instance, the broadcast personnel, civil servants and particularly information officers, acted as middle men, giving information directly to the rural populace and getting the feedback that was to the advantage of the urban-based policymakers. In such a situation as in many others, communication between the government and the rural folk was in terms of ready-made packages imposed on them without any form of feedback or participation on the part of the latter. White and McDonnell (1983) have argued that such situations which were perpetuated by the former colonial systems for their interests, now serve the Western-oriented or educated elite that control all forms of government apparatus. They also noted that (communication):
"Planners did not take sufficiently into consideration that the process of nation-building is precisely the struggle to break down the internal rigidities stemming from institutionalized concentration of social power and to eliminate the remnants of external colonial dependence. They did not look for new patterns of communication which would cut through social class barriers and establish horizontal linkages between isolated disadvantaged groups" (White and McDonnell, 1983:10).

Government control of the broadcasting systems does not only mean the perpetuation of the socio-economic and information gap between the government and rural sectors, but also satisfies, through the policies and strategies, the educational, political and cultural tastes of the policy-making bodies. In effect therefore, even with the laws of freedom of speech or expression and communication as provided for in the Nigerian Constitution or the laws or edicts establishing the broadcasting systems, such communication rights are subtly controlled by government.

Alternative Communication Policies: Against these backgrounds, one would advocate a decentralized communication system. For instance, the proliferation of the broadcast systems in Nigeria has had more far reaching advantages than some people have argued. One of the reasons given by the Federal Government in the decrees that centralized broadcasting is that decentralization leads to national disunity while an intensified interest on ethnicity is further encouraged. There is no doubt that through programming for instance, attention was given to the cultural relevance of particular states in the local productions.

Ogboajah (1980:39) also argues that "Government should regard the mass media systems of the states as complementary, not competitive, to the central media systems. Tensions can be better managed in the Nigerian society not by creating a monolithic mass-media system but by encouraging media variety to give catharsis to the often charged atmosphere of its multi-ethnic constituencies..."
To a large extent therefore, decentralization of the broadcast systems means the diversification of service to more communities since this offers additional communication forums for discussing both individual State and National issues. The only snag however, is the fact that even at the State level, government's ownership also means a great amount of control. The problem of ethnicity can only be minimized, but not completely eradicated. Plateau State for instance, has over fifty ethnic groups and radio broadcasts are made in only nine languages while Plateau Television transmits in less than four of the languages of these groups.

The current socio-economic disparities between the urban and rural sectors of the Nigerian society therefore call for appropriate communication policies if the desired change-oriented projects are to be achieved. Such communication policies should provide forums for mass rural participation rather than merely serving as megaphones for government. For instance, local participation in such community projects as the building of schools, roads, dispensary units or irrigation systems could be encouraged through broadcasts that give such rural communities the needed incentives. But a starting point would be understanding the rural communities before involving them in the communication strategies that would be useful to them. The essential point here, is that an understanding on the part of the media personnel of the needs of the rural audiences, based on their socio-cultural backgrounds, is bound to create more positive communication networks between the government and communities.

The currently centralized policies on broadcasting in Nigeria mainly involve the bureaucratization of communication policies that are essentially
urban-centred. There is therefore the need for the bodies responsible for the formulation of communication policies at both the State and Federal levels to involve the interests of the rural populace. In fact, it is essential that such bodies be established in all communities, at least at the Local Government Area Headquarters for further co-ordination. The establishment of such a network will enable feedback of information that will be useful in making alternative arrangements from time to time as may be necessary. Such a network will also involve the participation of a cross-section of the society rather than the top-bottom exercise which has government directly sending down policy statements without the proper and detailed knowledge of the requirements and experiences of the rural sectors of society.

There is also the need for a good working relationship between the media personnel and members of the rural communities. Such a rapport would create forums for constant consultation, and relevant information could then be integrated into development policies or change-oriented programmes. This position can only be made possible if government employed 'experts' in charge of the dissemination of information can avoid remaining at the State capitals, and become field workers where they will gain direct experience through personal contacts and interactions with rural communities. The reactions, feedbacks and experiences gained through such dialogues could then be incorporated in future communication strategies.

An established form of co-operation between the broadcasting personnel and the rural areas would also lead to the production of appropriate programmes since the contents of such productions will reflect the level of awareness, and value systems of such people. Lloyd E. Sommerlad for instance, writes:
"The formulation of communication policy must be founded upon a knowledge of the existing system of communication and how it works; of the mass media and their effects on society; and of the communication needs of the people and the government" (Sommerlad, 1975:23).

As a summary, it is important that along with establishing the broadcasting systems, a number of factors - including the cultural and socio-economic - should be considered in their utilization. An alternative communication policy for Nigeria should therefore take into due cognisance, the socio-cultural conditions and value-systems of the Nigerian society rather than replicating (see Chapter 8), what obtains in the Western industrialized nations. There is also the need to tie up the communication policies with the cultural and educational policies, and dealing with them as interrelated structures. The idea of having them compartmentalized where there is a separate Ministry of Information without a set of co-ordinated programmes with say the Plateau Television, the Radio Plateau and the Plateau Arts Council, makes it difficult to achieve the desired ends. This same situation obtains at the Federal level. It is therefore essential that while performing their various functions, these organizations need to establish better working relationships that would lead to their complementing each other.

Alternative Cultural Policies:

The dynamic nature of culture (Chapter 3) makes it difficult to think of 'Cultural Policies' in terms of rigid rules carefully laid out, and to be consistently followed like a number of mathematical formulae. Alternative cultural policies for Nigeria should therefore not be regarded as a set of prescriptive rules, but workable sets of ideas that take cognisance of the need to understand the diverse cultural values of the different ethnic groups. Alternative cultural policies
should also serve as guide-lines for government's action in collaboration with a cross-section of the Nigerian society on all spheres of what is regarded as the 'Nigerian Culture'.

Nigerian governments have always effectively mobilized the populace by infusing the notion of being a nation only during moments such as the pre-independence struggles, the Nigerian Civil War, or when particular leaders seek national support. During such periods, the needs for all Nigerians to identify with a 'Cultural entity' were used and in the process, people were literally galvanised to fight for the same political goal. To some extent, this supports the thesis by nationalists like Fanon (1963) and Cabral (1979) that the need for mobilizing a national culture is considered mainly in times of liberation struggles. Perhaps this partially explains why the leaderships of the Nigerian governments since independence in 1950 have not ceased to be perpetual appendages of the Western industrialized systems. None of these governments has given serious commitment to the task of systematically mobilizing the various aspects of the Nigerian culture, for consideration in other national policy formulations.

Basis for Policy Formulation:

There is no doubt that a well co-ordinated cultural policy for Nigeria would mean a systematic cultural organization of the heterogeneous groups. If this is used as a starting point, then there is the need to constantly carry out research which is sociological in nature as a means of determining new cultural trends which could be used in developing alternative policies. A full understanding of the value-systems which are embedded in the specific cultures of the different ethnic groupings in Nigeria is therefore fundamental for any cultural policy.
To some extent, the lack of success on current policies could be blamed on the absence of a significant relationship between cultural policy and for instance, the education and information policies at both State and Federal levels. If such policies had existed, the current dominance by foreign cultural products in the broadcasting systems in Nigeria could have been minimized. The importation of broadcasting and other forms of technology could also have been done with due cognisance of the dynamics of the Nigerian society rather than a reliance on the Western industrialized models. In other words, development or change-oriented programmes are bound to be successful if based on the cultural potentials of Nigeria, particularly when such programmes are directed to the rural communities. This is not to say, that all forms of technological advance must be rejected, but such technologies should be weighed against the socio-cultural realities of Nigeria. Ola Balogun has noted that countries like China, Japan and India have taken similar approaches and still maintained their national cultures. According to him:

"... their nationalism is founded on the awareness of their cultural identity, and this is what has transformed them into formidable nations in the modern era, whereas they too were at first subjugated by the might of external powers at the beginning of the industrial era." (Balogun, 1984:9).

In thinking about alternative cultural policies, there is the need to reconsider the current role of government machinery in charge of the administration of Culture at both State and Federal levels. At the same time, cultural personnel appointed by government to oversee cultural matters should be able to understand the objectives of other professionals - including educators, economists, media personnel and the traditional artistes from the rural communities. During the research period for instance, the Plateau State Council
for Arts and Culture operated some zonal cultural offices in some of the Local Government Council Areas (see Chapter 4). Although this could be regarded as a useful starting point, officers deployed to such areas came up with some preliminary research that ended up in official files at the Headquarters in Jos. Again, there was hardly any form of feedback given to such officers which were useful to those communities. To a large extent therefore, their duties were limited to such functions as the assistance in organization of community festivals and the collection and documentation of artifacts or other forms of material culture. It is safe at this point, to conclude that the lack of government's concern for the suggestions from people that have direct links with the rural areas does little to improve the communication and cultural gap between the urban and rural sectors of Nigeria. The situation also hampers the formulation of relevant cultural policies based on an understanding of the rural communities.

There is no doubt that proper and constant research into the traditional political, economic and social systems of the Nigerian society is bound to produce features that could be nationally infused into development programmes. In a broader perspective, Balogun (1984:7) suggests that a cultural policy should include "every aspect of cultural life ranging from leisure activities to the use of mass media ... to promote and further develop our cultural heritage as well as modern theatre, literature, language studies..." Another source suggests:

"The formulation of a truly popular cultural policy presupposes that certain council measures will be taken. For instance ... because of its great potential for development and the propagation of a meaningful culture, film has to be looked into radically. The example of Cuba is instructive here. Evidently aware of the tremendous power of cinema to help recreate Cuba's battered past, Castro and his colleagues made the establishment of a radical film institute... Quite apart from providing constructive
entertainment, the institute played a vital role in the mass campaign to aid literacy and health projects. Today, Cuba is virtually 100 percent literate" (The Guardian (Nigeria) May 30, 1934:8).

