TELEVISION DRAMA IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY:
THE CASE OF NIGERIA

by

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of

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Drama

When the BBC Television announced its intention to stop the production of Doctor Who, a science fiction drama series, for eighteen months in order to save money, fans far away in the United States were outraged. They offered to pay the cost of production. This illustrates the value of drama in contemporary society. The programme certainly plays an important role in the lives of its viewers worldwide. Moreover, although the programme is targeted at children, 60% of its viewers are adults. A British fan who made a strong passionate appeal on television for the BBC to keep up production claimed that he and his friends grew up with the series which is 22 years old.

Although drama has always provided entertainment and a refreshing outlet from boredom and the rigors of work, its social importance has not been fully appreciated. In a developing country, such as Nigeria, its role in national development is undervalued. Drama is considered no more than a channel for escape, and of no ideological, sociological or psychological value. The few people who opted for acting during the early stages of drama development, more than a century ago, were seen as jobless vagrants and hooligans. Adedeji (1969) says that they were labelled as "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars." Ebewo (1984, p.6) describes the current attitude to theatre in the following terms:

> People look at theatre as a mere thing of 'fun', a joke or simply put, a drama is just a 'plaything' - not a thing to demand serious attention.

> People who pursue theatre as a profession are looked down upon. They are regarded as loafers, school drop-outs, vagabonds, impractical paupers who lack the aptitude to join in the current scientific race. On a more uncivil note, dramatists are regarded as nude-dancers, prostitutes, mad men....

The same dismissive attitude has inhibited research into Nigerian drama. Even the works of most anthropologists have failed to emphasize the dramatic aspects of religious rituals and festivals. Doob (1961), for instance, devotes just about one page to drama (and the same to music) in his Communication in Africa, a volume which has 372 pages. An extensive work by Davidson (1984), The Story of Africa, presents dances, festivals and pictures of masqueraders but does not recognise these artistic motifs as constituting indigenous drama. The few literary works which are now emerging either ignore indigenous drama or treat elements of it within their original contexts of religion and festivals rather than as popular art.

As Goodlad (1971, p.39) rightly points out, the function of popular drama in contemporary society "may be to sharpen the individual's consciousness of roles, and thus his awareness of the structure of his society." This study seeks to explore drama production as a means of popular art on Nigerian television and within an overall context of national development. As a pioneering effort in the field, the study as well touches briefly upon the history of various sources that contributed to television drama and opens up a number of areas for future research.

Television in Developing Societies

The notion of television drama in a developing country sounds illogical. More rational is the idea of radio drama as an integral part of the social life in a developing society. Experience in operating the two broadcast media has shown that while radio programming can be indigenized to a desirable extent, attempts to indigenize television programming have been a losing battle. As technological progress is made in the advanced countries, the chances of developing countries winning the television programming battle seem to be more and more remote.

Nonetheless, it is a fact of life that television looms large, indeed larger than its size, in the urban centres of many developing countries. In Nigeria, two-thirds (67%) of the urban households have access to television sets (BBC's IBAR Report on Survey in Nigeria 1983, p.5). Paradoxically, colour TV aerials are to be found sticking out from the rooftops of dilapidated ghetto structures. Television occupies the centre point, perhaps serves as the opium of life, in such depressing environment. Television drama provides vicarious participation in the good life of glamorous Hollywood, rather than mirroring the sombre reality of an agrarian society.

Alfred Opubor(1) once commented that the Third World countries seemed to muddle their way through rugged paths towards development with indiscriminate acquisition of technology. Middle-level technology which is amenable to realistic gradual social changes is not given priority. It is like racing to the moon without being able to fly. Aimed at speeding up the process of modernization are imported technologies in the areas of construction, electricity supply, transportation, education, health-care delivery, military operations, telecommunication, mass communication and consumer goods. Parker and

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1. A speech delivered by Professor Alfred Opubor in 1976 at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos.

Mohammadi (1977, pp.182-183) cite the effect of India's participation in the communication satellite experiment in 1975-6 on its economy. The national decision to develop and manufacture all satellite ground stations within India stimulated the growth of the electronics industry. They therefore recommend:

> Other countries may also wish to plan their communication technology in ways that foster national economic development, rather than by simply importing foreign technology. Importing of technology, rather than importing the ideas that make the technology possible, may create unwanted technical dependencies (even when sufficient foreign exchange is available).

An important aspect of television technology is that it is a medium of cultural expression. Drama, through the visual media (TV and film) provides entertainment while it indirectly disseminates ideological messages to viewers. Television programming has given rise to considerable debate on such issues as cultural imperialism, cultural autonomy and the role of television in developing societies. These are the issues that laid the foundation for this study. The research sought to determine the various sources of influence on television drama production and content in a Third World country.

Nigeria is a good choice for the study not only for reasons of convenience and accessibility but because it is a pioneer in the Third World in acquiring the modern television technology, in colour, and complete with satellite. Nigeria celebrated its 25th year of operating television broadcasting in October, 1984. This study therefore reveals how the television institution has fared as a medium of popular art and entertainment over the years.

Research Problem

The research focused on two stations (NTA Channel 10 and LTV Channel 8) based in Lagos, the capital. It briefly traced the history of drama and used the interview, participant-observation and content analysis methods to find out the factors of drama production.

The Yoruba culture has a large influence on drama produced in the two TV stations because it is indigenous to Lagos. Hence, the study concentrated on contemporary Yoruba drama in Lagos. It needs to be pointed out though that there are many types of ethnic drama in Nigeria. Two of the major ones, Hausa(1) and Igbo, are not much produced in Lagos, so they were not examined as the Yoruba drama was.

In order to limit the field enquiry to manageable proportions, the question of audience reaction to television drama was left for other investigations to pursue. However, the report of an audience survey on access to the media in Nigeria, made by the BBC's IBAR department, is presented in Chapter 5. The following questions were addressed in the study:

Question 1: What media production models influence television drama production in Nigeria?

Question 2: Are the models indigenously generated or are they copied from abroad through personnel training overseas, exposure to foreign-produced programmes presented on Nigerian television and the general imperialistic channels?

Question 3: How have the models facilitated or denied the expression of Nigerian culture through television drama?

Question 4: What foreign-induced factors (e.g. the involvement of multinational corporations in production decisions through programme sponsorship and advertisement) influence the local television drama production?

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1. The main official language of Nigeria is English. The three major indigenous languages are Hausa, spoken by 20 million people, Yoruba 17 million, and Igbo over 13 million (Gunnemark, E. and Kenrick, D. 1983, p.48).

Question 5:	What national factors influence the local television drama production?
Question 6:	What institutional factors influence drama production?
Question 7:	What personal factors influence drama production?

Answers to these questions should give us some knowledge of the perspectives of social reality which television drama presents to viewers, as well as the kind of culture which television drama cultivates in the viewers of a Third World country, such as Nigeria.

Broadly, the research objectives were the following:

1. to identify the factors that influence the production of drama in two Nigerian television stations;
2. to state the levels at which the factors influence productions;
3. to state the theoretical implications of the factors.

Although the study was conducted with the theoretical assumption that production factors had a bearing on the outcome of television drama, it did not aim to test a theory but to explore the little touched area of media production.

Concepts and Meanings

In order to avoid ambiguity, it is necessary to present an explanation of the meanings attached to a few concepts in this study. There has been some controversy over what could be termed drama. Questions have been asked such as: Can a religious practice be called drama? Is a ritual performance a dramatic event? To what extent can traditional festivals with serious objectives be described as dramatic? What in effect constitutes drama?

There is no doubt that when fiction stories are acted, the actions are dramatic. But the concept of drama is not limited to only fiction. Some non-fictional actions and events which have the quality of illustration, emphasis or art are, in common parlance, often described as dramatic. For example, some salesmen are more dramatic than others in their persuasive approach to potential customers. Some preachers, especially evangelical preachers, are more dramatic than others in illustrating biblical stories. The elements of drama in these non-fictional actions are the manners of speech, gestures, movements and objects utilized which are stronger and have more impact than the average. That is, real actions which are extraordinary are seen as dramatic. Arguing from a pro-Aristotelian perspective, Ola Rotimi (1968, p.325) defines drama as:

> .... an imitation of an action or of a person or persons in action, the ultimate object of which is to edify or to entertain. Sometimes to do both. Some African ritual ceremonies reveal instances of imitation either of an experience in life, or of the behaviour patterns of some power without the memetic impulse to recreate the ways and details of those powers. What could be, and has frequently been mistaken for drama in most African traditional displays appears with this latter type of non-imitative ceremonial efforts as with movements, rythm, and spectacles, beyond the ordinary. It is at such a point that some objectivity in concept might help in the definition of what really is drama. Ritual displays that reveal in their style of presentation, in their purpose and value, evidence of imitation as enlightenment and/or entertainment can be said to be drama.

Rotimi's definition provides a broader view of drama than that presented in the English Dictionary which states that drama is "a representation on a stage; a play; dramatic literature." To accept the dictionary definition is to deny the existence of dramatic acts before the emergence of modern theatre. The Concord Desk Encyclopedia (1982) does accept one of the origins of drama as the ancient Greek religious festivals. As such, it would be wrong to define drama solely in terms of a place and form of performance. Menagh (1967, p.121) attempts to clear the issue by directing attention to the performer or the medium of expression in drama:

> The fundamental medium of expression in any theatrical presentation, however, is mimicry. In the dictionary sense, and simply enough, mimicry is any imitation of, or any assuming of resemblance to, any real or imagined person, thing or action. Mimicry may be considered theatrical when it is expressed through or as if through action when it is intended to portray real or imagined life.

Therefore, we further streamline our concept of drama to the act rather than the place and form of performance. This means that a ritualistic display which is based on imitation is dramatic. Masqueraders, who imitate the deceased persons as their ghosts, are masked actors in dramatic events. Some aspects of festivals which re-enact past events for either the enlightenment or amusement of their participant "audiences" are definitely theatrical acts. Clark (1970, p.76) elaborates on this definition thus:

> If drama means the elegant imitation of some action significant to a people, if this means the physical representation or the evocation of one poetic image or a complex of such images, if the vital elements of such representation or evocation are speech, music, ritual, song as well as dance and mime, and if as the Japanese say of their Noh theatre, the aim is to open the ear of the mind of a spectator in a corporate audience and open his eyes to the beauty of form, then there is drama in plenty in Nigeria, much of this as distinctive as any in China, Japan and Europe.

TELEVISION DRAMA: The following definition of TV drama (Cantor 1980, p.23) is appropriate for this study:

> Drama is any entertainment television program involving a story, plot or character development which is considered fictional in nature. To qualify as a drama, the play must be a full-length

> program, usually one-half hour or longer in length; skits presented in variety entertainment programs do not qualify. Most drama presented on television could be on stage with little change. All can be presented in theatres because they are on film or videotape. Drama includes fictionalized accounts of actual events; comedies, tragedies as well as general drama.

TELEVISION DRAMA SERIES: A number of short complete stories presented as episodes. The main characters remain unchanged throughout a season (about 13 weeks) or several seasons of broadcasting. The setting may be the same for every episode. Most situation comedies fall into this category. Viewers' interest is sustained with light-hearted humour. The American Good Times, the British Our Neighbours and the Nigerian Alawada are some examples. There are, however, some drama series which are not comedies. Some are based on fast action (shooting and/or driving), crime detection, court litigation, rescue or medical operation. In all cases, there are built-in devices to maintain viewers' interest in the entire format of the programme. The duration of each episode is usually 30 minutes.

TELEVISION DRAMA SERIAL: An incomplete segment of a story presented in bits over a period. Each episode ends at such a point that viewers are anxious to know what happens next in the following episode. Thus viewers' interest is sustained as the long story unfolds. The characters and settings (or locations) may change as the story develops. The American Peyton Place, the British Forsyte Saga and the Nigerian Village Headmaster are some examples. Each episode may last for 30 minutes or one hour.

TELEVISION PLAY OR SPECIAL: A long complete story that is presented only at one time. If the story is very long, it may be broken up into episodes as a serial.

CARTOONS: Animated programmes.

TELEVISION MOVIE: A complete story usually recorded on film for television. The duration is standard feature length, one and half hours.

CINEMA MOVIE: A complete story made on film primarily for cinema theatres. After a good circulation in theatres, it may be presented on television.

Summary of the Study

This introductory chapter points out an advantage of radio over television in developing societies. In spite of that, television continues to grow in popularity especially in the urban centres. This has raised the issues of cultural imperialism, cultural autonomy and the general role of television in developing societies which formed the basis of this study. The questions specifically answered by the study concerned the factors of television drama production, the perspectives of social reality presented to viewers and the culture that television tended to cultivate in society.

Chapter 2 reviews the debate on cultural imperialism and cultural autonomy. It explains the national policies aimed at correcting the imbalance in programme exchange around the world, as well as points out the problem of evolving a national culture in a pluralistic and conflictual society. Chapter 3 reviews some literature of media production and the content of drama programmes. Chapter 4 traces the development of drama in Nigeria. It points out the various sources such as theatre, radio and feature film which contribute talents and materials to television. Chapter 5 presents the history and constitution of Nigerian broadcasting and compares it with other Third World broadcasting systems.

The research methodology is explained in Chapter 6. The main method of the study was participant-observation, but this was supplemented by interviews of some television personnel involved in drama production and with content analysis of samples of drama programmes. Chapters 7 to 10 present the results of the study. The last chapter (Chapter 11) summarizes the results and considers the future development of the electronic industry and technology in relation to drama as an international cultural product. It also makes some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

One may ask why a study of a popular artform, television drama, should be concerned with development issues. It is because one of the rationales of the politicians in establishing the mass media institutions is to contribute to national development : to foster education, to facilitate social communication, to preserve culture and to spread useful information in areas such as agriculture, health, family planning and economic opportunities. Broadcasting in particular, as Teheranian et al.(1977) remark, "frequently plays an extremely sensitive role in the political process and is often called to foster a sense of nationhood among a fairly heterogenous population which is traditionally segmented along ethnic, religious or regional lines." It has often been argued that some of the stumbling blocks against national development efforts are the cultural and economic imperialisms imposed from external sources. Ironically, it is these same sources that supplied the mass media equipment aimed at promoting development.

In the 1930s, television broadcasting emerged, and as with the previous mass media inventions, drama found expression in the new medium. Also, as in film and radio, innovative forms of producing and presenting drama were developed in television. Drama became established on television as series, serials, plays and movies. It became much more commercialized than it was in the older media. It attracted audiences away from the cinema theatres to stay in their homes. Advertisers intensified their use of drama to sell products.

Multinational corporations established vested interest in it (Murdock and Golding 1977, p.28).

Since the end of the colonial era, about two decades ago, drama has gradually emerged as the most potent and most fluid of cultural products in the international market. It is so fluid that it has soaked up and eroded most national attempts to contain and control its consumption. Its finance, production and distribution around the world are grossly imbalanced (Tunstall 1977). The few multinational corporations that control the major means of producing and distributing television drama have at their mercy a vulnerable international audience. Hence, television drama, with its one-way global traffic (Varis 1973), is viewed as a veritable tool of cultural imperialism. As video, cable, computer and satellite technologies advance, so will innovative methods of producing, distributing and presenting drama be developed to meet the universal insatiable demand for entertainment. Correspondingly, the concern about cultural imperialism, a precursor of economic and ideological imperialism, will become stridently pronounced.

Cultural Imperialism

The Third World's calls for a New World Information Order and a New World Economic Order are in reaction to the cultural and economic imperialism of the West. The term "imperialism" refers to "those particular relationships between inherently unequal nations which involve effective subjugation, the actual exercise of influence over behaviour" (Cohen 1973). It is a relationship between nations that is characterized by dominance and dependence.

As to the motive behind imperialism, there are four economic explanations. First, the Hobson hypothesis of underconsumption rests on the argument that highly developed capitalist societies tended to produce more than they could consume owing to low purchasing power of workers. Capitalists therefore had to search for new markets to serve as outlets for investments. This led to the scramble for colonies in order to monopolize markets for exports.

The second explanation is Marxist in orientation. It rejected the under-consumption hypothesis because it erroneously blamed underpaid workers for failure to consume. The internal contraditions of capitalism cannot be corrected with an artificial redistribution of income. This is because the existing distribution of income flows directly from the essence of the capitalist process. Marxism views imperialism as necessary for capitalist growth. If capital accumulates, profit declines. To offset declining profit in the capitalist system, external markets for investment had to be found.

The third approach is the Luxemburg hypothesis of under-consumption which represents the "minority" Marxist theory of imperialism (Luxemburg 1972). This differed from the majority view in its emphasis on the over-production of goods rather than capital as the main fault of the capitalist system. It argued that export of capital and overseas investment would provide the recipient countries independent means of production. These recipient countries would as such not be in a position to serve as external markets to absorb the surplus goods from capitalist countries.

The fourth explanation, the hypothesis of finance capital established by Lenin, is the majority Marxist view. It placed emphasis on the financial needs of the capitalist system in order to ensure its growth. The banks were an important element in this theory because their interest was in the highest rate of profit on investment capital rather than on the export of goods. The role of the banks was expanded to finance industrial growth abroad. Thus, the situation of declining profit at home was corrected with finance capital abroad.

Cohen (1973) offers a criticism of the four economic explanations of imperialism above. He views imperialism as a political rather than an economic phenomenon. This, he argues, is because the fact of history does not support Marx's assertion that colonies were important external markets. In fact the colonies were too poor to serve as markets for manufactured goods. Even though some of the colonies supplied industrial raw materials (e.g. metals, rubber and fibre), their combined share of the world raw materials market was small. Cohen remarks that the major concern of the imperial states was national security rather than economics. In the game of power politics, colonial possession was symbolic of a nation's power; the acknowledgement of such power protects a nation's interests from external aggression.

In view of the current state of economic dominance and dependency relationship between the rich and the poor countries, after the colonial era, it appears that Cohen does not offer the most adequate explanation of imperialism. Through the multinational corporations, economic and cultural imperialisms persist inspite of political independence. According to Boyd-Barret (1977, p.22):

> Cultural imperialism may work to increase demand for foreign goods, depress the opportunity for growth of local infant industry, and bring about a consumerist mentality by which the propensity to save is reduced by imitation of the foreign rich.

"Media imperialism", a component of cultural imperialism points to the possibility that a particular kind of culture could have been attached to the media organizational forms which were developed in the technologically advanced countries of the West. As the media organizational forms were exported to other countries, the cultures of the advanced countries were as well exported. Such cultural transfer could have discouraged the origination of indigenous forms which perhaps could be more suitable to local needs (Boyd-Barret 1977, p.23). In this regard, Mytton (1984, p.4) comments that the mass media in Africa

> can, and do, sometimes operate more as an extension of the media of the developed world, portraying the ideas, values and cultures of rich societies. This is especially true of advertising, the cinema and television. Few African feature films are made and are not widely shown. Only a tiny proportion of the entertainment films screened by commercial cinemas or at open-air mobile shows are made in Africa. Most come from Latin America, the United States, Italy and India. Where television is concerned, the situation is not much different: some African television stations purchase as much as 80 percent of their transmitted material from non-African sources.

Inequality of Programme Exchange

Some studies, Varis (1973), Tunstall (1977) and Guback (1977), have revealed that American programmes dominate the cultural television and film media universally with the exception of Eastern Europe. Varis's (1973, p.31) study of internatinal flow of television programmes shows that while the United States imports no more than 3% (1% for its commercial networks and 2% for its non-commercial network) of its programmes, most other countries of the world, except China (1%), import considerably. Imports of Western European countries range from 9% (France) to 67% (Iceland); imports of Eastern European countries range from 17% (Poland and Soviet Union) to 45% (Bulgaria); imports of Latin American and Caribbean countries range from 34% (Columbia) to 84% (Guatemala); imports of the Middle East range from 41% (United Arab Republic) to 72% (Dubai); imports of African countries range from 19% (Uganda) to 64% (Zambia). About 80% of the exports of the United States' programmes are undertaken by the Motion Picture Export Association of America (MPEA) of which the following are members: Allied Artists, AVCO Embassy, MCA-TV, MGM, Paramount, Screen Gems, 20th Century Fox, United Artists TV and Warner Bros. According to Varis, in 1971, the major export markets of the U.S. programmes were Canada (19% of total income), Australia (18%), Japan (17%) and United Kingdom (12%).

A direct effect of the inequality of programme exchange is the transfer of professional ideologies and programme styles to the receiving countries. The Western model of production therefore tends to be the yardstick by which products in most developing countries are measured. But the vast difference between the Western societies and Third World societies makes the operation of the Western model quite problematic. Apart from not being industrialized, most developing countries are united only in name. They have several ethnic groups with different langauges and culture. This means that large audiences for common cultural products (at least with respect to indigenous langauge) are non-existent. As such, the local productions of television programmes which approach the standard set by the West are not cost-effective.(1) This makes it cheaper to import Western programmes which invariably propagate Western culture and ideology. Along with product advertising, the programmes create demand for industrial goods. As the developing countries consume foreign-produced goods, they become more and more dependent on the advanced

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1. As will be shown in Chapter 7, revenue from TV advertising in Nigeria was not sufficient to support expensive, high quality, local productions.

nations. A solution proposed for this problem is the idea of cultural dissociation, that the developing countries should rely on themselves for social changes towards modernization.

Cultural Autonomy

In expounding the need for Third World countries to look inwards and to sever links from the advanced countries, represented by the transnational corporations, Hamelink over-estimates the capacity for internally-induced changes. He states (Hamelink 1983, p.1):

> The adequacy for the cultural system can best be decided on by the members of the society who face directly the problems of survival and adaptation. They are in the best position to strike the balance between a society's environment and its material and immaterial resources. Critical for a society's chances of survival are the internal capacity and external freedom to develop its cultural system autonomously. Cultural autonomy is fundamental to the independent and full development of every society.

The motives behind cultural imperialism were explained by Lenin (1965) as economic and by Cohen (1973) as power politics. Hamelink argues that the Third World's calls for a New World Economic Order and a New World Information Order were in reaction to the imperialism of the advanced countries. This was to ensure the developing countries' economic and political independence. Further, he states the need for the preservation of cultural varieties thus (Hamelink 1983, p.2):

> Since environments in which societies have developed have always been diverse, we are confronted in human history with a great variety of cultural systems. Today, however, we see the rapid disappearance of the rich variety of techniques, symbols and social patterns developed under conditions of relative autonomy.

Quite the contrary, if a society is to develop from its traditional position, in modern times, its development will be enhanced by benefitting from suitable ideas and products which are internally and externally generated. What is needed is a moderate national policy which regulates the amount and quality of external inputs to supplement internal productions. Hamelink, however, argues that such a moderate national policy can be undermined by the powerful transnational corporations through vigorous advertising and marketing. He states (Hamelink 1983, p.2):

> The important point is that transnational advertising does much more than sell products and shape patterns of consumption; it informs, educates, changes attitudes, and builds images. In doing all this, transnational advertising contributes significantly to cultural synchronization of the world.

The term "cultural synchronization" was explained as cultural imperialism. While Hamelink's argument is valid, it should be noted that cultural autonomy may retard rather than accelerate the rate of national development. Therefore, instead of dissociation from the spectacular progress made by the advanced countries, the Third World countries should continuously seek genuine participation and make contributions without being relegated to a state of perpetual consumption and dependency.

Theories of Development and Communication

With an hypothesis that high empathic capacity characterizes behaviour in modern societies, Lerner (1958, p.51) prescribes what is needed for social change in traditional societies. He defines empathy as "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation." It is the inability of people in traditional societies to imagine themselves in a different position that ties them down. Whereas the contemporary Westerner is willing to take risks and try innovations, the traditional man rejects them outright, claiming that things are not done that way. Paradoxically, the traditional man rejects innovation as radical, unwise and untraditional. Schramm (1964, p.32) considers such an attitude to innovation as one of the many counterproductive attitudes that plague traditional societies. Along with such attitudes are counterproductive customs and social patterns which do not foster progress. For modernization to occur therefore, there must be social transformation which is preceeded by the solving of human problems and mobilization of human resources. To mobilize human resources, there is a need to change unproductive attitudes. Such productive attitudes that favour co-operation, progressive social patterns, work innovation, saving and good health practices need to be developed.

Schramm subscribes to Lerner's view that communication is a multiplier of ideas and information for national development. In the "diffusion approach" to media study, Rogers (1983) places the same emphasis on the role of communication in development. He stresses that for traditional people to adopt innovation, they should be persuaded about the benefits, and their fears about taking risks and change need to be allayed by giving them "standardized and accurate messages" through the mass media.

Golding (1974) reviewed the three major approaches to development theory and points out a number of erroneous assumptions. The "index approach" focuses on statistical measures which do not explain qualitative changes in social structure. Nor does the theory of differentiation take cognizance of precolonial structures of traditional societies. Without role specialization and institutional detachment in Central Africa, the establishment of such ancient kingdoms as

Mali and Ashanti empires would have been impossible. The political structures that supported such empires had to be complex rather than simple. Golding criticizes the theory of exogenously-induced change which claims an inflow of technical aid, knowledge, resources and financial assistance from the developed to the developing countries. He points out that, quite the contrary, "neocolonial structure of world trade is infact drawing capital from underdeveloped to advanced countries."

Similar to the theories of development, the theories of the role of mass communication have a number of shortcomings. Golding identifies three communication theories as the correlation, the psychological and the diffusion approach. The correlation approach attempts to measure media growth in terms of demographic associations and statistical causality. But like its counterpart index approach, it disregards certain salient factors of human behaviour. For example, the correlation approach measures media growth in terms of the number of radio and television sets, cinema theatres and newspaper circulation. It does not determine media use, media content and even media production. The psychological approach points to the development of empathy. Golding explains that some other factors, apart from the media, may influence attitude changes. Structural constraints such as the lack of economic opportunities can frustrate peasants' ambitions. The media may be capable of making farmers aware of innovations, but if acquisition of such innovations (as new agricultural tools and machinery) is beyond their reach, they will experience frustrations rather than develop empathy.

The Issue of Free Flow of Information

The international flow of ideas and information in the form of media packages has yielded some desirable as well as undesirable results. In some respects, the "free flow of information" enhances human culture, fosters cross-cultural understanding and promotes peace and universal progress. In some other respects, "free flow of information" fosters dominance and dependence mainly because the flow is only in one direction (Varis 1973). The effects of unimpeded flow of information have been variously described as creating an American global village (Tunstall 1977) or cultural imperialism (Schiller 1973). The problem is not so much in the one-way traffic nature of the flow but in the content of information that circulates. This is aptly described in the MacBride Report (1980, p.37) as follows:

> It has been frequently stated in particular that due to the fact that the content of information is largely produced by the main developed countries, the image of the developing countries is frequently false and distorted. More serious still, according to some vigorous critics, it is this false image, harmful to their inner balance, which is presented to the developing countries themselves.

Azikiwe (1970, p.81), one of the pioneers of Nigerian politics and the first president of the country, writes in his autobiography about media distortion in relation to the ignorance he discovered in Americans about Africans:

> When we reached 23rd Street he gave me a hearty handshake and assured me that his impression of Africans had changed, after I had told him that my impression of Yankees was that they were cowboys with ten-gallon hats and lassos seeking out Negroes to lynch for fun! He did not appreciate this joke at first, until he realised that one half of the world was ignorant of how the other half lived, due to the levity with which those who controlled the mass information media slanted their news or films to amuse their clientele.

Attempts to rectify the various anomalies of international relations which hinder national development led to the calls for a New World Economic Order and a New World Information Order. In response to a suggestion by Robert McNamara, former president of the World Bank, a group of political leaders came together, with W. Brandt as chairman, to consider the issues of world economy. The Brandt Commission's Report (1980) points to the interdependence of all countries of the world. It divides the world into two groups: the North, consisting of the advanced countries, and the South, consisting of the developing countries. The Report states, "the North cannot prosper or improve its situation unless there is greater progress in the South." It notes the position of disadvantage occupied by the South in the international environment. Fluctuation in prices of commodities on which the countries of the South depend have reduced their earning capacity. This has in turn hindered their ability to produce export products and curtailed imports from the North. Such a situation, the Commission points out, could lead to "an enduring and deep recession in the countries of the North and economic collapse in most countries of the South." To avoid such a calamity, the Commission proposes the following:

> Above all, we believe that a large scale transfer of resources to the South can make a major impact on growth in both the South and the North and help revive the flagging world economy.

One year after the publication of the Report, a summit meeting of heads of governments of influential countries took place at Cancun, Mexico. The meeting did not produce any concrete action towards making a large transfer of resources to the South as suggested by the Commission. Correspondingly, the world situation has witnessed the predicted recession in the North and economic crisis in the South. Nigeria, for instance, has had to scale down several times the projects in her Third National Development Plan 1975-80 owing to reduced earnings from oil exports. The country has reduced imports of industrial products, including the developmental tools for agriculture and mass communication technology. She recently took panic measures in expelling about two million illegal aliens and in breaking out of OPEC's price level by reducing her oil price (in order to be more competitive) below the level of the British North-sea oil.

The Pre-Requisite for National Development

In concrete terms, development in Nigeria is articulated through her National Development Plan (1962-68), the Second National Development Plan (1970-74) and the Third National Development Plan (1975-80). The objectives of the second plan are presented in Appendix A. The items featured in the plan are the following:

1. Re-settlement and Rehabilitation;
2. Defence and Security;
3. General Administration;
4. Agriculture;
5. Livestock, Forestry and Fishing;
6. Mining;
7. Industry;
8. Fuel and Power;
9. Water and Sewage;
10. Transport System;
11. Communications;
12. Town and Country Planning;

13. Commerce and Finance;
14. Education;
15. Health;
16. Information Services;
17. Labour and Social Welfare;
18. The Private Sector and Development Planning;
19. Incorporated Businesses;
20. Households;
21. Financing the Public Sector Programmes;
22. Financing the Private Sector Programmes;
23. Manpower Development and Utilisation;
24. Manpower Implications of the Plan;
25. Rules and Procedures for Implementing the Plan;
26. Preparation for Future Planning.

The first and third plans featured similar items. It is significant to note that the broadcasting media (radio and television) featured prominently in the three plans. As it will be shown in Chapter 5, the broadcasting media expanded rapidly during the eighteen-year plan periods.

There is, however, no known assessment of the impact of mass communication on the implementation of the development plans. Neither is there any known scientific assessment of the success or failure of the plans themselves. It is noted that the economy is currently undergoing a period of crisis similar to the condition in many Third World countries. As such, we should ask two fundamental questions. In the face of cultural imperialism and economic dependency perpetuated through multinational corporations, and of a host of internal problems, does Nigeria have the necessary conditions for national development? Secondly, against the background of Golding's points about the shortcomings of some established theories of communication in developing countries, is the aspiration that mass communication can contribute to development futile? We may seek an answer to the first question by considering some suggested pre-requisites for national development. Dean (1972, p.32) proposes a model of plan implementation as shown in Figure 2.1. At the Apex of the model is the political system. This is crucial to plan implementation because nations are not homogenous and state policies are not usually pursued in the interest of the whole population (Brown 1982, p.166). According to Dean (1972, p. xv):

> Politicians, after all, are known to be concerned with matters other than rates of growth and the maximum of welfare, and their interest in problems such as the retention and exercise of power, the amassing of wealth, and the satisfaction of regional or class interests, can lead to action harmful to goals favoured by economists.

Other factors in the model are the executive capacity of a nation, the source and type of foreign aid, the nature of the resources available and the special demands of the plan itself. The operation of the five factors on the development plan yields an effect on the economy. Such an effect, if positive, generates resources for further national development. Dean's model does not account for the activities of multinational corporations whose operations now undermine national sovereignties. By contrast, direct foreign aid which he mentions has diminished. International assistance is now mainly channelled through such bodies as the IMF and the United Nations.

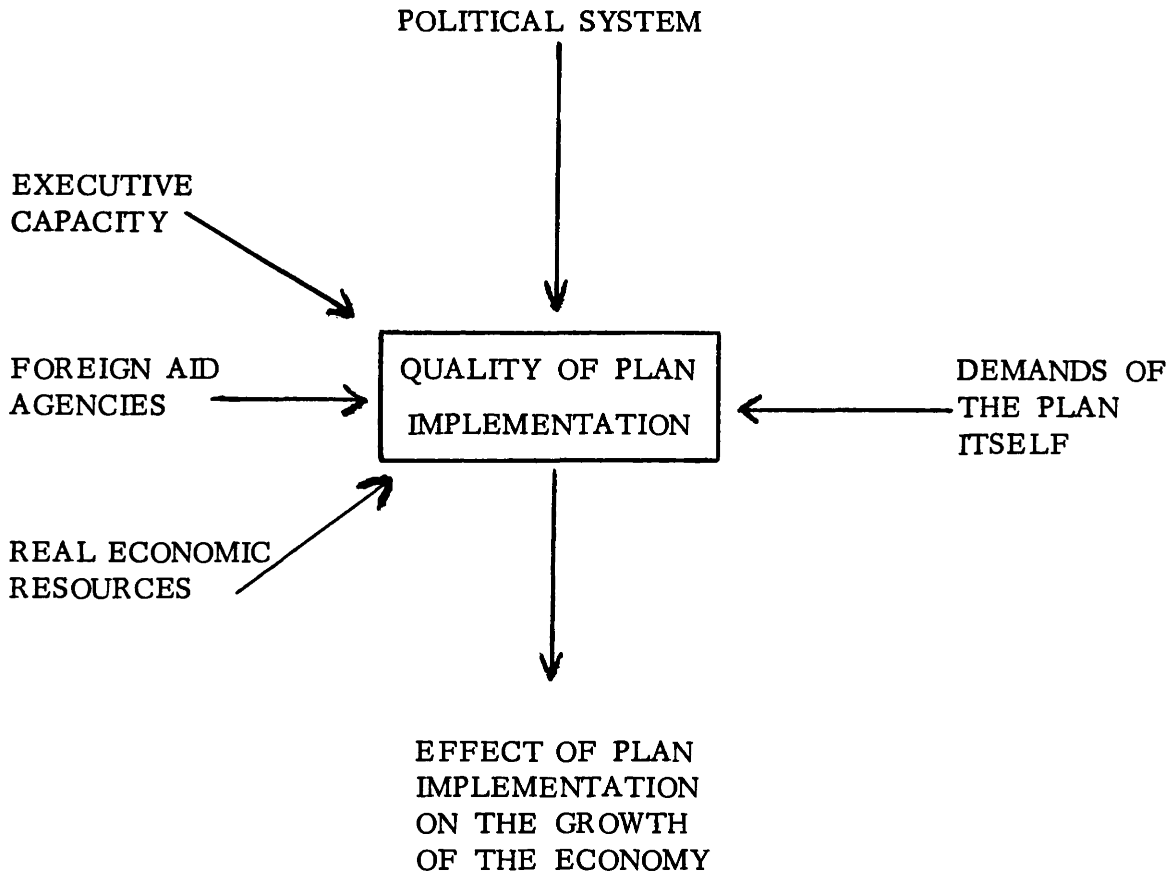
POLITICAL SYSTEM
EXECUTIVE CAPACITY
FOREIGN AID AGENCIES
QUALITY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION
DEMANDS OF THE PLAN ITSELF
REAL ECONOMIC RESOURCES
EFFECT OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION ON THE GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY

FIGURE 2.1 : DEAN'S MODEL OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Brown (1982, p.170) suggests four pre-requisites for development:

> 1. access to resources for which there is a strong and growing demand on the world market and not too many rival suppliers; 2. the existence of a class or classes related to the ownership and control of these resources and capable of developing them independently of the developed centres, so as to begin their sustained capital accumulation; 3. the establishment of a powerful state, with both a military force and an efficient and well-organized bureaucracy working not merely as servants of the dominant class but as an integrated part of it; 4. the state of a dominant class can be the organ of forced growth only to the extent that it is legitimated either by real or synthetic popular support, i.e. by the ideology that sustains it.

Brown's second condition seems to be ideal, but it is impracticable except in the agricultural sector. It is doubtful if any Third World nation can develop a significant industrial and technological resource solely on its own or with only the involvement of other peripheral nations. It remains to be seen how far China, the most powerful of developing nations, has been able to develop her technological resources independently of the developed centres.

Dean and Brown's pre-requisites for national development emphasize the possession of resources, executive capacity or dominant class of owners supported by a bureaucratic group and a political system with progressive ideology. Nigeria is blessed with resources. She has a growing elite class and a progressive political ideology. But events have shown that satisfying these conditions is not a sufficient condition for national development. There are many other variables at play, especially in the process of plan implementation. Counter-productive attitudes, behaviour and conflicts between individual, regional and national interests pose formidable hinderance to progress. Of course, external influences, good and/or bad, cannot be totally eradicated.

The second question concerning the role of mass communication may be answered with the MacBride Report (1980, p.163) which points out the consequence of an imbalance in the flow of information thus:

> This unequal exchange is inevitably harmful to national culture in developing countries. Their writers, musicians, film-makers and other creative artists find themselves shouldered aside by imported products.

The Report therefore suggests that all nations should establish comprehensive communication policies linked to their overall social, cultural, economic and political goals.

Canada and Australia are among some countries which have established communication policies. Hamelink (1983, p.33) describes the Canadian situation thus:

> There is increasing concern in Canada regarding the political and economic dependency upon the United States, a concern which has been especially strong in the area of public media. The Canadian Government has now passed laws designed to slow the stream of imported North American media. This is one form of opposition to the inundation of the Canadian media by North American products.

Although most countries do not have coherent, well-defined national communication policies, attempts at reaching such goals are fragmented in various laws and strictures that bind the media and individuals in their process of communication. In the Third World, more facilities for the training of media personnel, greater investment in the media and adequate communication policies should ensure significant roles for the local mass media in national development, without necessarily leading to press censorship as feared by some Western journalists.

Summary

The literature of some issues of national development shows that social changes cannot be effected by mass communication in isolation from other factors such as economic, political, historical and cultural conditions of a society. Apart from internal factors, there are external factors which can retard or accelerate progress. In order to remove the imbalance in world traffic of cultural products, the Third World countries called for a New World Information Order. In response to this, the UNESCO's McBride Report recommends, among others, the establishment of national communication policies. Some advanced industrialized countries such as Canada and Australia are noted to have established communication policies in order to resist the dominance of American cultural products in their media. The provision of more personnel training, more media investment and the establishment of communication policies in the Third World countries should enable the media to contribute to national development without the necessity for press censorship.

CHAPTER 3

TELEVISION AND FICTION

Introduction

Most studies of media production concern news. A few studies were made on documentaries and the role of individual producers. One anthropological study of Hollywood by Hortense Powdermaker (1951) is more or less outdated. But there is a growing concern for studies on how fictions are used on radio, television and film to shape our view of social reality. The growing importance of television in society has heightened the concern for television drama.

A recent survey of how people spend their leisure time in the United States shows that Americans spend more than half of their leisure time in front of the TV set, an average of almost three hours per person each day. In answer to the main question (What do you do every day, or almost every day?), the respondents show that 72% watch television, 70% read a newspaper, 46% listen to music at home, 45% talk on the phone to friends or relatives, 35% exercise or jog, 30% spend an evening just talking to someone, 24% read a book, 23% pursue a hobby, 22% work in the garden and 11% engage in sexual activities. Television is integrated into family life in that people do not pay special attention to it, "treating it like visual muzak or a cosy fireplace for the family to gather around" (TIME 1982, p.51).

When people pay attention to television, it is likely that the largest number of people select drama out of the range of programme offerings. The top ratings of drama programmes suggest that they are the most popular.

In any case, most people bought television sets primarily for entertainment (Katz, 1977b). In 1976, the British ATV programme output was 46% drama and only 20% news and current affairs. In his introductory paper to an international project on the factors of drama production in Britain, Denmark and Norway, Graham Murdock (1977, p.183) compares the breadth of social life covered by television news and drama. He points to the narrowness of news coverage. News deals mainly with the affairs of those "at the top end of class structure, on the political and industrial elites." On the other hand, drama deals with a wide range "of mileux, life styles and social themes." The lives of ordinary working people and the professions that stand in between (e.g. lawyers, policemen, teachers, doctors and social workers) are the common features in drama. But drama is not an exact mirror or replica of society. There are points of emphasis and exclusions. Dramatization needs simplification, and this in turn calls for selection. Notably, acts of human selection are often imbued with the biases of the selector. In support of Murdock's view, Halloran (1977, p.103) states that television programmes "don't just happen or flow directly and unimpeded from the pen of some imaginative and insightful writer." Drama programmes are the end-products of a number of factors which are historical, economic, technological, professional and personal.

Some works have been done on the content and audience of television drama but they are scanty. The major works on content are reviewed in this chapter. Murdock points to the unresolved issues of methodology, especially in the relationship between conventional content analysis and the various styles of structural and semiotic analysis. With regard to audience studies, Murdock notes that most studies are rooted in experimental and social psychology. This explains the basis of the studies on media and violence as in the Surgeon General's Report and the studies of media and individual characteristics as in "uses and gratifications" research. There is a need for more audience studies, states Murdock, which are less psychologistic and more sociologistic, for such variables as social class and education affect the process of decoding the meanings carried by cultural artefacts.

Three factors have hindered research into media production. The first is the unco-operative attitude of producers. Traditionally, the television and film industries are shrouded in secrecy. They are closed shops which are not easy for outsiders to penetrate (Alvarado and Buscombe 1978, p.5). They are isolated by a distinct culture as anthropologist Powdermaker (1951) notes. Personal links are essential for survival in the culture. Sociologists seeking to find out about the TV/film industries need to first overcome the suspicion of respondents. Powdermaker found it easier to gather information from the ruralities of the South Seas than from the cosmopolities of Hollywood. While she could write down respondents' answers in the presence of the South Seas natives, she had to adopt a clandestine method of memorizing answers and then driving round some Hollywood corners before she could record her research data.

The second factor militating against media production research is the traditional focus on cultural artefacts by sociologists. Critics and social scientists have preferred to analyse literary texts, radio programmes, television programmes and films rather than studying the processes that yielded the cultural products. This is because there has been some dispute within the sociology of art about the nature of the relationship between individual artists and their artworks. Thus, such a view by Dewey that art symbolizes "the collective spirit of an age" has influenced sociologists to concentrate on content analyses of artefacts in order to determine their social meanings (Elliott 1972, pp.8-9).

The third factor is the contempt that some scholars have for the popular arts. This emanates from the over-commercialization of cultural products in the United States. There is general agreement that American television drama is the product of a formula designed to reach the lowest common denominator in audience tastes. It is a mass culture with a sole objective to make money. Some scholars, as such, feel that the process of its production is not worth research attention. It is for the same reason that Newton Minnow castigates American television as "a vast wasteland" (Adler 1975, p.40). In stronger terms, David Littlejohn (1975, p.68) claims that there are hundreds of professional thinkers who regard American television as "barbaric, brain-softening trash: as a dangerous force working against serious thought, critical standards, and human values." Further, Douglas Carter (1975) feels that the medium is regarded so low that "thinking people" do not consider it worthy of their time.

Happily, television is not the same in other countries as it is in America, and by implication, modern America is not necessarily the model of advancement towards which less developed countries realistically aspire. Perhaps this is why Murdock's paper and the works of Halloran, Elliott, Cantor, Alvarado and Buscombe are among the growing literature which is generating such interests that producers are beginning to see the practical benefits of research into their work. Also, social scientists now perceive the theoretical implications of the structures and processes of production on cultural artefacts whether in the form of high, middle or mass culture.

Theoretical Framework

The term "mass culture" originated from "mass communication" which denotes that communication has acquired a mass character in modern society. There are a number of approaches to understanding the relationship between mass communication and society. Mass society theory conceives of modern society as composed of individuals who have lost the social linkages that enforced group norms on them. Individuals exist in industrialized societies as units held together by the mass media without any intermediary groups. Mass communication is seen as an essential component of the creation of mass society. The Frankfurt School which focuses on mass culture is a variant of mass society theory. The school is of the view that there is a flatness of mass culture, a sameness in culture created by the mass media (Bauman, 1972).

Loevinger (1968, p.107) proposes the reflective-projective theory of mass communication. The theory advances the view that mass communications are best understood "as mirrors of society that reflect an ambiguous image in which each observer projects or sees his own vision of himself and society." The media present a picture of society which promotes consensus in that problematic, divisive issues which cause conflict are avoided. The media celebrate the ideals of society. On the other hand, the functionalist theory claims that the media serve the needs of society. This is the theory on which some approaches to communication for development are based. But the functionalist theory is weak in that it fails to account for the prevalence of conflicts in society.

Another school of thought considers mass communication as an imperfect form of interpersonal communication (DeFleur, 1966). The role of the media is simply that of a vehicle which conveys messages from communicators to audiences. Such a vehicle is inefficient in that feedback is delayed. Credence for this model is perhaps based on the belief that the media have no influence on attitude formation. This view advocates that mass communication should be linked with interpersonal communication in order to stimulate desirable social changes.

Attributing dynamism and high status to mass communication, the agenda-setting theory considers mass communication as a motivating force in society. Mass communication defines what is good and important as the focus of consensus. The media set the legitimate limit of social discourse by neglecting conflicting issues. The issues that the media focus upon become the salient issues in society.

Against the view that media audiences receive messages passively, the "uses and gratification" theory claims that people select and use the media according to their needs. Studies based on this theory correlate various human needs with media content. Some other models of communication such as the Shannon and Weaver model (1949), Gerbner's model (1956), Lasswell's model (1948), Newcomb's model (1953), Westley and Maclean's model (1957) and Jakobson's model (1958) have illuminated our understanding of the communication process partially. There is yet the need for a general theory of communication which should encompass the many areas to which research attention has least touched. An understanding of the sociology of media production should contribute to the clearing up of some of the thorny issues.

Some studies of media production are reviewed below under the categories of Production Variables, News Production, Documentary Production, Drama Production and Content Analysis. The samples cited under each category are purposely presented on a case-by-case basis in order to permit close examination of the objectives, methods, strengths, weaknesses and results of the studies. Thematic presentations of the studies, although desirable, may not be so helpful in focussing on the methodologies of researching media productions. The approach therefore is descriptive rather than expository for pedagogic reasons owing to the paucity of research in this area.

Production Variables

While reviewing the effects of production variables on perception, Reid and MacLennan (1967) notes that not much research has dealt with production variables or variation in methods of organizing and presenting programme content. The current state of the art in television production is such that the influence of technique and craftsmanship on perception is too great to be ignored. The technology and artistry of television can create the illusion of reality where nothing exists and can make concrete objects unreal, for instance, through lighting and sound effects (Oduko 1978, p.9). Tannenbaum et al. (1960) quotes Gerbner that manipulation of the visual elements (camera angle, lighting, juxtaposition, contexts, relative size etc.) can effect changes in perception (meaning) without a viewer noticing such manipulation.

The reaction of viewers with different assumptions about the same televised events was studied by Comforth (1974). The problem was to find out if the viewer reacted differently to a crisis event when it was assumed to be real than when it was assumed to be fictional. The desired assumption was induced in the viewer through commentary on the video tapes. From a measure of the autonomic responses of the respondents, it was found that the assumption of either reality or fictionality in the crisis event did not yield any significant difference to the viewer's reaction. Comforth explains that the finding can be due to the fact that as a viewer matures, "he may become emotionally accustomed to viewing both that which is actual and that which is staged so well that it appears as being actual."

From Comforth's finding may be drawn a psychological question: In a non-crisis event, would a viewer react (or learn) differently to a dramatized event (or knowledge communicated through direct experience) than to a report about the same event (or knowledge communicated through indirect experience)? Learning from a report about an event as an indirect experience. The question concerns audience involvement in media channels, which indicates depth of attention. The more direct the event experience, the more involved are the audience. Perhaps this points to the relative advantages of the radio, which communicates original sounds, over the print media (newspapers and magazines), and the advantage of television, which communicates original sounds and pictures, over radio (Oduko 1978, p.10). Applying the same logic to television programme content, one observes that drama programmes provide more direct event experience than news, discussion and documentary programmes.

Therefore, drama programmes involve the audience more than other programmes. Apart from that, research has shown that drama programmes create more than awareness (knowledge) to viewers. The programmes are capable of involving viewers emotionally (Warner and Henry 1948).

News Production

Walter Lippmann (1965) describes the formation of pictures in our heads through media entrepreneurial selections from the real world. He then wonders why scientists have not, in the 1920s, focused research attention on such a process (mass communication) so basic to the operation of a democratic society. Inspite of this lament, attempts at systematic studies of news production did not begin until late 1960s, after a gap of about forty years. The delay was not due to a lack of conceptualization of the issue, rather the obstacle was methodology. News by nature is about intractable events which cannot be held down for methodological analysis, and without knowledge of the real events as they occur, researchers cannot measure media report deviations from them. Moreover, after-the-fact comparison of media institutions' coverage of the same event is devoid of knowledge of the real event, and as such, does not yield information about media distortion.

Another problem to researchers is access to media institutions. Some producers are not eager to have their operations scrutinized. Tracey (1978), mentions that some producers even refused to be interviewed. At the start of his study, Tracey was flatly denied access to undertake participant-observation of production process. He therefore relied on those he could interview and what he could observe to reach a conclusion that the media serve "the people" some of the time and the elite class interests most of the time. This was to clarify the debate as to whether broadcasting institutions were "fourth estate", autonomous and serving as "watchdog" on behalf of the people or were non-autonomous, sustaining "an 'irresponsible' position by legitimating the position of dominant groups within public consciousness" (Tracey 1978).

Epstein (1973) studied the structure and process of news production in three American television networks, CBS, NBC and ABC. He conducted interviews with people central and peripheral to news production and studied documents. He found more similarities than differences in the structure of news production in the three networks. Against the common belief that news happens by accident and that a journalist's craftsmanship is simply to develop a nose for searching out news, Epstein observed that most of the television news items were anticipated and vigorously planned for. The technological requirements of the television medium (i.e. the need to produce news stories visually in motion and verbally as speech) impose anticipation of news hours before they happen, generally about six or more hours in advance.

Prior knowledge of forthcoming events is mandatory in order to ensure efficient deployment of scarce production crews. Therefore, in the three networks, Assignment Desks are manned 24 hours a day to receive information from various sources. At NBC, in 1968, the sources were AP and UPI (70%), producers and news programmes (11%), public relation agencies (6.5%), newspaper clippings (4.5%), affiliates and local TV (3.2%), staff cameramen and free-lancers (1.8%), correspondents (1%) and others (2%). Also, to the Assignment Desk is funnelled information about the location of correspondents, camera crews and programming needs. It is then the task of assignment editors to match the expected events with the available production resources. Thus television is "group journalism" (Epstein 1973, p.135).

Network news productions rely more on general correspondents than on specialists in order to ensure journalistic detachment from subjects. It is also to facilitate communication to the audience whose education, on the average, is low.

The criteria for selection of events, by assignment editors, for coverage are newsworthiness, predictability of news (for planning purpose), film value, geographic balance, time considerations (events scheduled to take place early in the day have advantage) and correspondent preference (stories that could be covered by favoured star correspondents have advantage). In the course of gathering, processing and presenting news stories, journalists tend to substitute organizational values for their personal values. Epstein remarks that even if organizational values were not imposed, most journalists would not inject their personal views into newscasts because they believe in the professional ethic of objective reporting.

Golding and Elliott (1979) made a comparative study of the production and content of broadcast news in Ireland, Sweden and Nigeria. They observed the process of producing news, interviewed journalists and content analyzed news bulletins. They found that the structure of news production was generally at three levels: executive, gatherers and processors. Even though the structure in the three countries were similar, there were variations in the number of staff at each level. This, to some extent, reflected the technological and economic situations of the three countries. The news production cycle consists of four elements: planning, gathering, selection and production. Crucial to news planning is the keeping of a diary of anticipated news events. This is like news production in advance. It is similar to scripting in drama production. Although this practice is not favoured by most journalists, the logistics of organization makes it indispensable. The daily news bulletins are preceded by several formal and informal editorial conferences. The researchers note that part of the function of editorial conferences is "to consolidate external pressures into professional practice, to mediate the inevitable into the desirable" (Golding and Elliott 1979, p.88). Each day begins slow in the newsrooms, rising up to a peak of activity which tapers off at the end of the last news bulletin with an air of satisfaction.

