

**CONTEMPORARY
ISSUES IN
COMMUNITY
RADIO
DEVELOPMENT IN
NIGERIA**



Edited by
**Umaru A. Pate
& Ifeoma Dunu**

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& INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA AND SOCIETY, NIGERIA (IMS)

3, Emina Crescent, Off Toyin Street, P.O. Box 16181, Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria.

Phone/Fax: (+ 234)-1-8102261.

Email: imesoimeso@hotmail.com, info@imesoimeso.org,

info@nigeriacommunityradio.org

Website: www.imesoimeso.org, www.nigeriacommunityradio.org

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E: grafix.images@yahoo.com

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This work
is dedicated to the memory of
Late Prof. Alfred Esimatemi Opubor,
for his contribution to the development of
Community Communication
in Nigeria.

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Preface

Contemporary Issues in Community Radio Development in Nigeria is a twelve chapter book capturing the experiences of professionals and academics that have been advocating and facilitating Nigeria's journey into the group of Community Radio operators. The journey of actualizing the dream has been ongoing for a fairly long time with varying level of successes. The text presents the thinking and efforts of individuals who in their own ways have been actively involved in the struggle for the commencement of Community Radio in Nigeria. While the journey appears frustratingly slow, at some point hopeless, the spirit of conviction and the knowledge that change is part of the dynamic process in nation building have kept the zeal of the movement for the actualization of the third tier of broadcasting alive. The book espouses the conviction and the unyielding spirit to continue to push for a positive change that will fundamentally affect the landscape of broadcasting in the country.

Section one of the book deals with policy issues that are of concern to the establishment of community radio. Policy defines the happenings in the sector and the section is able to show how the policy regime in the country had affected the development of the third tier of broadcasting in Nigeria compared to what obtains in the rest of West Africa. The second section focuses on advocacy, community experiences and the various strategies adopted to secure the attention of the Federal Government and its agencies to understand and facilitate the operations of the Community Radio so that Nigeria's broadcasting system can achieve full liberalization like the scenarios

in the neighboring countries. The section also documents the experiences and frustrations of individual communities in their desire to establish and operate their "own" community radio stations. Below is a summary of the chapters contained in the publication.

Section 1: State Of Policy

The first chapter: "Media Pluralism, Media Freedom and Nigeria's Development: Perspectives from International Standards", takes a critical look at the state of the Nigerian broadcasting scene using a set of media freedom and media development indicators based on International and African standards. The chapter examines the state of broadcasting in Nigeria with regards to media pluralism and development. In the African context, Nigeria despite its huge wealth and population has unfortunately rated far lower than many less economically endowed nations. The author suggests that the development of community radio will boost the Nigerian media development landscape and ensure greater pluralism of the sector. Chapter 2 on "Licensing Commercial Broadcast Networks in Nigeria: Implication for Community Radio Development" reviews the process of licensing of private television and radio networks as it relates to the development of the community radio sector. The chapter argues for the breaking of government monopolies and dominance of the Networks to further promote diversity and greater access to the airwaves in the country.

Chapter three focuses on "Promoting Community Radio in Nigeria: Issues in the Nigerian Broadcasting Code". The chapter reviews the broadcasting code as it affects the community radio sector. It raises legal and policy issues and argues that the lack of a comprehensive legal framework for the operations of the community radio sector has remained a major hindrance as the existing framework is fraught with ambiguities and inadequacies.

Chapter4: “Campus Radio Stations and Regulatory Challenges in Nigeria” discusses some of the requirements for the operations of a campus radio station as stipulated by the NBC. These include: Licensing fee, having a pool of volunteers, maintaining a minimum of five permanent staff and having a defined structure. The chapter traces the development and experiences of the UNILAG Campus FM Radio station as well as its challenges in a way that will enrich other campus stations across the country. In addition, it reviews the regulatory challenges in the sector and their implications for the sustainability of campus radio station in Nigeria.

Section B: Advocacy and Community Experiences

Chapter 5: “Understanding the Dynamics of the Legislature for an Effective Community Radio Advocacy in Nigeria” provides a background on the operations of the legislature in the country. The discussion is significant on engaging the legislature for advocacy and particularly as a useful tool for community radio advocacy. The fifth chapter, “Communicating Community Radio Message to Nigerian Grassroots Communities” explores alternative communication strategies such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Rural Appraisal to introduce innovative cost effective advocacy campaign to reach the Nigerian rural dwellers. It also provides an overview of the techniques for deploying the conventional communication channels that community radio can equally employ to enhance access for rural dwellers. And the seventh chapter on “Stepping Down Community Radio Advocacy in Nigeria” argues on the need to expand the scope of advocacy for community radio beyond formal literate spaces to more informal and community based spaces by outlining the processes involved in the possibilities and options for stepping down community radio advocacy at the community level.

In Chapter 7, the author raises the question: “How can Communities Own their Radio Stations?” In this chapter, the stages for ownership of

a radio station by aspiring communities are outlined and discussed. Relevant issues such as selection of community radio management structure, staffing and defining the community of the community radio are adequately dealt with. A major contribution of the chapter is the suggestion for the Nigerian Community Radio Coalition to act as the clearing house for the issuance of license before proceeding to the regulatory bodies. The eight chapter looks at the 'Communityness' of Campus Community Radio Stations in Nigeria." It is an empirical study on the element of 'communityness in campus radio practice. The chapter interrogates the emerging campus community radio stations in the country in relation to and in the representation of the audiences they define as their community and the extent to which these campus radio stations encourage and allow community participation in their operations.

Chapter 9: "Radio Broadcasting Service Deficits in North -East Nigeria and the Need for Community Radio Intervention" is a review of the media system and space in the North-East Zone of Nigeria. The chapter highlights existing gaps in the media terrain of the zone and concludes that the present arrangement is incapable of meeting the socio economic and communication needs of the diverse communities in the zone. The broad examination of the broadcasting terrain in this part of the country proves a useful reference material for understanding broadcasting situation in some parts of the country and justifies the need for the establishment of community radio as a complement to the existing media in the Zone. In Chapter 10, the attention is on: "Research for Community Radio Advocacy and Capacity Building in Nigeria: Explored Vistas and Possible Fresh Directions". This chapter examines the traditional communication research outlets for community radio like books, journals, advocacy publications and other possibilities to complement the existing research outlets. The chapter advocates for a shift from the use of journals and books as major research outlets to easily accessible and

simple –to-read policy advisories. Chapters 11 and 12 are on “Mapping and Planning for CR based on the Gbarian/Ekpetiama Experiences” and “Mapping and Planning for Community Radio: Experiences from Igbomina Community”. The two concluding chapters narrate the efforts of the specified communities in their struggle to operate community radio stations. They reveal the experiences of these communities which could provide relevant lessons to other communities aspiring to own radio stations.

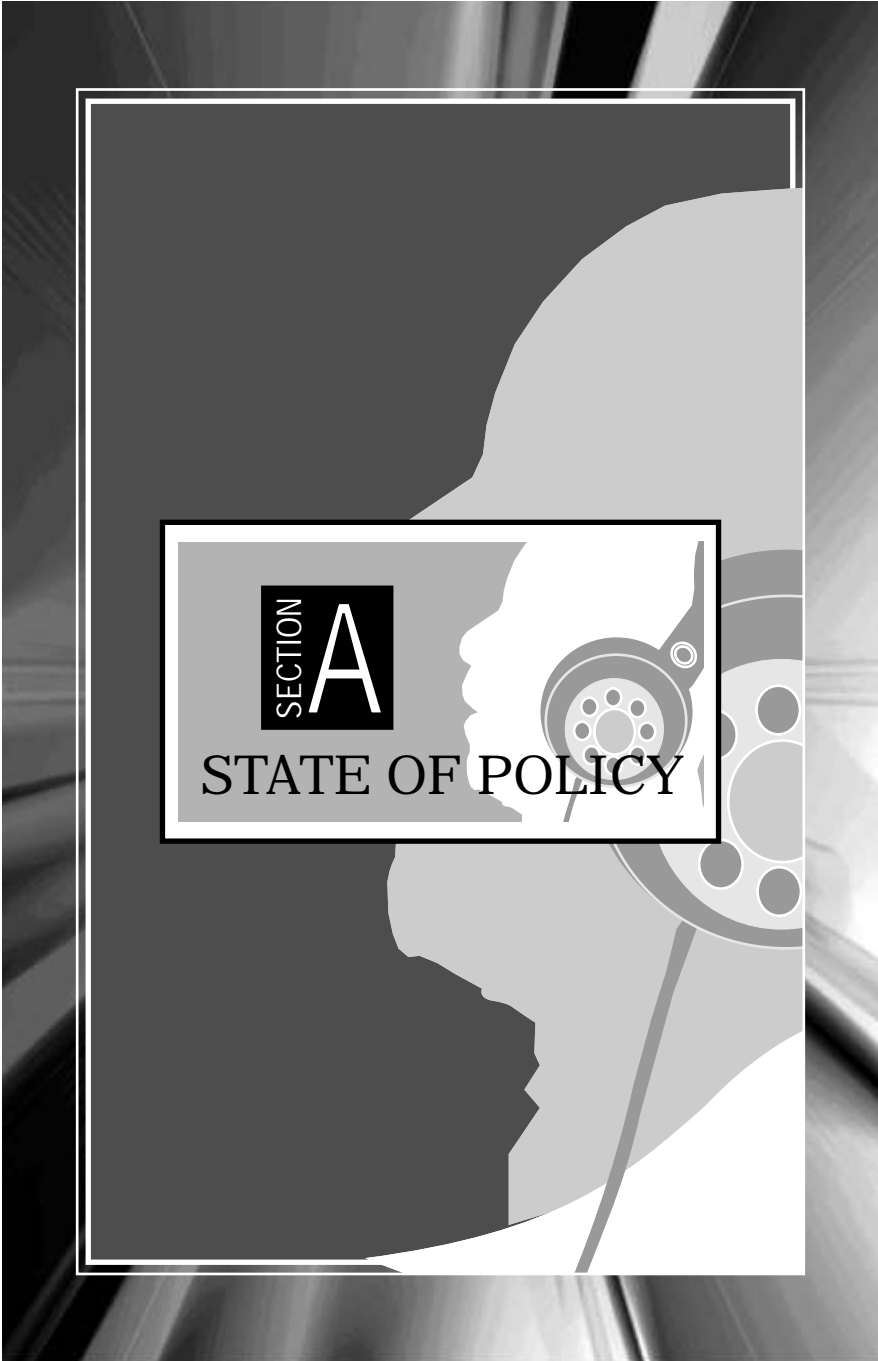
The need for this text at this stage of the development of the community radio sector in Nigeria is obvious, especially given the current challenges and delays being experienced. It is hoped that the publication will add some value to the community media development effort as well as provide the impetus for the positive development of the community radio sector.

Finally, we commend the energy and drive of the secretariat, the Institute of Media and Society for its active coordinating role in the movement for the actualization of the community radio. It is a matter of time; surely Nigeria will join the group of community radio operators like the rest of their counterparts.

-EDITORS

List of Contributors:

1. Steve Buckley - Managing Director, CM Solutions, UK; former President of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)
2. Edetaen Ojo - Executive Director, Media Rights Agenda, Lagos.
3. Mustapha Umar - teaches Mass Communication at the University of Maiduguri.
4. Musa Usman - teaches Mass Communication at the University of Maiduguri.
5. Bisi King-Paul - Coordinator, Unilag Radio, University of Lagos.
6. Omoniyi Ibieta - Public Affairs Department, Nigerian Communications Commission.
7. Samuel Kafewo PhD is a Professor of Theatre and Performing Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
8. Olusade Taiwo - Executive Director, Centre for Enterprise Development and Action Research, Ibadan.
9. Funmi Adewunmi, PhD - Professor of Industrial Relations, Osun State University, Osogbo.
10. Ifeoma Dunu, PhD - teaches Mass Communication at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.
11. Umaru Pate PhD is a Professor of Media and Society, Department of Mass Communication, University of Maiduguri.
12. Ayobami Ojebode, PhD - teaches Communication and Language Arts at the University of Ibadan.
13. Babatunde R. Ojebuyi, PhD - teaches Communication and Language Arts at the University of Ibadan.
14. Tari Dadiowei - Gbarain Deep Oilfields Landlords Association, Bayelsa State.
15. Dou Ogbofa - Gbarain Deep Oilfields Landlords Association, Bayelsa State.
16. Kola Olota - Igbomina Community Radio Development Project, Kwara State.



SECTION
A

STATE OF POLICY

MEDIA PLURALISM, MEDIA FREEDOM AND NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES FROM INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AND INDICATORS

Steve Buckley

Fifty years ago, independence swept across much of Africa including Nigeria. Yet, it is only over the last two decades that state broadcasting monopolies inherited from the colonial era have been challenged by the emergence of independent broadcasting. In 1990, there was almost no independent radio or television to be found on the African continent including Nigeria. Broadcasting operated as an instrument of government in the service of nation building, development and sometimes repression.

Over the last twenty years, however, the African media landscape has changed enormously. New policies, laws and regulations have been adopted that have led to an opening up of the airwaves and the emergence of private and community broadcasting services. Today there remains only a handful of African countries where state broadcasting monopolies prevail.

This changing media landscape has been accompanied by new standards for broadcasting policy, law and regulations which have been endorsed by African governments and which provide benchmarks against which progress can be measured in the development of a democratic enabling environment for the media.

From the early 1990s, in response to the changing geo-political context including the end of the cold war and a democratic re-awakening in Africa, the United Nations and UNESCO organized a series of regional events commencing with a seminar on 'Promoting

an Independent and Pluralistic African Press'. This was held in Windhoek, Namibia, in May, 1991. Participants, including representatives of governments, intergovernmental bodies and non-governmental organizations, adopted the Declaration of Windhoek (1991), the first of a series of regional statements on media freedom later endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference. The Declaration of Windhoek linked press freedom to the defence of democracy and observed that, "Consistent with article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation". The Declaration also noted that democratization itself could facilitate media reform. It states: "The welcome changes that an increasing number of African States are now undergoing towards multiparty democracies provide the climate in which an independent and pluralistic press can emerge".

Media reform is thus seen as both a product of democracy and a means by which democracy can be reinforced. The Declaration, together with its regional counterparts adopted in Asia, Latin America, the Arab World and Europe, are among the first substantive statements on media pluralism and independence endorsed by an intergovernmental conference within the framework of the UN system. The UN General Assembly subsequently declared May 3 to be World Press Freedom Day to mark the anniversary of the Declaration of Windhoek.

UNESCO marks World Press Freedom Day by bringing together leading media practitioners, freedom of expression defenders and UN agencies each year in an international conference to assess the state of media freedom and to address thematic issues and challenges. The first of such conference to be held in Africa was in 2001, again in Windhoek, to mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration of

Windhoek. The host organization, Media Institute of Southern Africa, together with other civil society organizations seized the occasion to develop a new standard setting document, which entitled the African Charter on Broadcasting. The Charter was designed to complement and expand on the original Declaration by focusing on broadcasting. As its preamble states:

The declaration focused primarily on the promotion of the print media and was silent on issues such as broadcasting liberalization and the globalization of the communications industry. These issues have far reaching social and economic implications for media freedom and threaten to jeopardize the production of media that reflects Africa's rich diversity (African Charter on Broadcasting, 2001).

The Charter draws attention, in particular to: “the existence of serious barriers to free, independent and pluralistic broadcasting and to the right to communicate through broadcasting in Africa”. At the same time, it notes: “that for the vast majority of the peoples of Africa, the broadcast media remain the main source of public communication and information”. The African Charter on Broadcasting sets out a recommended framework for broadcasting law and regulation grounded in a rights-based approach in which freedom of expression includes “the right to communicate and access to means of communication” and which elaborates, for the first time in Africa, a three tier system for broadcasting – public service, commercial and community.

The Charter provides a definition of community broadcasting that has since been incorporated by the National Broadcasting Commission into the 2006 version of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code. It says:

- Community broadcasting is broadcasting which is for, by and

about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit.

- There should be a clear recognition, including by the international community, of the difference between decentralised public broadcasting and community broadcasting.

This is one of the first important benchmarks in Africa to define community broadcasting and how it should be regulated. At the same time that work was underway leading to the Windhoek +10 conference and the ACB, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights was considering the development of a Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa. This was eventually adopted on 23 October 2002. This African standard setting document was largely inspired by the Windhoek Declaration and by and the African Charter on Broadcasting (2001) (MISA, 2009). It gives further details on the policy standards and approaches for enabling community broadcasting. Some of those are that:

- The broadcast regulatory system shall encourage private and community broadcasting.
- There shall be equitable allocation of frequencies between private broadcasting uses, both commercial and community.
- Licensing processes shall be fair and transparent, and shall seek to promote diversity in broadcasting.
- Community broadcasting shall be promoted given its potential to broaden access by poor and rural communities to the airwaves.

It is important to stress especially the last of these points, that: "community broadcasting shall be promoted given its potential to

broaden access by poor and rural communities to the airwaves". Over the last few years, with the support of the Panos Institute of West Africa, I, together with five other country level experts in West Africa, have been undertaking a comparative study of progress against the principles embedded in the African Charter on Broadcasting. We looked at five countries: Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal. I think the comparison is instructive for the development of community broadcasting in Nigeria.

To put this in context, it is useful to look at the major social and economic indicators before we get into the media development indicators for these countries.

Table 1: Social and economic development indicators

Indicators	Ghana	Mali	Niger	Nigeria	Senegal
Total population (millions)	22.9	12.4	14.1	147.7	11.9
Total GDP (US\$ billions)	15.1	6.9	4.2	165.5	11.2
GDP per capita (US\$)	646	556	294	1,118	900
Population living below US\$1.25 a day (%)	30.0	51.4	65.9	64.4	33.5
Population living below US\$2 a day (%)	53.6	77.1	85.6	83.9	60.3

Source: UNDP (2009) Human Development Report

Looking at the social and economic indicators, it is clear that these countries are vastly different from one another. Nigeria is economically by far the wealthiest country by virtue of its size and its oil revenues with total GDP of US\$165.5 billion. Nigeria's GDP per

capita is US\$1,118 compared to US\$900 for Senegal, US\$646 for Ghana and US\$556 for Mali. Niger is the poorest with per capita GDP of US\$294 and total GDP of just US\$4.2 billion. At the same time Nigeria's wealth is very unevenly distributed with much of it under the control of political elites that have done little to alleviate widespread poverty. Ghana and Senegal, at 30.0 per cent and 33.5 per cent respectively, have the lowest proportion of people living below the international poverty line of US\$1.25 a day.

In Mali, 51.4 per cent live on less than US\$1.25 a day, while in Nigeria and Niger the figures are 64.4 per cent and 65.9 per cent respectively. These figures are quite startling, given the wealth of Nigeria, that the proportion of people living below the internationally poverty line is at a similar level to Niger.

On the media landscape, we can see that all of the focus countries have, to varying degrees, allowed the development of private and independent broadcasting. Mali was the first, with the establishment in 1988 of the first independent radio, Radio Rurale Kayes, followed by rapid growth of the sector after the 1991 Mali revolution. A Decree of 2002 introduced a legal distinction between commercial and community services. By 2009, Mali had around 150 community broadcasting services, which is more than any of the other focus countries despite Mali also having the lowest population. It is clear that Mali, a country of just 12.4 million people has been the pioneer of community broadcasting in West Africa.

In Ghana, the number of private broadcasting services has more than doubled over the last 10 years and community radio has grown from four stations in 2001 to 17 in 2009. Community radio has gained recognition in the form of administrative guidelines published by the National Communications Authority in 2007. Niger has also experienced growth in the number of private commercial and

community broadcasters and the legal framework has been improved by the removal of restrictions on news reporting for community radio. There are now more than 120 community radios in Niger. In Senegal, community radio has grown from around ten stations in 2001 to more than 26 in 2009. In contrast, Nigeria still has no community broadcasters other than campus radio services.

How does this impact on internationally recognized media development and press freedom indicators? The 'Freedom of the Press Index', conducted since 1996 by Freedom House as an annual survey of media independence was, at the time, the only systematic assessment providing both comparative data and annual trends analysis. It focuses largely on the press rather than the broadcast media. Its methodology relies on the judgement of international experts and it gives no weight to the presence, or otherwise, of public

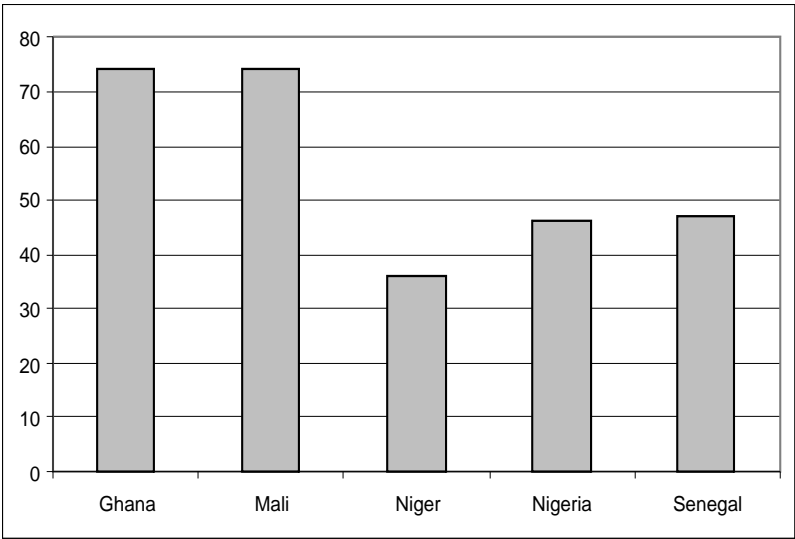


Figure 1: World Press Freedom Index 2009 Source: Freedom House (2009)

service or community broadcasting as part of a plural media landscape. Nevertheless, its results are significant and indicative. In 2008, the Freedom of the Press Index scores Ghana and Mali equal highest. Niger is the lowest, with Nigeria and Senegal in between. In 2002, the French NGO Reporters sans Frontières launched its own “Press Freedom Index” and has published it annually since then using a methodology also based on international expert opinion. It too focuses mainly on the press and journalists but does include questions about opposition access to and the editorial independence of state-owned media. There is no indication that either of these indices has yet taken account of the recommendations of the African Charter on Broadcasting as a blueprint for broadcast policies and laws in Africa but again it does contribute to a broader indication of the state of media development.

