

PEOPLES & CULTURES OF NIGERIA

Edited by:

A. S. Jegede, O. A. Olutayo, O. O. Omololu & B. E. Owumi

Published by
Department of Sociology
Faculty of the Social Sciences
University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria

Printed by
SAMLAD Press
Ibadan, Nigeria

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, transmitted, transcribed, stored in a retrieval system, or translated into any language or computer language, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, magnetic, chemical, photocopy, recording, manual or otherwise, without the prior permission of the **Department of Sociology**, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the Publisher's prior consent, in writing, in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

© Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan 2012

First published 2012

ISBN
978-978-929-644-6

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Chapter 1: Introduction	2
Chapter 2: Theorizing Peoples and Culture	11
Chapter 3: The Nigerian State	21
SECTION TWO: PEOPLES OF NIGERIA	
Chapter 4: The Peoples of the Mangroves	35
Chapter 5: The Peoples of the Forest Region in Nigeria	51
Chapter 6: The Peoples of the Savannah: Hausas and Hausanization of Northern Nigeria	65
Chapter 7: Pastoralism, Nomadism and Transhumance: An Explanation of the Socio-Economic Organization of Fulani/Ful'be of Northern Nigeria	78
SECTION THREE: KINGSHIP, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY ISSUES	
Chapter 8: Kinship Systems in Nigeria	97
Chapter 9: Marriage System in Nigeria	111
Chapter 10: The Family	122
SECTION FOUR: POPULATION ISSUES	
Chapter 11: Population Issues in Nigeria	137
Chapter 12: Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Fertility Regime	152
SECTION FIVE: IDENTITY AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	
Chapter 13: Identity and Social Structure	171
Chapter 14: The Role of Cultural Diversity in Sustainable National Development in Nigeria	180
SECTION SIX: ECONOMY ISSUES	
Chapter 15: The Nigerian Economy	192
Chapter 16: The Cultural Domains of Nigerians' Work Ethics	208
Chapter 17: Culture and Work Values in Traditional Igbo and Yoruba Societies	219
SECTION SEVEN: HEALTH ISSUES	
Chapter 18: Culture and Health of People of Nigeria	229
Chapter 19: Traditional Healing Practices and Health Reforms in Nigeria	241
Chapter 20: Peoples, Culture and Health	255
SECTION EIGHT: THE MASS MEDIA	
Chapter 21: Peoples, Culture and the Mass Media	269
Chapter 22: The Development and Influence of the Mass Media in the Nigerian Society	288
SECTION NINE: BELIEF SYSTEM	
Chapter 23: Religion and Acts of Worship Amongst the Nigerian people	309
Chapter 24: The Meaning and Essence of African Traditional Religion	326

SECTION TEN: LAW AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Chapter 25: Religion and the Nigerian Culture	337
Chapter 26: Culture, Deviance and Social Control in Nigeria	344
Chapter 27: The Nigerian Customary Law, Rules and the Challenges of Human Rights Laws	357

SECTION ELEVEN: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Chapter 28: Peoples and Culture of Nigeria in a Globalized World	374
Chapter 29: Socialization and Social Change	385
Chapter 30: Youth Culture and change in Mores and Behaviour in Nigeria	394

CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY

Imhonopi, David

Introduction

The Nigerian press, a subcategory of the country's mass media, has been adjudged to be the biggest, most outspoken, most free and most virile press community in Africa followed by South Africa, Kenya and Ghana (Park, 1995; Soyinka, 1996; Olutokun and Seteolu, 2001; MON, 2011). The success of the media in Nigeria dates back to the colonial era where the media institution, represented by the press, fought colonialism and imperialism and its avaricious merchants, and won national independence and political freedom for the country. The mass media also have been instrumental in ensuring good governance in the country, and their watchdog role has been regarded as being effective against military rule, abuse of official/state power, political and economic corruption, ethnicism, nepotism and primitive accumulation of state capital. Interestingly, the media in Nigeria have assumed the role of the country's leading ombudsman in guaranteeing political freedom, the defreezing of the political space, the enthronement of democratic culture and the checking of the excesses of the political and dominant classes. This can be seen in a statement made by Onome Osifo-Whiskey, Managing Editor of *Tell* in an interview he granted in 1999, where he asserted that had General Abdulsalami Abubakar reneged on the handover date, "we (journalists) would have gone back to the trenches to pick up guerilla journalism. We left our underground paraphernalia intact for most of 1999" (Olutokun and Seteolu, 2001). This statement seems to justify the argument that the mass media as the fourth estate of the realm is as powerful as the other estates. Eco (1967:27) captured it well, when he said:

Not long ago, if you wanted to seize political power in a country, you had merely to control the army and the police. Today it is only in the most backward countries that fascist generals, in carrying out a coup d'etat, still use tanks. If a country has reached a high level of industrialisation the whole scene changes. The day after the fall of Khrushchev, the editors of Pravda, Izvestiia, the heads of the radio and television were replaced; the army wasn't called out. Today a country belongs to the person who controls communications.

Thus, this further justifies the position of the third American President, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), who argued that a free press was sacrosanct to the building of an enduring democratic culture and that the press was the engine room of any democratic system, and it was through journalism that healthy policies could be secured within the state (Soeze, 2011). Consequently, as Soeze argues, the pen is not only mightier than the sword, it is mightier than the gun in modern journalism, because journalists are "pen soldiers."

However, the mass media institution in Nigeria has not been without its numerous failings and challenges which include the assumption that the media are a representative of the wishes, political and economic interests of the dominant and ruling classes, the palpable and constant threat to press freedom resulting in the persecution, subjugation and assassination of journalists and closure of media outfits

for speaking the truth and revealing the subterranean activities of government and its managers, the poor remuneration and welfare packages of many media workers, the corruption and greed of many journalists and media gatekeepers which induce them to take bribe or sustain the culture of 'brown envelopes', which for them is an economic survival measure in a harsh economic climate like Nigeria, among many others. Furthermore, the operating environment for mass media in Nigeria is demotivating, uninspiring and unrewarding, compared to countries like South Africa and Ghana.

In this chapter, therefore, the objectives of the author are to investigate the development and influence of mass media in Nigeria, trace its historical development as an institution, examine its functions and contributions in different areas in the country, identify its challenges and make recommendations towards a more virile, functional and effective media that would act as the Guardian of the people's hope, the Vanguard of their welfare and interest, the Observer for the poor and downtrodden, the people's Punch to a sustained harvest of democratic gains and dividends and the Tribune of the people's rights, ensuring that we reach the New Nigeria of our dreams where the Sun never goes down.