The production of television news is team work involving reporters and camera crews. The process, it was observed, does not permit much editorial decision, in contrast to print journalism. Although attempts are made now and again to revitalize the newsroom, the production routine hardly changes. The assumptions underpinning news values are: importance to the audience, accessibility of the news event and the item's production possibility. To obtain audience attention, there is a tendency to make it dramatic, visually attractive, entertaining and important. Some other factors which influence news selection are story size, cultural and geographical proximity, brevity, negativity, recency, elites and personalities. The major constraints of television journalism are insufficient man-power to gather and process news, lack of time both to process the news and to present it on air, and external intervention from government officials and politicians.

Golding and Elliott's study points to the News Diary as an important instrument in planning events to cover. Apart from anticipating events, it appears that television journalists have preconceived ideas about specific actions that might take place. A study of the news coverage of an anti-Vietnam war rally in London, 1968, reveals that the expectations of journalists that violence would occur were reflected in the report of the event (Halloran et al. 1970). Although the demonstration was, to a large extent, peaceful and orderly, the press lopsidedly exaggerated a relatively insignificant confrontation between a small breakaway group and the police. Thus, it was this distorted press view that was presented and recorded in history (Murdock 1973).

Schlesinger's (1978) study of the BBC reveals a number of features in news production that are similar to that of the American, Swedish, Irish and Nigerian broadcasting organizations. Even ITV (BBC's main competitor in Britain) operates a similar structure of news production. Three main common features that emerge from all the studies of news production reviewed are:

1. Most of broadcast news are anticipated. Prediction of news events is made with the use of News Diary or Assignment Desk to which is fed information mainly from the news agencies, public relations organizations, government agencies and news-

papers. Whether operating in a system of monopoly (Sweden, Ireland and Nigeria) or duopoly (Britain) or pluralism (USA), broadcast organizations are not concerned with making news "scoops". Their newscasts rarely evolve from independent investigations.

2. Newscasts are preceded by daily editorial conferences in which the previous and the new day's operations are discussed. Considerable socialization of broadcast journalists to their organizational ideology takes place during the frequent conferences. This puts the organizational marks of the broadcast institutions on their cultural product, the newscast.

3. Broadcast journalism is group journalism. Newsgathering, processing and presentation are collectively undertaken. Individual broadcast journalists are apt to substitute organizational values for personal values.

Documentary Production

Elliott (1972) used a similar model to that of Osgood (Smythe 1972, p.32) in his study of the making of a television series. He examined television production as part of "a relay system through which the society as audience is presented with an image of itself, the society as source." His research strategy focused upon the role of the professional communicator as the creator of the intervening image. He studied the production of The Nature of Prejudice by ATV, a regional company of ITV network.

The plan at the beginning of production was for an educational series with thirteen episodes. The ATV had one producer who specialized in educational programmes. The producer appointed another specialist, an educational adviser, who was to develop the ideas and programme outlines for the series. A scriptwriter would then evolve production scripts from the programme outlines. Visualization or treatment of the scripts for production would be done by the director in consultation with the scriptwriter.

The process of turning the script to picture was the creative function of the director. But the director's creative sphere was very limited because in the message development process, he did not have much chance to contribute content. The body of knowledge in the educational programme came from an educational adviser. The programme was a funnel through which an educational message passed to receivers. The producer and the scriptwriter shaped the message in a form amenable to television and left the final stage of actualization to the director who was supported by a production crew.

Thus, the production of the thirteen educational series would have been done according to a structure of specialization and routinization if there had not been a change of producer. But there was a change of producer, and this marked a turning point in the fortune of The Nature of Prejudice after two years of planning. A change of producer initiated a change of production policy which affected the entire process of communication. The content of the programme changed; the form of the programme was altered; the target audience also became different. A new producer who was perhaps less specialized in educational production or who was simply more interested in the documentary format, believing that it was more effective for the message, changed the production to a documentary series with seven episodes. The switch in no way reduced the rigour of production. It infact, as it will be observed later, it required more work, more skill and more creative ability to make a documentary successful.

Documentary production was not so specialized and not so routinized as educational production. For a documentary, the wide society was the source of communication, whereas for an educational programme, an educational adviser was the main source. The producer of a documentary had the onerous responsibility of selecting aspects of society, as source, which would communicate a certain message to other aspects of society as audience, in accordance with Elliott's model. A switch in production plan also necessitated a change in Elliott's research strategy. Originally, he had planned to undertake the study through the educational adviser and by observation. Later, he had to depend solely on independent observation without a formal link with anyone involved in the production.

Non-fiction programmes accounted for a small fraction of the total output of ATV but such programmes enabled the company to achieve a measure of balance in programming which was a contractual requirement. Elliott observed a political system and status structure alongside the working organization of the company. This was manifested in the appointment of two heads for the Factual Programme Department. There was a sort of rivalry between the two heads; each kept a watchful eye over what the other was doing. One of them appointed the producer for the series while he himself occupied the position of executive producer. The core team for the series production consisted of a producer, director, researcher, production assistant and presenter, all of which were free-lancing. Elliott notes that inspite of the producer's wide experience as executive in many production organizations, he chose to free-lance in the hope that he would be able to realize his own ideas on the screen.

Production planning started with the producer setting down his own ideas on the subject of prejudice. He identified four types of prejudice as racial, religious, class and age. He analyzed his personal attitude on the issue. He was convinced that prejudice was bad and should be eradicated. He, however, had no illusion that a television series could change the society. He was aware of the limitations of the mass media; so, what he planned to do was to present evidence of prejudice and allow viewers to draw their conclusions. The producer's ideas formed the starting point for planning the production. As work proceeded, more subject ideas were added.

Elliott categorizes the mechanisms by which ideas were generated into three chains of factors: the subject chain, the presentation chain and the contact chain. The subject chain depended mainly on the producer's wealth of experience and knowledge on prejudice. The presentation chain represented the manner in which production constraints such as budget and presentation methods affected the choice of subject ideas. The contact chain provided a field of contacts, similar to Westley and MacLean's field of experience, out of which additional subject areas evolved.

Throughout the process of gathering materials and eventual production, the producer's concept of the problem of prejudice influenced decisions and various selections made. He expected the programme to turn out as he conceptualized it. But having to depend on various other people for supply of materials and for production limited the producer from achieving his aim exactly as he wanted it. Elliott notes that personal relationship was a prime factor in the process of gathering materials as well as in production. Generally, television production process was facilitated the more the relationship between individuals was informal. With regard to sources of material, the producer experienced four types of relationships:

1. producer's request was understood and source was willing to provide;
2. producer's request was understood but source was unable or unwilling to provide;
3. producer's request was not understood and so source provided material not satisfactory;
4. producer's request was misunderstood and source provided material not useful.

The four producer/source relationships shaped the nature of reality presented to the audience. Commenting on the entire production process, Elliott states, "there is an important tendency for television to be a reflective medium, sampling the range of conventional wisdom available in society on any topic and then relaying it back to society in programme form." Elliott's findings were derived from a study of the production of facts (documentary). It should be illuminating to find out if the findings apply to the production of fictions (drama).

Drama Production

The generation of ideas for the documentary, Elliott observed, involved three subject chains and is influenced by four producer/source relationships.

It follows from the above to ask, through what chains are fictions generated? What types of producer/source relationships influence the content of drama? Bearing these two questions in mind, we should examine Alvarado and Buscombe's (1978) study of a television series, Hazel, produced by the ITV network.

Alvarado and Buscombe state that ITV programmes are produced within an organized system of political and government controls, legal obligations, commercial imperatives, institutional structures and within "an interlocking network of everyday working practices, artistic and other cultural demands, the beliefs and actions of individuals and social groups." The researchers also mention that the production process is hierarchical, that roles are specialized and "television is a very enclosed world."

It should be noted, however, that their research method was not without fault. Much as they tried, the observers could not be neutral and detached from the production process. Elliott had the same problem in his study. Apart from that, it was difficult to obtain objective answers from those involved in production. Television's products are such that the personalities of producers are invested in them. Hence, self-criticisms are rare, and criticisms of others might be regarded as personal attacks. Therefore, participant-observers who need to ask questions in order to clarify observed data might get biased answers.

ITV uses producers on free-lance basis so that the network is in a position at all times to appoint the most suitable producers, or near so, for their productions. But this practice seems to be in conflict with the close-knit situation of television production. More so because of the existence of a number of unions which protect the interests of producers and artistes. The four major unions are the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT), the National Association of Theatrical, Television and Kine Employees (NATTKE), the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the Electrical, Electronic and Telecommunication-Plumbing Trades Union (EETU-PTU). Some other unions are Equity, for actors, the Musicians' Union and the Writers' Guild. The role of the unions has direct implication on production budgets. Payments to all production staff and artistes as well as the quality and quantity of production facilities had to be in accordance with agreements made with the unions.

At a time when ITV network wanted to produce drama that was entertaining (i.e. to pull large audiences) and which was not so heavy as some programmes they had produced, they discovered a novel, Hazell Plays Solomon, which was a thriller that dealt with the adventures of a cockney private eye called James Hazell. The novel was written by Gordon Williams and Terry Venables. It was so successful that the publishers, Macmillan, commissioned a second volume, Hazell and the Three Card Trick, and then a third, Hazell and the Menancing Jester. ITV bought the television rights of the first novel and the character of Hazell for the purpose of producing 13 episodes.

There was a long period of planning during which decisions on programme style, casting, set, costume, production logistics and presentation strategy were made. The entire period of planning took 20 months and it involved the Programme Controller, the Head of Drama, a Producer, Script Director and Casting Director. The Producer was the active leader of the production team which included Programme Director, Set Design Director, Lighting Director, Costume Designer and Make-up Artiste. It was decided from the onset that Hazell should not be like the run-of-the-mill type crime series. It should be different from The Sweeney and Kojak in that it would be simple with very little violence and with occasional humorous comments. The production budget, studio space and availability had influence on the writing of episodes for the series. For example, the number of extras had to be small. Each episode should be capable of being recorded within two days in the studio.

The producer had to compromise her idea that the production should not be in realistic style. Her wish to have strong roles for women also had to be compromised. She, however, had the final say on all the production decisions. Where she was in doubt, she referred matters up to the Head of Drama who in turn could go to the Programme Controller. The original creators of the subject material for production were the scriptwriters. The producer adapted the material and made several selections for its actualization. In the process, the producer's ideas were realized or ignored depending upon the producer/source relationships. Generally, Alvarado and Buscombe conclude, the result of the production was a compromise between the ideas of the producer and what the system could turn out. They observed a conflict between team-work and the different career and status pressures on individuals. On the whole, the producer had the greatest power of artistic and creative control in the production process.

Having considered the production of drama, we may compare the process with that of documentary production. The producer was the central figure in both production processes. A similar observation perhaps led Newcomb and Alley (1982, p.69) to remark that television is a producer's medium.

The three production chains (subject chain, presentation chain and contact chain), identified by Elliott, are applicable to drama production. There is, however, a difference in the dominant roles within the chains. This is caused by the difference between the generation of facts and fiction. For example, in the subject chain, the producer was the dominant person for documentary, whereas the scriptwriter was the dominant person for drama. The producer/source relationships also had only a little difference. In the case of documentary, the sources provided ready-made subject materials but in the case of drama, the sources created original subject materials. The sources of materials in the documentary were researcher, film librarian, graphic artist and speakers. In the drama, the sources were set designer, costume designer, lighting technician, make-up and actors.

Muriel G. Cantor studied the role of the producer in Hollywood (1971) and drama content and control (1980) in the United States. Both of her studies point to the powerful position of the producer in exercising executive and creative controls in the process of production. There are, however, some more powerful forces competing and even superceding the producer in the American system. Granted, the producer in the British system has some seniors, Head of Drama and Programme Controller, who appoint him and whom he must consult on major issues. But such interaction takes place as normal operation within one organization. In the case of the American producer, the superior forces he must contend with are outside his production company. The American television networks and advertising agencies exercise great interest in the content of television drama.

The American structure is such that the networks decide what will be produced and provide finance; the production companies then produce. A producer is a staff of a production company. He acts as liaison between a financing network and his own company. He also supervises the creative people (engaged by his company) who do the actual filming and/or taping. A producer who has had some measure of previous success may at times exercise more power than the networks. This is why it had been possible for some producers to depart from the established formulas and to innovate with socially relevant themes (Powdermaker 1951, pp.40-41; Griffith 1967, p.20). The system, however, does not end with the producers and networks. There are two other institutional units, the advertising companies and, to a lesser extent, the local broadcasting stations influence content. The situation is further compounded by the fact that the networks are part of multinational conglomerates (Murdock and Golding 1977, pp.26-27) whose interest in mass communication is mainly for profit.

In order to make profit, programmes must have high audience ratings. Therefore, audience demand is another factor in selecting stories to produce. As Cantor remarks, "the selection and creation of drama within the framework of an industrial model attribute great power to the consumer." But audience demand is identified only through programmes already produced. As such, those who create and select drama do not often know what the audience might desire. This is why the networks avoid risks by concentrating on successful production formulas. Thus, in the American system of drama production, the networks play a dominant role in Elliott's model of society as source being presented with an image of itself, the society as audience.

Miller and Rhodes (1964) provide a good example of the veto power of the networks over the creative people. A successful writer was persuaded to write a pilot for a television series. The network executives monitored closely the processes of writing, production and eventual testing of the pilot over the air. Although the pilot had a rating in terms of half a million people, the network considered the effort not a good enough commercial proposition. Hence, the series did not materialize. The creative work that could have emerged if the series were given a chance was aborted.

The organizational structure of a British television company, ATV,(1) with respect to influence on drama productions was studied by Halloran (1977). He examined the company's documents and interviewed senior executives, producers, directors and writers who were involved in production. He notes that supplementary data could be gathered from content analysis of selected programmes but time did not permit such an exercise. The study had to contend with the unavoidable bias characteristic of self-reporting in an interview situation. The objective of the study was to find out "the ways in which the nature and structure of an organization, and the pressures which impinge on it, affect creative production."

ATV Network Limited was one of 15 regional companies in the United Kingdom under contract from the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority). ATV depended upon advertising for revenue but the frequency, amount and nature of advertising were subject to IBA control. ATV was responsible for the content of its programmes, however, overall programme planning was done in

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1. ATV does not exist any longer; it is now replaced by Central Television.

consultation with IBA. Generally, like other production companies, ATV was required to conform to the policy of the IBA which required balanced programming of news, current affairs, drama, variety and light entertainment. On request, IBA was to be furnished with details of programme content, and if necessary with full scripts.

IBA's view on drama provided a framework for drama production at ATV. The Authority believed that "if some television drama is to make a serious contribution, then some plays will challenge generally accepted notions about behaviour and living." Another source of direct influence on ATV was its parent company, Associated Communications Corporation Limited, whose interests included film-making, theatres, record, tape and music publishing companies, the manufacture and supply of telephone answering equipment, theatrical costumes, merchandising and property companies. The ATV's parent company's policy of diversification had meant operational security and stability inspite of fluctuations in profit.

ATV was structured with Heads of Documentaries and Factual Programming, Educational and Religious Broadcasting, Outside Broadcasting and Sport. There was no defined drama department, but there was a Creative Controller who was also a company director in charge of drama production. The placement of drama in the hands of one of the directors might reflect the importance of drama programmes to the company. Drama took a large share of the company's total output. At the time of the study, the Creative Controller had six producers and five directors working with him. Some of the programmes produced at the time of the study were General Hospital, Golden Hill and Hunter's Walk.

It appeared that the personality of the ATV Corporation Chairman, Sir Lew Grade, had an indirect influence on the content of drama. The Chairman's influence was manifested through the type of people appointed as ATV executives and producers. They were people of clean taste who functioned very well within the established conventions of their profession. Their drama productions avoided offensive issues, politics, violence and sex as much as possible. The study, however, was not definite whether ATV was deliberately developed as a safe company or whether it only appeared to be so on the surface. Perhaps more intensive studies of television companies will yield more conclusive results.

The study of ATV was actually part of a project to make an international comparison of factors of television drama production. As such, similar studies were undertaken in Denmark and Norway. The Danish study was done by Olga Linne and Kjeld Veirup (1977). They examined documents of Danish Radio, which undertakes radio and television broadcasting, and interviewed the Programme Director, the Head of Drama and an executive producer working on current drama series. Danish Radio is a government corporation funded by receiver licences. It is a non-commercial state monopoly. Its affairs are supervised by a Radio Council which operates under the Minister for Cultural Affairs. The charter of Danish Radio requires it to pursue a policy based upon freedom of information and objectivity. The head of Danish Radio is titled Director General. Under him are Personnel Director, Programme Director, Technical Director and Finance Director. There are six departments under the Programme Director. They are Current Affairs and News Department, Culture Department, Drama Department, Entertainment Department, Children and Youth Department and Music Department.

Owing to high production costs, Danish Radio depends on foreign productions for about 50% of its programming. Only about 12% of the drama programmes are produced locally. Measured on the basis of quality, foreign programmes (American programmes in particular) cost less to acquire. The well developed industrial base (e.g. Hollywood), the lucrative commercial outlets in the US and the world-wide channels of distribution give American films a competitive advantage over productions in most other countries. This may explain why 15% of households with TV sets in Denmark(1) have video recorders which are used mainly for watching foreign films.

The bulk of local productions in Denmark are news, variety, entertainment and cultural programmes. Departmental competition for funding and the fact that foreign-produced drama programmes can be cheaply acquired constitute serious problems for the funding of local drama productions. This forced the development of an alternative form of drama which does not cost much to produce. The alternative form is called Participative Drama. Its production starts without prior planning. There is no script, no professional actor and no set. Amateurs are brought together to evolve their own story and to act themselves. The entire process is improvised and it is recorded as such by a professional production crew. The material is then edited for broadcast.

Points in the favour of Participative Drama are that it is inexpensive enough for a good quantity of local productions to be done, and it makes television drama pluralistic in that everyone can participate in acting. The researchers observed that open participation encouraged viewers' interest. It is important

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1. This information was obtained from an interview (16.7.85) with Dr. Graham Mytton, Head of International Broadcasting and Audience Research, BBC, London.

to note that the structure of Danish Radio, as non-commercial and as a state monopoly, is what made the evolution of Participative Drama possible. Perhaps this structure will enable other alternative forms of drama which may prove socially significant to emerge.

Mie Berg (1977) did the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) study. NRK is a state, non-commercial monopoly. There is a Broadcasting Board in charge of finance and administration and there is a Broadcasting Council which serves in advisory capacity to the NRK on programme policy. Also, similar to Danish Radio, the NRK is required to have balanced and objective programmes. The NRK does not carry any advertisement and so it depends solely on licence fees and tax on sets. The organizational structure of the NRK is similar to that of Danish Radio. Hence, the flow of command for drama production is from the Director General to the Director of Programmes and then to the Head of Drama Department. Drama takes a share of only 40% out of the total programme output. About 50% of drama programmes aired are imported. The major sources of foreign drama programmes are Sweden and England.

Another feature of similarity with the Danish Radio is the diminishing funds for local productions in the face of cheap foreign programmes which are available. The NRK maintains a strong link with the Norwegian drama theatre for directors and actors. To ensure operational continuity, a few producer/directors are employed fulltime. There is evidence of long pre-production planning periods during which selections are made from the many scripts submitted by writers. The first level of script selection (i.e. "gatekeeping") is undertaken by a committee within the Drama Department. The committee includes actors. Suggestions of the committee are forwarded to the Head of

Drama Department who takes final decision on scripts. The institutional structure of referals from the Head of Drama upwards to clear doubts on scripts and a weekly organizational meeting where programmes are discussed impose self-censorship on the production system. Also, at a high level, the members of the Council of Broadcasting express their views on drama programmes. Such views, even though not binding, are very important in assessing the work of the Drama Department.

All told, there is a striking similarity between Danish Radio and the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. The organizational structures, funding and production constraints are very much alike. This may be because they are both non-commercial state monopolies. Their systems are quite different from the British ATV which was commercial and which had to compete for audience with other television stations. Danish Radio and the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation are more like the BBC than the ATV, but then the BBC is not a monopoly.

Halloran (1977) notes the difficulty in international comparison of television systems because of the many variables involved. Therefore, it is hereby suggested that television system typologies should first be drawn up and then comparison should be made within and between the typologies. The following set of typologies may be applicable:

1. non-commercial state monopolies (e.g. the Danish Radio and the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation);
2. non-commercial competitive systems (e.g. the BBC television);

3. commercial state monopolies (e.g. the Nigerian television stations);(1)

4. commercial competitive systems (e.g. the American television stations and networks, the British ITV and Channel 4).

Within the first typology, for instance, it may be interesting to find out how different broadcasting organizations have reacted to similar problems. The importation of foreign-produced programmes adversely affected drama productions in Denmark and Norway. But the two countries reacted to the same problem differently. While Danish Radio evolved an alternative model of drama production, Participative Drama, the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation sharpened its professionalism within the existing model. The difference in reaction to the same problem may be rooted in the different societies. Figure 3.1 presents the response of some European countries to American media imperialism.

Apart from examining the influence of organizational structures on production in three countries, we have compared the processes of documentary and drama production. Earlier, we reviewed a number of studies on news production. The three main features of news production (pointed out on pages 43 and 44) are similar to drama production. The drama scripts, drama rehearsals and production crew are the fiction-making counterparts of news diary, editorial conferences and group journalism in news production. The same pattern was observed by Elliott (1972) in the production of a documentary series.

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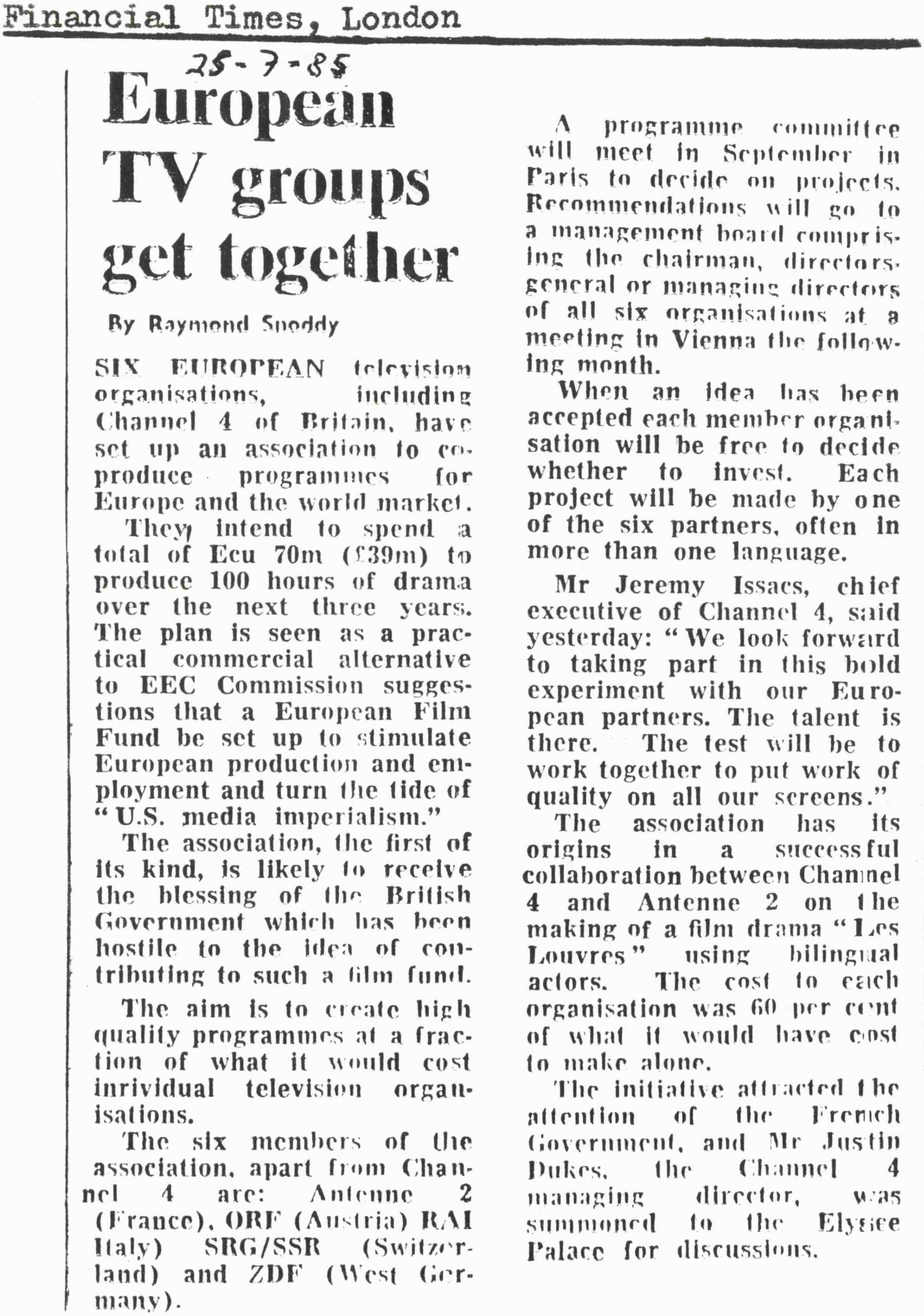
1. Although Nigerian television stations compete among themselves, they are classified as state monopolies because they are exclusively owned and controlled by governments. There is no privately-owned television station.



Financial Times, London

25-7-85

European TV groups get together

By Raymond Snoddy

SIX EUROPEAN television organisations, including Channel 4 of Britain, have set up an association to co-produce programmes for Europe and the world market.

They intend to spend a total of Ecu 70m (£39m) to produce 100 hours of drama over the next three years. The plan is seen as a practical commercial alternative to EEC Commission suggestions that a European Film Fund be set up to stimulate European production and employment and turn the tide of "U.S. media imperialism."

The association, the first of its kind, is likely to receive the blessing of the British Government which has been hostile to the idea of contributing to such a film fund.

The aim is to create high quality programmes at a fraction of what it would cost inrividual television organisations.

The six members of the association, apart from Channel 4 are: Antenne 2 (France), ORF (Austria) RAI Italy) SRG/SSR (Switzerland) and ZDF (West Germany).

A programme committee will meet in September in Paris to decide on projects. Recommendations will go to a management board comprising the chairman, directors-general or managing directors of all six organisations at a meeting in Vienna the following month.

When an idea has been accepted each member organisation will be free to decide whether to invest. Each project will be made by one of the six partners, often in more than one language.

Mr Jeremy Issacs, chief executive of Channel 4, said yesterday: "We look forward to taking part in this bold experiment with our European partners. The talent is there. The test will be to work together to put work of quality on all our screens."

The association has its origins in a successful collaboration between Channel 4 and Antenne 2 on the making of a film drama "Les Louvres" using bilingual actors. The cost to each organisation was 60 per cent of what it would have cost to make alone.

The initiative attracted the attention of the French Government, and Mr Justin Dukes, the Channel 4 managing director, was summoned to the Elysee Palace for discussions.

FIGURE 3.1 EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO AMERICAN MEDIA IMPERIALISM

This therefore suggests that this pattern is characteristic of television, whether in the production of fact or fiction. The television message system is a conscious, deliberate collective responsibility which reflects collective or institutional values.

The World-view of Drama : Content Analysis

The United States relates to television drama in the same manner as the Vatican is to the Catholics, as Britain is to the Anglican Church and as Mecca is to the Moslems. The U.S. is justifiably or unjustifiably the recipient of accusations of cultural imperialism. In the one-way traffic flow debate, the cultural products' traffic around the world begins from the American end of the journey and proceeds outwards. As such, it is important to find out the view of social reality that television drama presents to the American society and to the rest of the world. First, we shall consider the value of content analysis as a scientific method.

The measurement of media content can be obtained with the techniques of either or both audience survey and content analysis. Audience surveys determine audience perception while content analysis measures either meanings as manifested or as intended by a communicator. While Berelson (1952) is of the view that content analysis should be concerned only with what is communicated (i.e. the denotative signifiers), Sumner (1979) believes that it should reveal the intentions of the communicator. Sumner explains that even though the action of content analysis results in denotative discourse, the ideology of content analysis points towards the communicators' consciousness. In determining categories for content analysis, Sumner argues against Berelson's emphasis on frequent occurrence of an item as the criterion for its significance. This, according to

Sumner, is an error. The mere repetition of an item is unimportant. What is useful is to first identify significant items within certain contexts and then to set about counting the frequent occurrence of such items.

The difference between the views of Berelson and Sumner perhaps rests on the expected outcome from content analysis. Gerbner (1977) shares Berelson's position in emphasizing frequent occurrence to determine the "what" in communication. But knowing the "what" is insufficient to obtain the full meaning of a message system. It is important to note the context of the "what" in order to assign it an adequate meaning. Gerbner's view is that the overwhelming number of the "whats" conveys a message about issues on the socio-cultural agenda. That may be true, but further explanation about such issues would provide communication pleasure rather than pain. Gerbner's instrument for content analysis is examined in Chapter 6.

Comstock et al. (1978, pp.19-84) reviewed several studies of drama content in America from the 1950s to the 1970s. They observed that the television networks' habit of presenting old movies and reruns of videotapes gave currency to old themes and portrayals which were avoided in recent productions. This therefore complicated the studies of changes in themes and portrayals over the years. They noted that audience criticisms of television content and the economics of competition in the industry tended to influence the themes and portrayals in recent productions. Also, ratings tended to predict the scheduling of programmes for future seasons.

Prime-time television concentrated on various types of drama: situation comedy, suspense, mystery, adventure, science fiction, western and feature film. Serials, in the form of soap operas, filled the day-time hours.

Cartoons were directed at children. Most of the studies reviewed sampled only one week of television drama. Topping's (1965) study of 100 western films from the late 1950s showed that the common themes were conflicts between good and evil which were personified by two males. The problems featured in 14 soap operas studied by Katzman (1972a) in April, 1970, were the following:

1. Criminal and undesirable activity (such as blackmail, bigamy, violence, murders, poison and illegal drug traffic);
2. Social problems (such as business difficulties, sack from job, drunkeness, youth abuse of drugs, family problems and children illegitimacy);
3. Medical developments (such as mental illness, physical disability, pregnancies and successful medical treatments);
4. Romantic and marital affairs (such as romances in trouble, new romances, marital infidelity, divorce annulments and reconciliation of a married couple).

Katzman comments that these problems kept the soap operas moving along from one episode to another. Soap operas were populated by adults who engaged in talking mainly in the living rooms. Males were usually professionals while females were either housewives or have lower-status positions. A few females who were professionals were doctors, lawyers and businesswomen.

Generally, professional workers were overrepresented while lower status workers were underrepresented in television drama. On ethnic portrayals, it was found that black Americans appeared relatively infrequently, but their few appearances portrayed them as positive stereotypes. Foreigners, Asians and

Latinos were given negative roles and relatively menial jobs. On personal characteristics, Tedesco (1974) found that males were more likely to be bad persons, unsuccessful, unhappy, serious, unmarried and violent. Females were more likely to be happy, comic, married and non-violent. Men were more powerful, smart, rational and stable. On the whole, Comstock et al. (1978, p.44) comment:

> All the evidence concerning sex roles on television is consistent. Whether characters are in commercials, soap operas, dramas, or children's programmes, women are shown either as home-oriented or in lower-status jobs. Their proportion in the television labour force is far below the proportion of working women in the United States, and the range of things that television women do is much narrower than that of men.

Every year, since the 1967-68 season, Gerbner et al. (1978) have analyzed network dramatic programmes broadcast in evening prime-time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m. each day) and children's drama on weekend mornings (Saturday and Sunday between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.). Their research sample consisted of the drama programmes of the commercial networks in one week in the fall season. The programmes were videotaped for later coding which was guided by a definition that violence was "the overt expression of physical force, with or without a weapon, against self or other, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed or actually hurting or killing." The factors of coding were: frequency of occurrence, perpetrators, victims, environment and nature of violent acts.

There has been a lot of controversy over Gerbner's studies, particularly on his definition of violence which ignores the context of action. Some critics viewed the coding of violence in comedy, accidents and natural disasters as misleading because these cases were not generally considered as television violence. Some argued also that the formula for computing the violence index was arbitrary and could lead to double counting of some components. The formula is as follows (Gerbner et al. 1978, p.181):

$$\text{Violence Index} = \%P + 2\,(R/P) + 2\,(R/H) + \%V + \%K$$

where $\%P$ = percentage of programmes studied (i.e. network evening plus children's, nonstoryline excluded) in which there is violence,

R/P = number of violent episodes per programme,

R/H = number of violent episodes per hour,

$\%V$ = percentage of leading characters involved in violence - either commit act or as victim,

$\%K$ = percentage of leading characters involved in killing either as killer or victim.

Gerbner et al. offered no rational argument for the derivation of the formula other than that it was "a heuristic device leading to the analysis of the shifts in components behind the trend in the index." The usefulness of only one week's sample which concentrated on only drama (i.e. excluding other programmes like news and sports) was also questioned. This criticised the claim that the sample represented one full year's season of television drama. In the view of Comstock et al., the sample represented only each fall season's network programming of fiction for general and child audiences. The findings of the study are summarised as follows:

> Most programmes were contemporary and were set in urban environment.
>
> The victims of violence outnumbered the perpetrators.

> The most violence was committed by white middle-class male, young adult Americans.
>
> The victims of violence were disproportionately found among groups less powerful in the real society - females, old people, lower class, foreigners and nonwhites.
>
> Eighty per cent of all programmes over the past decade contained violent episodes. Most of the violence occurred in action-type programmes such as crime, adventure, western and cartoons.

Comstock et al. observed that violence in prime-time television drama was not a reflection on the real American society. There was no correlation between television violence and the Crime Report data of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation). They, however, noted that the proportions of violent items in newscasts and television drama were the same. This suggests that whether television deals with fact or fiction, the medium tends to dramatize its messages in order to catch attention, especially with violent or catastrophic scenes. Unfortunately, it does this out of proportions with reality.

The methodological shortcomings of most of the studies reviewed by Comstock et al. are inexcusable because they are predated by at least one study by Head (1954) which took pains to avoid such pitfalls. Comprehensive as Gerbner et al's. studies of violence attempted to be, they are faulted by inadequate sampling. A sample of one week in the fall represents nothing else other than one accidental week in the fall. It does not even represent the fall season because this is a period of programme instability. The networks start their annual season's schedules in the fall, and programmes which perform poorly (judged by ratings) in the first few weeks are expunged. The new ones substituted are similarly tested for popularity. So, the fall season is a period of trial and error in programming, hardly typical of a year's programmes.

Head avoided sampling error by conducting his study in the spring season (March, April and May, 1952) when programmes were more stable. He stratified programmes in terms of series and randomly selected samples within series. Four plays were chosen per week during the thirteen-week test period. Inspite of the relatively stable spring season, Head noted that a few droppings and addings of series occurred. This reduced his designed sampling from 256 programmes to 209 programmes, which is 30 per cent of the total universe, as delimited, for the test period. The codings of the content had the following dimensions (Head 1954, p.179):

1. interaction dimensions, which encompass the dynamics of the play as a whole unit;
2. temporal-physical dimensions, which have to do with locale and period;
3. character dimensions, which have to do with character traits; and
4. behavioural dimensions, which have to do with specific actions of the characters.

Data analysis revealed that the content of the programmes could be generally described as follows (Head 1954, p.180):

> Most of the plays take place in the present (82 per cent), in the United States (88 per cent), and in a city (76 per cent). Foreign settings are mostly European; no plays take place on the continents of Asia or Africa. Eighty-nine per cent of the plays are classified by type in four major categories: crime - detection - adventure (37 per cent), situation comedy (22 per cent), general drama (20 per cent), and children's drama (11 per cent). Love, history-biography, and social-political problems are infrequent categories. The most frequent theme

> is morality (44 per cent of the plays), i.e. conflicts involving conventional moral standards. Only 13 per cent of the plays result in unqualified failure for the protagonist.

Head explains that television's distortion of social facts is due to its attempt to emphasize the value norms of society. To do this effectively, television had to make biased selections rather than reflect the true structure of society. The social norms so featured are invariably the conventional, conservative values. Compared to the theatre, television is a much more conformist medium, and so this restricts the creative freedom of artists. Television tends to maintain the status quo.

The total output of television stations was studied by Smythe (1954) with one week samples taken in New York from 1951 to 1953, in Los Angeles in 1951 and in New Haven in 1952. He found that drama programmes had the largest share of television time. In New York, drama programmes increased from 33 per cent in 1951 to 47 per cent in 1953. All the quantitative findings of Smythe agree with those of Head (1954), Katzman (1972a), Tedesco (1974) and Gerbner et al. (1978) inspite of sampling differences. This suggests either that television drama content remained the same for 25 years (1953 to 1977) or that Comstock et al's. claim that old movies and videotape reruns gave currency to old themes and portrayals is substantiated. Both may be true. The main points of agreement in all the studies are the following:

1. Eighty-seven per cent of television violence was contained in drama, and most of it was directed at children as cartoons.
2. White American professional males dominated television drama. They were the most law-breakers, and they committed the most violence.

3. Females were underrepresented. They were only one-third of drama population, and mainly played the role of housewives.

4. Most drama characters were in their middle ages (around 37). In real life, more than half of the U.S. population fell below 20 and above 50 years of age, yet only one-fourth of the drama characters were within those age brackets.

5. Very few members of minority groups were featured. They played minor roles as law-abiding characters.

A unique aspect of Smythe's study is its use of a semantic differential instrument which measured character portrayal on evaluative, potency and activity seven-point scales, and thus elicited connotative meanings. Smythe (1954, pp.154-155) describes his findings on the portrayal of professionals thus:

> Among the professional groups shown on television, the journalists were generally closer to community ideals and scientists generally most distant from them in character attributes. Teachers were typically shown as the cleanest, kindest and fairest of the professional groups, while journalists were the most honest. Scientists were portrayed as the least honest, least kind and most unfair, while lawyers were shown as the dirtiest of the character types. On the potency scales, journalists were the sharpest, strongest and quickest, while lawyers were the hardest. Teachers were pictured as the weakest, softest and slowest, while lawyers were the dullest of the professional character types.
>
> Housewives were shown with personality patterns basically like those of female American heroes, although the former were slightly less honest, clean, and fair, and more kind, strong, sharp, hard and quick than were those heroes. On all valuative scales, private household workers were further from community ideals than were the housewives, and they were distinguished for the degree of dullness and softness of their characters.

Drama and Social Welfare Messages

Inspite of the world-wide intensive commercialization of the drama format, some attempts have been made to use drama to promote social changes. Paul Hartmann's (1977, p.99) study in the Philippines found that radio drama programmes with explicit social welfare messages had significant high ratings. Powdermaker (1951, pp.40-41) also notes several Hollywood feature films with overt social welfare messages which had box-office success. Such message films marked wide departures from the established Hollywood production formulas, and even initiated a change of the formulas. Crossfire had a message about anti-semitism. Home of the Brave, Lost Boundaries, Guess Who's Coming to Dinner and In the Heat of the Night had messages about American race relations. Yet all the films made money. This led to the belief in Hollywood that any message picture could make money.

Some television series with social welfare messages have also been successful in Britain and the U.S. Our Neighbour, Curry and Chips and All in the Family are a few examples. But there is a problem with message pictures. Audience reactions to such programmes are unpredictable. Studies of the audience of All in the Family in the U.S. showed that the audience did not react as expected by the producer. Owing to selective perception, the audience derived different, contrasting messages from the same programme.

Hartmann found an even bigger problem than selective perception. As he puts it, "The value of a family planning radio message would seem questionable if it is sandwiched between two soap operas in which unrestricted fertility is presented as normal." The value of social welfare drama programmes can be negated if other drama programmes to which audiences are exposed have contrasting messages. In order for social welfare campaigns to have a chance of some success, careful planning of overall media output is essential.

Summary

Very few studies dealt with the process of producing television drama inspite of the fact that drama programmes are the most popular on television. Research interest in drama programmes has mainly concerned content and effects. But such studies have yielded only a partial understanding of the mass communication process. The few studies of media production process are beginning to contribute towards a general theory of mass communication.

Studies of news, documentary and drama programmes show a characteristic of television to dramatize its messages. In doing that, it tends to distort reality, more so in drama than in other programmes. Distortions were found with regard to characters (males were overrepresented), age (the middle-age was predominant), occupations (professionals were overrepresented), commission of crime (there was more violence than in real life) and social class (the upper class was mostly featured).

Drama took the largest share of programme time on television, and most drama stories were based on contemporary affairs located in the urban centres of the United States. The themes and problems of everyday life (crime, social issues, medical developments and romance) kept the series and serials moving along from episode to episode. Of concern is a finding that a lot of television violence (albeit committed by cartoon characters) was directed at children who stood the risk of cultivating a violent culture. Drama with social welfare messages, although few and sometimes popular, could not be used with certainty to effect desirable social changes.

CHAPTER 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DRAMA IN NIGERIA

Introduction

This chapter presents the various sources which laid the foundation for television drama. It traces briefly the origins of drama worldwide before concentrating on Nigeria. The contexts of early drama in Nigeria were the indigenous media and religion. From these, theatre groups and literary writings emerged.

The first broadcast drama was in radio, and long before feature films were made, cinema theatres were established as outlets for drama films from overseas. Hence, the chapter treats the evolution of Nigerian drama through the following: world-wide origins of drama; oral history in Nigeria; indigenous media; the religious phase; the secular phase; the drama in festivals; emergence of theatre groups; national langauge and literature; radio drama; cinema theatres and film-making.

World-wide Origins of Drama

Drama in one form or another has been an important part of human culture throughout the ages. A brief account of its history in The Concord Desk Encyclopedia, 1982, points to one of its origins as the ancient Greek religious festivals performed in amphitheatres which were built into hillsides. Thespis invented Tragedy; much later (5th century BC), Comedy was developed from the Greek theatre. Even though Roman plays were influenced by the Greek theatre, Mime and Pantomime were the popular theatrical forms during the Roman

Empire. It is believed that Medieval drama started in the Church as musical elaborations of the service. This developed into Mystery Plays, Miracle Plays and Morality Plays.

The staging of drama in theatres began during the Renaissance with the rediscovery of Greek and Roman texts. As from this period, the theatre began to evolve as a separate cultural institution. Shakespeare was very much associated with the then most famous theatre complex, the Globe. By the 17th century, the modern form of the theatre which consists of audience seats, a stage with painted scenes, a proscenium arch and movable curtains had been established. In various parts of Europe, drama went through different phases of development. In England for instance, it had the periods of the Renaissance, the Restoration, the Neoclassicism and Melodrama.

Modern drama began with the works of Ibsen, Strindberg, Chekov, Zola and George Bernard Shaw using the dramatic form of Realism. Later, many experiments were made with the dramatic forms of Expressionism, Surrealism and Naturalism. Some experiments were also made with the use of language. In this century, O'Neill, Brecht, Lorca, Beckett, Ionesco, Tennesse Williams, Arthur Miller, Edward Albee and Harold Pinter are among the notable dramatists who have contributed immensely to the development of drama in the West. In recent times, the Japanese Noh and Kabuki drama gained popular recognition both in the Western and Oriental theatres.

One of the early developed theatres in Nigeria is the Alarinjo Theatre of the Yoruba ethnic group. The theatre took the form of masqueraders who performed from street to street in the open air. It gained popularity between

1770* and 1840. Like the ancient Greek theatre, the Alarinjo Theatre had religious foundations. It originated from the indigenous religious practice of ancestoral workshop (Adedeji 1969, p.32). Of the origin of Nigerian drama generally, Clark (1966, p.118) notes:

> As the roots of European drama go to the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Dionysus so are the origins of Nigerian drama likely to be found in the early religious and magical ceremonies of the peoples of this country. The egungun and Oro of the Yoruba, the egwugwu and mmo masques of the Ibo, and the Owu and Oru water masquerades of the Ijaw are dramas typical of the national repertory....

Also, some of the early developments in European theatre (puppetry, masque, storytelling, music and dance) can be found in Nigerian theatre. This indicates the universality of these theatrical elements.

The export of drama performance across the Atlantic Ocean from Europe to America was simultaneous with the founding of the United States. When the technology of the motion picture (camera, film stock and projector) was invented between 1890 and 1900, Pantomime Drama was quickly adapted for the medium of film (Robinson 1973). Film companies and studios emerged in Hollywood, USA, and in Europe to produce drama on film as commercial cultural products. Artists such as the Lumiere brothers, George Melies, Max Linder, D.W. Griffiths, Mack Senneth and Charlie Chaplin were among the pioneers of silent films which had universal appeal. The commonly used dramatic form then was Comedy. Following the inventions of sound on film and radio broadcasting in the 1920s, a variety of mediated forms of drama evolved. Cinema theatres became more popular than stage theatres. Drama on film (i.e. feature films) became very commercialized and it represented big business. Radio drama also had tremendous impact on society. The most cited example of this is the 1938 radio broadcast of Orson Wells's "War of the Worlds" which created panic because people thought that the drama story was real.

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* The development of rituals, festivals and theatres before 1770 is presented later in this chapter.

Oral History in Nigeria

Most aspects of Nigerian history earlier than 1840 depended largely upon oral literature. Until then, very few of the Nigerian numerous languages were reduced to writing. One of the means through which the history, customs, myths and beliefs were transmitted from one generation to another was the instrument of Ifa corpus. Ifa, in modern term, is an oracle, but it means more than mere fortune-telling in the indigenous religion of the Yoruba ethnic group. Ifa is attended to not by a clairvoyant, but by a divine priest who combines religious, healing and prophetic functions.

During training, the priest committed to memory several incantation verses which interprete any of the 256 configurations (called odu) which may result from casting a set of palm kernels on a divine palette. If a client with problems calls on him, he consults his ifa by casting the palm kernels two or three times, each time he recites the incantation verses which interprete the odu. The client thus obtains a response to his inquiry from the verses recited. The contents of the verses are related to the history of the ethnic group. They contain past ancestoral experiences which are narrated in the styles of analogies, similies, metaphors and proverbs. They are a highly intellectual historical rhetoric. The making of inferences to past experiences provides solutions, or at least understandings, of similar current problems. It also offers predictions on probable future outcomes. As the bulk of Ifa verses are transmitted from one generation of priests to another during the process of training, the history of the ethnic group is unconsciously kept alive.

Another means of preserving history orally was through praise chants, called oriki. Every person has an oriki which contains the positive history of the individual's lineage. So, oriki differs from person to person. For example, the oriki of a certain ancestor who was related to an oba (king) reveals the history of the Yoruba traditional theatre. The oriki goes thus (Adedeji 1969):

1. The offspring of oba initiated the idea of the masquerade as a means of disguise.
2. The offspring of oba were artists capable of creating and performing in masks and they held the Ooni (king of Ife) in contempt.
3. Babajide, the Ologbin Arepa, believed to be the first masque-dramaturge and founder of the professional dance troupe which later came to be popularly known as the Alarinjo Theatre, was an offspring of oba.

Indigenous Media

Up till now, the indigenous face-to-face media have co-existed with the mass media in the villages, where 70% of the population reside (Nigeria's Third National Development Plan 1975-80, p.30), and in a few areas of towns and cities. Some common forms of indigenous media are oral literature, market-places, festivals and gong-men (or town criers(1)). Ugboajah (1980, p.49) describes the general nature of indigenous communication networks thus:

> Village sectors in Africa communicate mostly via the market-place of ideas contributed by traditional religion, observances, divination, mythology, witchcraft, cult societies, age-grades, the chief's

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1. A gong-man (or town crier) is a royal emissary who beats a pair of gongs (see picture in Figure 4.7) to summon attention before announcing messages at strategic points of villages and provincial towns.

> courts, the elder's square, secret and title societies, the village market square, the village gong-man indeed the total experiences of the villager in his environment.

Unlike the mass media, access to the indigenous media is culturally determined and not economic. Only the gong-man model approaches the mass media in disseminating information generally. In most other cases, information received is dependent upon social status. There is a hierarchy of the right to speak and the right to receive information. Indigenous communication vividly demonstrates the maxim that "information is power" and that is why certain messages, although neither economic nor political, are restricted within select groups such as secret societies and age-grades. Nwuneli (1981, pp.1-79) documents this in his study of the indigenous media in two Nigerian villages, pointing out that the media are limited to only purposive communication. That is, certain messages are disseminated to certain people to achieve certain purposes.

The various indigenous media are used for specific types of messages. Oral literature serves to socialize new generations into the history, culture, morals and ethics of society. The literature also serves as a means of entertainment with the use of folklores. Market-places provide price index and news from other villages. These are also where advertising of goods (food crops, crafts, metalwares, herbal drugs, etc.) and services (medical treatment, dressmaking, beauty treatment, musical entertainment, etc.) are undertaken. Festivals serve the triple purposes of supplicating local deities for improved political and socio-economic conditions (e.g. fair weather, health, human fertility, agricultural productivity and victory over enemies), socializing the young ones into local cultures and entertaining in a dramatic form. Gong-men disseminate general information about events and the social welfare of their communities. With the use of conventional journalistic terms, Ugboajah (1980, p.49) explains the work of a gong-man as follows:

> Chief Osukute of Akure in Western Nigeria is the senior newsman of the Omode-Owas. The 'chief editor' of the palace news, Chief Osukute is also a liaison officer of the palace and the feedback channel for the views of the people to their king. He sends his 'reporters' on 'news beats' to herald dates of traditional ceremonies, warnings of epidemics, dates for cultivation and harvesting and social observances. The post of the village announcer or the 'gbohun-gbohun' in Yorubaland is in most cases a hereditary position. An Ijebu village announcer trains his children in the communication jobs that await them. Thus, the young village announcer must be briefed in his early years about the magnitude of his job - about the Oba's area of influence, about the time, place and utility of the news and about technicalities in the usage of the gong.