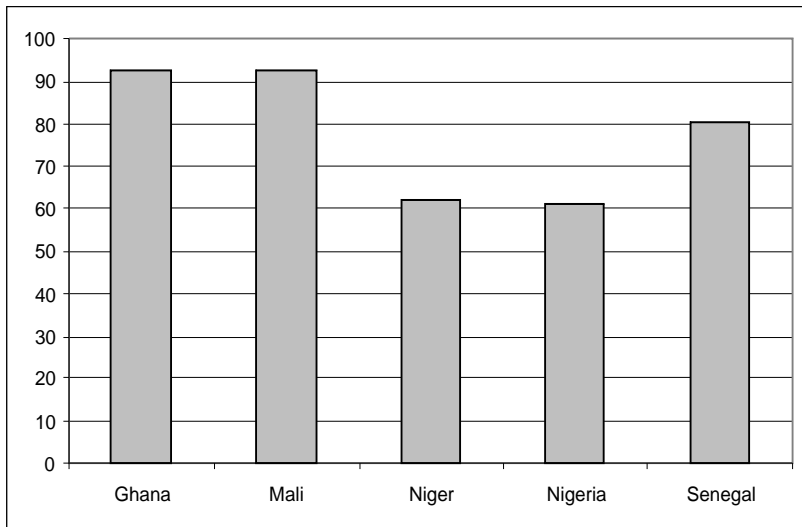


Figure 2: Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index 2008
Source: Reporters sans frontières

The Reporters sans frontières Press Freedom Index gives the highest rating to Ghana and Mali, and the lowest to Niger and Nigeria, with Senegal in between.

In 2004, Media Institute Southern Africa, who originated the African Charter on Broadcasting, together with the Media Project of the Freidrich Ebert Stiftung in Africa, started developing the African Media Barometer (AMB). This rejected the “foreign-based experts” model of Freedom House and Reporteurs sans frontièrtes. The AMB methodology was designed as a qualitative tool for country level debate. It was based on 42 indicators derived from African declarations, protocols and principles including the Windhoek Declaration; the African Charter on Broadcasting; and the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

By 2009, the AMB had been implemented in 25 African countries with a total of 47 reports produced including Nigeria. It is not yet a comprehensive survey of the African continent. But on the other hand it is an African-centred self assessment tool that incorporates the recommendations of the African Broadcasting Charter.

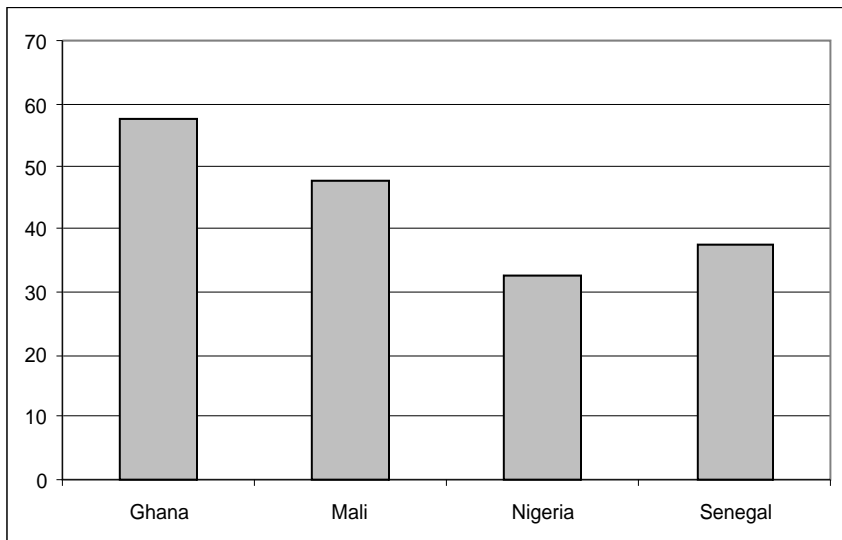


Figure 3: Africa Media Barometer 2008
Source: FESmedia/MISA (2008)

The African Media Barometer puts Ghana ahead, followed by Mali, then Senegal, with Nigeria coming last and Niger not yet surveyed. So, we can see that on an indicator set that includes community broadcasting, Nigeria is underperforming against its counterparts.

We can also look at the trends across the years to understand more about what is happening in international perceptions of media freedom and development. We do not have sufficient data from the AMB to undertake a trends analysis but we do have sufficient data from Freedom House and Reporteurs sans frontières. Here is an example of one of these which is from Reporteurs sans frontières, where we can see there is a very close relationship between the media environment and the broader political environment.

Ghana is the country that makes a big leap up from 2002 to 2003 which is in the run up to the 2004 elections. The elections were largely seen as free and fair and the media were considered to have played an important role in assuring they were fair. Ghana continues at that level through to 2008. Mali and Senegal are at a roughly similar level over the same period. Niger starts off at quite a high level but drops significantly between 2007 and 2008 and probably deteriorated since then as well. This is in the second half of the Thandja administration which later collapsed in a coup d'état in 2009.

Finally, Nigeria started in 2002 at much the same level as the other five countries but in 2002 to 2003 it drops rather drastically, that's the election year and does not recover, and then in 2006 to 2007, another election year, it drops even more drastically to a lower level.

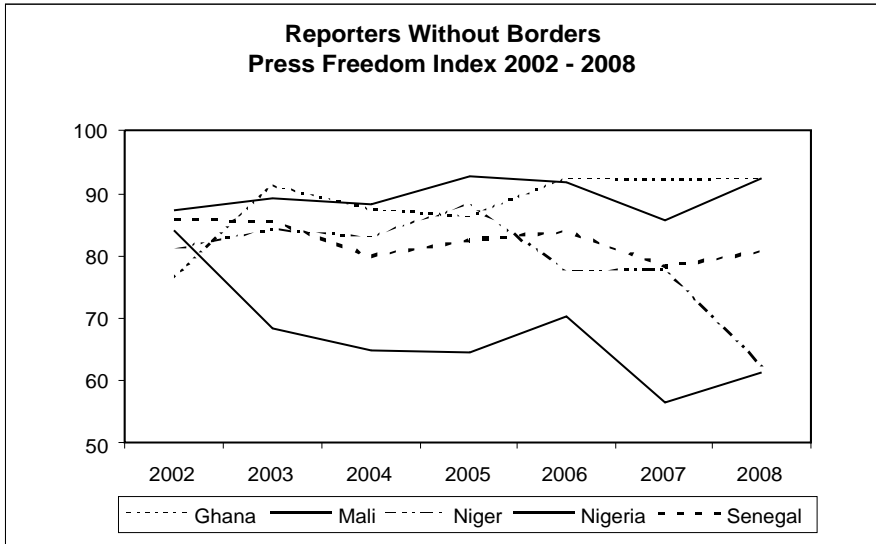


Figure 4: Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index 2008
Source: Reporteurs sans frontieres (2002-2008)

The challenge is how to bring Nigeria back up again. One of the ways of doing that is to get community broadcasting on the map. It is the single most significant change that could be made in this country with respect to the media freedom and media development environment. Following this survey of media freedom and media development indicators, let's conclude by going back to the question of international standards, because there was an important standard setting statement that has both an international as well as an African status.

This is the Declaration on Diversity in Broadcasting that was adopted in December 2007. It is a joint statement that was signed by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Representative on Freedom of the Media of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Special Rapporteur on

Freedom of Expression of the Organisation of American States and the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

These are the four international mandates on freedom of expression who have signed a joint statement on diversity in broadcasting. The statement says: "Community broadcasting should be explicitly recognised in law as a distinct form of broadcasting, should benefit from fair and simple licensing procedures, should not have to meet stringent technological or other licence criteria, should benefit from concessionary license fees and should have access to advertising". That is what Nigeria needs now.

LICENSING COMMERCIAL BROADCASTING NETWORKS IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY RADIO DEVELOPMENT

Edetaen Ojo

On September 3, 2009, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) announced its intention to licence two national commercial broadcasting networks and accordingly issued a public notice on the bid process for one radio and one television network licence. In announcing the development, the Director-General of the Commission, Engineer Yomi Bolarinwa, noted that after 77 years of radio broadcasting in Nigeria, 50 years of television broadcasting and 17 years of broadcast deregulation, during which only the Federal Government owned any licensed radio and television networks, namely the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), the Commission had received the approval of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to commence the licensing process for commercially operated and privately owned radio and television network services to operate alongside the Federal Government owned radio and television networks.

The main rationale for this development, according to the NBC, is that given Nigeria's enormous size, wide diversity and plurality, as well as its economic prospects, the Commission had determined that it is feasible, desirable and imperative to increase the number of broadcast networks in the country. However, the Commission said it was mindful of the fact that the Nigerian economy could only support a limited number of broadcast networks at the moment and that it would therefore start the process by licensing one radio and one television network service through a bid process.

The Commission stressed that strict rules of transparency would be

applied throughout the process and issued a timetable for the process as follows:

September 03, 2009 - Issuance of Public Notice

September 07, 2009 - Bid documents would be available for purchase from the NBC headquarters

October 12, 2009 - Deadline for submission of questions and requests for clarification by bidders. This would give bidders five weeks to begin preparing their bids and to raise issues for clarification.

October 19, 2009 - Delivery of responses by NBC to questions and requests for clarification. This would give the NBC one week to prepare responses to issues raised)

November 06, 2009 - Closing Date for submission of Bids (This gives Bidders 3 weeks after receiving NBC responses to finalise and submit their offers).

Opening of Bids (Eligibility and Technical Proposals to be opened on the closing date for the submission of the bids)

November 09 – November 20, 2009 - Evaluation of Technical bids. NBC has 2 weeks to evaluate offers. It may extend this date if required without consultation with the bidders.

November 24, 2009 - Opening of Financial Proposals. The actual date will depend on the completion of the technical evaluation

November 25 – December 04, 2009 - Negotiation with preferred bidder(s)

December 14, 2009 - Announcement of selection of Successful Bidders

Following this will be the signing of the licence by the President, the expected payment of the licence fees as well as other fees that are yet to be stipulated, the completion of selection process and finally, the

return of Bid Bonds to unsuccessful bidders. However, years after the December 2009 deadline, the NBC has remained unable to issue any Network operational licence.

Implications for Community Radio Development

The critical question is: What does this mean for the community radio movement? The NBC's move was variously criticized for legal, technical and social reasons. The view has been expressed, for instance, that the bidding process announced by the Commission was illegal and unconstitutional in the light of Section 6 of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Act of 1978 which gives the Federal Government owned radio a monopoly over national network coverage and Section 7 of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Act of 1978, which similarly gives the Federal Government-owned television a monopoly over national network coverage. There will probably always be differences of opinions as to how the law is to be interpreted and obviously, only the courts can make a definitive statement about the correctness or otherwise of these arguments, if the issue is ever presented before the courts. But my view, upon a common sense assessment of the legal texts, is that that situation belongs to a different broadcast regime pre-dating the liberalization of broadcasting through the National Broadcasting Commission Act, No. 38 of 1992.

Section 22(1) of the NBC Act No. 38 of 1992 provides clearly that: "Section 7(1) of the Nigerian Television Authority Act and Section 6(1) of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria Act are hereby consequentially repealed." Indeed, Section 2 of the NBC Act No. 38 of 1992 as amended by the National Broadcasting Commission (Amendment) Act No. 55 of 1999, brought within the regulatory authority of the Commission radio and television stations owned, established or operated by the Federal, State or Local Government.

Arguably, one can disagree with the view that the proposed licensing of private radio and television networks violates the FRCN Act and the NTA Act or that it is unconstitutional. The consequences of this development for broadcasting and for advocacy efforts can be assessed at different levels with positive and negative implications.

Under the African Charter on Broadcasting, one of the principles which should underpin broadcast regulation is promoting diversity. The Charter also requires that: "Licensing processes for the location of specific frequencies to individual broadcasters should be fair and transparent, and based on clear criteria which include promoting media diversity in ownership and content."

In this regard therefore, the NBC's move is a very positive development which we should cautiously applaud. For one thing, it seeks to create a licensing process which will be fair and transparent, although it remains to be seen at the end of the day how fair and transparent the process will be in reality. One of the causes for concern is the timetable which the NBC has announced for the entire process, from the invitation for bids to the issuance of the licences, a time frame of three months. There are serious concerns that given the magnitude of this initiative, the technical and financial requirements to run such networks, which the bidders would have to demonstrate in their applications, the scope of evaluation that would attend the selection process, especially in the light of the NBC's relative lack of experience in implementing similar processes, the timeframe is unrealistic and cannot ensure a fair and transparent process.

These concerns are clearly legitimate and would need to be addressed. Obviously, bidders for these network licences would have to show in their technical proposals a capacity to run network operations for them to be eligible. This capacity involves technical, infrastructural, legal, institutional and other issues which the bidders need to address in their bids. To illustrate this point further, there are

currently no private radio or television operators in Nigeria that have stations all over the country. Not even Daar Communications has an adequate number of its own radio or television stations to be able to run a truly national network. For any private venture to be able to run network operations, therefore, it either has to build its own stations around the country or negotiate affiliations or associations with existing operators in the radio or television sectors.

One would imagine that bidders would be required to demonstrate in their technical proposals that they either already had their stations in place for network operations or that they had some agreements with existing radio or television stations to run network operations for them to be eligible. In addition, the bidders would also need to have negotiated and reached agreements with their bankers or other financiers for them to be able to submit realistic financial proposals with their bids. Ultimately, the winners will also need to mobilize resources to pay the licence fees as well as other fees. Yet, the NBC has provided only a period of two months from the opening of bids to the deadline for the submission of bids, when these are clearly not matters that can be sorted out in a few days, unless prospective operators had some prior notice or information and had already put these structures in place.

The Commission also gave itself only two weeks to evaluate the bids, although it has reserved the right to extend this period without consultation with the bidders, if it finds that it needs more time. This apparently rushed process has resulted in fears that the winners of the proposed private radio and television network licences may already have been pre-determined; that the process announced by the NBC is meant to fulfil all righteousness, and that it is simply just trying to rush through the process before awarding the licences to these already pre-determined winners. Such fears place an extra burden on the NBC to open up the process to public scrutiny even more and to ensure that all aspects of it are truly transparent, fair and credible.

But given the fact that up to this point, the NBC and the Federal Government have not even pretended to put in place a framework for licensing of broadcasters that is transparent and that licensing processes in fact appear to have been consistently manipulated and characterized by the presence of undue influence, this new approach of outlining a process is to be commended. We can only hope that this will now be an established tradition for all licensing processes, including for the licensing of commercial broadcasters, and that when the time comes to issue licenses for community radio stations, such a process will be followed.

The transparency and fairness of the licensing process should also be constantly developed and improved upon in future exercises. Some have argued that by the decision to license private radio and television networks, the NBC or the Federal Government is strengthening the voice of business at the expense of the voice of the people and of development. This may be a wrong approach to take in advocating for community broadcasting. While the development obviously does not advance the cause of community broadcasting, it may not be seen to be at the expense of community broadcasting. Firstly, there is no basis upon which we can come to a conclusion that the NBC or the Federal Government has decided to do this as an alternative to or a substitute for community radios.

Secondly, by characterizing it in this manner, we create unnecessary tension and enmity between commercial broadcasters and the community radio advocacy sector. It is unnecessary because while we obviously would like to see positive developments in the community radio sector, we gain nothing by insisting that unless that happens, no development should also take place in other aspects of broadcasting in Nigeria. The licensing of private radio and television networks is certainly a positive development that will break the age-long tradition in which the Federal Government-owned broadcasters in the radio and television sectors enjoyed a monopoly in the operation of

networks.

In addition to the inherent undesirability of monopolies, the manner in which these federal broadcasters used their monopolies promoted exclusivity rather than inclusivity. Dissenting or alternative voices were frequently shut out from these networks and an essentially propagandistic point of view foisted on listeners and viewers. In short, there was no real diversity of opinions and points of view. This shift in direction from that practice is therefore commendable. While this may appear to have no direct relevance for us as a sector interested in community broadcasting, we have to remember that the underlying rationale for our work in this area is the need to promote diversity in broadcasting, including by empowering local voices.

This development has the potential to promote diversity and provide greater access to the airwaves for alternative voices. However, it must be said that while this is a positive development, it does not go nearly far enough. In fact, it now creates a private monopoly in addition to a public monopoly. This can be interpreted as somewhat arbitrary for the NBC to simply decide, without offering any verifiable evidence or basis that the Nigerian economy can only support one private radio network and one private television network. The proper approach would have been to establish objective criteria, including perhaps, financial requirements, and all applicants that meet those requirements should then have been licensed. One can only hope that such a similarly arbitrary approach would not be adopted to limit the number of community radio stations to be licensed when community broadcasting becomes operational.

Conclusion

Despite the imperfections, we should see this move to license a private radio and a private television network as part of the on-going

liberalization of the broadcast sector, regardless of the motives driving it. The liberalization process may be too slow for our liking and it is really slow. The steps taken so far in broadcast liberalization certainly have not addressed our core interests as community radio advocates. But we cannot seriously argue that this is a roll back of gains already made because no matter how we look at it, it is not.

We should engage the process to ensure that pledges and commitments made are fulfilled, especially in ensuring that the process is genuinely transparent, fair and credible. But above all, we should take advantage of it to push the boundaries even further to ensure that the liberalization reaches community broadcasting.

PROMOTING COMMUNITY RADIO IN NIGERIA: ISSUES IN THE NIGERIAN BROADCASTING CODE

Mustapha Umar & Musa Usman

INTRODUCTION

Discussions on the relevance, need and possible advent of community broadcasting in Nigeria has recently received a boost. This is partly due to the appreciation of its pivotal role in national development. These points have been emphasized by Pate (2009) and Alumuku (2007).

It is a constantly repeated fact that unlike what obtains in other African countries, community broadcasting and more specifically, community radio has not taken a firm root in Nigeria. It is a fact that the policy framework for community radio is still at the embryonic stage. It is also observed that the fear being expressed before the deregulation of the broadcast sector still abounds – the notion that Nigeria is too sensitive and diverse to be left in private hands.

Community broadcasting has a philosophical foundation resting on three factors specific to Nigeria. For one, the democratization process which has gained currency across the developing world over the last decade and half encouraged the use of community broadcasting for socio-political and economic development. Secondly, the promotion of diversity, pluralism and public participation in the political sphere, including democratization of mass media structure and ownership has been a poignant factor. And fundamentally, the deregulation of the broadcast industry through the 1992 decree promulgated by the Babangida administration now an Act of the National Assembly. These points are pertinent in understanding the basis for community broadcasting in Nigeria. Harping on the need for such intervention in

broadcasting, Nweke Jr (2008) observed that:

The beauty and centrality of community radio to development cannot be overstated and several studies have given credence to this assertion. This, perhaps, explains why advocates of sustainable human development believe that Radio, particularly community radio, holds the greatest potential for measurable and participatory development.

Across cultures today, community broadcasting is fast evolving as a third tier of broadcasting. It is viewed as complementary to public and commercial broadcasting. It's potential to empower the marginalized, promote development, good governance and accountability has earned it recognition across multilateral agencies as bedrock for democracy and development.

A key example is reflected in the declaration of the United Nations Roundtable on Communication for Development, held in Rome in September 2004, stating: National governments should implement a legal and supportive framework favouring the right to free expression and the emergence of free and pluralistic information systems including recognition of the specific and crucial role of community media in providing access to communication for isolated and marginalized groups.

Earlier in 2002, The African Commission on Human and People's Right made a similar declaration. Community broadcasting shall be promoted, given its potential to broaden access by poor and rural communities to the airwaves. Ultimately, the struggle for community broadcasting has expanded beyond the realm of civil societies to also include multilateral agencies.

In spite of its importance, it is imperative community broadcasting must develop and operate within the ambit of the law of the country. It is also worthy to note that care has to be taken not to 'over regulate' if it

is to endure. Legislative and regulatory framework for the effective take off of community broadcasting in Nigeria is still at the foundation stage. However provisions of the National Broadcasting Commission Act No 38 as well as the provisions in the NBC code have to be developed alongside a positive policy framework for community broadcasting.

Based on this premise, this paper x-rayed the provisions on community broadcasting in the NBC code. Specifically, the paper looked at issues arising from the legal and policy framework for community broadcasting, the NBC Code, the philosophical basis (which has been discussed earlier) and most significantly to suggest recommendations on the way forward.

Contextualizing the community

The community is a group of people residing in a particular geographical location or sharing a strong interest which the community desires to develop through broadcasting. Such communities maybe local, non profit, cultural, cooperative or partnership (NBC Code 2006) (Hoggart 2004).

The definition is inclusive from a practical not sociological perspective. As diverse as the Nigerian nation, there are numerous communities cutting across some of the identified categorizations. The amorphous nature of societies and their varied need for information and its sources make the communities in Nigeria unique. Devereux (2005) has extensively discussed various approaches to audience analysis in relation to their diversity.

ISSUES IN THE NBC BROADCASTING CODE

The legal ground for community broadcasting in Nigeria can be traced

to provisions in the 1999 constitution. Specifically, chapter 4 of the constitution made provisions for freedom of speech, access to information and ownership. Section 39 (2) of the constitution provides that every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions.

It further states “provided that no person other than government of the federation or of a state or any other person or body authorized by the president on the fulfillment of conditions laid down by an Act of the National Assembly, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcast station for any purpose whatsoever”. Act Number 38 of the National Assembly empowers the NBC to be the regulatory agency for the deregulated broadcast industry. Section 2 (1) (b) (ii) Act No. 55 as amended states thus “the commission shall have the responsibility of receiving, processing and considering applications for the establishment, ownership or operations of radio and television stations, including radio and television stations owned, established or operated by the federal, state or local governments.

On the issue of community broadcasting, there are specific provisions in the NBC Code detailing the manner in which such station can be established and operated. Before the revision of the Code in 2002, there was no mention of community broadcasting. It lacked any functional mention despite the fact that it remained a significant part of the structures of other developing nations. In the revised 2002 Code, community broadcasting was considered as 'desirable' only. Its licensing and regulation was placed within the legal framework and general guidelines applicable to public and commercial broadcasting in the country. Based on that legal structure, community broadcasting has not been given a peculiar and proper foundation.

Furthermore, agitations and struggle by proponents of community broadcasting made it a dominant issue. And when the 2006 Code was produced as revised, there was a noticeable shift in attitude.

Community broadcasting was then given full recognition in line with the provision of the African Broadcast Charter. With that, as obtained in other societies, it became the third tier of broadcasting, after public and commercial broadcasting. However, what is required is a major legal framework for community broadcasting – a separate law or Act that can give it the necessary strength. For instance in the NBC Act, the provision that allow for private media can only be indirectly applied to community broadcasting. It can be safely inferred that while enacting these laws, community broadcasting was not an issue. However, it is now.

Despite all these loopholes, the provisions contained in the 2006 NBC Code are good and a giant step towards attaining the full legal consideration. However, a look at these provisions on community broadcasting in the 2006 Code also raises a number of concerns on how some of them can be a problems rather than solutions. This, however, does not mean that there are no positive points in the Code.

In the area of funding, the 2006 code provides that community broadcasting services will derive their revenue from levies, contributions, membership fees, donations, gifts, grants as well as local spot announcements. The ambiguity surrounding revenue sources for community broadcasting has to do with the lack of clarity over who can offer 'donation' or 'gift' and the modalities of making such contributions. Fundamental questions to ask are:

Should donations or gifts be directed through the NBC?