The establishment of educational systems and cultural industries based on indigenous Nigerian forms - music, dance, theatre and publications based on such forms - could also help in a long way. But the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria makes such policies difficult to implement - the biggest of such problems being that of a lingua franca. In this regard, alternative policies should also include the deliberate study of indigenous Nigerian languages alongside English, the official language. Unfortunately, the current educational policies which have in addition to English, languages like French, Spanish and German offered at both the Secondary School and University levels are not in any way solving the problem of a common indigenous language for Nigeria.

The Question of State Control in Cultural Policy:

The formulation of a cultural policy by Government, does not mean the tailoring of the role of culture in specific communities. At best what such policies should do, is to harness the cultural resources into change-oriented programmes organized by government. As is with the policies establishing the broadcasting systems, the establishment of organizations responsible for the administration of culture, also means state control because of government's financial intervention. In Plateau State for instance (this situation also obtains at the Federal level), apart from the duties performed by the Plateau State Arts Council (see Chapter 4), aspects of Tourism are controlled by the Ministry of Trade and Industries, while the Ministries of Information and Education deal with aspects of cultural education. The problem however, has been that most government-inspired cultural activities are limited to the urban centres, or in
a few schools where aspects of traditional performances are dramatized by students at the end of school terms. The inconsistency in the number of organized cultural activities, along with the fact that these experiences are not tied to the school curriculum, to some extent shows the negative attitude given to systematic cultural development on the part of government.

Although the central coordination of cultural policies is necessary, it is important that independent organizations take care of such responsibilities. In this case, the role of the government machinery in charge of culture should mainly be limited to that of administratively linking up the activities between government, the communities and other Ministries. In this sense, the role of the State in centrally controlling culture may only be necessary as one UNESCO source argues:

"In certain developing societies it is considered that cultural development is essential to strengthen awareness of nationhood and thus facilitate the growth of an original culture which will meet both the deepest aspirations of the people and the requirements of the modern world; state intervention is essential, since private action is still clearly inadequate." (UNESCO, 1969:9).

The formation of such central bodies is therefore necessary only in the sense that they serve as administrative frameworks for nationally coordinating the cultural perspectives of all sectors of the Nigerian society. While centralization through administration is considered vital as an instrument of harnessing national ideals, by the same token, some degree of decentralization is equally necessary because of the heterogenous nature of the country. The zonal cultural centres established by the Plateau State Arts Council is a good example of the kind of policies that are necessary in breaking down the centralized form of administering culture. This approach is also useful in communication and educational policies.
because it allows for participation at the rural level. As I stated in Chapter 4, it is obvious that the enormous task of cultural development lies at the rural community levels. Therefore, it is only by interacting with such communities over long periods of time that meaningful cultural policies can be formulated based on the extrapolations from such experiences. Along with the centralized government machinery therefore, rural participation in cultural policies should be facilitated by creating forums for direct contact between government functionaries and the rural folk.

**Alternative Policies on Broadcasting:**

The research experiences and analysis of programmes (see Chapter 8), show that Nigeria is currently embarking on alternative policies on programming in the broadcasting systems. There is now the indigenization of broadcasting through the deliberate incorporation of the traditional media forms which are aimed at enriching the understanding of the viewers and listeners by the use of themes that are culturally familiar to them. The utilizations of traditional media forms are therefore becoming increasingly popular and are gradually replacing the foreign programmes which have little relevance to the Nigerian conditions. From the content of the themes of the traditional media and the socio-cultural role they play in their communities, such forms are capable of helping to disseminate information that is useful to communities with similar cultural experiences when properly integrated into broadcasting. The analysis of some of the song texts (see Chapters 6 and 9) for instance, showed that the folk artistes used a number of traditional forms such as riddles, proverbs and other genres that are essentially symbolic to their social experiences. Therefore, such forms can only be effective in development if they can be properly
deciphered and incorporated in broadcasting. For instance, the manner in which members of the communities responded (see Chapter 9) to the traditional performances demonstrated the inherent nature of community participation in such forms. In many instances, it was difficult to separate the 'group' from the rest of the community during the field recordings. To some extent therefore, the rural nature of these forms - based on their themes and settings - and the familiarity of the folk, accounts for the identification and mass rural participation. In describing these qualities in the traditional communicative forms, the MacBride Commission (1980:81) noted:

"Even where the modern media have penetrated isolated areas, the older forms maintain their validity... Extensive experience shows that traditional forms of communication can be effective in dispelling the superstitions, archaic perceptions and unscientific attitudes that people have inherited as part of tradition, and which are difficult to modify if the benefits of change are hard to demonstrate. Practitioners of the traditional media use a subtle form of persuasion by presenting the required message in locally popular artistic forms. This cannot be rivalled by any other means of communication."

Despite some limitations (see Chapter 5), the advantages of understanding the traditional media systems are enormous. The fact that they are easily participatory and therefore cut across the social dichotomies in society makes them useful for incorporation in broadcasting or, other change-orienting systems. Their acceptance by the rural mass base because of the familiarity also makes them useful forums for utilization in socio-economic and cultural development. The critical question therefore is how these value-systems of the rural communities, embedded in their experiences and expressed through either symbolic or oral forms could be usefully integrated into broadcasting. The problem here, as was noticed during the research, was that of a language common to all the ethnic groups.
This position therefore emphasizes the urgent need for government to establish along with the zonal or area cultural centres, rural community centres which can also handle communication problems at the rural level. The production of the local drama *Helima* by Plateau Television (see Chapter 9) for instance, was found to be popular because of the familiar characters, themes, and settings. The broadcast systems in Nigeria should therefore capitalize on such forms along with the effective use of traditional narratives, themes and audiences through the rural community centres. The establishment of such centres, in addition to creating adequate forums for the indigenization of broadcasting, would also serve as avenues for mass rural participation in government policies. Since folk artistes are capable of infusing new themes into their performances, change-oriented messages could then be more easily disseminated through links between these artistes, the communication centres and mass rural forums such as the family compounds and farms. In the final analysis however, the understanding of the socio-cultural forms in the rural communities should form the basis on which the rural communication centres should operate.

**Policy Options in the Context of Transnational Communications:**

The growing influence of the communication apparatus in the Western industrialized countries is creating ever widening disparities between nations. For instance, while this position strengthens the economic base of the developed nations, it also increasingly leads to the continued dependence and domination of the poor and developing countries. In effect, as the MacBride report (1980:148) states, the current global communication system "is basically a reflection of the world's dominant political and economic structures, which tend to maintain
or reinforce the dependence of poorer countries on the richer”. The same disparities are expressed within the developing nations where the communication technologies create socio-economic gaps between the 'haves' who are mainly settled in the urban areas, and the 'have nots' who are rural based. So, on the one hand, while information or communication technologies are controlled at the international level by the transnational corporations, at the national level, they are under the directives of the few at the urban centres - mainly government policy-makers and other bureaucrats.

The present national communication policy has far-reaching consequences on the socio-cultural policies of Nigeria. This is because of the relationship between the policy-making body and the multinational corporations - a relationship which maintains the interests of the former, while increasing the dependence on the latter. For instance, the oligopolistic role of the multinational corporations has led to the one-way dominance of communication systems largely in the form of cultural industries which end up being entertainment sources particularly for the rich urban settlers. While the multinationals capitalize on these advanced communication systems to effectively co-ordinate and maintain their economic interests, it also leads to what Hamelink (1983:5) calls 'cultural synchronization', a situation in which "... particular type of cultural development in the metropolitan country is persuasively communicated to the receiving countries". This, he further argues, can develop to a massive threat to the cultural autonomy of a nation. A number of factors can therefore contribute to the large dependence on, and eventual dominance by transnational communication. For instance, Gould et al (1984) have argued that:
"It is not that caricatures of wicked multinationals are wrenching the mouths of Third World countries open with political and economic pressures and force feeding them with television programmes. It is simply that many Third World countries are like baby birds with gaping beaks asking to be fed, cheaply and continuously, in order to fill that awful blank hole in the schedule two weeks from now. And when you are planning television broadcasts under those circumstances, under a mandate to fill that air time - or lose your job - your first worry is not cultural imperialism, violence on TV, or whether traditional values of the young generation are going to hell..." (p.T75).

These arguments all boil down to one basic fact: the need to have appropriate policies on broadcasting or communication generally. In the broadcasting systems in Nigeria for instance, despite the fact that there are some local (regional) variations in terms of programming, one still finds a substantial amount of transmission time being allocated to foreign broadcasts. Under such conditions, one might ask: Is it necessary for example, for the Plateau Television or the National television in Jos to transmit for about eight or nine hours daily when indeed all they have is a number of foreign programmes to fill such airing time? If limited time is given to transmitting culturally relevant material, this is bound to be more useful in the end. It seems to me therefore, that the continued need to rely on large-scale foreign cultural products shows the insensitive nature of decisions made by government on broadcasting policies.

While the reduction in imported programmes is essential, an equally vital issue is that indigenizing broadcasting means more than transmitting programmes that appear merely folkloric in nature. Undoubtedly, this is what the current trend of domestic programming looks like. Often, radio and television programmes that are referred to as 'cultural' rely heavily on such activities as the aesthetics of traditional performances, or scenes from the festive occasions that involve these traditional communicative forms. By
implication, 'cultural programmes' are reduced to the historic reflections of the past, giving such forms, a rather conservative notion. In indigenizing programming therefore, broadcast personnel ought to be aware of the fact that the traditional media are constantly adopting new forms and should therefore, be given due attention when used in such productions.