The interactive nature of indigenous media suggests effective communication, but their localized nature limits their range. There are 178 languages (Ugboajah 1977, p.185), each with several dialects. Since the indigenous media are language and culture bound, they are confined within tribal groupings. This had fragmented Nigerian society into several ethnic groups, a situation antithetical to the evolution of a common national culture and identity. Figure 4.1 shows the major ethnic groups. Awolowo (1947, pp.47-49) describes Nigerian society thus:

> Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographic expression. There are no 'Nigerians' in the same sense as there are 'English', 'Welsh' or 'French'. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not.
>
> There are various national or ethnical groups in the country. Ten such main groups were recorded during the 1931 census as follows: (1) Hausa, (2) Ibo, (3) Yoruba, (4) Fulani, (5) Kanuri, (6) Ibibio, (7) Munshi or Tiv, (8) Edo, (9) Nupe and (10) Ijaw. According to Nigeria Handbook, eleventh edition, 'there are also a great number

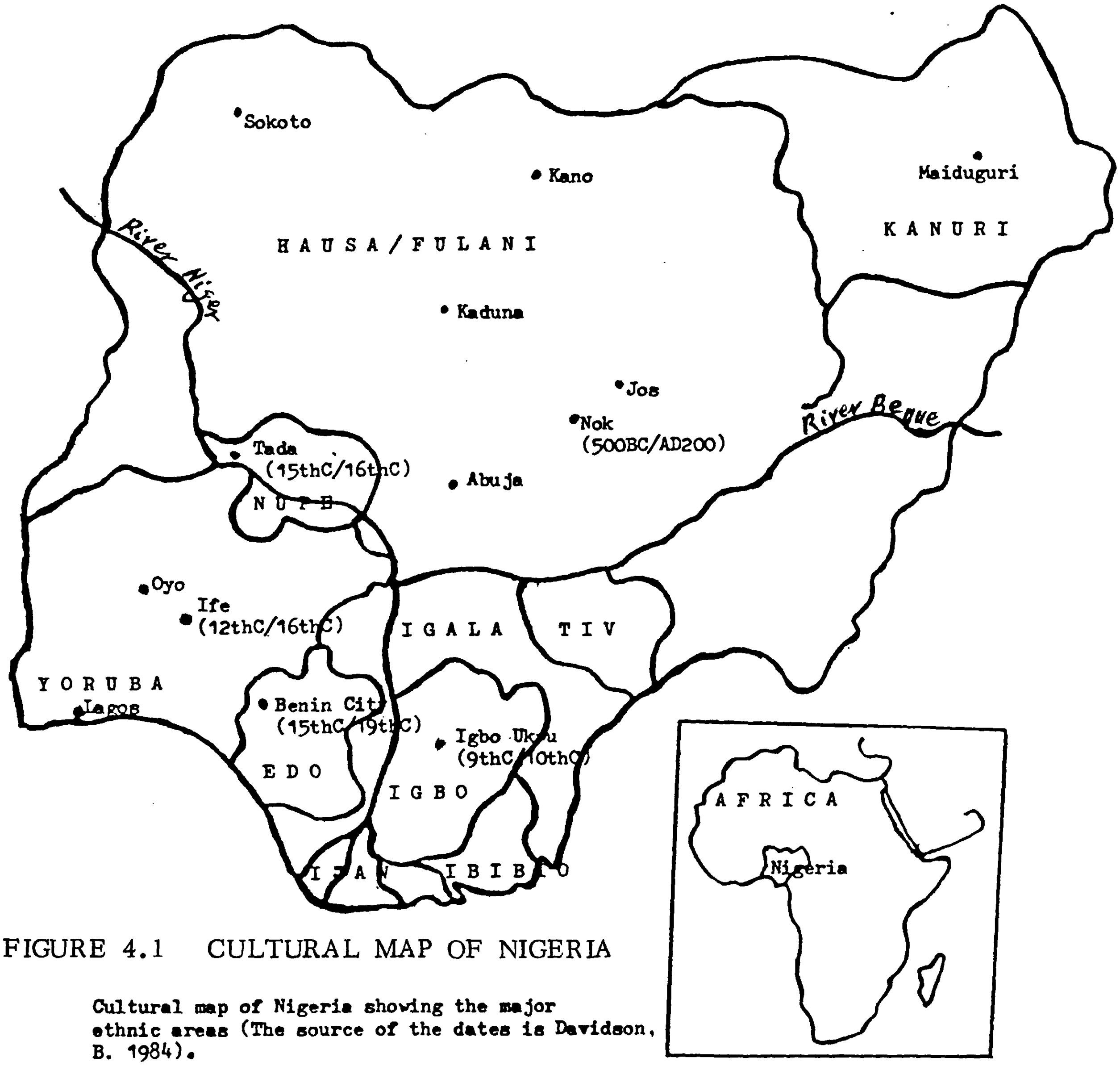
Sokoto
Kano
Maiduguri
KANURI
HAUSA/FULANI
River Niger
Kaduna
Jos
Nok
(500BC/AD200)
River Benue
Tada
(15thC/16thC)
NUPE
Abuja
Oyo
Ife
(12thC/16thC)
IGALA
TIV
YORUBA
Lagos
Benin City
(15thC/19thC)
EDO
Igbo Ukwu
(9thC/10thC)
IGBO
IJAW
IBIBIO
AFRICA
Nigeria

FIGURE 4.1 CULTURAL MAP OF NIGERIA

Cultural map of Nigeria showing the major ethnic areas (The source of the dates is Davidson, B. 1984).

> of other small tribes too numerous to enumerate separately, whose combined total population amounts to 4,683,044.
>
> It is a mistake to designate them as tribes and clans. There is as much difference between them as there is between Germans, English, Russians and Turks, for instance. The fact that they have a common overlord does not destroy this fundamental difference.
>
> The languages differ. The readiest means of communication between them now is English. Their cultural background and social outlooks differ widely; and their indigenous political institutions have little in common. Their present stages of development vary.
>
> Politically, the best organized groups are the Hausas, including the Fulanis, who form the ruling class in the north, and the Yorubas. They have a highly developed system of government long before the white man came. The political institutions of the others, however, were primitive and are still amorphous. The constitution of the Yorubas is analogous to what is known as constitutional monarchy. The dictatorial powers which some Yoruba chiefs are wielding today are the making of the British Government, who at the beginning misconceived the true nature of Yoruba monarchy. The Fulani conquerors were autocrats pure and simple. They were just consolidating their conquest over the Hausas and a small portion of Yorubaland when the British came in the 'scramble', to strengthen their hands. The Ibos, on the other hand, are essentially individualistic. The unit of government is the family; and the biggest autonomous aggregation for all purposes of government is the clan, with all the heads of families combining to form a governing body. The Ibos or Ibibios cannot tolerate anyone assuming the authority of a chieftain among them. For this reason, the experiment of the 'Warrant Chiefs' in the Eastern Region failed.

The few known written accounts of how drama developed in Nigeria have concentrated on the southern part of the country. Almost nothing is written about the northern part. This may be because the Islamic faith has existed in the North for centuries and, as such, Islamic culture might have largely supplanted the indigenous culture. The influence of Islam might have also retarded the emergence of a contemporary theatre in that area. Whereas in the South, particularly in the western area, early contact with the Christian missionaries and the British culture stimulated the emergence of stage theatre.(1)

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1. Indigenous theatre in the southern part of Nigeria differed from stage theatre in that the former was performed in the streets with participant audiences.

From all accounts, both indigenous and stage forms of drama evolved from religious practices. The former evolved from the ethnic religions while the latter evolved from Christianity. The process of transformation of drama from religious to secular functions can be examined in three phases: 1. the religious phase, before 16th century, when the masquerader, who impersonated the spirit of the deceased ancestor, was considered an essential link between the material and spiritual realms; 2. the secular phase, between the 16th and 19th century, when the masquerader assumed other functions (such as entertainment, education and social control); 3. the phase of festivals and emergence of theatre groups, 19th century onwards.

The Religious Phase

It is impossible to write about indigenous religion in Nigeria without referring to the various ethnic groups therein. This is because a broad-based Nigerian indigenous religion does not exist. What exists are ethnic religions. Referring to another census taken in 1963, W.D. Graf states:

> Ethnic pluralism is indeed a salient feature of the Nigerian conglomerate society. The 1963 census identified well over 200 ethnic groupings, and subsequent estimates mostly arrive at a figure of some 250. Three ethnic groups numerically dominate their three regions: the Hausa in the North, the Igbo in the East, and the Yoruba in the West. Between them they made up some 58% of the national population. Six other ethnic groups, the Fulani, Edo, Tiv, Ijaw, Kanuri and Ibibio constitute a further 20%. The remaining 20% range in size from one thousand to over one million. Each group, of course, has its own geographic territory, usually its own language and culture, and its special kinship and family loyalties.

Inspite of notable differences, there are many fundamental similarities among the ethnic groups of southern Nigeria. One of such similarities is religious philosophy. The Igbo people, like the Yorubas, believe in reincarnation.

Up till date, some Yoruba names assume the concept that a newly born child is the reincarnation of a deceased close relation. Such names as "Babatunde" (father comes back) and "Yetunde" (mother comes back) leave no doubt about the belief, now and/or in the past, in the cyclical nature of life.

Osadebe (1981, p.23) states that the Igbos manifest their religious belief by emphasizing interactions between the spiritual and material realms for the benefit of the latter. It is believed that the deceased ancestors continue to be involved in the lives of their descendants. This involvement is physically enacted in the mmanwu which is the "incarnate dead" or masquerader. The Igbo world-view considers the material realm as inhabited by humans while the spiritual realm is inhabited by the creator, the lower gods, the ancestoral spirits, the unborn, the disembodied and the malignant spirits. Time is a continuous phenomenon involving the past (represented by the spirits of the dead), the present (represented by the spirits of the living) and the future (represented by the spirits of the unborn). Osadebe (1982, p.25) explains the Igbo concept of time thus:

> Because the Igbo understand (sic) the interrelatedness of the two worlds, the theory of existence manifests to them as an idea of time .... time because each incarnation in mortal or spiritual form is a cycle, a duration in which to live and struggle and prepare for the next lifetime.

While Corbett (1980, p.iv) agrees with Osadebe on the concept of time-span beyond mortal existence and on the interaction between the mortals and the spirits, the former erroneously refers to a "Nigerian concept of time" without pointing to a particular ethnic group or providing evidence of common belief across the ethnic groups. As will be shown later, however, his points are applicable to most of the ethnic groups in southern Nigeria. He states:

> The Nigerian concept of time provides a basis for the spiritual/temporal interaction between the mortals of the audience and the spirit-characters portrayed in the dramas. This is believed to progress from present to past, and the spirits of the dead who live on in the past, under certain conditions, materalize in the present. This concept of time, coupled with the religious idea that a person lives always in some form, gives a basis for belief in a free passage between times (past to present) and between forms (immortal to mortal). Religion in the traditional Nigerian context predicates an organic unity of all existence. Material and spiritual life exists simultaneously in all of nature. The traditional Nigerian shares his existence with the earth, sky, water and the elements contained therein.

It needs to be pointed out that Corbett's claim that time is believed to progress from present to past is irrelevant because he himself admits the cyclical nature of life. If life is an unending cycle that simply changes form between the spiritual and the material realms, then there is no beginning and no end. Time, as such, does not progress from any starting point. It is simply a continuous cycle, symbolized by the movement of the arms of a clock.

The history of the Yorubas claims that they migrated from the East (probably Arabia), under the leadership of Oduduwa, and settled at Ile Ife (a city in Oyo State of Nigeria). Oduduwa became a mythological deity in the Yoruba pantheon. His seven children ruled the Yoruba people as obas (kings). The most junior of his children, Oranyan, was the richest and most famous ruler. He too was deified (Parrinder 1967, p.20). Over the years, the Yorubas have established a large number of deities, called orishas (gods), each of which has a cult of devotees. While some orishas are ancestoral spirits with divine qualities from Olodumare or Olorun (the Supreme God), others are spirits of nature (e.g. Sango, the god of thunder) and the elements (e.g. Ogun, the god of iron).

According to legend, Ogun was one of the seven children of Oduduwa. He was so stubborn that his father disowned him and sent him away into exile. It happened later that while the other sons of Oduduwa were hunting in a forest, they got lost. The forest was thick and they had no tool to clear their way out. They had given up all hope of escape from their predicament when suddenly Ogun appeared and used his iron sword to clear a way out. They returned to the town, and Ogun, the prodigal son, was welcomed back as a hero.

The news of Ogun's chivalry spread far and wide. Since then, Ogun has been associated with all materials made of iron. Ogun was deified as the god of iron. He is worshipped by all people who use iron-made products. Those whose crafts, such as blacksmithery and welding, depend on iron have had to worship Ogun much more in order to receive blessings for success in their craftsmanship. Up till date, some vehicle owners supplicate Ogun and dedicate their vehicles to him for protection against accidents. Many family names are prefixed with the word "Ogun" to indicate that those families were devotees of the god of iron. Such names are Ogunbiyi (Ogun provided this child). Ogundare (Ogun gives justice), Ogunlade (Ogun is my crown) and Ogunkoya (Ogun avenges wrongdoings to me).

The most significant deities are Obatala or Orisa Nla, the god of creation; Orunmila, the god of Ifa (the oracle); and Esu the evil god of chance and uncertainty. Esu is responsible for the destabilizing factor in life. Orunmila and Esu serve as intermediaries between man and the other gods. Through Orunmila, that is by consultation of the oracle, the Yorubas attempt to have knowledge of the future as it will affect their communal and personal lives. Esu is supplicated in order to obviate imminent danger or to assist in inflicting a revenge. Esu is also noted as a trickster god, a mischiefmaker who, according to Balisteri (1978, p.10) "leads man to offend the gods so that he can collect some of the sacrifices, which must be made to correct the error. Esu is a wanderer, who defies boundaries and prohibitions, acting as a catalyst trying to unify contradictions. He is linked with sexuality, eroticism and vanity."

In order to have peace and improve their social conditions, the Yorubas maintain close relationship with their gods. Every Yoruba has one orisha to whom he is devoted and who must be worshipped with sacrifices, rituals and festivals. Apart from having a personal orisha, a Yoruba might also belong to one of the ancestor cults of Ogboni and Egungun (masquerader). The Ogboni cult is responsible for interpreting and enforcing moral laws. A branch of the Ogboni cult which undertakes law enforcement, or acts as the cult's police force, is called the Oro cult. This cult operates at night with a terrifying sound like a bull roar. It is believed that the Oro cult also worships the disembodied spirits of the ancestors as manifested in the bull roar. The Egungun cult, on the other hand, worships the symbolic form of the ancestors as manifested in the masquerader. As Ulli Beier (1964, p.189) describes the cult:

> The Egun are a group of people who are specially trained to communicate with the dead, and this ability makes them the mediators between the ancestors of the clans and the living. An Egungun festival, therefore, is a very serious occasion and the big masqueraders impersonate the spirits of the dead, who are believed to reside in them while the dance is on.

Strange as this belief in ghosts performing through masqueraders may sound, it appears that the metaphysical concept is universal. A recent story in a

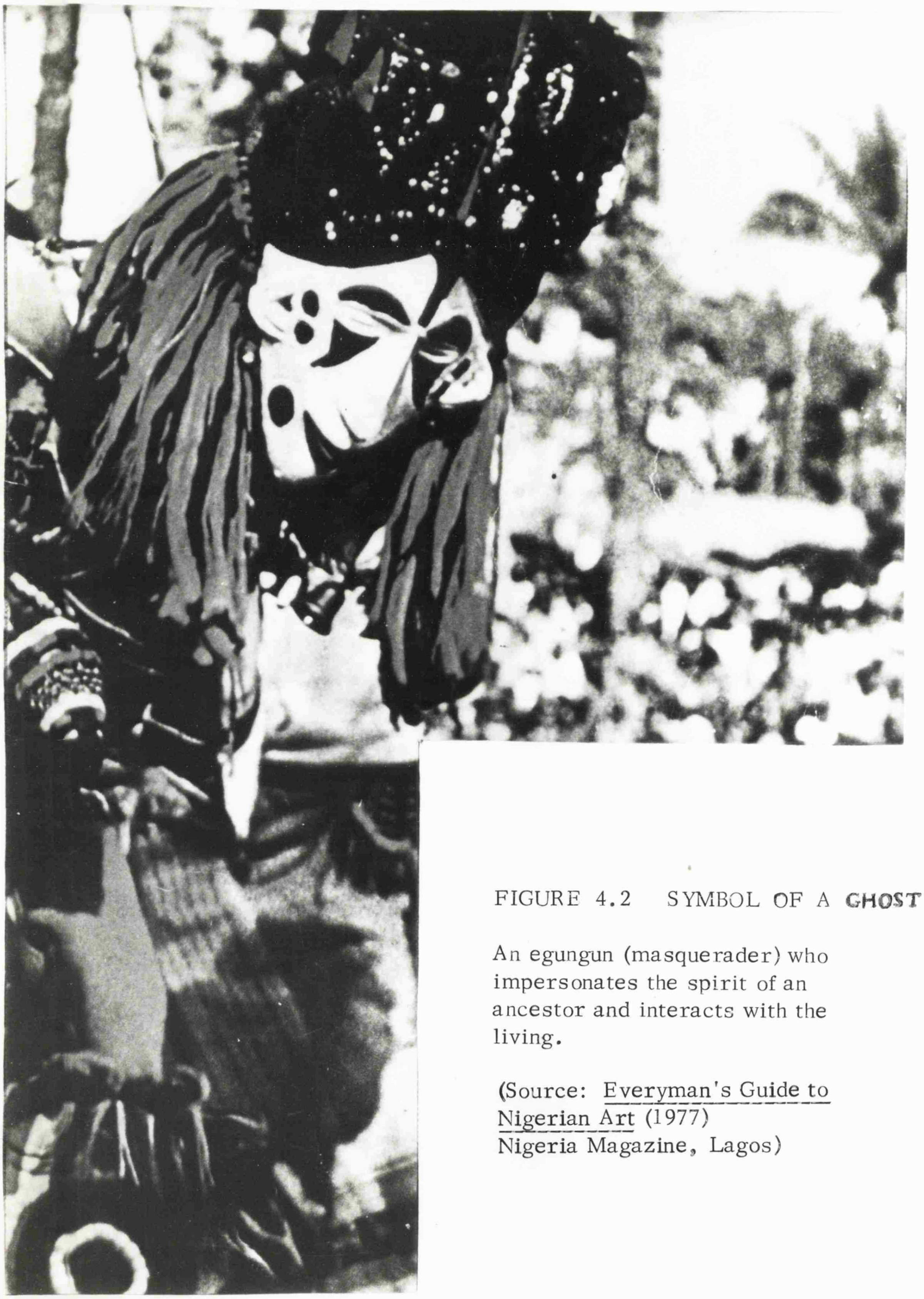


FIGURE 4.2 SYMBOL OF A GHOST

An egungun (masquerader) who impersonates the spirit of an ancestor and interacts with the living.

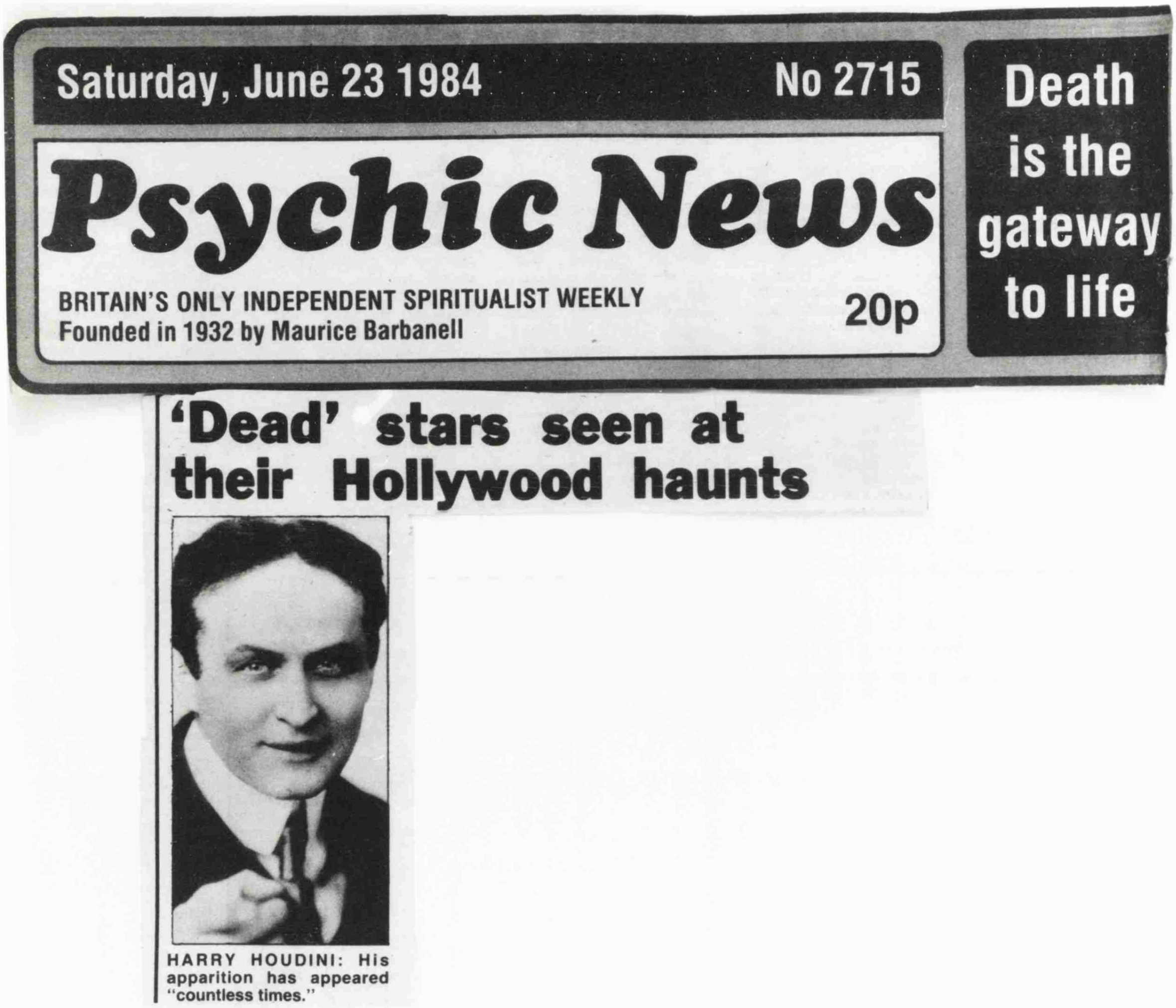
(Source: Everyman's Guide to Nigerian Art (1977)
Nigeria Magazine, Lagos)

British newspaper, Leicester Trader (1984, p.1), suggests the possibility as follows:

> Organizer of Leicestershire Age Concern's office, Miss Margaret Houghton and her staff think that the discovery of the bones could be inexplicably linked to recent 'happenings' on the premises.
>
> "St. Martins is a very ancient part of the city and as you can imagine there have been many reported ghost sightings. We're no exception," said Miss Houghton.
>
> "I have very often sensed someone standing behind me, only to turn round and find no one there."
>
> "Heavy breathing has been heard in the deserted upstairs room, pillows and pens have gone flying across the room and one of our cleaning ladies says she saw the ghost of an old man through a hole in the skirting board. She later found out the hole didn't exist."
>
> "And a painter working here one day had a rather nasty experience," said Miss Houghton, "When a lady in grey passed underneath his ladder and disappeared into thin air. He couldn't speak for about ten minutes afterwards, he was so shaken."

A similar story from the United States, reported in Psychic News (1984, p.5), goes thus:

> According to the compiler of the "I Love Los Angeles Guide", Hollywood is haunted by more than one famous dead star.
>
> Yvette Lodge discovered the psychic angle while researching the guide book.
>
> Lionel Barrymore, who passed in 1954, "has been sighted many evenings at his former Hollywood home," said Ms Lodge.
>
> "Incredibly, the ghostly presence of his beloved dog has also been seen with him."
>
> Apparently, the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel is haunted by Montgomery Clift, who died in 1966. He often stayed at the hotel.
>
> Staff have reported hearing a bugle played late at night.
>
> Montgomery Clift played a bugle in his most famous role as Pvt Prewitt in "From Here to Eternity".



Saturday, June 23 1984 No 2715

Psychic News

BRITAIN'S ONLY INDEPENDENT SPIRITUALIST WEEKLY
Founded in 1932 by Maurice Barbanell

20p

Death is the gateway to life

'Dead' stars seen at their Hollywood haunts

HARRY HOUDINI: His apparition has appeared "countless times."

FIGURE 4.3 GHOST APPEARANCE

A sample news item from the United States which illustrates the universality of the concept of interaction between the living and the dead.

> Ms Lodge said that escapologist Harry Houdini has been seen "countless times" at his former Hollywood home. Witnesses have reported seeing the master magician's apparition.
>
> Thelma Todd, an old-time actress who died mysteriously of carbon monoxide poisoning in her garage in 1935, is still seen at her home.
>
> Ms Lodge said: "So powerful is Thelma Todd's presence that psychics who visit the house actually get nauseous from the fumes of the carbon monoxide that killed her.
>
> "Tenants have even heard the sound of a car motor running and a horn blowing late at night in the garage."
>
> Yvette Lodge ended by saying that "hundreds of people have reported seeing and hearing these ghosts."
>
> "They look exactly as they did in their lifetime."

The Secular Phase

From time immemorial, the people of Oyo Empire (12th to 19th century) in the Yorubaland of Nigeria, have used the egungun as a means of ancestoral worship. During the 16th century, according to Adedeji (1969), the Igbo followers of Obatala (a deity) from the Nupe area sought to return to Ife city-state, their homeland, out of which they had been driven by the Oyo Empire. They played a trick on the Oyo people by first disguising some of their soldiers as egungun and then proceeded to engage the Oyo people in battle.

On seeing the egunguns, the Oyo people thought that their ancestoral spirits were on the side of the Obatala followers. The Oyo people therefore abandoned their territory and went into exile. A new king (called "Oba") from among the followers of Obatala was installed. Originally, the word "Oba" was the name of the man who founded Ife, presumably before the conquest led by Oduduwa. Later, he was worshipped as a deity with the name of Obatala (god of creation). In 1544, two clans, the Oba (Yoruba indigenes) and the Igboni

(Tapa extraction) decided to form the Egungun Society, thus bringing the worship of ancestor as egungun and the use of egungun for social activities under one hierarchy. From then on, the masquerade was used for ritualistic and festival purposes.

In a later development, the head of the royal court entertainers, Ologbo, adopted the masquerade as a means of providing entertainment. This, however, was not without the approval of the Alafin of Oyo Empire (King of Oyo Empire). Infact, according to Adedeji's (1969, p.157) account, it appeared that it was the king who stimulated the innovative use of the masquerade for secular purpose:

> King Abiodun, it seems gave the first boost to professionalism and individualism in mask-dramaturgy since, by his judicious intervention, the theatre-group was released from its cultic obligations of the Egungun Society and became a part of the court-amusements.

It is believed also that between 1770 and 1789, the Alafin of Oyo sent his court entertainers from city to city to entertain other royal families. This marked the beginning of professional Yoruba traditional theatre.

In the 18th century, Ogbin, who adopted the title of Ologbo for his professional role, led a band of masqueraders to perform outside the royal courts. His precedence was followed by other professional masqueraders. Thus, it was this branching out from the use of the masquerade for exclusive court entertainment that later ensured the survival of the theatre when Oyo Empire fell in the early part of the 19th century.

Throughout the 19th century, the theatre continued to grow artistically and professionally. Theatre troupes travelled beyond the Oyo area to the new

Ibadan area performing from street to street and collecting gifts which they shared among themselves. This earned the theatre the name Alarinjo (street dancer). Thus, the Yoruba indigenous theatre came to be known as the Alarinjo Theatre. The theatre provided employment to many people who did not belong to the original lineage that first developed the art. Describing the form and style of the Alarinjo theatre, Adedeji states:

> The artist proceeds by induction rather than by deduction. Although the artist normally operates within a transcendental frame of mind that inspires him to accomplish his objective, the results of his works seem superficial to the casual observer. The substance of what the masque-dramaturge wishes to communicate or share with his audience is revealed in the material of his creation which also underlies his main preoccupation, namely religion and human situation. Thus in the theatrical "repertoire", there are two types of masques - the spectacles and the revues. While the former are designed to meet religious objectives the latter are sketched out as comments on happenings on the society. Although the spectacles are serious drama in intent, they are sometimes given satirical turns, but the revues are always comical.
>
> The root element of the theatre are the mask, the chant and the dance but a performance is the sum total of all these and the unified product of gesture and costume. The theatre has specific obligations to the audience with whom it communicates.
>
> Its functions over and above divertisement include education and edification. But the art of the theatre can be appreciated only within the framework of Yoruba aesthetics and the sensibilities of the people.

In the Igbo community, the secular functions of the mmanwu masquerader were entertainment, education and social control. The mmanwu developed into a masked actor in the performance of Igbo drama which had the elements of mime, dance, social commentary, music, songs and acrobatic acts. Mime is used to imitate the action of spirits with the exercise of magical powers. In modern times, however, according to Osadebe (1981, p. 230), the mime of masqueraders only connotes certain meanings without the assertion of any magical powers.

Structurally, the mime consists of simple movements and gestures which are improvised. The mime usually condenses long stories into brief actions because it is meant only to interprete the stories rather than to act them out in exact details. Effective transfer of meaning is achieved in the mime with the aid of sound effects and music. For example, during the re-enactment of war battles, some exclamatory sounds, such as yells, grunts, yelps and screams connote the progress of the fight to the audience. Similar sound effects are used in re-enacting scenes of hunters capturing big game such as leopards and elephants. The sound effects stimulate the imagination (as does radio drama) and intensify the excitement in the drama. What adds to the effectiveness of the sound effects is the background music which sets the mood and punctuates the dramatic action (just as background music and sound effects punctuate actions in modern Western movies). Osadebe (1981, p.232) describes the role of music thus:

> .... it is music that heightens and underscores the stalking movements in the battle and hunt scenes, and particularly, the suspense effects within the stalking action. In the same way, the Ijele's spirited movements depicting a victorious-senior chief are dictated by the music. The most important role of music in mime is in creating its mood, the peculiar emotive force which underlies the dramatic action of every masquerader.

Apart from mime and music, dance is another very important aspect of Igbo drama. Dance, in fact, is of general importance in Igbo life because every child is expected to learn to dance as part of traditional education. Talbot (1926, p.802), an English ethnologist, comments that dance is of the same importance to southern Nigerians as prayer is to European religions. There are different dance steps for different occasions, be it religious or secular. As Nzekwu (1962, p.35) puts it, "dancing was a field in which every able-bodied individual wanted to acquit himself creditably since on certain occasions in one's lifetime, one just has to dance." One of the criteria for selecting people to be masqueraders is the possession of excellent dance skills, because the dancing mmanwu must always outshine the unmasked dancers. A mmanwu dramatic dance is more complex than the general social dance.

The use of the mmanwu for social commentary is in the form of satires designed to ridicule wrong-doers and to put them to shame. It is a means of effecting social reform while, at the same time, providing entertainment. Parents also used the concept of the mmanwu as an incarnate dead, a terror with destructive magical powers, to discipline their children. They often warned erring children to behave, otherwise the mmanwu would be summoned to deal with them. Yoruba parents too used their masquerader, egungun, to frighten children into obedience.

The same fear of the mmanwu was employed in effecting compulsory traditional education. As from six years of age, boys were expected to join the male-only Mbekwe Association which was the children's version of the adults' Mmanwu Association. Since mbekwe was a mini-mmanwu, the former was as much feared by the youngsters. Boys between the ages of six and nine were trained in leadership skills and dancing. Only the older boys could embody the mbekwe, and this gave them some measure of authority over the young ones as the latter went through their period of apprenticeship. Thus, under the awe of mbekwe, which had no religious value whatever, Igbo children underwent traditional education, and were prepared for adult life. Some of the spin-offs of traditional education were the formation of informal clubs such as age-sets for the hunting of lizards, for wrestling and other social activities, all of which contributed to the building up of well-rounded individuals.

The Igbo mmanwu is similar to the Yoruba egungun in performing the functions of religion, entertainment, education and social commentary. The drama of the two types of masqueraders employed mime, dance, music, songs and acrobatic acts. The similarity of the two ethnic dramas suggests common origin, inspite of their present-day cultural and linguistic differences. Adedeji did mention that the Yorubaland was formerly occupied by a certain Igbo followers of Obatala. But it is not clear whether or not he was referring to the present-day Igbo ethnic group of Eastern Nigeria. Hopefully, further research may eventually fill this gap in history. There is already a well-documented connection between the Yorubas and the Edos which are located between Yorubaland and Igboland. There is also some observable connection between the Edos and the Igbos.

The Drama in Festivals

Most festivals have dramatic elements. A sample of such festivals is presented on Table 4.1. Corbett (1980) studied the performance of 34 festivals in Nigeria. His description of the Egungun Festival is summarized below. The Festival is performed annually in Ibara-Abeokuta in the month of January. It lasts for fourteen days; the exact dates in January are determined by the consultation of Ifa, the oracle. Once set, the news of the Festival dates is sent far and wide so that all the indigenes of Ibara-Abeokuta can return home for the occasion. Thus the Festival serves a social function of promoting family re-union. Through the fostering of peace, unity and co-operation among various communities within the town and with other towns and villages, the Festival serves a political objective. The fundamental objectives of the Festival are, however religious. They are:

TABLE 4.1 A SAMPLE OF FESTIVALS WITH DRAMATIC ELEMENTS*

	ETHNIC GROUP (Town, State)	FESTIVAL
1.	EDO (Benin, Bendel State)	The Igue Festival
2.	EDO (Effurun, Bendel State)	The Edjuvbie Festival
3.	EDO (Warri, Bendel State)	The Awerewere Festival
4.	IJAW (Port-Harcourt, Rivers State)	The Igbu Festival
5.	IJAW (Port-Harcourt, Rivers State)	The Owu-Ama Festival
6.	IGBO (Isuikwuato, Imo State)	The Inji New Yam Festival
7.	IGBO (Lorji, Imo State)	The Icho-Afo Festival
8.	IGBO (Onitsha, Anambra State)	The Umummo Festival
9.	YORUBA (Ibara-Abeokuta, Ogun State)	The Egungun Festival
10.	YORUBA (Ibefun, Ogun State)	The Ereno Festival
11.	YORUBA (Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State)	The Agemo Festival
12.	YORUBA (Ire, Ondo State)	The Ogun Festival

* This list is a sample of festivals of southern Nigeria studied by Corbett (1980). It should be noted that there are numerous other festivals celebrated periodically in the northern (e.g. Argungu and durbar festivals) and southern parts of the country.

1. Affection and reverence for ancestors - Sacrifices of goats and cocks are made to the ancestors as a sign of the affection of their living descendants.

2. Reunion between the dead and the living - The egungun (also called "Ara-orun", meaning citizen of heaven) plays with the participative audience, prays for them and reveals important secrets to elders, all the time speaking with a high-pitched, guttural voice which emphasizes the illusion of his being an incarnate dead.

3. Preventing or curing epidemic diseases such as small-pox and cholera.

4. Protection - Offerings are made to the head egungun for protection against enemies.

5. Fertility - Barren women receive blessings and promise that they would have children before the next festival. Women who have thereafter had children often showed appreciation by including the word "egun" in the names of their children. For example, the names Egunbunmi (masquerader gives me this child), Abegunde (one who comes with the masquerader) and Egunjobi (masquerader assisted in the birth) illustrate some strong connection with egungun, the masquerader.

The Festival is one of the most happy occasions in the town with lots to eat and drink, with music everywhere and with the parade and guttural sounds of the egunguns generating excitement. Corbett considers the Egungun Festival as a typical model of indigenous Nigerian drama. This is reflected in the costumes, magical practices and rituals undertaken to effect psychic elevation of the performers. The Festival has a laid-down structure which is adhered to at every performance. On the first day of the Festival, the feminine version of the egunguns, called Epa masqueraders, dance around the town to herald the coming of the male-type egunguns.

On the second day, the egunguns come out of their Igbales (i.e. compounds in which the egunguns are believed to emerge from underground to the earth). The Igbales are considered as dwelling places of egunguns. They are also described as "places of heaven." The egunguns file out of their Igbales in ascending order of importance, in conformity with the proverb: "Egun nla lo nkehin igbale" (it is the most senior egungun that leaves the igbale last). As the egunguns come out, crowds jubilantly proceed to meet them with dancing and singing. They then proceed to the house of the Alaagba who is the supreme chief of the cult members. An Alaagba is a traditional Yoruba chief. The ceremony at the Alaagba's house consists of prayers and warnings to troublesome egunguns to keep the peace throughout the Festival. After this, the main performances of the Festival can start.

Some egunguns specialize in dancing, some specialize in creating terror by their frightening appearance and lightning movements up and down in a manner to destroy anything in their paths and some specialize in magical powers. Examples of the magical acts are emergence from underground and changing into animal forms such as monkey, tiger, ostrich and baboon. There is a folk-lore that while a certain egungun changed into a python, his enemies caused rain to fall on him, thereby neutralizing the charm that could enable him to return to his normal form. He then had to crawl into the forest where he remained a python forever.

The egunguns also undertake satirical acts which serve as social commentaries on current events. The aim of this is to discourage unsociable behaviour while extolling virtue. The egunguns use mime, utter guttural sounds and are aided by music in the process of communication. The dramatic speech of the egunguns is meaningful only within their own localities. Corbett (1980, pp.69-71) describes the appearance of an egungun thus:

> The entire body is covered - not one part of the human body is seen. A large hood with long sleeves covers the body from the abdomen to above the head. A structure of basket-weave raffia material is positioned on top of the head to extend the height of the performer from six inches to eighteen inches. The top of the hood fits onto and covers this structure. The hood is constructed so as to form straight lines from the head of the performer down to the hand, suggesting that the arms protrude not from a shoulder but from the centre area of the abdomen. On top of the hood, extending still higher usually by eight inches is placed an additional structure which in turn carries a flat platform of approximately fourteen inches square. The platform structure is covered with strips of cloth approximately six inches wide. These strips hang down over the edge of the platform far enough to cover the head area of the costume, i.e. approximately ten to fourteen inches. The effect created by this is that of a strange kind of "hair" on the Egungun. Beneath the platform structure, hanging down over the head area and extending down to the pelvis is the "face" of the Egungun. This "face" is composed of cloth in three different patterns comprising a face area, a facial border, and the representation of a beard. The "face" is connected to the hood as far down as the beginning of the beard; the beard area itself is freely suspended. Beneath the lower part of the hood, from the waist to the feet, the body is covered in ordinary trouser manner, but, of course, in extraordinary cloth. The legs are wrapped in a contrasting colour and pattern of cloth from knee to foot. The feet are completely concealed (including the soles) in a cloth boot, which is tied under the leg wrapping. The hands are covered in a gloved manner, with cloth contrasted in colour to that of the arms.
>
> Thus, the Egungun appears in a shape that is non-human while

possessing the human characteristics of arms, hands, legs, feet and their attendant facility.

Figures 4.4 to 4.7 show different types of masqueraders, drums and other musical instruments used in various festivals. There are dancing, terrorizing, magical and satirical acts which are meant for entertainment and social control. They constitute the indigenous drama. While the egunguns are the main actors, the audience are participants with very small parts: singing, dancing and creating a stimulating environment for the performance. Both the actors and audience regard the performance as more than play-acting. It is a traditional necessity for the improvement of the spiritual, social, political and economic conditions of the town.

Nowadays, festivals are performed with much less resources and much less community-wide involvement. The belief in their value has diminished in the urban centres. But the egunguns have survived the winds of change. While they are still revered in villages and provincial towns, they enjoy contrasting status in cities. Some young people exploit the egungun institution in cities by parading the street informally at any season begging for alms. On the other hand, a type of egungun called Eyo has attained prestige and modern sophistication.

The outings of Eyo masqueraders are still strictly traditionally determined in Lagos, the capital city. The king of Lagos and his chiefs determine the rare occasions that the Eyos perform, and usually it is to mark the burial ceremony of a very important personality. Participation in Eyo masquerade transcends education, economic and religious barriers. Ministers of state, court judges, carpenters, motor mechanics, labourers, christians and moslems rub shoulders during Eyo masquerade.

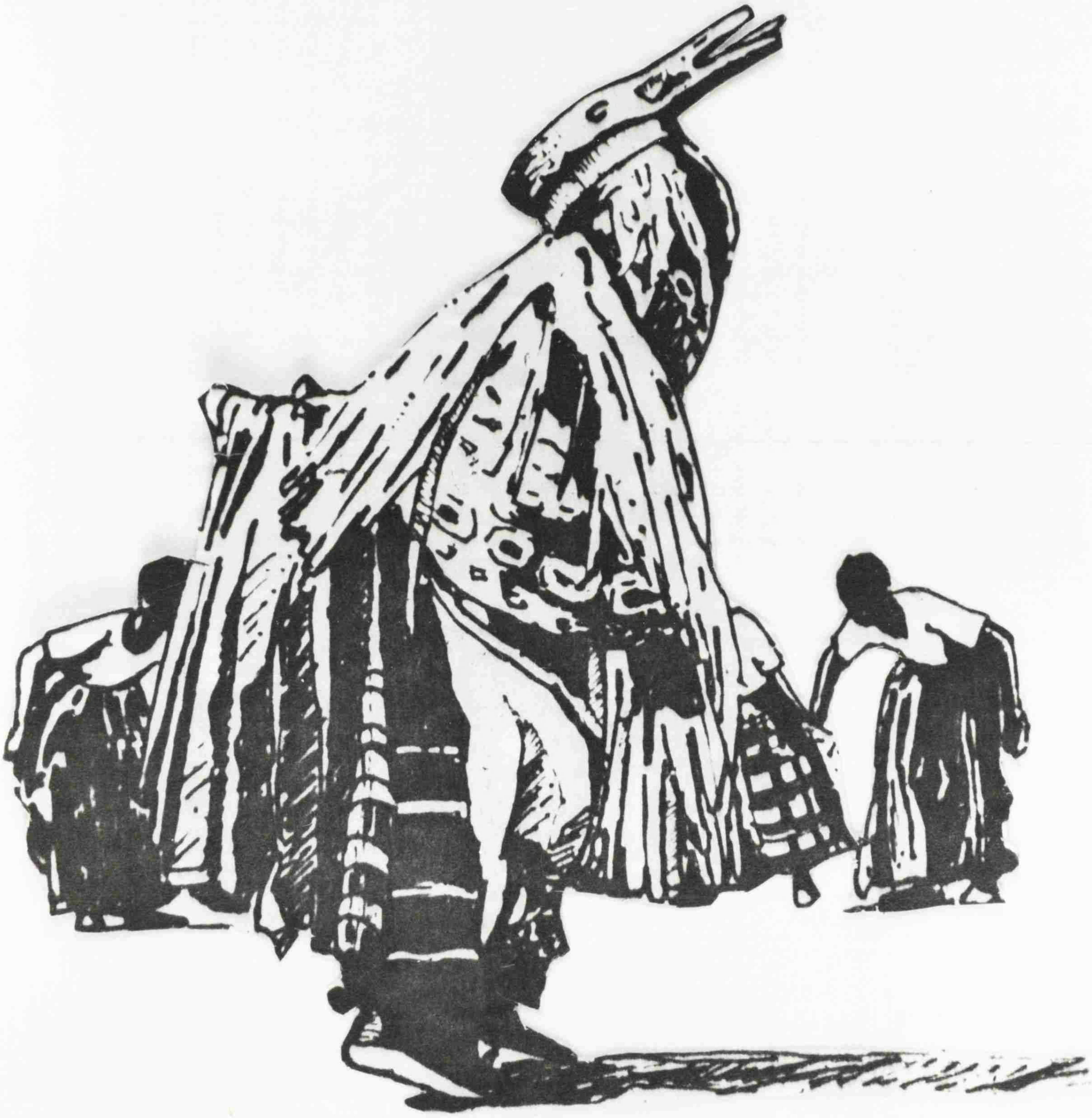


FIGURE 4.4 AN IJAW MASQUERADER
(Modified picture originated from Corbett 1980.)

A sample masquerader of the Rivers State of Nigeria demonstrates the influence of the environment over culture. The mask on the head takes the shape of a sea creature, and this is a distinctive feature of this masquerader.

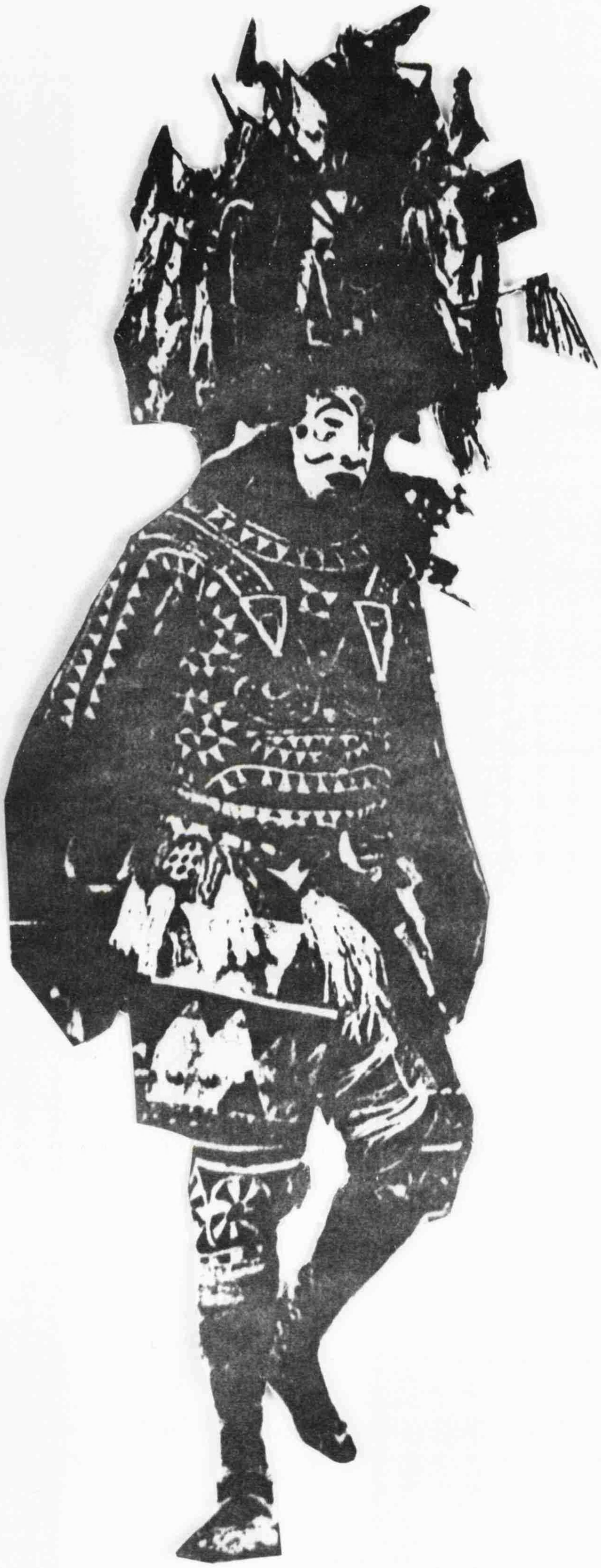


FIGURE 4.5 AN AGBOGO MMANWU, IGBO MAIDEN MASQUERADER
(Modified picture originated from Osadebe 1981).

A sample maiden masquerader of Eastern Nigeria symbolising a link between the living and the dead, and dramatising that relationship.

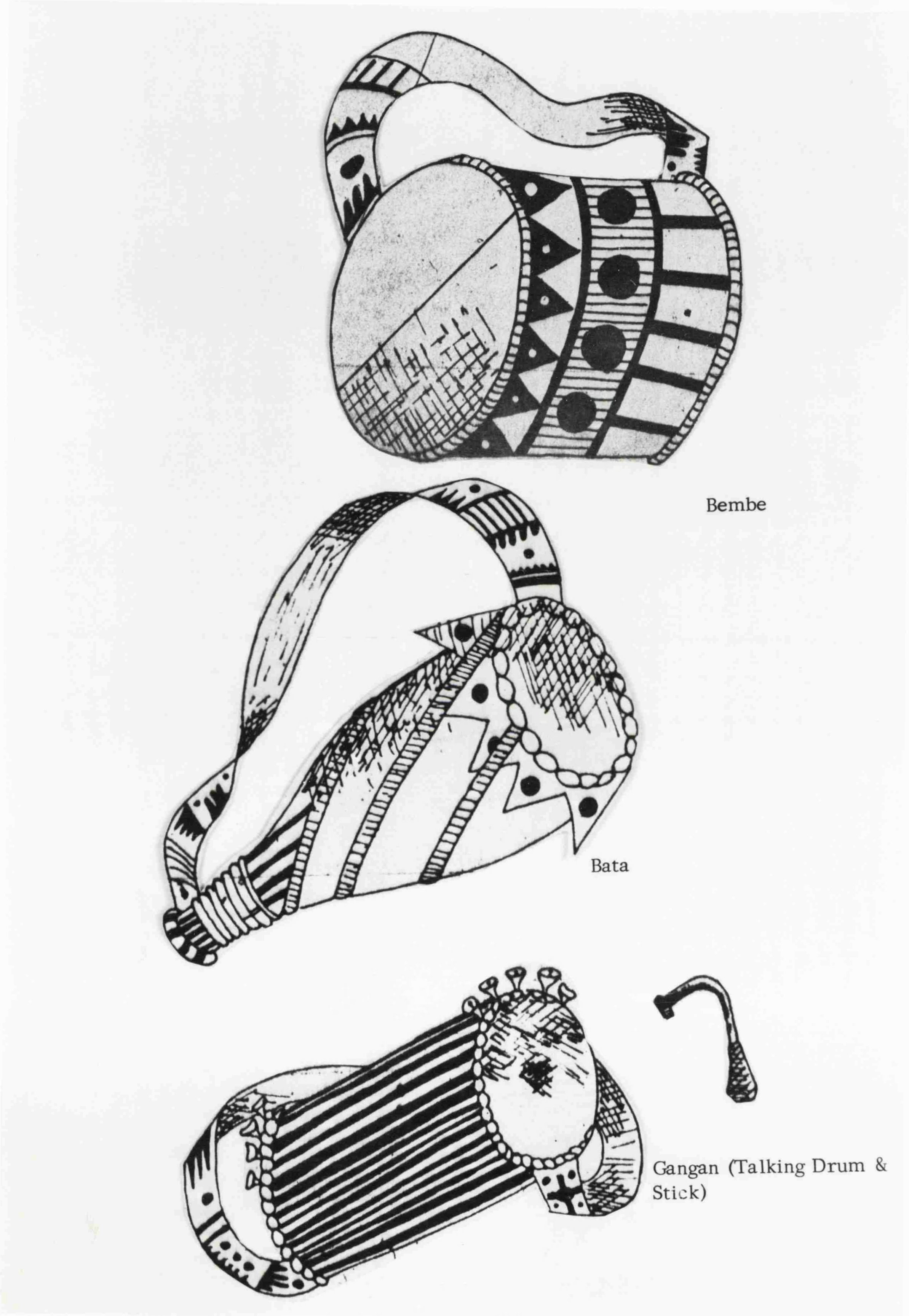

Bembe
Bata
Gangan (Talking Drum & Stick)

FIGURE 4.6 DRUMS (Modified pictures originated from Corbett 1980.)

A sample of drums for different occasions. Each drum has a distinct cultural significance.

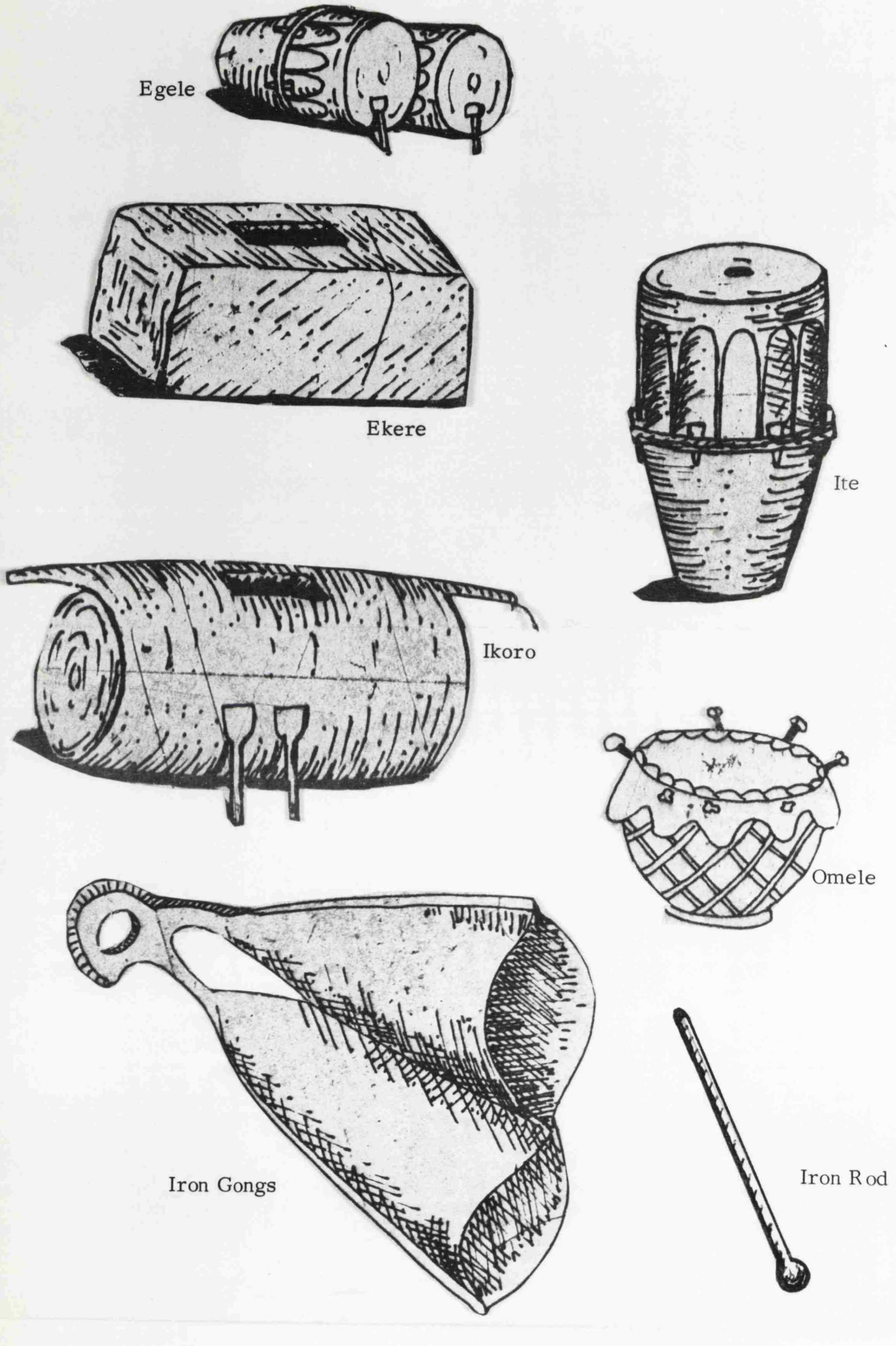

Egele
Ekere
Ite
Ikoro
Omele
Iron Gongs
Iron Rod

FIGURE 4.7 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
(Modified pictures originated from Corbett 1980.)