What is the Mass Media?

Generally, as Potter (2008) observes, the mass media refers collectively to all media technologies, including newspapers, magazines, the radio, television, and the internet which are used for mass communication, and to the organisations which control these technologies. For Edward and Chomsky (2002), the term "mass media" denotes that section of the media specifically designed to reach a very large audience, typically at least, as large as the whole population of a nation-state, today, including not only radio and television, which tend to be limited to the local or national level, but also the Internet, which is global. It was coined in the 1920s, with the advent of nationwide radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers, and magazines, especially in the United States, although mass media was present centuries before the term became common. Rodman (2006) argues that given that mass media penetrates the whole of society, its reach and influence is immense. Therefore, the responsibility of those participating in this type of communication is also great, as the future direction of human society could well be guided by the mass media. More recently, a new culture of citizen journalism has arisen, supported by the advent of new media technologies such as the Internet, podcasting; blogging, and others have been added to this list. All of these public media sources have better informed the general public of what is going on in the world today. Some traditional public broadcasters are turning to these new areas to reach more people or reach people more quickly. These methods of communication reach a greater number of people faster than traditional oral communication and give people an opportunity to express themselves in ways that can only be done with such technologies.

Several scholars have variously described the mass media as gadgets used to effect mass communication. For example, Defleur and Dennis (1981: P 4) define the mass media as "devices for moving messages across distance or time to accomplish mass communication." The reduction of mass media to technical devices is crucial to the understanding of the concept. In fact, the general acknowledgment of this conceptual fact of the mass media has resulted in the terse submission of Uyo (1987) and Ibagere (2010) that the mass media, being gadgets used to effect mass

communication cannot be practised. For Uyo, it is wrong referring to someone as a "media practitioner" because this means he or she practises gadgets. Thus, for Uyo and Ibagere, those involved in the operations of the mass media are gatekeepers who are responsible for the purveyance of information in the mass communication process. They are, therefore, part of the mass media. However, it is the position of this author that "media practitioner" may actually be apposite as a term to describe media workers. This is because gadgets, instruments or technologies cannot operate on their own. Besides, the practice of journalism requires years of training in mass communication and the use of mass media gadgets for mass communication. As a corollary, these professionals have to manipulate and utilise media gadgets to facilitate the process of mass communication and to make the process possible. Therefore, referring to those working within the media as media practitioners is akin to saying that anyone who teaches is a teacher. However, for this work, the author will adopt the terms gatekeepers, journalists and media workers as descriptions of the professionals in the media industry.

Sambe (2004) recognises that the mass media is a process of transmission of information, cultures, opinions, attitudes, and the like to a relatively large, heterogeneous and anonymous audience simultaneously (Sambe, 2004). This view is shared by Bittner, in Ibagere (2010: p 57) who opines that "for mass communication to exist, we need an intermediate transmitter of information, a mass medium..." In other words, Bittner contends that without the machines or gadgets that serve as paths or ways of transmission of messages to a large people, communication would otherwise be limited to two people, or a group of people in a face-to-face setting. Invariably, what this means is that, mass communication cannot take place without a mass medium. For McQuail (2000), the mass media process is a means of communication that operates on a large scale, reaching and involving virtually everyone in a society to a greater or lesser degree. Media is plural of medium, which means a channel or vehicle through which something is carried or transmitted. In other words, mass media are channels of communication in a modern society, primarily the print and the electronic media. McQuail further describes the mass media as the organised means for communicating openly and at a distance to many receivers within a short space of time. The mass media are impersonal communication sources that reach large audiences. The primary function of the mass media system is to provide information to several millions of people. The mass media are extremely influential. Each of the media is presumed to affect perceptions and behaviour in a distinctive way. They can affect the society and vice versa. The mass media are the uniquely modern means of public communication, and much of their importance lies in the fact that they are a major cause of whatever modes of perception, thought, public discourse, and political action. Because of their size and the large number of people they reach, the mass media have tremendous impact on society. Murphy (1977) did a brilliant write-up on the societal impacts of the media in different ways comparing them with oil, glue and dynamite. As oil, Murphy asserts that the mass media keep the world running smoothly by helping individuals adjust to the reality of lives. They keep society on and healthy by suggesting solutions that are socially acceptable. As glue, social cohesion is maintained by communication. Murphy contends that the media gives all of us including strangers something to talk about by setting agenda of discussion, and that, over the years, communication builds up and reinforces the fabrics that hold a society together. Murphy also describes the mass media as dynamites that can rip the society

apart. A good example of this is the propaganda campaign that preceded the Russian Revolution in 1917 and Hitler's rise to the German Chancellorship in 1933. Similarly, the mass media, particularly the newspapers and magazines, played a tremendous role in the struggle for Nigeria's independence in 1960 (Ate, 2008).

Historical Development of the Mass Media in Nigeria

The mass media institution, represented by the press, is a hundred years older than Nigeria as an independent country (Ameneghawon, 2010). This is so as the first newspaper in Nigeria, "*Iwe Irohin*" was published in Abeokuta, Ogun State, in 1859 by Reverend Henry Townsend, while Nigeria achieved political independence in 1960 (Momoh, 2004). According to Oloyede (1985), cited in Iyagbaye (2000: 34), following this in 1863, Robert Campbell published what was viewed as the first real newspaper *The Anglo African*. Also the first magazine to be published in Nigeria was the Nigerian edition of *The Readers Digest* which was called *Read*, published in 1887. Magazines started when the missionaries saw the need to support messages from the pulpit with written words. Such magazines included *In leisure Hour* in 1917 by Church Missionary Society (CMS); *African Church Gleamer* (1917); *African Hope* (1919 and *The Nigerian Catholic Herald* (1924). These papers were followed up by newspapers published by early African and Nigerian nationalists and were used as weapons to press for de-colonisation and the eventual independence of Nigeria. The historical development of the print media is tabulated in the diagram below:

S/N	Newspaper	Name of Publisher/Promoter	Year of Establishment
1	Iwe Irohin	Revd Henry Townsend	1859
2	Anglo African	Mr. Robert Campbell	1863
3	Lagos Times	Radical African Scholars	1880
4	Lagos Weekly records	John Jackson & Thomas Jackson	1891
5	Iwe Irohin Eko	Radical African Scholar	About 1890
6	THE Lagos Echo	Radical African Scholar	About 1890
7	Nigerian Chronicle	African Scholars	1908
8	Nigeria Times	African Scholars	1910
9	Times of Nigeria	African Scholars	1913
10	Eko Akete	African Scholars	1920
11	Eko Igbehin	African Scholars	1920
12	Akede Eko	African Scholars	1920
13	Lagos Daily News	Herbert Macaulay	1925
14	Nigerian Daily Times	Europeans	1926
15	Daily Telegraph	Europeans	1927
16	The Comet	Duse-Mohamed Ali	1932
17	The Nigerian Observer	Nigerians	1930s
18	West African Advertisers	Nigerians	1930s
19	Nigerian Echo	Nigerians	1930s
20	West African Pilot	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1934
21	Eastern Nigerian Guardian	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1940
22	Nigerian Sportsman	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1943