**Training of Professionals:**

While it is necessary that the contents of the broadcast media in Nigeria should reflect the socio-cultural symbols of the nation, this cannot be achieved by the media professionals who rely essentially on the urban areas for the programme materials. The issue of the training of such personnel is therefore an essential aspect otherwise, there will be the continued dependence on the production techniques and other professional ideologies that have hitherto, been transferred along with the technologies from the West. It is hoped that with the Federal Radio Corporation staff school in Lagos, the Nigerian Television Authority TV College in Jos, and the number of Universities and other institutions offering training for professional broadcasters in Nigeria, such personnel would be able to incorporate effectively, the socio-culturally relevant themes in their productions.

**Programming:**

Broadcasting techniques and formats could be styled in such a manner that they involve the participation of the rural folk. 'Don Manoma' (see Chapter 8) and other indigenous programmes which dealt with different aspects of rural agriculture produced by Radio Plateau did for instance, involve the traditional farmers. Similarly, the radio 'Magazines' which featured aspects of different ethnic groupings also had some artistes from such areas involved.
in the discussion series. The idea of going to the field (see Chapter 9) for the
recording also involved some degree of participation by the traditional artistes
in addition to giving the media personnel the opportunities to interact with them.
However, short term visits to the rural areas are not enough for the broadcasters
to understand the communication matrix that exists in such communities. It
is only by spending an increasing amount of time within these communities that
meaningful interpretations of their socio-cultural patterns can be made and
usefully integrated with the communication, cultural and other national policies.

Towards National Cultural Autonomy

Apart from embarking on indigenous programming, there is also the
need to limit the amount of transmission time. Attention should then be given
to the domestic productions, no matter how few they may be, as long as they
are of socio-cultural relevance. In essence, the conscious attempts at
indigenizing broadcasting through programming may be opening up new forums
for the promotion of a national cultural awareness. On the other hand, the
continued dependence on foreign programmes will not only be satisfying the
tastes of the urban elite, but also the capitalist interests of the multinationals.
But the indigenization of broadcasting through programming alone is not enough
for Nigeria to maintain a national cultural autonomy in the context of trans­
national communications. Nigeria depends on Western technology, educational
systems and other services (see Chapter 3) like other nations. This position
definitely makes it difficult to maintain a state of cultural autonomy. Salinas
(1978:24) for example, argues that "... for a national culture to emerge ...
such culture should be an authentic, autonomous and collective product of an
independent people". But with the penetration of the cultural sphere through the
capitalist systems controlled by the multinational corporations, one finds this
position impossible. In fact, as she later argues, cultural autonomy cannot exist without economic and political independence.

"... as the national states continue to be the expression of the balances and imbalances between the local classes and groups, the play of the totality of factors involves contradictions and convergences between the national states and transnational corporations ... this play is constantly redefined by the dynamics of the world system" (Salinas, 1978:25).

To a large extent therefore, the international network of relationships among nations is bound to lead to some form of dependence particularly by the developing nations on the Western industrialized countries. In the process of this unequal relationship, achieving a national state of autonomy in cultural and economic matters is bound to be problematic. A number of writers have suggested possible strategies of achieving this process. For instance, Robert White (1934:285) argues that the "... groups of nations linked in international movements such as the non-aligned bloc are providing the organizational structure of political, economic and culture emancipation. In so doing they are forging new horizontal communication networks and new unifying symbols". Although regional corporations may be a positive strategy for minimizing the perpetual level of dependence, the continued relations through trade links at the international scene are bound to maintain the current trends of imbalance in these relationships. The notion of interdependence in these relationships as another alternative, is not even a feasible solution as Schiller argues:

"... abstracted from reality, interdependence is an attractive, forward pointing idea. But, as with the free flow of information principle, for it to be genuinely fulfilled requires full equality of all participants. In the present international community, so unequal in economic, military and human resources, interdependence conceals a means of linking the weaker to the stronger, to the benefit of the latter. At this time, therefore, inter-
dependency cannot be accepted as a progressive substitute for national sovereignty" (Herbert Schiller, 1983:20).

Since interdependence means a further integration of the dependent nations into the international system, national policy formulations should be based on the resources of a nation, while carefully selecting the relevant technology for implementing them. Cees Hamelink in this context, suggests that some form of 'dissociation' is necessary so that a nation can independently rely on her resources. According to him, "... cultural dissociation demands four crucial components in national information policy that halt the process of cultural synchronization: autonomous definition of a country's fundamental needs, formulation of policy principles based on these needs, translation of these principles into concrete planning, and mobilization of indigenous resources" (Hamelink, 1983:100). Along similar guidelines, White and McDonnell (1983) suggest that self reliance in global communication can be achieved through:

(a) ... a controlled selectivity in the incorporation of scientific technical information and cultural products.

(b) ... self reliance implies long-range planning and the avoidance of decisions in response to immediate crisis needs for external marketing pressures that often result in importing ... technology that brings with it a further dependence on training and foreign expert maintenance...

(c) ... self reliant development is possible only if the political leadership and the population as a whole are convinced that their country must seek an alternative path to political, economic, and cultural development and avoid the invidious imitation of modernization in the countries of the North..."(pp.19-20).

The central issue for any nation trying to gain some form of cultural autonomy therefore, is that of weighing the need for the importation of Western technologies against the indigenous resources of that nation. In this form,
technology should only be considered useful against the background of the information requirements, communication systems and the development agenda of the country.

CONCLUSION

Based on the literature review and the research experiences, Nigeria can strive towards maintaining some form of economic and socio-cultural autonomy with the formulation of appropriate communication and cultural policies that cut across social barriers. In this process, the central control of the broadcasting systems should be minimized, while there should be more involvement and participation by the rural folk in the communication and development processes. After detailed sociological research, the traditional media forms could be effectively incorporated in the broadcast systems for dissemination to wider rural communities. However, in utilizing the traditional media forms, care has to be taken so that such productions are not merely based on the replications of the folkloric past. Indigenizing broadcasting by relying only on such traditional forms will add very little towards achieving self reliance or a national culture.

It is essential that communication and cultural policies offer a reciprocal and meaningful flow of information services between the government and people of all social strata. The unsteady nature of the Nigerian government since independence has continuously led to the central control of broadcasting in the guise of mobilizing national unity and integration. This situation is further compounded by the fact that even at regional or state level, they are still controlled by government. The existing establishment therefore makes it extremely difficult for mass rural participation. If current structures are not
broken down, and networks of inter-relationships established between the government and the rural sector, the centralized systems would lead to the continuous dependence on the international system. This would therefore mean the reliance on transnational communication systems, particularly foreign programme packages.

At the international level, the situation already created by the influence and domination by foreign cultures now makes it difficult for Nigeria or any other nation to 'withdraw' from the global systems of interaction. For instance, the mere imitation of foreign programme models and formats in the hope of attaining a national culture, appears like begging the issue. While I am not entirely pessimistic, the historical trends and processes in global affairs make it appear impossible for any nation to be culturally isolated or autonomous because such a position cannot exist without total economic and political independence, and this is not easy to achieve either. The best any nation can do, is to plan alternative policies that reduce the present level of domination, to one that can lead to a better exchange of cultural values among nations. Even this may not be as simple as it ideally sounds. As long as countries have to rely on each other for either economic or technological support; as long as the global system remains a forum where some countries are more privileged than others due to historical or industrial evolutions; and as long as most countries have to rely on these interdependent networks of services and where the leadership does not formulate positive strategies aimed at reducing the present conditions of dependence but co-operate to expand the existing inequalities; the present situation of domination in all spheres is bound to be perpetuated.
The following summary recapitulates the main conclusions of the research:

(1) Current communication and cultural policies in Nigeria exist in the form of disjointed statements of objectives; in the hands of civil service bureaucrats and centrally controlled by government.

(2) The bureaucratization of broadcasting and cultural organizations does not provide adequate reciprocal interactions between government and the rural masses.

(3) As an alternative approach, the decentralization of current communication and cultural organizations would therefore enable mass participation across sections of the Nigerian society. To some extent, such mass participation will reduce the current socio-economic disparities between the rural and urban sectors of the country.

(4) The study of some traditional performing groups from Plateau State shows that folk forms involve the use of symbolic meanings that are tacitly implied in their performances. For instance, the use of such genres as proverbs, jokes, satire and sarcasm based on oral formulae are useful devices in traditional communication.

(5) An understanding of the communication matrix employed by the traditional communities is therefore a useful base for the formulation of communication and cultural policies for Nigeria.

(6) The research experience and analysis of radio and television programmes for three consecutive years show an increasing attempt
at indigenizing broadcasting through the incorporation of the traditional media forms.

(7) As a strategy to maintain national cultural autonomy in the context of transnational communications, Nigeria needs other policies in addition to the indigenization of the broadcast media contents. The formulation of communication and cultural policies should be based on an understanding of the available diverse indigenous resources. Nigeria's development agenda should therefore be based on the socio-cultural resources of the country while the choice of foreign technology for their implementation should be strongly weighed against these backgrounds.
APPENDIX 1

PLATEAU TELEVISION: PROGRAMME SCHEDULES

(a) JULY - SEPTEMBER 1983

SUNDAY

5.00 p.m. Great Space Coaster/Skate Birds (F)
5.30 p.m. Sports (F)
6.30 p.m. P.T.V. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Star Parade (F)
7.30 p.m. Calling all Christians.
8.00 p.m. P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.
8.30 p.m. Drama.
9.00 p.m. Seven faces of a Woman/She (F)
10.00 p.m. Banachek (F)
11.10 p.m. News Summary.