Should donation or gifts directed at the station be declared to the NBC?

Can a station accept donation or gift from politicians?

The questions can go on. Unless clarified, there is a strong possibility for conflict between community stations and the NBC. Also worthy of note is the restrictive nature of the provision on funding. With community stations restriction to local spot announcements for

revenue, they can become stifled by lack of funds since they cannot attract and garner big commercials / supplements.

On the issue of language for community broadcasting the 2006 Code specifically observed that 'a community broadcast service shall give prominence to the language spoken in the community. That is commendable. The emphasis in the use of local language reinforces the centrality of the community. This can be discerned as the strength of community broadcasting, especially going by the observations of Kawu (2008), in his study of what obtained in Mali. Use of the local language ensures that the station remains relevant to community needs and aspirations.

It further re-enforces community ownership while giving the people a sense of pride and identification with the station.

On granting / renewal of license, the 2006 Code provides in section 9.4(1) that:

In determining sustainability of an application for the grant or renewal of a community broadcasting service licence, the following, amongst others shall be considered' ownership[p, funding, constitution of board of trustees; and nature and content of programming with particular reference to the treatment of political and religious matters throughout the lifespan of the license.

The implication to be derived from this provision can be itemized thus:

Only associations not individuals would be considered for a licence

A clearly defined philosophy and strategy for handling religious and political programmes must accompany the application for a licence

It is not clear which other conditions would apply in consideration for the granting / renewal of a licence.

It is unclear how much it will cost to obtain and / or renew a licence.

The Code also harped on those persons or groups disqualified from establishing and operating a community broadcasting service. Section 9.5(1) of the 2006 code states, that "a community broadcast licence shall not be granted to a religious organization, a political party, an individual and a corporate body, except it is a not for profit organization.

The exclusion of religions organization / political parties is understandable. They may use such to abuse the service by whipping up sentiments while the exclusion of individuals and business organization is a statement of commitment to principle of community broadcasting. In a society like Nigeria where the rich are powerful, one individual can dominate and control programming content if unchecked.

The issue of ownership and management is outlined in section 9(3) and 9(4) of the revised 2006 NBC code. It concedes absolute power of ownership and management to the community. For a licence to be granted, the station must be sited within the same community, the contravention of which can lead to the revocation of licence. The Code places the management of the community broadcast station in the hands of a board of trustees. This excludes individual ownership and safeguards the core values of community broadcasting - community participation and empowerment.

On operations and staffing, section 9.2(i) and (2) states this. "Without prejudice to the professional entrusted with operating the service, members of the community shall participate in deciding the nature of the operation of the station". While it appreciates professionalism, the Code recognized community broadcasting as a participatory and voluntary process. It gives absolute right to the people to determine their programme content. Editorial and scheduling responsibilities are also the exclusive right of the community. However, the issue of

having 5 permanent staff with 2 having about 5 years broadcast experience is counter productive to the community broadcasting initiative.

Since community broadcasting is a non profit establishment relying heavily on volunteer efforts and community participation, the provision of section 9.6(i) imposes an unsustainable financial burden on the community which holds the potential to emasculate the initiative in the long term.

CONCLUSION

The benefits of community broadcasting cannot be over emphasized. Examples of successes in Mali, Niger, Senegal and other parts of West Africa are worthy of note to us here in Nigeria. Infact such service is a necessary requirement in every true democracy. Odozi (2008) observed that:

Democracy has therefore been associated with a system of government usually involving, freedom of various aspects of political life, equality among citizens, and justice in the relations between the people and the government and the participation of the people in choosing their leaders. It is therefore a collective endeavour which requires active participation by people of all societal strata.

The statement above is significant in describing the place of community broadcasting". Participation is essential in giving the local people the capacity and power to make their own analysis direct the process grow in confidence and take their own decision (Gueye 1999).

Having made these observations, it is pertinent to conclude that there is no comprehensive legal framework specifically for community

broadcasting and the NBC Act does not provide a conducive environment for the establishment and services of community broadcasting in Nigeria. The existing policy framework for community broadcasting is fraught with ambiguities. There and many other points have to be addressed before the formal take off of community broadcasting in Nigeria.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Scale up advocacy for a comprehensive review of the NBC Acts and the Code to ensure the availability of laws and separate Code for community broadcasting.

The reviewed NBC Acts should form the basis for a Code for community broadcasting. The licence fee should be nominal in the region of 50 to 100 thousand. Renewal fee should be abolished.

Restrictions on sources of revenue should be relaxed to allow for a broader revenue base for sustainability.

Limited government support should be provided to community stations for not more than 12 months to enable effective take-off. Thereafter, this support should be withdrawn.

Scale up advocacy to raise awareness among communities. As it were, the idea of community broadcasting is mainly a civil society affair. The majority of the people it is supposed to serve have little or no understanding of it and what they stand to benefit from it.

The third is to build capacity among Community-Based Organizations to establish sustainable community broadcast services that can demonstrate social and community relevance.

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CAMPUS RADIO STATIONS AND REGULATORY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

Bisi King-Paul

Campus Broadcasting in Nigeria dates back to 1982 when Professor Ralph Akinfeleye, then Dr. Ralph Akinfeleye, called for the establishment of an educational radio station for the University of Lagos. The then Head of the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Professor Alfred Opubor, took up the challenge and wrote to the Federal Ministry of Information and Communication for a radio license. That was not granted easily, the request went from one government to another, different meetings of stakeholders, and the eventual Media Deregulation Policy of 1992, before a license was granted in February 2002.

Currently, Nigeria has twenty –seven licensed Campus Stations although only eight of them have gone on air. The journey was by no means easy. It took altogether twenty years before the first campus station was licensed. Initially, the licence fee was Fifteen Million Naira but due to a plea by the University and the intervention by former Director General of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission, Alhaji Danladi Bako, the Department was given a waiver, and asked to pay One Million Naira. This mandatory fee was paid in April 2002 and the Frequency of 103.1FM was allocated in July 2003.

Unilag Radio is the first campus station to receive a licence and the first campus station to go on air in 2004. The station was officially commissioned on December 14, 2004 by the Vice President, Atiku Abubakar. Based on Lagos' credible performance, the stage was set for other campus stations to receive their licences. Another set of eight institutions were given licences and eighteen more followed in

February 2009. There are now twenty-seven institutions of Higher Learning across the country that have received licences for educational purposes. Proper regulatory activities took off in 1992 with the establishment of the National Broadcasting Commission created by the NBC Act of 1992. The Commission published the first National Broadcasting Code in 1993 and has since reviewed it many more times, the last one in 2012. Some of the conditions for obtaining and maintaining a broadcast licence are:

- The NBC requires an application fee of fifty thousand Naira. If approved, applicants must pay a license fee of twenty million Naira, for key urban locations like Lagos, Port-Harcourt and the Federal Capital Territory. Other areas pay fifteen and ten million Naira and Campus Stations pay one million Naira. This fee is what all Campus Stations now pay.
- Renewal fees are payable every five years. This is considered to be high due to the fact that Campus Stations are not Commercial Stations.
- Campus stations are required to pay 2.5 per cent of their turnover to the NBC.
- Quarterly Programme Schedules and Synopsis are to be submitted to the NBC Zonal office in advance.
- Campus Stations should be the broadcast laboratory for students of Mass Communication; therefore, the stations should be under the Department of Mass Communication, Communication Arts or other relevant Departments.
- 9.6.1 of the NBC Code says there shall be at least five permanent members of staff in the operations of the station and at least two of them shall each have a minimum of 5 years broadcasting experience.
- A considerable number of students work as volunteers in all

areas of the stations.

The challenges are that:

- Only a limited number of students can be taken on at a time. Conversely, students won't be able to work during exam period and vacations.
- Students cannot be totally relied upon In spite of the fact that students are used to Broadcast Standards must
- The Campus stations must be used solely for Instructional and Educational Broadcasting. (How to go about that without losing target-audience should be considered)

RECOMMENDATIONS

The licencing approval process should be reviewed. It is too slow for the demands from institutions of higher learning.

Policies should be in relation to present day broadcast practices.

All broadcasters should have easy access to the code.

Allocation of transmitter power should be standardized. It should be between 100 and 500 watts and not below 100watts as the case in some Campus stations with Multiple campuses such as University of Lagos, Federal University of Technology, Minna and University of Ibadan

Local production of Transmitters and other Broadcast equipment should be encouraged.

The license and renewal fee should be reviewed.

The area of Funding under 9.1 in the NBC code should be reviewed under present day economy as it relates to all institutions of higher learning.

At this stage it is important to point out that Campus Stations are not competing with commercial stations. Their programme content and target audience are entirely different from those in school's FM stations.

The regulatory body should bear in mind that campus stations do not receive subventions from Federal or State governments. While saying campus stations should not take advertisements, the station although not for profit should not be run at a loss. Therefore, in order to sustain the stations, and considering Nigeria's present day economy, Campus stations should be allowed to broadcast a limited number of advertisements, relevant to the target audience .

Campus Stations are not Community Stations and so should not be categorized as such as in the present NBC code.

A Campus Station should not be used as an extension of the Public Relations Department of the Vice-Chancellor's Office, other Principal Officers of the University or the Council. It must remain professional and educational and adhere strictly to the objectives for which it is licenced.

Proper structures should be put in place where the campus stations are situated to enable effective and professional operations.

Unilag 103.1 FM-Overcoming Challenges

The National Broadcasting Commission has stipulated that among other things, Campus stations should be used for Instructional and Educational broadcasts. Bearing this in mind, the objectives of Unilag 103.1FM are:

- a. To optimize instructional and educational opportunities available to the citizens in order to facilitate sustainable human development in Nigeria.

- b. To serve as an authoritative channel of instructional and educational programmes for tertiary level students and other adults seeking knowledge in order to improve themselves.
- c. To provide opportunities for schools to engage in appropriate research that can advance the knowledge and practice of radio broadcasting and mass communication.

PROGRAMMES

According to Chapter Nine, 9.0.1 of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code, "Community Broadcasting recognized by the African Broadcast Charter is a key agent of democratization for social, cultural and economic development ..." Unilag 103.1 FM is conscious of her responsibilities towards her community which is first her audience on campus and secondly the audience around the campus and all over Lagos. In order to broadcast quality and interesting programmes, putting on air Instructional and educational programmes has been a gradual process.

From broadcasting mainly musicals at inception, the station now broadcasts a variety of programmes, such as From the Ivory Tower, Matters Arising, Science World, Health Focus, Doctor-in-the-house, and Ladder to Success, Down Memory Lane and Tax Matters. The station also broadcasts News, Sports News and Sports Magazines, Drama, Discussions, Youth's and Children's programmes, Current Affairs, History, Quiz, Interviews and Music.

Children from the Staff School and the International School are fully involved in our children's programmes. In addition, there is live coverage of Inaugural Lectures, Convocation Ceremonies, Public Lectures and Quizzes. The Distance Learning Institute of the University now broadcasts educational programmes on the station. This has been made possible by encouraging staff to diversify and

accepting suitable programme ideas from students. It is worthy of note that Unilag FM has carved a niche for herself, by broadcasting programmes in French. This serves as an avenue for students of French Language and Literature, not only from the University of Lagos but also from other institutions; to improve on their written and spoken knowledge of the language and also learn about the French culture.

PARTNERSHIPS AND SUPPORT

The broadcast of French programmes has been made possible by the French Embassy in Nigeria through the Alliance Francaise. The partnership provides for training for the staff of the Radio Station and Students, Workshops and Equipment. Other embassies have expressed interest in partnering with the station in this area. At the take-off, the station received support by equipment from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa(OSIWA). OSIWA has donated further equipment to the Department of Mass Communication in a second phase.

UNESCO donated Broadcast equipment to the Mass Communication Department in July 2007. Unilag Radio has benefited from this donation. A proposal has been submitted to the World Bank for Multi-media Technology. If approved, the Mass Communication Department of University of Lagos will further live up to her status as a centre for excellence in Africa.

STAFF

Unilag Radio has more than 5 permanent experienced members of staff required by the NBC. Students of the University of Lagos work as volunteers. There is full participation by the academic staff from whose vast knowledge the listener is able to tap. In addition, an important fact is that more students from the Department of Mass

Communication and other Departments of the University now participate in the daily broadcast of programmes in areas such as News Reporting and Writing, Presentation, Production and Marketing. These students have the privilege of being the first in tertiary institutions in Nigeria to have on hands training in their own campus station; this is because Unilag 103.1 FM is the first licensed campus station in Nigeria.

Furthermore, students from other Institutions of higher learning are given the opportunity of receiving their compulsory Industrial Training at the Station. Unilag FM has welcomed students from Institutions such as University of Nigeria, Bowen University, Lagos State University, Ahmadu Bello University, Ibadan Polytechnic, Moshood Abiola Polytechnic, Lagos State Polytechnic, Lagos State University, Federal College of Education (Tech), Olabisi Onabanjo University and American University of Nigeria.

TRAINING

Broadcasting is dynamic and new technologies are springing up every day. Therefore training is vital in any media organization to keep abreast with current broadcast trends. Unilag Radio makes every effort to provide training and re-training for her staff. Members of staff receive regular training in their specific areas at the Training School of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and training support from the BBC and The Institute of Media and Society.

STRUCTURE

Unilag Radio operates under the Department of Mass Communication. However, no personnel is an academic staff; therefore, commitment is undivided. The station operates as a

department of the University with a proper structure in place. A career structure for the staff has been developed.

EQUIPMENT

The present challenge of Unilag 103.1FM is upgrading its broadcast equipment in order to meet the deadline of 2015 for digitization, and Nigeria's deadline of 2012. There is also the need to provide database facilities in the library for storage and downloading and new Multimedia technology for news production and educational/instructional programmes. The station needs to be put on the web where there will be streaming of radio broadcasts.

Campus Radio has become a significant component of the Nigerian Broadcasting Landscape. However, considering the number of tertiary institutions offering journalism and mass communication, twenty-seven (27) campus stations are inadequate. Meanwhile, the existing stations had formed a network to exchange ideas and programmes on common issues which affect all Campus stations. A meeting of stakeholders of Campus Radio Stations was held at the University of Lagos on May 28, 2009, where an association of Campus Station was formed.

Campus stations are here to stay. They are playing a vital role in community development and social change. With the success of these stations the next stage is the licencing of community stations across the country.



SECTION
B

ADVOCACY

UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF THE LEGISLATURE FOR AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY RADIO ADVOCACY IN NIGERIA

Omoniyi Ibieta

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to share information, and hopefully knowledge, on the workings of the legislature so that such body of knowledge becomes a useful instrument for engaging the legislature to interlock in the struggle for the development of community radio in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

It is therefore appropriate to define the key concepts used in this paper in the sense in which they should be understood in order to enhance the information sharing process. For that reason, the word dynamics as used in this discourse refers to processes that define the interaction and behaviour of members of a group who usually function as a problem-solving and/or decision-making entity. The dimensions of these processes would include but not limited to norms, patterns of roles and relationship, patterns of influence, patterns of dominance and how conflict is managed within and outside the group. Importantly, these dimensions could act independently and interdependently to shape the behaviour of individuals within a group and a group as an entity operating in a larger context.

The legislature, as another concept of this discourse, is a generic term used to describe an assembly of people with constitutional powers to make, amend and repeal laws. In Nigeria, the Federal legislature is called the National Assembly. In the United States, the legislature is called The Congress. In the United Kingdom, it is called The

Parliament. However, context and purpose may make each of these terms to have more specific meanings. Perhaps most vital in this discourse is the meaning of community radio. Since it is settled that community radio is a constitutive component of community broadcasting, this paper rely on the thoughtful definition offered by the African Charter on Broadcasting which states, that it is a type of broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit. This definition could have been sufficient save for the use of the word 'non-profit'.

The word "not-for-profit", would have been appropriate because a community radio station makes profit for the purpose of sustaining its operations and not to be shared as dividend by its management and/or other stakeholders. Finally, the term advocacy is used here to mean any attempt to influence the decision(s) of institutional elite on behalf of a collective interest (Jenkins, 1987). But broadly speaking, advocacy describes the influence of groups in shaping social and political outcomes in government and society and it could also have multiple meanings depending on the activities, contexts and venues of usage. For example, when it relates to activities, advocacy can include public education and influencing public opinion; agenda setting and policy design; policy implementation, monitoring and feedback; and election- related activities. When used in context, it may also focus on representation and participation. And with respect to venue, it may be government-centered or society-centered. Importantly, scholars such as Reid (2000) and Fox (2001) among others agreed that however it is used the term advocacy is still linked with the concept of justice.

Understanding the Legislature in Nigeria

The Federal legislature in Nigeria as noted earlier is called the National

Assembly. Each of the 36 states of the Federation also has a legislature called House of Assembly and each of the 774 local government areas in Nigeria has a legislature called the Legislative Council. Suffice it to say that all of these legislatures can be engaged simultaneously in a coordinated manner, albeit differently (activities, contexts and venues) in the advocacy for the development of community radio in Nigeria. The Federal and States legislatures work through committees.

A committee is expected to undertake a more thorough investigation of issues referred to it and its report submitted to the plenary session of the legislature of which it is a component for a final decision to be taken. The focus here is on the Federal legislature because to all intents and purposes it is the Federal Legislature that has the power, under the 1999 Constitution to legislate on the issue of community radio. In addition, community radio is a broadcast medium and section 39 of the 1999 Constitution also grants only the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria the power to grant broadcasting license. Importantly, it is also the President of the Federal Republic that assents to Acts passed by the National Assembly for such laws to take effect, although there are circumstance(s) in which an Act can take effect without the assent of the President.

However, despite this constitutional challenge, community radio enthusiasts can engage the state legislatures (and even the local government legislative councils), to draw attention to and heighten advocacy for the development of community radio in Nigeria. Going forward therefore, Chapter 1, Part II, Section 4 of the 1999 Constitution states among others that the Legislative Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the Federation which shall consist of the Senate and a House of Representatives. In separation of powers doctrine, the legislature in a presidential system (which is practiced in Nigeria) is considered a powerful branch which is coequal to and independent of both the judiciary and the executive. It is important to also note at this juncture that the legislative powers of the National Assembly can

be classified into three: As expressed by the Constitution, implied powers arising from extensions of the provision of the Constitution; and Assumed powers as a result of lacuna in the constitutional provisions.

Plausibly, these are broad powers and this reality apparently explains why the legislature is seen as fundamental to the realization of the people's aspirations because these powers place the legislative arm as the defender of the people given that legislators can use their power in favour of their constituents (the people). Hence the belief that it is the strongest branch of government. The Senate consists of 109 members (3 Senators from each state of the Federation and 1 from the Federal Capital Territory). The Senate is headed by a Senator called President of Senate, elected from among the members based on the zoning formula of the party which has the majority of Senators. There is also a Deputy President who acts as President of Senate in the absence of the substantive President of Senate. By the same token, the Federal House of Representatives, the other arm of the National Assembly consists of 360 members representing the 36 states of the Federation. The number of representatives from each state depends on the number of constituencies delineated based on certain factors.

The Federal House of Representatives is headed by one of its members called 'The Speaker', who is elected based on the zoning formula of the party which has majority in the House. The House also has a Deputy Speaker who presides over the affairs of the House in the absence of the Speaker. As noted earlier both the Senate and the House of Representatives work through standing committees which are formed based on specific subject matters or on the classifications of the operations of government. For example Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Federal Government are each supervised by one committee or the other. Hence, there are committees on: Information, Communications, Foreign Affairs, Environment, Women Affairs, Youth Development, Agriculture, Finance, Education, Health, Defence, etc. There are also special

committees, also referred to as Machinery Committees. These are Committees on: Selection; Rules and Business; National Security and Intelligence; Services; Ethics and Privileges; Public Petitions; and Public Accounts. These are beside Ad-hoc Committees which are usually established by resolutions of either of the Houses of the National Assembly, to carry out a particular task such as investigation or study. The reports of such tasks are usually submitted to the whole House or Senate plenary for deliberations and final decision. In addition, both the Senate and the Federal House of Representatives also usually have Joint Committees. This refers to a combination of two or more committees in the same house constituted for a specific assignment such as to investigate or conduct public hearing on an issue cutting across two or more subject matters or beyond a committee's purview. This is different from Joint Sessions which is the sitting of all the members of the Senate and all the members of the Federal House of Representatives for the purpose of receiving an address from the President of the Federal Republic during annual budget presentations or to receive a visiting foreign Head of Government. The Senate President presides over joint sessions. There is also what is called conference committees - the merger of two similar committees of the Senate and the House usually set up to harmonize two different resolutions of each of the Houses of the National Assembly in order to come up with a single resolution which is sent to Mr. President for assent. This is important because the President is not expected to sign two versions of the same law passed by the two chambers of the National Assembly. In other words, each chamber works independently on an issue (usually a bill) requiring Presidential assent but they later form a conference committee made up of members of both Houses to harmonize the two positions. Reports emanating from such conference committees are then sent to the plenary of each House sitting independently for passage. Such report cannot be amended on the floor of any of the chambers, if there are issues, it will be referred back to the conference committee.

The reason the Senate and the House of Representatives in Nigeria (as in the United States) use committees is because of the number of members in each arm of the legislature. To effectively examine in details many bills and other matters that come before each House of the National Assembly, especially law making (which is the primary function of the legislature), a body of 'experts' is required to do some ground work and make recommendations to for the consideration of the whole House. Hence, committees usually have experts among its members who scrutinize matters brought before it to ensure that the whole House is properly guided on any particular issue. Each committee is made up of a Chairman, Vice Chairman and other members. For instance, the present Federal House of Representatives' Committee on Communications has a total of 33 members. This is besides support staff in what is usually called the committee secretariat headed by a clerk or secretary. These support staff are public servants supervised by the National Assembly Service Commission. The recommendations of each committee which come in form of reports are submitted to the Senate or the House of Representatives' Committees on Rules and Business which schedules such report for consideration by the respective branch of the legislature.

The Legislative Process

The legislative process describes a situation whereby the National Assembly carries out its constitutional role of law making. This process starts with the introduction of a bill (a draft of the proposed law) at plenary sessions and the processes it goes through to become law. Laws made by the National Assembly starts as a bill – a draft of the proposed law to be

discussed by the legislature. There are basically three types of bills.

- Executive Bills: These are bills emanating from the President of the Republic or Government institutions like Ministries,

Departments and Agencies of Government and these bills are forwarded to the President of Senate or the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives usually by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

- Member's Bills: These are initiated by members of the legislature informed by ideas, electoral promises, experiences or even patriotic reasons towards enacting a new law, amend existing ones or replace obnoxious laws. For instance, Honourable Olanrewaju Adeniran Agoro (PDP, Oyo) sponsored a bill cited as Subsidiary Legislation (Legislative Scrutiny) Bill 2008, to compel all agencies of Federal Government to present all subsidiary legislations to the National Assembly to ensure that such legislations are in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution.
- Private Bills: These are bills that are promoted by interest groups and professional bodies whose jobs are to protect the interests of their members or the society at large. For example the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill was sponsored by Mr. Edetaen Ojo, Executive Director, Media Rights Agenda. The Nigeria Community Radio Coalition can also sponsor a bill on its own or through members of either of the chambers of the National Assembly for the establishment of community radio in Nigeria in line with the African Charter on Broadcasting, to which Nigeria is a signatory.