A sample of musical instruments with different cultural functions. The iron gongs, for instance, are used in the traditional media of communication.

On their performance day, the Eyos come out in the mornings from the family homes of the chiefs of Lagos. They parade in groups with music and dancing. They visit the homes of important people until evening time when the performance ends. The Eyo day is always a public holiday in Lagos in order to permit the symbolic observance of some ancient aspects of the event, such as: 1. everyone should take their caps off when an Eyo is passing by; 2. the Eyos have the prerogative to comically pat people with their opambatas (masquerader sticks which are the trunks of palm trees).

The modern Eyo masquerade has no religious or supernatural significance. It is simply a social event in honour of a deceased important citizen. It is non-dramatic, but it is the only modern form of the egungun, which is the foundation of indigenous drama in Yoruba society.

Emergence of Theatre Groups

The early contact the Yorubas had with the British and Christianity in the 1840s put them at an advantage over other ethnic groups in the emergence of a written national Yoruba language through the establishment of schools and churches. According to Iyi-Eweka (1979, p.20), a Yoruba newspaper, Iwe Irohin, emerged in the 1840s. It appears that this development in language from oral to written form had an effect on the emergence of contemporary theatre in various parts of Nigeria and at various times. This section will present the development of theatre groups through a case study of Ogunde Theatre Company which was based in Lagos. It is, however, interesting to first mention briefly two instances of theatre group formation in Bendel State which has strong historical and cultural links with Lagos State.

In Bendel State (an Edo language-speaking area), an attempt at forming a theatre group was made in 1960/61. The group had a longish name, Amazevbuomwan Ta Wiri (meaning: you are lost if you do not speak your language). The theatre group was formed for the purpose of producing Edo songs, dances, storytelling and possibly dramatic display. The formation of the group, according to Iyi-Eweka, had the political and cultural motives of creating a separate state for the Edo-speaking people from the then Western Region which was dominated by the Yorubas. The Edos were not happy at their misfortune as a minority group in the new political arrangement considering the fact that from the 15th to the 19th century, they had the ancient Benin Empire which controlled some parts of Yorubaland in the pre-colonial era. Although the Edos eventually had their state, the Amazevbuomwan group did not accomplish more than the production of a few dances and little re-enactments before it disappeared; it got "lost" all the same.

In 1963, a new theatre group, Edo Cultural Group, was formed for the preservation of Edo cultural heritage. The group successfully produced a historical play titled Eyowo. The play concerned Oba Ozolua, one of the warrior kings of Benin in the 15th century. Iyi-Eweka notes that the group's success had led to its expansion: the charging of membership fees, the imposition of fines for absence from rehearsals and the charging of gate fees rather than the earlier reliance on donations.

The contemporary Yoruba theatre began under the influence of Christianity as services of songs in the 1940s. Ebun Clark (1979) studied the development of the theatre through a focus on the most successful pioneer dramatist, Hubert Ogunde. In 1944, Ogunde became the first among the pioneer Yoruba song composers to include dramatic action and realism into the services of songs which were also called Native Air Operas. He produced The Garden of Eden and The Throne of God. It was also Ogunde who later moved Yoruba theatre away from the form of an "opera" to that of a "play". From Clark's account, Ogunde is the forerunner of Yoruba contemporary theatre, and as such the development of the theatre is reflected in the story of Ogunde's theatre company. Iyi-Eweka (1979, p.25) makes a similar comment about Ogunde:

> Hubert Ogunde is generally called the "Father of the Nigerian Theatre." He rightly deserved that title because he was the first Nigerian to declare himself a professional actor and entertainer in his own right. Before Ogunde came to the scene, we have seen countless numbers of amateurs emerge only to disappear. Even at the time Ogunde was making his debut, there were people like P.A. Dawodu, organist and choirmaster of the Jehovah Nissi UNA Church. They never became professionals. They were too tied to their churches.

Ogunde has been the President of the Union of Nigerian Dramatists and Playwrights for some years. Clark identifies three sources of influence on Ogunde, namely: the European Variety Theatre, the traditional Alarinjo Theatre, and the Ilorin Acrobat Theatre (a Nigerian troupe which is responsible for Ogunde's dance routine).

When Ogunde turned professional (i.e. full-time production and acting) in 1945, he started to feature themes of cultural nationalism along with the biblical themes. The nationalism themes drew popular support, especially from nationalists who were at that time agitating for Nigeria's independence. Through Ogunde's plays, the nationalists saw the theatre as another instrument for the fight for freedom. Thus, the nationalist press (West African Pilot, Daily Comet and Daily Service), and later the post-independence press, gave Ogunde's plays wide publicity, and in so doing they documented the story of Ogunde's theatre from inception in 1944 till the present time. They unwittingly recorded theatre history.

Naturally, Ogunde's popularity marked him out as a force to be reckoned with. His theatre was taken seriously and subjected to scrutiny by the colonial authorities. Among the obstacles placed in his path were the banning of his plays arbitrarily in different towns and his being denied a passport to travel abroad in order to study theatre craft and operation. If Ogunde had studied theatre arts abroad, he most likely would have returned to establish the first private residential theatre, and others would have followed. His being denied the opportunity has had the amazing effect that up till now, not a single private residential theatre facility exists in Nigeria, although there are many theatre groups. The groups, like Ogunde's, perform in various community halls, touring from town to town, almost similar to the practice of the ancient Alarinjo Theatre. Nonetheless, the various obstacles placed in Ogunde's path provided good headlines for the nationalist press. This in turn made Ogunde more popular, earned him nationwide patronage and thus ensured the survival of his theatre company.

After the staging of his first two plays for churches in 1944, Ogunde decided to devote himself full-time to the theatre. He resigned from the police force in 1945 and formed the West African Music Research Party. He advertised for "30 Charming Young Ladies" to work as paid actresses, something previously unheard of in a culturally-modest Nigeria. Predictably, there was no single response to his advertisement. But undaunted, Ogunde placed another advertisement for "10 Charming Young Girls" to work as lady clerks. This time, he received a large response. Somehow, he got the girls to perform in his plays. Clark (1979, p.4) compares Ogunde's theatre and the Alarinjo Theatre thus:

> Although Ogunde may not have given Nigeria her first professional theatre, his theatre differed from the masked players in many ways. In the Alarinjo Theatre the professional actor is masked; in the theatre of Ogunde the professional actor threw away his mask and showed his person for the first time to his audience. We can therefore say that Ogunde began the first professional theatre without masks in Yoruba. It was also Ogunde who withdrew the theatre from the traditional patronage of the court and religious organizations to rely solely on the patronage of the public. Ogunde thereby gave birth to the first Yoruba commercial theatre. He did so by taking indoors what was traditionally an open-air theatre. This meant a box-office system, and the money he realized from his intake he shared with no patron but used it in maintaining his own company.

A distinctive characteristic of theatres in Nigeria is that they are travelling theatres. The believe they cannot survive by performing in only one location. This is one of the factors responsible for frequent tours by Ogunde theatre company. Table 4.2 shows an example of the company's tight travelling schedule. Even when Ogunde turned to making films as from 1979, he still travelled with his films from town to town because reliable film distribution networks were non-existent. Ogunde and his troupe have also performed in Britain, Canada and the United States. They staged 51

TABLE 4.2 OGUNDE'S TRAVELLING SCHEDULE FROM 7th MAY - 29th JUNE, 1955*

Town	Dates		Play	Places
Ibadan	Fri.	6th May	Highway Eagle	Mapo Hall
Ilorin	Sat.	7th "	Half and Half	Sofoluwe's Comp.
Jebba	Sun.	8th "	No playing accommodation	
Bida	Mon.	9th "	Mr. Devil's Money	King Palace
Minna	Tue.	10th "	Mr. Devil's Money	African Club Hall
Minna	Wed.	11th "	Highway Eagle	
Minna	Thur.	12th "	Lorry breakdown	
Minna	Fri.	13th "	" "	
Minna	Sat.	14th "	" "	
Minna	Sun.	15th "	" "	
Minna	Mon.	16th "	" "	
Minna	Tue.	17th "	" "	
Minna	Wed.	18th "	Travel	
Kano	Thur.	19th "	No play	
Kano	Fri.	20th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Colonial Hotel
Kano	Sat.	21st "	Highway Eagle	Colonial Hotel
Kano	Sun.	22nd "	Half and Half	Colonial Hotel
Kano	Mon.	23rd "	Travel	
Gusau	Tue.	24th "	Mr. Devil's Money	International Hotel
Gusau	Wed.	25th "	Highway Eagle	International Hotel
Zaria	Thur.	26th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Moon-Shine Hotel
Zaria	Fri.	27th "	Highway Eagle	Moon-Shine Hotel
Kaduna	Sat.	28th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Community Centre
Kaduna	Sun.	29th "	Highway Eagle	Blue-Moon Hotel
Kaduna	Mon.	30th "	Travel	
Bukuru	Tue.	31st "	Mr. Devil's Money	African Club Hall
Bukuru	Wed.	1st June	Highway Eagle	African Club Hall
Jos	Thur.	2nd "	Mr. Devil's Money	St. Luke's School
Jos	Frid.	3rd "	Highway Eagle	St. Luke's School

* Source: Clark 1979.

Town	Dates		Play	Places
Jos	Sat.	4th June	Half and Half	Oha Restaurant
Jos	Sun.	5th "	Concert & Dance	Oha Restaurant
Jos	Mon.	6th "	Travel	
Makurdi	Tue.	7th "	Mr. Devil's Money	C.M.S. School
Makurdi	Wed.	8th "	Highway Eagel	C.M.S. School
Oturkpo	Thur.	9th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Ibo Union Hall
Enugu	Fri.	10th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Enugu Develop. Union
Enugu	Sat.	11th "	Highway Eagle	Enugu Develop. Union
Owerri	Sun.	12th "	Lorry breakdown	
Owerri	Mon.	13th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Central Hall
Port Harcourt	Tue.	14th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Owerri Hall
Ikot Ekpene	Wed.	15th "	Mr. Devil's Money	African Club Hall
Aba	Thur.	16th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Nnewi Hall
Aba	Fri.	17th "	Highway Eagle	Nnewi Hall
Onitsha	Sat.	18th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Achukwu Memorial Hall
Asaba	Sun.	19th "	Mr. Devil's Money	N.A. Court Hall
Benin City	Mon.	20th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Conference Hall
Benin City	Tues.	21st "	Highway Eagle	Conference Hall
Warri	Wed.	22nd "	Mr. Devil's Money	Town Hall
Warri	Thur.	23rd "	Highway Eagle	Town Hall
Sapele	Fri.	24th "	Mr. Devil's Money	Sapele Stadium
Sapele	Sat.	25th "	Highway Eagle	Sapele Stadium
Ifon	Sun.	26th "	Pastor refused	
Ifon	Mon.	27th "	Mr. Devil's Money	C.M.S. School
Ifon	Tue.	28th "	Travel	
Lagos	Wed.	29th "	Reached.	

plays between 1944 and 1977 as shown on Table 4.3. The first 24 plays were entirely musicals with simple dance choreography.

In 1950, Ogunde re-staged The Black Forest with the introduction of speech. Thereafter, in 1954, he began to experiment with an all-dialogue, improvisation plays, starting with Princess Jaja. Although all the plays were performed in Yoruba language, the titles of the first 28 plays were in English. The use of English titles for Yoruba plays was due to colonial influence. Incidentally, the last play with English title, Song of Unity, was produced in 1960, the year of independence. Ogunde now attaches Yoruba titles to some of his early plays as shown on Table 4.3.

The structure of his stage performance is in three parts: 1. the opening glee and dance; 2. the opera or play; 3. the closing glee and dance. Clark explains that this structure paralleled that of the traditional theatre. The opening glee was derived from the traditional practice of supplicating the gods and spirits before embarking on important projects.

Apart from entertainment, Ogunde's theatre, as in Yoruba theatre generally, aims to instruct and inform about morals and lessons of life. His belief in the theatre as a potential instrument of social change was manifested in his most controversial political satire, Yoruba Ronu (Yoruba think), which he produced in 1964. The play was Ogunde's attempt to make the community of Yorubas realize their joint destiny within the political structure of Nigeria. Following such realization, the Yorubas should strive to unite rather than constantly engage in such internal conflicts that gave other communities political

TABLE 4.3 OGUNDE'S PLAYS *

	Title	Year	Place of Premiere
1.	Garden of Eden and The Throne of God	1944	Glover Hall
2.	Africa and God	1944	Glover Hall
3.	Israel in Egypt	1945	Glover Hall
4.	Nebuchadnezzar's Reign and Belshazzar's Feast or Two Impious Reigns	1945	Glover Hall
5.	King Solomon	1945	Glover Hall
6.	Worse Than Crime	1945	Glover Hall
7.	Journey to Heaven (Ibeji Meji)	1945	Glover Hall
8.	The Black Forest (Igbo Irunmale)	1945	Glover Hall
9.	Strike and Hunger	1945	Glover Hall
10.	Tiger's Empire	1946	Glover Hall
11.	Darkness and Light	1946	Glover Hall
12.	Mr. Devil's Money (Ayinde)	1946	Glover Hall
13.	Herbert Macaulay	1946	Glover Hall
14.	Human Parasites	1946	Glover Hall
15.	Towards Liberty	1947	Glover Hall
16.	Swing the Jazz	1947	Glover Hall
17.	Yours Forever (Morenike)	1948	Glover Hall
18.	Half and Half (S'eranko S'enia)	1949	Glover Hall
19.	Gold Coast Melodies	1949	Glover Hall
20.	Bread and Bullet	1950	Glover Hall
21.	My Darling Fatima	1951	Glover Hall
22.	Portmanteau Woman	1952	Glover Hall
23.	Beggar's Love	1952	Glover Hall
24.	Highway Eagle	1953	Glover Hall
25.	Princess Jaja	1953	Glover Hall
26.	Village Hospital (Ile Iwosan)	1957	Glover Hall
27.	Delicate Millionaire (Olowo Ojiji)	1958	Glover Hall
28.	Song of Unity	1960	Glover Hall

* Source: Clark 1979.

	Title	Year	Place of Premiere
29.	Yoruba Ronu	1964	Glover Hall
30.	Aropin N't'enia	1964	Glover Hall
31.	Otito Koro	1964	Glover Hall
32.	Awo Mimo	1965	Glover Hall
33.	Ire Olokun	1968	Glover Hall
34.	Keep Nigeria One	1968	Glover Hall
35.	Mama Eko	1968	London
36.	Oba'nta	1969	London
37.	Ogun Pari	1969	London
38.	Oh Ogunde!	1969	London
39.	Ewe Nla	1970	Glover Hall
40.	Iwa Gbemi	1970	Glover Hall
41.	Ayanmo	1970	Glover Hall
42.	Onimoto	1971	Glover Hall
43.	K'ehin Sokun	1971	Obisesan Hall, Ibadan
44.	Aiye	1971	Glover Hall
45.	Ekun Oniwogbe	1974	Glover Hall
46.	Ewo Gbeja	1975	Glover Hall
47.	Muritala Mohammed	1976	Glover Hall
48.	Oree Niwon	1976	Ilorin
49.	Nigeria	1977	Glover Hall
50.	Igba t'o de	1977	Glover Hall
51.	Orisa N'la	1977	National Theatre

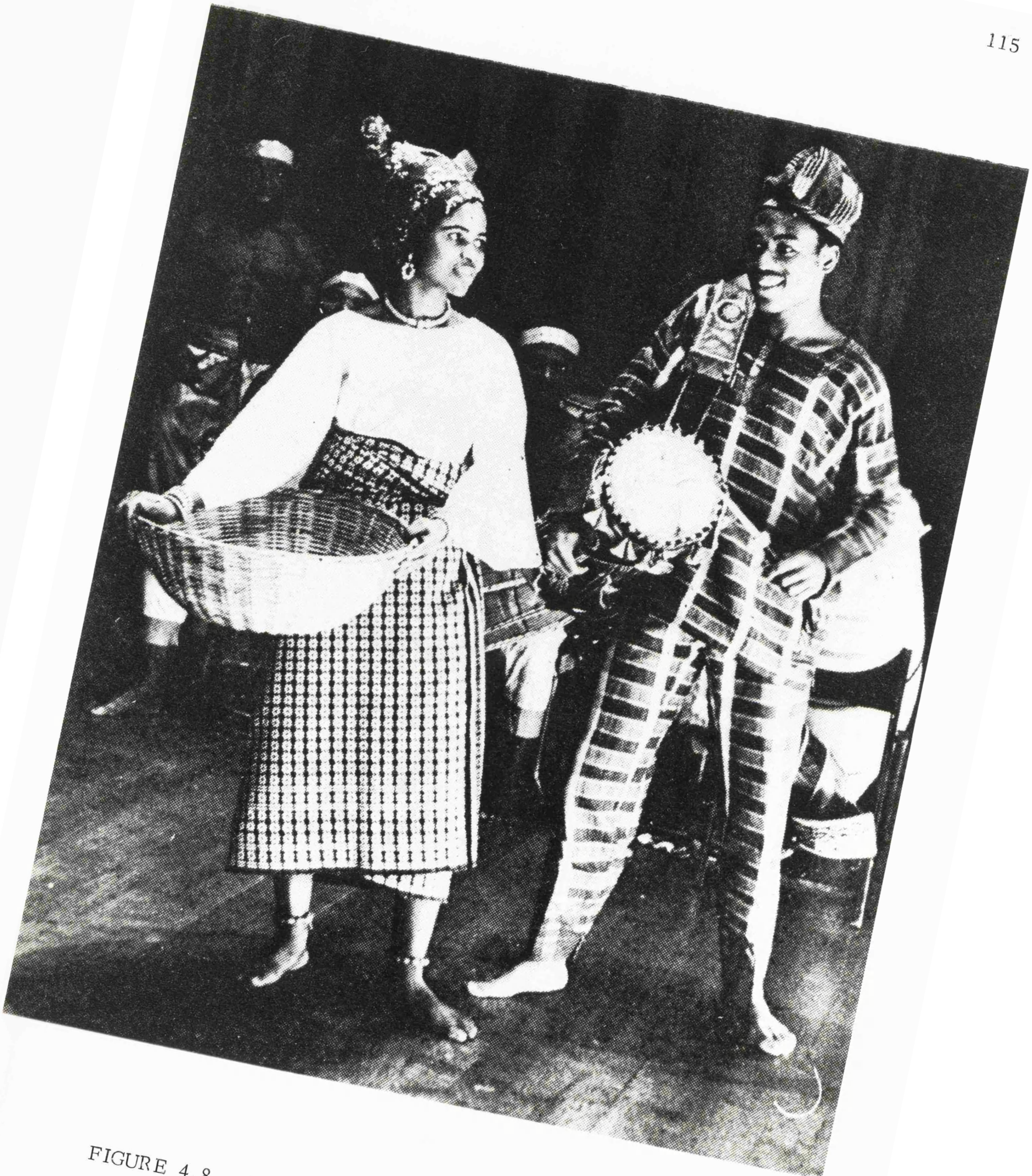


FIGURE 4.8 ACTORS OF OGUNDE THEATRE COMPANY

(Source: Clark 1979/Norman McCann Ltd.)

advantage over them. But a faction of the Yoruba community which was running the Government of the then Western Nigeria felt offended by the play. The faction then used its power to ban Ogunde's theatre and records from Western Nigeria as from March, 1964. The ban included radio and television broadcasts. It would have included films, if there were any at that time that featured Ogunde. In an editorial titled "Truth is Bitter", the West African Pilot (1964) condemned the ban in the following terms:

> Imagine the Beatles being declared a disorderly society. That would earn a ridiculous laugh from anybody. For we all know the Beatles' only 'crime' would be that they pull tumultuous crowds everywhere they go. This is the exact position in which we find Hubert Ogunde and his Concert Party who have now been declared an unlawful society in Western Nigeria.
>
> The motto of the Egbe Omo Olofin is: Yorubas, think. This is the meaning of the title of Ogunde's play, YORUBA RONU. The theme is about a leader betrayed by a lieutenant as the result of which the tribe was torn asunder by internal divisions. The play gives the book and bibliography of developments in Western Nigeria to which nobody in the federation is a stranger.
>
> The play, understandably, has picked some people sorely. But TRUTH IS BITTER. One would think that there is a remedy in law for all those who feel that they have been unjustly slandered or libelled. To apply the weight of Government in settlement of personal grievances would be out of tune with democratic concepts. We would like to feel that this is not the case in Western Nigeria.
>
> For twenty years Hubert Ogunde and his Concert Party have entertained the people of Nigeria, and they are quite a success. To think of this group as anything other than strictly artistes is to believe that the Omnipotent can be evil. The Western Nigeria Government can work itself up to the point where it believes that the Concert Party is an unlawful body. We doubt if it can be claimed that the populace shares this belief.

> The Criminal Code law as it relates to unlawful societies, many will say, is being applied for the first time to a transparently innocent party. Hitherto it had been applied to secret cults and organizations who engender disorder. Lawyers will argue that the makers of the law never intended it to be applied to a group of artistes who by their words and gimmicks please or make their audience sad.

Inspite of similar critical publications in other newspapers, the ban remained in force until a military coup took place in Nigeria, and a military governor of Western Nigeria issued an Order in February, 1966, to lift the ban.

Clark classifies Ogunde's operas into four groups: religious, political, folkloric and historical. The religious operas were The Garden of Eden, Africa and God, Israel in Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar's Reign and King Solomon. The political operas were Worse Than Crime, Strike and Hunger, Tiger's Empire, Towards Liberty and Bread and Bullet. The folkloric operas were Journey to Heaven, The Black Forest, Mr. Devil's Money, Yours Forever and Half and Half. The only historical opera was Hubert Macaulay which was about the life of a pioneer nationalist. Unfortunately, Clark does not offer a similar classification of Ogunde's plays.

The occasion of FESTAC (the Festival of Black and African Arts and Culture) held in Nigeria in 1977 created a cultural resurgence in Africa and among other peoples of African origin throughout the world. The event attracted no less than 35,000 visitors from 56 countries. About 15,000 artists, scholars and officials participated in the Festival (Ugboajah 1980, p.14). Ogunde produced and presented at the Festival a dance drama titled Nigeria.

Following FESTAC, Ogunde began to turn some of his plays to films. In 1979, his first film, Aiye, was released with a resounding success. This was followed by Jaiyesimi in 1980 and Aropin Ntenia in 1982. Ogunde's films are in Yoruba language. The effect of FESTAC on other artists was the production of an unprecedented number of six feature films within one year. Several theatre groups have since then emerged with the aim of producing drama for the stage, radio, television and film. Lately, 1981/82, Ogunde established a film village in his home town of Ososa, Ogun State, which he hopes will become the Hollywood of Africa.

National Language and Literature

On attaining independence in 1960, Nigeria adopted English as her national language. But nineteen years later, a new constitution recognized some indigenous languages as also official (Constitution of Nigeria, 1979). English, however, remains the major means of mass communication. Over the years, the use of English has witnessed several variations because 72% of the 80 million population are illiterate in the language (Nigeria's Third National Development Plan, 1975-80, p.30).* Some people speak their local languages but punctuate them with a few simple English words which are accompanied by hand gestures. A good number of others with little education or by virtue of social contact speak pidgin English. Competence in the use of English, to some extent, is an indication of a person's level of education. Such speech competence also confers status. It opens up many opportunities. Invariably, it enables one to join the fast growing elite class.

As some Nigerians gained university education in Nigeria and abroad, particularly in Britain, they attained mastery of the English language. Some of them with literary inclination used the language creatively. They explained their local traditions and cultures to other Nigerians and to the world at large in English beginning with the narrative format. It should be pointed out though that this literary development in the creative use of English was preceded by some considerable literary works in indigenous languages, and a few in pidgin English. Also, the English language had been the main weapon with which the nationalist leaders "fought" the war of independence. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was educated in the United States, established the Zik's Press in the 1930s. His company produced a chain of newspapers in English, one of which was the then popular West African Pilot (Azikiwe 1970, p.290). Chief Obafemi Awolowo, educated in Britain, wrote Path to Nigerian Freedom in 1947. His courage in writing bluntly and his audacity in getting a British publisher, Faber and Faber, to publish it are bewildering. In one of his softer punches against the Colonial Government, he states (Awolowo 1947, pp.23-24):

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* The Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington D.C., USA, gives the figure of literacy in English, in Nigeria, as 25% of the population in 1975.

> In the near future, Nigeria, particularly the southern portion will witness an awakening of nationalism of such intensity as was never thought possible by British officials on the spot. The direction and outcome of such nationalism will depend on the type of grievances with which the Nigerian politicians of the day choose to feed it. For be it remembered that the fire of nationalism cannot burn without fuel - and grievances (real and imaginary) are its readiest fuel. When the time comes Nigerians will ask themselves why they should prefer Dominion status or self-government to independence or complete separation from the British Empire. It were much better the question was examined now, before the passion of nationalism created an atmosphere too rank for calm and unbiased reasoning.

It was this kind of political rhetoric, buttressed by the command of language, that obviated the need for the regretable type of violent confrontations which took place in the United States, India and East Africa before the attainment of independence. Nigeria, as such, obtained independence mainly by constitutional agreement.

As from the late 1950s, there was an upsurge in cultural literary works in English. Thus, the modern mass medium of print became a channel for the transmission of regional cultures to other cultures far and wide. This development laid the foundation for the cultural use of other media: film, radio and television. Some writers went beyond the narrative form and wrote in the poetic and dramatic forms. Wole Soyinka, educated in Nigerian and British universities, made the most early contribution to modern African drama, in English, with a number of plays, most of which were successfully staged in England and Nigeria. One of his plays, Kongi's Harvest, was produced as a film in 1970. It was the second feature film produced with Nigerian full participation. Soyinka himself acted the leading part in the film. Unfortunately, Soyinka was not happy with the film version of his play because the American director failed to interpret the play in accordance with Soyinka's cultural concept. Table 4.4 presents a sample of the novels and plays written in English by some pioneer Nigerian writers. As Hubert Ogunde is considered the father of contemporary Nigerian drama in Yoruba, Wole Soyinka is considered the father of contemporary African drama in English. According to Balisteri (1978) the following elements of indigenous culture are present in Soyinka's plays: 1. the concept of the god of creation, Obatala; 2. the concept of the tempestuous god of iron, Ogun; 3. the concept of the trickster and mischiefmaker god of evil, Esu; 4. the theme of satire; 5. songs, dance and mime; 6. the revue; 7. the spectacle.

The Obtala concept is featured in plays such as A Dance of the Forest through the character of Forest Head, The Swamp Dwellers through the character of the Blind Begger and The Bacchae of Euripides through the

TABLE 4.4

A SAMPLE OF NIGERIAN PIONEER LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

Author : Achebe, Chinua

1958, Things Fall Apart, Heinemann.
1960, No Longer at Ease, Heinemann.
1966, A Man of the People, Heinemann.
1966, Chike & the River, Cambridge University Press.
1969, Arrow of God, Doubleday.
1973, (in collaboration with Iroaganachi, J.) How the Leopard Got His Claws, Third Press.
Undated, Le Monde S'effondre, Panther House.
Undated, Morning Yet on Creation Days : Essays, Doubleday.

Author : Ekwensi, Cyprian

1960, Drummer Boy, Cambridge University Press.
1960, Passport of Mallam Ilia, Cambridge University Press.
1966, Trouble in Form Six, Cambridge University Press.
1966, Burning Grass: A Story of the Fulani of Northern Nigeria, African Writers Series.
1966, Lokotown & Other Stories, African Writers Series.
1971, Beautiful Feathers, African Writers Series.
1975, Restless City & Christmas Gold with Other Stories, African Writers Series.

Author : Soyinka, Wole

1963, Dance of the Forests, Oxford University Press.
1963, Lion and the Jewel, Oxford University Press.
1965, The Road, Oxford University Press.
1967, Kongi's Harvest, Oxford University Press.
1968, Idanre and Other Poems, Hill & Wang.
1969, Three Short Plays, Oxford University Press.

1970, Interpreters, Macmillan.
1972, Madmen and Specialists, Hill & Wang.
1972, A Shuttle in the Crypt, Hill & Wang.
1973, The Man Died: Prison Notes, University Place.
1973, Collected Essays, Vol. 1, Oxford University Press.
1974, The Bacchae of Euripides: A Communion Rite, Norton.
1975, The Bacchae of Euripides, Norton.
1975, Collected Essays, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press.
1975, (ed.) Poems of Black Africa, Hill & Wang.
1976, Death and the King's Horseman : A Play, Norton.
1978, Myth, Literature and the African World, Cambridge University Press.
Undated, Camwood on the Leaves and Before the Blackout, Third Press.

Author : Clark, John Pepper

1966, Ozidi : A Play, Oxford University Press.
1969, America, Their America, Holmes & Meier.
1970, Casualties, Poems 1966-68, Holmes & Meier.
1970, Reed in the Tide: A Selection of Poems, Forum Series.
1977, The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin, Princeton University Press.

character of Tiresias. Ogun is featured in The Swamp Dwellers through the character of Igwezu, A Dance of the Forests through the character of Demoke, The Strong Breed through the character of Eman, The Road through the character of Kotonu, Death and the King's Horseman through the character of Olunde. Esu is featured in The Lion and the Jewel through the character of Chief Baroka, The Trials of Brother Jero through the character of Brother Jero, Kongis' Harvest through the character of Chief Danlola and Jero's Metamorphosis through the character of Brother Jero. Satirical theme is observed in Madmen and Specialists; songs, dance and mime in The Lion and the Jewel and Kongi's Harvest; the revue in The Republican and Before the Blackout; the spectacle in The Bacchae of Euripides.

The prominence of the elements of indigenous culture in Soyinka's plays as well as in Ogunde's films (Aiye, Jaiyesimi and Aropin Ntenian all of which had box-office success), shows that the culture and beliefs continue to serve as the bedrock of literary and artistic works on stage and in the mass media. They also offer opportunities for scholarly research in the vast areas yet untouched. Basil Davidson (1984), a reputed British historian, recently took a giant step in writing The Story of Africa based on his eight series of television documentary which have been shown in Europe and America (West Africa 1984, p.913). Davidson was only able to scrape the earth's surface in digging up afresh the story of the numerous African ethnic groups. He was obviously constrained by television time and print space. Without doubt, more works like his and others cited in this chapter will, as they emerge, add to our knowledge of human culture.

Radio Drama

Between the 1940s and 1950s, radio had a monopoly of broadcast drama, infact of any form of media drama, because television had then not been introduced, published plays had not emerged and local film-making had not started. When television was eventually established, it was for a long time managed as part of radio organization. Thus, radio developed the pioneer drama writers, producers and actors for the mass media.

Radio is indeed an appropriate medium for drama in poor, developing countries. The technicalities are much easier than those of television and film. Production facilities constitute no more than an acoustically-padded room, which needs not be big like a television studio, microphones and a few props. Fewer artistes are needed, and their performance is limited to speech only. Costumes, make-up, complicated movements and stunts are all unnecessary. Radio has an advantage in creating the illusion of reality or in stimulating the imagination to perceive reality. For example, a complicated comedy drama like Shaky-Shaky and Alao was successfully produced on radio, in the 1940s, with sound effects. But such drama has been absent on television because the frequent mobility and fast action of the story were not so easy to produce locally. The same argument goes for violence in drama. It is easier to produce the illusion of violence on radio than on television.

Inspite of the advantages of radio in drama production, the impact of television continues to create more demand for television drama than for radio drama. Radio has increasingly become a medium for mobile listeners. The survey of how Americans spend their leisure time, reported in Chapter 3, provides evidence for this. While 72% of the respondents stated that they watched television daily, no specific mention of radio was made. This is because radio listening is commonly done while engaged in other activities, viz: "Music While

You Work" and music while driving. Of course, while the radio is on, other messages, apart from music, filter through to listeners. In Nigeria, radio is the most important source of news (BBC's IBAR 1983).

Shaky-Shaky and Alao was one of the early radio dramas which used pidgin English in order to reach masses of people with or without understanding of proper English. It was a comedy series based on the adventures of a passenger-lorry driver and his incompetent conductor. Many of those who are now top broadcast administrators were connected with the programme as artists.

A number of current radio dramas also use pidgin English. One of them is Join the Bandwagon. The relevance of the title to the programme content is not clear because it is a series based on slapstick comedy about life in one family.

Without doubt, two important contributions of radio to television drama are the uses of indigenous and pidgin languages within the format of comedy series. Pidgin, according to Nasiru (1984, p.10), can play an important role in Nigerian drama:

> We aver that pidgin is an important means of communication and that it is only proper for this tongue to be explored by our dramatists in their attempt to reach a wider audience than normal English can. The process has begun, and it deserves every encouragement on the part of teachers and critics of theatre in the country. This is one of the ways in which modern drama can break down the artificial barrier between the so-called popular drama and the literate tradition. Any language grows with usage, and the same can obtain with pidgin given the right approach by all involved in the business of theatre in the country.

One of the ways by which radio performers seek to increase their exposure opportunities is by adapting their performances for television. An example of such adaptation is the Masquerade, a very popular television comic serial which, according to critics, still retains most of its radio qualities (Vincent 1985, p.101; Oreh 1985, pp.110-111). It evolved from a radio drama titled In the Lighter Mood. Its humour depends upon the abuse of English grammar and pronunciation.

The conditions for producing radio drama are favourable in Nigeria, especially because there is no serious competition from external sources. Radio producers do not face the type of uphill tasks that television and film-makers face. It is therefore astonishing that radio producers have not been making the best use of their opportunity to develop a powerful medium of communication across the various social strata and geographical dwellings (urban and rural).

Analysis of the programme schedules of three radio stations (Radio Bendel, Bauchi Radio and Radio Nigeria, Kaduna), presented on Table 4.5, shows that drama was not much featured. Out of 277.5 broadcast hours by the three stations weekly, drama had a share of 11.4 hours (4%) whereas music had a share of 77.3 hours (28%), a ratio of 1:7; for every one hour of drama, there were seven hours of music. Other programmes such as news, information, education, sports and religion had a share of 188.8 hours (68%). Bauchi Radio featured the least number of hours of drama programmes. During April and June, 1983, it did not feature any drama at all on Mondays and Fridays. Appendix F presents a sample of the programmes which the station concentrated upon.

A further analysis of the programme schedule (March 29 to June 27, 1970)

TABLE 4.5

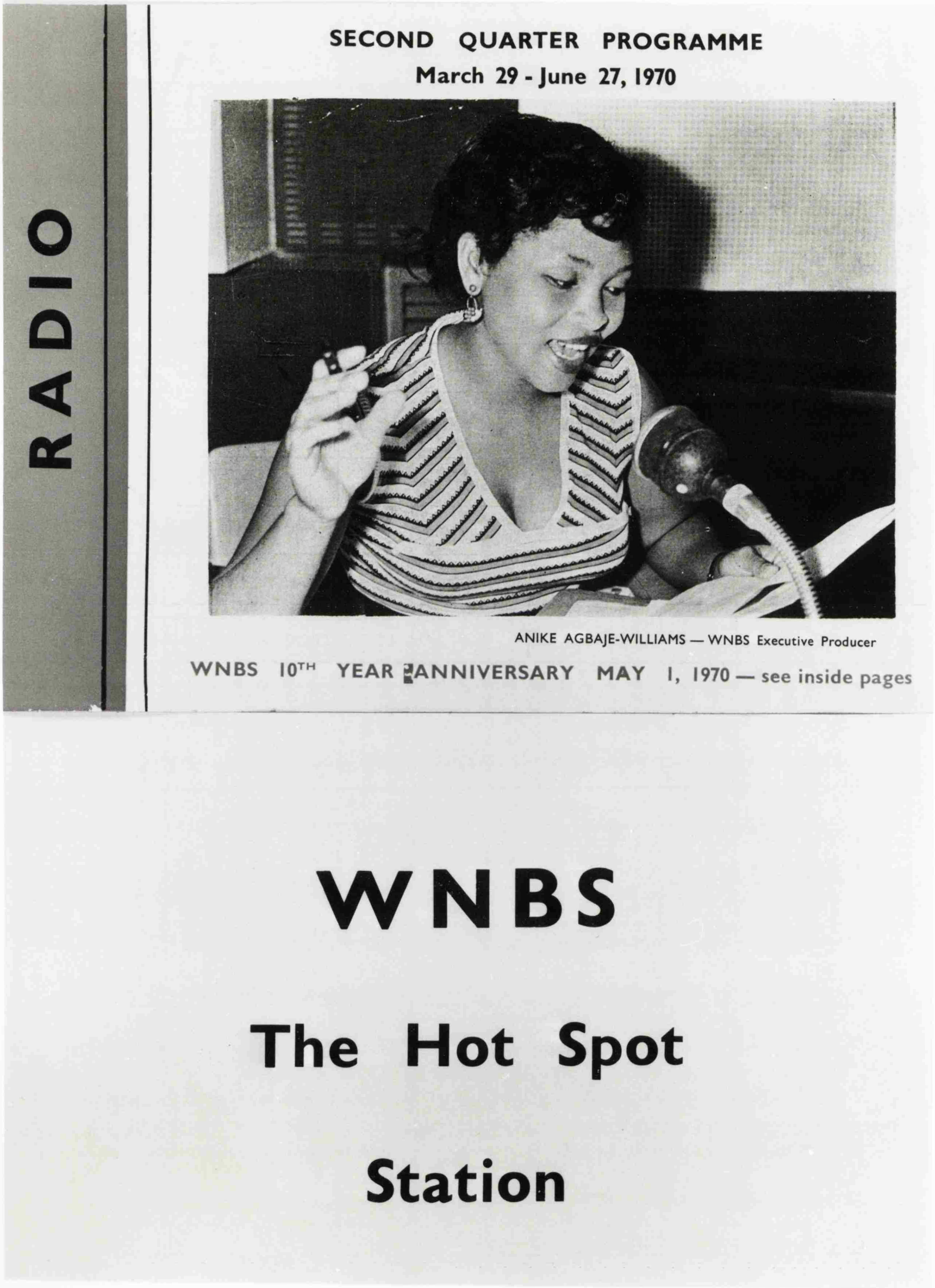
ANALYSIS OF RADIO PROGRAMME SCHEDULES

Radio Stations	Entertainment Programmes		Other Programmes (hours)	Total (hours)
	Drama (hours)	Music (hours)		
Radio Bendel, Weekly Schedule, January - June, 1981	8.1	46	75.4	129.5
Bauchi Radio, Weekly Schedule, April - June, 1983	2.5	27.5	99.5	129.5
Radio Nigeria, Kaduna, *Wednesday Schedule, July - September, 1984	0.8	3.8	13.9	18.5
Total	11.4	77.3	188.8	277.5

*The complete weekly schedule of Radio Nigeria, Kaduna, was not available for analysis.

of a fourth station, WNBS, Ibadan (a cosmopolitan city), whose programmes were received in most of the western states including Lagos, shows that the use of drama for radio entertainment had been on the wane since the 1970s. Out of 127.1 hours of weekly broadcasts, drama had a share of only 0.72 hours (i.e. 43 minutes, 0.6%) whereas music had a share of 74.4 hours (58.6%), a ratio of 1:98; for every one hour of drama, there were 98 hours of music. WNBS even prided itself as a "hot spot station," whereby its high temperature referred to pop music as Figure 4.9 demonstrates. The station broadcast drama only on Sundays (15 minutes) and Tuesdays (28 minutes). A study (Mytton 1974, p.5) of the mass media in another African country, Zambia, shows that a lot of foreign pop music is featured in radio broadcasting as a result of the young Africans' adoption of the fashions of Western teenagers.

Interestingly, WNBS featured music from India on Wednesdays and Fridays, and from the Congo four days in a week. Feature films from India were presented on television, but no film from the Congo or any other African country was presented (as shown on Table 9.3). One of the aims of URTNA (Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa) is the exchange of programmes between African countries. It appears that this aim has not been effectively translated into action. Naturally, a project for mutual benefit would be expected to meet with the least objection. Its failure is therefore puzzling. Do African countries have a low esteem of one another's productions or are the problems those of administration and logistics? The answer is likely to be administrative inefficiency. A Nigerian serial, Village Headmaster, was shown in Uganda, but not much of Ugandan drama has been shown on Nigerian television. The case of a feature film, Love Brewed in an African Pot, reported later in this



RADIO

SECOND QUARTER PROGRAMME

March 29 - June 27, 1970

ANIKE AGBAJE-WILLIAMS — WNBS Executive Producer

WNBS 10TH YEAR ANNIVERSARY MAY 1, 1970 — see inside pages

WNBS

The Hot Spot

Station

FIGURE 4.9 WNBS, RADIO PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

FIGURE 4.9 (Cont'd)

RADIO PROGRAMMES

SUNDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 „	Formal Station Opening
5.55 „	Musical Interlude
6.00 „	Organ Music — Rep. 10.30 p.m.
6.15 „	Spinning for pleasure
6.30 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 „	Golden Hymns
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Interlude
7.15 „	Programmes Preview
7.30 „	Voice of Prophecy—Sponsored
8.00 „	HOME NEWS
8.05 „	Programmes Promotion
8.15 „	Personal Paid Announcements
8.20 „	Pops Parade
9.00 „	Juju Music
9.30 „	Young Voices—Repeat Tuesday 9.30 p.m.
10.00 „	Search the Scriptures—Sponsored
10.15 „	Sunday Morning Requests
11.00 „	Dateline London—Requests
11.30 „	Town and Around-News Magazine
12.00 Noon	Caribbean Rhythms
12.15 P.M.	Bringing Christ to the Nations—Sponsored
12.45 „	Highlife Express
1.00 „	WNBS NEWS
1.10 „	Musical Interlude
1.15 „	Top of the Form—Rep. Thurs. 9.30 p.m.—
1.45 „	Alawada—Sponsored
2.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 „	Sunday Afternoon Requests
3.00 „	Global Frontiers—Sponsored
3.30 P.M.	Sunday Afternoon Concert—Except on 26th April, 31st May and 28th June when "Baptist Convention (Yoruba)" is sponsored at 4 o' clock.
4.30 P.M.	In A Lighter Mood
5.00 „	Hour of Decision—Billy Graham—Sponsored
5.30 „	Youth Programme
6.00 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 „	Musical Interlude
6.15 „	Sports Round-Up
6.30 „	Rhythm Parade
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Cha Cha Cha Time
7.30 „	Sunday Bandstand
8.00 „	Sunday Star
8.30 „	The World Tomorrow—Sponsored
9.00 „	WORLD NEWS
9.10 „	Musical Interlude
9.15 „	The Baptist Witness—Sponsored
9.45 „	Spinning for pleasure
10.30 „	Organ Music—Rep. from 6 a.m.
10.45 „	The Quiet Time
11.00 „	NEWS SUMMARY
11.05 „	Station Closing and National Anthem

MONDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 „	Formal Station Opening
5.55 „	Programme Promotion
6.00 A.M.	Breakfast Show (Mixed Grill)
6.30 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 „	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Editorial Review
7.15 „	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 „	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 „	Tops in Pops
8.00 „	HOME NEWS
8.05 „	Tops in Pops (Contd.)
9.00 „	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO AND HAUSA
9.15 „	For you at Home
10.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 „	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
11.03 „	Women's Half Hour
11.30 „	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 P.M.	Market Mammy—Aje Awo'gba—Yoruba market women request—Sponsored
12.30 „	Music while you work
1.00 „	WNBS NEWS
1.10 „	Programme Promotion
1.15 „	Music While You Work (Contd.)
2.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 „	Music While you Work (Contd.)
2.30 „	*Children's Half-Hour (English)*
3.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
3.02 „	Editorial Review
3.05 „	WNBS On The Move
4.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
4.02 „	WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
4.30 „	Personal Paid Announcements & WNBS On The Move (Contd.)

Monday (contd.)

RADIO PROGRAMMES

5.00 P.M.	HOME NEWS
5.05 „	WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
6.00 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 „	Musical Interlude
6.15 „	Personal Paid Announcements & Musical Interlude
6.30 „	Music From The CONGO
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Musical Interlude
7.15 „	Listeners' Choice
8.00 „	NEWS IN YORUBA EDO AND HAUSA
8.15 „	Just for Variety
8.30 „	The World-Tomorrow
9.00 „	WORLD NEWS
9.10 „	Spinning for pleasure
9.30 „	Tiwa-N-Tiwa-Repeat Friday 2.30 p.m.
10.00 ,	Revival Time - Sponsored
10.30 „	Concert Platform
11.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 „	The Starlit Hour
11.55 „	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

TUESDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 „	Formal Station Opening
5.55 „	Programmes Promotion
6.00 „	Breakfast Show
6.30 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 „	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 A.M.	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Editorial Review
7.15 „	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 „	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 „	Tops in Pops
8.00 „	HOME NEWS
8.05 „	Tops in Pops (Continued)
9.00 „	NEWS IN YORUBA EDO AND HAUSA
9.15 „	For you at Home
10.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 „	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 „	Women's Half Hour Yoruba
11.30 „	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 P.M.	Music While you Work
1.00 „	WNBS NEWS
1.10 „	Programme Promotion
1.15 „	Music While you Work (Contd.)
2.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 „	Music While You Work (Contd.)
2.30 „	Children's Half-hour—(Yoruba)
3.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
3.02 „	Editorial Review
3.05 „	WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
4.30 „	Personal Paid Announcements & WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
5.00 „	HOME NEWS
5.05 „	WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
6.00 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 „	Musical Interlude
6.15 „	Personal Paid Announcements & Musical Interlude
6.30 P.M.	E TURA KA
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Musical Interlude
7.15 „	Listeners' Choice
8.00 „	NEWS IN YORUBA EDO AND HAUSA
8.15 „	Just For Variety
8.30 „	The World-Tomorrow
9.00 „	WORLD NEWS
9.10 „	Musical Interlude
9.15 „	Agbe Afokosoro - Rep. Saturday 7.45 p.m.
9.30 „	Young Voices—Repeat from Sunday 9.30 a.m.
10.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 „	ADEGBOYE—A detective drama series in Yoruba
10.30 „	Concert Platform
11.00 „	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 „	The Starlit Hour
11.55 „	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

WEDNESDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 „	Formal Station Opening
5.55 „	Programmes Promotion
6.00 „	Breakfast Show
6.30 „	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 „	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 „	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 „	Editorial Review

FIGURE 4.9 (Cont'd)

RADIC

Wednesday (Contd.)

7.15 A.M.	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 ,,	Tops In Pops
8.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
8.05 ,,	Tops In Pops (Contd.)
9.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
9.15 ,,	For You At Home
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	Aje Awo'gba—Repeat from Monday at 12.02 p.m.
11.30 ,,	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 P.M.	Music While You Work
1.00 ,,	WNBS NEWS
1.10 ,,	Programmes Promotion
1.15 ,,	Music While You Work
2.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 ,,	Music While You Work
2.30 ,,	Children's Half-Hour—(English)
3.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES AND EDITORIAL REVIEW
3.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move
4.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
4.02 ,,	WNBS on the Move
4.30 ,,	PERSONAL PAID ANNOUNCEMENTS & WNBS ON THE MOVE
5.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
5.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move
6.00 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
6.15 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
6.30 ,,	Music from the CONGO
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.15 ,,	Listener's Choice
8.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA EDO & HAUSA
8.15 ,,	Just for Variety
8.30 ,,	The World Tomorrow
9.00 ,,	WORLD NEWS
9.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
9.15 P.M.	Olotu Barika—Yoruba Requests
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Any Questions
10.30 ,,	Concert Platform
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	The Starlit Hour
11.55 ,,	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

THURSDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 ,,	Formal Station Opening
5.55 ,,	Programmes Promotion
6.00 ,,	Breakfast Show (Mixed Grill)
6.30 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 ,,	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	Editorial Review
7.15 ,,	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 ,,	Tops In Pops
8.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
8.05 ,,	Tops In Pops (Contd.)
9.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
9.15 ,,	For You At Home
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	Women's Half-Hour (Yoruba)
11.30 ,,	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 P.M.	Music While You Work
1.00 ,,	WNBS NEWS
1.10 ,,	Programmes Promotion
1.15 ,,	Music While You Work
2.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 ,,	Music While You Work
2.30 P.M.	Children's Half-Hour—Yoruba
3.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES AND EDITORIAL REVIEW
3.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move (Contd)
4.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
4.02 ,,	WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
4.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements & WNBS On The Move (Contd.)
5.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
5.05 ,,	WNBS On The Move
6.00 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
6.15 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
6.30 ,,	Music From INDIA
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
7.15 ,,	Listener's Choice
8.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
8.15 ,,	Just For Variety
8.30 ,,	The World Tomorrow
9.00 ,,	WORLD NEWS
9.10 ,,	E ma Gbadun
9.30 ,,	Top of the Form Rep. from Sun. 1.15 p.m.
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Wa Gima Gbuke
10.30 ,,	Concert Platform
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	The Starlit Hour
11.55 ,,	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

FRIDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 ,,	Formal Station Opening
5.55 ,,	Programmes Promotion
6.00 ,,	Breakfast Show (Mixed Grill)
6.30 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS

Friday (Contd.)