MONDAY

6.00 p.m. Kiddies Time.
6.30 p.m. P.T.V. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Hot Seat.
8.00 p.m. P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.
8.30 p.m. Ladies World.
9.00 p.m. Soul Train (F)
10.00 p.m. Hawai 5-0 (F)
10.50 p.m. News Summary.

TUESDAY

6.00 p.m. Banana Split/Cattanooga Cats (F)
6.30 p.m. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Shanana (F)
7.30 p.m. Medical Magazine.
8.00 p.m. P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.
8.30 p.m. You Can do it.
**TUESDAY (Cont.)**

9.00 p.m. Tales of the Unexpected (F).
9.30 p.m. Don Manoma.
10.00 p.m. Battle Star Galactica (F).
10.50 p.m. News Summary.

**WEDNESDAY**

6.00 p.m. Lokachin Yara.
6.30 p.m. P.T.V. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Phyllis Comedy (F).
7.30 p.m. Raye Rayen Mu.
8.00 p.m. P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.
8.30 p.m. Public Utilities.
9.00 p.m. Bob Newhart Show (F).
9.30 p.m. You and the Law.
10.00 p.m. Dynasty (F).
10.50 p.m. News Summary.

**THURSDAY**

6.00 p.m. Baily's Bird's Eye/Spiderman (F).
6.30 p.m. P.T.V. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Survival/Wild Life Cinema (F).
7.30 p.m. Students Panaroma.
8.00 p.m. P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.
8.30 p.m. Guest on 29.
9.00 p.m. Sound Stage (F).
10.00 p.m. It Takes a Thief (F).
10.50 p.m. News Summary.

**FRIDAY**

6.00 p.m. Battle of the Planet/Godzilla (F).
6.30 p.m. P.T.V. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Littlest Hobo (F).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Islam Half Hour.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Career Guidance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>We're Moving (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Democracy Today.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>New Avengers (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.50 p.m.</td>
<td>News Summary.</td>
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</table>

**SATURDAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Count of Monte Christo/Worzel Gummidge (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Football - World Cup 82 (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>P.T.V. News on 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>The Protectors/Harold Lloyd (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Tin City Show Case.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>P.T.V. Labarun Duniya a Meta 29.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Viewer’s Request.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Pyararoma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Features (F).</td>
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**NOTE:**
(a) 'F' stands for all foreign programmes.
(b) 'N/W' is for programmes nationally transmitted.

(b) **JULY - SEPTEMBER 1984**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.30 p.m.</td>
<td>French for Beginners.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Space 1999 (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>P.T.V. Sports Review.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>29 News.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Calling all Christians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Documentaries (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Labaru Daga 29.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUNDAY (Cont.)

8.30 p.m. Raye Rayen Mu.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Philip Wilson Show (F).
10.30 p.m. Gun Smoke (F).

MONDAY

5.30 p.m. Economics.
6.00 p.m. Kiddies Time.
6.30 p.m. 29 News.
7.00 p.m. Telematch (F).
7.30 p.m. Circus of Stars (F).
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Duniyar Muta Matta.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Noma Tushen Arziki.
10.00 p.m. Sweeny Sweeny (F).

TUESDAY

5.30 p.m. English.
6.00 p.m. Once Upon a Time.
6.30 p.m. 29 News.
7.00 p.m. Rana Bata Karya.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Medical Magazine.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Around the Globe.
10.00 p.m. Superstars of Wrestling (F).

WEDNESDAY

5.30 p.m. Mathematics.
6.00 p.m. Lokachin Yara.
6.30 p.m. 29 News.
WEDNESDAY (Cont.)

7.00 p.m. Friends of Friends (F).
7.30 p.m. Guest on 29.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Youth Panorama.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Against the Wind (F).
10.00 p.m. The Foundations (F).

THURSDAY

5.30 p.m. History.
6.00 p.m. Battle of the Planet (F).
6.30 p.m. 29 News.
7.00 p.m. Schools Quiz.
7.30 p.m. Ladies World.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. George Hamilton Show (F).
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Living Tomorrow (F).
10.00 p.m. Special Branch (F).

FRIDAY

5.30 p.m. Geography.
6.00 p.m. Good Evening Plateau.
6.30 p.m. 29 News.
7.00 p.m. Islam Half Hour.
7.30 p.m. How is your Father (F).
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Career Guidance.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. Mu Tattauna.
10.00 p.m. Macoy (F).
### SATURDAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Shanana (F)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Weekend Sports (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>29 News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Viewer’s Request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Labaru Daga 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Tin City Show Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>News Panorama</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Weekend Movies (F)</td>
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### SUNDAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme line-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30 p.m.</td>
<td>French for Beginners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Fraggle (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Heritage</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>News on 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Calling All Christians</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Allah Yayi Dare</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Labaru Daga 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Raye-Rayenmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Hot Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Dandelion Documentary (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Spy/Victorian Scandal (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Epilogue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MONDAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme line-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Kiddies Time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MONDAY (Cont.)

6.30 p.m.  News on 29.
7.00 p.m.  Life Begins at 40 (F).
7.30 p.m.  Career Guidance.
8.00 p.m.  Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m.  Duni yar mu Ta Mata.
9.00 p.m.  NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m.  You and the Law.
10.00 p.m. Younger Ramsey Racing Calm (F).
11.00 p.m. Close down.

TUESDAY

5.00 p.m.  Programme line-up.
5.30 p.m.  English.
6.00 p.m.  Animated Classics (F).
6.30 p.m.  News on 29.
7.00 p.m.  Rana Bata Karya.
8.00 p.m.  Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m.  Medical Magazine.
9.00 p.m.  NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m.  Around the Globe.
10.00 p.m. Wrestling (F).
11.00 p.m. Close down.

WEDNESDAY

5.00 p.m.  Programme line-up.
5.30 p.m.  Mathematics.
6.00 p.m.  Lokacin Yara.
6.30 p.m.  News on 29.
7.00 p.m.  Mr. Moons Magic Circus (F).
7.30 p.m.  Guest on 29.
8.00 p.m.  Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m.  Youth Panorama.
WEDNESDAY (Cont.)

9.00 p.m. NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m. Audubon (F).
10.00 p.m. Drama (F).
11.00 p.m. Close down.

THURSDAY

5.00 p.m. Programme line-up.
5.30 p.m. History.
6.00 p.m. Sports (F).
6.30 p.m. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Voc. Education/French GCE.
7.30 p.m. Ladies World.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Noma Tushen Arziki.
9.00 p.m. NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m. Impressions.
10.00 p.m. Dynasty (F).
11.00 p.m. Close down.

FRIDAY

5.00 p.m. Programme line-up.
5.15 p.m. Moslem Sermon.
5.30 p.m. Geography.
6.00 p.m. Tales of 1001 Days/Magic (F).
6.30 p.m. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Islam Half Hour.
7.30 p.m. Good Evening Plateau.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Helima.
9.00 p.m. NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m. Mu Tattauna.
10.00 p.m. Specials (F).
11.00 p.m. Close down.
SATURDAY

4.00 p.m. Programme line-up.
4.30 p.m. Living Tomorrow (F).
5.00 p.m. Jagua.
5.30 p.m. Local Specials.
6.00 p.m. Public Utilities.
6.30 p.m. News on 29.
7.00 p.m. Viewers Request.
8.00 p.m. Labaru Daga 29.
8.30 p.m. Tin City Show Case.
9.00 p.m. NTA (N/W) News.
9.30 p.m. News Panorama.
10.00 p.m. Weekend Movies (F).
11.30 p.m. Close down.
APPENDIX 2

NTA JOS PROGRAMME SCHEDULES (TELEVISION)

(a) JULY - SEPTEMBER 1983

SUNDAY

9.00 a.m. Programme Parade.
9.05 a.m. Flying Kiwi (F).
9.30 a.m. Folk Songs.
10.00 a.m. Victor Uwaifo Show.
10.30 a.m. Puppet World.
11.00 a.m. Cosmos (F).
12.00 a.m. Kundun Labarai.
4.00 p.m. Christian Sermon.
4.10 p.m. The Palace (F).
5.00 p.m. Children's Club.
5.30 p.m. Noma Jari.
6.00 p.m. Kiddies Junction (N/W).
6.30 p.m. In My View.
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.15 p.m. Police Calling.
7.30 p.m. Christian Half Hour.
8.00 p.m. Kwaryar Kira.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Diniya.
9.45 p.m. On TV This Week.
10.00 p.m. Window on the World (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Rising Damp (F).
11.00 p.m. Special Branch (F).
12.15 p.m. Epilogue.

MONDAY

4.00 p.m. Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m. News in Brief.
MONDAY (Cont.)

4.10 p.m.   Educational Broadcast (F).
5.00 p.m.   Ku Matso Yara.
5.30 p.m.   Your Government.
6.00 p.m.   Sports Special.
6.30 p.m.   When I Laugh (F).
7.00 p.m.   NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.   Al’Adun Gargajiya.
8.00 p.m.   News Week (N/W).
9.00 p.m.   NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.   NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m.  NA Gari Na Kowa.
11.00 p.m.  NTA News Cap (N/W).
11.15 p.m.  Justice (F).
12.15 p.m.  News Summary.