The real legislative processes usually start with a bill forwarded to the Presiding Officers of both Houses of the National Assembly (the President of Senate and the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives) with a covering letter from the sponsor. A copy is then sent to the Committees on Rules and Business in both Houses of the National Assembly, and it is further sent for gazetting. Whatever the origin of the bill, its introduction in any of the chambers of National Assembly is undertaken by a member of the legislature. However, the House or Senate leader usually introduces executive bills. A bill

usually goes through the following process to become a law or an Act of Parliament.

1. First Reading (Introduction of the bill into both Houses of the National Assembly - not necessarily simultaneously).
2. Second Reading (Presentation of Debates – merits of the bill – by the sponsor and supporters of the bill in the chambers).
3. It is then referred to the appropriate committee and possibly further to a sub-committee by the main committee.
4. After hearings and revisions, the main committee may recommend passage.
5. Third Reading (consideration of the report of the standing committee, amendments and passage).
6. The House and the Senate Standing Committees which worked on the bill independently meet at a conference committee to harmonize the differences in the bill passed by each chamber.
7. The House and the Senate at their independent plenary sessions must approve the report of the conference committee without alteration because neither of the chambers has power to unilaterally make amendment to a conference committee report.
8. The bill is then sent to the President of the Republic for his assent.
9. If the President refuses to sign as it happened to the FOI Bill under President Obasanjo, the National Assembly may override with two-thirds vote of its members.

Strategies for Engaging the Legislature

No civil society organization can make any meaningful impact in the arena of agenda setting and policy design as the Nigeria Community Radio Coalition (NCRC) has set out to do without constructively

engaging the legislature, in this case the National Assembly. In engaging the legislature to secure its support and partnership for policy and other advocacies, scholars and other groups involved in advocacy have found the following strategies useful. These strategies are also adaptable to the circumstance of community radio struggle and other related community action.

- Understand the role of the legislature.
- Know the character of the legislature (including its constitutional powers and privileges and how it co-manages the public good with other branches of government.)
- Know what the legislature does (in terms of law-making, representation of public interest, policy formulation, oversight of executive arm of government etc.)
- Be clear about what is needed from the target and try to figure out what the target wants from you.
- Establish the agenda and goals.
- Draft and analyze bills and government policies, explain their implications and forward to lawmakers.
- Attend, make presentations and testify at public hearings on all matters related to community radio, freedom of information, free speech, transparency and accountability etc.
- Build alliance with and engage the media in publicity to mobilize public opinion to influence members of the National Assembly.
- Mobilize the grassroots to put pressure on their lawmakers to speak in favour of and vote in support of any matter related to community radio and free speech.
- Stage protests and demonstrations to the premises of the legislative house if need be.
- Coordinate your work with and forge working alliance with

other advocacy groups, such as those involved in communication rights. This multiplies the power base, especially if other groups can be involved to amplify your voice.

- Get enough information about the target legislator and his or her constituency (his or her concerns and biases and know how influential he or she is).
- Make presentation around issues of community radio.
- Find a credible champion for your cause.
- Build a solid reputation.
- Follow up the visit with a letter of thanks, with copies to all advocacy groups which are involved on the issue, as well as legislators who have been helpful.

The journey to full development of community radio in Nigeria will be stymied without engaging the legislature. There is need to re-organize afresh, forge working alliance with other advocacy groups, and mobilize the legislators at all levels of governance to amplify our voice – we are very close to the proverbial Promised Land.

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COMMUNICATING CR MESSAGE TO NIGERIA'S GRASSROOTS COMMUNITIES

Samuel Ayedime Kafewo (Ph.D)

INTRODUCTION

Apart from food and shelter, communication, perhaps constitutes humanity's next basic need. Ever since man crossed the hurdle of eking a living by gathering fruits and hunting games to survive, the need to communicate with each other became a central focus for survival and development. Also, the desire to reach across the immediate environment led man to introduce varying forms of communication commensurate with his developmental needs. These range from simple traditional means to more sophisticated technological means of communication. The task of reaching the Nigeria's rural communities and raising their interest in Community Radio(CR) therefore requires or will have communication as its heartbeat. But the question for this paper is, what form of communication? This is obvious since we recognize that the rural populace in Nigeria is not only a special group but a disadvantaged one. There is no gain saying that rural dwellers in Nigeria are economically disempowered a situation which accentuate their political subjugation.

This work therefore focuses on alternative accessible communication strategies for reaching the Nigerian rural dwellers, and how CR can also use the conventional means in the most cost effective way to achieve the same result. What are these alternative communication channels? What are the different techniques for deploying the conventional communication channels that the CR community can employ to enhance access for rural dwellers? But first what is the

ultimate goal of engendering/evolving alternative communication strategies? The answer lies in participation.

Participation

'Participation can be seen as a process of empowerment of the deprived and the excluded. This view is based on the recognition of differences in political and economic power among different social groups and classes. Participation in this sense necessitates the creation of organizations of the poor which are democratic, independent and self-reliant!' (Ghai, 1990) People's participation cannot be merely proclaimed, it has to be promoted. It takes time, resources, understanding and perseverance, but the end result should be a development process which is not exclusively in the control of external professionals but which also involves local people, their representatives, their ideas and their skills and knowledge. People's participation can ensure sustainability, it can make development activities more effective and it can help to build local capacities.

But promoting people's participation implies a very different way of working, different approaches and methods and different expectations, and staff at all levels need to be aware of these. Our understanding of participation in this sense is linked specifically to how the CR community can mobilize alternative communication strategies for positive ends. In this sense' Participation is concerned with the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control.' (Pearse & Stifel, 1979).

Alternative Communication for the CR Community: From PRA to PLA

For the CR community with little or no resources and confronted with communication structures firmly in the hands of men and women who are scared of community radio coming into existence, improvisation is the key. NCRC has to settle for alternative ways of reaching her targets. This is where PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) and PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) come in. These are essentially research tools which are accessible, horizontal and participatory. These tools can be appropriated by the CR today for Local Level Information Gathering and Planning. These approaches have been developed during the past two decades by development practitioners and academics. Primarily they arose for the following reasons :

- A growing recognition of the depth and value of local knowledge; a dissatisfaction with traditional survey methods that tended to miss the more qualitative dimensions of people's lives, the linkages and the effects of activities on a whole system or a particular population;
- A need for methods that included marginalized groups such as women, children, the poor who are not often visible to the evaluator and/or those who are illiterate and intimidated by questionnaires. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) or Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) are probably the best known set of tools although there are other participatory approaches that both incorporate PRA as well as other methods and approaches. These exercises are not inherently sensitive to class issues and it is important for practitioners not to miss out people's local knowledge which tends to encompass different areas of specialist knowledge.

Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) & Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) is an umbrella name for a series of methodologies that use multi-disciplinary teams to develop a quick, systematic overview of village systems (initially agriculture systems). RRA was developed mainly by academics and its primary users have been academics and aid agencies. These exercises aided in identifying the needs of a community, its priorities, action steps to achieving priorities, feasibility of interventions and monitoring of development. The predominant mode of this data was elicitive and extractive. The main techniques used in PRA are the same as are used in RRA but with more emphasis on local participation in planning and feedback.

These techniques include secondary sources, semi-structured interviews, key informants, participatory mapping and modeling, transect walks, Venn diagrams, time lines and trend change analysis, oral histories and life histories, seasonal calendars, daily time use, livelihood analysis, matrix scoring and ranking, stories and case studies, team contracts and interaction, presentation and analysis. Instead of NCRC expending her meager resources on advertising CR the Coalition could use PRA & PLA methods to introduce innovative but cost-effective campaigns by: creating an awareness of the issues; Developing community leadership; Sharing in decision-making; Learning together and Analyzing options; Planning together; Identification of actors; Point of entry of the community; Differing needs of the community; Needs of other actors; Practical complementation; Role and relationships of different actors; Quantify intervention strategies; Intensity of community involvement; Extent of consensus; Evaluation (Abbott, 1996).

Advocacy

Advocacy could become another potent tool for alternative

communication for the NCRC involving again far less resources than formal media campaign .Advocacy requires planning. So to begin the process, there is need to work with the community to define the problem. Since advocacy is all about finding solutions to concrete problems at the level of decision- makers, analysis of opportunities, issues and priorities becomes important. What does NCRC have to offer differently from other interest groups? Remember that even the rural communities structures are controlled by certain power brokers so without good advocacy and lobbying it may be difficult to penetrate any community to spread the gospel of CR in the first place. The next step will entail, agreeing on roles and what to do. Participants need to reach an agreement on what should be done, who will do them, when and how. Remember the issue of setting up political action committees who are the people to reach with advocacy? Identify opponents, allies, decision-makers policy makers etc with the power to solve the problem, for example: NBC, ward heads, religious and traditional leaders, opinion leaders, women leaders, teachers, trade organizations like motor cycle riders association, family, police, conventional media etc. identify who will support the coalition and those that will go against it. What is the power of the different people already identified? What are their interests in the issue? Advocacy during elections need coordinated community response. Research to find out information and facts to use:

- a. Discuss and develop the best way to present the case for CR convincingly.
- b. Lobby, get other people to support the issue.
- c. Protest
- d. Join other groups or get together with other groups
- e. Tell or let people know about the issue and how it affects them

Lobbying

Lobbying is very critical for the NCRC because we need the support of everyone that matters. Powerful agencies like the NBC, dominant conventional media, politicians, law makers and the international partners may respond better with effective lobby rather than spend loads of meager resources on media campaign civic engagement. Sometimes there is need for a combination of all strategies. Note that lobbying does not mean giving money in the usual Nigerian parlance but it is a time tested method used all over the world to win people to a cause or an issue.

Practical Issues in lobbying as communication tool for the NCRC

To succeed, there is need to understand how the place and the person intended to lobby works. There is also the need to know the mind of the target- likes, dislikes, view points on the issue. Identify the weak points or the target. Make appointments with the target several weeks or days ahead and make sure that the appointment is confirmed through reminders. Know the issue and everything about it very well. Know the arguments against the position and develop superior arguments to cancel them before hand. Personalize the issue where possible. Meet and plan with colleagues who will be attending the lobby meeting with so that all speak with one voice. Designate one person to open and close the discussions. Politeness is very important for successful lobbying. It can melt hard hearts and give respect to the group. Other factors that can enhance success include:

- Be an active listener.
- Be tolerant of target's point of view.
- Don't threaten the target.
- Don't insult or criticize other people or groups because such comments often get back to those people.

- Let the target know what he or she stands to gain from the issue
- Use reason and facts to persuade
- Always remember to thank the target before departing whether he or she agrees to help or not. Don't forget protocols.

Alliances, Networks and Coalitions

Another alternative Communication for the NCRC is through Alliances, Networks and Coalitions. Alliance - is the process of working together with people or groups who may have different purposes but who have interest in the same issue . For the purpose of spreading the message of Community Radio, the NCRC can link up with people or groups that share the interest of developing community radio in the country. Networks – a network is a group of people or organizations that come together to share information, contacts and experiences and to work together where their interests meet. Coalition – a temporary coming together of different groups with different agendas to work together for a common concern. Sharing information, resources and tactics with other stakeholders, CBOs, groups, individuals etc will help to gain strength in unity and numbers. No individual NCRC member or group can successfully mobilize the rural communities without the help and co-operation of other individuals, organizations or groups who are similarly affected by the effects of the regulatory environment and powerful interest groups against CR at the moment.

Using the Conventional Media

For the NCRC with little resources, there are ways of getting round the conventional media and ensure effective communication to maximum advantage. Some of these media include radio, Television, newspapers, magazines, cell phones, internet etc. Generally, the

following points should be noted in using the media.

1. When planning for a media event bear in mind the following points:
 - a. What is the point of what you are trying to do?
 - b. What do you want to see happen as a result?
 - c. What message do you want to send?
 - d. How will this help achieve your goals?

2. To use the media it is imperative that the different media strength and weaknesses are clearly understood. To achieve this there is need to do the following:
 - a. Monitor the media and see what they actually publish or cover and how they approach issues. Understand who their target audiences are what sorts of issues are likely to be of interest to them.
 - b. Develop a contact list of relevant reporters and editors.
 - c. Establish a relationship or links with them.
 - d. Make the media in-put to be different, to have a particularly informed perspective on the issue.
 - e. Know what makes news and cash in on it.

3. How to make the news catchy or interesting?
 - a. Emphasize the story as having news value.
 - b. Emphasize the human-interest aspect of the story.
 - c. Explain how it is timely, seasonal and relevant.
 - d. Provide a local angle to the story.
 - e. Make sure that the source is a credible, and also use an

articulate and well briefed person as spokesperson.

4. Some specific ways of using the media.

a. Press Releases

This is an attention getting news bit on an issue. It should be very short, not more than one page long. The beginning part should include the most important information. Use short sentences that are filled with facts. Stress the controversial aspects of the issue. Provide a contact name, telephone number for contact if need be.

b. Press Conference

This is simply a meeting with media people to tell them about an issue or event. Usually a spokesperson makes introductory speech and allows for questions from the journalists present. Before the meeting, make contacts and provide time, venue. Prepare additional information or materials and make them available.

5. Using Cell phones and Cell Cameras & Internet- create a yahoo group and send mails to millions of people.

If the NCRC is already disadvantaged by lack of funds, subtle discrimination by the conventional media who dominate the communication landscape, and general oppression by the unfriendly policies, the NCRC need very creative ways of communicating cheaply but effectively with her constituency.

STEPPING DOWN COMMUNITY RADIO ADVOCACY IN NIGERIA

Olusade Taiwo

Introduction

Findings from various sources have revealed that a majority of people in developing countries, including Nigeria, seem to lack knowledge about the basis of various government policies and operations that affect their lives. The citizenry tend to lack voice and space for participating in policy processes. In addition, it has been observed that representative democracy does not adequately represent people's choices and demands. The democratic processes do not appear to adequately produce the politicians that effectively represent people's aspirations. One of the most important pillars of democracy is freedom of speech, its protection and providing space for a free deliberation. The media serve as a tool for practical democracy, encouraging diversity of opinions in the public sphere and in this way, creating a marketplace of ideas while also serving as a mediator between citizens and the state.

The role of community radios is to give voice to the voiceless through the provision of a space for freedom of expression to disadvantaged and marginalized groups in the society. Bekken (2007) points out that community radio was developed as a reaction to existing broadcasting systems by excluded groups seeking to meet their own needs and develop their own programmes. Community radio, has also been recognized as the most important building block of local identity and plays a significant role in educating local people. Community Radio is popularly defined as "radio which is for by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of

the community, which pursues a social development agenda and which is non-profit". People who live around the same location and people pursuing the same interests can benefit immensely from community radio. Community radio therefore promotes community-driven development and social change. If poor people develop their own local programmes and present discussions on issues that affect their lives, they are able to share important information in their language. Radio Ada, a community radio in Ghana for example has among other things been used to correct the ills in the society. According to Mr. Larwey the station manager, when there was a hike in transport fare which the people considered as unjustifiable "some women came to make an announcement that no one must pay the new fare and it held until the drivers were forced to revert to the old rate".

Despite the immense advantages that may be derived from the creation of community radios, Nigeria is unfortunately the only country where policies in support of the development of Community Radio are yet to be implemented. Given this scenario, the Community Radio Advocacy Network as well as other concerned stakeholders have attempted a number of impressive advocacy initiatives to engage different interest groups by creating awareness on the concept and rationale for community radio, providing a platform for participatory and inclusive policy making and directly doing evidence-based lobbying at the national democratic space. In response to these initiatives, successive governments have given much rhetoric commitments to the need to support policies for the creation of community radios. Specifically and more recently, President Goodluck Jonathan on October 19, 2010 at the 8th International Conference of African Broadcasters (AFRICAST) held in Abuja said "we are aware of the need to expand the broadcast space and give more voice to the people.

Consequently the Federal Executive Council has considered and

approved the guidelines proposed by the National Broadcasting Commission for the licensing of Community Radio in Nigeria.” However till the date of publication of this report, little has been done in this direction. In view of all these information therefore we need to pose the following questions:

- Of what use is the information so far gathered on the development of community radio in Nigeria?
- How can other people benefit from NCRC knowledge of the Community Radio?
- How can the knowledge and information gained so far contribute effectively to policy making in support of Community Radio development in Nigeria?

The critical issue in this regard is to generate a critical mass of advocates and a mass movement in favour and support of Community Radio for development. Against this background, there is a need to expand the scope of advocacy for community radio beyond formal and literate spaces to more informal and community-based spaces. In other words, we need to step down the knowledge already gained. This paper is therefore devoted to discussing the possibilities and options for stepping down community radio advocacy at the community level.

Engagement of Civil Society Organizations in Policy Processes

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), which to a large extent appear to represent people's interest, are known to be attempting to make a difference in development. They provide basic services, build capacity and advocate with and for the poor. By acting alone, however, CSO's impact is limited in scope, scale and sustainability. History has shown that, effective states are inevitable for achieving sustained development. Therefore progressive government policy

and effective implementation are important for meeting development goals. Hence, more work remains to be done to make policy and practice more pro-poor and to this end, CSOs need to engage policy processes more effectively. In the last 15 years significant changes have occurred in the contexts affecting the relationship between CSOs and policymakers.

Despite challenging political constraints, potential for progressive partnerships with the public and private sector do exist. CSOs have become aware that rather than contest with government, policy engagement can often have a great impact which can stimulate more widespread benefits beyond their service delivery effort alone. The problem however, is that CSOs are having a limited impact on public policy and practice, and the lives of poor people. Assessments highlight that CSOs are often failing to influence policy processes in developing countries. Evidence suggests that they have limited policy influence partly due to political factors in a particular country, although part of the responsibility also lies with CSOs which often appear to act on their own, leading to questions about their legitimacy and accountability. Many also challenge the policy positions put forward by CSOs .

Researchers question the validity of their evidence base and policymakers question their feasibility. CSO's participation in policy processes may therefore be limited by their lack of capacity to make informed choices.

In view of these factors, there is a need for civil society to be equipped with relevant evidence in terms of research information and data, which could assist them to engage in evidence-based advocacy. Better use of evidence by CSOs is part of the solution to increasing the policy influence and pro- poor impact of their work. Better utilization of research and evidence in development policy and practice can help save lives, reduce poverty and improve the quality of life.

Interventions carried out by many NGOs where evidence have been used to substantiate discussions, have revealed that participants are spurred to be more proactive as a result of such revelations. Significantly, there is need to ensure a better use of evidence, which can influence public opinion, cultural norms, and political contestation thereby indirectly affecting policy processes. When CSOs undertake advocacy through community radio and get results they will be motivated to develop a culture of evidence-based advocacy at all levels of government.

The Process of Step Down

Advocacy involves identifying, embracing and promoting a cause. Advocacy is an effort to shape public perception or to affect change that may or may not require legislation. For advocacy to be effective, it is important to identify the major stakeholders in relation to any issue. This can be done through a stakeholder analysis. Stakeholders are the people or institutions that have a vested interest and/or have an influence in or are affected by an issue.

The interest or influence of the stakeholder may be positive or negative and therefore need to be considered in relation to an issue for it to be successful. At the community level in Nigeria, examples of stakeholders for community radio advocacy include the following categories:

- Community Based Organizations.
- Local Governments
- Traditional Leaders
- Politicians
- National Orientation Agency
- Religious Leaders e.t.c

Of the stakeholders, we need to identify those that be engaged effectively. Nigerians have a long history of associational life. (CIVICUS, 2008) Almost everybody belongs to one Community Based Organisation or the other. Some even belong to multiple associations. These organizations have different networking arrangements, intersections and linkages that can be employed to facilitate stepping down. A Venn diagram can be used to demonstrate the linkages. We therefore need to use the advantage of associational life to step down Community Radio advocacy.

Typologies of Associations.

- CDA/Town Unions
- Age grade Associations
- Gender based ass
- Youth clubs
- Ethnic Vanguard
- Professional and Trade groups
- Market Associations
- Cooperative Societies
- Support NGOs
- Human Rights Groups
- Social Clubs
- Organised Private Sector

Taiwo (1997,2003)

Tactics for Stepping Down Advocacy

The first thing to do is to ensure that each person that has acquired knowledge of community radio maps out a possible action plan and submits to the network secretariat. A feedback mechanism such as bulk SMS option could be employed to remind participants about their commitments on the action plan. To generate a chain and multiplier effect, the slogan "Tell somebody to tell others" may be adopted.

Media Channels

Different media that can be used to step down CR advocacy including inter alia:

- Fliers, posters, billboards and other IEC materials. (depending on the financial resources available)
- Focus group dialogues
- Multistakeholder dialogue
- Awareness campaigns
- Town Hall meetings
- CDA meetings
- Outreaches

Charity begins at home so each informed participant is expected to first deliver the message to their immediate constituencies. Large membership organizations constitute groups that can be reached in order to ensure a large coverage. Others important target groups are the community opinion leaders, "gate keepers" and individuals that have a large followership. Another tactic is to use all possible avenues and occasions to deliver the abridged message. This includes social ceremonies, town union meetings, age grade ceremonies and religious ceremonies. At social ceremonies in some parts of Nigeria, community 'discjockeys' (DJs) pass advocacy messages through music at parties every weekend. They could be used to transmit information.

Contents of the Advocacy Message

- The contents must be simple, grassroots- friendly and available

in local languages.

- The message must contain a clear definition of CR- the what?
- The rationale -why CR?
- Target of CR- for whom?
- The policy challenges
- A success story
- The commitment- what next or where next?

Opportunities

- The new passage of the freedom of information act will facilitate easier access and usage of vital information from the various government agencies that can be used as evidence to support advocacy.
- The present democratic dispensation has created a more conducive environment where civil society is interested in engaging their governments.
- The strategic plan (Transformation Agenda) of the Nigerian government has provided a framework for advocacy and must be effectively used to ensure the commitment of the Federal Government.

Conclusion

Efforts to influence public policy often include building the capacity of CSOs to advocate more effectively on behalf of their causes, communities, and the people they serve. It is important to increase the access of civil society to valuable evidence and development data that can facilitate evidence –based policy advocacy. In displaying

the information to CSOs, their responses are expected to result in an advocacy that will be achieved through the eventual presentation of bills, policy memo, courtesy visits or consultative meetings with the policy makers in government. It is expected that information generated, will aid a good comprehension for CSOs' involvement in policy making and processes. Many strategies can be employed to change or shape public policy though CSOs often tend to limit themselves to a narrow range of strategies such as education, policy/data analysis, and some legislative advocacy.