PROGRAMMES

6.40 A.M.	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	Editorial Review
7.15 ,,	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 ,,	Tops In Pops
8.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
8.05 ,,	Tops in Pops (Contd.)
9.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO AND HAUSA
9.15 ,,	For You At Home
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	Women's Half-Hour—(English)
11.30 ,,	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 P.M.	Jumat Talk
12.15 ,,	Music While You Work
1.00 ,,	WNBS NEWS
1.10 ,,	Programmes Promotion
1.15 ,,	Music While You Work (Contd.)
2.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 ,,	Music While You Work (Contd.)
2.30 ,,	Tiwa-N-Tiwa Repeat from Monday 9.30 p.m.
3.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES AND EDITORIAL REVIEW
3.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move
4.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
4.02 ,,	WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
4.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements & WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
5.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
5.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
6.00 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
6.15 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
6.30 ,,	Music From the Congo
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
7.15 ,,	Listener's Choice
8.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
8.15 P.M.	Just For Variety
8.30 ,,	The World Tomorrow
9.00 ,,	WORLD NEWS
9.10 ,,	Spinning for pleasure
9.30 ,,	IKU-OYENMWEN—Edo Requests
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	IKU-OYENMWEN (Contd.)
10.30 ,,	Concert Platform
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	The Starlit Hour
11.55 ,,	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

SATURDAY

5.42 A.M.	Opening March
5.45 ,,	Formal Station Opening
5.55 ,,	Programmes Promotion
6.00 ,,	Breakfast Show (Mixed Grill)
6.30 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.40 ,,	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	Editorial Review
7.15 ,,	Breakfast Show (Contd.)
7.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
7.45 ,,	Tops In Pops
8.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
8.05 ,,	Tops in Pops (Contd.)
9.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
9.15 ,,	Saturday Morning Choice
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	Mid-Morning Show
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	Students' Forum
11.30 ,,	Mid-Morning Show (Contd.)
12.00 Noon	NEWS HEADLINES
12.02 ,,	Sound 70
1.00 ,,	WNBS NEWS
1.10 P.M.	Programmes Promotion
1.15 ,,	Barika—Yoruba Requests
2.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
2.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
2.15 ,,	The Bible speaks to you—Sponsored
2.30 ,,	Your Hit Parade
3.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES AND EDITORIAL REVIEW
3.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move
4.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
4.02 ,,	WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
4.30 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements & WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
5.00 ,,	HOME NEWS
5.05 ,,	WNBS on the Move (Contd.)
6.00 ,,	AFRICAN NEWS
6.10 ,,	Musical Interlude
6.15 ,,	Personal Paid Announcements
6.30 ,,	E TURA KA
7.00 ,,	BBC NEWS RELAY
7.10 ,,	SPORTS Special
7.15 ,,	The World This Week
7.30 ,,	New Records
7.45 ,,	Agbe Afokosoro-Rep. from Tuesday at 9.15 p.m.
8.00 ,,	NEWS IN YORUBA, EDO & HAUSA
8.15 ,,	Just For Variety
8.30 ,,	The World Tomorrow
9.00 ,,	WORLD NEWS
9.10 ,,	INTERLUDE WNBS BIG SATURDAY NIGHT SHOW
9.15 ,,	Soul Sauce
9.45 ,,	By Special Request
10.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
10.02 ,,	By Special Request (Contd.)
10.30 ,,	Jazz Train
11.00 ,,	NEWS HEADLINES
11.02 ,,	Saturday Night Out
11.55 ,,	NEWS SUMMARY
12.00 M.N.	Station Closing and National Anthem

chapter, reveals some of the difficulties in intra-African distribution of films. The film was produced by a Ghanian, Kwaw Ansah, and shown in cinema theatres in Zambia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Kenya. It was considered successful in all the countries, but the producer did not get his fair share of the box office returns because of mismanagement by government officials who were responsible for transferring the money to Ghana.

It is noted that it is easier to see African films on British television than on African television. The reason for this may be solely economic. African films are kept away from African television in order that they might earn good revenue from African cinema theatres, their primary market. Since the chances of African films earning good income from British cinema theatres are very slim, it makes sound economic sense to hire the films out to British or non-African television stations.

Conversely, the BBC-produced African Theatre radio series, which was sold at subsidized rate by the BBC African Services, is being aired by Nigerian radio stations. Radio Port-Harcourt was the first to broadcast the series in Nigeria; Ogun Radio has also purchased it.(1) Its use of pidgin English may attract more stations, and its broadcast may renew interest in the production of radio drama.

Cinema Theatres and Film-making

With regard to drama, the film and television industries are interwoven. A good number of movies presented on television are feature films which have had many years run in cinema theatres. Even when films are made

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1. This information was obtained from an interview (16.7.85) with Dr. Graham Mytton, Head of International Broadcasting and Audience Research, BBC, London.

specially for television, the productions are done by film companies.

Contrary to the historical development in Europe and America, film viewing had long been established in Nigeria before film production started. When the Lumiere Brothers of Lyon produced their "Cinematographe" in 1895, there was no cinema theatre anywhere in the world. Consequently, they had to rent the basement below the Grand Cafe at number 14, Boulevard de Capucines, Paris, for their first show on 28th December, 1895. That event marked the beginning of the history of cinema worldwide (Robinson 1973, p.1). Production preceded viewing in the advanced industrialized countries. But in Nigeria, the first feature film produced dated 1960, after at least two decades of film viewing. The commencing date of the first cinema theatre in Nigeria is not known, but most likely it should fall within the colonial period in the early twentieth century. It is also likely that the first public film screening took place at the Glover Memorial Hall, Lagos, a general hall which was also used for the staging of indigenous operas of dramatists such as Hubert Ogunde and A. Layeni (Clark 1979).

By the 1940s, cinema theatres had been established, more in Lagos than in other towns, and a crop of cinema patrons had emerged. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the screen idols of Nigerian cinemagoers were such film stars as Billy the Kid (Audie Murphy), Jeff Chandler, Rock Hudson and John Wayne who were the heroes of Western films. Nowadays, monosyllabic words such as "Khan", "Lee", "Wang" and "Chan" which are the names of Chinese film stars are appearing in the entertainment pages of newspapers. In the past two decades, Indian films persistently dominated Nigerian cinema screens, so much so that it was difficult to show any locally-made films. The attraction of Indian films for Nigerian low-educated audiences is an interesting phenomenon. The films are usually in Indian languages with or without English subtitles. So, they communicate very few verbal messages to Nigerians. They, however, lean heavily on music (very emotional romantic songs) which is a universal language. Visually, they feature dances, romantic gestures (especially females teasing males), magic, comical acts, very beautiful scenes, gorgeous costumes, fantastic make-up on the females who have sex appeal without resorting to nudity —in every way, a visual world of fantasy sometimes presented in a captivating manner. In view of the modesty observable in Indian real life, Indian films are a feat of cinematography. So, without following the verbal storyline, viewers may be entertained in much the same way as with the silent comedy films of Charlie Chaplin and others.

If Nigerian films are produced with the same formula as Indian films, and at the same cinematographic level, surely they will be equally successful nationally irrespective of language. This was demonstrated by Ola Balogun with the production of Ajani Ogun in 1976. It was one of the first successful Nigerian feature films. Both Hubert Ogunde and Ola Balogun used the same formula of music and dance in another successful film, Aiye (1979). However, not many Nigerian films are produced because there is as yet no industrial base for film production in any way comparable to that of India —not to mention that of America.

A study of films screened in Lagos theatres during a two-week period (26th June to 10th July, 1980) showed that out of 246 films screened, only 2% were Nigerian, 25% were of Western origin, 31% were Indian and 42% were from Hong Kong (Oduko 1980, pp.18-24). Tables 4.6 to 4.9 show the pattern and samples of film offerings in 1980. Five theatres (Fabroms Cinema, the National Theatre, Ojapah Cinema, Plaza Cinema and Roxy Cinema) concentrated on Western films. Some of these are luxury theatres by Nigerian standards, and so they charge high ticket prices. Sixteen other theatres (listed on Table 4.8) concentrated on Indian and Hong Kong(1) films. The films shown in the various theatres reflected, to a large extent, the level of education and socio-economic status of their patrons. Western films attracted mainly expatriates and middle-class Nigerians. Indian and Hong Kong films attracted the low-educated and low-income people, but the few good Nigerian films enjoyed the patronage of a cross-section of Nigerians irrespective of levels of education and income.

Compared with theatre offerings on July 10, 1983, Figure 4.10 shows that Indian and Hong Kong films continue to edge Western films off from the screens. Out of the 10 films advertised: one, Secret of a Willing Wife, is of Western origin; another one, Aare-Agbaye, is Nigerian; the rest are either Indian or Hong Kong produced.

Kongi's Harvest was produced and released by a Nigerian film company, Calpenny Films, some fifteen years ago. But since that dare-devil undertaking, the company seemed to have closed shop. Its follow-up effort, Bullfrog in the Sun, which was produced fourteen years ago with German collaboration, is yet to see the light of day in Nigeria. The fact that Nigerian theatres were, at that time, owned by aliens (mostly Indians and Lebanese) who discriminated against Nigerian films might have something to do with the failure

---

1. Hong Kong films are popularly called "Chinese films" because they feature predominantly Chinese language and culture. They are, in fact, produced in Hong Kong.

TABLE 4.6

THEATRES CONCENTRATING ON WESTERN FILMS IN 1980

	Theatre	Film Type
1.	Faproms (Idumagbo, Lagos)	American Films : 85%
2.	National Theatre (Iganmu)	American Films : 100%
3.	Ojapah (Aguda, Surulere)	American Films : 42% (Chinese : 29%, Indian : 29%)
4.	Plaza (Onikan, Lagos)	American Films : 100%
5.	Roxy (Apapa)	American Films : 69%

TABLE 4.7

A SAMPLE OF WESTERN FILMS SHOWN IN 1980

1. The Big Bird Cage
2. The Godfather
3. Black Samurai
4. Hell Up Harlem
5. Black Heat
6. One More Time
7. On her Majesty' s Service
8. Gordon's War
9. James Bond 007
10. Sky Rider

TABLE 4.8

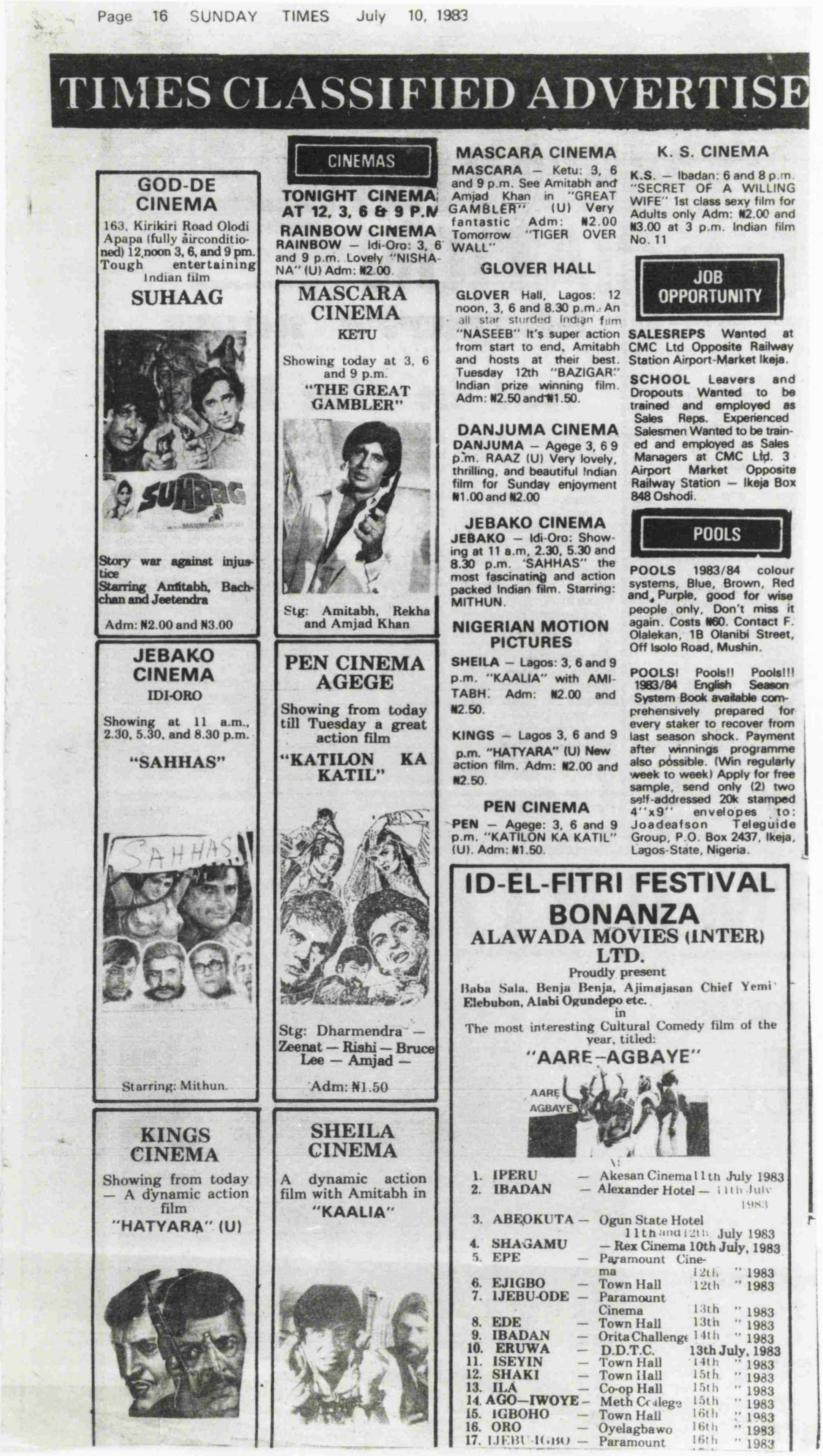
THEATRES CONCENTRATING ON ORIENTAL FILMS IN 1980

	Theatre	Film Type
1.	Casino (Yaba)	Indian Films: 70%
2.	Central (Ebute-Metta)	Hong Kong Films: 86%
3.	Corona (Itafaji, Lagos)	Hong Kong Films: 54%
4.	Danjuma (Agege)	Hong Kong Films: 50% Indian Films: 50%
5.	Glover (Tinubu, Lagos)	Indian Films: 80%
6.	Idera (Mushin)	Hong Kong Films: 86%
7.	Jebako (Agege)	Indian Films: 67%
8.	Kings (Lafiaji, Lagos)	Hong Kong Films: 70%
9.	New Jebako (Idi-Oro)	Indian Films: 90%
10.	Odeon (Ebute-Metta)	Hong Kong Films: 79%
11.	Rainbow (Mushin)	Hong Kong Films: 50% Indian Films: 50%
12.	Regal (Ebute-Metta)	Indian Films: 73%
13.	Rita (Ikeja)	Hong Kong Films: 86%
14.	Royal (Faji, Lagos)	Hong Kong Films: 40% Indian Films: 40%
15.	Sheila (Faji, Lagos)	Hong Kong Films: 55% Indian Films: 45%
16.	Super (Surulere)	Hong Kong Films: 77%

TABLE 4.9

A SAMPLE OF HONG KONG AND INDIAN FILMS SHOWN IN 1980

1. The Kung Fu Trouble Maker (Hong Kong Shaolin)
2. Heroes Two (Hong Kong Shaolin)
3. 13 Styles Strick (Hong Kong Shaolin)
4. Duel of the Seven Tigers (Hong Kong Shaolin)
5. Veeru Ustad (Indian)
6. Phir Age Toofan (Indian)
7. Marvellous Stunts of Kung Fu (Hong Kong)
8. Daku Aur Jawan (Indian)
9. Shalimar (Indian)
10. Duel of the Tough (Hong Kong)


SUHAAG
SAHHAS
AARE
AGBAYE

Page 16 SUNDAY TIMES July 10, 1983

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Showing from today — A dynamic action film

"HATYARA" (U)

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KINGS — Lagos 3, 6 and 9 p.m. "HATYARA" (U) New action film. Adm: ₦2.00 and ₦2.50.

PEN CINEMA

PEN — Agege: 3, 6 and 9 p.m. "KATILON KA KATIL" (U). Adm: ₦1.50.

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2. IBADAN — Alexander Hotel — 11th July 1983
3. ABEOKUTA — Ogun State Hotel 11th and 12th July 1983
4. SHAGAMU — Rex Cinema 10th July, 1983
5. EPE — Paramount Cinema 12th " 1983
6. EJIGBO — Town Hall 12th " 1983
7. IJEBU-ODE — Paramount Cinema 13th " 1983
8. EDE — Town Hall 13th " 1983
9. IBADAN — Orita Challenge 14th " 1983
10. ERUWA — D.D.T.C. 13th July, 1983
11. ISEYIN — Town Hall 14th " 1983
12. SHAKI — Town Hall 15th " 1983
13. ILA — Co-op Hall 15th " 1983
14. AGO—IWOYE — Meth College 15th " 1983
15. IGBOHO — Town Hall 16th " 1983
16. ORO — Oyelagbawo 16th " 1983
17. IJEBU-IGBO — Paramount 16th " 1983

FIGURE 4.10 SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT OF CINEMA THEATRE OFFERINGS IN 1983

of Calpenny Films. Ola Balogun had to show one of his early feature films, Amadi, in rented school halls in Lagos ten years ago, despite the fact that the city had more than fifteen theatres which screened films (foreign films) twice every night.

Another Nigerian film company, Fed Films, which had Lebanese participation financially and operationally, produced The Son of Africa and Golden Women in 1970. Even though the two films were of poor quality, they were widely shown in Nigerian theatres because of the Lebanese interests in the films. This joint venture (Lebanese-Nigerian) had the potential of a breakthrough which could stimulate a rapid growth of the Nigerian film industry, but Fed Films lacked high standard film-making skills and it had management problems. As such, no sooner than its films were released, the company fizzled into thin air. That was a pity because it was uncommon for Nigerian businessmen without filming background to dabble into film production. Yet, for any film of consequence to get produced, heavy capital investment from businessmen and the skills of film-makers are needed under one roof.

Between 1973 and 1975, it appeared that the situation was going to change. The Indigenization Decree of 1974 wrested theatre ownership and film distribution business from the aliens and vested them in Nigerian citizens. It also banned foreign films. As time went by, however, it became apparent that the Decree did not do much. The impact it was expected to make on the film industry did not materialize because by some dubious means and crafty dodging, alien interests continued to influence the film business; foreign films continued to dominate the theatres.

As a result of this dominance, in 1975, Nigerian theatres were invaded by a new foreign phenomenon, the kung fu dance, a dance which gives the impression of a fight. An aggressor uses the kung fu dance to fight by threatening his opponent with pugnacious lightning movements and deafening howls. It is an ingenious way of displaying violence, which people enjoy watching, but without a violent act being committed. Its effect is simply to psychologically destabilize an opponent. Hitherto, cinemagoers had watched acts of violence committed in films with the use of guns, swords and knives. But Chinese films give the impression of violence with the use of human body coupled with symbolic paraphernalia which include a stern look, a mode of dress and a pair of decorative militant rods. The combination of these motifs is described as martial art. It broke new grounds in the art of cinematography. It effectively used the montage technique to make viewers perceive a danger of violence from mere human gestures. Films of this genre even went beyond martial art impressionism to the fringes of mysticism as typified by the Bruce Lee television drama series.

The kung fu style of fighting actually evolved from the ancient Chinese and Japanese culture. It was used in self-defence by Chinese buddist monks to protect themselves and their properties from burglars who frequented their monastries. The kung fu fight is a combination of judo, karate, hypnosis and mind-reading. Like boxing and wrestling, it has a hierarchy. A kung fu fighter with green belt indicates that he is only a novice; a yellow belt indicates intermediate level; a black belt is an expert, a champion.

The government film units in the ministries/departments of information and television stations have not done much to offset the evil effects of the disproportionate propagation of alien cultures through films. The structural relationship between the film units and the government is one of the factors inhibiting film units from serving the nation at their best. There are indications that the film units have the potential for producing films that can block the cultural erosion caused by foreign films. For example, the NTA's Documentary Film Festival of 1979 showed some promise. Its Ibadan station produced a film about the traditional ways of curing mental illness. The film was well produced and it was captivating. NTA Channel 10's production dealt with the life of a handicap child. The director took an objective point of view and followed the daily routine of the child. We saw the child interacting with normal people at home. He did his share of domestic duties and played football on the roadside with his peers inspite of his warped left leg. We also saw how he managed to wade through the terrifying Lagos traffic to school without any assistance. At school, we saw many more deformed children, a colony of the handicapped. The film communicated the message that a good number of us are handicapped and we should not neglect to provide for the needs of the unfortunate minorities. The film evoked empathy. NTV-Jos contributed a film which covered a wide span of educational institutions in the North from the kindergarten to the tertiary levels. This film enlightened southern Nigerian viewers considerably. Thus, it was made clear that film is a powerful medium that can be used for promoting national integration and for evolving a national identity.

Ola Balogun (1979) comments on the state of the Nigerian film industry thus:

> Our people are not privileged to watch the heroic exploits of Jaja of Opobo on the cinema screen, or to see the wonderful pageantry of the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Bornu unfolded before them. They cannot watch a funny actor from Benin somersault on the cinema screen or sympathize with a poor farmer from Gongola as he

scratches the earth for a living in a film that shows us the everyday life of such a farmer.

For no fault of their own our people are not so privileged. Each time they go to a cinema house, they have to be satisfied with watching Roy Rogers chasing Red Indians over the American planes; if not with a kung fu exponent from Hong Kong flying all over the screen in bizarre battles, or with Dharmeenda and Shashi Kapoor singing and dancing their ways through an Indian romance.

Is it not strange that so many films are made in other countries while so few have been made in Nigeria, and even those few can hardly be seen by the Nigerian public?

Could it be that those who make films in other countries have two heads and four arms, or could it be that God has endowed them with certain mysterious qualities that we in Nigeria do not possess?

Are there magic trees in other countries on which films grow and from which they are periodically plucked to be sent to Nigerian film houses?

Needless to say, films do not drop from the sky nor are they plucked from trees. If a Nigerian film industry is to come into being, a number of steps need to be taken by Nigerian authorities to encourage and stimulate the growth of an indigenous film industry, even if we assume that film production should be mainly financed by the private sector.

There are no miracles in life. Cause determines effect, as surely as night follows day. Those who make films in other countries do not have two heads or five arms: They simply have access to means of production as well as distribution outlets for completed film.

How is film production organized in those countries of the world that produce films on a regular basis? In the first instance, funding is made available to film production companies by individuals or by specialized private or public institutions such as banks or state film boards.

The completed film is then released in domestic film houses (as well as in foreign cinema theatres where possible) and part of the money realized from public attendance in cinema houses to watch a particular film is paid to the original makers of the film, so as to enable them recover the investment in the film.

Inspite of all odds, the belief in the value of films has stimulated the production of no less than 38 feature films within 25 years, as listed on

Table 4.10. The synopses of eight of the films are presented in Appendix E. There is hope for a brighter future because in 1982, the Federal Government established the Nigerian Film Corporation to assist in the funding of feature film productions. The Corporation has started with the co-production of a historical film Uthman dan Fodio 'Jihad' which is about a religious war that took place at the beginning of the 19th century. The war led to the establishment of Fulani rule over the Hausa kingdoms for almost a century before the British conquest. According to a Nigerian newspaper, The Guardian (1984, p.B3), the production cost of the film is ₦1 m (£.98 m). It is no doubt the costliest film ever produced in Nigeria. Without the government support through the Corporation, its production would have been impossible.

Those few Nigerian films produced now get exposure in the theatres. But there is no reliable film distribution network. Therefore, most producers tend to tour round with their films. Figure 4.11 illustrates this. Also, efforts to survive in the film business have prevented most Nigerian artists from specializing in any one area. Most of them have had to become generalists. Ade Folayan of Ade-Love Films is a typical example of a Nigerian producer, actor and exhibitor who has had to launch his films on tours as well as sell the sound tracks of the films as one of the spin-offs from the business.

Inspite of various commercial gimmicks, the financial returns from films are far from encouraging. Therefore, the tendency is for film producers to avoid television screenings in the hope of first earning fair revenue from their films through several years of theatre screenings. Attempts in other African countries to obtain reasonable income from theatre screenings have not been successful either. Kwaw Ansah, the Ghanian director of Love Brewed in an

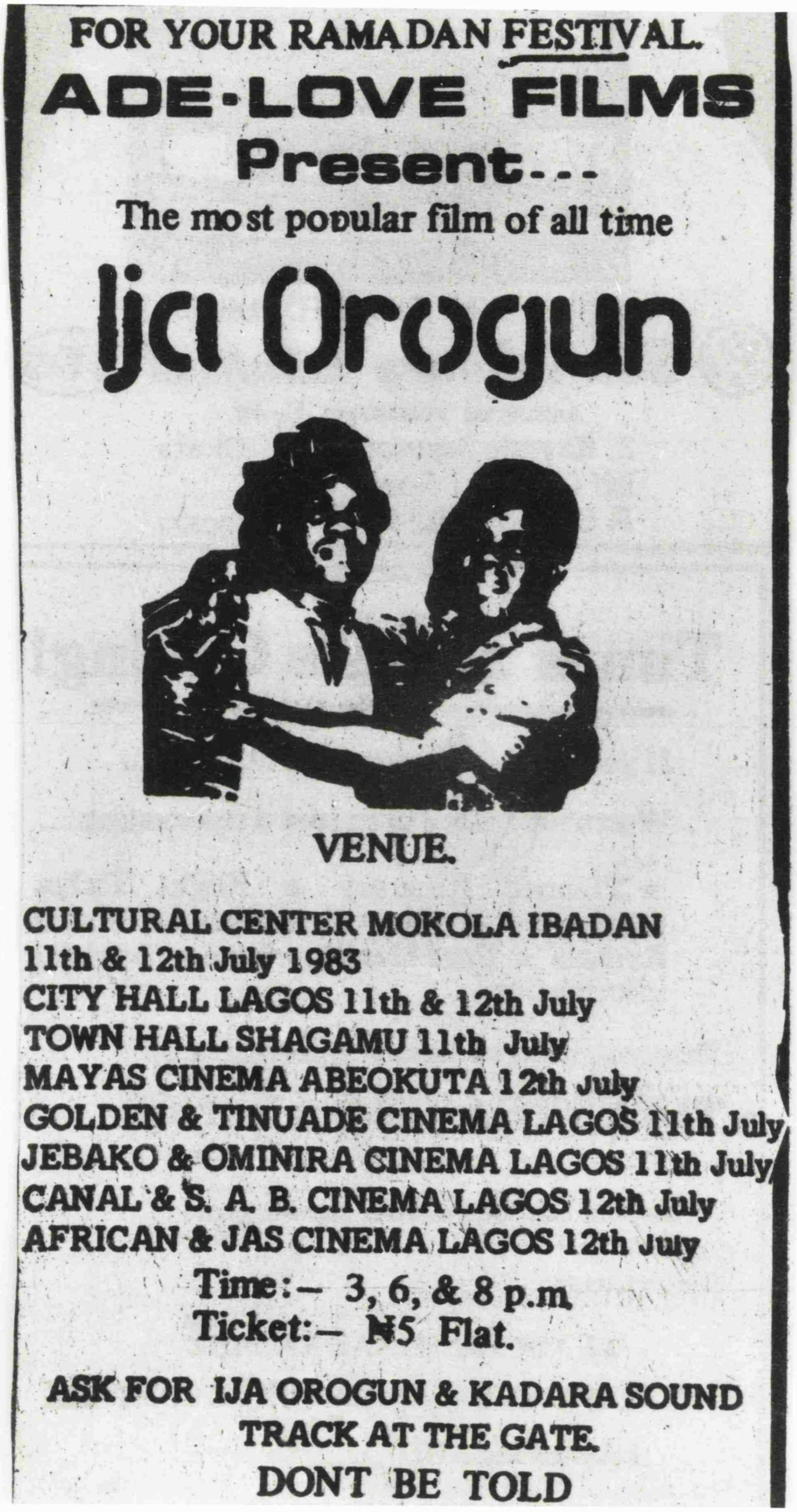
TABLE 4.10

A SAMPLE OF FEATURE FILMS MADE IN NIGERIA

Title	Date	Producer/Director
1. Bound for Lagos (English language)	1960	Eric Connor (Briton)
2. Mama Learns a Lesson (English language)	1963	Alhaji A. Halilu (Nigerian)
3. Kongis' Harvest (English language)	1970	Francis Oladele of Calpenny Films (Nigerian)/Osie Davies (American)
4. Golden Women (English language)	1970	Fed Films (Lebanese-Nigerian)
5. Son of Africa (English language)	1970	Fed Films (Lebanese-Nigerian)
6. Bullfrog in the Sun (English language)	1971	Francis Oladele of Calpenny Films (Nigerian)/A German Director
7. Child Bride (English language)	1971	Alhaji A. Halilu (Nigerian)
8. Amadi (English language)	1975	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
9. My Good Friend (English language)	1975	Federal Film Unit (Nigerian)
10. Dinner with the Devil (English language)	1976	Starline Films/Sanya Dosunmu (Nigerian)
11. Ajani Ogun (Yoruba language)	1976	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
12. Muzik-man (English language)	1976	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
13. Shehu Umar (Hausa/English subtitles)	1976	Alhaji A. Halilu (Nigerian)

Title	Date	Producer/Director
14. Bisi Daughter of the River (English language)	1977	Jab Adu (Nigerian)
15. Count Down at Kusini (English language)	1977	A Nigerian Producer/ Osie Davies (American)
16. Ija Ominira (Yoruba language)	1977	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
17. The Life and Death of "Doctor" Ishola Oyenusi (English language)	1977	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)
18. The Boy is Good (English language)	1977	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)
19. Black Goddess (English language)	1978	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
20. Aiye (Yoruba language)	1979	Hubert Ogunde/Ola Balogan (Nigerian)
21. The Mask (English language)	1979	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)
22. Oil Doom (English language)	1980	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)
23. Jaiyesimi (Yoruba language)	1980	Hubert Ogunde (Nigerian)/ A British Director
24. Cry of Freedom (English language)	1981	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
25. Kadara (Yoruba language)	1981	Ade Folayan of Ade-Love Films (Nigerian)
26. Efunsetan (Yoruba language)	1981	Bankole Bello (Nigerian)
27. Aropin Ntenian (Yoruba language)	1982	Hubert Ogunde (Nigerian)/ A British Director
28. Boulous '80 (English language)	1982	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)

Title	Date	Producer/Director
29. Orun Mooru (Yoruba/English subtitles)	1982	Moses O. Adejumo/ Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
30. Owo L'Agba (Money Power) (Yoruba/English subtitles)	1982	Ola Balogun (Nigerian)
31. Taxi Driver (English language)	1983	Ade Folayan of Ade-Love Films (Nigerian)
32. Aare-Agbaye (Yoruba language)	1983	Moses O. Adejumo of Alawada Movies (Nigerian)
33. Death of a Black President (English language)	1983	Eddie Ugbomah (Nigerian)
34. Ija Orogun (Yoruba language)	1983	Ade Folayan of Ade-Love Films (Nigerian)
35. Anikura (Yoruba language)	1983	Ayobola Motion Pictures/ Akin Filani (Nigerian)
36. Ireke Onibudo (Yoruba/English subtitles)	1983	Bayo Aderonmu of Benton Films/ T.A. Hundeyin (Nigerian)
37. Papa Ajasco (Yoruba language)	1984	Wale Adenuga (Nigerian)
38. Uthman dan Fodio 'Jihad' (English language)	1984	The Nigerian Film Corporation/ Gregory Awosika of Takwa Bay Films (Nigerian)



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Ticket:– ₦5 Flat.

ASK FOR IJA OROGUN & KADARA SOUND TRACK AT THE GATE.

DONT BE TOLD

FIGURE 4.11 SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT OF A NIGERIAN FILM ON TOUR IN 1983

African Pot, narrates his experience below, in answer to a question, "How will you handle distribution after the experience with Love Brewed?" (West Africa 1984, pp.2319-2320):

> That has always been a big problem. Where the U.S. is concerned, I was happy to attend the first Black American-African film festival in Los Angeles, where Love Brewed in an African Pot featured. The reception for it was beautiful, and Heritage will definitely be shown in Los Angeles as a result. In New York I spoke to a group helping to organise finance for me, and the Apollo Theatre will be showing Love Brewed. With this connection to the U.S. black community, Heritage will be shown even if the major networks are blocking it.
>
> In Africa, we will be negotiating better terms so that at least 50 per cent of production cost is repaid from the African scene alone. In Zambia for example, Love Brewed grossed over 500,000 Kwacha. But after making all sorts of "deductions" they told us we were only entitled to 68,000 Kwacha. This was a place where the government itself invited the film. We kept being told that the banks there would transfer the money. When we went to Zambia we found that officials had squandered everything and up to now we have not seen a single Kwacha from Zambia. I'm sure if it was a European who took a film there, he wouldn't have had this kind of deal. Liberia and other places helped pay for production costs.
>
> In Sierra Leone, for example, where the film had a three-month run and was said to have broken box office records, we got no returns. We were told it was shown as part of a double bill in two or three cinemas and that there was not time for it to break even. But Kenya (among others) had various deductions - for advertising costs, entertainment tax, then a 30 per cent withholding tax, before sharing the rest with you - which left us with an average of 50 cents for every $10. This sort of deal was worked out during colonial days.
>
> If governments will see the film industry in Africa as a political instrument and not burden the film-maker with so many taxes, we can generate enough money on the African scene to enable us to be in business all the time.
>
> The patronage of Love Brewed ... in Africa has not been paralleled by any other African film. I think this should have been enough to launch another production without needing to raise funds from elsewhere. If there was a fair deal even just on the African scene we would have enough money to make films.

The Ghanaian's experience reveals the problem generally facing the African film industry. The problem is not that of finding funds to produce the first films; a few have been produced already. Neither is it that of getting audience patronage; foreign films have helped over the years in building up sizeable audiences. What the industry lacks are reliable national and international distribution networks for African films. Before long, the first generation of African films will be more than 20 years old. Then, they may likely start to appear on television, and thereby raise the local contribution to drama on telvision.

Two new films featuring King Sunny Ade (the Nigerian ace musician) to be released this year will set an international scene for African films. The unique thing about the films is that they are produced by Hollywood American companies. One of them, titled O.C. & Stiggs, is produced by Robert Altman and the other, a musical, is produced by Warner Brothers with a budget of £5 million (West Africa 1984, p.2580).

Summary

From all accounts, Nigerian drama had religious beginnings. The drama became secularised into social and educational functions, and as well developed biblical, folkloric, historical and nationalistic themes. Like the ancient Alarinjo Theatre, contemporary theatre groups evolved as travelling theatres.

Western education stimulated the emergence of literary works, and the pioneer writers, producers and actors were developed through radio drama. If the problem of national and international film distribution is solved, more African films will be made; eventually, they will contribute to drama on television.

CHAPTER 5

BROADCASTING IN NIGERIA

Introduction

The broadcasting system of Nigeria had a rapid expansion between 1960, when the country attained independence, and 1984. Several radio and television stations were established in this period. But if recent government announcements are effected, the expansion is likely to end and the existing stations be reduced.

This chapter discusses the relationship between political changes and the media. It takes a look at the mass media generally, presents a historical sketch of television and points out the attempts made to use broadcasting for national development. To provide a clear view of the structure, finance and programme objectives, the Nigerian system is compared with other broadcasting systems in the Third World.

Political Changes and the Media

Nigeria attained independence with a parliamentary constitution which provided for a federal system of government consisting of one central administration based in the capital, Lagos, and three regional administrations in the northern, eastern and western parts of the country. The regional divisions reflected the three major ethnic groups (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba). The attempt to forge a united, democratic political entity out of the ethnic groups led to social conflicts, inter-tribal distrust and hostilities. As such, within seven years of independence, there were visible signs of tension. There were disruptions in parliament, a situation of unrest in society and two military coup detats. These culminated in a civil war (1967-1970) because the oil-rich eastern region of the country attempted to secede (Obasanjo 1980).

Following the civil war, a period of reconstruction, reconciliation and reunification was proclaimed. The country then was divided into twelve regional administrations, called states, in order to satisfy the desires of minority ethnic groups and to ease the tension of distrust. A military regime established in 1967 continued to administer the country. The execution of the post-civil war programme of "rebuilding", however, led to some new problems. The mass media courageously featured allegations of public corruption, mismanagement of resources and generally misplaced priorities. But the military government repressed the media. Some journalists and broadcasters were maltreated. The media men were intimidated (Onagoruwa 1978). A few social reformers attempted to voice their opinions with pamphlets and advocacy journalism. They were silenced (Aboaba 1979). Gradually, the military regime appeared to have changed its focus from that of rebuilding the nation in preparation for a speedy return to a democratic form of government to entrenching itself in power. The Head of the Military Government categorically announced on television that the earlier set date for a return to civilian government was unrealistic. He did not indicate an alternative date.

In 1975, with a classical use of the radio, a group of military officers, in a bloodless coup, toppled the government. The new regime proceeded to tackle the ills of society, particularly in the "sick" civil service and government parastatals. The regime made innovative use of broadcasting to mobilize distinguished personnel at short notice for its administration and to make strategic changes with pronouncements and decrees which took immediate effect.

The regime promised three things: to return the nation to a democratic form of government within four years; to evolve a new constitution, based upon historical experience; and to lay the foundation for a stable government. In order that government might reach the "grass roots" (rural areas) and to further preserve minority rights, the country was again divided into 19 states. The local government areas were split into smaller units with independent source of funding so as to insulate them from state domination.

In 1979, the military regime handed over power, as promised, to a civilian administration which had a new constitution that emphasized American-type presidential democracy. While the various political changes were taking place, the mass media institutions were employed in explaining the changes far and wide and in bringing into general awareness the various governments' policies. The media institutions were also charged with the responsibility of providing a public service in order to contribute to national development.

During the first three years of experimenting a presidential-type constitution, agitation for the creation of more states attained such a height that the government had to establish a committee to study and report on the issue. The Committee on Creation of New States in Nigeria recommended the establishment of 21 more states to bring the number of states to 40. This recommendation was accepted unanimously by the House of Representatives. The next stages before the bill became law were the passage of the bill in the Senate and in the Assemblies of two-third of the 19 states followed by a national referendum. If the trend in regional divisions from the original three at independence, to twelve, then to nineteen and now to the proposed forty is anything to go by, it suggests a gradual drift back to pre-colonial ethnic groupings.

This is a matter of interest to political scientists. What is of sociological concern is that the trend in creating more states may indicate a desire for as many political units as the Americans whose political system has been adopted and whom Nigerians "tend to copy wittingly or unwittingly, in almost everything" (Okoli 1982, p.3269). If this second view is the more accurate posture, then the concern for cultural imperialism is well placed.

But another military takeover on December 31, 1983, marked the failure of the experiment in presidential democracy. The new military regime suspended the 1979 Constitution and proscribed all political parties, political activities and state creation movements (West Africa 1984, p.53). Some portions of the 1979 Constitution (especially in regard to the media) were, however, retained in a new set of Decrees issued by the military regime. Generally, the change in administration has effected a change in the loyalties and ideological orientations of the media.

Mass Media System

The mass media system appears to be more authoritarian than liberal in nature. Two reasons can be adduced for the situation: first there is no clear-cut constitutional guarantee for press freedom; second, all the radio and television stations and more than half of the total number of newspapers are owned and controlled either by the federal or state governments. Section 36, sub-section 2 of the 1979 Constitution, which is retained by the new administration, states:

> Without prejudice to the generality of sub-section (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions. Provided that no person, other than the Government of the

> Federation or of a State or any other person or body authorised by the President, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatsoever.

In theory, "any other person or body authorised by the President" can operate broadcasting, but in practice, this has never happened. The Federal Government owns a national radio network, Radio Nigeria, which has stations in the old (Lagos) and new (Abuja) capital cities, and in some of the states. The network also operates an external broadcasting station called Voice of Nigeria.

The Federal Government has a national television network, known as the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), with two stations in Lagos, one in Abuja and one in every state capital, but there is no external television service. Thus, until 1983, the Federal Government owned 22 television stations. The policy of the Federal Government is that broadcasting (both radio and television) should be used as a public service to inform and educate the public on government affairs and to promote national development and unity. Both Radio Nigeria and NTA limit considerably the amount of advertising and paid-for announcements aired by them. According to executives of NTA, the organisations depend mainly on government subvention.

State governments, however, hold the view that broadcasting should not only provide a public service, it should also be commercially viable. Every state has a radio station while eleven of the states have television stations independent of the NTA. A recent government announcement, however, revealed that the number of radio and television stations all over the country may be reduced, for economic reasons.

The federal and state governments own a significant number of the newspapers. Out of 16 national newspapers, the governments own ten. The Federal Government owns the two leading newspapers, Daily Times and New Nigerian, located in the southern and northern parts of the country respectively. The leading newspapers in most states are owned by their state governments. There are a few privately-owned newspapers. Most significant of these are: Nigerian Tribune, The Punch, National Concord and The Guardian, all of which are based in Lagos. Of these four newspapers, The Punch and The Guardian were not overtly in support of any of the five former political parties. The other two were used as propaganda outlets to attack the activities and/or persons of opposing political parties. Later, however, the proprietor of National Concord, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, withdrew from his political party and so his paper has since then been steering an independent course.

Weekly, bi-weekly and monthly magazines such as Ophelia only just manage to break into the market. They are mostly privately-owned and are non-partisan. They are entirely commercial; they rarely advocate any political or social ideology. Their circulation is limited in scope to special interests. Based on what news vendors display, the international magazines such as TIME, Newsweek and West Africa are more widely circulated than the local magazines.

In 1976, the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) was established by Decree 19 to undertake the following (Ugboajah 1980, p.15):

> (a) to seek, obtain and otherwise receive through subscription, payment, exchange or other means, international, regional, local and other news, news material and news features;
>
> (b) to distribute such news material and news features to subscribers against payment either in form of fees or news exchange or on such other terms as may be agreed;
>
> (c) to present complete, objective and impartial information, news or news material or features or any matter of public or national interest within and outside the Federation;
>
> (d) to report truthfully and fairly, without prejudice to public and national interest, the views of all sections of the population of the Federation.

According to Ugboajah, the creation of NAN emanated from the concern for and an attempt to correct the international news bias and imbalance perpetuated by the dominant news agencies such as Reuters, United Press International, Associated Press, Tass and Agence France Presse.

The Development of Television

A pioneer of television engineering in Nigeria and former General Manager of the first television station, Teju Oyeleye (1972, p.1), traces the development of human communication thus:

> Human communication has passed through four distinct phases of development. The spoken word differentiated the early man from the lower animals. The second phase of development took place at about 3000 B.C. when man was able to convey his thoughts in writing thereby achieving permanent records. The printing press invented in the fifteenth century brought the multiplying effect which technology confers. Many copies of the same text can be prepared within a very short time. The discovery of electro-magnetic waves in the 19th century brought with it such applications as radio and television broadcasting. Thus, the distance factor shrank as a communication problem.

Television broadcasting in Nigeria was born out of the conflicts of ownership, control and access. Following a parliamentary crisis, in 1953, arising from a call for national self-government to be awarded in 1956, the Governor of the Central Government, Sir John Macpherson, made a chiding radio broadcast against a Regional Premier, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Much as the Premier attempted to reply to the Governor, he was denied the right of rebuttal through radio by the Chief Secretary to the Central Government (Egbon 1978). This further precipitated the crisis and it led to a Constitutional Conference later in the year, July, 1953.

An aftermath of the Conference was the removal of broadcasting from the Central Government exclusive list to become a concurrent item. As such, the Nigerian Constitution of 1954 provided that regional governments could establish broadcasting services. The Western Nigeria Government was the first to take advantage of the new Constitution by establishing, in partnership with a British firm, the Overseas Rediffusion Ltd., the WNBS-WNTV for the operation of radio and television broadcasting. Thus, the first television station in Africa was officially commissioned on the 1st October, 1959. It started broadcasting in Ibadan with a 500 watts transmitter which had an effective radiated power of 15 kW. In 1972, the station upgraded its transmitter to 10 kW with an effective radiated power of 60 kW which widely propagated the station's slogan "First in Africa" (Ikime 1979). One year after the establishment of the WNTV, the ENTV, belonging to the Eastern Nigeria Government, was established in Enugu and the station chose the slogan "Second to None". The government of the Northern Nigeria followed the trend with the establishment of a third station, RKTV, in Kaduna between 1960 and 1961.

The political change from a colony to an independent nation made the

Federal Government at the centre much stronger than it was before independence, and so the centre attracted the nation's top politicians. With that, came the realisation of the need for a television station owned and controlled by the Federal Government. In 1962, the fourth station, NBC-TV, was established in the federal capital, Lagos.

By 1969, a military regime had taken over the administration and Nigeria had broken up into 12 states. Those new states which did not have television stations proceeded to make plans for them. Between 1973 and 1974, the fifth (in Benin) and the sixth (in Jos) stations were established by the Mid-West and Benue-Plateau states respectively.

When another military government emerged in July 1975, Nigeria was further divided into nineteen states: (1) Anambra State, (2) Bauchi State, (3) Bendel State, (4) Benue State, (5) Borno State, (6) Cross River State, (7) Gongola State, (8) Imo State, (9) Kaduna State, (10) Kano State, (11) Kwara State, (12) Lagos State, (13) Niger State, (14) Ogun State, (15) Ondo State, (16) Oyo State, (17) Plateau State, (18) Rivers State and (19) Sokoto State. By Decree No. 24 of April, 1976, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) was established with the powers: (1) to take-over all the existing television stations; (2) to plan for, establish and operate new stations in the state capitals without television. The concept then was that only a single organization, the NTA, should operate television broadcasting in Nigeria on behalf of the Federal Government. The charter of NTA required it "to ensure an independent and impartial service which will operate in the national interest; to give adequate expression to culture, characteristics and affairs of the different parts of Nigeria." In the period (1976/77) between the creation of new states and the promulgation of Decree No. 24, four television stations were established at Port Harcourt (Rivers State), Sokoto (Sokoto State), Kano (Kano State) and Owerri (Imo State).

With the establishment of NTA, all the television stations in Nigeria assumed the name "NTV" with the addition of only the name of the state capitals in which the stations are situated. The new stations opened by the NTA are:

1. NTV - Abeokuta (Ogun State), established in 1978/79;
2. NTV - Akure (Ondo State), established in 1978/79;
3. NTV - Bauchi (Bauchi State), established in 1978/79;
4. NTV - Calabar (Cross River State), established in 1978/79;
5. NTV - Ilorin (Kware State), established in 1978/79;
6. NTV - Maiduguri (Borno State), established in 1978/79;
7. NTV - Makurdi (Benue State), established in 1978/79;
8. NTV - Minna (Niger State), established in 1978/79;
9. NTV - Teju-oso (Lagos State), established in 1980/81;
10. NTV - Yola (Gongola State), established in 1978/79.

Figure 5.1 shows the locations of television stations.

In 1979, Nigeria began to operate a new constitution which permitted states to establish and operate all the broadcasting media. Thus, states began to re-establish television stations to compete with the existing national television network, NTA. LTV-Ikeja, Channel 8, is one of the new state stations. Its keen competion with the much older Federal Government's NTA Channel 10 makes the two stations ideal for specific attention in this study.

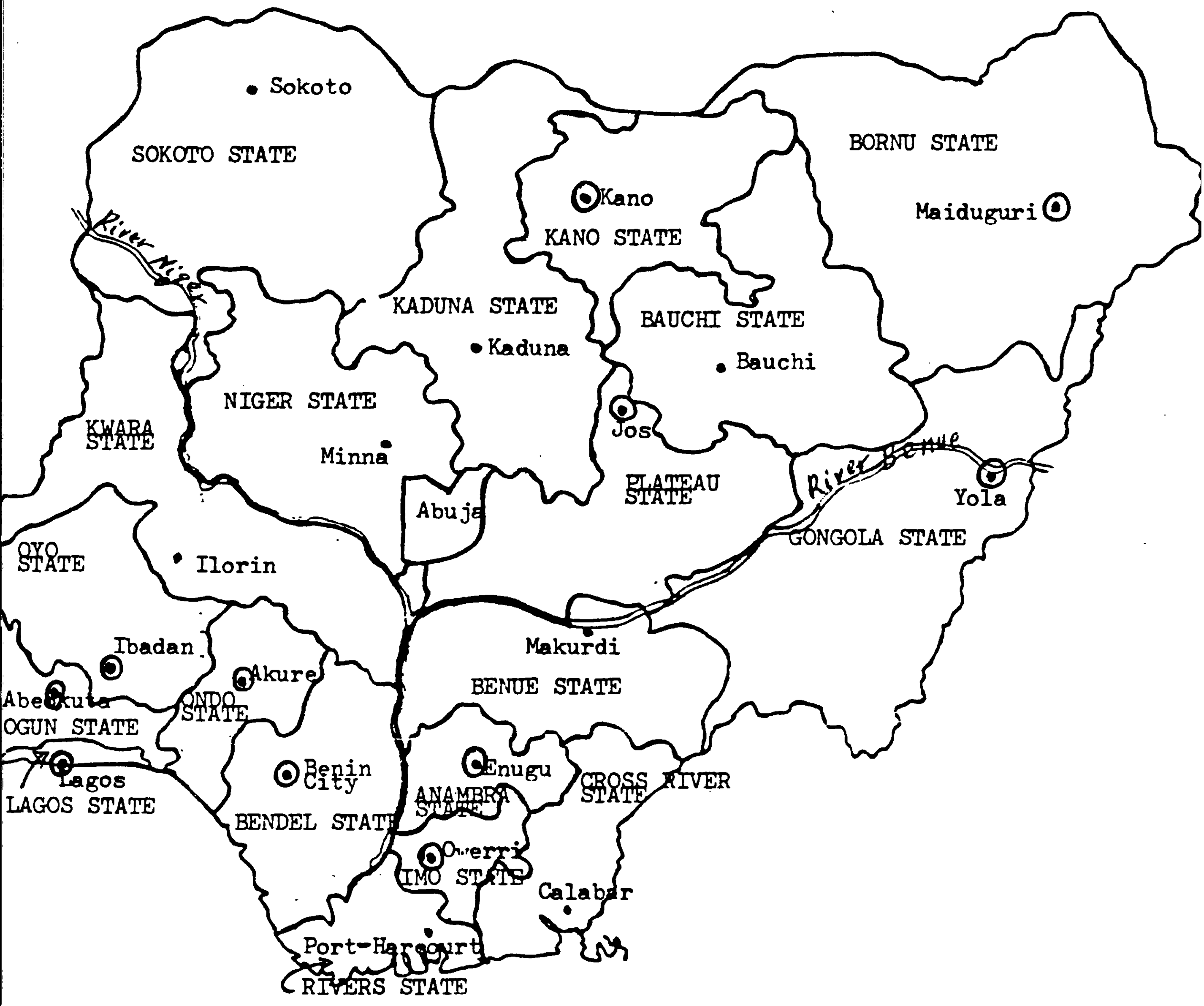

Sokoto
SOKOTO STATE
River Niger
Kano
KANO STATE
BORNU STATE
Maiduguri
KADUNA STATE
Kaduna
BAUCHI STATE
Bauchi
NIGER STATE
Minna
KWARA STATE
Jos
PLATEAU STATE
River Benue
Yola
Abuja
GONGOLA STATE
OYO STATE
Ilorin
Makurdi
BENUE STATE
Ibadan
Akure
Abeokuta
OGUN STATE
ONDO STATE
Lagos
LAGOS STATE
Benin City
Enugu
CROSS RIVER STATE
ANAMBRA STATE
BENDEL STATE
Owerri
IMO STATE
Calabar
Port-Harcourt
RIVERS STATE

FIGURE 5.1 LOCATIONS OF TELEVISION STATIONS

Political map of Nigeria showing the old capital (Lagos), the new capital (Abuja), states and state capitals where television stations are situated.

⊙ Places where NTA and state stations are to be found.

• Places where only NTA stations are to be found.

Historical Sketch of NTA and LTV

An American company, NBC Television, was contracted by the Federal Government of Nigeria to establish a television station and to train Nigerians to operate it in the shortest time possible. In 1962, the station began operation as NBC-TV, serving essentially the publicity needs of the Federal Government and providing entertainment with imported American drama programmes. The station derived its name from the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, a government parastatal, of which it was a part, in conjunction with the NBC-Radio, for internal radio broadcasting, and the Voice of Nigeria, for external radio broadcasting. Later, the Corporation was broken up and NBC-TV became an autonomous parastatal with the name NTV-Lagos.

In April, 1976, under a military regime, Decree No. 24 established the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) to operate nationally under a Board which formulates its policies. Thus, NTV-Lagos became part of a national network and bore a new name, NTA Channel 10.

With the reintroduction of politics and the formation of a civilian Federal Government in 1979, the President dissolved the Board of NTA and replaced it with a political appointee who was given the title of Adviser on Information. One of the early steps taken by the Adviser was to centralize the operations of NTA network. All the television stations under the NTA were grouped into seven zones, each with a Managing Director, as shown in Figure 7.1. Each zone has about two or more television stations. Within the premises of NTA Channel 10, the NTPC (Nigerian Television Production Centre) was established in May, 1980, as a zone to undertake the largest bulk of programme production for network transmission. As shown in Figure 7.2, NTPC oversees a new television station in the new capital, Abuja, and NTA Channels 5 and 10. The additional Channel 5 provides alternative programmes to Channel 10 in order to cater for the interests of foreign nationals (e.g. diplomats, industrialists, businessmen, etc.)