TUESDAY

4.00 p.m.   Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m.   News in Brief.
4.10 p.m.   Educational Broadcast (F).
5.00 p.m.   Children’s Time.
5.30 p.m.   Yaki da Jahalci.
6.00 p.m.   Young World (N/W).
6.30 p.m.   Legal Angle.
7.00 p.m.   NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.   Feminine Fancies.
8.00 p.m.   On the Move (N/W).
8.30 p.m.   Guest of the Moment.
9.00 p.m.   NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.   NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m.  News Conference (N/W).
11.00 p.m.  NTA News Cap (N/W).
11.15 p.m.  Randal and Hopkins (F).
12.15 p.m.  News Summary.
WEDNESDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m.  News in Brief.
4.10 p.m.  Educational Broadcast (F).
5.00 p.m.  Great Space Coaster (F).
5.30 p.m.  Taba Ka Lashe.
6.00 p.m.  Road Sense.
6.30 p.m.  Different Strokes (F).
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Focus.
8.00 p.m.  Family Menu (N/W).
8.30 p.m.  Tee Mac Show (F).
9.00 p.m.  NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.  NTA Labaran Duniya.
10.00 p.m. Face the Press.
11.00 p.m. NTA News Cap (N/W).
11.15 p.m. Enemy at the Door (F).
12.15 p.m. News Summary.

THURSDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m.  News in Brief.
4.10 p.m.  Educational Broadcast (F).
5.00 p.m.  Gasper and the Angels (F).
5.30 p.m.  Federal Arm.
6.00 p.m.  Try for Ten.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Situation
8.00 p.m.  Spotlight (N/W).
9.00 p.m.  NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.  NTA Jos Labaran Duniya.
10.00 p.m. In Search Of (F).
10.30 p.m. Nigeria Today.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA News Cap (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Wild Alliance (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.15 p.m.</td>
<td>News Summary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.05 p.m.</td>
<td>Moslem Sermon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10 p.m.</td>
<td>Educational Broadcast (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>School’s Challenge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Youth Circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Hausa Drama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Yours Health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos News Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Musulunci Ke Kira.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Images (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Cock Crow at Dawn (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Political Periscope (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA News Cap (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Wrestling (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Adua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 a.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.05 a.m.</td>
<td>Our Music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 a.m.</td>
<td>Amusement Spot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 a.m.</td>
<td>Magic Palace (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 a.m.</td>
<td>Parklimestown (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.30 a.m.</td>
<td>Assignment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.00 a.m.</td>
<td>News Panorama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SATURDAY (Cont.)

4.05 p.m. Documentary.
5.00 p.m. NTA Network Sports (N/W).
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m. Tashi taka.
8.00 p.m. Takadari.
8.30 p.m. Word Game.
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. What's Up.
10.30 p.m. Babban Zaure.
11.00 p.m. Features (F).

(b) JULY - SEPTEMBER 1984

SUNDAY

9.00 a.m. Programme Parade.
9.05 a.m. Great Space Coaster (F).
9.30 a.m. Samanja.
10.00 a.m. Only When I Laugh (F).
10.30 a.m. Youth Circle.
12.00 noon Kundun Labarai.
4.00 p.m. Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m. Soccer/Sports (F).
5.00 p.m. Tales by Moonlight (N/W).
5.30 p.m. Children's Club.
6.00 p.m. Noma Jari.
6.30 p.m. Literary Circle.
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m. Christian Half Hour.
8.00 p.m. Mirrow in the Sun (N/W).
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>On TV This Week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Tambari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Crown Court (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.15 a.m.</td>
<td>Closing Prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade/News in Brief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.05 p.m.</td>
<td>Educational Broadcast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Ku Matso Yara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Sports Special.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Takadari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos News Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Famanine Fancies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>News Week (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Talking Point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Mind Your Language (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA News Cap (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Project U.F.O. (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.15 p.m.</td>
<td>News Summary/Close down.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade and News in Brief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.05 p.m.</td>
<td>Children's Birthday Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Hausa by Television.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Your Health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Young World (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Karambana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos News Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Al'Adam Gargajiya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Search Light (N/W).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TUESDAY (Cont.)

8.30 p.m.  Family Menu (N/W).
9.00 p.m.  NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.  NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. Platform (N/W).
11.15 p.m. Zero One (F).
12.15 a.m. News Summary/Close down.

WEDNESDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade and News in Brief.
4.05 p.m.  Educational Broadcast.
5.00 p.m.  Kiddies Function (N/W).
5.30 p.m.  Children's Time.
6.00 p.m.  For Schools.
6.30 p.m.  Taba Ka Lashe.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Focus.
8.00 p.m.  Family Line (N/W).
8.30 p.m.  Second Chance (N/W).
9.00 p.m.  NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m.  NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. Midweek Sports (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Legal Angle.
11.00 p.m. News Cap.
11.15 p.m. Wrestling (F).
12.15 a.m. News Summary and Close down.

THURSDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade/News in Brief.
4.05 p.m.  Educational Broadcast.
5.00 p.m.  Children's Club.
5.30 p.m.  Federal Arm.
6.00 p.m.  Try for Ten.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos News Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Cuisine Internationale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>News Consciousness (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>News Horizon (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Nigeria Today/Nijeriya A Yau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>News Cap (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Musicals (F).</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.15 a.m.</td>
<td>News Summary and Close down.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FRIDAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade and Moslem Prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.05 p.m.</td>
<td>Educational Broadcasts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Schools Science.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Rabin Sa a da ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Expert Answers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Eva 2000 (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos News Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Musulunci Ke Kira.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 p.m.</td>
<td>African Festival of Entertainment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.00 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Network News (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.30 p.m.</td>
<td>NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Whats Up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 p.m.</td>
<td>Window on the World (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 p.m.</td>
<td>News Cap (N/W).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 p.m.</td>
<td>Detective (F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.15 a.m.</td>
<td>Closing Prayers.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SATURDAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.00 a.m.</td>
<td>Programme Parade.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.05 a.m.</td>
<td>From Children's Festival.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SATURDAY (Cont.)

9.30 a.m. Animals in Action (F).
10.00 a.m. Kwashi, Kwaram.
10.30 a.m. Matt & Jenny (F).
11.00 a.m. Funk Time.
11.30 a.m. Babban Zaure.
12.00 noon News Panorama.
12.30 p.m. Close down.
4.00 p.m. Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m. Festac Reflections.
5.00 p.m. Network Sports (N/W).
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m. Retrospect.
8.00 p.m. The Press (N/W).
8.30 p.m. Definitions (N/W).
9.00 p.m. NTA Network News (N/W).
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. Face the Press.
11.00 p.m. NTA News Cap (N/W).
11.15 p.m. Features (F).
12.45 a.m. News Summary and Close down.

(c) JULY - SEPTEMBER 1985

SUNDAY

9.00 a.m. Christian Opening Prayers and Programme Parade.
9.05 a.m. Yaki da Jahilci.
9.30 a.m. Takadari.
10.00 a.m. Youth Circle.
10.30 a.m. Puppet World.
11.00 a.m. Case File.
12.00 noon Kundin Labarai.
(Break)
4.00 p.m. Programme Parade.
SUNDAY (Cont.)

4.05 p.m. Soccer (F).
5.00 p.m. Manyan Gobe.
5.30 p.m. Tables by Moonlight (N/W).
6.00 p.m. Noma Jari.
6.30 p.m. Literary Circle.
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.15 p.m. From the Papers.
7.30 p.m. Christian Half Hour.
8.00 p.m. Mirror in the Sun (N/W).
9.00 p.m. NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
9.45 p.m. Daga Jaridun Mu.
10.00 p.m. Outlook (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Nigeria Today/Nijereya A Yau.
11.00 p.m. Wild Alliance (F).
12.00 Midnight Closing Prayers/Closing Remarks.

MONDAY

4.00 p.m. Programme Parade and News in Brief.
4.05 p.m. Educational Broadcast.
5.00 p.m. Ku Matso Yara.
5.30 p.m. Science and Creativity (N/W).
6.00 p.m. Sports Special.
6.30 p.m. Dust in the Eye.
7.00 p.m. NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m. Faminine Fancies.
8.00 p.m. News Week (N/W).
9.00 p.m. NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m. NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. Food Basket (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Talking Point.
11.00 p.m. NTA Newscap.
MONDAY (Cont.)

11.15 p.m.  Nature Watch (F).
12.15 p.m.  Close down.

TUESDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade and News in Brief.
4.05 p.m.  Dynamutts (F).
4.30 p.m.  Children's Club.
5.00 p.m.  Hausa by T.V.
5.30 p.m.  Schools Science.
6.00 p.m.  Bedtime Stories.
6.30 p.m.  Your Health.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Ruwan Dare.
8.00 p.m.  Famanine Fancies (N/W).
8.30 p.m.  New Masquerade (N/W).
9.00 p.m.  NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m.  Platform (N/W).
10.00 p.m. Platform (N/W).
11.00 p.m. NTA Newscap.
11.15 p.m. The Avengers (F).
12.15 a.m. Close down.

WEDNESDAY

4.00 p.m.  Programme Parade and News in Brief.
4.05 p.m.  Battle of the Planets (F).
4.30 p.m.  Keep Fit.
5.00 p.m.  Children's Time.
5.30 p.m.  Young Brains (N/W).
6.00 p.m.  Taba Ka lashe.
6.30 p.m.  Titus Workshop.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Dance and Style.
WEDNESDAY (Cont.)

8.00 p.m.    Family Line (N/W).
8.30 p.m.    Second Chance (N/W).
9.00 p.m.    NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m.    NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m.   Midweek Sports (N/W).
10.30 p.m.   Cornerstone (N/W).
11.00 p.m.   NTA Newscap.
11.15 p.m.   Wrestling (F).
12.15 a.m.   Close down.