These strategies are very important but may not be enough to influence policymakers in the contemporary political environment. An effective and often neglected strategy available to CSOs is grassroots advocacy. Generally regarded as a "bottom up" approach, grassroots advocacy includes organizing, mobilizing, and engaging the public to advocate for themselves. The approach is a valuable form of advocacy as it is driven by the people and grounded in the belief that people matter and that their collective voices are strong in influencing elected officials and in shaping policies at all levels of government.

This strategy therefore represents a community advocacy approach that can help the community radio advocacy effort at the grassroots level, which is another major means of increasing the people's voice and participation in the quest for the realization of their 'own radio'-community radio, development in Nigeria.

HOW CAN COMMUNITIES OWN THEIR RADIOS

Funmi Adewumi (Ph.D)

INTRODUCTION

The need for human beings to communicate with their own kind is generally viewed as a basic human need which is necessary for the survival of the human race. In order to ensure the actualization of this need, various policies, strategies and media have been devised over time. Since the human race is a very large one, it has become necessary to devise such means of communication that will be capable of reaching a wide and diverse audience separated by space and time. Consequently, various means by which messages and information are sent to mass audiences have been developed.

These media have been broadly categorized into three by Emery et al. (1968): those of the printed word and picture which appeal to the sense of sight (weekly and daily newspapers, magazines, books, etc); the radio, which is aimed at the sense of sound; television and motion pictures, which appeal both to the visual and auditory senses. Defined as "the art of transmitting information, ideas and attitudes from one person to another (Emery et al, 1968:3), communication appears a defining characteristic of human societies. The question that readily comes to mind is why people need to pass information, ideas and attitudes to one another. One probable answer is that this is done in order to influence and mould people's opinion and outlook in a given situation. The process of communication becomes very important as it makes it possible for one person or group to disseminate information to others and this for certain purpose(s). While it can be argued that everybody or

group of people need to communicate with others, the need is more compelling for some than others. Disadvantaged and pressure groups need this more since they almost always need to convince others to do things their own way. It is probably in a bid to address the imbalance in the ownership structure of the conventional media and give voice to the voiceless that alternative media such as the Community Radio (CR) came up. As such if ownership is hijacked by outsiders the whole essence of CR would have been defeated. In addressing the ownership question in CR, it is important to view the mass media as important in the struggle for the control of thought in any society. This partly explains the attempts of ruling classes in different parts of the world to take effective control of the media of mass communication.

In fact, the mass media are regarded as part of the ideological state apparatus that is so vital in the unrelenting efforts of the ruling class to impose its own ideas as the dominant ideas in the society. The reluctance to democratise media ownership can be understood along this line and , in the case of Nigeria the apparent reluctance of government to allow the take-off of CR broadcasting is in order to maintain this hegemony.

The essence of CR and the ownership challenge

In sociological parlance, a community is defined as “a collection of people who share a geographical territory and some measure of interdependency that provides the reason for living in the same place”. It is, however, important to know that it is not always that members of a given community are located within the same geographic or physical environment. It is in this context that a group of people who share something in common can be referred to as a community. These include a group of artists that would constitute an artistic community or a collection of people who do related kinds of

work, as in the academic community or the health community. Some sociologists have also argued that behind the idea of a community is a fairly strong feeling of belonging and mutual commitment based on a homogenous culture, shared experience and close interdependency. It is these that provide that bond that promotes oneness within a given community. However, within the context of CR what constitutes "community" is often a contentious and tricky debate and will vary from country to country. Community radio is often built around concepts of access and participation and so the term community may be thought of as often referring to geographical communities based around the possible reach of the radio's signal, that is, the people who can receive the message, and their potential to participate in the creation of such messages. Of course, this is not to discountenance the fact that many radio stations now broadcast over the internet as well, thereby reaching potentially global audiences and communities. Community radio outlets may carry news and information programming geared toward the local area or groups that are poorly served by other major media outlets.

A CR station is essentially a private radio service close to the people and for the people. It is managed or overseen by the people of the locality and the programme contents are mostly local. It goes without saying that the CR serves the interests of the community by dissemination and exchange of the most relevant information-including educational and developmental whenever necessary in local dialects. Additionally the members of the community get an opportunity to express themselves socially and culturally leading to the development of culture and strengthening the social cultural bonds in a community. Two philosophically distinct (but not mutually exclusive) approaches to community radio have been identified. The first focuses on service or community-mindedness, (what the station can do for the community) while the second stresses involvement and participation by the listener. Within the

access or participatory model, the participation of community members in producing content is seen as a good in itself, if not one of its major attractions.

Essentially, CR is about giving voice to the voiceless, particularly to disadvantaged and vulnerable people from marginalized sections of society to express their views on issues of concern. It is about providing an alternative platform for those who are excluded by the dominant or mainstream media. It is also about improved access for community self expression. Lastly, it is about providing services primarily “for the good of members of the public, or of particular communities, and in order to deliver social gain”. All these can only happen or be realized if members of the affected communities truly own the radio stations. The truth is that ownership determines every other thing including access, control over programmes and their contents, participation, among others. In fact ownership confers a lot of advantages in life. It is, therefore, very important that as we are preparing for the full take-off of CR in Nigeria, necessary steps and measures are taken and put in place to ensure true community ownership of CRs so that middle-level benefit captors would not appropriate for themselves what is supposed to be for the people.

Some Considerations on Ownership

The starting point is to address the issue of licensing fee payable to operate a CRS. Should people pay or not? The problem here is that if the fee is too high, many communities, particularly the rural ones may not be able to afford this and this may pave the way for rich individuals to take advantage and assume ownership by proxy. If communities cannot afford the licensing fee, then they cannot own CRs. If CR is viewed as a non-commercial venture, then licensing should be free.

The next issue is to take account of the extent to which there is evidence of local demand or support for the provision of a proposed service. It is for applicants to decide how they wish to demonstrate demand or support, and what evidence of support they wish to submit. This is to ensure that some outside interests are not using the community people as a cover to advance other interests. The community to be served by the CR station should be well specified and defined. This is because communities are not necessarily homogenous or monolithic.

Closely related to the above is that CRs should have an ownership and management structure that is reflective of the particular community that is making the demand. Actual means of ownership; for example, community radio stations should have minimum number of organizational members or cooperative shareholders from the community; this membership must provide for reasonably proportional representation of the various interests in the community. In this regard whoever is not a direct member of a community of interests or resident in a geographic community should be allowed to part of the ownership. To eliminate proxy ownership, CR licensees should, to the greatest extent possible, be constituted as legal entities of their own rather than departments of other organizations. Related to the above is that there should be a ceiling on the equity participation of individuals in terms of ownership.

As such no single individual should be allowed more than one percent share ownership. The active and inclusive participation of the target community members is to be ensured in the operation and management of the station, including their involvement in content creation. Staffing of CRs should be limited to community members while volunteering should be the preferred option. This may involve training personnel needed before commencement of operations. As much as possible, the technology of the CR station should be community –friendly and appropriate for the particular

community. The importance of this point is that if the CR station is staffed by outsiders, the original purpose of setting it up may be defeated as those running the station may end up promoting their own agenda. In the build-up to the issuance of licences, the NCRC should put in more efforts to get communities across the country to position themselves for owning their own radio stations. Finally the NCRC should be the clearing house through which all applications for CR license should pass through before they get to the regulatory agency. This may help in ensuring that only genuine community groups are given licence. I suggest that for the first 10years, only members of the coalition should be licensed to operate CRs.

Conclusion

Ownership is a critical element of what makes an entity 'public' or 'community' rather than private. Community ownership comes in various forms but it must include real means for accountability and the possibility for community members to exercise decision-making power. Since CR is a means of empowerment for disadvantaged and vulnerable communities, everything must be done that people are not short-changed. One of the lessons of history is that many organisations created by or for disadvantaged groups, have always ended up being hijacked and even turned against them.

This was what happened with community and peoples banks projects in Nigeria in the past. CRs should not be allowed to go the same way. Communication remains a powerful tool for interaction within the human community and every opportunity should be exploited to democratize the means of public communication. In the unending struggle for survival and relevance, social groups are confronted with the arduous task of convincing others and an indifferent government public to see reason with their positions and

plights. In this context, the power of communication becomes important. It is our responsibility as CSOs to step up our advocacies and sensitization drives to ensure that the first set of licenses are issued.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE 'COMMUNITYNESS' OF CAMPUS COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS IN NIGERIA.

Ifeoma Dunu

INTRODUCTION

The concept of community as a unit of social organization has been widely recognised as the very foundation upon which community radio is based. Community radio by its very name and nature expresses and fosters a strong sense of community. In fact, it has been argued that the prefix 'Community' attached to community radio is the distinctive feature of community radio. However, as argued by scholars, what constitutes a community and its role in a community radio is one of the major problems of community radio practice (Teer-tomaselli, 2001:23; White, 1990; IBA, 1997; UNESCO, 1997).

It makes sense then to interrogate the concept of community as applied and defined in campus radio stations in Nigeria, given that campus radio stations are the first set of community radios already operational in the country. As Tomaselli (2001) asks, who is the community in community radio? With regards to Nigeria we paraphrase, who are the communities of our campus radios? What is the relationship and significance of these communities to our campus stations? Understanding the communities of the campus community radio stations will in one hand determine the extent these campus radio stations reflect the distinctive features of a community radio station and in the other hand, appraise the performance of these fledging campus radio stations.

Campus community radio stations recently established in Nigeria, are regarded as a sort of litmus test that has direct relationship to the establishment of other types of community radio stations in the

country. Bearing this in mind, the need to understand the 'communityness' of our campus radios becomes not only expedient but timely.

This work interrogates the emerging campus community radio stations in relation to and in the representation of the audiences they define as their 'communities'. This in part is an attempt in the process of identifying the 'community' present and central in the phrase 'community radio'. The materials used in this work was gathered as part of the Ph.D dissertation between 2008-2010, to explore the linkages between the campus community radio stations and their relevant communities. Against this backdrop a critical outline from literature of what is expected of community relation in community radio were organized in a thematic series of comparative discourses. The analysis in this work will reflect the ethos of AMARC by using the following three dimensional framework in the thematic analysis to assess the community nature of the two campus community radio station studied. The thematic analysis covered areas of:

- Delineation of community, describing clearly the type of community served (geographical community , community of interest and virtual community).
- Staffing and institutional organization.
- Programming production and community participation

The premise of this discourse is the notion that community radio is meant to be a participatory and development medium where, specifically, members of a community are encouraged to use their radio to become better informed, and to represent themselves in the airwaves, through participation. The questions to therefore interrogate are, in Nigeria, are the campus radios a development agent, bringing possibilities for education, job creation and acquisition of radio skills? Are they promoting community

participation in the public sphere? Or instead, are the radios becoming an advocate and mouth piece of only the authority?, keeping the communities at arms length and becoming like other media that operate in the community but not for the community. Or is there a danger that campus radios may not serve popular interests, as a result of overarching commercial interests? To answer these questions, the operations and activities of two campus radio stations randomly selected were used as case studies. The stations are 103.1 UNILAG FM of University of Lagos and LION FM 91.1 of University of Nigeria Nsukka.

Defining Community

Since the concept of community is central to community radio practice, defining the term community and relating it to campus community radio practice in Nigeria, becomes necessary. The word community is a sociological construct that can be defined from various perspectives. Possi(2003) in Nassanga states that according Bonin, the word community can be quite flexible and includes; social, sectoral, secular, political, economic and cultural factors. The dictionary meaning of community relates to the group of people in a given location or the location in which they live; the collection or group of people in a given community that have common interests or history or a combination of some of these elements. The general and inclusive definition of community considers any parts of a given society who live either in rural or urban areas and that have common objectives in the areas of development, growth, education, health, governance etc. AMARC defines a community as indicating groups organized in a given geographical regions/boundaries or /and social groups or sections of a society having common interest. The word community in community radio practice according to Tomaseli (2005) is used in its geographical and sociological sense, designating the basic unit of horizontal organization.

However, Lewis (2006:176) argued that prefix 'community' became attached to radio in the late 1960s to describe a radio by the people for the people. With the advent of the new media, community is now defined alongside three dimensions; Geographical community, Community of interest, and Virtual community. Geographical community is identified with a limited geographical region. It could be a neighborhood, village, city or town. Geographically defined communities cover a very wide range of members with diverse interests. Communities defined by geography are considered as inclusive including everyone irrespective of age race, creed or identity (Fogg et al, 2005).

Communities that are defined along this dimension covers a diverse number of audience with different background, interests and aspirations, but bound by the same locality. Looking at the community radios located in the different Universities across the country we argue that they tend to align more to this type of community, since campus community radios serve specific people that are bound within a designated locality – the Universities or institutions of higher learning. The strength of geographically based community radio stations such as our campus stations is that they offer the greatest potential benefit to the largest number of people and lean towards a programme content that is rich and diverse.

The concept of community defined by geography is often in contrast with communities of interest, where members share the same cultural, social, or political interests independent of geography (Dunu, 2009). Community radio defined by community of interest include radio stations owned by religious groups, cultural groups, creative groups that share similar social and cultural values. These stations lean towards exclusivity. The programming expectation for such community unlike the broad taste of the other, is generally, specific and narrow. The development of internet and the World Wide Web, have added a new dimension to the concept of

community by alluding to the so called virtual communities (Jankowski, 2002, p. 56).

Communities bound together by the notion of virtual space irrespective of actual physical location . No matter the type, the term community is used to designate the commonness of interests or feelings of a group. The characteristics of a community among others include;

- Locus--A community must have a physical location in relative proximity to its members e.g. Universities. In lieu of physical location a common virtual location such as IRC can suffice.
- Sharing--A community exists to provide for common interests and shared perspectives.
- Action--A community must engage in events and take actions to provide activities to members.
- Relationships--A community must have social ties among its members.
- Responsibilities--Individual members of a community must be able to take a personal sense of responsibility in the well-being of the community as a whole and should make available common services and programmes for its members.

DEFINING THE COMMUNITY OF OUR CAMPUS STATIONS

In line with our thematic analysis the first step is to delineate the communities of our campus radio stations. Looking at our campus radios the notion of clear demarcation becomes difficult and also contentious. This is obvious since most of our University communities even though they align to the definition of communities by geographic distinction equally contain visible strands of community of interest and some elements of virtual community. Nevertheless we can safely argue that the huge number of students located in these localities called Universities will ensure their definition as communities defined by geography.

We infer that they operate within the parameters of geographical

community. However this community is made up of two categories of people, whose interests must be reflected in the operations and management of the stations. The categories are the primary community made up of the immediate members of the University. Then the secondary community that constitutes community members located within the area where the University is located. For Lagos campus station this will include Akoka community. While for the University of Nigeria Nsukka, it will be the Nsukka urban. It is important to note that these communities are heterogeneous in nature and as such the different groups within the communities must also be represented in the station management. As Kasoma (2002) maintains;

The management of a community radio station should be based on the principle of making it easy for members of the community to participate in the management decisions. These should, therefore be representative management which enables every member of the community to have some influence over the management of the station (p. 49).

The necessity of defining and understanding these communities are three- fold. One is to delineate the parameters of measuring the ability of campus stations to effectively engage their communities in radio broadcasting. Two is to establish, the type of community engagement prevalent among the stations. Three is to identify the elements that obstruct effective community engagement which limits the ability of these stations in their efforts of becoming a 'radio for all members of the community' no matter the age, religion, gender or interest. Dragon (2001, pp. 15-16) substantiates the need for such as he explains, "community radio has the possibility to change lives by educating and informing community members and because they are owned and run by community members, the local media is best able to represent different groups of society."

The duty of our various campus stations is therefore to identify these categories of the various communities where they operate and establish strategies to ensure they are represented and have access to the station. From our study it is clear that in the two stations studied there is clear representation of the primary community. There was also some negligible presence of the secondary community. What was also obvious from the interview with the station managers of both stations studied was that their identification of community was not all inclusive but rather concentrated on the primary community especially the students. In fact the radio stations were always referred to as students radios. This obvious gap in understanding the 'communities' of these fledging stations is to be expected since community radio is still an evolving phenomenon in the Nigerian broadcasting terrain.

Community Participation in Campus Community Radio

As we have seen, community radio exists to serve a specific, identifiable community sharing common characters and/or interests. It could be a geographical community whose size can range from a rural area, to a small town, or a small section of a city. It could also be a community of interest such as women, youths, or religious groups and cultural minorities. It could also be a virtual community that has a following in any of the social media. The goals of community radio globally is thus to serve the 'community.' This is also reflected in the National Broadcasting Code (NBC) of the country which include the provision of public accessibility to communication facilities offering training, programming, education and development.

This ethos is also echoed in the mission statements of many campus community radio stations in the country. In a more general sense, however, the goal is very simple; to ensure the continued active participation of community members in the running of the station so

that it will always remain relevant to their needs. Participation as illustrated by Serveas (2001, p.18), involves the more equitable sharing of both political and economic power which often decrease the advantages of certain groups. This is because participation is an empowering process that renegotiate and redefine established hegemonic structures through community engagement and provision of knowledge. Available literature demonstrate that community radio has sometimes tended towards the revolutionary tradition of lifting the voices of marginalized groups and promoting social change in accordance with human rights through participation. This can happen only when radio is run by the community, in line with Sevae's words "the most developed form of participation is self management" (Sevae, 1996, p.105).

To achieve such, in the Nigeria situation, everyone with a stake in the campus community radio station must essentially take on the role of researcher. Thus, the teacher students/ students-teacher dynamic to which Paulo Freire refers comes into play, with all those involved in the station from within and without assuming both roles (1972, p. 67). In other words, everyone has a contribution to make to the process. This is why the operational structures of community radio stations are so important to their success. The most distinguishing characteristic of community radio, in the words of Bruce (1992, p. 2), "is its commitment to community participation at all levels". In developing effective community participation in community radio it is not enough to put people into the management positions.

There is need for a genuine desire by University management to include individuals democratically elected and also empower them with knowledge that is important for the process. That brings to the fore the issue of understanding the essence of community radio by every member of the campus community. As chairman of the board of UNIZIK 94.1FM, continually emphasizes campus community radio is 'the University Radio' not Mass Communication department radio or

just students radio. However, from our study there seem to be a misunderstanding of the essence of the ownership structure of our emerging campus community radio stations which could be problematic to its effective development as a community radio.

Community participation also goes beyond mere listenership; as Michel Delorme, former president of the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC), states, "Community radio implies a democratic dimension, popular participation in the management of the station as in the production of its programmes" (cited in McLaughlin, 1992, p.3). Lewis and Pearlman affirm this, asserting that "The essential feature of community stations is democratic control by listeners and workers (paid and volunteer) and users of the station, exercised in meetings or general assemblies which can[vote] the management in or out of office" (cited in McLaughli, 1992, p.4). Community radio, then, is consistent with C.V. Rajasunderam's thoughts on participatory communication when he writes that Participatory Communication is driven by the perennial values of compassion and solidarity. As a process of empowerment it can help amplify traditionally- unacknowledged voices. It can strengthen the confidence of all members of a group in the knowledge and capacity of each. The process leads to consciousness-raising and knitting together a shared understanding of problems and a people-sustained vision of the future. Indeed, do our campus stations operate with this notion of citizens' solidarity and empowerment in mind?

Participation in community radio contributes in empowering the community by putting decision making in the hands of the people. Community radio advances participatory process when the recipients of messages from the community also become producers and transmitters as well as managers of the communication process through representation. For direct involvement of the community members in the programme production and management to occur,

there must be open and unobstructed channels of communication. That is, defined means of access to the station and established feedback mechanism that will ensure that communication becomes participatory. Indeed participation needs to be facilitated. The different types of community participation that can occur in community radio are;

- Community participation as listeners which can be active or passive and is normally the most popular among community members.
- Participation as guests in a programme.
- Participation in programme production as producers and presenters of Programmes.
- Participation in the public sphere of public debate and issues of community importance.
- Participation in the planning of communication content and development of the programming schedule.
- Participation in non-air activities of the station.
- Participation in management and decision making as members of board of directors.

These participation typologies enunciated also aligns with Peruzzo's (2004, pp.140-7) description of the different types of participation that is tenable in a community radio. None of these kinds of participation would be possible, however, without a workable managerial structure in place. Some stations offer a model of community participation that is referred to as popular participation, while others offer possibilities of partial participation. As is clear from the definition of different participation that can occur in community radio we were able to discover the prevalent type of participations in the stations studied . Data from the interview and

observation from both station revealed the following:

- Community participation as listeners seems to be the most popular among campus community members.
- There was also notable community participation as guests in a programme.
- Community members equally participated in programme production as producers and presenters of Programmes.
- Minimal Participation of community members in the public sphere of public debate and issues of community importance.
- Community members also participated in the planning of communication content and development of the programming schedule, however this type of participation was negligible.

Based on our findings we understood that participation in management and decision making which scholars argued as the most important type of participation because of its empowering feature is still lacking among the communities of our campus radio stations. Though the primary community members participate in programme production, as listeners and guests as enumerated above however they are yet to negotiate the corridors of communication decision making which has been described by scholars as 'The essential feature of community (paid and volunteer) and users of the station, exercised in meetings or general assemblies which can[vote] the management in or out of office' (*cited in McLaughli, 1992, p.4*)

STAFFING AND INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CAMPUS COMMUNITY RADIO

The reoccurring ethos of community radio is its ability to serve the community and the ownership of the radio by the community. This is

clearly embodied in this prevalent definition of community radio as radio broadcasting that is owned, managed and controlled by an identifiable community or groups of community (Lewis,1983;Fraser, 2001; Girard,2001).From the definition we can make two deductions; first, community is the focus not just the radio. Second, it is ' the community' not government, individual or institution that is understood to be 'the owner' of the station and therefore the community participates in all aspects of the station from the establishment to management, administration and financing. Community radio is characterized by the active participation of the community in creating news, information, entertainment and relevant material with an emphasis on local issues and concerns. Bruce Girard (1992, p. ix) definition attests to this as he maintains: "Community radio is a type of radio made to serve people; radio that encourages expression and participation and that value local culture. Its purpose is to give a voice to those cultural voices to marginalized group and to communities far from large urban centers; where the population is too small to attract Commercial or large scale radio stations."

The implication is that the community must be able to participate in the management and direction of the station through, for example, representation of the diverse interests in the community in the station's board of governors, and participation in programme presentation and production. The station must also be based in its community and draws its staff from members of the community. Experience globally, has demonstrated that staff in community stations can broadly be divided into four categories. These are:-

Volunteers

Those paid using station resources

Those participating in employment/training schemes

Others (mainly people paid by a supporting organisation to carry out specific tasks, e.g. accounts)

While the contribution of people in all four categories is significant, the importance of community participation in a voluntary capacity for community stations has been reinforced in different parts of the world. The extent to which members of the community served are willing to give of their own time, in a voluntary capacity, to support their station is seen by scholars as a key indicator of the success of that station. As providing suitable training on a formal and informal level proved critical to progress in this area, the study then examined the commitments in relation to training of interested members of the community in the various campus stations and the mix of those groups trained. The study found out that majority of the staff working in the station are actually students from different departments who showed interest and also exhibited some form of talents for broadcasting. It is important to point out that the study was able to find out that the students have broad access to the station and the station facilities although the students of Mass Communication department seem to have more access than other students. According to Boeren (1994:114), "the function of community radio is based on the notion that people are encouraged to visit (access) the studio and that the community participate in the management of the station." We could see that these campus stations offer access to the students but are yet to offer them the opportunity as members in the management of the stations. The practice of community radio is based on the principles of the democracy of the airwaves.