23	Southern Defender	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1940s
24	The Comet	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1945
S/N	Newspaper	Name of Publisher/Promoter	Year of Establishment
25	Gaskiya Tafikwado	Northern Region	1939
26	Nigerian Citizen	Northern Region	1940s
27	Nigeria Tribune	Chief Obafemi Awolowo	1949
28	Evening Times	Nigerians	1943
29	Daily Telegraph	Dr. Mbadiwe	1958
30	The Spear (Magazine)	Nigerians	196
31	Amber Magazine	Nigerians	1960s
32	Modern woman	Nigerians	1960s
33	Morning Post	Nigerians	1961
34	Daily Post	Western Regional Govt	1964
35	Daily Sketch	Western Regional Govt	1964
36	New Nigeria	Western Regional Govt	1966
37	Nigeria Chronicle	Nigerians	1970
38	The punch	Ajibola Ogunsola	1971
39	Daily Star	Nigerians	1970s
40	Lagos Weekend	Nigerians	1970s
41	The Sunday Tribune	Nigerians	1978
42	Triumph	Triumph Publishing	1980
43	National concord	Nigerians	1980s
44	Satellite	Nigerians	1980s
45	Guardian	Nigerians	1980s
46	Nigeria Calls	Nigerians	1980s
47	Eagles	Nigerians	1980s
48	Okigwe Voice	Nigerians	1980s
49	Trumpet	Nigerians	1980s
50	Daily Nation	Nigerians	1980s
51	Echo	Nigerians	1980s
52	Daily News	Nigerians	1980s
53	Record Stamp	Nigerians	1980s
54	Advocate Premier	Nigerians	1980s
55	Hope Graphic Sun	Nigerians	1980s
56	People's News	Nigerians	1980s
65	Evening Punch	Nigerians	1984
66	Newswatch Magazine	Nigerians	1984
57	African Concord	Nigerians	1984
58	The Vanguard	Vanguard Media	1984
59	The Reporter	Late Gen. Shehu Yaradua	1987
60	The Champion	Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu	1988
61	Platform	Dr. Chuba Okadigbo	1989
62	Africa and the world	Dr. Chuba Okadigbo	1989
63	The Sunday World	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
64	The weekender	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
65	Vista	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
66	Sports Souvenir	Sunny Ojeagbase	1980s
67	Complete Sports	Sunny Ojeagbase	1987
68	Tell	TELL Communications Limited	1991
69	Port Harcourt Telegraph	Prince Ogbonna Nwuke	1991

70	News	Nigerians	1990s
71	Osun Defender	Moremi Publishing House Ltd	1990s
S/N	Newspaper	Name of Publisher/Promoter	Year of Establishment
72	Tempo	Nigerians	1993
73	PM News	Independent Communications Network Limited	1994
74	Today's News Today (TNT)		1995
75	A.M. News		1995
76	ThisDay	Leaders & Company	1995
77	The Third Eye		1995
78	Business Hallmark	Prince Emeka Obasi	2000s
79	Independent	Independent Newspapers Limited	2001
80	The Sun	The Sun Publishing Ltd	2001
81	Trust	Media Trust	2001
82	Leadership	Leadership Newspaper Group	2000s
83	Next	Timbuktu Media group	2004
84	Business Day	Frank Aigbogun	2005
85	The Nation	Vintage Press Limited	2006
86	Mirror	Global Media Mirror Limited	2006
87	The Compass	Otunba Gbenga Daniel	2008
88	People's Daily	People's Media Limited	2008

Source: Imhonopi and Urim (2011)

However, the early introduction of electronic media in Nigeria as Maduka (2009) comments started with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which commenced radio broadcasting in the United Kingdom in 1927 and within five years had begun to broadcast into Africa. In 1932, a relay service was launched in Nigeria. The Service known as Radio Distribution Services (RDS) started in Lagos and extended to Ibadan in 1939. Furthermore, 14 years after Britain had commenced her first television service, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, then premier of Western Region of Nigeria, established a television service. In 1951, the RDS transformed as the Nigeria Broadcasting service, later incorporated as the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation in 1957. This arrangement was a monopoly, until 1959 when the broadcasting law that allowed the establishment of regional broadcasting houses was passed. Owing to years of military rule in Nigeria, private broadcast media did not take off until 1992 when the then military government implemented constitutional provision that allowed private organisations and/or individuals to own broadcast outfits. Presently, Nigeria has about 113 radio stations and a hundred (100) television stations including those owned by private as well as state and federal governments (Ameneghawon, 2010).

Implications of the Historical Development of the Mass Media in Nigeria

The historical development of mass media in Nigeria throws up certain implications that are worth considering here even if briefly. These implications will be considered against the backdrop of the different phases of the history of mass media development in Nigeria.

The Colonial Era

This era marked the introduction of the press in Africa and Nigeria by the Christian missionaries. Newspapers were precisely established in Africa by the missionaries for the purpose of spreading the gospel among the people. That is why some scholars believe that the Nigerian press was borne and nurtured in the waters of colonialism. Concerning the Nigerian press, Daramola (2006:78) contends that it had "its debut in Rev. Henry Townsend's newspaper *Iwe Irohin fun awon ara Egba ati Yoruba*, which began publication in 1859." Thus, the print media, a sub-set of the mass media, in Nigeria were established originally to meet the missionary and colonial agenda of the colonialists who were the publishers and promoters at the time.

The Pre-independence Era

This period witnessed great agitation for political freedom and self-governance by educated young Africans who were in the vanguard for political change and transformation of colonial Africa. Indigenous newspapers published by these nationalists waged a dogged war against the socio-political and economic injustices of the colonialists. During this period, newspapers such as, the *Nigerian Pioneer* established in 1914 by Kitoyi Ajasa and Ernest Ikoli's *African Messenger* established in 1921 came on board (Ate, 2008). Several others followed suit and their efforts were rewarded with the granting of independence to Nigeria and other African states.