THURSDAY

4.00 p.m.    Programme Parade and News in Brief.
4.05 p.m.    Children's Festival.
4.30 p.m.    Folk Songs.
5.00 p.m.    Federal Arm.
5.30 p.m.    Young Farmers Club (N/W).
6.00 p.m.    Family Tips.
6.30 p.m.    Jauro.
7.00 p.m.    NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.    Guest of the Moment.
8.00 p.m.    New Village Headmaster (N/W).
9.00 p.m.    NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m.    NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m.   Nigeria, a New Consciousness (N/W).
11.00 p.m.   NTA Newscap.
11.15 p.m.   Hausa Drama.
12.15 a.m.   Close down.

FRIDAY

4.00 p.m.    Moslem Prayer and Programme Parade.
4.05 p.m.    Educational Broadcast.
5.00 p.m.    Your Government.
FRIDAY (Cont.)

5.30 p.m.  Kiddies Junction (N/W).
6.00 p.m.  Try for Ten.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Musulunci Ke Kiva.
8.00 p.m.  The Press (N/W).
8.30 p.m.  Cock Crow at Dawn (N/W).
9.00 p.m.  NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m.  NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. New Horizon (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Window on the World.
11.00 p.m. NTA Newscap.
11.15 p.m. Whickers World (F).
12.15 a.m. Close down.

SATURDAY

9.00 a.m.  Programme Parade.
9.05 a.m.  Children’s Time.
9.30 a.m.  Keep Fit.
10.00 a.m. Junior Quiz.
10.30 a.m. Babban Zaure.
11.00 a.m. Turubin Giwa.
12.00 noon News Panorama.
12.30 p.m. Close down.
(break)
4.00 p.m.  Cosmos (F).
5.00 p.m.  NTA N/W Sports.
7.00 p.m.  NTA Jos News Report.
7.30 p.m.  Definitions.
8.00 p.m.  Gidan Kashe Ahu.
9.00 p.m.  NTA N/W News.
9.30 p.m.  NTA Jos Labarun Duniya.
10.00 p.m. The World This Week (N/W).
10.30 p.m. Legal Angle.
SATURDAY (Cont.)

11.00 p.m.  NTA Newscap.
11.15 p.m.  Features (F).
12.30 a.m.  Close down.
### APPENDIX 3

PLATEAU BROADCASTING CORPORATION (RADIO):
SCHEDULE OF PROGRAMMES

#### SUNDAYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0530</td>
<td>Station call signal and announcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0534</td>
<td>National Anthem and Pledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0535</td>
<td>Programme Promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0540</td>
<td>Morning Prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0550</td>
<td>Reading from the Holy Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0600</td>
<td>Music to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0630</td>
<td>News in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0640</td>
<td>Music to remember (cont.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0700</td>
<td>National Network News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0715</td>
<td>Sunday Morning Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0800</td>
<td>News in Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0810</td>
<td>Your Health/Rom Sat. 0840 hrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0815</td>
<td>Questions and Answers on Christian Religion (repeat Wednesday 1045 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0830</td>
<td>Ladies forum - (rept. Tuesday 0930 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0900</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0905</td>
<td>Hospital Request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0945</td>
<td>Radio Doctor in English (rept. Monday 1345 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>The News</td>
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<tr>
<td>1010</td>
<td>Programme Promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1015</td>
<td>Our Time (rept. Tuesday 1430 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045</td>
<td>Children's Quarter Hour (rept. Tuesday 1615 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td>1105</td>
<td>Youth Scene (rept. Tuesday 1505 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1130</td>
<td>Mad World (rept. Tuesday 2030 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1205</td>
<td>Family Favourites - A Request Programme in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>The News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310</td>
<td>Programme Parade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Random Talk (rept. Tuesday 1415 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUNDAYS (Cont.)

1345  The X-ray Eye Man (rept. 1910 hrs.)
1400  News Summary
1405  Management by Radio (rept. from Friday 1015 hrs.)
1430  Artist of the Week (Music to be supplied by the Library)
1500  News Summary
1505  Spotlight (rept. from Saturday 2030 hrs.)
1530  Theatre of the Air (rept. Monday 2030 hrs.)
1600  National Network News
1615  School’s Challenge (rept. Monday 0930 hrs.)
1645  Sports Review (rept. Monday 1045 hrs.)
1700  News in English and Hausa
1730  Ina Labari (rept. from Saturday 0810 hrs.)
1800  News Translations in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1900  The News
1910  Don Manoma (rept. from Saturday 1830)
1925  Interlude of Music
1930  Angas Magazine - A Magazine Programme for the Angas Speaking Listeners (rept. from Thursday 1130 hrs.)
2000  News in English and Hausa
2030  Plateau State Round Up - (rept. from Saturday 1430 hrs.)
2100  News Summary
2105  Shahararren Makadi
2130  Book Choice (rept. Wednesday 1545 hrs.)
2145  Balaliyar kan Hanya (rept. from Saturday 2145 hrs.)
2200  National Network News
2215  Evening Worship
2225  Reading from the Holy Koran
2235  Mu Zaga Jihar Plato (rept. from Saturday 1105 hrs.)
2300  News Summary
2305  Sunday Serenade
0000  News at Midnight
0005  Close Down Announcement/National Pledge and Anthem.
MONDAYS

0530 Station call signal and announcement
0534 National Anthem and Pledge
0535 Programme Parade
0545 Morning Prayers
0550 Reading from the Holy Koran
0600 Hill Top Package
0630 News in English
0640 Hill Top Package (Continuation)
0700 National Network News
0715 News Analysis
0720 Tin City Express
0730 News in Hausa
0310 Zaben Safe (A Request Programme in Hausa)
0900 News Summary
0905 Educational B/Cast/Poetry (rept. Wednesday 0930 hrs.)
0930 Schools Challenge (rept. from Sunday 1615 hrs.)
1000 The News
1010 Programme Promotion
1015 Random Talks (from Saturday 1830 hrs.)
1030 Unijos Media Magazine (rept. Tuesday 1015 hrs.)
1100 News Summary
1105 Afizere Magazine (rept. Thursday 2105 hrs.)
1130 Halem Biron (rept. from Thursday 1930 hrs.)
1200 News Summary
1205 Bayan Hakuri (rept. Friday 2135 hrs.)
1230 Music While You Work
1300 The News
1310 From the Editorials
1315 Jingle Hour
1345 Radio Doctor in English (rept. from Sunday 0945 hrs.)
1400 News Summary
1405 World Scene (rept. Tuesday 2130 hrs.)
1430 Ra'ayin Masu Sauraro (rept. from Friday 2105 hrs.)
MONDAYS (Cont.)

1500 News Summary
1505 Let the Music Play
1530 Education in Action (rept. Wednesday 1630 hrs.)
1600 National Network News
1615 Siyasar Mu a Yau
1645 Sports Review - (rept. from Sunday 1645 hrs.)
1700 News in English and Hausa
1725 Programme Promo./Personal Paid Announcement Spot
1730 Choosing a Career - (rept. Wednesday 1105 hrs.)
1800 News Translation in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1900 News Panorama
1930 Alago Magazine - (rept. Wednesday 1130 hrs.)
2000 News in English and Hausa
2020 Programme Promo./Personal Paid Announcements
2030 Theatre of the Air (rept. Sunday 1530 hrs.)
2100 News Summary
2105 Mwahavul Magazine - (rept. Thursday 1405 hrs.)
2130 Guest of the Week (rept. from Friday 1730 hrs.)
2200 The News
2215 News Analysis
2220 Music from the L.G.As.
2245 Music Break
2300 News Summary
2305 Evening Worship
2315 Reading from the Holy Koran
2325 Beyond the Twilight
0000 News at Midnight
0035 Close Down Announcement/National Pledge and Anthem.
TUESDAYS

0530 Station call signal and announcements
0534 National Anthem and Pledge
0435 Programme Promotion
0540 Morning Prayers
0550 Reading from the Holy Koran
0600 Hill Top Package
0530 News in English
0640 Hill Top Package (Continuation)
0700 The News
0715 News Analysis
0720 Tin City Express
0300 News in Hausa
0810 Tin City Express (Continuation)
0345 Don Manoma (rept. Saturday 0845 hrs.)
0930 News Summary
0905 Educational B/Cast (Inspector Talks Rept. Friday 0930 hrs.)
0930 Ladies Forum (rept. from Sunday 0830 hrs.)
1030 World News
1010 Programme Promotion
1015 Unijos Media Magazine (rept. Monday 1030 hrs.)
1045 Radio Lawyer (rept. from Saturday 0945 hrs.)
1100 News Summary
1105 Educational B/Cast (French at Home. Rept. Thursdays 0935 hrs.)
1130 Goemai Magazine (rept. from Saturday 1930 hrs.)
1200 News Summary
1205 Zaben Magi (rept. Thursdays 2030 hrs.)
1230 From Our Gram Library
1300 The News
1310 From the Editorials
1315 Listener's Choice
1345 Inda Ache (rept. Thursdays 1015 hrs.)
1400 News Summary
1405 Interlude
TUESDAYS (Cont.)