A principle, which implies and suggests community ownership and popular participation. The concepts of access, participation and self management has been identified as expressing democracy of the airwaves. These concepts demonstrate the ability of community radio as defined by Masilela (1996, p. 107) to redefine relations between

informer and the informed and to enhance, through the acquisition of simple technology, the feasibility of people intervening in the process of information production. The success of community radio practice in Nigeria is therefore hinged on the ability of the emerging campus community radios in their management structures, programming, policy and practice to express and enhance communityness. The extent of community participation in our various campus radios therefore is the defining element of the communityness of these campus stations.

Programme Production

The thematic discourses of this section of the work were based on excerpts from in-depth interviews of station managers of both stations as stated earlier which was part of the Ph.D thesis of the researcher. In this final analysis the discourse draws directly from these findings as previously stated. Here the discourse sought to find out the extent of community participation in determining programme content and in the programme production and presentation. Evidence from the interviews with the station managers, confirm as earlier stated that the volunteer workers from both Universities come from different departments of these Universities. In UNILAG FM; it also includes members from outside the University that are freelancers. Even though there is a high percentage of volunteerism in UNILAG FM, we observed the presence of professional broadcasters about six in number who seem to be in charge of the station. Audience involvement in programme production and presentation were measured along these lines; Access and Participation in content development and production.

According to Lewis (1993), Access includes feedback, whereby audience members interact directly with producers of messages, participating during the broadcast of programmes and are encouraged

to comment and criticize. In the sampled stations and indeed some other campus stations especially public Universities, the level of access to station is quite high. Students are encouraged to visit the station at will. Among the student community also the interaction during programme presentation is equally high but seems to be limited to phone-in, and SMS messages. However these stations are yet to develop other established feedback mechanism. Among students of the Universities there is this perception that though the stations belong to the Universities yet it is especially for the training of Mass Communication students.

Participation as defined by Lewis implies the wide spread involvement of ordinary people at levels of production, decision-making/management and planning. In terms of participation, both campus stations are filled with high number of student volunteers, even though the stations fulfill NBC requirement regarding the number of professional staff. In programme planning, development and transmission students' participation are very high. As the station manager of UNILAG FM explains, students come in with their ideas of the types of programmes to be aired and as long as it is good such programmes are allowed to go on air. However, there is a notable absence of participation of other categories of the community members in this regard. In UNILAG FM, the decision making about the content still largely depends on the station manger and board of directors. The same could be said for LION FM where the professionals tend to dominate programming content decision making regarding what goes on air, although their board of directors were not operational as at the time of study .

Majority of the students working in the studied stations were used more for programme presentation and as DJs. We also observed that access to the station for students in LION FM is not as free as was observed in UNILAG FM. It is important at this point to recall that UNILAG campus community radio station is the pioneer campus

station in the country and as such seem to have a better understanding of community radio practice. The programme content of both stations as was observed from their programming schedules was predominantly musically oriented. Educational programmes are somehow not as predominant as one will think.

UNILAG FM has a board of directors that constitutes members of the University community. Unfortunately it failed to include the principal community members that is, representatives from the student body, and sections from the non academic body and the host community which make up the communities of these stations. In this case they are found to be notably absent. The composition of the board of directors for LION FM though, as representative as that of UNILAG FM, clearly shares the same shortcomings noticed in that University. From the analysis the following observations are put forward;

1. There is need for a clear definition of the community of our campus stations.
2. Community participation prevalent in these stations with regard to programming production and presentation, could be regarded as full or popular participation.
3. Campus radio in the country does provide possibilities for training and acquisition of knowledge.
4. The management structures provide partial representation of some community members and as such do not reflect the representation of all members of community as explicated by radio scholars, thus limiting the level of access and participation in decision making which is the highest level of community participation desired in a community radio. The situations in our campus stations reveal some weakness in the structure. Some of these problems has already been identified and defined by Hochheimer (1991) this way;

1. Service is a major issue for Hochheimer (1991). In a homogeneous

community, it is easier to define who the community is and what its needs are since the population is less segmented (p.6). In a heterogeneous community like our various campuses, on the other hand, there can be a greater difficulty in pinpointing who the community members are because there are so many different social groups that may comprise the community. Campus radio tries to be all things to all people, and that works both in and against its favour. It wants to be simultaneously of and for the community (Hochheimer, 1991, pp. 6-7), which is a noble goal that is very difficult to achieve.

2. Getting a representative sample of the various groups that constitute the community to become active at the station can pose a problem, for "not everyone wants to speak, nor does everyone wish to be heard" (Hochheimer, 1991, p.7). The people who walk in the door may ultimately be the more advantaged members of the community, because they "have the easiest means of access to the station, e.g., transportation, time off from work...etc." (Hochheimer, 1991, p.8). Thus, some voices may have a greater chance to be heard than others, and may end up speaking on behalf of groups for whom they may not have the right to do so. To combat this, it is critical that Campus stations promote its mandate with vigour to as many different segments of the University society as possible; this may result in attracting a more diverse sampling of volunteers to the station that could, at the very least, lessen the likelihood of particular voices dominating the discourse.
3. Entrenchment of power can become an enormous obstacle to democratic participation in communication. Hochheimer argues that "once people begin to participate, frequently they see themselves as the most knowledgeable spokes people from the community segment they serve" (1991:10). At our University stations, where there is a high turnover rate of volunteers, those stakeholders who remain with the station for a number of years can

become rigid in their seniority and resist efforts from newer members to participate in a meaningful way. This is counterproductive to the very idea of participatory communication, creating a hierarchical environment that can be oppressive and intolerable to those with a sincere commitment to the ideological foundation of the station.

4. Hochheimer (1991) also lists decision-making in the operational structure as an issue that needs to be addressed (p.10). While supporters of community radio reject mainstream media for their "hierarchical, non- democratic" structures (p.11), alternative media still "need some kind of structure to maintain themselves" (p.12). Structures in community radio stations differ from their mainstream counterparts in terms of "authority, rules, social control, social relations, recruitment and advancement, incentive structure, social stratification, and differentiation" (p.12). All of these can be affected negatively by a number of factors, such as "time, homogeneity, emotional intensity, non democratic individuals, environmental constraints, individual differences, and the non-reflexivity of broadcast time and resources" (p.16). Having identified that the existing gaps regarding community participation is not peculiar to Nigeria the need to proffer some suggestions become necessary . Some of the mechanisms of facilitating representation of the population at various levels in our campus station will include;

- Identifying and recognizing local organizations and associations within the community and providing opportunities for them to participate in programme production and other station activities as a group.
- Providing participation mechanisms for on- air programmes
- Developing participatory programmes.

- Ensuring that every section of all the categories of the community is represented in the management board of the station.
- Taking production of programmes to different sectors of the community and allowing the community to decide on types of programmes to be produced.
- Ensuring that the staff ratio in the station reflects strong volunteer involvement.
- Continuous monitoring and evaluation of station performance

Conclusion

Community radio is a relatively new phenomenon in the country and as such these existing gaps are to be expected. However, there is need for continuous evaluation of the system so that observed developments could be tackled. Unequivocally community radios of whatever type exist for and because of the community. As such, the management structure of these stations should be in the hands of those who use and listen to it. Though the workings of such stations are never easy, the structure should offer the possibility of accountability to the audience/user in a way State and Commercial stations do not (Lewis, 1984b). Campus Community radios in Nigeria are saddled with the responsibilities of fulfilling these roles within their communities, that is ensuring the communityness of the station.

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RADIO BROADCASTING SERVICE DEFICITS IN NORTH EAST NIGERIA AND THE NEED FOR COMMUNITY RADIO INTERVENTION

Umaru A. Pate

INTRODUCTION

The development process is a function of a number of variables that combine to facilitate its realisation. Some of these basic elements are peace, economic self reliance, democracy, freedom, human rights, good governance and service delivery. As argued repeatedly, when the people are free and their rights guaranteed, they would be able to exercise their civic responsibilities and be able to demand for good governance and qualitative service delivery from their governments. In this matrix, the media become very critical as the mediating agent between and among the leaders and the people in society. Specifically, the 1999 Nigerian Constitution has assigned the media the responsibility of monitoring the government of the day and ensuring that it remains accountable to the electorates. In section 22, it says that “the press radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people”.

Thus, the Constitution has legitimated the functions of the media and imposed on them the role of monitoring and evaluating the performance of our leaders at all levels. In simple terms, the media facilitate free flow of information for decision making at the level of the individual, government and the society. In North East Nigeria, which perhaps is the most disadvantaged zone in the country, the media are obviously crucial in facilitating the process of growth and development, but yet, the media landscape in the zone has remained

least appreciated and meagerly developed even though it cannot be said that its potential has not been realized.

NORTH EAST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE

The North East in size is more than one third of the land area of this country, nearer to 45 percent. This is Nigeria in its size and complexities. It has a very large landscape with about 18,971,965 people (National Population Census, 2006). Of the population figures, 9.8 are males and 9.1 females. It is composed of six States: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. The region is highly diverse, generously heterogeneous and comparatively accommodating and tolerant. This diversity is clearly reflected in the social and even political behaviour of the people in the zone. The zone is agrarian with majority of the people engaged in subsistence agriculture. It is landlocked, as much of its northern part is in the Sahel while the southern part is low savannah to scrubland. Large areas are mountainous and highlands with great difficulties in developing infrastructure like roads and railways. In the South Western part, there are large but underdeveloped river valleys; some have bridges though the River System is generally very underdeveloped.

The zone is economically poor depending almost solely on dwindling and increasingly “inaccessible” oil wealth. It is comparatively disadvantaged with weak infrastructural base, debilitating poverty and the least presence of federal institutions and facilities. On the Nigerian Human Development Index, the zone is lowly rated with high prevalence of poverty rating of 72.2%, high maternal and infant mortality, soaring unemployment, unacceptable illiteracy level and HIV/AIDS infections, among others. Industrialisation in the North East is zero as the zone has been unable to develop and maintain even subsistence industries. Agriculture has been declining because of some of its many problems of indolence, low attention, corruption,

inappropriate investment and the poor strategy of relying on rain fed agriculture and paying lip service to food security. In terms of population composition, it is highly diverse and multicultural with multiple ethnic groups and numerous religious affiliations. Naturally, all of these are bound to have profound impact on the growth and development of the media industry in the zone.

In recent years, the zone has increasingly become a theatre of violent conflicts which can be described as the fall out of the debilitating poverty and poor governance in the States. Some of these eruptions include the Maitatsine crises of the 1980s, the ethno religious crises in several communities, farmer-pastoralists clashes and politically based skirmishes. Violent conflicts bordering on terrorism but given religious coloration characterized by ferocious attacks have become common in several parts of the zone and even extending to other parts of the North. Urban settings as well as rural areas and all categories of people have been affected. These attacks reportedly perpetrated by religious insurgents and robbers have devastated the region leading to a general state of fear and the deaths of thousands of people; maiming of thousands more; damaging and poisoning of established relationships plus the destruction of property of inestimable costs and the emigration of people. Obviously, these violent conflicts are rendering the zone poorer. In the words of Aminu (2006), "conflict is the prescription for poverty since hardly any economic activity, especially agriculture; extractive industries and distributive trade can take place in a tense atmosphere. There is the loss of the confidence of investors, internally and, especially, externally". It should be added that conflict is highly diversionary taking away attention and resources to such matters instead of focusing on developmental goals.

MEDIA IN NORTH EAST NIGERIA

Numerous factors have facilitated the development of the broadcast and the print media in the six States of the zone: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. The obvious factors are state creation, politics, general improvement in the economy and the infrastructural base coupled with the steady rise in the literacy level of the citizens. When the North Eastern State was created in 1967 with headquarters in Maiduguri comprising of the present six states, hardly was there any functional newspaper or magazine in the entire landscape. The only media outfit in the State then was the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) production centre in Maiduguri.

The station served as a Provincial rebroadcast station with a high degree of independence to initiate local programmes that were unique to the Borno Province and later the whole of the North Eastern State. Using a short wave transmitter, it was able to competently cover the entire State and beyond extending into neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroun. Unfortunately, the plan to build the North Eastern State Television station as indicated in the 1975 Budget of the State collapsed on the day the agreement for the contract was to be signed as it coincided with the day of the coup that ousted the Gowon government and brought in a new regime at the Federal and State levels. Following the change in government was also the creation of new States which saw to the division of the North Eastern State into three: Borno, Bauchi and Gongola. Thus, each of the states got its independent NBC Radio station which was shortly handed over to the state governments by the Federal Government following the dissolution of the NBC and the birth of the FRCN. Hence, the transformation of the NBC stations to: BRC Maiduguri, BRC Bauchi and GBC Yola with each of the stations developing as provided by their edicts and dictated by their owner governments. The Federal government had restricted all the state owned radio and

television stations to the medium wave and ultra high frequency bands for their broadcasting stations so that their signals do not extend beyond their physical boundaries.

During the period, 1976-1978, the Federal Government had embarked on the establishment of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) production centres in Maiduguri, Bauchi and Yola. By 1979, the three States had each got a production centre which operated on a one kilowatt transmitter. With the return to democratic rule in 1979, the states of Borno and Gongola went to the opposition Great Nigeria People Party (GNPP) while Bauchi was won by the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which had formed the Federal Government at the centre. This resulted in two major policies that affected the broadcast media landscape in the zone. First, the two states of Borno and Gongola that were under the opposition Party opted to establish their individual television stations following a Supreme Court ruling that enabled the States to own and operate television stations.

That judgment opened the door for states to establish their stations. Accordingly, Borno State established the Borno Television which was merged with the radio to form the Borno Radio Television Corporation (BRTV) and Gongola State set up the Gongola Television (GTV) Corporation which has remained so till date. Bauchi State was to establish its own television station much later after the overthrow of the civilian governments in the 1990s.

On its part, the Federal Government established FRCN stations in all the States ruled by the opposition parties substantially to facilitate the NPN's capture of the States in the 1983 general elections. Whether the stations had contributed to the success of the NPN or not, the two states eventually went to the NPN. That lasted for some few months until the December 1983 coup that ushered in a new Military government under General Muhammadu Buhari. In 1984, all the new FRCN stations in the states except the major national stations in Kaduana,

Ibadan, Lagos and Enugu were closed down and their facilities handed over to the respective hosting States.

The tradition of establishing new radio and television stations continued with the creation of additional three states out of the existing three to increase the number to the present six. Correspondingly, the number of government owned broadcast media outfits also increased to the equal number of the States until the return to civil rule in 1999 when the Federal Government under the PDP government of President Obasanjo, once again, established FRCN FM stations in the States. Before then, the liberalization of the airwaves through the establishment of the National Broadcasting Commission in 1992, with the responsibility of licensing and regulating the broadcast industry had also facilitated the setting up of private broadcast outfits in the country, thus opening up radio and television services to private investors. Currently, a state of the art private broadcasting outfit known as Radio and TV Gotel operates in Yola. And so far, it has remained the only private station in the whole zone.

THE PRINT MEDIA

The North Eastern State government started the publication of a multilingual Albishir Newspaper in 1973 but it died in 1976 following the division of the State into Borno, Bauchi and Gongola in 1975. In subsequent years, the various state governments ventured into the newspaper business with varying degrees of successes. Gongola State government started publishing The Scope in 1986. The Bauchi State government commissioned the Trumpeter and Kakaki Newspapers in 1986. That was in addition to the Wikki News Magazine that the State government had started publishing in 1985. In 1997, the same government flouted the short lived Uwargida Hausa News Magazine. The Borno State government

was not left behind in the magazine publication effort. In 1988, it initiated The Mobilizer which died in 1993. Taraba State initiated the Taraba Insight in 1991. Thus, from the travails of many of the government sponsored publications, one is not sure if newspaper and magazine publications are of any priority to them. At best, one can only find solace in occasional policy statements that emanate from officials.

The private sector appeared to have expressed more interest in the business of the print media than the various governments in the zone. It has been documented that from the early 1980s to the present period over fifty privately sponsored titles have appeared and disappeared in the six states. The list is long. Most of them came on board during election preparation periods to support the ambitions of their founders. And in most cases, their survival rested on the fortunes of the owners in the polls. Where the owners failed, that meant automatic death sentence for the publication and in many instances, even the success of the owner may not necessarily guarantee the continuity of the paper. Such publications ranged from the actively promising to the adventurously mischievous. They came in different shapes and sizes and for all manner of reasons. Some just appeared and disappeared, many struggled for a year or two and fewer still survived for longer periods. Indeed, the mortality rate of newspapers and magazines is very high in the zone.

STATE OF BROADCASTING IN THE NORTH EAST ZONE

Each of the six states has an independent radio and television broadcast station in addition to the federal government owned NTA production centres and FRCN stations in Adamawa, Bauchi and Borno. There is only one privately owned broadcast media outfit in the whole zone located in Yola, Adamawa State. Except for Gombe State which is the smallest of the six with eleven LGAs, the other states are

hardly fully covered by their state owned radio and TV stations. Gombe Radio is perhaps the only station that its signals can be picked in all the eleven LGAs of the state. Except for the only private radio and television station in Adamawa state, all the remaining broadcast stations in the zone are state owned.

The people of the area are ardent radio listeners, partly because of the oral nature of most of the cultures in the environment and other factors like low income level and low reading culture. Radio has for obvious reasons of cost, access and relevance remained the most popular source of public information for the people. Hardly is there any household in the zone that does not possess, at least a radio set in the family as indicated in a study by the National Bureau of statistics which showed that 80% have access to radio while more than 95% have no access to computer or internet (NAN, Dec 19, 2011).

However, despite the huge love for the broadcast media by the people in the zone, the sector has remained generally underdeveloped and weak. Majority of the radio stations are erratic and epileptic dominated by programmes that often reflect poverty of content and penury in quality. The credibility of most of them is low among the audiences because of the low quality of programmes, sycophantic and non professional behaviours and weak technical and human capacities that undermine their abilities to compete in the globalising world. Thus, frustrated by the unprofessional attitudes of the states' broadcast media stations in the zone which, in any case, are severely limited in their coverage, heavily commercialised, tightly controlled and often erratic for most hours of the days, most people turn to the Hausa Services of foreign stations like the BBC, VOA, DW and RFI, among others to satisfy their information needs, even on issues about Nigeria. In the past, Radio Nigeria Kaduna filled in the gap but nowadays with the epileptic performance of the exhausted SW transmitter of the station, the people have been left with no option than to seek for alternative sources of news outside the Nigerian shores. Currently,

there is a huge gap for credible sources of local information that can facilitate development. Evidently, the gap provides a good opportunity for many more broadcast and print media outfits that can overcome the weaknesses of the current existing stations to emerge.

There are numerous reasons for the poor shape of the government broadcast media in the zone. First, all of them are tightly controlled and heavily subjected to the aprons of the individual governments, thus undermining their independence and rubbishing their credibility among their audiences. The level at which people believe these state owned stations is significantly low especially on matters of politics. Quite often, the stations are not trusted as being truthful because sycophantic elements rule the airwaves while honest citizens' recoil into their shells as democratic ebullience takes flight. Little wonder that in many of the states, a culture of resignation, despondency and fear have taken over in the communities. As a fall out, society is degenerating and broadcasting has alienated itself from the communities, thus defeating the beauty of democracy and relevance of broadcasting in the minds of the local people.

Secondly, the current commercialization of society has deeply eaten into the broadcast media thereby restricting access by the public and subverting the ideals of news, killing the spirit of investigative journalism, and devaluing the content of programmes and news on radio and television stations. The blanket implementation of the commercialization policy has disabled the majority of the people from any form of involvement in the airwaves. The high charges demanded by the stations for almost everything disqualifies most people and sectors from any kind of meaningful engagement with the media. This is worsened by the low income level of the majority of the population where the official poverty rate is above 70%.

Paradoxically, that has also undermined the financial capacities of broadcast media houses in the zone and indeed the whole country. Under the guise of commercialisation, many governments shy away from funding their media houses failing to realise that information is a social commodity whose benefits may not be instantly quantified in terms of money.

Consequently, many of them are left to the vagaries of market forces in a poverty stricken environment like the North East. This policy has undoubtedly affected the capacity and even the desire of the stations to accord any attention to the issues of the communities and the villages. Hence, the dearth of serious, independent and well scripted programmes on the stations except when sponsored. As a result, the airwaves are exclusively appropriated by governments, their organizations, money bags, business groups and big institutions.

They remain the only actors that have easy access to the expensive airwaves thus further widening the existing unequal balance of power relations in the society. In fact, even editorial judgment is subordinated to economic determinants. Thus, the commercialization in the public media has distanced it from the majority of the people who are treated as mere receivers with little attention to their needs and inputs in broadcast content.

Thirdly, many of the stations are incompetently equipped both technically and human resource wise. Many of them are far removed from the global trend of digitization. They are poorly equipped to be able to discharge their expected functions of effective coverage, reporting and disseminating value added information for the people. Their equipment is still largely analogue. Pockets of areas of the zone are severely underserved by the individual broadcast stations. And, because of the sizes and the landscapes of the states, unfortunately, coupled with the weak transmitters, hardly is there a radio or television station, except perhaps in Gombe where the local broadcast signals

cover the entire State. Consequently, the rural areas are left to depend on alternative sources of information from elsewhere. Today, majority of the communities in North East Nigeria, particularly in Borno, Adamawa, Taraba and Yobe do not receive the signals of any Nigerian radio station, except occasionally when the FRCN Kaduna transmitter decides to work. Thus, for most parts of the day, the people are cut off from any Nigerian broadcast signals. Their connection with the country if not through the social media remains hopeless through the radio.

CONSEQUENCES

- The consequences of the above challenges are enormous for the system. Some of these effects are:
- The general population has little confidence and trust in the credibility of the broadcast media system to act as watchdogs and platforms for the promotion of democratic values and developmental goals in their immediate communities.
- People may continue to rely on international broadcast stations for crucial information that affect their lives and nation. Thus, the external media may be determining the local and national agenda instead of the reverse. This could lead to serious consequences for the nation.
- New forms of information disseminations techniques like the Internet and GSM are increasingly rendering non-reforming media outfits obsolete and non reliable, thus irrelevant in the democratization process.
- The potential strength and centrality of the broadcast media are severely undermined by the visible absence of diversity, accessibility, courage and relevance in promoting the current

dispensation.

- A large portion of the population and pockets of areas that are distant from the state capitals are completely uncovered by the local radio signals. This is risky to the strategic interest as well as the security and developmental agenda of the nation.