The Post-independence Era

During this period, communication and media research received a tremendous improvement. However, political leaders advocated for development journalism, while lots of legal barriers were mounted against the press in order to curtail what was perceived as the tremendous power wielded by the media institution. Also, this era witnessed a sudden shift from national aspirations to regional politics. Daramola (2006:89) describes this scenario: "from 1959 to 1966, the press took regional and ethnic posture. This was as earlier stated due to struggle for power by the nationalists who now formed the bulk of local politicians. Since no press operates independent of the society in which it operates, the regional politics of the post-independent Nigeria ultimately gave rise to regional government establishing regional newspapers. Radio and television were meant to champion their parochial interests on national issues." Thus, what emerged as an instrument of liberation in the hands of early nationalists in Nigeria became an instrument for pursuing, entrenching and protecting regional interests, goals and agenda during this phase. In fact, the first coup in Nigeria was a response to the nauseating avarice, corruption and social vices perpetrated by national and regional leaders and politicians in the country (Fakoya, 2010).

The Present Era

The mass media have emerged as the champion of the people's cause on the one hand and a reflection of the powerful interests of the political and economic bourgeoisies in the country on the other hand. While the partnership of the mass media and the civil society has resulted many times in landmark victories like the recently assented Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill by President Goodluck Jonathan, in May 2011, after much agitation, the mass media institution, represented by different organisations and their gatekeepers, has been caught in the web of corruption and compromise, and some of them exist to provide shelter and a platform for their owners and the ruling

elite. This status quo therefore reduces the faith of the people in the watchdog role that the mass media are supposed to play and cast aspersions on the institutions and their representatives. As Ate (2008) put it, the mass media are still inhibited by endogenous and exogenous problems like economic challenges, technological impotency, censorship, corruption and other social mishaps. However, it must be noted that in spite of the challenges faced by the mass media in Nigeria, the choking and unfavourable economic situation that the industry and players have found themselves in, and the exposure of journalists to stiff opposition, persecution and attacks, the mass media in Nigeria have continued to evolve into an agent of social change as evident in the recently concluded elections in Nigeria between April and May 2011 where the media joined forces with the civil society to give the country what is now considered as the freest and fairest elections, ala June 12, 1993. Furthermore, this era has also witnessed improvements in the training of professionals and the rise of communication research. There have also been remarkable improvements in both the broadcasting and the print media and their programming content. It is also in this era that new media technologies like the Internet, blogging and podcast, inter alia, have emerged to redefine and reposition the media industry, creating a new community made up of citizen journalists. This era is known for its stiff media business competition, global flux of information and technology availability, making it the most progressive, masses-driven, technology-based and fluid era in the communications industry.

Classification of the Mass Media

The mass media can be broadly classified into two types: the print media and the electronic media. This classification is carried out according to the mechanism involved in the process of conveying messages.

The Print Media

An economic and social phenomenon of our society, the print media are a major force in forming public opinion and affecting national and international efforts towards economic progress and global understanding (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). The print media are made up of newspapers, magazines, books, monographs, journals, pamphlets and information materials that appeal to the sense of sight. As Imhonopi and Urim noted, specialty newspapers exist for school students, major financial dailies appeal to the commerce tycoons, financial experts and financial savvy people of the world, tabloids address the newsstands of city transportation hubs, and popular underground publications appear or disappear at the change of a trend or movement. Newspaper stories have turned ordinary men and women into heroes and have also removed world leaders from power and dealt killer blows to despotic and autocratic regimes. Huge presses chunk out hundreds of pages in a single edition, and modern transportation and communication systems can put that same edition on a breakfast table several miles away. Today, the newspaper industry has become one of the largest in the world, employing hundreds of thousands of people, from managing editors, to investigative reporters, to carriers. It has survived wars, economic collapse, political schemings and social destruction, yet remains essentially the same type of medium that it was centuries ago – pages of print communicating information to readers (Brittner, 2002). However, as Nweke (1984) notes, the print media has limited value (and reach) in the country because it is constrained by the level of literacy in place and

its scale of circulation is relatively minimal and largely confined to the elite in the urban areas. Even when newspapers and magazines embrace a rural readership, they address only a particular type of reader, who in effect is marginal to the rural community. The issue of poverty is also a drawback as most Nigerians can't afford to buy a newspaper every day no matter how "newsy" it is or news hungry they are. However, the Print media is still a powerful tool loved by the people, feared by dictators and despots and a threat to autocracies and despotic regimes anywhere (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). Thomas Jefferson, third American President, summarises the invaluable role of the press in society: "To the Press alone, chequered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression" (Iwunze, 2003: p 5). He also said, "given a choice of a government without a press or a press without a government, I will choose the latter."

The Electronic Media

1. Radio

The entrance of the 20th century signalled the era of electronic communication. The habits of media consumers changed as people began to spend more time with a new novelty called radio. Although the introduction of television threatened this trend, media consumers returned, and radio has once again prospered. Radio reaches every corner of the globe, bringing the latest pop music to a large metropolis or information about fertilizer to a remote tribal village. Radio is unique in both its portability and ability to reach us while we do different things or even while consuming other media. The soothing background music of a classical FM station adds to the atmosphere of a library reading room. The latest rock music bounces from the speaker of a nearby transistor as a teenager leafs through a favourite magazine at the beach.

Radio Broadcasting In Nigeria

Radio broadcasting started out in Nigeria as an experiment called rediffusion service of the British Empire (Kazeem, 1998). The Nigeria Post and Telegraph Department was vested with the authority to map out plan for the distribution of this rediffusion service to subscribers in Lagos, Kano and Ibadan. The body was also mandated to work in conjunction with the Empire Broadcasting Service. This radio distribution service was established in Lagos in 1939 as a means of distributing programmes which originated from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London as part of overseas service. Rediffusion therefore became the principal mode of broadcasting in Nigeria with many subscribers from the 1940s to the mid 1950s. The British colonial administration in her bid to establish a West African Broadcasting System received Turner and Byron's report, which indicated that such a system was not possible due to language barriers. Therefore, on April 1, 1957, the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) was formed following the report of Turner and Byron, by the conversion of the rediffusion stations to full radio stations. However, in 1956, the Queen of England gave her consent to an act of parliament converting the NBS to Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

The NBS had been heavily criticised for being the lapdog of government, hence the need to convert it into a statutory corporation known as NBC, which thus became the first public service broadcasting corporation to have existed in any British colony (Kazeem, 1998). After the creation of NBC, each region of the federation came

up with its own broadcast systems. The first to be established was the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in May 1960. This was followed by the East on October 1st 1962 and the Northern Region Government started out its own the same year. However, as Imhonopi and Urim (2004) noted, the regional governments, exercised full control over their radio stations with little or no federal government interference, and the programmes featured by these stations were ethnic-based, while politicians who established them used them as a veritable vehicle to propagate their political ideologies which laid emphasis on the ethnic diversity of the nation and further rivened the country apart.