1415   Random Talks (rept. from Sunday 1315 hrs.)
1430   Our Time (rept. Sunday 1015 hrs.)
1500   News Summary
1505   Youth Scene (rept. from Sunday 1105 hrs.)
1530   Hot Spot (Comm.)
1600   The News
1615   Children's Quarter Hour (from Sundays 1045 hrs.)
1630   Our Cultural Heritage
1700   News in English and Hausa
1725   Personal Paid Announcements
1730   From the Assembly
1800   News Translations in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1900   News Panorama
1930   Taroh Magazine (rept. Fridays 1330 hrs.)
2000   News in English and Hausa
2030   Mad World (rept. from Sundays 1130 hrs.)
2100   News Summary
2105   Wotso Tyang (Request Programme in Birom)
2130   World Scene (rept. from Mondays 1405 hrs.)
2200   The News
2215   News Analysis
2220   Mixed Music on Records
2300   News Summary
2305   Evening Worship
2315   Reading from the Holy Koran
2325   Beyond the Twilight
0000   News at Midnight
0006   Close Down Announcements/National Pledge and Anthem.
**WEDNESDAYS**

- 0530 Station call signal and announcement
- 0534 National Anthem and Pledge
- 0535 Programme Parade
- 0540 Morning Prayers
- 0550 Reading from the Holy Koran
- 0600 Hill Top Package
- 0630 News in English
- 0640 Hill Top Packages (Continuation)
- 0700 National Network News
- 0715 News Analysis
- 0720 Tin City Express
- 0800 News in Hausa
- 0810 Tin City Express (Continuation)
- 0900 News Summary
- 0905 Education B/Cast (History of West Africa Rept. Friday 1045 hrs.)
- 0920 Educational B/Cast (Poetry Rept. Monday 0905 hrs.)
- 0935 Schools Debate (Rept. Friday 1630 hrs.)
- 1000 The News
- 1010 Programme Promotion
- 1015 Ladyscope (rept. from Saturday 1315 hrs.)
- 1045 Q&A on Xtian Religion (rept. from Sunday 0815 hrs.)
- 1100 News Summary
- 1105 Choosing a Career (rept. from Monday 1730 hrs.)
- 1130 Alago Magazine (rept. from Monday 1930 hrs.)
- 1200 News Summary
- 1205 Zamanin Riga (Rept. Saturday 2130 hrs.)
- 1230 Da ga Majalisa Jihar Plato
- 1245 Zuwa da Kai (rept. from Saturday 0845)
- 1300 The News
- 1310 From the Nigerian Editorials
- 1315 Music for your delight
- 1400 News Summary
- 1405 Jingle Hour (Comm)
- 1430 Irigwe Magazine (rept. Friday 1930 hrs.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td>1505</td>
<td>Ku Kasa Kunne (a request programme in Hausa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1545</td>
<td>Book Choice (rept. from Sunday 2130 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>National Network News</td>
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<tr>
<td>1615</td>
<td>Yara Manyan Gobe (rept. Thursday 1215 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Education in Action (rept. from Monday 1530 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>News in English and Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Music Nigeriana (Comm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Police Forum (rept. Thursday 1445 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>News Translation in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>News Panorama</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Eggon Magazine (rept. Friday 1130 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>News in English and Hausa</td>
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<tr>
<td>2025</td>
<td>Classified Announcements</td>
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<td>2030</td>
<td>Midweek Request</td>
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<tr>
<td>2100</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td>2105</td>
<td>Music Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2115</td>
<td>Don Fulani (rept. Friday 2120 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2130</td>
<td>Music Tour of Plateau State (rept. Thursday 1530 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2200</td>
<td>National Network News</td>
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<tr>
<td>2215</td>
<td>News Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2220</td>
<td>Hanyoyin Mu A Yau (rept. Saturday 1615 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2235</td>
<td>Festival Music (R.R.B.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2305</td>
<td>Evening Worship</td>
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<tr>
<td>2315</td>
<td>Reading from the Holy Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2325</td>
<td>Beyond the Twilight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0000</td>
<td>News at Midnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0005</td>
<td>Close Down Announcements/National Pledge and Anthem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THURSDAYS

0530  Station Call Signals and Announcements
0534  National Anthem and Pledge
0535  Programmes Promotion
0540  Morning Prayers
0550  Reading from the Holy Koran
0600  Hill Top Package
0630  News in English
0640  Hill Top Package (Continuation)
0700  The News
0715  News Analysis
0720  Tin City Express (Comm)
0800  News in Hausa
0810  Tin City Express (Continuation)
0900  News Summary
0905  Educational B/Cast (French at Home, rept. from Tuesday 1105 hrs.)
0930  Housewives Special
1000  The News
1010  Programme Promotion
1015  In Da Ache (rept. from Tuesday 1345 hrs.)
1030  Educational Broadcast
1045  Tamboyoyin Addinin Musulunci (rept. Friday 0945 hrs.)
1100  News Summary
1105  Letter to Nigeria
1130  Angas Magazine (rept. Sunday 1930 hrs.)
1200  News Summary
1205  Interlude
1215  Yara Manyan Gobe (rept. from Wednesday 1615 hrs.)
1230  What the People Say (rept. Friday 1505 hrs.)
1300  The News
1310  From the Editorials
1315  Fatan Alheri (A request programme in Hausa)
1345  If I were (rept. Saturday 1045 hrs.)
1400  News Summary
1405  Mwahavul Magazine (rept. Monday 2105 hrs.)
THURSDAYS (Cont.)

1430  Announcer's Choice
1445  Police Forum (rept. from Wednesday 1745 hrs.)
1500  News Summary
1505  Jingle Hour (Commercials)
1530  Music Time of Plateau State (rept. from Wednesday 2130 hrs.)
1600  The News
1615  From the Professional Notebook (rept. Saturday 1345 hrs.)
1630  P.B.C. Mail-Bag (rept. Friday 0915 hrs.)
1645  Daga Majalisar Jihar Plato
1700  News in English and Hausa
1730  From the Assembly
1800  News Translation in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1900  News Panaroma
1930  Halem Birom (rept. Monday 1130 hrs.)
2000  News in English and Hausa
2025  Classified Announcements (Commercials)
2030  Zaben Maggi (rept. from Tuesday 1205 hrs.)
2100  News Summary
2105  Afizere Magazine (rept. from Monday 1105 hrs.)
2130  Wasa Kwakwalwa (rept. from Saturday 2105 hrs.) PBC
2200  The News
2215  News Analysis
2220  Radio Doctor in Hausa (rept. Friday 1615 hrs.)
2240  Our Kind of Music
2300  News Summary
2305  Evening Worship
2315  Reading from the Holy Koran
2325  Beyond the Twilight
0000  News at Midnight
0005  Close Down Announcements/National Anthem and Pledge.
FRIDAYS

0530  Station Call Signal and Announcements
0534  National Anthem and Pledge
0535  Programme Promotion
0545  Morning Prayers
0550  Reading from the Holy Koran
0600  Hill Top Package
0630  News in English
0640  Hill Top Package (Continuation)
0700  National Network News
0715  News Analysis
0720  Tin City Express
0800  News in Hausa
0810  Afro Stars (Comm)
0900  News Summary
0905  Educational Broadcast
0915  P.B.C. Mailbag (from Thursday 1630 hrs.)
0930  Educational B/Cast (Inspector’s Talks from Tuesday 0905 hrs.)
0945  Tamboyin Addinin Musulunci (Rept. from Thursday 1045 hrs.)
1000  The News
1010  Programme Promotion
1015  Management by Radio (rept. Sunday 1405 hrs.)
1045  Educational B/Cast (History of West Africa from Wednesday 0905 hrs.)
1100  News Summary
1105  Jingle Hour
1130  Eggon Magazine (rept. from Wednesday 1930 hrs.)
1200  News Summary
1205  Goron Jumma’a (A request programme in Hausa)
1300  The News
1310  Bill Board Hot 50
1330  Taroh Magazine (rept. from Tuesday 1930 hrs.)
1400  News Summary
1405  What the People Say (rept. from Thursday 1230 hrs.)
1430  Jumma’a Babin Rana
FRIDAYS (Cont.)

1500 News Summary
1505 Afternoon Jump
1545 Ancestral Folktales (rept. Saturday 1845 hrs.)
1600 The News
1615 Radio Doctor in Hausa (rept. from Thursday 2220 hrs.)
1630 Schools' Debate (rept. from Wednesday 0935 hrs.)
1700 News in English and Hausa
1725 Personal Paid Announcements
1730 Guest of the Week (rept. Monday 2130 hrs.)
1800 News Translation in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1900 News Panorama
1930 Irigwe Magazine (rept. from Wednesday 1430 hrs.)
2000 News in English and Hausa
2030 From me to you
2100 News Summary
2105 Ra'ayin Masu Sauraro (rept. Monday 1430 hrs.)
2120 Don Fulani (rept. from Wednesday 2115 hrs.)
2135 Bayan Hakuri (rept. from Monday 1205 hrs.)
2200 National Network News
2215 News Analysis
2220 Beyond the Twilight
2300 News Summary
2305 Evening Worship
2315 Reading from the Holy Koran
2325 Jazz Time
0000 News at Midnight
0005 Close Down Announcement/National Anthem and Pledge.
**SATURDAYS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0530</td>
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<td>0535</td>
<td>Programme Parade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0540</td>
<td>Morning Prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0550</td>
<td>Reading from the Koly Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0600</td>
<td>Hill Top Package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0630</td>
<td>News in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0640</td>
<td>We de Salute Una (a request programme in Pidgin English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0700</td>
<td>National Network News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0715</td>
<td>News Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>0720</td>
<td>We Dey Salute Una (Continuation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0800</td>
<td>News in Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0810</td>
<td>Ina Labari (rept. Sunday 1730 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0840</td>
<td>Your Health (rept. Sunday 0810 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0845</td>
<td>Zuwa da Kai (rept. Wednesday 1245 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0900</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0905</td>
<td>Children's Request</td>
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<tr>
<td>0945</td>
<td>Radio Lawyer (rept. Tuesday 1045 hrs.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>The News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010</td>
<td>Programme Promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1015</td>
<td>Barka da Hantsi (A request programme in Hausa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045</td>
<td>If I were (rept. from Thursday 1345 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105</td>
<td>Mu zaga Jihar Plato (rept. Sunday 2235 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1130</td>
<td>Press Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>News Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1205</td>
<td>The Big Beats (Popular and latest hits on Rec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>The News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310</td>
<td>From the Nigerian Editorials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Ladyscope (rept. Wednesday 1015 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1345</td>
<td>From the Professional's Notebook (rept. from Thursday 1615 hrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>News in English and Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1425</td>
<td>Personal Paid Announcements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SATURDAYS (Cont.)