Thus, by 1982, NTA Channel 10 which started as a small Lagos television service in 1962 with a permanent staff of about 100 grew up to become part of a big zone, NTPC, with no less than 300 staff in a national network system. Throughout the twenty-year period of change, NTA Channel 10 occupied the same premises and had the same two studios. There were improvements in the control room equipment of the two studios and more OB vans were added. A new block was built for the film laboratory, editing and technical facilities. A large three-storey administrative block was built for the NTPC and several portable office spaces (about 20 Portakabins) were mounted, some as two stories, to accommodate the expansion in staff and equipment. The news room was enlarged and modernized.

Shortly before the national elections in August 1983, the Director General of NTA network, Vincent Maduka, a career broadcaster of more than twenty years standing, was redeployed to a redundant position in the Ministry of Telecommunications in order to make room for another political appointee. The President appointed a politician to occupy another strategic position (apart from that of the Adviser who acted as the Board) as chief executive of NTA. One of the first things the new Director General did was to restructure the NTA towards further centralization. Two significant departments of interest, News and Engineering, were brought under his direct control as shown in Figure 7.1. This was the position of NTA until January, 1984, when a new military regime took over, sacked all political appointees and reinstated the career broadcaster as the Director General (West Africa 1984, p.136). The primary coverage area of NTA Channel 10 is about 35 miles radius, but its evening news programme between 9 and 9.30 p.m. and other network programmes are broadcast throughout Nigeria with a satellite system.

LTV Channel 8, owes its birth in 1980 to the reintroduction of overt political activities in 1979 and the subsequent formation of a Lagos State Government by a political party in opposition to the party in power in the Federal Government. Lateef Jakande (1980), the then Governor of Lagos State, argues the case for an alternative station to NTA Channel 10 thus:

> In the past few months, a lot of nonsense has been said and written about the control of television in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. We are told that continued control of television by the Federal Government is desirable for the unity and stability of the nation. We are told that such a control is necessary because the Federal Government deserves to have a medium for reaching the masses of our people. We are told that the cost of establishing and maintaining a television station is too expensive for State Governments who should use their limited resources for more important matters like schools and hospitals. I am distressed that among those who peddle this nonsense are professional journalists who certainly know better.
>
> Let me say without equivocation that it is professional heresy for any journalist to advocate the centralization of control of television or any other medium in the hands of one government. For such a monopoly is directly antithetic to the principles of press freedom. Whether it is newspapers, periodicals, radio or television, diversity of control and ownership is a necessary condition for press freedom. The best government in the world should not be allowed to monopolize the control of the mass media or any section of it.

The need for diversified media channels is further advocated by Ugboajah (1980, p.39):

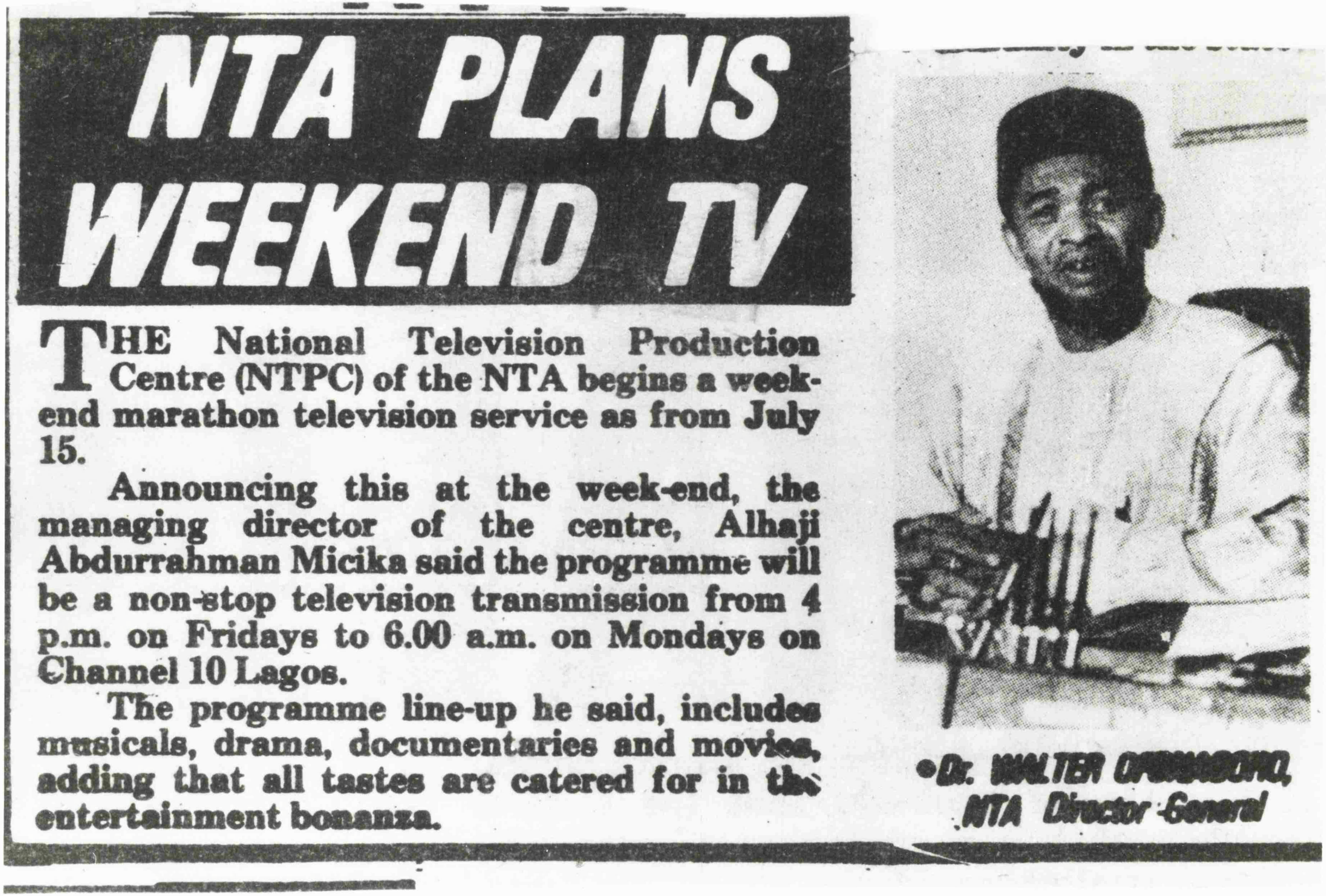
> Government should regard the mass media systems of the states as complementary, not competitive, to the central media system. Tensions can be better managed in the Nigerian society not by creating a monolithic mass media system but by encouraging media variety to give carthersis to the often charged atmosphere of its multi-ethnic constituencies, especially during periods of conflict.

LTV was established in a hurry, in temporary premises, as part of the Lagos State Broadcasting Corporation which had a Board to formulate policies, as shown in Figure 7.4. Its Director and Controller of Programmes were formerly staff members of NTA Channel 10. Most of their junior staff were similarly attracted from the same NTA. LTV started operations without the approval of the Federal Government, so it had problems with importing equipment, and for a time, NTA jammed it.

The Federal Government had directed that state television stations would only be allowed to broadcast on the UHF band. But the directive was seen as an attempt to prevent states from operating independent stations because at the time, the television sets available in Nigeria could only receive VHF signals. It was believed that the Federal Government wanted to maintain political advantage over the states through the monopoly of television broadcasting. So, LTV resorted to broadcasting on VHF. Without formally banning LTV, the Federal Government used NTA to jam the broadcast signals of LTV. This infuriated LTV's fans. The Lagos State Government and some other states applied pressure on the Federal Government to permit state broadcasts on VHF. Eventually, LTV was permitted to broadcast on VHF with limited area of coverage and for a short period.

Thus LTV started with a large studio built entirely with local materials. The studio is used for news, discussion and variety programmes. It lacks proper studio lights which makes it inadequate for drama production. The station has a permanent staff of less than 100. Inspite of its severe handicap, LTV started by featuring a vigorous programme particularly using Yoruba, the indigenous Lagos language, in order to wrest a large share of the Lagos audience from NTA. In 1983, LTV stepped up the audience ratings battle by embarking on non-stop weekend broadcasts using mainly drama programmes. It called its weekend drama LWT (Lagos Weekend Television). On realising LTV's success, NTA announced its intention to launch a weekend Marathon Television (see Figures 5.2 to 5.4). But after operating the service for eight months, NTA decided to cancel it (see Figure 5.5).

After the establishment of LTV, ten other state stations (on UHF) were established by the political parties in power in their respective states, as shown on Table 5.1. Some state governors, other than those of the NPN (National Party of Nigeria), have since 1979 been holding meetings periodically with a view to establishing areas of cooperation between their states. This in turn influenced the state TV stations to start to evolve cooperative projects (i.e. programme exchange and production) so that they could mount a formidable opposition to NTA nationally. The LTV's Controller of Programmes specifically stated that he would like to see an alternative national network established. But the termination of politics as a result of the military coup d'etat in December 1983, has frustrated the cooperative effort among state stations that could have developed into such a network. Perhaps that is good; perhaps it is bad. Generally, the fortunes of television development in Nigeria have been subject to the political winds of change.



NTA PLANS WEEKEND TV

THE National Television Production Centre (NTPC) of the NTA begins a week-end marathon television service as from July 15.

Announcing this at the week-end, the managing director of the centre, Alhaji Abdurrahman Micika said the programme will be a non-stop television transmission from 4 p.m. on Fridays to 6.00 a.m. on Mondays on Channel 10 Lagos.

The programme line-up he said, includes musicals, drama, documentaries and movies, adding that all tastes are catered for in the entertainment bonanza.

•Dr. WALTER OFONAGORO,
NTA Director-General

FIGURE 5.2 ANNOUNCEMENT OF NTA'S MARATHON TELEVISION IN JULY, 1983

WEEKEND MARATHON TELEVISION NTA/NTPC CHANNEL 10, LAGOS
PROGRAMME SCHEDULE FOR JULY/SEPTEMBER ON WEEKEND TRANSMISSION

TIME	FRIDAY/SATURDAY	SATURDAY/SUNDAY	SUNDAY/MONDAY
12.00 – 12.30 a.m.	EBONY ½ HOUR (L)	FANTASTICO (F)	PALACE PRESENTS (F)
12.30 – 1.00 a.m.	HANGED MAN (F)		
1.00 – 1.30 a.m.		SUNDAY DRAMA (L)	PERSUADERS (F)
1.30 – 2.00 a.m.	CILLA BLACK (F)		
2.00 – 2.30 a.m.	FOR BETTER FOR WORSE (L)	LOVE BOAT (F)	DRAMA (LOCAL) (L)
2.30 – 3.00 a.m.			
3.00 – 3.30 a.m.	HAUSA MUSICAL (L)	IGBO MUSICAL (L)	YORUBA MUSICAL (L)
3.30 – 4.00 a.m.	DOCUMENTARY (F)	HAMMER HOUSE OF HORROR	MOVIES (F)
4.00 – 4.30 a.m.			
4.30 – 5.00 a.m.	MOVIES (F)	WHICKER'S WORLD (F)	MAIN CHANCE (F)
5.00 – 5.30 a.m.			
5.30 – 6.00 a.m.	BAND STAND (L)	NIGERIAN TOP STARS (L)	PERRY ERNEST (L)
6.00 – 6.30 a.m.	LUCKY FELLER (F)	RISING DAMP (F)	
6.30 – 7.00 a.m.	TIME FOR FUN (L)	PEOPLE'S COURT (F)	
7.00 – 7.30 a.m.	SOCCER / TELEMATCH (F)	INVISIBLE MAN (F)	
7.30 – 8.00 a.m.			
8.00 – 8.30 a.m.	VILLAGE HEADMASTER (L)	PUPPET THEATRE (L)	
8.30 – 9.00 a.m.		IN CONCERT (L)	

(F) = FOREIGN PROGRAMME (L) = LOCAL PROGRAMME

FIGURE 5.3 PROGRAMME SCHEDULE
OF MARATHON TELEVISION

Mag X SUNDAY CONCORD, July 31, 1983

arts&leisure

MUSIC• THEATRE• BOOKS• TRAVELS• PROFILES

17 days of Marathon TV Vs 87 days of Lagos Weekend TV

—Who is fooling or copying whom?

THE last time these two giants clashed in a title fight was in 1980. At stake then was the battle to win the minds of men, or to control the conscience of viewers. That "Encounter '80" which featured the Federal Government represented by NTA and Lagos State Government contesting for the LTV was for TV frequency allocation.

The story is still fresh and one which reinforces the saying that when two elephants fight, it's the ground that suffers. The tax payers money melted in that attempt to jam a TV station just as huge resources petered off in order to fence off the show of might not to own a station.

But this time around, the contest is a non-title one yet something is at stake, same thing as before — the viewer. He, like the voter, eventually decides who wins. Fortunately, unlike before, its he who benefits in this latest brush of the two "timbers and caterpillers."

When the Lagos State Television, Channel 8 decided on May 6, 1983 to launch a weekend TV service, it had in mind to compensate Lagos residents who were forced indoors as a result of the ban on night parties and to relax the tension and frustration which the city generates by its industrial and commercial character.

According to the Controller of Programmes, LTV, Mr. Jimi Odumosu, LWT programmes serve as escapism to get away from the world of worries, of tensions and problems in Lagos. This is because in the Lagos TV market the audience is more sophisticated, thus harder to satisfy, harder to fool and easier to bore.

These considerations prompted LTV in April, 1981 to introduce for the first time in Nigeria a weekly and regular morning TV viewing on LTV 8 christened "A.M. on LTV". We are told that today NTA, OGTV, TSOS, OSTV and BTV all have adopted the morning TV programming under one title or the other.

This must have been the origin of the Weekend TV concept in LTV but we are concerned here with the latest nnovation in entertainment and leisure — Lagos Weekend TV (LWT) and Marathon Television (MTS)

The MTS started transmission on July 15, using Channel 10 which is picked in Lagos, Ogun, parts of Oyo and Ondo states. After three weeks of coming into being, I, like many other viewers felt like asking the questions - who is copying who; or is it who is fooling who?; but more importantly, how are these two organs of entertainment run? Nobody would like to believe that there is a political undertone involved in these two ventures. We would rather like to believe that he two are simply competing or viewership. The Sunday Concord spoke to the operatio-

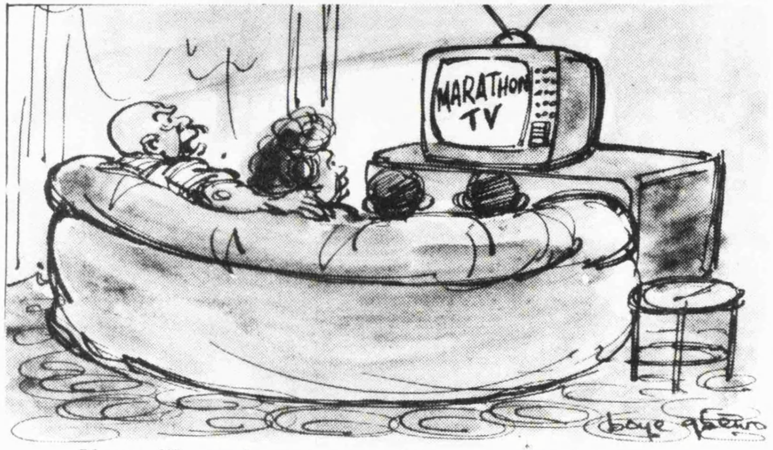
observe a transition.

The NTA says it was never a reaction to LTV that they started LWT nor was it a hurried project instead that it took a careful planning and a management decision to start the service. But some staff of the authority confessed that the debut of MTS took everybody in the station by surprise. One of them said that the idea was simply to win back viewers which the NTA had lost o LTV. Both stations have the

ued for airing some of these heatre and home video film ypes, Mr. Peter Igoh replied that both media performed differently and have different objectives. "If cinema houses eel we are winning their customers, they should strive to obtain better films than the ones we show".

Expressing the same view, Mr. Allimi said that there can be question of litigation against is because with an annual vote of ₦200,000 on films alone the tation bought from such accredited suppliers as Thommy Brothers, Kano, Four Reels at badan, Onomass in London, lfred Haber in USA and ITC n London.

He said that such high quality films which they procured make them pace setters in the show business. "We first showed in 1980-81 the British comedy series "Many Wives of Patrick", "Hammer House of Horror" which the NTA started showing in 1982 when we had dropped them. I accused the LWT of showing as a filler an X-rated film "I love Ivy" in the early hours of Saturday, July 16, but the Director headed it off and rather claimed that it might have been another station. "I detest TV violence and sex on personal and professional principles and so cannot encourage it on the screen."



If you like make you run relay race — make una no block una sef sha!

FIGURE 5.4 COMMENT ON THE RATINGS BATTLE BETWEEN NTA AND LTV

NTA: Unmaking the marathon

YOU have heard a good deal of protest about what you might call "revisionist" measures by the military administration; the re-introduction of school fees in some states, poll tax in others, and medical charges in many more. Austerity, the authorities argue, is the name of the game. And the high cost of living (and dying) must be passed on to the living, the masses whose name is invariably invoked in the quest for legitimacy by both civilian governments and military regimes, when they come to power.

Well, we have got news for you. The latest bulletin from the NTA, yet to be broadcast, says that the weekend ***Marathon Services on Channel 10*** *is to be axed any day (or night) from now.*

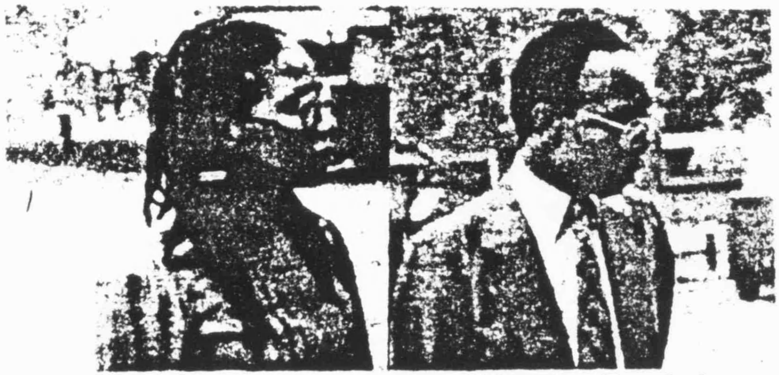
Reason? You guessed it: the all-night service, which along with LTV 8's LWT, has become the patron saint of insomniacs, people who can't afford the luxury extravagance of weekend parties, or the vast number of Lagosians petrified by armed robbers. is "stretching the resources of the NTA."

As a palliative, the NTA will limit weekend transmission to 1 a.m. Saturday and Sunday mornings. A further palliative is the introduction of midday newscasts on weekends and public holidays.

It does seem that like the introduction of the Marathon service by Walter Ofonagoro last year, no attempt has been made to conduct an audience research on the Marathon. For although the service runs a poor second to LWT's more dynamic all-night weekend service, it soon gained a large following among the increasing number of Lagosians who have chosen to spend their weekends at home due to the predicaments listed above.

There, certainly, must be other means of saving resources than axing the Marathon (what resources? The Marathon consisted almost exclusively of reruns. The staff were not paid overtime, and except for wear and tear of machinery and extra electricity bills, the service was not much of an extra expenditure).

But here is the punchline: NTA officials do not plan to make a public announcement of the demise of Marathon service. They plan to just slip it into (or is it out of?) the viewer's consciousness. You say this is 1984?!



NTA's Director of Programmes Victoria Ezeokoli and Director-General Vincent Maduka: "There must be other means of saving resources."

FIGURE 5.5 ANNOUNCEMENT OF NTA'S CANCELLATION OF MARATHON TELEVISION AFTER EIGHT MONTHS OF OPERATION

TABLE 5.1

LIST OF STATE TELEVISION STATIONS IN 1983

Station	Location		Political Party in Power*
	Town	State	
1. LTV	Ikeja	Lagos	UPN
2. ODTV	Akure	Ondo	UPN
3. OGTV	Abeokuta	Ogun	UPN
4. BDTV	Benin	Bendel	UPN
5. OYOTV	Ibadan	Oyo	UPN
6. ATV	Owerri	Anambra	NPP
7. IMTV	Enugu	Imo	NPP
8. Plateau TV	Jos	Plateau	NPP
9. Borno TV	Maiduguri	Borno	GNPP
10. Gongola TV	Yola	Gongola	GNPP
11. City TV	Kano	Kano	PRP

* UPN = Unity Party of Nigeria
NPP = Nigeria Peoples' Party
GNPP = Great Nigeria Peoples' Party
PRP = Peoples' Redemption Party

States controlled by the NPN (National Party of Nigeria) did not establish television stations because the national network, NTA, was under the control of NPN at the federal level.

Broadcasting for National Development

One of the objectives of mass communication is to contribute to national development. Many, by no means all, programmes on television are designed towards this objective. Some spot announcements are made on social etiquette such as: advice to be courteous in serving the public; advice to tune radio or other sound systems low, so as not to inconvenience neighbours; advice to be a brother's keeper; advice against rumour peddling; a warning to drive carefully on the roads; advice to keep surroundings clean. Some other announcements are on morals and law, such as: advice to earn a day's wage with pride through conscientious work; warnings against smuggling and other unpatriotic acts (e.g. the purchase of foreign goods and consequent rejection of those produced locally); advice against corruption, tribalism and drunken driving. Some information programmes, of mainly lecture or discussion format, are produced to enlighten the public on family planning, vocations, the political system, dietary, innovations, legal rights, the state of the economy, etc.

Similarly, some drama programmes have national development themes. One of such drama programmes is Village Headmaster. It is a drama serial based on the interaction of different ethnic groups in a fictitious Nigerian village. It promotes national integration. The language of the programme is a mixture of standard and pidgin English. It has had more than ten years run and many repeat runs. On a number of occasions, television authorities have employed their professional instincts to take the programme off the air, but popular demand kept bringing the programme back. A full description of the programme is presented in Chapter 9.

Another programme which contains development messages is the drama serial Cock Crow at Dawn. It aims at orienting people in favour of the agricultural sector, particularly to introduce innovations in farming. It was hoped that this programme would contribute to efforts to reduce migrations from the villages as well as to attract some city dwellers back to the villages to take up farming in view of the fact that the country's foreign reserves were being drained by importation of food.

Nigeria is primarily agrarian, yet she got to a stage when she could not feed her own people owing to the neglect of agriculture. The oil boom, it was observed, could have contributed to such neglect. But recent fluctuations in the world oil market, which adversely affected the nation's economy, made it clear that it was erroneous to depend solely on oil earnings to finance national development projects. With or without oil, an agrarian country should at least be capable of feeding herself from the proceeds of her soil. This was the concern of the government when it launched a national campaign for a return to agriculture. Under two consecutive national administrations, the campaign was variously called "Operation Feed the Nation" and "The Green Revolution". The drama serial Cock Crow at Dawn was one of the means of undertaking the campaign. The programme uses standard English, and this reflects the problem of language mentioned earlier. A local language is unsuitable for a national programme, but majority of the target audience cannot understand standard English. Consequently, the producer of the programme was interviewed as part of this study. His response to the various questions is presented in Chapter 7.

The concentration of television in the cities(1) may counter-act the

---

1. 76% of the population of Lagos have access to television sets (BBC's IBAR 1983).

objectives of national development. Television may attract villagers to the cities, and such migration may cause a neglect of agriculture. To people from rural areas, the mere novelty of seeing moving pictures can contribute to their desire for the bright lights of the city. The content of drama programmes analysed revealed that television orients viewers towards city life more than village life. Appendix D.11 shows that 60% of the drama programmes were located in the city while only 16% were based in villages. Also, social locations in the city (restaurant, night club and hotel) were more prominent, 12%, than those in the village (farm and forest), 9%, as shown in Appendix 13.

Audience Survey on Access to the Media

On behalf of the BBC's International Broadcasting and Audience Research (IBAR) department, a Nigerian market research agency, RMS, conducted a nationwide survey in April and May, 1983, on foreign radio listening. Earlier in the year, February, the agency had gathered data on the use of domestic media (radio, television and newsprint). The April/May survey was observed by one of IBAR's researchers who noted "some serious problems with the agency's sampling procedure" (BBC's IBAR 1983, p.2). There was also the problem of a lack of demographic data on the Nigerian population because previous census surveys were rendered unreliable by political manoeuvres. Therefore, to arrive at a good estimate of the population figures, various sources such as academic institutions were consulted. This led to the adjustment of the survey results from 4,177 collected interviews to a weighted figure of 3,974.

The sample of respondents represented the various sexes, ages and educational levels within three geographical categories: North (Benue, Gongola, Plateau, Niger, Sokoto, Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi and Borno), West (Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Bendel and Kwara) and East (Rivers, Cross-Rivers, Imo and Anambra). Urban residents accounted for 28% while the rest, 72%, were rural people.

Table 5.2 shows that newspaper readership exceeded circulation figures by seven times. This was because the social life in Nigeria permitted considerable sharing of reading and various other materials, largely for economic reasons. Also, the extended family relationship gives a feeling of communal ownership, and this makes easy access to other people's properties possible. Access to the electronic media, in like manner, far exceeded ownership of sets. In some high density urban areas, the living rooms of some people, in the evenings, were like community viewing centres or mini-cinema theatres. People gathered in friends' houses to watch their favourite television programmes. In such areas, local comedy dramas were crowd-pullers, and the set owners derived greater pleasure from laughing in the company of others. Some who could not be admitted indoors were allowed to watch from outside through the windows. Hence, the data revealed by the study concerned access to sets.

More than two-thirds (68%) of the population were found to have access to radio sets; 59% to shortwave sets. More urban dwellers (85%) had access to radio sets than those in rural areas (62%). Next in popularity were audio-cassette players to which more than half (52%) of the population had access. Television exposure was mainly concentrated in the cities where two-thirds (67%) of the respondents declared that they were viewers. With regard to record players, more than a third (38%) of the city population claimed that they had access.

TABLE 5.2

NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION AND READERSHIP IN URBAN NIGERIA*

	Circulation (in 1983)	Readership
Daily Times	370,000	2.5 mil.
National Concord	300,000	2.2 mil.
Punch	na	1.3 mil.
Nigerian Tribune	96,000	1.0 mil.
New Nigerian	80,000	1.6 mil.
Daily Sketch	80,000	1.0 mil.
Sunday Times	420,000	1.6 mil.
Sunday Concord	300,000	1.0 mil.
Sunday Punch	150,000	1.3 mil.

* SOURCE: BBC Int. Broadcasting and Audience Research Report on Survey in Nigeria 1983.

An example of the exposure pattern of the audience to radio and television media is presented in Figure 5.6. On weekdays, in the urban West, radio had a high listenership, 40-50%, between 6.00 and 10.00 hours (i.e. 6-10 a.m.). Radio listening tapered down to a low in midday, while television viewing did not start until 16.00 hours (4 p.m.). In the evenings, between 20.00 (8 p.m.) and 23.00 hours, 50% to 60% of the audience watched television. The pattern was similar at the weekends except that television viewing started as early as 9.00 hours. It was found, in general, that the broadcasting exposure behaviour of urban Nigerians paralleled those in advanced countries. In the rural areas, however, there was not much television viewing, and so there was high exposure to radio in the day times. In the evenings, radio listenership became even higher because many people had free time, and radio was the main entertainment medium available.

Among the various media, radio was the most popular source of news, having more than two-thirds (78%) of the population as audience. Television had more than one-third (38%). In Lagos, the audience of NTA exceeded that of LTV by about ratio 3:2. Newspapers and magazines had 32%; foreign radio had 27%.

About one-third of the adult population constituted the audience for foreign radio stations. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 present the lists of foreign radio stations and the percentages of their audiences in English and Hausa. In both languages, the BBC had the largest audience. The popularity of BBC can partly be explained by its long historical roots in Nigeria. According to Ian Mackay (1964, p.1):

> It all began on December 19, 1932 when the BBC launched the world's first regularly scheduled shortwave programme service.

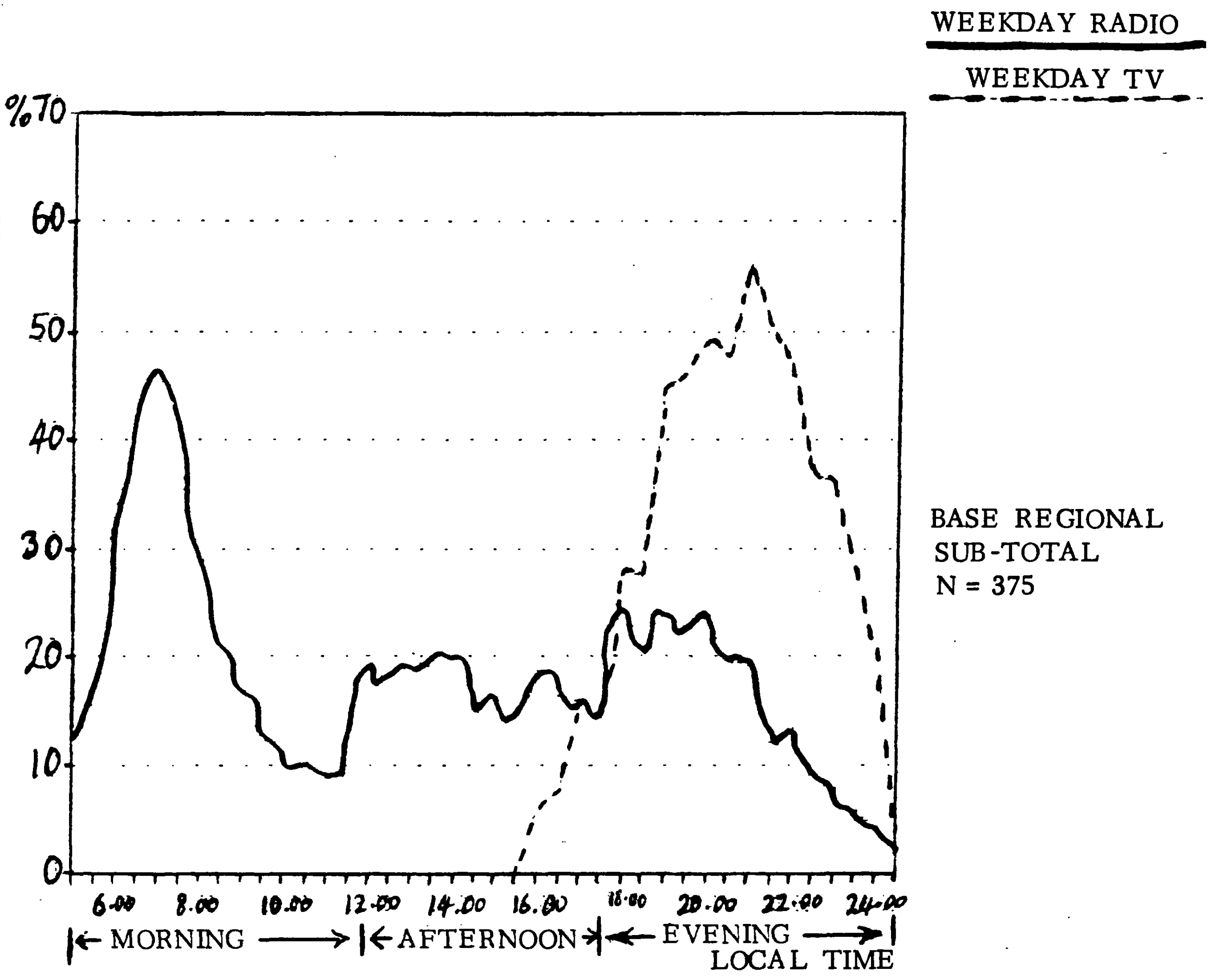


FIGURE 5.6 WEEKDAY RADIO AND TV USE IN THE URBAN WEST OF NIGERIA

(SOURCE: BBC Int. Broadcasting and Audience Research Report on Survey in Nigeria 1983)

TABLE 5.3

FOREIGN RADIO AUDIENCES IN ENGLISH*

Broadcaster	Weekly Output (in hours)	Regular Audience %	Occasional Audience %	Total Audience %
BBC (British Broadcasting Corp.)	131.15	7.7	2.5	10.2
VOA (Voice of America)	77.00	6.0	1.7	7.7
Radio South Africa (RSA)	59.30	1.5	0.7	2.2
Deutsche Welle	25.40	1.4	0.6	2.0
ELWA, Monrovia	11.15	1.4	0.4	1.8
Radio France Int.	10.30	1.1	0.6	1.7
Radio Moscow	140.00	1.0	0.5	1.5
Radio Cairo	10.30	0.5	0.2	0.7
Radio Beijing	28.00	0.4	0.3	0.7
Radio Nederland	11.40	0.5	0.1	0.6

(Base: all respondents; N = 3,928)

*SOURCE: BBC Int. Broadcasting and Audience Research Report on Survey in Nigeria 1983

TABLE 5.4

FOREIGN RADIO AUDIENCES IN HAUSA*

Broadcaster	Weekly Output (in hours)	Regular Audience %	Occasional Audience %	Total Audience %
BBC (British Broadcasting Corp.)	8.45	12.9	2.6	15.5
Deutsche Welle	11.05	5.5	1.4	6.9
VOA (Voice of America)	3.30	5.4	1.5	6.9
Radio Moscow	17.30	2.4	0.7	3.1
ELWA, Monrovia	4.30	1.9	0.3	2.2
Radio Cairo	14.00	1.0	0.3	1.3
Radio Beijing	7.00	0.9	0.3	1.2

(Base: all respondents, N = 3,928)

*SOURCE: BBC Int. Broadcasting and Audience Research Report on Survey in Nigeria 1983.

> This Empire Service from Daventry, which was intended to develop political, cultural and economic links between the United Kingdom and English-speaking peoples, required a number of overseas monitoring stations. These stations, one of which was located at Lagos, were to become the ears and eyes of the BBC. They advised on suitable wavelengths and aerial design and, in some cases, provided valuable information on broadcast reception in tropical areas.
>
> The BBC Empire Service quickly straddled the world, and Nigeria, in keeping with dominions and other colonies, began to realise the potentialities of broadcasting. Unfortunately, the world was in the depths of an economic depression and only limited funds were available for broadcasting in colonial territories. The BBC provided a welcome alternative when it encouraged overseas stations to re-broadcast the Empire Service. The offer was accepted by a number of countries including Ceylon, India, Australia, New Zealand, and African countries of which Nigeria was one. These BBC re-broadcasts were to provide the backbone for many newly created broadcasting services in the colonies, and in the case of Nigeria this new broadcasting service from London was to set a pattern which in time became an integral part of broadcasting development in the Federation.

So, the BBC has a special relationship with Nigeria. Broadcasting in Nigeria started through the re-broadcasting of BBC programmes. Until recently, many domestic radio stations relayed the BBC news programmes.

Other foreign radio stations with relative high listenerships were VOA (English and Hausa) and Deutshe Welle (Hausa). Some neighbouring African radio stations had audiences of about equal sizes to those of ELWA and RSA. In a ranking order of popularity, the neighbouring African radio stations are: Radio Cameroun (the most popular), Radio Niger, Radio Benin and Africa No. 1.

The main reasons for listening to foreign radio stations were for news about events in the world in general and Africa in particular. Although the study did not reveal this, in time of crisis, there is a tendency for foreign radio listenership to rise because of news embargo in Nigeria. Even when news embargo is lifted in this period, credibility seems to tilt more in favour of foreign radio

(BBC in particular) than the entire domestic mass media.

Broadcasting in the Third World

Ten years ago, Sydney Head (1974, p.7) studied broadcasting in Africa and observed that politics was an important, if not the most important factor:

> Broadcasting in Africa is inextricably involved with politics. One-party states, military regimes, and other relatively authoritarian forms of government manipulate the media in general, but broadcasting in particular, as conscious instruments of both internal and external policy. Revolutionary movements seeking to free the remaining regions under foreign domination use broadcasting as a weapon of guerilla warfare. Foreign governments broadcast huge amounts of propaganda into Africa from the outside and seek to influence Africa's own internal broadcasting systems from the inside.

The current study of the Nigerian system shows that politics still remains the cornerstone of African broadcasting. Most African countries have monolithic broadcasting systems. Nigeria is one of the exceptions which have dual broadcasting systems (federal and state-owned). Although all the broadcasting stations in the dual systems are government-owned and controlled, they compete against one another for political rather than commercial reasons.

The structures, economic bases and programmings of most broadcasting systems in Africa are similar. Broadcast facilities are located in capital cities. Television broadcast hours are usually in the evenings with a few hours daytime schools' broadcasts. The fundamental philosophy of programmings is towards "nation building" or national development. Thus, according to Head (1974, pp.10-11), a high percentage of broadcast time is devoted to "educational and hortatory material, dealing with subjects such as literacy, civics, public health, agricultural improvement, cultural traditions, political commentary and social guidance." Political broadcasts by top government officials and the coverage of the activities of the head of state receive priority over other programmes.

The sources of news to the stations are the national news agencies which subscribe to the major international news agencies, the London-based Visnews Limited and the various stations' video/film units. Since African societies are multi-cultural, all African broadcasting systems have the problem of polylingualism. In 1974, according to Head, about 40% to 60% of television programming was imported from the West. The current study of Nigeria shows that 54% of the drama programmes originated from the West, and this indicates that the local production/import ratio has not changed during the past ten years. Apart from drama, other locally-produced programmes are news, education, public affairs, discussions, studio games, sports, variety (i.e. dance, mime and songs) and religious matters.

The same political factor found in African broadcasting systems is present in the systems of many Third World countries. Katz and Wedell (1977, p.vii) describe the Third World media thus:

> The mass media in developing countries have gradually abandoned the element of autonomy from government control which was explicit in most models of broadcasting structure transferred from the West. Almost without exception, the media are by now in direct or indirect service of the government of the day. There is not much room for dissent, however constructive, in the broadcasting services of developing countries. Ironically there is not much room, either, for the inherited cultural values of the society.

The broadcasting system in Asian countries are similar to those of Africa in that they are government-controlled and operated. The exceptions are the Philippines, Indonesia, South Korea, Lebanon and Thailand where some broadcasting stations are operated on a commercial basis alongside the national government broadcasting services. According to Katz and Wedell (1977, p.43), "The key difference between broadcasting structures in Asia and those in Africa is rooted in the history of the colonial relationships and in the nature of Asian culture and society."

Broadcasting in South and Central America is completely different from that of Africa and Asia in the number of stations, ownership and economic bases. There are more radio and television stations in South America than in the United States (Katz and Wedell 1977, p.44). Majority of the stations are privately-owned and operated commercially. It is only in the former British colonial territories, such as the Caribbean islands, that the African/Asian pattern predominates.

Surveys of world broadcasting systems reveal that there is a link between the economical and political ideologies of countries and the nature of their broadcasting media. The spectrum of broadcasting systems ranges from the ultra-commercial American system to the ultra-ideological Soviet Union system. While the ultra-commercial system has excess of light entertainment, the ultra-ideological system has too little light entertainment. The Nigerian system is one of those that fall somewhere between the two extremes, more to the left than to the right, although Nigeria claims to be a democratic society with laisser-faire economy. The contradictory nature of the Nigerian broadcasting system is a result of Nigeria being a developing country in the process of establishing a stable political entity. This confirms Opubor's (1973, p.235) observation, "there is a close relationship between the condition of the media, as institutions, and the nature of the society in which the media operate."

World-wide Penetration of Radio, TV and Video Recorders

Data obtained from the BBC's World Radio and Television Receivers, June 1985, show that all known countries of the world have radio broadcasting or listenership. Bhutan, in Asia with a population of 1.4 million has the least penetration of radio sets with 1%, no TV set and no video recorder, as shown on Table 5.5. Nepal, another Asian country with a high population of 16.1 million, neither has television nor video recorder. Considering their two population figures, it is probable that religion and economic situations of the countries could have contributed to their low level of exposure to the electronic media. The most populous country in the world, China, has one of the lowest penetrations of radio 10%, TV 3% and video recorder very low. India, inspite of its being a nuclear power and inspite of its well-known experiment in the use of satellite and television in education, has penetrations of only 0.3% TV and 15.9% video recorder. This means that relatively few people in China and India have access to the television medium.

Nigeria has had television for 25 years, but amazingly two of her neighbours, Cameroun and Chad have no television, as shown on Table 5.6. Just as party politics has been a strong factor in Nigerian society, it has been the same in Cameroun and Chad. As such, one would expect that politics would have stimulated the establishment of television in Cameroun and Chad as it did in Nigeria. Probably, not having Nigeria's large population and not having Nigeria's oil wealth are variables that may explain the difference in electronic media penetration.

The United Kingdom ranks third (after Japan and Hong Kong) in video recorder penetration. As in most other countries, video recorders are used at

TABLE 5.5

ESTIMATES OF RADIO, TV AND VIDEO RECORDERS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AT DECEMBER 1984*

Country	Radio Sets	TV Sets	Video Recorders % of TV Households	Population '000s
USA	213%	72%	25%	235,000
Sweden	120%	57%	22.6%	8,350
UK	95%	47%	37.4%	54,480
Japan	83%	58%	48.4%	120,000
Denmark	78%	49%	17.6%	5,150
Norway	72%	42%	21.7%	4,140
Hong Kong	61%	28%	39.5%	5,300
USSR	36%	31%	-	274,400
Nigeria	17%	7%	20%	90,000
Ghana	16%	1%	-	12,250
Ivory Coast	11%	5%	-	8,750
Chinese Peoples' Rep.	10%	3%	-	1,030,000
India	6%	0.3%	15.9%	725,000
Chad	3%	-	-	4,800
Nepal	3%	-	-	16,100
Bhutan	1%	-	-	1,350

* The data for this table were obtained as follows: 1. radio, TV and population figures from World Radio and Television Receivers, June 1985, BBC, London; 2. video recorder figures from Screen Digest, June 1985, London. Screen Digest did not consider its figures to be accurate because it relied on trade estimates and not the official statistics which were not available.

TABLE 5.6

A SAMPLE OF COUNTRIES WITHOUT TV BROADCASTING AT DECEMBER 1984*, IN DESCENDING ORDER OF POPULATION ESTIMATES

Country	Region	Population
1. Nepal	Asia & The Far East	16,100,000
2. Cameroun	Africa	8,850,000
3. Malawi	Africa	6,650,000
4. Rwanda	Africa	5,750,000
5. Chad	Africa	4,800,000
6. Burundi	Africa	4,600,000
7. Papua New Guinea	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	3,300,000
8. Mauritania	Africa	1,800,000
9. Lesotho	Africa	1,450,000
10. Bhutan	Asia & The Far East	1,350,000
11. Guyana	West Indies	900,000
12. Guinea Bissau	Africa	820,000
13. Gambia	Africa	710,000
14. Fiji	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	680,000
15. Comoro Islands	Africa	390,000
16. Cape Verde Republic	Africa	320,000
17. Solomon Islands	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	250,000
18. Vanuatu	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	125,000
19. Tonga	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	100,000
20. Sao Tome & Principe	Africa	90,000

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* The data for this table were obtained from World Radio and Television Receivers, June 1985, BBC London.

TABLE 5.6 (Cont'd)

Country	Region	Population
21. Kiribati	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	60,000
22. Cook & Niue Islands	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	21,000
23. Nauru Island	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	8,000
24. Tuvalu	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	8,000
25. Turks & Caicos Islands	West Indies	8,000
26. St. Helena, Ascension & Tristan da Cunha	Australia & Other Ocean Territories	6,000
27. Falkland Islands	Latin America	2,000

home for two main purposes: (1) time-shifting, whereby broadcast programmes are recorded for delayed viewing, and (2) viewing feature films on pre-recorded cassettes. These two uses have various effects (complementary and/or competitive) on cinema theatres, broadcasting and cable television. On the surface, it appears that video recorders draw audiences away from the other visual media. In fact, it may also do the opposite. In the United States, the cinema audience is generally made up of young people between the ages 16 and 24. Video recorders, therefore, enable cinema films to reach the older set of people who mostly stay at home. This is why some new feature films in America are now released simultaneously on film and video cassette. From the point of view of the audience, time-shifting is complementary to broadcasting and cable television. It enhances the potential of programmes to reach a large audience. While this is good for broadcasting institutions which provide free viewing in the hope of having exposure to their advertisements, it is bad for pay-cable channels which charge fees for viewing.

Where video recorders are used predominantly for watching feature films, as in Nigeria, they are competitive with broadcasting stations in that they reduce the size of the audience for broadcast programmes. Apart from that, the increase in distribution opportunities for feature films may force broadcast stations to pay higher prices for the films they screen.

Producers, on the other hand, stand to gain as well as loose from the spread of VCR use. Competition between video recorders and other visual media increases outlets for their products, and so their sales bargaining power is enhanced. At the same time, video recorders make film piracy much easier than before. In a country like Nigeria, where producers have a limited market and where the law on copyright infringement is not rigidly enforced, the effect of organised piracy and illegal home taping could have a disastrous impact on new production. So, what viewers gain from having an alternative medium and from cheaper viewing costs has, in the case of Nigeria, to be balanced against the possible reduction of choice resulting from the financial squeeze on indigenous film-making.

Sometime in 1977/78, the spread of video recorders in two Nigerian large cities, Lagos and Ibadan, became a matter of concern to NTA. To counteract this, so as not to lose its audience, NTA had to embark on a vigorous search for foreign programmes. It acquired a good stock, entertained its audience, but ran into debt. By 1979, NTA had accumulated a debt of £140,000 to BBC, London. It was clear that, left to its own desires, the debt would continue to escalate. So, all the BBC organisations (the BBC Enterprises and the BBC Transcription Services) imposed a ban on sales to Nigeria. NTA has since then gradually reduced the debt, by payments, to £20,000. Consequently, the BBC has lifted the ban, but made a proviso that sales would not be effected directly to the NTA.

The BBC now sells its products to a Nigerian-based agent who is held responsible for prompt payments.(1) It is up to the agent to look for buyers in Nigeria and to sell at whatever price he chooses. There is no doubt that, by this arrangement, the NTA will have to pay more to acquire BBC programmes than it previously did, although payment will now be made in the Nigerian currency, naira. This turn of events illustrates the complexity that a new

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1. This information was obtained from an interview (16.7.85) with Dr. Graham Mytton, Head of International Broadcasting and Audience Research, BBC, London.

technology, video recorder, can introduce into a seemingly orderly system. DBS (Direct Broadcast Satellite) will, similarly, introduce more complexities. These are explained in Chapter 11.

Summary

Political rather than any other motive led to the rapid expansion of the Nigerian broadcasting system between 1960 and 1984. Inspite of the attempts made by the Federal Government to monopolise the television medium, some state governments established their own stations. As such, the rivalry among political parties extended to media institutions. This was illustrated in the keen competition between NTA Channel 10 and LTV Channel 8.

As in most developing countries, attempts were made in Nigeria to use broadcasting for national development. About two-thirds (68%) of the Nigerian population (urban and rural) had access to radio sets, and two-thirds (67%) of the urban population had access to television sets. TV viewing in the rural areas was minimal. Radio was found to be the most popular source of news, with 78% of the population as audience, followed by television 38%, newspapers and magazines 32% and foreign radio 27%. The audience of foreign radio stations constituted about 15 million adults, and the BBC had the largest share of the audience.

Surveys of the world broadcasting systems indicate that they range from one extreme of ultra-commercial system to another extreme of ultra-ideological system. The Nigerian system falls more to the left than to the right of the centre. Although Nigeria claims to be a democratic society, the operation of its broadcasting system is authoritarian. This contradiction may perhaps be due to the fact that the nation is still struggling to find its feet.

CHAPTER 6

TELEVISION DRAMA IN LAGOS

Introduction

While the last five chapters have reviewed some of the relevant literature and presented a historical background for the study, this and the following chapters will explain the research methodology and present its results and conclusion. The study was conducted in Lagos which is a fast growing city with a population of over one million people. It has Nigeria's largest sea and air ports.

Until a new national capital, Abuja, which is currently under construction is completed, Lagos and its environs serve as dual national and state capital. It is the centre of Nigeria's politics, commerce and industries. It is also the nerve centre of the nation's mass media. Most of the print media (newspapers and magazines) are based in Lagos. It has the highest concentration of the electronic and film media. The few international news agencies which are in Nigeria are based there. Most of the advertising media training and research institutions are located in Lagos. It is also where the headquarters of NTA is situated. As such, two of the television stations in Lagos, the Federal Government's NTA Channel 10 and the Lagos State Government's LTV Channel 8, were selected for the study.

The research objectives are:

1. to identify the factors that influence the production of drama in two Nigerian television stations;

2. to state the levels at which the factors influence productions;
3. to state the theoretical implications of the factors.

Research Design

The main strategy for gathering data was participant-observation of the process of drama production. The researcher was aware that there was professional (text-book) procedure for producing drama. What were of interest in the study were the variables that influenced the process of productions to yield different outcomes of content, quality and impact. Some of the advantages and disadvantages of the participant-observation method are pointed out later in the chapter. In order to compensate for the weakness of the method, supplementary data were obtained from interviews of some key people in the production process and from content analysis of programmes of a typical period within a broadcasting season. Thus, the study was designed for three stages.

The first stage involved interviews to gather general information about the television stations and drama productions. Table 6.1 shows the quota sampling procedure. Forty-two people were interviewed in accordance with their positions. The sample was adequate because the population of key people involved in drama production process in the two TV stations was small.

The second stage involved general content analysis of drama outputs (including imported drama programmes) of the two stations within six weeks. Television programmes are organized as weekly schedules that are repeated over and over for one season of broadcasting which is about thirteen weeks. Therefore, the programmes of any four or more weeks within the thirteen weeks are representative of a season's programmes.

TABLE 6.1

QUOTA SAMPLING FOR INTERVIEWS

RESPONDENTS	NTA Channel 10	LTV Channel 8	TOTAL
Director of TV	1	1	2
Controller of Programmes	1	1	2
Engineer	1	1	2
Commercial Manager	1	1	2
Film Acquisition Officer	1	1	2
Head of Drama	1	1	2
Producer/Directors	3	3	6
Writers	2	2	4
Actors	10	10	20
TOTAL:	21	21	42

The third stage involved observation of the process of drama production. By consulting the weekly programme schedules of the TV stations, it was found that productions were concentrated within series, serials and plays. Hence, samples of the three types of production were selected in each station. This resulted in a total of six productions that were observed, as shown in Table 6.2. Since the samples selected were typical of the stations' productions, they were adequate for the study.

The Design of Interview Schedule

A common problem with the interview method of gathering data is that self-reporting is highly subjective. This is much more so with regard to media studies. Where a study concerns artistic products and the respondents are creative producers, the problems of eliciting objective information is very complicated. In studying the production of television series Hazell, Alvarado and Buscombe (1978, p.6) note, "People won't readily admit anything that might be damaging to them if it is going to affect their future chances of employment." To allay the fears of respondents, Halloran (1977, p.104) had to give assurance that names would not be revealed in his report. If he had not done that, he states, respondents "would have been less frank and guarded in their comments."

Another problem is the influence of the interview situation on respondents. In a situation where respondents have been subjected to many previous interviews with unpleasant results (e.g. scandalous press publications), they may not readily co-operate with interviewers. Powdermaker (1951) adopted an informal conversational strategy in her study of Hollywood. She did not read off prepared questions and neither did she write nor record answers in the presence of respondents. This was to ensure that respondents were relaxed

TABLE 6.2

SAMPLING OF PRODUCTIONS FOR PARTICIPANT - OBSERVATION

TYPES OF DRAMA PRODUCTION	NTA Channel 10	LTV Channel 8	TOTAL
Series	1	1	2
Serials	1	1	2
Plays	1	1	2
TOTAL	3	3	6

and uninhibited in providing information.