The name NBC was later changed to Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) by the Federal Radio Corporation Decree No 8 of April 1978. This decree also handed over all NBC states affiliates to the states in which they were situated. The decree also mandated stations handed over to transmit their programmes only on medium wave band.

With the Second Republic, the Federal Ministry of Information established Federal Radio stations in states which were not being controlled by the ruling party (National Party of Nigeria) to spread their political influence in such states. State governments also had their own stations which propagated their party's programmes and doctrines. This was a gross violation of the 1978 decree. When the military came into power in 1983, there was a reversal to the existing decree which was grossly violated by the defunct civilian regime. All radio stations created then were closed down, and efforts were made to strengthen the existing zonal stations of Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). This closure also affected states that operated dual stations. With the Babangida regime in place, a great landmark in the history of broadcasting organisation in Nigeria was established. The amendment of the 1978 decree by the Babangida administration and permission for private individuals to establish media organisations were championed by that administration. Today, Nigeria has quite a handful of private radio stations established and several TV stations that operate with up-to-the-minute technology and world-class standards.

Nweke (1984) argues strongly that the radio's role as an informant and educator can best be exploited in the Third World because the majority of people there are illiterates and live in rural areas. Unlike the TV and newspaper, the radio transmits its messages to more people at any given time. It is also in everybody's reach. The average worker or peasant can listen to it. Neither is there need to make any extra effort to listen, for radio can be heard anywhere and one does not have to stop whatever chores he or she is doing in order to listen. Radio also covers a large distance and stems barriers. Also, since there are some parts of the country without electricity, rural families can easily listen to their radios by using batteries. Radio also reaches them in their local languages, and because the messages are short and simple and delivered in a pleasant manner, unlike in the print media, there is little effort needed by recipients except to turn the dial. Even the blind and the handicapped can benefit from the radio, and since repetition is a major technique used, it has become the most effective of all the news media to promote campaigns and ideas to people in the Third World (Nweke, 1984).

2. Television

Television has been called everything from an educational panacea to a "boob tube," projecting images of a vast wasteland (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). People have labelled it biased, accurate, liberal, conservative, and have accused it of everything from wrecking the family to robbing us of our individuality. Somewhere in-between lies the truth. One thing is certain, the medium has become one of the most powerful forces of communication in the history of civilisation (Bittner, 2002).

Television in Nigeria

The first Television station in Nigeria, and more so, in the whole of Africa went on air on October 31st 1959 through the efforts of the Western Regional Government. It was named Western Nigeria Television Service (WNTS), established by an act of the region's house of parliament. It was established to promote formal and informal education (Kazeem, 1998). Its slogan was "First in Africa." A year later, precisely on October 1st, 1960, the Eastern Region established its own television broadcasting service Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (ENBC) with the slogan "Second to None." However, foreign programmes dominated the television screens of these regional stations as these stations were built by foreign companies in collaboration with the regional governments concerned.

The Federal government, challenged by the efforts of the two regional governments, contracted to build a federal government television station in Lagos to an American company. This led to the birth of Nigeria Television Station (NTS) in April 1962, which later became Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) with the promulgation of Decree 24 of 1977. The promulgation of the decree stemmed from the fact that the existing television stations lacked national outlook and presented programmes with foreign orientation. The federal government therefore took over these stations to justify tax payers' money and to effectively participate in the country's mass media. The Decree of 1977 established in April 1st of that year empowered the NTA to supervise the television industry in Nigeria and restore order, national dignity and unity through television broadcasting among the ethnic groups in Nigeria. However, with the second republic in place and the restoration of the constitution which placed electronic broadcasting on the concurrent list between the federal and state governments, state governments were allowed to establish their own TV stations independent of the NTA structure. Television stations like LTV 8 for Lagos, Oyo State Broadcasting Corporation Television (OSBC-TV) for Oyo, Ogun State Television (OGTV) for Ogun and others were established. However, it was during the Babangida regime, with the promulgation of the 1989 Constitution, Section 38 (1) (2) that empowered and paved the way for private broadcasting. This constitutional provision led to the establishment of the first ever Nigeria Private Radio Station "Ray Power 100.5 FM." This was followed in 1995 by the establishment of a private television station like Cable Tel/UHF Channel 50 "The Family Channel," Channels Television Station" transmitting on UHF Channel 45, Mhuri International Television (MITV), and Channel 43 "The Soul of Entertainment." On December 5th 1996, DAAR Communications, the Parent company of Ray Power 100.5 FM established her Television station called Africa Independent Television (AIT) transmitting on Channel 49. 1997 saw the establishment of another radio station called Rhythm FM, transmitting on 97.8 Frequency Modulation Band. Other TV stations have sprung up like DBN, Galaxy Television, MINAJ Television, Silverbird

Television and several other terrestrial, digital satellite and cable television stations and channels.

Like the print media, television is largely confined to urban centres. But this is mainly because of technical and financial reasons. Moreover, very few people can afford TV sets and antennas, and this has resulted in TV becoming a status symbol. Television consumers are also mainly urban dwellers and include the professional, commercial and bureaucratic classes who constitute a reference group within which leadership operates. Therefore, for TV to become effective in mobilising people, more money has to be pumped in for coverage to extend beyond the urban centres, and there must be more vigorous local programming (Nweke, 1984). Recently, the TV industry in Nigeria has begun a rapid localisation of programming content in the area of entertainment, films, education and others. The present government of President Goodluck Jonathan is working on transforming the power sector in the country so that many more rural dwellers will see the need to buy and own TVs in this 21st century and information age. The TV combines audio and visual effects, which make it a powerful medium that can be exploited by government for the mobilisation of the people politically and used to inform them of government's plans, programmes and policies.

Emergence of New Media Technologies

The new media technologies in place which have redefined the face of mass communication and increased a community of citizen journalists include the following:

The Internet

The advent of the Internet has been one of the most exciting major events in the second half of the 20th century. The ancient dream of "a scholar knows all things happening in the world without venturing outdoors" has finally become a reality (Imhonopi, 2009). Since 1993, the Internet started to take off. At present, the Internet has spread to more than 180 countries and regions, connecting more than 600,000 domestic networks of various types, hooking up more than 20 million computers available to 120 million users (2% of the entire global population) (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). Internet technology became noticeable on the media radar of Nigeria in the late 1990s and today virtually every media organisation has a web presence and uses the internet to further their media goals and activities. The internet has also facilitated the growth and ascendancy of a new community of bloggers and citizen journalists. The internet has contributed so much to society by bringing about the speedy exchange of information/ideas, bringing about access to a vast ocean of information, integration of societies into one cultural bloc, made available abundant wealth creation opportunities, become an instrument for e-commerce, e-business and e-trade, facilitated electronic education or e-Learning and increased more windows to entertainment.