THE NEED FOR ENHANCED LOCAL MEDIA SERVICES IN NORTH EAST NIGERIA

As indicated earlier, North East Nigeria is significantly disadvantaged in a number of respects. It has a woeful human development index, very enormous landscape characterised by difficult terrain, weak infrastructure base, high poverty level and currently intense conflict and terrorists activities. The area constitutes more than 40% of Nigeria's landmass and over 20 Million people but is seriously underserved by the local media. Thus, for the current status of the zone to change, the people must be sufficiently involved in the process of development, partly with the effective facilitation of the local media that operate in and around them and reflecting their realities.

The media, in whatever form, are involved in the business of ideas; great ideas that can transform societies. Through the media's collection, processing, management and dissemination of ideas and knowledge, they can create public awareness, increase knowledge, change attitudes, transform behaviour and foster engagement; some essential elements that influence and energize the society towards growth and development

(McQuail, 2006). As Sachs (2008) explained, "Great social transformations...all begun with public awareness and engagement". They should be able to set the people thinking and talking about issues with the hope of enhancing their participation in the development process for the region and nation to actualize the dream of being

among the twenty most developed economies in the world.

COMMUNITY RADIO AS SOLUTION

The reality is that the present broadcast media system or arrangement in the zone is elitist, overbearingly sycophantic and technically and financially incapable to sufficiently meet or even reflect the socioeconomic needs of locally diverse communities. There are gaps between community needs, performance of their leaders and the extent to which they are adequately and competently represented on the local media. Furthermore, the terrain of the zone has hindered the signals of the various stations from reaching all the nooks and crannies of the states. In other countries, they have addressed such challenges through the liberalization of the air waves by granting licenses for community radio stations that are owned and operated by communities for the communities. Here in Nigeria, the operations of community radio stations that could complement the existing structure have remained a pipe dream. In the whole of West Africa, Nigeria is the only country whose marginalized and underserved communities are yet to enjoy the benefits of community radio. In less endowed countries like Niger, they have 98 community radio stations as at 2006; Mali has 88; Ghana 15; Senegal 14 and Burkina Faso 33, among others (Akingbulu, 2007).

THE COMMUNITY RADIO

The African Charter on Broadcasting has recognized and advocated for a three tier radio regime in individual African countries: public/service; private/commercial; and community. Public service radio broadcast stations are those established, financed and operated by governments. In Nigeria, we have radio stations owned and operated by the Federal as well as the State Governments like the

FRCN and Voice of Nigeria and individual state stations like Radio Borno, Radio Ogun, Rima Radio, Sokoto etc. Commercial or private stations are those owned and operated by individuals or some business interests for the purpose of reaping profits from the investment. There are numerous examples of commercial radio stations like the Freedom Radio, Ray Power Radio, Gotel Radio, Cool FM, etc.

From a simplistic perspective, community radio is the radio station established and operated by the people of a specific community to promote, project and protect the community's common interest and objective. In a broader sense, the African Charter on Broadcasting has defined community radio as the "broadcasting which is for, by and about the community; whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda and which is non-profit". The word community could be defined by a territorial space or social interest that may be cultural, political, economic, professional, etc. The important thing about a community is that it consists of people who share common interests, values, characteristics and goals. They may be physically domiciled in one geographical entity or physically separated but socially united in their goals.

There is another interesting explanation of community radio from Professor Opubor (2006). He says:

When radio fosters the participation of citizens and defends their interests; when it reflects the tastes of the majority and makes good humor and hope its main purpose; when it truly informs; when it helps resolve the thousand of one problems of daily life; when all ideas are debated in its programmes and all opinions are respected; when cultural diversity is stimulated over commercial homogeneity; when women are main players in communication and not simply a petty voice

or publicity gimmick; when no type of dictatorship is tolerated, not even the musical dictatorship of the big recording studios; when everyone 's words fly without discrimination or censorship, that is community radio.

The fundamental factor about community radio is that it must be built on popular ownership and non-profit orientation as distinct from the government or commercial radio station. Therefore, the ownership of a community radio station must be rooted in the community and its local institutions; and ownership must be justifiably plural and diversified to reflect and represent multiple interests in society. Equally, CRs are not profit oriented in the sense that they are not meant to compete with the conventional radio stations; rather, they are expected to compliment them because of their obvious advantage of being more reflective and oriented to the nature of specific individual communities. Little wonder that the CR is often described as the voice of the voiceless and the radio of the poor.

Opubor (2006) and Dagrón (2001) have identified the structural features of community radio that make it participatory to include:

- Community ownership, instead of access mitigated by social, political or religious contingencies;
- Horizontal organization, rather than vertical organization that treat community members as passive receivers;
- Dialogic, long term process not top down campaigns more concerned with producing results for external evaluation than with building sustainable community power;
- Collective agency, or power asserted in the interest of the many rather than the few;
- Community specificity in content, language, culture and resources; need based initiative determined by community dialogue rather than external built consciousness raising to

build a rooted understanding of social problems and solutions, instead of dependency on propaganda or political persuasion;

- Some communities are defined by interest not by geography.

From the above features, it is clear that community radio is built on the understanding of the community and its characteristics. In the words of Opubor (2006), “the purpose of community radio is to build community life. Building a community is more than building an individual or a few families. It is building on what holds people together, across different families, religions, sexes, economic situations and political persuasions.” UNESCO (2011) has clearly summarized the characteristics of Community Radio as follows:

it should not be run for profit but for social gain and community benefit; it should be owned by and accountable to the community that it seeks to serve; and it should provide for participation by the community in content creation and management. The second is a legal and regulatory system that provides straightforward and transparent processes for access to the radio spectrum and distribution platforms necessary for community media to operate. The allocation of spectrum and other resources should be responsive to demand from community-based organisations that meet the essential characteristics; there should be no unnecessary obstacles that would exclude or deter communities from providing community media services; and the process should be managed by a body that is independent of political interference. The third is a policy and legal framework that has regard to sustainability and resourcing of community media. Spectrum access or licence fees should be free or a nominal charge so as not exclude communities with few resources.

WHY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING?

The current structure of radio ownership, operations and distribution in the North East and indeed the whole country cannot be described as democratic and completely participatory to reflect decentralization and democratization. Apart from the fact that the sector is heavily dominated by governments and commercial interest groups, most radio stations are concentrated in the urban areas focusing mainly on the elites and their affairs. The poor, the weak and the disadvantaged are in most cases marginalized and at best treated as passive stakeholders.

The distribution of broadcast media channels is generally uneven, with some parts of the country far more endowed than others. For example, in the North East sub region, there is only one commercial radio station located in Yola. In the region, the government owned radio and television stations do not cover the landmass in the states. Due to obvious challenges of human, material and financial resources, many of them are hardly able to effectively cover their local governments. The question, then, is who fills the gap as the source of regular information about the immediate environment for the people? The natural answer lies in the community radio. It can act as a voice as well as a bridge between the communities and the rest of the world.

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RESEARCH FOR COMMUNITY RADIO
ADVOCACY AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN NIGERIA:
EXPLORED VISTAS,
POSSIBLE FRESH DIRECTIONS

*Ayobami Ojebode
& Babatunde Raphael Ojebuyi*

INTRODUCTION

Radio has been described as a potent agent of development. It has the peculiar potentials to break the barriers of distance and illiteracy. When radio is localised, its strengths are fully utilised to achieve true development because people are given access to the broadcasting opportunities and are able to articulate their needs within their culturally homogenous setting (Ansah, 1979). It is in recognition of this fact that various countries of the world, especially Latin American and African countries, have established community radio—a radio broadcasting system that allows members of a community to reach out to themselves in their language, and articulate their needs (Moemeka, 2009). However, Nigeria is yet to have just a single community radio station. As detailed by Ojebode and Akingbulu (2009), years of intense advocacy for community radio have produced no result.

Community radio advocacy, in the Nigerian context, had started long before the current phase of capacity building. Earlier in 1977, at the colloquium of the FESTAC, Alfred Opubor had advocated Africanisation of the mass media in Nigeria—a prelude to community radio. In the 1980s, scholars—Opubor, Moemeka, Soola among others—pioneered advocacy-tilted research for community radio. Findings and positions of these scholars created the platform for the new phase of direct advocacy that emerged in the late 1990s. In the

early 2000s, direct community radio advocacy experienced an upbeat with the involvement of stakeholders such as Nigeria Community Radio Coalition through the Institute for Media and Society (IMS), which has remained the arrowhead of community radio advocacy in Nigeria. For example, a listserv was created in 2004 to provide an on-line platform for interactions among community radio advocates.

This was followed by awareness seminars in Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna and Bauchi. In 2005, IMS also organised a national seminar on community radio and community radio advocacy. Before then, a group tagged "Steering Committee" had been constituted in 2003, with the mandate to evolve and assist in managing a policy that would herald the establishment of a viable community radio sub-sector in Nigeria.

All of these snowballed into a phenomenon of aggressive advocacy and increase in the number of dedicated advocates of community radio. Majority of the grassroots people are now conscious of the relevance of community radio as a catalyst for developing their communities, and are eagerly anticipating establishment of radio stations that would be owned and controlled by the local people. But despite these aggressive advocacy efforts, and preparedness of rural communities to embrace the community radio project, Government seems to be reluctant to issue licenses for establishment of community radio stations. It has issued a white paper legitimising community radio, and embarked on policy reform, but these seem to have dragged too long.

It has been insinuated that government is not prepared to approve the establishment of community radio stations because of the fear that community radio can be used to facilitate inter-ethnic war (as it happened in Rwanda), and be employed to turn the community

people against the government (Moemeka, 2009; Ojebode, 2009). Reacting to this phenomenon, Opubor (2009) says that:

The situation is like dialogue with the deaf. The Community Radio Coalition has been vocally engaging a government system that appears deaf; unable to hear the important message of its interlocutors. the NBC's structural impediment in being tied to the President's authority has been a major hindrance in moving the agenda forward (p. 4).

But the community radio coalition has continued its determined advocacy inspite of these administrative and political impediments.

Reasons for Community Radio Advocacy

Many factors have compelled scholars and stakeholders to advocate establishment of community radio stations in Nigeria. In this paper, we identify three cardinal rationales for community radio advocacy—borrowed essentially from Ojebode and Akingbulu (2009).

First is the collapse of the top-down development paradigm. The top-down development planning, also referred to as the Dominant Paradigm, was the oldest approach to conceiving or describing development concepts. The paradigm emerged shortly after the World War II as a product of the developed nations' ambition to relieve the less developed countries of the traumatic effects of the war. Harry Truman, the then President of the United States of America, during his inaugural speech in 1949, proclaimed a development model that was presumed would accelerate development process in the developing nations (Soola, 2003).

This proclamation signified the genesis of the Dominant Paradigm,

an approach that uses parameters such as level of modernisation, physical infrastructural growth, economic success, massive industrialisation, and Gross National Product (GNP) to gauge development. But scholars have faulted this approach because one, it absolutely limits development concepts to quantitative economic growth, which may not translate to a holistic development; two, it neglects people's culture in conceiving development ideas; and three, it is purely top-down, conceiving development as planning for the people, but not planning with them.

The best alternative to this, according to development experts, is a participatory development—a paradigm shift which contends that true development is impossible without active participation of the people who are the primary beneficiaries of such development efforts. Apparently, to ensure that the grassroots people are actively relevant in development projects that directly affect them, there is the need for an effective two-way communication channel that gives the community people unfettered opportunity to participate in the development agenda. And community radio is just the answer (Okigbo, 1988; Soola, 2003; Moemeka, 2009; Ojebode, 2009; Ojebode and Akingbulu, 2009). Besides, community radio has the potentials to break the barriers of distance and illiteracy, which other mass media types may not be able to do (Wilcox, 1973).

The second reason for community radio advocacy is the evidence that community radio was contributing to development in other parts of the world. For instance in Bolivia, Brazil and other Latin American countries, community radio has been used to achieve cultural integration, political education and national unity. Radio contributed significantly to national unification drive in Brazil during President Getúlio Vargas's populist government from 1930 to 1945 (Hausen, 2005). Further impetus came from other less developed African

countries with copious presence of community radio stations. According to Moemeka (2009), despite progressive growth of community radio stations in many African nations such as Mali (120), Senegal (44), Burkina Faso (27), Niger Republic (24), Republic of Benin (22), Ghana (8), and Mozambique (25), Nigeria Government is yet clearly reluctant to issue licenses for community stations.

Finally, those concerned about cultures complained that central broadcasting was marginalising minority cultures. According to the proponents of this school of thought, Nigeria as a nation is at the receiving end because she is losing vast cultural resources that are fundamental to true national development. Scholars have, therefore, argued that to reverse this trend, there is the need for community radio broadcasting where the community people would be in control of the broadcast programmes and contents, and articulate community issues and needs, but not the wishes of government or those of its agents (Ojebode, 2009; Moemeka, 2009). Similarly, Ansah (1979) articulates the imperatives of localised radio broadcasting systems as he submits that:

In order that the potentials of radio can be fully exploited for development objectives, they should be localised as much as possible so that local cultures and usages can be integrated into programming, and local issues more comprehensively and more effectively handled. Localising radio should mean giving the people access to broadcasting facilities so that radio can be made a two-way communication channel as far as practicable. Local stations broadcasting to fairly small groups with a common language, culture, occupation and interests can help focus the people's attention on their more immediate problems and provide avenues for effective feedback (p. 1).

Without doubt, the grassroots people, when given access to the media, would see themselves as stakeholders in national development projects, and be willing to contribute their rich cultural resources without subjugating their cultural values. A decentralised radio broadcasting (community radio) is the answer.

Instances of Capacity Building for Community Radio

When stakeholders felt that much awareness about the imperatives of community radio had been created, they embarked on capacity building. Of course, when government eventually grants licenses for establishment of community radio stations, shortage of manpower to manage the stations may arise unless such potential managers or personnel are already on ground. However, when it was apparent that government was not ready to issue licenses for community radio immediately, community radio stakeholders began to partner with campus radio staff to develop manpower.

For instance, in November 2007, the coalition trained campus radio staff on community development principles and practice. The training was held in Lokoja. Also, in December 2007, in Akure, Ondo State, there was another training of campus radio staff on strategic planning. Similarly, in February 2008, campus radio staffers were trained on audience research and analysis. Two months later in the same year (April 2008) campus radio staffers were also trained on financial management and proposal/report writing. With these rounds of trainings, it is believed that whenever government grants the licenses for community radio stations, there will not be a total dearth of human resources to manage the radio stations.

Forms of Research Employed in Community Radio Advocacy and Capacity Building

The platform for much advocacy rests on some research findings and scholars' call for action. Diverse methodologies have been

adopted by scholars in this regard. The commonest is the critical discursive and evaluative approach which in our view, constituted about 70% of the total research findings that have shaped the directions for community radio advocacy and capacity building in Nigeria. These include Moemeka (1981); Soola (1988); Umukoro (1991); Olorunnisola (1997); Opubor (2000) and Ojebode and Akingbulu (2009). On the other hand, data-based empirical approach (survey, content analysis, field studies) accounted for the rest 30% of the forms of research involved. These include Alimi (2006); Ojebode (2002); Ojebode, (2003); Ojebode (2008) and Ojebode and Adegbola, (2007; Ojebode, (2007). It should be mentioned in some of these works, community radio gets mentioned in the recommendations sections only. It is described as part of the solution to the problems raised by the findings or preceding arguments.

Research Communication Outlets for Research on Community Radio in Nigeria

By outlets here we mean the media genres through which research findings, discussions and recommendations about community radio advocacy and capacity building get to the target audience. Four such outlets were identified:

1. Books and journals which account for about 50% of research publications on community radio in Nigeria.
2. Policy/advocacy documents/policy advisory which account for about 30% of research publications.
3. Theses and dissertations which account for about 10%.
4. Others such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television which account for about 10%.

Unfortunately, only outlets 2 and 4 were reaching policy makers, who are the primary target audience of community radio advocacy. The implication of this is clear: Just only 40% of the findings of research for community radio advocacy got to the policy makers while the rest 60% went unnoticed! Books and journals are always read, not by policy makers, but by the people in the academia, while theses and dissertation, no matter how outstanding their findings, are left to gather dust on the shelves.

New Directions

In order to add value to research for community radio advocacy and capacity building, and make researchers' efforts more relevant to the cause of community radio advocacy, we suggest some new strategies. These strategies are not, however, substitutes for the existing ones, but they can be used as complements.

Researchers should focus more on data-backed research that rely on empirical evidences. They should also employ experimentation with the campus radio stations. Findings from this form of research will provide 'real' not 'what-if' situations and garner stronger support from international agencies. This will also demonstrate results that community radio will conform to regulatory stipulations, and remove the suspicions that community radio stations might fuel ethnic rivalry and religious hatred.

Researchers should employ community-based approach to identify potential volunteers and the skills they need. This will surely facilitate effective capacity building. Constant interactions with rural community people will enable community radio advocates to appreciate the cultural peculiarities of these people and how such cultural values shape their world view.

Politicians are likely to identify with the aspirations of their community people. Thus, community radio advocates should always organise and mobilise these grassroots people to demand from their representatives at State and Federal Houses of Assembly that the representatives support and advocate community radio. Through this, the messages of community radio advocacy are likely to get to the policy makers.

Researchers must always learn to write for non-researchers, who don't have the same competence to understand complex jargons of research. This has implications for the choice of language and visual aids that can convey clearly the right message to the people. In fact, complex expressions and highly technical terms may constitute a noise and prevent the audience at whom the research findings are targeted from benefitting from such research.

As a matter of importance, universities, research institutes and colleges must begin to recognise policy advisories and 'below-the-line' research communication outlets as valid contributions. Research has shown that orthodox research communication outlets—theses, dissertations, books and journals—do not really get to the policy makers. In order to ensure that findings of research for community radio advocacy get to the policy makers, current emphasis on policy briefs and policy suggestions must be sustained, while a shift from journals and books to portable, accessible and easy-to-read policy advisories should be effected.

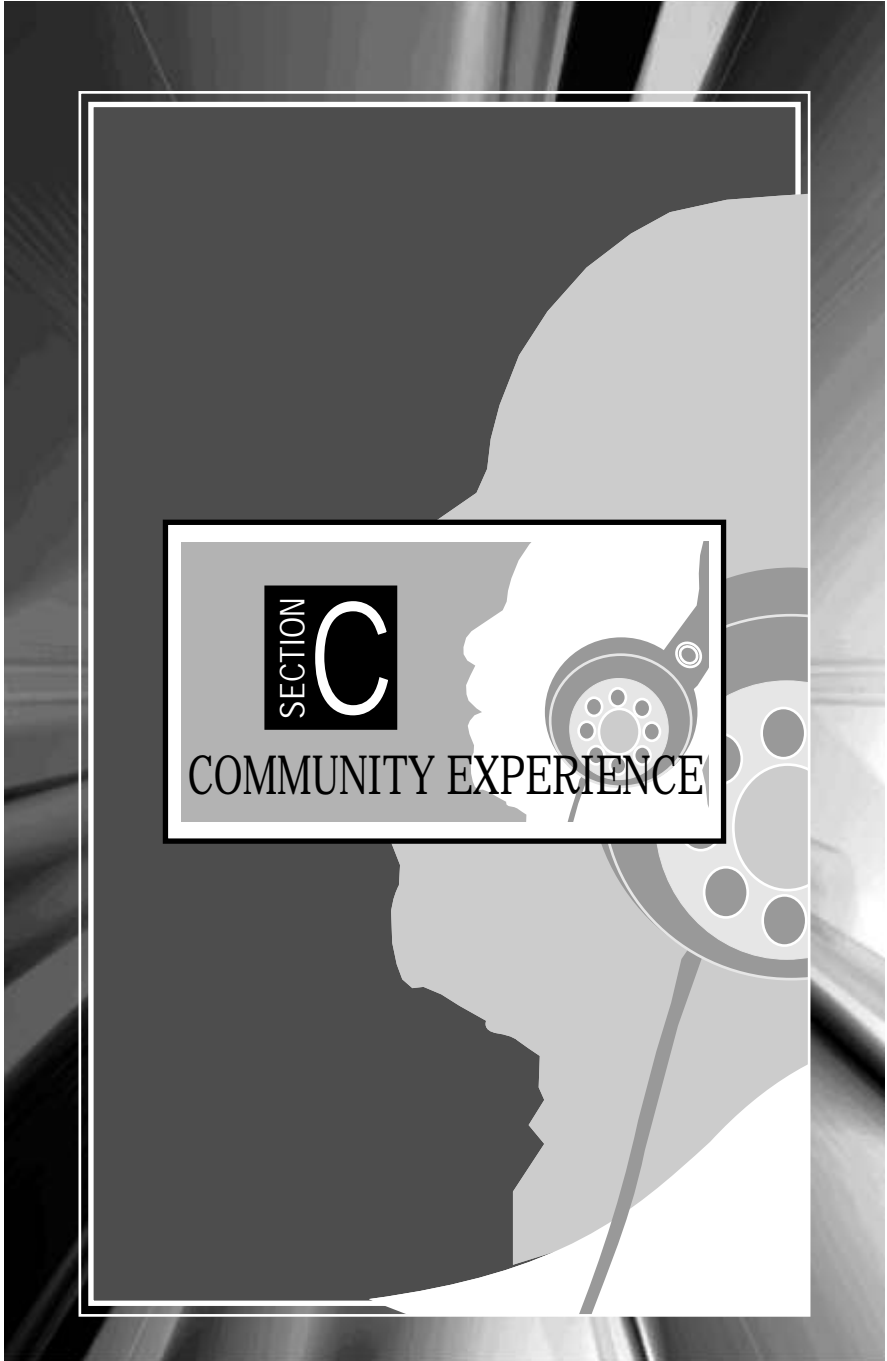
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SECTION
C

COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE

MAPPING AND PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY RADIO: GBARAIN/EKPETIAMA EXPERIENCES

Tari Dadioweï & Dou Ogbofa

BACKGROUND

Gbarain and Ekpetiama are sister clans in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. They are traditional landlords of the Gbarain Deep oil field and the Etelebou flow station operated by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC). There are 17 villages and numerous fishing and farming settlements in the clans.

The clans are washed by river nun and Taylor Creek and is generally characterized by wetlands and water bodies with rivulets. Over 50% of the land area is seasonally flooded in the year, resulting from over flowing waters of the lower Niger River that occasions the submerging of communities in Ekpetiama and farmlands. Communities in both clans are prone to river bank erosion (Dickson, 2005).

Gbarain and Ekpetiama area has high agricultural potentials being endowed with enormous natural resources. A typical tropical rain forest, it produces food crops like cassava, cocoyam, plantain, banana, sugarcane, garden egg, yam, rice etc. The forests of the area also house timber that enables lumbering activities – and several non-timber forest products abound such as raffia palm, snails, wild fruits, bamboo and medicinal plants. Fishing is carried out by both men and women using various fishing gears in lakes, rivers and flood plains.