Nevertheless, the interview method is useful in gathering a broad range of data which cannot be obtained by studying documents, content analysis, participant-observation or experimentation. The interview method was used in this study to obtain supplementary general information about television stations and drama productions. Questions were asked to provide the following information:

1. the organizational structures of television stations;
2. the finance of television stations;
3. the programmes of television stations;
4. external involvement in programming;
5. how ideas are obtained and developed into drama production;
6. the problems involved in drama production;
7. the extent of freedom (or interference) in the process of production;
8. the state-of-the-art in television drama production;
9. the career patterns of those involved in drama production;
10. the existence of industrial unions in television and allied performing arts industries (theatre, radio and film);
11. demographic data on respondents.

The interview schedule designed for the study is presented in Appendix B.

It is likely that information obtained from the respondents is unbiased because the subject matter is general. It does not concern only one or two programmes. It concerns the structure of drama productions, which involves all producers and all artistes. Respondents did not have much to gain by falsifying information. Also, the civil service nature of broadcasting organizations in Nigeria ensures job security regardless of individual performance. As such, reliable information is likely to have been obtained in the study by conducting interviews.

The Design of Content Analysis Instrument

Among the instruments available for content analysis of television drama, George Gerbner's "Cultural Indicators Project : TV Message Analysis" provides the most comprehensive and most useful material. Even then, his instrument lacks contextual information and, as such, needs some improvement. Gerbner (1977, pp.199-205) defines communication as interaction through messages bearing man's notions of existence, priorities, values and relationships. He poses some theoretical questions on the operations of the media in managing massive flow of messages. He wonders how the flow of symbolic expressions (or message systems) fits into existing cultural context, shape certain perspectives on life and vary across time, societies and cultures. As a means of obtaining knowledge on these issues, he proposes three types of sociological analysis: 1. institutional policy analysis; 2. message system analysis and 3. cultivation analysis. Institutional policy analysis should yield information on the relationship of the media to other institutions and the structure and process of media production. Message system analysis should yield information on media content with symbolic functions that have consequences. Cultivation analysis should yield information about the common assumptions, points of view, images and associations that the message systems tend to cultivate in large and heterogenous communities.

Gerbner's instrument for television drama message system analysis has four sections for recording data. Section A deals with the programme; Section B, the leading characters; Section B*, the minor characters; Section C, the violent actions. Information to be recorded about the programme are: 1. general (tone of programme, place of major action and setting of major action); 2. themes; 3. medical and health aspects; 4. armed forces; 5. violence; 6. sexual portrayal and 7. food and drink. Information on major characters are: 1. demographics (e.g. ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status); 2. occupation; 3. health; 4. home and family; 5. sex and romance; 6. criminality and violence; 7. general role; 8. food and drink; 9. weight, and 10. personality traits. Information on violent actions are: 1. scene (i.e. sequence of violent actions, continuation, duration, tone of violent actions); 2. agents (i.e. number of participants, accidents, agents of law, crime, familiarity) and 3. agency (i.e. means used).

As Gerbner notes, the instrument is not useful for information on the thought and action of individuals but on the collective thought and actions of most people. The instrument provides information on "the shared representations of life, the issues, and the prevailing point of view that capture public attention, occupy people's time and animate their imagination" (Gerbner 1977, p.204).

The instrument concentrates on only quantitative data, and this is the major criticism against it. An attempt to improve the content analysis method was made in this study by placing the quantitative data in context so as to provide some qualitative information. Apart from that, some of the typical plots of the programme samples are presented, in Chapter 10, in order to give readers some insight into the structure and nature of the drama stories. The content analysis instrument designed for the study is presented in Appendix C.

The Participant-Observation Method

The participant-observation method seems to be more reliable than the interview method in obtaining objective information. It has a number of advantages and limitations. The very presence of an observer may influence a situation being observed. Elliott (1972, p.7) notes, "the situation observed and the account recorded may have been arranged for the benefit of the researcher." In the case of a production process, a researcher may not have sufficient knowledge about the profession to understand the practice. Hence, observation alone may not provide adequate information. While using an observation method, Alvarado and Buscombe (1978) had to interview production personnel.

Peter Golding points out a number of advantages and disadvantages of the observation method. Some advantages are as follows:

1. The method can obtain information that other techniques cannot elicit.
2. A researcher can observe many situations of a subject.
3. The method involves face-to-face reaction which is intimate, informal and reveals more.
4. It has immediacy of observation of an occurrence.
5. It allows flexibility of theory. One can change the focus of what one is looking for as a research goes on and as one discovers new things.
6. It allows one to get a richness of colour, a complete view, a variety of things.
7. It allows hypothesis forming and modification. It is as such a good preliminary method that can supplement other methods.

The following are some disadvantages:

1. Participant-observation hinders a researcher from observing all the variables needed.
2. The very act of observation can hinder the extent at which one can participate.
3. There is a question of representativeness of subjects observed. There is also the problem of self-selecting contact. That is, one talks to mainly people who make themselves available, such as extroverts.
4. There is a danger of the researcher "going native" and thus lose his objectivity.
5. The observer's presence can alter the nature of the event or phenomenon being observed.
6. Immediacy can also be a disadvantage in that the period of observation may not be representative of all periods. This is a sampling problem.
7. Personalities can loom very large and create bias in a researcher's mind.
8. There is a problem of validity because the method depends on the personal skill, perspicacity and experience of a researcher. Thus, there is that underlying problem of criticism that the researcher's report is his personal view.

With the above points in mind, the participant-observation method was employed in the study in a manner that minimized the disadvantages. Part of the effort in this direction was the curtailment of the number of productions observed to a manageable level. Also, supplementary data were obtained from interview and content analysis methods.

Procedure

The study was conducted, as earlier stated, in Lagos, Nigeria, in the months of July and August, 1983. During the period, the political climate of the country was tense due to the national elections held in August. A few days to the start of the elections, a lot of scheduled programmes, including those of drama, were pre-empted for political campaigns.

In order to draw a large sample of drama programmes for content analysis, the period of coding was extended from the originally-planned four weeks to six weeks. The codings were done in the evenings, 7 p.m. to midnight, with the use of the instrument in Appendix C. The instrument was designed so that coding could be done as programmes were aired. It was tested on a number of programmes in Britain and in Nigeria, and it was found easy to use and comprehensive enough to code all the required data. By consulting the weekly programme schedules of the two stations and by switching alternately from Channel 10 (NTA) to Channel 8 (LTV), an attempt was made to code equal number of drama programmes from the two stations. Also, to avoid sampling error, the first programme coded in each evening was rotated between the two stations, unless a station whose turn it was did not present a drama programme at 7 p.m. or shortly after.

Item 31 on the research instrument was coded by first writing brief narrative summaries of the plots of the programmes. Later, all the summaries of the programmes sampled were read and each was classified into one of the categories below, thus providing space for a two-column variable suitable for computer analysis.

Domestic Life = 01
Domestic and Business Life = 02
Crime = 03
Legal Process (Court) = 04
Politics = 05

Media Production = 06
Religion = 07
Mostly Fighting = 08
Health = 09
Chieftaincy = 10
Dance Drama = 11

The original research plan to interview 30 key people connected with drama productions was expanded to 42 people. This resulted from the interviews of Controller of Programmes of the two TV stations. They referred the researcher to other staff who, although not directly involved in drama productions, could shed some light on the stations' facilities, orientations and philosophy. It led to the interviews of commercial managers, film acquisition officers and engineers. Also, the initial plan to interview 12 writers (six of series and six of serials) was modified because the population of writers was very small. Majority of the productions were unscripted. A good number of story themes and plots originated from actors who improvised their lines. Hence, the number of writers was reduced from twelve to four and the number of actors was increased from six to twenty.

Of all the people interviewed, only actors and writers were not on the staff of the TV stations. All the rest were full-time television practitioners as well as civil servants. Actors and writers responded freely to questions, willingly consented and welcomed the idea of having their answers recorded on tape. They saw the interview as an opportunity to express their suppressed frustrations.

The civil servants on the other hand were guarded in their tongues. They would not talk to the researcher unless clearance was obtained from above. Even when an actor was being interviewed on location, a producer challenged the legality of the interview. He suspected that the researcher was a spy from a competing TV station. However, after all the staff became aware that the researcher had official approval, they co-operated very well and left the researcher in no doubt that information supplied was reliable. But the higher up a member of staff was, the more concerned he was about avoiding problems, and so the less willing he was to have a tape recorder switched on.

Most of the junior producers are young men at the start of their careers, with perhaps no strong ties to their organizations. They had a broad outlook, and so some of them did not mind being tape-recorded. The answers of other staff were written down during interviews. The controllers were noted to be the most important people in the administrative structures of production. Hence, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews of the two executives beyond the questions listed in the Interview Schedule (Appendix B).

Participant-observation of the production process began with a study of the administrative and technical processes of the two TV stations. It was, in fact, impossible not to start from the top, as it was in the case of interviews. The controllers held the keys to who produced what, when, where and for whom. The producers could not even obtain ordinary blank video tapes without consulting the controllers. Therefore, the researcher found the controllers most valuable in obtaining information about on-going productions which could be selected for the study.

The first two weeks of content analysis of station outputs confirmed that local TV productions were mainly of the three types selected for observation. None of the stations was involved in the production of feature films at the time of the study. After the level of controllers, the study proceeded to senior producers, who acted as Heads of Drama sections, and then to producer levels. Producers also directed their own productions and so the study involved producer/directors and their artistes up to the last stage of production.

Summary

This chapter presents the research design and instruments for gathering data. It also states how the study was conducted, and points out the differences between the research plan and execution.

The study was conducted in Lagos, Nigeria, in the months of July and August, 1983. It undertook three research approaches. First, the contents of drama programmes presented between 7 p.m. and midnight on two competing TV stations were analysed. Secondly, interviews of 42 people connected with drama productions were made. Thirdly, the process of producing six programmes (two series, two serials and two plays) were observed. The results of the study are presented in the next four chapters.

CHAPTER 7

THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING : STRUCTURE, FINANCE, PROGRAMMES

Introduction

The outcome of the interviews (July/August 1983) of administrative and technical executives (station directors, controllers, film acquisition officers, commercial managers and engineers) are presented in this chapter. Part of the data are from participant-observation in the two organizations. The various points are organized with the following outline: the structures of organization; the political and economic pressures resulting from government ownership and control; the production resources with reference to revenue from advertising; the policy and performance on the promotion of culture; the production constraints.

Organizational Structures

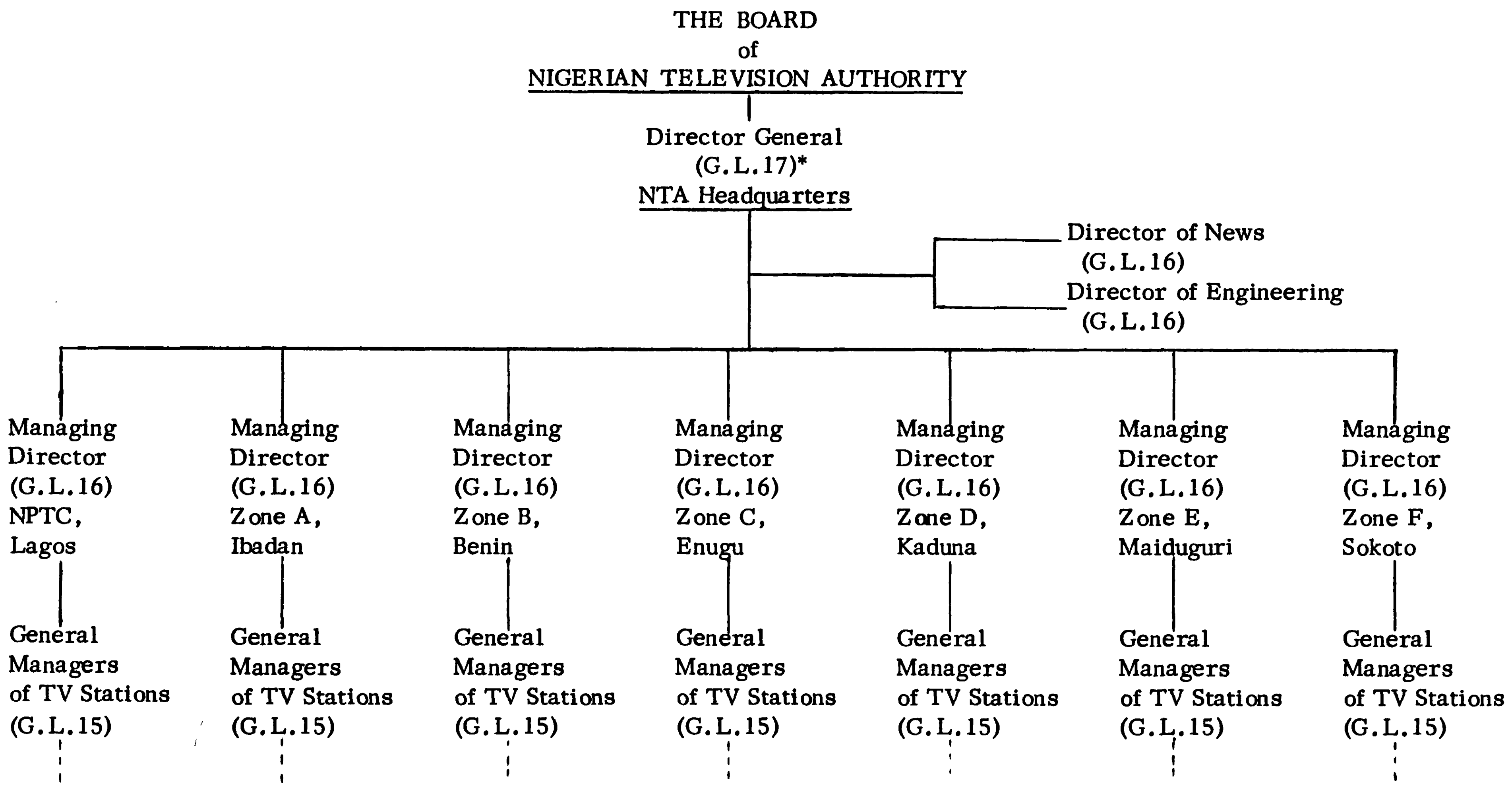
Drama programmes are affected by the organizational structures in which they are produced. The creative staff of the stations are not happy with their structures which favour administrative rather than creative activities. Figures 7.1 to 7.6 testify to this. The bulk of the creative people, producers on grade level 9 (₦6,084 = £5,950 per annum) and below, are at the lower rung of the ladder, while the administrative people occupy the upper part from level 13 (₦8,712 = £8,520 per annum) to 17 (₦15,084 = £14,752 per annum). An independent producer, Laolu Ogunniyi, who produced a successful drama series, Winds Against My Soul, but who could not pay his actors lamented his fate thus (Osikomaiya 1979, p.24):

> I am still owing my actors. I am still owing Taiwo Ajai about ₦1,000. I am owing Bisi Omolola who played Mama. I am owing my landlord. I am owing my bank. You see, that is the tragedy of going to do a creative work. One always ends asking why one went into it at all.

Instead of attracting and maintaining talented artistes, the organizational structures encourage escape from creative to administrative positions. Artistes who would rather make careers out of productions are frustrated; they are torn between the conflicts of dedication to creative works and the need to advance socio-economically. The Controller of Programmes of the two stations preferred a change in the structures so that talented persons could remain as producers and be remunerated in accordance with their creative output. Good producers should be able to earn the highest salaries and more. They should be limited only by their production abilities because production (i.e. message system development) is the only real business of a significant television station, and that of any arm of the mass media for that matter. Without production, there will be nothing to transmit over the air. A station that relies on external sources of productions for most of its programmes cannot be of socio-cultural significance within the Nigerian context.

Figures 7.3 and 7.5 show that the heads of NTA Channel 10 and LTV Channel 8 are called Manager and Director respectively. Both of them actually perform the function of station director but earn different salaries which may reflect the nature of their responsibilities. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show that NTA Manager has two other positions above him before reaching the top executive post of Director General. Whereas, as in Figure 7.4, LTV Director is next to the top post of General Manager. The two station directors are involved in drama production only with respect to budgeting and post-mortem analysis of what has

FIGURE 7.1 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NTA NETWORK

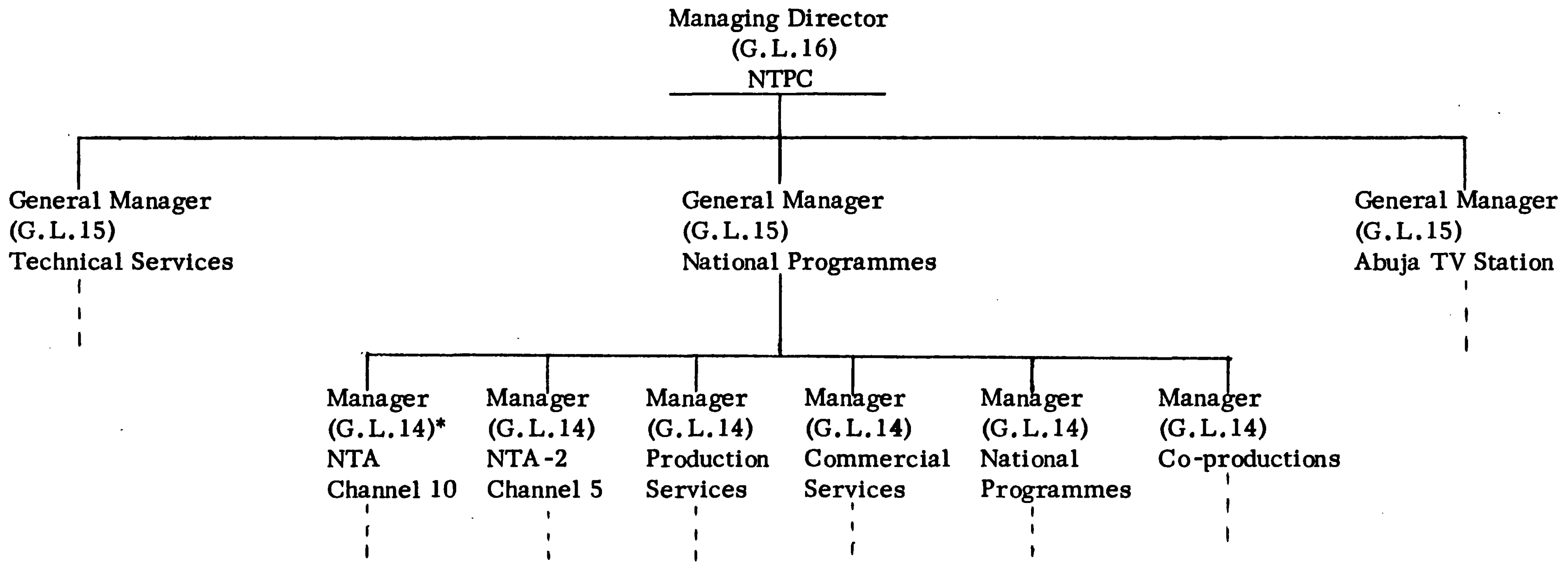

THE BOARD
of
NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY
Director General
(G.L.17)*
NTA Headquarters
Director of News
(G.L.16)
Director of Engineering
(G.L.16)
Managing Director (G.L.16) NPTC, Lagos
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone A, Ibadan
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone B, Benin
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone C, Enugu
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone D, Kaduna
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone E, Maiduguri
Managing Director (G.L.16) Zone F, Sokoto
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)
General Managers of TV Stations (G.L.15)

* G.L.17 = Grade Level 17, a salary level between ₦13,812 - ₦15,084 (£13,508 - £14,752) per annum
G.L.16 = Grade Level 16, a salary level between ₦12,354 - ₦13,506 (£12,082 - £13,209) per annum
G.L.15 = Grade Level 15, a salary level between ₦11,046 - ₦12,078 (£10,803 - £11,812) per annum

NOTE: All executive positions have subsidized housing.

FIGURE 7.2 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NTPC,

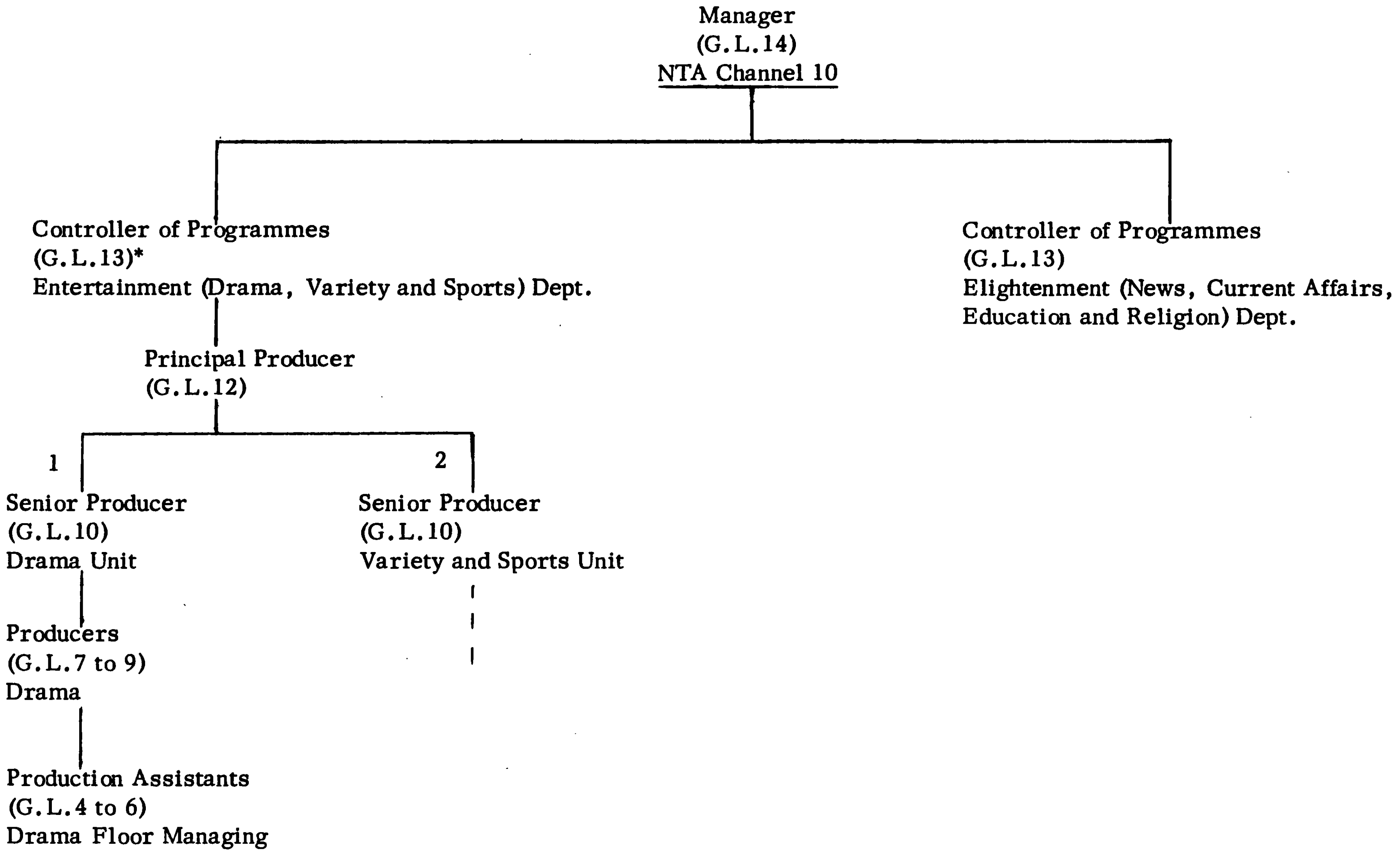
THE LAGOS ZONE OF NTA NETWORK


Managing Director
(G.L.16)
NTPC
General Manager
(G.L.15)
Technical Services
General Manager
(G.L.15)
National Programmes
General Manager
(G.L.15)
Abuja TV Station
Manager
(G.L.14)*
NTA
Channel 10
Manager
(G.L.14)
NTA-2
Channel 5
Manager
(G.L.14)
Production
Services
Manager
(G.L.14)
Commercial
Services
Manager
(G.L.14)
National
Programmes
Manager
(G.L.14)
Co-productions

* G.L.14 = Grade Level 14, a salary level between ₦9,868 - ₦10,818 (£9,651 - £10,580) per annum.

NOTE: All executive positions have subsidized housing.

FIGURE 7.3 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NTA CHANNEL 10


Manager
(G.L.14)
NTA Channel 10
Controller of Programmes
(G.L.13)*
Entertainment (Drama, Variety and Sports) Dept.
Controller of Programmes
(G.L.13)
Elightenment (News, Current Affairs, Education and Religion) Dept.
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
1
Senior Producer
(G.L.10)
Drama Unit
2
Senior Producer
(G.L.10)
Variety and Sports Unit
Producers
(G.L.7 to 9)
Drama
Production Assistants
(G.L.4 to 6)
Drama Floor Managing

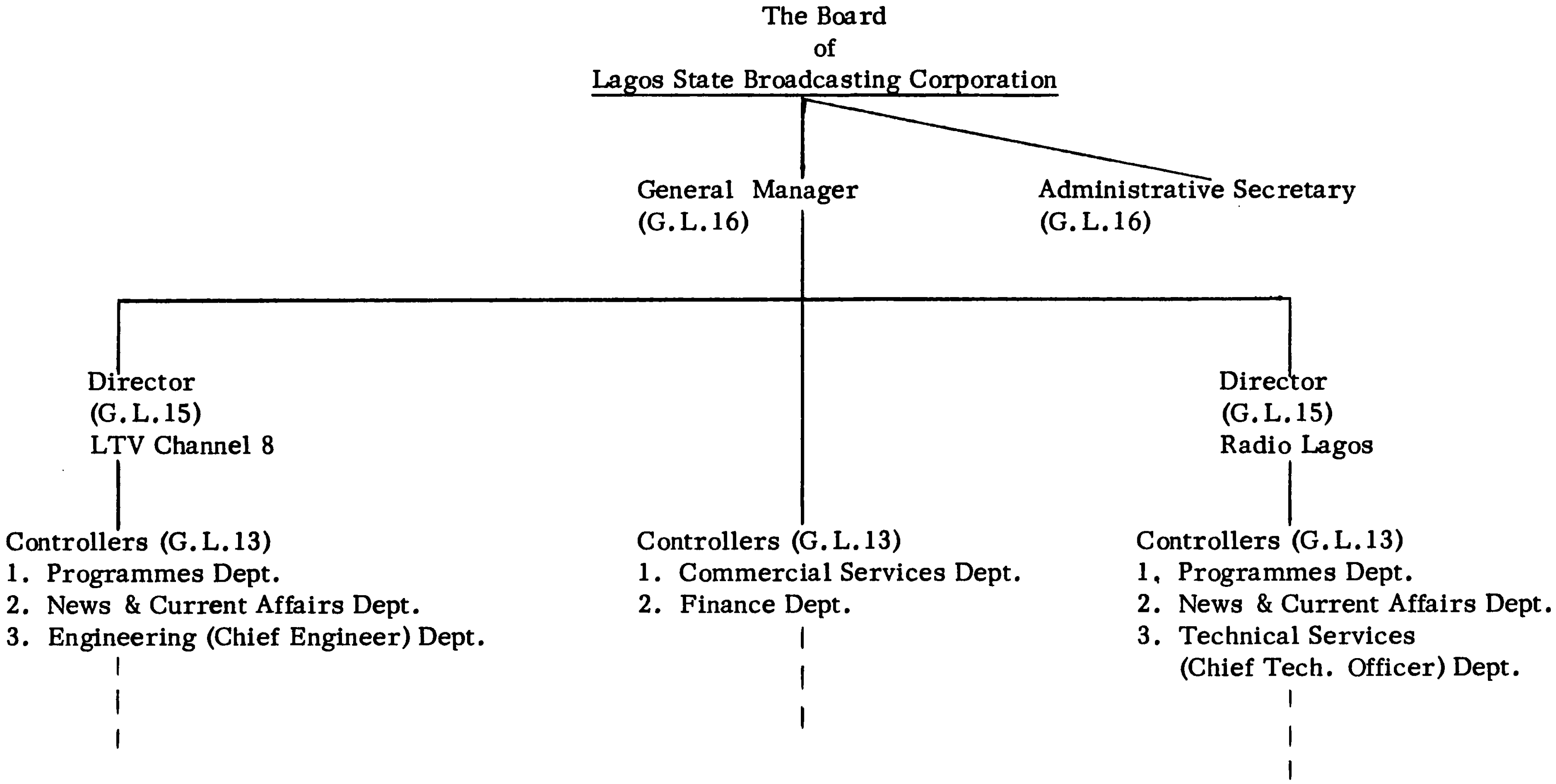
*See page 211

FOOTNOTE FOR FIGURE 7.3

G.L.13 = Grade Level 13, a salary level between ₦8,712 - ₦9,672 (£8,520 - £9,459) per annum
G.L.12 = Grade Level 12, a salary level between ₦8,084 - ₦8,682 (£7,906 - £8,491) per annum
G.L.10 = Grade Level 10, a salary level between ₦6,282 - ₦7,254 (£6,144 - £7,094) per annum
G.L.9 = Grade Level 9, a salary level between ₦5,112 - ₦6,084 (£5,000 - £5,950) per annum
G.L.8 = Grade Level 8, a salary level between ₦3,924 - ₦4,824 (£3,838 - £4,718) per annum
G.L.7 = Grade Level 7, a salary level between ₦3,174 - ₦3,894 (£3,104 - £3,808) per annum
G.L.6 = Grade Level 6, a salary level between ₦2,418 - ₦2,994 (£2,365 - £2,928) per annum
G.L.5 = Grade Level 5, a salary level between ₦1,986 - ₦2,418 (£1,942 - £2,365) per annum
G.L.4 = Grade Level 4, a salary level between ₦1,752 - ₦2,004 (£1,713 - £1,960) per annum.

Grade Level 7 is the lowest salary level for NTA producers whose minimum qualification is a university degree.

FIGURE 7.4 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LAGOS STATE BROADCASTING CORPORATION


The Board
of
Lagos State Broadcasting Corporation
General Manager
(G.L.16)
Administrative Secretary
(G.L.16)
Director
(G.L.15)
LTV Channel 8
Director
(G.L.15)
Radio Lagos
Controllers (G.L.13)
1. Programmes Dept.
2. News & Current Affairs Dept.
3. Engineering (Chief Engineer) Dept.
Controllers (G.L.13)
1. Commercial Services Dept.
2. Finance Dept.
Controllers (G.L.13)
1, Programmes Dept.
2. News & Current Affairs Dept.
3. Technical Services
(Chief Tech. Officer) Dept.

NOTE: All executive positions have subsidized housing.

FIGURE 7.5 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF LTV CHANNEL 8

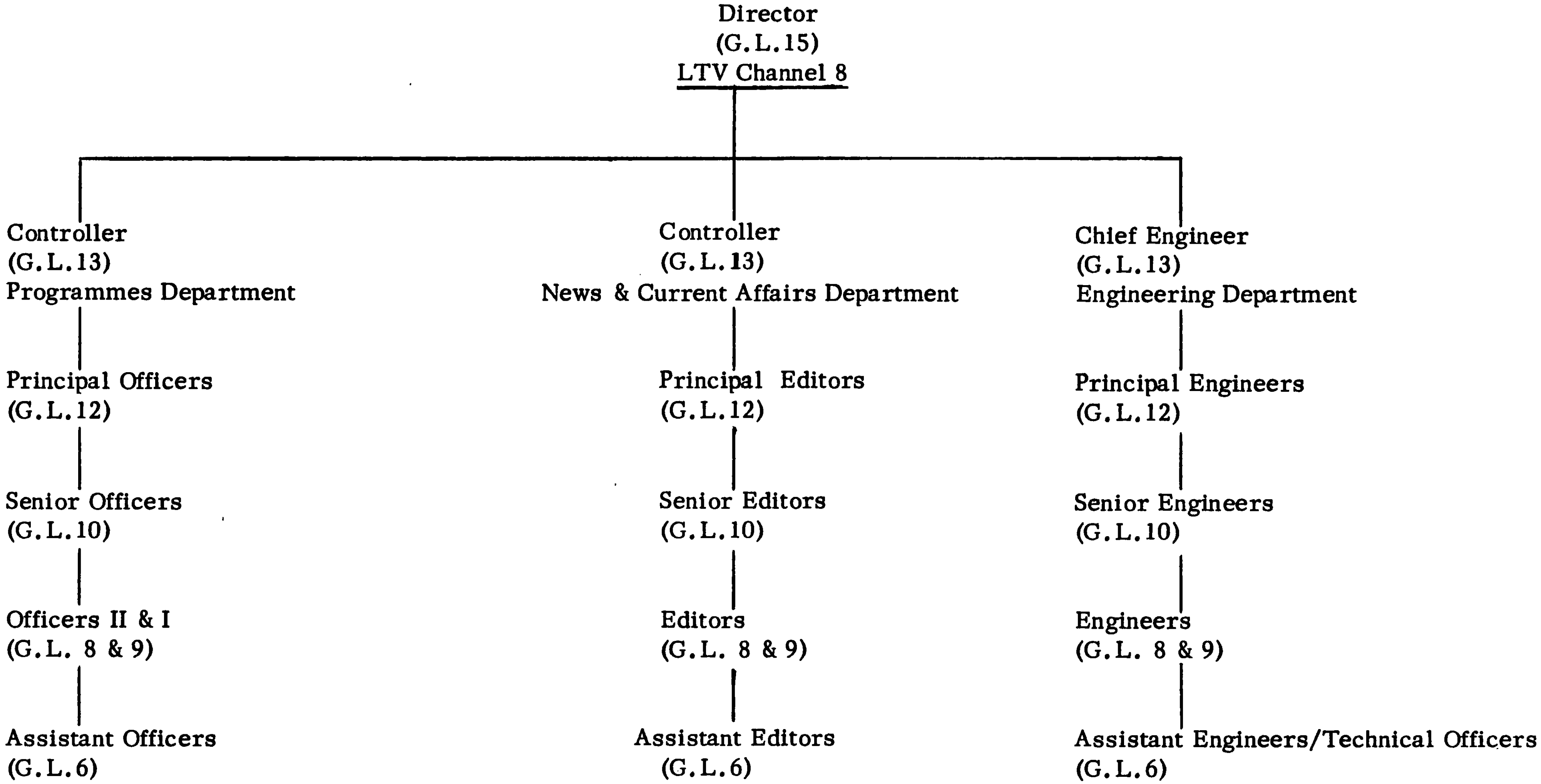
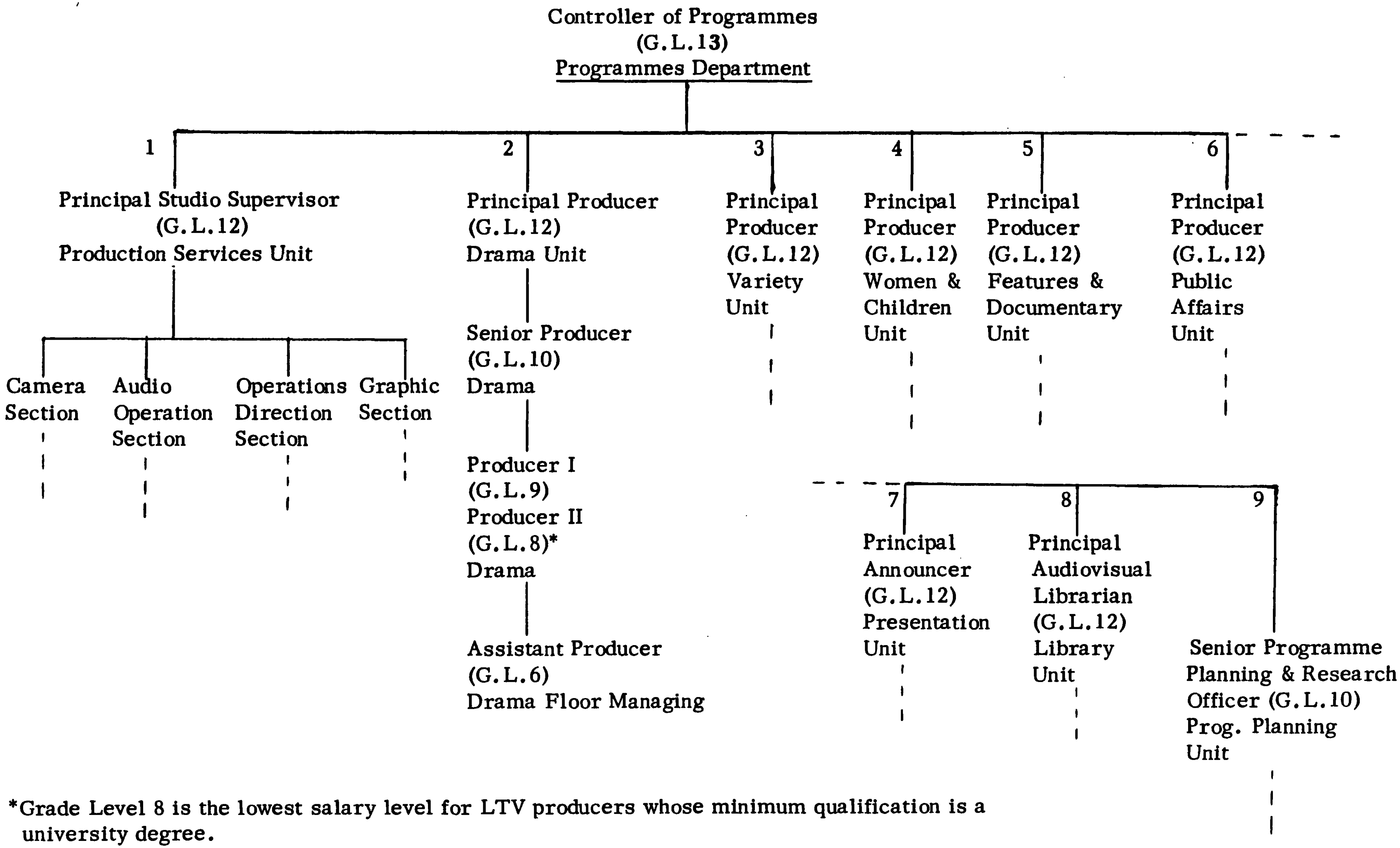

Director
(G.L.15)
LTV Channel 8
Controller
(G.L.13)
Programmes Department
Principal Officers
(G.L.12)
Senior Officers
(G.L.10)
Officers II & I
(G.L. 8 & 9)
Assistant Officers
(G.L.6)
Controller
(G.L.13)
News & Current Affairs Department
Principal Editors
(G.L.12)
Senior Editors
(G.L.10)
Editors
(G.L. 8 & 9)
Assistant Editors
(G.L.6)
Chief Engineer
(G.L.13)
Engineering Department
Principal Engineers
(G.L.12)
Senior Engineers
(G.L.10)
Engineers
(G.L. 8 & 9)
Assistant Engineers/Technical Officers
(G.L.6)

FIGURE 7.6 THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAMMES DEPARTMENT OF LTV CHANNEL 8


Controller of Programmes
(G.L.13)
Programmes Department
1
Principal Studio Supervisor
(G.L.12)
Production Services Unit
Camera Section
Audio Operation Section
Operations Direction Section
Graphic Section
2
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
Drama Unit
Senior Producer
(G.L.10)
Drama
Producer I
(G.L.9)
Producer II
(G.L.8)*
Drama
Assistant Producer
(G.L.6)
Drama Floor Managing
3
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
Variety Unit
4
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
Women & Children Unit
5
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
Features & Documentary Unit
6
Principal Producer
(G.L.12)
Public Affairs Unit
7
Principal Announcer
(G.L.12)
Presentation Unit
8
Principal Audiovisual Librarian
(G.L.12)
Library Unit
9
Senior Programme Planning & Research Officer (G.L.10)
Prog. Planning Unit

*Grade Level 8 is the lowest salary level for LTV producers whose minimum qualification is a university degree.

appeared on the air. They are less than 50 years old, university graduates, and have spent less than 10 years in their present organizations. They, however, have up to 15 or more years of television experience. By sheer coincidence, they were both newscaster/programme presenters before their elevation to higher positions. LTV Director was until 1979 Head of Programme Presentation at NTA. The two directors still perform on the air occasionally.

There is a difference between the lowest salary levels for producers at NTA (G.L.7) and LTV (G.L.8) as shown in Figures 7.3 and 7.6. The difference in salaries is to attract producers away from the big, well-established NTA to the fledgeling LTV. Also, Assistant Producers start on G.L.4 at NTA, and on G.L.6 at LTV. But between the levels of Producer I (G.L.9) and Controller (G.L.13) the salaries are the same in both stations. This is because at the higher levels, short of director, the method of attracting personnel to various stations is to offer higher positions than the ones currently occupied.

Figures 7.3 and 7.6 graphically illustrate the difference in responsibilities between the controllers at NTA and LTV. While NTA Controller takes charge of three units (drama, variety and sports), that of LTV takes charge of nine units (production services, drama, variety, women and children, features and documentary, public affairs, presentation, library and programme planning). This difference reflects the sizes of the two organizations and has no bearing on the competence or personalities of the controllers in the two stations. Before NTA Channel 10 became part of a national network, about 10 years ago, the NTA Controller then had exactly the same responsibilities as the LTV Controller now has. Infact, the LTV's structure is a replica of the former NTA Channel 10's structure.

The two stations' structures follow a civil service pattern. They are bureaucratic and unsuitable to creative work. Some examples about a few promising artists, who were promoted to administrative positions and so could not continue to develop their creative skills, are presented in the next chapter. This is a veritable, perhaps unconscious, form of institutional censorship. Usually, the longer a person acquires experience in performing a task, the greater is his ability (his degree of freedom) to have his way or to influence the task's result, as well as to improve upon his performance of the task. Examples of this fact are abound in the United States where experienced and successful producers are able to manipulate the powerful television networks whose narrow interest is in profit. The strong producers thereby often have things their way. They are able to break out of the trite formula syndrome to produce from time to time some socially significant artworks (MacCann 1962).

Most of the drama producers at NTA and LTV have not spent up to ten years as producers. Most are recent graduates in their youth. Their median age is 26. This is a handicap because the producers neither have the tenure of office nor enough experience of life and the television craft to be able to produce socially significant themes in drama.

The system of staff promotion does not motivate producers to go out of their way to make extraordinary achievements either. According to NTA Controller, the promotion of producers is automatic every two years, provided of course there is no serious offence. This means that a recent first degree university graduate who starts as producer on grade level 7 will within ten years be promoted to the position of a controller (an administrator) on grade level 13 (see Figure 7.3). Agewise, it means that producers who start at a median age of 26 will retire from active production and become administrators at a ripe age of 36. Compared with the age of Western producers, as Senior Producer Ebony Ajibade remarked, Nigerian producers are very young. Generally, Nigerian media gatekeepers are 11 years younger than their American counterparts (Ugboajah 1975, p.134). Considering that there is only one position of controller, it means that in ten years' time most current producers must have left their television stations (through resignation, termination of appointment or incapacitation) apart from having to quit production. This shows that the structures of organization of the two stations are collosal wastes of human resource. Rather than concentrating on staff training, development and programme production, the stations spent a large portion of their budgets on administration. Ugboajah (1979, p.9) states:

> One of our greatest problems of television broadcasting in Nigeria is over-bureaucratization, if 1974/75 allocation to broadcasting might serve as a guideline, 53 per cent of the budget to then NBC was used for the payment of salaries. This excludes stipends and performing rights and travelling expenses.
>
> Of this percentage, 35 per cent was for the payment of the salaries of the administrators, 7 per cent for news people, 25 per cent for programme people, 27 per cent for engineering people, 6 per cent for external service people, 3 per cent for staff training and man-power development and 4 per cent for external travels. It is valid to project arrangement into our television administration.
>
> What this means is that production and news staff are under-provided for and that little manpower development is ever engaged upon. It seems by the figures that broadcasting houses in Nigeria are mini-secretariats filled up with bureaucrats who only push files, attend meetings and travel abroad.
>
> I have often wondered why we should have so many managing directors, general managers, controllers for a single zone where a zone-manager and a station controller would have indeed been sufficient.

> Is this a process of conferment of chieftaincy titles to the boys or is it that of sharing money?
>
> I am not against giving financial incentives to motivate top talent. Indeed I see no reason why a top producer or broadcaster cannot earn more than the director-general.

Without doubt, the civil service structure is unsuitable in broadcasting. Media production, broadcasting and film-making in particular, requires creative talent. Such creative talent should not be selected by virtue of their educational certificates, but with reference to artistic works. In order to obtain the best from artists, adequate incentives are necessary. Reward by productivity rather than longevity of service is what is needed in broadcasting. There is a Nigerian comic artist who performs on radio and television but who does not have means of transportation. Inspite of supplementing his income with entertaining at private parties, he often pleads for a lift to meet his appointments or to be assisted with the means of taking public transport.

Television stations need to face the crucial issue of how young producers can become mature producers, continue as experienced producers and be correspondingly remunerated. New organizational structures are necessary unless the present ones were meant to be deliberate functional forms of institutional censorship, and to provide built-in mechanisms to keep the potentially radical mass communicators in check. Even if automatic promotion of producers stops at grade level 9, the bottleneck through which contending producers, seeking to become senior producers, have to pass will frustrate loosers into departing from broadcasting, as it has been the case since the one-quarter of a century that television service has operated in Nigeria.

New organizational structures which can provide producers with sufficient incentive to remain in production for their entire careers need to be established. Such structures are available in the advanced industrialized countries. If they can be adapted to suit the conditions of a developing country, the Nigerian broadcasting system will be improved considerably.

Government Ownership and Political Pressures

By constitutional fiat, only the federal or state government can operate broadcasting in Nigeria. The history of the development of television traced in Chapter 5 shows that political motives, more than the need to preserve culture, to provide information, to educate and to entertain, were the prime force behind the establishment of 25 television stations. The history shows that as political entities (i.e. regional states) were created, broadcast stations were concurrently established. This is because right from the colonial era, political parties have found the mass media very essential allies for their survival (Omu 1978, p.11). Graham Mytton (1983) comments that Nigerian newspapers are the most diverse in Africa. It is for the simple reason that every state government has sought to own and control every branch of the mass media, finance being the only impediment, in order to use its priviledged access (by virtue of ownership) to promote the interests of its political party. This poses a dilemma for television producers who would rather spend their stations' meagre resources on exciting programmes.

Another problem of government ownership is the effect of Grade "A"(1) broadcasts on other programmes. Such is the priviledged status of Grade "A"

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1. Classification of a broadcast as Grade "A" is determined by a station's top executives who pay special attention to the broadcast because of the important government officials involved.

broadcasts that the NTA Engineering Code of Practice states thus:

> It was agreed that for Grade "A" broadcast, all members of staff must be at their positions at least TWO hours before transmission. That all equipment must have been tested and ready for transmission or recording at least one hour before the scheduled time. That only good quality tapes must be used for such recordings.

The statement implies that it is alright to handle other broadcasts with lesser efficiency. If all programmes are handled efficiently, the special prescription for Grade "A" broadcasts will not arise. Grade "A" broadcasts feature government officials (the President, Governors, Ministers and Commissioners) who address the nation (or the regional state) about their activities. "The Annual Budget Speech" and "The State of the Nation" addresses are two examples of Grade "A" broadcasts. They are never scheduled long in advance, for they are not considered as programmes. They can pre-empt any scheduled programmes, no matter the contractual agreements that television stations could have made with commercial spot advertisers or programme sponsors for broadcasts at specific viewing times. Worse still, there is no legal compensation for such contractual default. A television commercial manager commented that the frequency and pre-emptive nature of Grade "A" broadcasts discourage advertisers. This therefore limits revenue that could be available for producers. For instance, multinational companies that could support many local drama productions are discouraged because television stations cannot guarantee their services according to contract.

Government ownership and control also affect the structure of organization of television stations through appointments, promotions, demotions, redeployments, terminations and resignations (frustrated staff often have no choice but to resign). A glaring example of the interference of government was the appointment of political supporters as policy-maker and executive head in order to direct the activities of NTA to serve the interests of a political party in its bid for re-election to power. In most cases, government interference in television operation through staffing has not led to progress in television production. It has on the contrary led to a lopsided use of resources in giving undue coverage to the personalities and activities of politicians. Local drama production is often one of the helpless victims of such mismanagement.

Economic Pressures

All television stations in Nigeria are semi-commercial. They earn small revenue from advertisement in addition to funds they receive from the government. The little commercial revenue they earn comes from spot announcements. Programme sponsorships are very few. Usually, companies become involved in the programmes they sponsor only after the programmes have been produced. The initiatives for productions hardly started from or with the sponsors. Neither are the stations' commercial managers involved in the production process. It is simply up to the commercial managers to seek sponsors and/or spot advertisers for whatever programmes are conceived and made by the producers with or without commercial interests in mind. Thus, prospective commercial clients are presented with a limited range of programmes they can choose for sponsorship.

At NTA Channel 10, the sponsored programmes are Cock Crow at Dawn by U.B.A. (United Bank for Africa), Sura Di Tailor by Skol Beer and Bar Beach Show by Guinness Beer.

LTV Channel 8's limited area of signal coverage discourages advertisers. But with the introduction of weekend, non-stop broadcasts, advertisers are beginning to show interest. So far, a few of the programmes that have commercial support are Kiddies Show Time and Aditu (a quiz show in an indigenous language) sponsored by Seven Up. Getting to Know You (an English family quiz programme) gets donations of mattresses and pillows from Aerofoam, to be used as prizes. Lifeline (a talk and music religious programme) is sponsored by the Four Square Gospel Church. A few multinational companies purchase spot announcement time. But by and large, according to the Controller of Programmes, very little commercial revenue is earned by the station. In contrast, its radio counterpart makes no less than ₦20,000 per month from commercials.

One more factor which affects television programme sponsorship is economic recession in the country. This causes several companies to retrench workers and to reduce advertisements generally. Asked what future he could predict for television in Nigeria, a commercial manager answered, "If the government gives freedom and freehand, TV will progress. But if present restrictions are maintained, TV here will ever remain mediocre."

Revenue from Advertising

Although the television stations claimed that their revenue from advertising was low, a study of media budgets and selections by Ana (1981), under my supervision, shows that in comparison with other media, the television share of advertising was not so low. Ana studied the media allocations by five top Nigerian advertising agencies within a period of five years, 1977 to 1981. Some of her results are presented on Tables 7.1 to 7.6.

During the period of study, Lintas Nigeria Limited had as its top clients Lever Brothers Limited (Omo Soap), A.J. Seward (Nku cream), Vono Nigeria Limited (Sleepwell mattress), I.C.I. Nigeria Limited (pharmaceutical products) and Guinness Nigeria Limited (Guinness stout). Table 7.1 presents a summary of the media allocations for the products of its top clients. In 1977, the press (newspapers and magazines) had the greatest share with 28.8% of the media budget. In 1978, 1979 and 1981, radio was the most important medium for advertising. Television had the largest share only in 1980. On the whole, within the five-year period, television had the highest share with 26.8% of the total budget.