Electronic Publishing

Through information and communication technologies, the use of electronic publishing has continued to rise as the advocacy for a paperless and green economy continues to resonate across business and non-business sectors. Thus, electronic

publishing is now preferred in some quarters and this is further made possible by the availability of modern computer storage devices like compact disks, flash disks and external mobile hard disks, and computer systems like desktops, laptops, notebooks, and Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs).

Blogging, Mobile Phones and Video Games

Another set of exciting new media technologies that aids communication across a large spectrum or population of people are made up of blogging, mobile phones and video games. The blog is a diary on the web and a frequently updated personal journal chronicling links at a website for a global audience or for public viewing. Podcast is electronically enabled broadcast and videos on mobile phones, androids and PDAs for such things as news, music, pre-recorded speech, and video. They are used for rapid breaking news and short clips of entertainment like jokes, horoscopes, alerts, games, music, and advertising. Even today, video games have become an instrument possessing mass appeal. Children of different cultures and backgrounds understand the language of these games and participate in them from Nigeria to America. The exciting thing about these innovations is that they can be found in Nigeria today. All these technologies have further redefined mass communication and pushed traditional mass media to the edge forcing the owners and gatekeepers to incorporate/adopt the technologies as vehicles to propagate their news and other content.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter is cast against the backdrop of the Marxist and Cultural Hegemony Theories. Marxian theories share the premise that human society over time has experienced radical but gradual social evolution. And each epoch or period of this change can only be understood in terms of the social and economic relations in place which are determined by two different classes. In other words, Marxian scholars assert strongly that there are groups that make up the dominant class whose interests are protected and shielded from damage because they control the base (economy). This dominant class therefore controls or manipulates the superstructure which is made up of the media, the legal system, politics, policies, and the like. As Karl Marx puts it, "in every epoch, the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class" (Marx and Engels, 1970). Therefore, the Marxian school holds the general belief that the media institution is the means by which the ideas of the ruling class maintain their dominance as the "ruling ideas." Marxian scholars believe that the ruling ideas control the information we have about the world, shape our perceptions and perspectives and influence our responses to news content, trend and style. This process or status quo is sustained because the capitalist class has unrestrained and unlimited access to the resources which enable its members to present their ideas as "normal." Marxist theories argue that while the pluralist perspective claims that there is a marked diversity within the media messages, there is indeed centralised ownership, that is, a few individuals and media corporations own and operate most media. This is true of what obtains in Nigeria, as many media houses and institutions are owned, financed and run by few but powerful individuals in society who determine the quality and quantity of news content, give a jaundiced slant to media messages and filter news content to determine what society hears or sees and what is swept under the carpet.

However, the cultural hegemony, which sprang from the Marxian school, argues that the effect of the media on society can and should be viewed from an

ideological standpoint and not necessarily a simple pursuit of economic interest. According to this theory, most media personnel genuinely act according to their personal beliefs, which are not necessarily determined by (although they are linked to) their class position. To them, dominance is instead accomplished at the unconscious level. The hegemonic model is associated with the work of the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci. The central argument therefore in the hegemonic theory is that the culture of the dominant class is reproduced in subtle or unconscious ways through the mass media. This is part of what is known as cultural hegemony: the domination of one set of ideas over others. Stuart Hall, another arrowhead in this school of thought, argues that each culture in society has a different way of classifying the world (Hall, 1995). All of the ways in which a culture communicates, including the communications of the mass media, contain systems of signs which represent aspects of its world view. According to Hall, the media encodes the meanings of the powerful in a subtle way.

While not undermining these theories, the mass media institution in Nigeria is an institution to be reckoned with in the country. In spite of its numerous challenges, the media institution in Nigerian historical development has contributed a lot right from the colonial era to the present time by opposing arbitrary rules of the government and fighting causes that promote the interest of the citizens.

The Functions, Influence and Contributions of Mass Media in the Nigerian Society

The functions of the mass media are numerous, they include the following:

Political Functions

The mass media are an agent of propaganda in society. Most media organisations, especially those owned by government at the local, state or federal levels, represent the wishes of the ruling class and foist the interest of this class on the public, though subtly. The media are used by candidates aspiring for political positions to get their opinions and ideas across to society through the mass media. Also, government policies and activities are and can always be made known to the masses through the various media outlets by ways of print and electronic relay of such items of information like TV and radio broadcasts, leaflets and pamphlets, tracts, and newspapers.

Economic Functions

The mass media perform economic functions in our society by conducting business reviews and analysis via business magazines and programmes where they enable the public, among other things, to know, for instance, the exchange rate that is operative at a particular point in time. The mass media also help in the area of advertising, distribution and marketing of goods and services among others.

Cultural functions

The dissemination of socio-cultural norms and values in society is one of the major functions of the mass media. Various ideas of the ruling elite are transmitted to the general public or *hoi polloi*. The teaching of various Nigerian languages can be enhanced through the use of the mass media kinds, so also are the traditional festivals taking place in various parts of the country. Through the help of the media, such

festivities are given wide publicity and enjoy ubiquitous knowledge among the people of the country.

Social Functions

Media organisations also perform social functions in the society. This is being done through the creation of awareness of certain items of information regarding naming ceremonies, marriages, burial ceremonies (obituaries) and other relevant programmes via radio, newspaper, television and other new media platforms. Through the mass media, there is always the possibility of creating awareness within the members of a society concerning certain issues at stake.

Educational Functions

The mass media have recorded much success in this area. They have helped and still help to carry out educational programmes through the radio, television, newspaper and of course the newspapers and new media technologies. This is a way of enlightening the public on government policies, programmes and plans with regards to education, for instance, Better Life and family programmes, and where such subjects like Mathematics, English and other Nigerian languages are taught through these media. The mass media also helps in conducting adult and distance educational programmes, which help to improve the literacy level and intellect of those in that category.

Religious Functions

The mass media also provide avenues where religious devotees and the ignorant get adequate enlightenment in the things pertaining to religion. This is usually done through preaching on the radio and television, printing of religious tracts, pamphlets and magazines.

Developmental Functions

The mass media help to further promote certain developmental programmes including health, education, family planning, nutritious family life and welfare programmes. It has also been used to mobilise the public towards government's developmental policies and programmes.