Major indigenous (occupation) economic activities include palm cutting and palm oil making, gin distilling mat weaving, farming and fishing (Dickson and Otobo 2005).

Main cultural activities include the annual Ekpetiama new yam festival (OKOLODE) celebrated every 5th June and the Gbarain Uzu – new yam festival celebrated every 15th July. There are also fishing festivals when popular lakes like, OPUAN of Bumoundi – Ekpetiama, Okolode and Ago lakes of Agudama Ekpetiama, Odiodi of Gbarain are harvested for days amidst fanfare. Burial and marriage ceremonies are also celebrated as festivals.

OIL INDUSTRY IN GBARAIN/EKPETIAMA: COMMUNITY FEARS AND NEEDS

Oil exploration activities in Gbarain/Ekpetiama started in the early 1960s but it was in 1967 that the Gbarain oil field was discovered. The oil field covers an area of approximately 30 hectares of swampland. In August 1990 and April 1991 Shell announced the discovery of some 400 million barrels of crude oil and over half a trillion British cubic feet of gas and another discovery of 722 million barrels of oil from two exploration and 8 appraisal wells from the Gbarain area which were confirmed in a statement issued by the federal ministry of petroleum resources (Dadiowe, 2006).

According to Nnimmo Bassey, “The oil industry is violent by nature and their mode of operation is intrinsically hostile to the environment and the people who live on it” Bassey (2009).

The exploratory stage of oil extraction is characterized by opening up of rain forests, mangrove swamps and sundry seismic activities which are



Gbarain/Ubie Integrated Oil and gas Project, in Obunagha Community

injurious to the people, the water courses, wildlife and the fauna and flora. The opening up of these areas invite a multiplicity of other invaders to plunder the resources of an otherwise self-sustaining societies. These activities have led to severe dislocations in the Niger Delta following the impoverishment of the people.

The phased development of the Gbarain Deep Oil Fields has become the albatross hanging loosely over the necks of the communities. The first phase was the construction of a link road from the main Mbiama/Yenagoa road to Tombia in Ekpetiama with numerous accesses to several well sites and the Central Processing Facility (CPF) and the Field



Logistics Base (FLB) of the SPDC integrated oil and gas project in the area.

Loudspeakers on poles in Villages in Bayelsa State as desired and temporary radio awaiting the real community radio

Incalculable damage has been done to the Gbarain-Ekpetiama environment by the construction of this road as it entailed the scooping of sand from the River Nun to fill the entire stretch of the road. Worse still it was done during the flood season. The result was/is, silting, blockage of creeks, rivulets and lakes. Ekpetiama communities are exposed to shore erosion as the dredging affected the river current and flow pattern.

Apart from degradation of the environment and the attendant economic woes there has emerged a dislocation in communities

with regards to community governance – traditional political authority and legitimacy crisis are all over the place.

According to Alagoa (2001) "Peace is threatened when conditions of poverty, hunger, destruction of the environment and of traditional means of livelihood prevail, as in Bayelsa and the rest of the Niger Delta. A concentration on the droppings of the oil industry has occurred, and the greed of political and youth leaders ensures that violence pervades the culture in the pursuit of oil money. The result is the prevalence of violence, the disappearance of peace and community development. The social system suffers and traditional cultural and political structures and values crumble."



The foregoing capture the reality on the ground as violent conflicts have characterized the several chieftaincy disputes in the communities which have endangered community cohesion, social harmony and sustainable development.

Put simply, the fear of continued despoliation of our environment and social and economic dislocations in our communities are daily heightened as long as the oil activities and government's insensitivity to our plight continues. Thus, community vulnerability increases occasioned by gas flaring that causes air, land and water pollution, immanent oil spills and oil induced communal conflicts put vis-à-vis three salient issues when vulnerability is discussed;

- Physical location and/or exposure in disaster prone areas.

- Socio-economic fragility.
- Lack of resilience to cope and recover from environmental stress (Nnimmo, 2007).

Our Needs

- Increased capacity of community people to engage oil companies and governments.
- Knowledge of Environmental Impact Assessment.
- How to enter into workable memorandum of understanding.
- Rank closing and community cohesion.
- Responsive, responsible and accountable community governance.
- Access to information/Enlightenment.
- Skills in conflict management - Early warning signs and response.
- Value reorientation.

It is against the foregoing background that protagonists of community radio from the communities started mobilizing stakeholders to plan towards owning a community radio.

MAPPING OF COMMUNITIES GBARAIN/EKPETIAMA CLANS

According to Dr. Nana Tanko the Executive Director of Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) in an interview with The Guardian on Sunday 14th, August, 2005, "what makes it nice for us going into support for community radio at the grassroots is that, when we get into the community we ensure that we identify the major stakeholders in

that community, so that in the governance structure of that community radio itself we make provision for women, youths to participate, and for the traditional leaders to be part of it. So, once you ensure that at the level of the governance of the community radio, that provision is made for the key stakeholders in the community, you are already building coalition for men and women, between the youths and elderly ones, you now say 'look, we all have a role in building this community and we should build it together'.

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS

- Governance: Clan heads and village heads with deputies.
- Women leaders in each village
- Community Development Committees in each village.
- Clan Youth Organisation.
- Village Youth Organisations.
- Elders - Males
- Elders - Females
- Youths- Males
- Youths- Females
- Occupational Distribution.
- Farmers
- Fishers
- Palm cutters
- Wine distillers
- Civil servants

- Artisans
- Politicians
- Students
- Clergy
- Traditional priests
- Fishing/farming/tapping tenants
- Oil company staff
- Contractors
- Women Associations (OGBO)
- Cultural groups
- People in Diaspora and urban based indigenes

WHAT THE RADIO CAN DO FOR THE COMMUNITY

On community radio; the Executive Director of OSIWA notes as follows; “now, it is often quite difficult for people to really express themselves because the ownership of the public and private media does not give them the capacity to participate in terms of the cost. If you look at the commercial process, it's



Sprout of oil spilling like champagne from the Gbarain/Etelebou Pipeline at Edepie/Imiringi Junction on 16th September 2003.

so difficult.” Consequently, “there is still a very great gap, and our own mission is to enhance community participation as a process of governance... it is a medium whereby the people can speak to themselves in a language they can understand. They can speak to themselves about issues that are of immediate concern to them. The Hallmark of this initiative is to promote independence so that the people identify the issues affecting them, and resolve such issues themselves, rather than waiting for a third party to come in from outside to resolve their problems.

- - To serve our community in telling our own story.
- - To serve as a tool for social change.
- - To assist in monitoring and eliciting response to early warning signs of conflict.
- - To assist in monitoring our environment.
- - To revive our cherished cultural heritage.
- - To enlighten communities on current issues.
- - To entertain, inform and educate our people on various issues.
- - To build community capacity through programmes.
- - To enhance participatory approach to community issues and good governance at community and local government level.
- - To act as watch dog.
- What can the community do for the Radio?
- Work to actualize its establishment and sustenance.
- Donations
- Levies
- Volunteer as staff

- Introduce awards.

THE ROAD SO FAR

Consultations with community people are ongoing. The clan heads have endorsed the idea of community radio for Gbarain/Ekpetiama Clans. Members of the review committee of the Global Memorandum of Understanding between the Clans and Shell – SPDC have been briefed and advised to make community radio an integrated community project in the review document.

A technical committee on community radio would be inaugurated by the clan heads to present details to the clans soon after this August convention. It is pertinent to mention that officials of Gbarain Deep Oil Field Landlords Association and Conflict Resolution Trainers Network (CROTINN) a community based organization comprise the interim community radio project committee of Gbarain/Ekpetiama.

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MAPPING AND PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY RADIO: EXPERIENCE FROM IGBOMINA COMMUNITY.

Kola Olota

INTRODUCTION

My association with the Nigeria Community Radio Coalition which dates back to the period of its National Validation Seminar on April 5-7, 2005 was purely accidental. Some fifteen years after my dramatic and unceremonious disengagement from active public service broadcasting, I was lodged at the Chida international hotel in Abuja by the management of Daar Communications Plc which had just offered me a post-retirement job in the News and Current Affairs department of the Africa Independent Television (AIT). Transiting as I was then from public service broadcasting to commercial broadcasting, I took advantage of my constitutional rights of freedom of movement and association to sit-in at the seminar at Chida hotel as what I might call a participant-observer. By sheer coincidence, the two gentlemen I was sitting next to were members of the think-tank of the Igbomina community radio project. One of them is Dr. Bamidele Gege who had distinguished himself as one of the best brains in the Kwara State Civil Service.

The other, of course, is a former eminent academic from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Professor Michael B. Olayiwole, who today as Chairman of the Igbomina community radio is the driving-force and the moving-spirit behind the project. My participant-observation, I must say, has since paid off handsomely. First, with my inclusion in the team that undertook a study-tour of some community radio stations in Ghana from April 17-27, 2008. Secondly, with my participation in the coalition's "Policy Dialogue on Community Radio Development in

Nigeria” which held at the same Chida International hotel, Abuja, on April 21, this year. Thirdly and recently, with my participation in the “Training on Managing Community Radio in Nigeria” which held at the Confluence Beach hotel, Lokoja, Kogi state from October 26 -29, this year. Indeed, standing here before you today is a manifestation of the liberty granted me by Prof. Olayiwole who is a member of the National Steering Committee.

THE IGBBOMINA

Let me start by saying that the Igbomina Community of Kwara State in North-central Nigeria is in the vanguard of the advocacy for community radio establishment in the country. But who are the Igbomina? They are descendants of Oduduwa from Ile-Ife in Osun State, while their ancestral headquarters is Ila-Orangun also in Osun State. “Their progenitor being the second male child of Oduduwa by name Orangun Fagbamila Ajagunnla. Like all Oduduwa' s children he migrated from Ile- Ife and founded his own kingdom. He conquered and later settled in a vast stretch of land which today stretches across two state boundaries namely Osun and Kwara States respectively.

The name “Igbomina” is derived from “Ogbomona,” “Ogbo” being the mystical cutlass given to him by his father Oduduwa. The cutlass was used as a mystical pathfinder with which Orangun (Oran-migun) Fagbamila Ajagunnla founded his kingdom which today is known as Igbomina.”

The Igbomina people of Kwara State are known to be hard-working , industrious and enterprising. Farming is their traditional occupation, while education can be described as their industry. Figures obtained from the National Population Commission put the total population of the Igbomina people in Kwara State at 414,390 spread across three Local Government Areas in the Kwara South senatorial district as follows:

LGA	POPULATION	MALES	FEMALES
IFELODUN	206,042	106,056	99,986
IREPODUN	148,610	75,539	73,071
ISIN	59,738	30,833	28,905

Ifelodun which is arguably the largest L.G.A. in the country consists of nine districts namely; Share, Oke –Ode, Igbaja, Idofian, Omupo, Ora, Ilere, Oro- Ago, and Agunjin. This is followed by Irepodun L.G.A which comprises Omu-Aran/Arandun, Oro, Esie/Ijan, Ajase and Oko districts.

Isin L.G.A. is made up of Isin and Olla districts. From the fore-going, it is clear that the Igbomina community is a geographic one which is bound by a common socio-cultural heritage and linguistic or dialectical identity. However, mention must be made of a sprinkling of Fulani pastoralists and Nupe tribesmen who inhabit parts of Oke-Ode and Share townships.

There is also the vexed question of the true identity of the people of Ganmo who though located on the outskirts of Ilorin, the state capital, are administratively part and parcel of Ifelodun L.G.A. Writing on this contentious issue, a self-styled social critic and President of the Afonja Descendants Union who resides in Ganmo, Abdulkarim Olola Kasum recalled; in the process of liberating his own kinsmen from Ilorin bondage, ex-Governor Bamigboye ironically deprived Ganmo community of their right to self-determination by regrouping them, by military fiat, with an ethno- political conglomerate called Igbomina/Ekiti to which Ganmo people are aliens by all conceivable yardsticks –linguistically, religiously and culturally”. Not done yet, Kasum concluded that “...the relationship of Ganmo community with all successive Igbomina Local Government councils has been a frosty

one. The Ganmo community and the larger Igbomina community have lived the life of cat and dog, in mutual suspicion and mistrust with each other laying ambush for the other.

These claims were countered by two top officials of the Igbomina Community in "THE HERALD ON SUNDAY" of July 28, 2002. In a rejoinder signed by the National President, Omo Ibile Igbomina, Alhaji (Hon.) Adewara Toyin Lawal and the National Secretary, Dr. E.A.Adeoye, the Igbomina community asserted that "...on March 12, 2001 the Igbominas obtained a judgment of the Supreme Court of Nigeria that Ganmo belongs to them. The legal action had been instituted by the Ilorins themselves and they had failed".

THE SEGMENTS

Based on this historical premise, we now proceed to break the Igbomina community into its various segments, bearing in mind that our definition of mapping involves three steps, i.e listing the segments, identifying their needs which must be based on development issues and providing the names of organizations or people that are meeting those needs. A total of

twenty-two or so segments are hereby listed as follows;

S/N	SEGMENT	NEEDS	PROVIDERS
1	Traditional institution, i.e Obas of all grades, traditional titleholders, community leaders whose views as notable people or opinion leaders on matters concerning their various localities cannot be ignored.	Communal peace which is central to socio-economic development; Cultural preservation and promotion Social recognition Proper grading of their stools by the State Government	Through the collective efforts of all members of their respective communities Through the instrumentality of the traditional authority. Annual festivals. Local Council for Arts and Culture.

2. Community- based organizations such as “Omo Ibile Igbomina”, an umbrella organization for all Igbomina people both at home and in the Diaspora. Other examples are: “Omo Ibile Esie,” Oro Community, Omu-Aran Development Association, etc.
3. Peasant-farmers engaged in the traditional occupation of their forebears- subsistence farming.
4. Petty- traders engaged in commercial activities of all kinds on a daily basis. These include food vendors who dot the length and breadth of our towns and villages.
5. Artisans- These include auto-mechanics, Block-makers, Bricklayers, Plumbers, Carpenters, Painters, Welders, Electricians, etc.
6. Educational institutions: school children and students as well as their teachers, lecturers in Nursery/Primary, Secondary and Tertiary institutions.

7. Religious institutions: Christians, Islamic and Traditional worshippers.
8. Voluntary organizations which include the Rotary Club, Lions Club, Red Cross, Red Crescent; World Bank assisted projects in agriculture, education and water supply Donor-organizations involved in leprosy eradication.
9. Financial institutions- workers employed by community/micro-finance banks as well as commercial banks.
10. Unemployed youth- the army of primary school leavers, college drop- outs and secondary school products awaiting entry into institutions of higher learning.
11. Transporters: members of the National Union of Road Transport workers;
 - Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria;
 - Taxi cab drivers, tipper drivers, truck-pushers, commercial motor- cyclists, motor park touts etc.
12. Civil/Public Servants. These fall in to three categories – Local, State and Federal Governments” employees.
13. Health workers such as doctors, nurses, pharmacists, midwives and attendants employed in dispensaries, maternity centres, private clinics, cottage and general hospitals. Patent medicine stores are also included.
14. Professionals: Like lawyers, estate agents, draughtsmen etc.
15. National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members deployed to all the nooks and crannies of our three Local Government Areas for their primary assignments.
16. Self-employed: tailors, hairdressers, shoe-makers, saw millers, petrol stations, palm wine tappers, vulcanizers, battery-charges, butchers/meat sellers, business centres, beer parlours and pepper soup joints, etc.

17. Ganmo community in Ifelodun Local Government Area because of its peculiar nature as earlier mentioned.
18. Nupe tribesmen settled in Babanloma, Oke-Ode, Sagbe and Ganmu, near Babanla-also in Ifelodun L.G.A.
19. Zuru and Hausa people as well as Fulani pastoralists or cattle rearers scattered all over the three local government areas.
20. Igbo trader whose enterprising spirit is noticeable in the commercial activities of the community.
21. Security agencies- police, customs service, civil service defence corps, paramilitary such as the Federal Road Safety Corps, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, State Security Service, vigilante groups, etc.
22. Retires/Pensioners-senior citizens whose motto is "rest is sweet after labour."

MEETING THE NEEDS

1. The ECONOMY. Of course, the primary need of any community is the economic well-being and prosperity of the people, be they artisans, traders or self-employed. Government at all levels is the primary mover in this respect through the creation of a conducive economic environment and favorable economic policies. At the community level, the Local Government can facilitate commercial activities through the construction of market, shops, stalls etc. Economic empowerment can also come through loans and micro-credit facilities from community and commercial banks especially for local entrepreneurs engaged in small-scale industries such as cassava processing, block-making, tie and dye, soap-making etc.
2. The need of the community when it comes to AGRICULTURE are many and varied but essentially will include farm lands, land clearing equipment such as tractors, improved seedlings, fertilizer procurement at affordable prices and provision of extension services. Irrigation services, where applicable, crops storage and preservation

facilities, as well as a good network of rural roads to facilitate the evacuation of farm produce from the rural communities to the market. Officials of the State Ministry of Agriculture working in concert with the departments of agriculture in the respective Local Government Areas are responsible for meeting these needs.

3. HEALTH facilities are a “sine qua non” for any community desirous of meeting its developmental aspirations. Primary Health Care centres constitute a basic need. The provision of clinics, maternity centres, cottage and general hospitals is also imperative. All these will have to be appropriately staffed by qualified, highly-motivated and dedicated medical personnel provided by either the State or Local Government authorities. Among the health needs are the routine immunization against the six childhood killer diseases and constant health education to minimize the incidence of infant and child mortality, stress the importance of breast feeding for nursing mothers and discourage practices such as Female Genital Mutilation.

4. The needs as far as EDUCATION is concerned falls into two categories- formal and non-formal. The former is the joint responsibility of State, Local Governments as well as the respective communities and proprietors themselves as they provide the physical structures and staff their institutions. On the other hand, literacy classes and adult education programmes are provided by Local Government authorities.

5. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE: Under this category, the needs and their providers are:

- i. Shelter: which is one of the basic needs of man can be met through the construction of decent and affordable houses under the housing for all scheme of the State Government.
- ii. Portable Water: Water, they say, is life. Provision of dams, boreholes and motorized wells by the State and Local Governments as well as the communities themselves through self-Help with financial assistance sometimes from the World Bank.

- iii. Motorable Roads: to facilitate social mobility within the Local Government Areas. State/Local Government responsibility, with or without community involvement.
 - iv. Rural Electrification: Usually undertaken by the Rural Electricity Board, an agency of the State's Ministry of Rural Development.
6. ENVIRONMENTAL need include:
- (I) Sanitation and Waste Disposal facilities
 - (ii) Floods and Erosion control measures
 - (iii) Drainage System
 - (iv) Preservation of forest reserves
7. EMPLOYMENT: is a need being met through opportunities provided by the State/Local Governments, Private/Informal Sector. The National Directorate of Employment through its vocational and skills acquisition programmes.
8. TELECOMMUNICATIONS: As the world has become a global village, the need for communication as the life-wire of society is always there. Service providers are Cyber cafes, Business centers, Post offices, Postal agencies, Courier Services e.t.c
9. TRANSPORTATION: The need to move travelers within and outside the community explains the social services being provided on daily basis by:
- (i) The "Kwara Express" buses of the Ministry of Works and Transport.
 - (ii) Transporters of the NURTW and RTEAN respectively.
 - (iii) Private mass transit operators
 - (iv) Taxi cabs
 - (v) Commercial motorcyclists

10. **CULTURAL PRESERVATION:** The need to preserve the cultural heritage, customs, practices and values of the Igbomina is ever-present. The traditional institution has responsibility for this, with the support of community leaders, Local Council for Arts and Culture, Cultural Centres and Cultural Festivals' organizers.

11. **CONFLICT RESOLUTION:** Chieftaincy and Land disputes is a feature of life in Igbomina land. Such disputes are usually resolved and indeed prevented by the traditional authorities, the apex of which is the Igbomina Traditional Council at Ajase-Ipo.

12. **SOCIAL RELATIONS:** Social clubs, voluntary organizations like the Rotary Club, Lions Club etc and relaxation spots exist to meet this need. Inter-community relations are also fostered by the people themselves.

13. **SOCIAL SECURITY:** the security of lives and property is a need which importance cannot be over-emphasized. All the security agencies are involved in this task. It is their collective responsibility.

PLANNING FOR IGBOMINA RADIO

Consultations have begun in earnest on how the dream of an Igbomina community radio can be actualized. Following visits to the headquarters of our three Local Government Areas-Owu-Isin, Omu-Aran and Share, preliminary discussions have been held with their Community Development Officers/Inspectors. These are change-agents who are quite prepared to serve as contact-persons/facilitators for community sensitization and mobilization as consultations continue in the weeks and months ahead.

In Owu-Isin, for example, the headquarters of Isin Local Government Area, which is located 72 kilometres from the Kwara State capital, the Community Development Inspector, Mr. Lawal, is assisted by field workers stationed in Edidi, Ala, Oke-Onigbin and Iwo.

Next is Irepodun Local Government Area, the headquarters of which is Omu-Aran, 80 kilometres from the state capital. Mrs. Abimbola

Madandola serves as the Community Development Officer and has four field workers posted to Ajase, Oro, Omu-Aran and Oro/Ajase.

As for Ifelodun Local Government Area with headquarters at Share, 64 kilometers from the state capital, the Community Development Inspector is Mr. Williams Oyedeji. There are seven field workers operating from Share (3), Ganmo, Oke-Ode and Igbaja (2).

In the course of the consultations, a simple questionnaire was administered to each of the Community Development Inspectors. It consisted of Information, Knowledge, Attitude and Opinion questions, 13 in all. The findings show that:

- i. Two of them have never heard of a community radio
- ii. All the three would like to see a community radio established in their areas
- iii. All the three are willing to join a community radio association
- iv. All the three are prepared to mobilize other people in their areas to also join.

Making suggestions for a proposed Igbomina Community radio, the Ifelodun Inspector said "their programmes should focus on the development of people at the grassroots towards the upliftment of their cultural activities," In her opinion, Mrs. Madandola, the Omu-Aran based inspector, said "radio programmes should start without any delay because by doing this our people can easily be encouraged to embark on self-help projects that can make life easy for them." Similarly, Mrs. Kehinde Adeyemi of Owu-Isin suggested that we "encourage the elite and the rich people to come to the aid of the programme so as to make it a success."

CONCLUSION

The conclusion to be drawn from these suggestions and many more

not included in this paper is that the Igbomina Community is ready to own, manage and control a radio. However, taking cognizance of the enormity of the task at hand, the community consultations will be sustained and intensified in the months ahead, especially as the Igbomina radio had been incorporated with the Corporate Affairs Commission as far back as October, 2005. Indeed, a Board of Trustees with members drawn from the 16 districts of the three Local Government Areas had also been constituted. On a rather optimistic note, our collective aspiration and main goal is that in no distant future, a community radio with the call-sign "Ee kun o" will hit the airwaves.

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