1430 Plateau State Round Up (rept. Sunday 2030 hrs.)
1500 News Translation in Alago, Angas, Birom, Eggon and Taroh
1600 National Network News
1615 Hanyoyin mu a yau (rept. Wednesday 2220 hrs.)
1630 Sports Pavilion
1830 Random Talks (rept. Monday 1015 hrs.)
1845 Ancestral Folktales (rept. from Friday 1545 hrs.)
1900 The News
1910 News Analysis
1915 Bulaliyar Kan Hanya (rept. Sunday 2145 hrs.)
1930 Goemai Magazine (rept. Tuesday 1130 hrs.)
2000 News in English and Hausa
2025 Personal Paid Announcements
2030 Spotlight (rept. Sunday 1505 hrs.) PBC
2100 News Summary
2105 Wasa Kwakwalwa (rept. from Thursday 2130 hrs.)
2130 Zamani Riga (rept. from Wednesday 1205 hrs.)
2200 The News
2215 Evening Worship
2225 Reading from the Koran
2235 Weekend Special
0000 News at Midnight
0035 Close Down Announcement/National Anthem and Pledge.
APPENDIX 4

QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDELINES

A. PRODUCERS (RADIO AND TELEVISION)

1. What Programme(s) do you produce?
   (a) ................................................................. (b) .........................................................
   (c) ................................................................. (d) .........................................................

2. Do these involve your visiting areas outside Jos?
   (a) Yes  (b) No.

3. If yes, which areas have you visited?
   (a) ................................................................. (b) .........................................................

4. How conversant are you with the Local Government Areas within the State?

5. What purposes are your programmes aimed at?

6. Do you have problems in producing programmes that have to do with our traditional performing artistes?

7. Which language(s) do you use in your productions?
   (a) ................................................................. (b) .........................................................

8. If it is one of the ethnic languages within the State, do you encounter any problems with it (them)?
   (a) Yes  (b) No.

9. Do you ever wonder if there are interested listening or viewing audiences?

10. Does such a condition make you feel committed to satisfying their interests or needs?

11. Do you rely mainly on the urban or rural areas for the materials used in your programmes?
12. Do you face financial or other constraints in your productions?

13. If yes, what would the programmes look like if you had your way?

14. What are your favourite TV or Radio programmes?
   (a) ........................................
   (b) ........................................
   (c) ........................................
   (d) ........................................

15. Does any of these influence you in your programme production?

B. GENERAL MANAGER OR CONTROLLER OF PROGRAMMES
   (RADIO & TV)

1. What are the basic objectives behind the establishment of your broadcasting organization?

2. What training opportunities are there for members of staff?

3. As the General Manager or Controller of programmes, what suggestions would you offer any government in terms of programmes?

4. Has your corporation ever conducted an audience research to find out the tastes of audiences - or their reactions to specific programmes?

5. Do you think it would be more advantageous to embark on domestic programme production; or, rely on the imported programmes?

6. Are there any financial or material constraints in embarking on domestic programme production?

7. What effects (if any) do you think the continued reliance on foreign programmes would have on Plateau State in particular and Nigeria in general?

8. How would you compare the imported and local programmes?

9. What basic problems do your producers face in domestic programme production?

10. Do you feel concerned about the long-term effects of imported programmes?

C. THE DIRECTOR, PLATEAU STATE COUNCIL FOR ARTS AND CULTURE

1. What are the main aims behind the establishment of an Arts Council by the Government of this State?
2. Is there any form of interaction between the Council's Headquarters in the heart of the urban centre and the rural communities?

3. Is there any form of co-operation between the Council and the Broadcast Organizations within the State?

4. Does the Council have specific time slots at the broadcasting stations which involves programmes that feature members of your staff?

5. What are your general views about the nature of programmes transmitted by the Radio and Television houses in Plateau State?

6. Do you call for the total rejection of foreign programmes, or their reduction?

7. Are there organized seminars for members of staff of the Broadcast media houses and staff of your council?

8. Do you think that such forums will enlighten them about the cultural resources of this state for which they could subsequently use in their programmes?

9. What attempts has the Arts Council made in utilizing traditional media forms in government-oriented policies?

D. ARTISTES/TRADITIONAL PERFORMERS

1. When do you normally perform?

2. What does your performance mean to your community?

3. Do you listen to the Radio or watch Television?

4. Which programmes do you particularly like?
   (a) ...........................................  (b) ...........................................
   (c) ...........................................  (d) ...........................................

5. In which languages are these programmes?
   (a) ...........................................  (b) ...........................................

6. Does any of these programmes influence you in your composition of new songs, lyrics or drama scripts?

7. Have you ever visited a Radio or Television studio?
   (a) Yes  (b) No.

8. If yes, did you encounter any problems during your performances?
   (a) Yes  (b) No.
9. If yes, what were the problems?
   (a) .................................................. (b) ..................................................
   (c) .................................................. (d) ..................................................

10. Have you noticed any changes in your performance since you visited the studio?

11. If so, what were they?
   (a) .................................................. (b) ..................................................
   (c) .................................................. (d) ..................................................

12. Have members of your community told you of their reactions after listening to you on radio or watching you perform on television?
   (a) Yes (b) No.

13. If yes, has any of their comments led to your change in style of performance?

14. Do you think that it is necessary to have your type of performance more regularly on radio or television?
   (a) Yes (b) No.

15. If yes, why would you say so?

E. AUDIENCES

1. Do you watch television?
   (a) Yes (b) No.

2. If yes, which are your most favourite programmes?
   (a) .................................................. (b) ..................................................
   (c) .................................................. (d) ..................................................

3. Do you listen to Radio?
   (a) Yes (b) No.

4. If yes, please list your most favourite programmes.
   (a) .................................................. (b) ..................................................
   (c) .................................................. (d) ..................................................

5. Do you like listening to, or watching traditional performances?
   (a) Yes (b) No.
6. What functions do you think the Radio, Television of Traditional performances serve in your communities?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

7. Which of them do you particularly like most?
(a) Radio
(b) Traditional performances
(c) Television.

8. Why have you made that choice?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

9. In which languages are the Radio and Television programmes you listen to and/or watch?
(a) .................................................. (b) ..................................................
(c) .................................................. (d) ..................................................

10. Would you like Radio and Television programmes that incorporate our traditional performances?
(a) Yes  (b) No.

11. If yes, what suggestions would you offer?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

12. What is your opinion about programmes brought from abroad?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

13. Would you rather have more of these, or have our radio and television houses putting out more that deal with our traditional performances?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

14. For the purpose of this survey, please tell me the following:
(a) Your occupation:
(b) Approximate age:  (i) 15 - 20  (ii) 20 - 25
(iii) 25 - 30  (iv) 30 - 35
(v) 35 - 40  (vi) 40 and above.
(c) Sex: M F
(d) Educational background ..............................................................
(e) Place of residence
   (i) city; (ii) fairly urban area; (iii) village.

F. MUSICAL GROUPS

1. Local Government Area ...........................................................
2. Name of Group .................................................................
3. Brief historical note (origin) ...................................................
4. Types of songs .................................................................
5. How are these related to social settings? ..............................
6. Who composes them .........................................................
7. Language(s) used ..............................................................
8. Occasions for performance(s) .............................................
9. Are some of the songs for specific age-groups? ....................
10. Musical instruments ....................................................... (names)
11. Who makes them? (material/how made)
12. Tuning devices/techniques ................................................
13. General description of instruments ...................................
   (Classification) ..............................................................
14. Photographs and sketches ..............................................
15. Name, age and occupation of informants ..........................
### MAIN INFORMANTS ON THE TRADITIONAL GROUPS

*See Chapter 6*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Music Group</th>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sombi</td>
<td>Dawuk Yilkam</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Farmer &amp; Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Audu Agwatashi</td>
<td>Audu Agwatashi</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Farmer &amp; Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Zhimak</td>
<td>Zhimak 'Kyem</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Singer/Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sarkin Baka</td>
<td>Mukaila Abdul</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Information Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gwaska</td>
<td>Alh-Baba Gwaska</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kumtung</td>
<td>Kaktim Wuyep</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kabulu</td>
<td>Ayuba Dogo</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Farmer/Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bawuya Ladan</td>
<td>Bawuya Ladan</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Lead Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dung Chollom</td>
<td>Vou Pam</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ajigo</td>
<td>Ozegya Agbo</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mase</td>
<td>Bunari Baje</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Anagata</td>
<td>Jaro Zaruma</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Farmer/Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lesah</td>
<td>Ali Azu</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Agale</td>
<td>Danladi Agye</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Fisherman/Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vellang</td>
<td>Isa D. Lemut</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Farmer/Leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Agudo Loko</td>
<td>Agudo Loko</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Lead Singer</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Ogga Omaku</td>
<td>Ogga Omaku</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Farmer/Singer</td>
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