The Influence and Contributions of Mass Media to the Nigerian Society

The mass media in Nigeria have influenced and contributed to the Nigerian society in the following ways:

Surveillance Role - According to Lucien Pye, a scholar of communications and development process, because of the limited capacity of citizens to survey their social environment, the media provide them with the means to understand the substance of politics at any particular point in time (Farounbi, 2004). In its surveillance role, the media provides citizens with the reportage of events, an analysis of issues and synthesised data which can form the basis of political decision-making choices. Such choices can only be right and informed, when the media provide information for the people. However, as Nweze (1984: P 7) noted, the print and electronic media in some instances have failed to discharge this responsibility because they take "sides with the various political parties and governments or the political/economic barons who directly or indirectly own them." A politicised media will become a dangerous weapon in the hands of powerful social forces to legitimise or "delegitimise" a government in

place, a policy that interests or is detestable to it. This was, according to Al-Bashir, what ignited the ugly incidents that preceded the Civil War of 1967-70, when a report on a neighbouring radio station about alleged massacre of Northerners in the East led to the sad events in the North during that period (Al-Bashir, 2003). This also was played out several decades after in the East when an unverified report was published that the remains of thousands of Igbos were conveyed in tens of lorry loads and dumped in Onitsha. This led to the massacre of Northerners in the East even as the report was later discovered to be false. Thus, the media occupy a very hot seat of high social responsibility, which must not be abdicated to satisfy venal, sectional, selfish, private interests of forces interested in the disintegration of the country (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004).

Status Conferral Role – According to Farounbi (2004), the media perform an amplifying role by giving wide publicity to actions of certain individuals. Otherwise known as Status Conferral role, this enables the media to elevate certain individuals to positions of eminence within the society. In the circumstance of Nigeria, Farounbi argues that the media in its hunger for heroes had lowered standards and values in an effort to create celebrities. In his words, “our ideals have been lowered so that mental dwarfs, those who lack appropriate character, integrity and vision, intellect and moral Lilliputians can be presented as national heroes. This is sad as this new generation of heroes, creations of our media today do not compare with any of our past heroes.” These characters with borrowed toga of heroism from the media cannot be measured when compared with late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, late Sardauna of Sokoto, late Tafawa Balewa, late M. I. Okpara and late S. L. Akintola, among numerous others.

Watchdog Role - In Oladepo’s view, it is the social responsibility of the media to serve as the watchdog to the society (Oladepo, 2004). A responsible media plays the role of the vanguard of the people and at the same time defends the rights of the people. It opposes obnoxious laws and policies injurious to the people and canvasses for actions and policies that would improve the quality of the lives of the people. Commenting on the watchdog role of the media in Nigeria, Olukotun and Seteolu (2001) cite three examples in the early part of the Fourth Republic where through the influence of the media certain public office holders were brought to book to answer for their crimes and deceits. According to them, during the transition to civil rule between 1998 and 1999, the media emerged as a crucial part of the apparatus for vetting and legitimising elections. To keep the transition on track, for instance, *Tell* magazine did, week after week, a countdown to the hand over in every single issue it published between July 1998 and May 1999. It was the media that documented and facilitated the controversy which led to the fall of Alhaji Salisu Buhari, former Speaker of the House of Representatives having discovered that the former speaker falsified his age and certificate. The media’s watchdog role also brought the corruption charges levelled against the former Senate President, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, which also led to his impeachment. Recently, the media facilitated the realisation of the freest and fairest elections in Nigeria by giving a blow-by-blow coverage of the 2011 elections which exposed groups involved in election violence, under-aged voters and ballot box snatchers. However, sometimes the media cannot play this role because of its attachment to the powers that be or the fear of reprisal from a despotic government that crushes any voice of dissent or opposition.

Builder of Morality and Value System – Through the media, the morality and value system of a society can be preserved or abandoned. The media in Nigeria have helped, for instance, in the fight against child trafficking, armed robbery, drug addiction, early sex among youths, and the evil of kidnapping and ritual killings for pecuniary reasons. A responsible, socially sensitive media will frown at and vociferously kick against any group, act, trend, programme or issue that attacks the moral sanity and value system of society. Pornography, lesbianism, gay fad, corruption, celebration and honour of questionable characters in society will be denied unreservedly and without fear or favour by a media institution that is socially responsible and interested in the healthy continuity of society.

Other influences mass media have exerted on the Nigerian society include help in reporting microeconomic and macroeconomic issues as they affected citizens and state; they have been an instrument for inspiring the making of public policies and the analysis of such policies; they have been an opinion-moulding institution; they have provided entertainment for the Nigerian public, projected and promoted the image of the local environment; they have been an information bank from which the society draws rational decisions; they enlighten citizens about government's policies and programmes; and they have been the instrument for feeling and reflecting the pulse of the people.

Challenges Facing the Mass Media in Nigeria Today

The Challenge of Media Equipment

Mass media institutions face a major problem of lack of equipment, and many of them cannot boast of having modern gadgets and tools to work with. This situation limits their productivity and increases the cost of operations, making them less viable and profitable.

Poor Remunerations

Mass media workers in Nigeria are poorly remunerated, and this is what promotes the 'brown envelope' syndrome in place as these journalists seek other ways to survive the harsh economic climate. This situation also makes journalists vulnerable to temptations.

Lack of Training and Inexperience

Due to the paucity of funds available to many media organisations in the country, many of them find it difficult to employ quality hands to man different roles for them. Thus, these organisations are forced to employ lowly educated personnel who get some level of on-the-job training to make up for their skill deficiencies. Also, because many media workers are not graduates of journalism and mass communication, their efficiency and effectiveness on the job are limited and this affects their overall performance.

Lack of Press Freedom

Many journalists and media organisations have been hounded in time past by dictatorial governments and the political managers of the state for not representing their interests well. Thus, as a report put it, it is a risky business to tell the truth in Nigeria (African Report, 1994). Stories of abducted, persecuted and assassinated journalists abound in the history of mass media in Nigeria. However, with the signing

of the Freedom of Information Bill by the President, Goodluck Jonathan, it is hoped that the persecution of journalists and the media organisations they represent for daring to report government and its activities would gradually become be a thing of the past.

Ethical Challenges Facing the Nigerian Mass Media

Despite the introduction of the code of ethics for Nigerian journalists and the establishment of the Nigerian Press Council, ethical issues abound which are part of the overall problems in the society. These include sycophancy, character assassination, Afghanistanism, bribery, moonlighting, sensationalism, self-censorship, plagiarism, deception and faking of stories among others.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to trace the historical development of mass media as an institution, investigate the development and influence of mass media in Nigeria, examine its functions and contributions in different areas in the country; the study is placed against the backdrop of the Marxist and Cultural Hegemonic theories, to identify the challenges facing the mass media in Nigeria. It is the position in this chapter that the media is instrumental in the freedom we enjoy today in the country, and that the institution has remained a trusted ombudsman, overseeing the activities of the three arms of government, thus putting a check on the excesses of the ruling class and have justified the reason they are considered the "fourth estate of the realm", their failings and shortcomings notwithstanding.

Recommendations

For the mass media to be able to perform its functions effectively and efficiently without fear or favour, the following are important recommendations to be considered.

First, the constitution, relevant laws and the government of Nigeria must guarantee the independence of the media. This is because where fear of persecution and suspicion of reprisals prevail, journalists will not be able to dispense their jobs without fear or favour. Therefore, guaranteeing the independence of the mass media will go a long way in promoting journalism and mass media activities in Nigeria. Second, civil liberties, like freedom of speech, freedom of movement and the rule of law, must not just be enshrined in the constitution, but also must be observed by the government and its managers. Every journalist must be assured that he or she is free to report what they see based on justice, fairness and a good conscience without fear of being hounded or persecuted by the government or ruling class. Third, Nigerian journalists and media gatekeepers deserve better remuneration and conditions of service like their colleagues in South Africa and in the developed world. This will deter many of them of falling cheap for 'brown envelopes' given to them to sell their conscience. Fourth, media organisations and workers in the country need to show more social responsibility in their reportage and activities. Fifth, there is need for subscription to high ethical values and codes of conduct by media outfits and gatekeepers. This will eliminate many scandals and corruption charges levelled against many media journalists and media professionals. Sixth, importantly, journalists and would-be journalists require good education in the Arts, Journalism and Mass Communication to enhance the quality they bring to the job. Also, since education

raises personal pride, it will help many journalists to shun attempts by politicians to use or corrupt them. Lastly, better financial management of media organisations will put them in a good financial footing to meet their obligations as they fall due and to acquire the best tools and gadgets and pay their staff well.

References

- Africa Report. 1994. "To Tell the Truth Is Risky Business in Nigeria," Jan/Feb. Pg. 10-11.
- Al-Bashir. 2003. 'The Media in the Vanguard', Thursday, August 28, 2003.
- Ameneghawon, F. 2010. *Proliferation of Journalism Schools in Nigeria: Implication for Quality and Professionalism*. A paper presented at the Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan.
- Ate, A.A. 2008. *Media and Society*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria.
- Bittner, John R. 2002. *Mass Communication: An Introduction*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Daramola, I. 2003. *Introduction to Mass Communication*. Lagos: Rothan Press.
- Defleur M.L.; Dennis, E.E. 1981. *Understanding Mass Communication*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Eco, Umberto. 1967. *Per una guerriglia semiologica* (English tr. Towards a Semiological Guerrilla Warfare) first given as a lecture at conference Vision '67 in New York.
- Edward, S.H. and Chomsky, N. 2002. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon.
- Fakoya, O. 2010. *Nigeria Mass Media - The Fourth Estate of Graft*. Published 24 March but retrieved on June 1, 2011, from: <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/nvnewsp/15220/3/pagenum2/nigeria-mass-media-the-fourth-estate-of-graft.html#continue>.
- Farounbi, Yemi. 2004. Role of Media in a Democratic Dispensation in Daily Times, Tuesday, January 20, 2004.
- Hall, Stuart. 1995, first published in 1982. 'The Rediscovery of Ideology', International Publishers, New York.
- Haralambos, Holborn M. and Heald, Robin. 2000. *Sociological Themes and Perspectives*. London: Harper Collins Publishers Limited.
- Ibagbere, E. 2010. "The Mass Media, the Law and National Security: The Nigerian Perspective." *Journal of Social Sciences*, 24(2): 121-128.
- Imhonopi, D. and Urim, U.M. 2004. *Current Issues in the Sociology of Mass Communication*. Ibadan: Euphrates Publications.
- Imhonopi, D. 2009. *Influence of Utilisation of Internet Services on Teaching and Research Output among Academic Staff of Selected Universities in South-Western Nigeria*. An unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- Iyagbaye, F. 2000. *Evaluative Study of Magazine Use Patterns Among Youths: A Study of Selected Urban Youths*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan.
- Kazeem, T. 1998. "Evolution and Development of Mass Communication in Nigeria" in Atere, W. & Olagbemi, A. (eds) *Communication, Language & Culture in Society*, Lagos: OPEDS Nigeria Limited.

- Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1970, first published 1846. *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York.
- McQuail, D. 2000. *Mass Communication Theory*. 4th edition. London: Sage Publication.
- Momoh, T. 2004. *Nigerian Media Law and Ethics*. Lagos: Efua Media Associates.
- (MON) "Media of Nigeria." 2011. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved June 1, 2011, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_of_Nigeria.
- Murphy, D.R. 1977. *Mass Communication and Human Interactions*. U.S.A: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Nweke, T. 1984. *The Extent of the Print Media's Contributions to the WAI: Women's Role*. Being a paper delivered at a seminar sponsored by the Federal Ministry of Information, Social Development, Youth, Sports & Culture on April 24.
- Oladepo, Oluwatomi. 2004. Freedom of Information Bill and Press Freedom, in the *Guardian*, 15 February, 2004.
- Olutokun, A. and Seteolu, D. 2001. "The Media and Democratic Rule in Nigeria." *Development Policy Management Network Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, N° 3, pp. 30-34, September.
- Park, R. 1995. *Preface to The Nigerian Press Under the Military: Persecution Resilience and Political Crisis, 1983-1993* in Adeyemi, A. Discussion Paper Presented at The Joan Shorestein Centre, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, May.
- Potter, W.J. 2008. *Arguing For A General Framework For Mass Media Scholarship*. SAGE. p. 32.
- Rodman, G. 2006. *Mass Media In A Changing World*. McGraw-Hill.
- Sambe, J.A. 2004. "Introduction to Mass Communication". Lecture Monograph.
- Soeze, C.I. 2011. *The Role of Media and 2011 Elections*. Friday, March 11, from: http://www.newnigeriannews.com/perspective_3.html.
- Soyinka, W. 1996. *The Open Sore of A Continent: A Personal Narrative of the Nigerian Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stovall, J.G. 2005. *Writing for the Mass Media*, 6th Edition. Allyn & Bacon.
- Uyo, O.A. 1987. *Mass Communication Media: Classifications and Characteristics*. New York: Civilities International.