Ogilvy Benson & Mather (Nigeria) Limited (OBM) had the following as its top clients: Beacham Nigeria Limited, Cadbury Nigeria Limited, Nigerian Breweries Limited, Johnson Wax Incorporated and Nigerian Tobacco Limited. Table 7.2 presents a summary of OBM's media allocations. Radio consistently had the largest share of the media budgets throughout the five years. Next to radio's 33% was television's share of 26.7% of the total budget. The two media jointly had 60% of the total budget. This shows that the products of OBM's top clients had the greatest

TABLE 7.1

LINTA'S MEDIA SELECTION IN FIVE YEARS

Year	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	Total
1977	22.3%	25.5%	28.8%	9.4%	14.0%	100% n= ₦ 1,684,043
1978	23.2%	29.9%	25.1%	10.9%	10.9%	100% n= ₦ 1,713,488
1979	26.1%	28.5%	23.6%	11.6%	10.6%	100% n= ₦ 2,164,181
1980	30.8%	15.9%	26.6%	15.4%	11.3%	100% n= ₦ 2,776,195
1981	28.9%	29.0%	19.0%	16.2%	7.9%	100% n= ₦ 2,111,551
TOTAL	26.8% n= ₦1,801,154	24.8% n= ₦2,590,428	24.5% n= ₦2,562,230	13.1% n= ₦1,365,281	10.8% n= ₦1,130,365	100% n= ₦10,449,458 (£10,219,569)

TABLE 7.2

OBM'S MEDIA SELECTION IN FIVE YEARS

Year	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	Total
1977	25.6%	34.5%	11.6%	18.3%	10.0%	100% n= ₦ 4,150,100
1978	28.7%	32.5%	9.0%	17.9%	11.9%	100% n= ₦ 4,500,000
1979	29.0%	34.2%	10.1%	19.8%	6.9%	100% n= ₦ 3,450,000
1980	28.8%	32.1%	8.3%	22.2%	9.1%	100% n= ₦ 4,700,000
1981	25.7%	34.7%	8.5%	19.1%	12.0%	100% n= ₦ 7,200,000
TOTAL	26.7% n= ₦6,404,500	33.0% n= ₦7,904,000	11.1% n= ₦2,676,000	19.1% n= ₦4,577,100	10.1% n= ₦2,438,500	100% n= ₦24,000,100 (£23,472,097)

chance of exposure to the public through the broadcast media.

Grant Advertising Nigeria Limited had the following as top clients: Food Specialities Nigeria Limited, Union Bank Nigeria Limited, Cocacola Africa Limited, Nichols Laboratories and Nigerian Breweries Limited (Top Beer). Table 7.3 presents a summary of its media allocations. In 1977 and 1978, outdoor billboards had the largest share. Television became the most important medium from 1979 to 1981. Overall, television had the largest share with 44.6% of the total budget. The change from outdoor billboards to television might be due to the introduction of new products more suitable for television. It might also be that outdoor billboards were found to be ineffective for the old products, or that advertising campaigns were simply intensified with the use of television. The latter supposition results from the fact that the media budget increased significantly from ₦786,504 (₦.8m) in 1977 to ₦5,065,500 (₦5m) in 1981.

Overseas and General Advertising Limited (OGA) had the following as its clients: client L (dealer in electrical equipment), client F (dealer in a service), client W (dealer in alcoholic drinks), client B (dealer in blood tonic) and client D (dealer in tonic wine). OGA did not want to reveal the identities of its clients; it also provided data for only three years, 1979 to 1981. Table 7.4 presents a summary of its media allocations. Television had the largest share in 1979 and 1980, but in 1981, the press (newspapers and magazines) came on top. Overall, television was the most important medium for OGA with 34.8% of the total budget.

TABLE 7.3

GRANT'S MEDIA SELECTION IN FIVE YEARS

Year	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	Total
1977	23.2%	15.0%	7.1%	49.0%	5.7%	100% n= ₦ 786,504
1978	21.5%	5.7%	19.5%	46.4%	6.9%	100% n= ₦ 935,987
1979	46.2%	39.1%	1.9%	11.2%	1.6%	100% n= ₦ 3,537,210
1980	49.2%	34.6%	1.9%	13.3%	1.0%	100% n= ₦ 3,936,030
1981	47.5%	29.4%	4.3%	14.6%	4.2%	100% n= ₦ 5,065,527
TOTAL	44.6% n= ₦6,367,383	31.0% n= ₦4,406,974	4.1% n= ₦590,858	17.3% n= ₦2,479,265	3.0% n= ₦416,778	100% n= ₦14,261,258 (£13,947,510)

TABLE 7.4

OGA'S MEDIA SELECTION IN THREE YEARS

Year	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	Total
1979	39.4%	22.4%	24.3%	9.6%	4.3%	100% n= ₦1,195,169
1980	36.0%	23.9%	24.6%	10.4%	5.1%	100% n= ₦1,021,635
1981	29.2%	24.8%	31.3%	12.3%	2.4%	100% n= ₦1,197,271
TOTAL	34.8% n= ₦1,189,265	23.7% n= ₦809,292	26.8% n= ₦916,186	10.9% n= ₦368,417	3.8% n= ₦130,915	100% n= ₦3,414,075 £3,338,965.3)

Rod Publicity Limited's top clients were: P.Z. Co. Limited, International Breweries Limited, Bayer Pharmaceuticals Limited, Marine & General Assurance Limited and Metal Construction Nigeria Limited. Table 7.5 presents a summary of its media allocations. Radio and television alternately had the largest share during the five-year period. On the whole, radio was the most important medium with 33.3% followed by the press with 25.1%. There was a substantial drop of the television share in 1981.

Table 7.6 sums up the total media allocations of the five advertising agencies within the five-year period. It shows that television with 32% of the ₦54,116,453 (£52,925,891) had the greatest advertising revenue. Thus, on the average, about 23 television stations, up till 1981, had a total revenue of ₦3.5m (£3.4m) per annum from advertising. This revenue, however, did not meet the need of television stations because the capital and operational costs of the stations were high; they far outreached those of other media. The government collects customs duties on new television sets but the regulation for the payment of licence fees is not enforced. Although the television share of advertising was the largest, it was insufficient to maintain the medium. Therefore, government subsidy was a necessity. This is unlike the situations in the United States and Britain where advertising makes television operation a profitable business.

Dependency on Foreign Programmes

More than half of the drama programmes on NTA Channel 10 and LTV Channel 8 originated from foreign countries, as shown on Table 9.3. The foreign programmes were not forced on Nigerian television stations at gun

TABLE 7.5

ROD PUBLICITY'S MEDIA SELECTION IN FIVE YEARS

Year	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	Total
1977	27.9%	25.4%	26.8%	19.9%	-	100% n=₦338,000
1978	29%	33%	21.5%	16.5%	-	100% n=₦424,000
1979	30%	30%	23%	17%	-	100% n=₦401,600
1980	31.6%	30.8%	22.3%	15.3%	-	100% n=₦354,000
1981	19.1%	35.9%	25%	20%	-	100% n=₦473,962
TOTAL	23.0% n= ₦541,660	33.3% n= ₦626,892	25.1% n= ₦472,200	18.6% n= ₦350,810	-	100% n= ₦1,991,562 £1,947,747.6)

TABLE 7.6

MEDIA ALLOCATIONS BY FIVE TOP ADVERTISING AGENCIES WITHIN FIVE YEARS

Agency	Media Allocations					Total
	TV	Radio	Press	Outdoor	Film	
1. LINTAS	26.8%	42.8%	24.5%	13.1%	10.8%	100% n= ₦10,449,458
2. OBM	26.7%	33.0%	11.1%	19.1%	10.1%	100% n= ₦24,000,100
3. GRANT	44.6%	31.0%	4.1%	17.3%	3.0%	100% n= ₦14,261,258
4. OGA	34.8%	23.7%	26.8%	10.9%	3.8%	100% n= ₦ 3,414,075
5. ROD	23.0%	33.3%	25.1%	18.6%	0.0%	100% n= ₦ 1,991,562
TOTAL	32.0% n= ₦17.3m	30.0% n= ₦16.3m	13.0% n= ₦7.2m	17.0% n= ₦9.1m	8.0% n= ₦4.1m	100% n= ₦54,116,453 (£52,925,891)

point. On the contrary, they were duly selected and gladly paid for by Nigerian film acquisition officers. These officers, as such, can be viewed from two perspectives: 1) negatively, as the local agents of imperialists (Tunstall 1977), and 2) positively, as innovators and agents of national development (Rogers 1983). Interviews with the officers show that they perceive their role positively.

While scriptwriters and independent producers stated that they were threatened by foreign programmes, film acquisition officers argued that the foreign programmes were meant, among other things, to teach the local artistes the art of production. Therefore, the foreign programmes were imported in the good interest of writers and producers. They also claimed that the foreign programmes benefited the entire Nigerian society with entertainment and exposure to the culture of other people, and that some of the programmes had universal themes.

One thing the officers failed to mention was that the compelling need to fill several hours of TV time was the strongest factor for importing foreign programmes. It was admitted though that it was cheaper to import programmes than to produce them locally. The average rate for a 30-minute or one-hour foreign programme was ₦2,000 (£1,956). For television movies lasting $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 hours, the rate was between ₦3,000 and ₦4,000 (£2,934 and £3,948). Once a TV station has acquired a foreign programme, it was licensed to screen the programme only once within three years, at the end of which the film should be returned to the foreign distributor or wiped off. This restrictive license, however, existed only in theory. In practice, the foreign TV/film distributors bent over backwards to allow Nigerian TV stations to show the programmes indefinitely - thus encouraging perpetual dependency.

Stiff competition for audience also promoted dependency on foreign programmes. When, sometime ago, LTV's audience rating fell very low, the Controller was under pressure to introduce its LWT's non-stop broadcast at weekends. The service featured drama with a heavy dose of violence and succeeded in raising the station's audience rating. Earlier, LTV's Controller had observed that Chinese films from Hong Kong and Japan were popular in Nigerian cinema theatres even though the languages of the films were unintelligible to the Nigerian audience. The attraction of the films was Chinese martial art. Since the cost of renting the films was well within the slim budget of LTV, the Controller saw nothing wrong in using Chinese films to pull crowds to his station. Thus, LTV started to show Chinese films. This led to the public's desertion of cinerma theatres for free exciting television shows at home. Cinema theatre proprietors quickly felt a drastic loss of revenue and attributed it to LTV's programming innovation. They then approached LTV's Controller and appealed to him to stop showing Chinese films in order to save their business from collapse. But before LTV's Controller had a chance to reconsider the issue, NTA entered the business of weekend drama with its Marathon TV. It then became clear to all concerned that the war for audience, whether in fiction or in reality, was just beginning.

The practice of non-stop weekend broadcasts started on a small scale during the national general elections in 1979 when only NTA existed in Lagos. However, it was LTV that formalised the practice in 1983, some months before another election, in order to sway audiences away from its older competitor, NTA. LTV adopted this strategy to prepare audiences for political broadcasts about the national general election results which were often announced late in the night. Another reason advanced for the practice was that LTV wanted to entertain its fans who had to stay home at weekends because of a ban(1) on night social parties held outdoors. Considering that adverts were not aired during the late night hours, there was no commercial justification for the broadcasts.

A direct consequence of the use of bizarre foreign films to wage a ratings battle was the denial of time for Nigerian programmes. At a meeting of NTA producers, it was agreed that for effective competition with LTV, some of NTA's Nigerian programmes should be replaced with more exciting foreign films. NTA had no choice, it was emphasized, otherwise it would lose its audience. One of the free-lance scriptwriters interviewed criticized the all-night broadcasts for not increasing the volume of local drama productions. He alleged that the few Nigerian programmes featured were mostly reruns. The long hours of broadcast by the two stations were filled with foreign programmes. Marathon TV had 63% foreign programmes in the July-September quarter, 1983. But, as noted in Chapter 5, the "marathon race" has ended.

The Promotion of Culture

One of the stated purposes of television was to promote Nigerian culture. The law(2) which established the NTA stipulates:

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(1) The ban on night parties held outdoors was imposed for security reasons - thieves chased by the police often disappeared among crowds at outdoor parties.

(2) The source of this law is the Annual Volume of the laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1977, Lagos.

> The Authority shall ensure that the service which it provides, when considered as a whole, reflects the unity of Nigeria as a Federation and at the same time give adequate expression to the culture, characteristics and affairs ... of the Federation.

Also, in its statement of objectives, NTA laid down its policy on culture as follows:

> Television cultural objectives should essentially cover the areas of Aesthetics, Religion, Philosophy, Language, History and the Arts. Television programmes, therefore will be designed primarily to: (i) seek, identify and preserve Nigerian culture, and promote the study of Nigerian history and languages; (ii) select critically, relevant foreign culture for the purpose of enriching Nigerian culture; (iii) develop and promote the appreciation of indigenous aesthetic values.

To what extent has this policy been effected? The analysis of NTA and LTV's weekly programme schedules presented on Tables 9.1 and 9.2 shows that drama programmes take the largest percentage share of all the various programmes featured. But more drama programmes originated from foreign countries than were produced locally. Out of the 20.5 hours devoted to drama weekly on NTA, 12 hours were filled by foreign programmes. Similarly, out of the 15 hours devoted to drama weekly on LTV, 9.5 hours were filled by foreign programmes. The content analysis of foreign drama programmes does not indicate that the programmes were selected critically for the type of culture that could enrich Nigerian society. For example, Appendix D.19 shows that programmes from advanced countries had more antisocial activities (i.e. shooting and stabbing) than programmes from Third World countries.

Another factor against the promotion of culture is the lack of a large core-culture for producers to promote cost-effectively. In order to produce good, competitive TV programmes, there is a need for large uniform audiences. But in a nation of extra-cultural diversity, large homogeneous audiences are rare. Corbett (1980) describes the situation thus: "The existence of over two hundred and fifty languages used by a population of near one hundred million in a country approximately six hundred and fifty miles square, does indeed suggest something of a chaotic cultural characteristic." This is another dilemma faced by Nigerian television producers.

Although NTA Channel 10, in Lagos, stopped producing its own drama in Nigerian languages, it still broadcasts drama in Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. The programmes were obtained from other NTA stations in the states. Table 9.3 shows that 8% of drama aired by NTA Channel 10 were obtained from other Nigerian TV stations. Considered as the premier station within the NTA network, NTA Channel 10 was required to reflect Nigeria's federal character, and so it was felt that one of the ways to do this was to stop producing drama in Nigerian languages, and to instead concentrate on only English. Actually, the problem arose when it was discovered that by virtue of NTA Channel 10's location in Lagos, it produced drama in English and in Yoruba (the indigenous language of Lagos). It did not produce drama in Hausa and Igbo because creative personnel working in these languages were not readily available in Lagos and/or because Lagos producers were not inclined to make such productions.

As pointed out earlier, advertising revenue was insufficient to support television operation, and this may not be the case for other media except of course film. Hubert Ogunde has demonstrated that films produced in Nigerian languages can be box-office success in cinema theatres. Good quality television programmes are not likely to meet with equal financial success because of inadequacy of advertising revenue. In order to increase audience size and thereby attract advertisers, a broad-based language, pidgin English, was used in some productions. Harrison and Trabasso's (1976, p.109) description of the colonialists' involvement in the same linguistic problem shows that the issue is far from being recent:

> The truth of the matter is that Africa is one of, if not the most, linguistically diverse continents in the world. Linguists estimate that 850 to 1,000 languages are spoken here. Initially confronted by this diversity, the European explorer was faced with a dilemma.
>
> There was a need for a system of communications. How best could this be accomplished with a minimum of time and effort? It would have been preposterous and an act of denigration for the European to learn the indigenous language. Furthermore, there were too many to master. On the opposite side of the situation, the African obviously could not be expected to learn the European language. The dissolution of the dilemma was to promulgate a pidgin language(s).

The FAO's rural broadcasting project in Dahomey, neighbouring Nigeria, now called the Republic of Benin, illustrates the two-way problem of linguistic translation. Defever (1977, p.20) explains:

> The original radio scripts were prepared in French, the lingua franca of Dahomey. To the layman, to translate such texts may seem a simple mechanical operation. But our scripts had to be translated into languages which miss one word out of four or five, compared with French. Not only are the words missing, but the corresponding notions do not exist. How can one convey the idea of a letter, an envelope, a stamp or a mail-box to illiterates in isolated villages who have never even seen a letter? It was not a matter of translation but of adaptation.

Another story illustrating the close-knit relationship between language and culture is reported by Martin and Chaudhary (1983, p.210):

> Of course humour is difficult to transfer cross-culturally; some years ago, when Art Buchwald wrote a hilarious piece on President Johnson going to Lady Bird's bedroom on his knees so as not to wake up their daughters, to pray with her before making an important (bombing) decision on the Vietnam war, it came out as a straight story in a Korean newspaper because the paper's American correspondent was not familiar with Buchwald's speciality of satire.

In countries with multiple ethnic groups or nationalities, the linguistic issue is a formidable obstacle in the way of establishing viable broadcasting facilities. Wales and Scotland, it was learnt, struggled hard for broadcasting facilities that would reflect their unique culture and language within the United Kingdom. So serious was the issue in Wales that the M.P. (Member of Parliament) for Plaid Cymru, Gwynfor Evans, threatened in 1980 to go on a hunger strike in order to force the government to provide a Welsh language television service (Hughes 1983, p.3).

The Welsh people's cleavage to their language results from their pride in it as being the oldest surviving European language which has survived centuries of turmoil and which, Hughes (1983, p.7) says, "is the embodiment of a distinctive culture and a way of life which should not be allowed to sink into oblivion." There are many other ethnic groups all over the world with such strong argument for keeping their cultures and languages alive. This is demonstrative of the universality of human feelings with regard to culture irrespective of society, advanced or not. People and their cultures tend to be inseperable.

The LTV Controller found the English language inadequate to express the entire range of African culture. His method of giving full expression to African culture while producing drama in English was to incorporate indigenous langauges within it. For example, incantations, proverbs and prayers in drama were said in indigenous languages in order to achieve the desired effect. The same view of the use of English was shared by NTA Controller. He felt that something was lost in translating indigenous concepts to English. But in obedience to instruction from higher quarters, he had to demand that production be done only in English. Generally, Etherton (1982, p.96) remarks:

> The choice of langauge is a problem which faces each African playwright every time he sits down to write a play, just as it is a problem for each director every time he has to choose a play for production. First of all, playwrights and directors are themselves seldom monolingual: their day-by-day experience is multi-lingual. Because they are linguistically versatile, playwrights and directors do indeed have a real choice of language for their drama. Second, the choice of language is not one which can be made on its own, but must be related to other factors over which the playwright or producer may have no control.

One of the rules governing productions in the TV stations concerned the choice of words. Terms with negative connotations to the Nigerian or African society were forbidden. The NTA's programme code states:

> Reference to national and Nigerian or African characteristics or manifestations in derogatory and careless terms, e.g. native etc. shall be forbidden. Specifically, Nigerian dress forms, languages, dances, etc. shall not be referred to simply as "attires", "costumes", "cultural", "native", "vernacular" or "traditional". Rather, they shall be called by their Nigerian or African names, e.g. Agbada, Kaftan, Fulfulde, etc.

An example of how this rule affected programme content was observed during the production of a comedy programme, Ogun Ekute (rat poison), by LTV. One of the actresses who was adlibbing in Yoruba langauge abused an elderly man as "Baba osi, baba oniranu" (useless father, irresponsible father). The word "baba" (father) was used to mean an elderly man generally, and not the father of the speaker. The closest English cultural equivalent to the abuse is "dirty old man". But there is so much respect for parents and elders generally in Yoruba culture that it is profane to abuse an elder as useless or irresponsible. As the proverb goes, "Ogbon lagba," old age is synonimous with wisdom which commands a lot of respect.

Hence, the producer/director cut in and asked the actress to use a less offensive statement. She had a hard time thinking of something, so the producer/director suggested the use of "e kin sora yin" (you don't respect yourselves). This statement is less offensive and its use of the plural pronouns "you" and "yourselves" for just one man rather than the singular "you" and "yourself" is also a mark of respect, even though not deserved in this case. Figure 7.7 presents a drama scene depicting a traditional mode of showing deep respect for an elder by greeting him with prostration.

Constraints on Production

The television stations lacked basic facilities either due to under-funding or due to import problem arising from low national foreign reserve. The following problems discussed at a weekly meeting of NTA producers revealed that creative output was greatly handicapped:

1) There was a shortage of tapes to record and even to edit into. To make tapes available, some of the old recorded programmes were wiped out.

2) The ENG equipment (portable videotape recorders) were insufficient to cope with production demands.

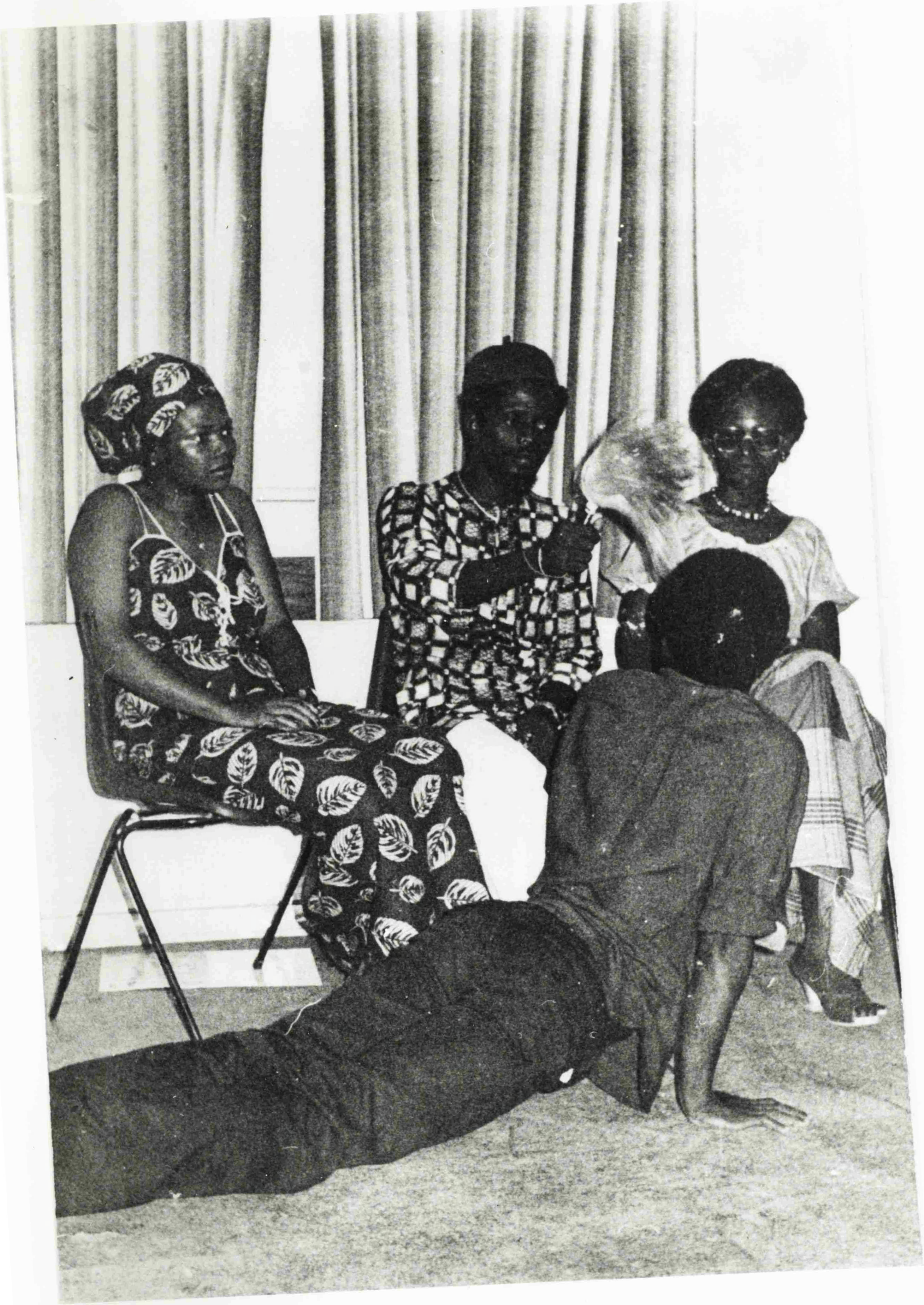

FIGURE 7.7 PROSTRATION : A TRADITIONAL MODE OF GREETING AN ELDER

3) NTA Channel 10 producers had to share transportation facilities with the NTA National Programmes producers. This lack of separate vehicles for the various units was a serious setback. It prevented most needed location shootings.

4) Compounding the inconvenience of securing transportation was the unavailability of actors when needed, because they were mostly part-timers. Funds available were insufficient to keep actors on full-time.

5) The various problems caused producers to rush, rather than steadily to produce good programmes. For instance, when a team of producer/director, cameraman and driver went on a production trip out of town, they were expected to produce up to 13 episodes within seven to ten days.

6) Recognizing the dangers to which producers were exposed when out on locations, NTA had to insure(1) the life of each producer for ₦50,000 (£48,900).

There was a concensus among scriptwriters that technical limitations at the television houses inhibited their writings. They tended to write only what they thought could be produced. Such a factor promoted sterility; it discouraged experimentations and innovations. The NTA and LTV engineers agreed that the large number of broadcasting stations (30 radio and 25 TV) which had to import all equipment and spare parts from abroad constituted a drain on the nation's foreign reserve. When the foreign reserve was low as it had been in the past few years, it became difficult to obtain spare parts or to replace old equipment with new ones. This has been the major problem of engineers.

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1. An explanation about the need to insure the lives of producers is presented in Chapter 8. Some NTA producers had been attacked in public as a result of the tussle between the Federal and Lagos State governments.

Compounding the problem of securing spare parts were the high demand on equipment for productions and continuous broadcasting which took all the engineers' time with none left to experiment and innovate. There was no supportive Nigerian equipment manufacturing industry either. Where it was possible to improvise, the engineers tried their best. They built lights, made acoustic materials and produced sound and visual effects. For example, they produced a dreamy visual effect by introducing a 50 hertz mains hum into a picture which became wavy and made an actor appear as dreaming. Another example was lightning effect. This was produced by photographing an electrical spark caused by a small gap between two high voltage points. Series of such photographs were then blown up and dubbed with musical percussion accompanied by the sharp break of a vehicle.

To perform their duties competently, engineers had continuous training at various levels. The system of engineering staff training at LTV is as follows:

1) Training by regular staff meetings at different levels -
    (i) general departmental meetings consisting of staff and supervisors;
    (ii) meeting of only supervisors to discuss operational problems;
    (iii) meeting of managers (Manager Engineering, Manager News and Manager Programmes) and supervisors to discuss strategies for production.
2) Training on the job.
3) Factory training abroad by attachment to equipment manufacturers.

4) Local industrial training organised by equipment sales companies.

5) Academic and practical training at both NTA, Jos, and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria Training School.

Nigerian TV engineers belong to the general professional organizations of COREN (Council of Registered Engineers of Nigeria) and N.S.E. (Nigerian Society of Engineers). Some of them would like to have a special Nigerian Society of TV Engineers as well. They would want such a body to be affiliated with similar organizations for TV and film in the advanced industrialised countries. At the time of this study, their major avenue of keeping up with the innovative technological developments in their field was through magazines such as Electronics, an American weekly, published by McGraw-Hill, and Broadcast Communications, also American, published by the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers.

Summary

Finance for Nigerian television stations was obtained through government grant and little commercial activity. The organizational structures of the television stations were such that all permanent staff (administrative, technical and production) were civil servants. The structures discouraged the pursuit of creative careers.

Some of the problems of the television stations emanated from the political and economic pressures consequent upon government ownership and control. There were also such fundamental constraints as the absence of a national culture and the lack of production resources. These problems and constraints created an atmosphere whereby dependency on foreign films was favoured.

CHAPTER 8

THE DYNAMICS OF DRAMA PRODUCTION

Introduction

It became clear in the last chapter that Nigerian productions were not competitive with those from abroad. Therefore, to further identify the factors responsible for the shortcomings, this chapter focuses on the actual process of production using data gathered from the interviews (July/August 1983) of artists (producers, writers and actors), content analysis and observation of in-house and theatre group productions. The Nigerian model of production is compared with that of the Western industrialized countries. Also, the programme policies of the television stations are presented against the background of some theories of mass communication.

Sources of Ideas for Drama

At NTA, there are three main sources of ideas for drama production: 1. the TV house, 2. independent writers, and 3. theatre groups. Ideas from within the TV house are presented in the form of programme proposals which have the following outline:

1. objectives;
2. broad storyline (or concept of an entire series);
3. target audience;
4. sketches of main characters (e.g. profession, personality description, age, family, educational background, etc.);

5. relationship between actors;

6. problem or conflict in story;

7. suggested fees to actors.

Writers present ideas in the form of scripts and receive payment according to their experience. Long established writers are paid higher than new writers. Theatre groups usually offer package-deals whereby they have formulated and rehearsed their stories before approaching the TV station. They make their initial unsolicited offers with synopses which, in most cases, are crudely written (as shown in the next chapter). On receipt of a group's request, the Controller appoints a producer to go and watch the group's rehearsal. Upon satisfactory report that the play has potential, a producer will be assigned to work with the group towards production. A bulk sum of maximum ₦250 (£244. 50) for one hour episode or play is paid to theatre groups. At times, some drama stories which are not of adequate standard are accepted in order to encourage theatre groups, but payments to such groups are very low. Special negotiations are made with theatre groups who supply long drama of two or more hours.

At LTV, ideas for drama productions originate from the TV house, theatre groups and friends whom producers interact with. Government officials and the station's management do not dictate the content of drama. Ideas are presented as proposals similar to that of NTA. Once a producer has been assigned to a project, he has a free hand with regard to content, so long as he observes the station's guidelines on obscenity and use of foul language.

Most actors are volounteer part-timers. They are so many that there is no need to search or advertise for actors. As a matter of fact, television has stimulated the emergence of many theatre groups who constitute a considerable source of materials. LTV is therefore similar to the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation in drawing talents from the theatre.

The drama programmes of both stations have general titles which remain fixed in the weekly schedules for several quarters. The titles signify the types or plots of drama. For example, Play of the Week is a general title for various plays which bear specific titles. Ward 15 stands for a serial of hospital plot within which many episodes are produced. Youth Theatre embodies all plays for young children and teenages. Igbo Drama stands for all drama programmes in Igbo language. As such, in-coming ideas are channelled for production under the established general titles to which producers are attached.

How then do ideas for entirely new programmes which cannot fit into the established general titles get introduced to television? An NTA producer answered that brand new ideas "must start from the top, from the higher authorities and not at the producer level." The higher authorities are the directors and controllers. Any drama ideas which cannot fit into the established programme formats must first pass through the executive gatekeepers before they can be introduced to television. The reason for this may be logistic and financial considerations. There is no evidence that either of the two stations is anti-innovation or afraid to experiment as some American networks might be for commercial reasons. The two stations depend mainly upon government funding and are thus free from the stranglehold of advertisers.

With respect to acceptance and development of new ideas for drama, the stations may be described as occupying a mid-point between the British BBC and IBA networks.

Production Structures

The commonly accepted (text-book) stages of production at the two stations are: 1. writing, 2. production planning, 3. rehearsals, 4. production and 5. post-production. The producers who handle one or more programmes should obtain scripts or story outlines from internal and external sources. They should appoint directors for programmes. Their production plannings should involve props and set designers, costume designers, lighting technicians and graphic artists. Rehearsals and productions should involve actors, camera persons, vision-mixer operators, sound-mixer operators, floormanagers, videotape recorder operators and telecine operators. Post-production activities should consist of editing, publicity and presentation. Conventionally, all drama productions should undergo the mentioned five production stages, but observation revealed a wide departure from the norm. The productions of six programmes were observed. Only two of the programmes were scripted. All the producers directed their programmes themselves, and none of the productions was preceded by specific production planning meetings between producer/directors, artistes and technicians. At NTA, the closest to a production meeting was a weekly general departmental meeting chaired by the Controller of Programmes.

Generally, production meetings were not held, it was explained, because there was only one production crew available to all producers. If the crew were to attend the production meetings of one producer, the crew would not be available to other producers who were ready for taping. So, what each producer did was to rehearse his programme and when he was ready for taping, he called in the production crew. It was obvious then that the production crew could not be familiar with or understand the programme content enough to contribute creatively. At times, this lack of prior knowledge by the production crew has impeded the creativity of the producer/director and actors. The production crew has been unable to provide the desired angle shots, visual and sound effects.

There have been occasions when some cameramen argued vehemently, on studio floors and on locations, with producer/directors over the way some shots should be taken. The cameramen claimed superior knowledge of the art of photography and would not want to damage their reputation with poor camerawork. On the other hand, producer/directors were the message system developers who professionally had overall responsibility for the content and quality of the programmes. Perhaps such professional confrontations would have been avoided with production planning meetings. This problematic relationship between a producer/director and his crew was one of the factors highlighted in Elliott's (1972) study.

Although some producers indicated that the Production Services Department was unable to cope with their creative demands owing to lack of finance for elaborate sets and costumes, the NTA Manager of Production Services stated that there was always sufficient finance for building new sets and costumes. In some years, the funds allocated to his Department were not exhausted and had to be returned to the pool. He believed that the problem was not finance but the inability of producers to come up with creative ideas that could challenge his team. He was willing to consider requests to build new sets, and would seek additional funds if necessary.

Similar to NTA, LTV producers did not hold production meetings for the same reason of insufficient number of production crew. To compensate, though inadequately, for this shortcoming, the LTV Controller of Programmes held programme post-mortem meetings with his producers individually. He screened their programmes and offered verbal critiques of their works with suggestions for future improvement.

Models of TV Production

The model of drama production in the two stations is presented in Figure 8.1. At NTA, most of the content of production (i.e. the message) is received from the writer who may or may not be a member of staff of the station. As gathered from interviews, the writer determines the drama content freely. No one interferes with his work or imposes ideas on him. He, however, writes with the full knowledge of the restrictive social and political nature of the society, and the limited resources for production at the TV houses. Such knowledge marks the limit of his freedom.

Once the script is received, the message system development starts with the producer/director. As the NTA Controller stated, "some of the scripts received are in the form of outlines. It is therefore the added job of the producer/director to develop the outline ideas into produceable scripts." This means that the producer/director plays an important role in determining as well as in packaging the message. The producer/director casts the production with mainly part-time actors. He obtains the necessary props and sets from the

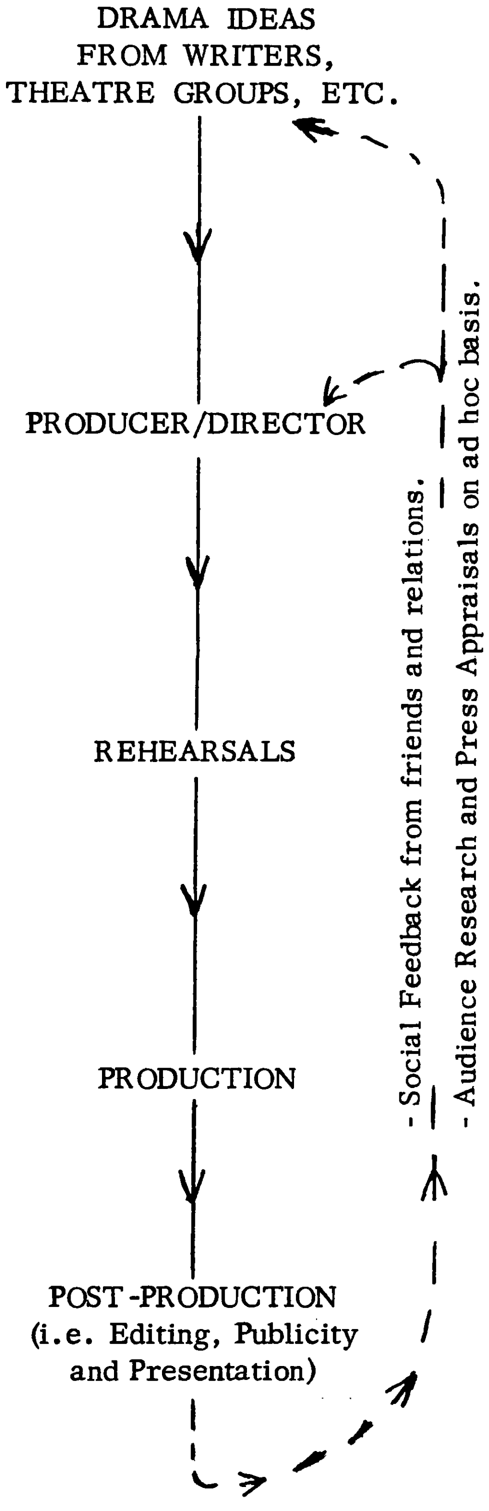
DRAMA IDEAS FROM WRITERS, THEATRE GROUPS, ETC.
PRODUCER/DIRECTOR
REHEARSALS
PRODUCTION
POST-PRODUCTION (i.e. Editing, Publicity and Presentation)
- Social Feedback from friends and relations.
- Audience Research and Press Appraisals on ad hoc basis.

FIGURE 8.1

The Nigerian Model of TV Production

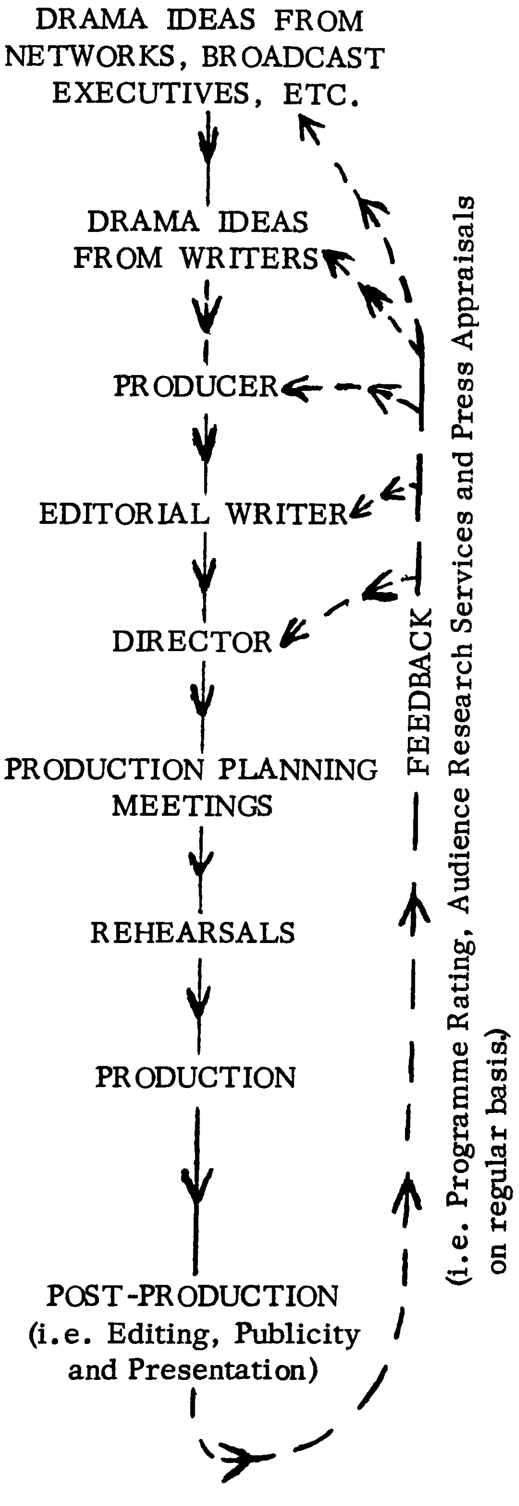
DRAMA IDEAS FROM NETWORKS, BROADCAST EXECUTIVES, ETC.
DRAMA IDEAS FROM WRITERS
PRODUCER
EDITORIAL WRITER
DIRECTOR
PRODUCTION PLANNING MEETINGS
REHEARSALS
PRODUCTION
POST-PRODUCTION (i.e. Editing, Publicity and Presentation)
FEEDBACK
(i.e. Programme Rating, Audience Research Services and Press Appraisals on regular basis.)

FIGURE 8.2

The Western Model of TV Production

Production Services Department. He rehearses the drama. Then he calls in a production crew to do the taping. After that, he undertakes post-production work (editing with the assistance of an editor, briefing the commercial and programme planning departments) where necessary.

At LTV, most of the drama messages originate from theatre groups who present nothing more than outlines to the station. The theatre groups are composed of talented part-time actors with low basic education and without formal acting training. They perform unscripted drama in Yoruba language, offering package deals. The producer/director's role, as such, is reduced to a technical supervision of the videotaping of the group's drama. Nor does the producer/director get much chance to contribute creatively to the drama during the rush, caused by inadequate resources, to videotape. After the taping, the producer/director undertakes post-production work. Inspite of the LTV producer/director's lack of use of his creative authority, the production responsibility still rests with him. He is at liberty, if time permits and he so wishes, to inject his ideas without challenge.

Later in this chapter, some insight into the creative process of writing is provided with the report of interviews of writers. Although no figures about the number of scripted and unscripted dramas were available, it was clear that most of NTA dramas were scripted because they were in-house productions; most of LTV's dramas were unscripted because they were contributed by theatre groups who improvised their lines. Despite this difference between the two stations, and the other differences concerning content, pointed out in Chapter 9, their technical processes of production were found to be similar.

Thus, the two stations have the same technical production model shown in Figure 8.1. But the model indicates two major weaknesses: 1. lack of specialization in the production process; 2. no regular systematic feedback from audience. There are a few marketing and research companies willing to undertake research on regular basis, but inadequate finance handicaps their work. Ugboajah's (1980, p.35) comment in regard to the FRCN (Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria) also applies to television stations:

> There seems to be no organized system of feedback for the Nigerian mass media, despite the stated objective in this regard of the FRCN. The only way of knowing the reaction of the audience to broadcasts is by ad hoc personal visits of broadcast officials, reporters and producers. Letters of complaint are also received from listeners.

There is no weekly programme rating service similar to Barb's Weekly TV Audience Report in Britain or the Nielsen weekly report in the US. The Nigerian in-house broadcast journals which can be expected to carry programme reviews are even deficient in this respect. Vincent (1985, p.106) comments:

> There is of course, the Radio - TV Times, published by the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria. A relic of the period when radio and television were under the same management, it has been in existence for more than two decades now. It is a monthly which carries articles of a general educational nature and programme schedules. There is, however, a column devoted to television review. But the column appears irregularly and is hardly adequate in terms of its proportion to the rest of the items that make up the publication. NTV Ibadan, the oldest television station in the country recently launched an overdue journal, Television Quarterly. The first two issues carry no reviews.

It is noted, however, that some stations have made efforts, on an ad hoc basis, to determine audience programme preference. One study was done by printing questionnaires in popular newspapers for readers to fill and return, and by announcing on television that viewers should send for questionnaires and expect a reward of glossy-coloured programme schedule. The response rate and result of the study were not made public.

The problem of drawing a representative population sample is one of the difficulties of research in Nigeria. Inadequate sampling often leads to unreliable results. This was the case with a study (undated but believed to be 1984) by RBNL (a marketing and research agency) for NTA. The agency did a nation-wide study, on a state-by-state basis, of access to radio and television, audience viewing patterns, programme popularity and attitude to foreign films. Its results are not convincing, probably because its sampling procedure was improper. After checking the results, the NTA Research Department included the following critical comments in its report:

> 1. The calculation of the reaction indices need better clarification. This arises from the observation that the reaction indices are very low. Besides, using our own method of calculation, our figures are poles apart from RBNL figure.
>
> 2. The first page of the RBNL data gave the impression that all members of the sample ... said they watched TV. Subsequent analysis were not consistent with this claim. For example, in Q.41 the data showed that about 12 (6%) of the respondents said they did not watch TV. This inconsistence does not owe the report the credibility that it deserves and hence decisions based on the findings may have to be re-examined or checked critically to avert any mislead.

The television producer tends to be a generalist who develops scripts from outlines, produces, directs and at times edits. Theatre group actors originate ideas, develop the ideas, cast plays, design props and costumes as well as produce their dramas. Ibeabuchi (1984, p.7) describes the worst form of the model as practised in film-making thus:

> It is true that the African film-maker meets with multiple problems of finance, promotion, technique and distribution, there are problems created by the film producer himself which seem to militate against him. This happens as a result of the film-maker being the director, the professional actor and actress all roled in one.
>
> Division of labour in film production is alien to the African film producer. He is Mr. know all. He feels he can do everything. He is yet to live by the axion [sick] that no tree alone can make a forest; and that two heads are better than one. The mistake the director would have noticed is never pointed out; the mistake the man in charge of the screen play would have taken care of is overlooked etc. etc.

The sub-standard mode of production is described by Ebewo (1984, p.14) in the following terms:

> Having on occasions been associated with drama productions in the radio and television, I have been opportuned to watch the producers at work. The scripts are mediocres, there is hardly any rehearsals, the actors/actresses are the producers' friends, relatives and some others in search of the quick Naira. In the end they end up producing bastardized travesties of African drama and dance. These attitudes are absolutely detrimental to the popularity of drama in the Nation.

Another view by deGraft (1976, pp.21-22) sheds further light on the Nigerian production problem:

> The greatest weakness of the emerging African theatre is, to me, not that it tries to imitate the European theatre - as some would have us believe (although one would be right to question such imitation) - but that it lacks that element which is perhaps most abundant on the European stage: the convinced and the convincing actor, the impersonator who comes to his art with singleness of purpose, concentration, and discipline like the Egungun masquerade and Porro dancers of old. If we wish to quarrel with our modern African theatre, then, let us direct our rage at its sloppy 'amateurism', its lack of discipline and a sense of purpose, its scramble for miserable crumbs of dollars from under the tables of tour operators.

Figure 8.2 presents the Western model of television drama production derived from the studies of Alvarado and Buscombe (1978) and Flower (1981). The message of the Western drama may start from the networks, broadcast executives or some other authoritative sources, even from advertising agencies in the American case. These sources may brief creative writers on ideas for drama. It is then the task of the writers to tune their scripts to the dictates of those who "pay the pipers". On the other hand, there are cases, such as that of Hazel, where writers have written their scripts or published novels and the broadcast authorities bought the production rights with or without modification. In either case, the writer operates in a more liberal socio-political society than that of any Third World country. The roles of producer, editorial writer and director are played by different specialists. There are production planning meetings and there is an objective system of regular feedback in the form of programme rating and audience research services. These are the essential differences between the two models in Figures 8.1 and 8.2. The differences can be accounted for by the gap between the Western and Third Would countries. Inadequate resources and poor infrastructure are responsible for the merging of the roles of producer and director, for the short-cut approaches to script-writing and productions as well as for non-regular systematic feedback in Figure 8.1.

Without doubt, the Nigerian production model originated from and continues to be influenced by the West. There is ample evidence for this: 1. the initial establishments of the hardwares and softwares of the two stations were undertaken by Western engineers, technicians, administrators and producers; 2. most of the Nigerian producers were trained, and still undergo training, in Britain and the United States; 3. more than 51% of the drama outputs of NTA and

LTV were imported from Britain and the United States; 4. Western television programmes and films have become so popular in Nigeria that they continue to serve as models for local producers to copy, especially as the Nigerian film acquisition officers have argued that programmes were imported to teach Nigerian producers the art of production.

An attempt at evolving an alternative to the Western production model, which could make more productions possible inspite of meagre resources, is the acceptance of package deals presented to the stations by theatre groups. This is likened to the Danish Participative Drama which evolved in response to the American TV hegemony. The Danish Participative Drama is such that amateur actors from different walks of life originate drama ideas and participate fully in production. But the role of the Nigerian theatre group is not viewed the same way as that of the Danish drama groups. While the latter is a conscious effort at solving the problem of cultural imperialism, the former is tolerated as an effort short of the ideal. The ideal being to produce strictly in accordance with the Western conventional model, if resources permit.

Censorship and Self-Censorship

Producers were asked the following questions: How free are you to produce whatever content you want? Is there interference from above? Do the authorities suggest content? How involved are the authorities in the process of production? An NTA producer answered: "The freedom we have is scrutinized." Followed by more questions: What do you mean by scrutinized? Is your work censored? He responded: "Yes, always. Any production critical of the government will not be allowed on the air. Someone will remind or inform the producer that such a material is forbidden." That knowledge of institutional censorship accounts for considerable self-censorship among producers.

It appears then that the price paid for government funding is to be uncritical of government or pressure groups. An LTV producer referred to his logistic freedom when he said, "our freedom is to a fault. A producer is left all alone to produce his weekly programmes." He has to organize productions as well as to be creative. Most of the time, he goes on location with a crew of just one person, the cameraman, to produce an entire drama programme. Every producer has one or more programmes to produce weekly and because the work is burdensome, he has little or no time to be creative. He is only too glad to get something on tape.

Writers who originate drama messages exercise considerable self-censorship. Although they may not be employees of any television stations, they are aware that their scripts must pass through some gatekeepers in the television houses before the scripts can be produced. From experience, writers know which type of content is acceptable by what station, and as well what type of materials are technically produceable by the stations. They know that writing freely, experimenting, provoking, challenging and questioning may, more often than not, be an exercise in futility. Hence, they write in such a way that their messages can pass through the channel without much hinderance.

There are occasions when some broadcasters are tempted to feature matters unworthy of media attention for their personal gains. It is from such unethical practice (i.e. the abuse of the priviledge of access to the media) that such terms as "payola" and "plugola" have emerged. Payola works in drama by the showing of brand names or through the casual mentioning of such names by the actors. For instance, if an actor is expected to drink beer or ride a car, the producer may present the scene in such a way that the brand name of the beer or car can be seen by viewers. The NTA's programme code which contains the policy on production attempts to discourage such abuse of access with the following:

> INTEGRITY
>
> 1. The inclusion of elements within a programme dictated by factors other than the professional requirements of the programme is forbidden.
>
> 2. The acceptance of gratification in any form is forbidden and therefore cash or any other forms of gifts for the performance of normal duty shall be forbidden.
>
> 3. Self-promotion on air, favouritism of friends or relations, undue influence from commercial, political religious or any other pressures shall not be permitted to dictate the content or execution of programmes.
>
> 4. Quiz and similar programmes that are presented as contests of knowledge, information, skill or luck, must in fact be genuine contests and the results must not be controlled by collusion with, or between contestants, or any other action which will favour one contestant against any other.

In order to prevent mischievous manipulation of the audience, the programmes code requires a clear distinction between materials which are real and those fictional. This is because audio and visual effects can be employed to deceive viewers with disastrous consequences. A case in point is the Orson Well's 1983 radio broadcast of War of the Worlds which created panic in the United States (Cantril et al. 1940). Nowadays, communication technology is so advanced and the craft of television artists (ranging from product advertisers, political campaigners and gospel preachers to magicians) is so sleek that some form of regulation is necessary to protect viewers:

> AUTHENTICITY
>
> 1. No programme shall be presented in a manner which through artifice or simulation would mislead the audience as to any material fact.
>
> 2. Reasonable judgement should be exercised to determine whether a particular method of presentation would constitute a material deception or would be accepted by the audience as normal theatrical illusion.
>
> 3. Fictional events or other non-factual material shall not be presented as factual or authentic occurrence.
>
> 4. Any technique (e.g. hypnosis) whereby an attempt is made to convey information to the viewer by transmitting messages below the threshold of normal awareness is not permitted.

Drama production is a subjective, at times projective, view of social reality presented by producers. It is anything but objective, impartial and balanced. It is based upon selections, and if we may refer again to Murdock's (1977, p.18) perceptive statement:

> Although television drama covers a wide spectrum of contemporary society, by no means all social life is there. Drama contains its own points of emphasis and its own sorts of exclusions. The available studies, although limited,

> suggest that certain social roles, relations and life styles are portrayed more often and more extensively than others and that some frameworks of interpretation are offered more insistently.

Further, Murdock (1977, p.21) points out:

> Unlike those involved in news and current affairs production, drama personnel are not constrained by requirements of objectivity, balance and impartiality. Consequently, their personal enthusiasms, interests and experiences are much more likely to play a part in shaping the productions they are involved in.

In the same vein, MacCann (1966, p.93) states:

> So long as twist endings and offbeat characterizations are interesting to audiences - these things will be more important to motion picture producers than precise truth or balanced reporting or even good will.

The content analysis presented in Chapter 9 shows a balance in the geographic locations of drama between village (see Figure 8.3), town and city but the themes featured about life in these locations were subjectively selected. Only the themes which lent themselves to dramatizations were emphasized. Therefore, if drama programmes by nature are subjective, one wonders about the applicability of the following code's requirement:

OBJECTIVITY, IMPARTIALITY AND BALANCE

1. Programmes shall maintain proper balance in their subject matter and content.

2. Any information given in any programme, in whater form, shall be presented with accuracy, impartiality and objectivity.

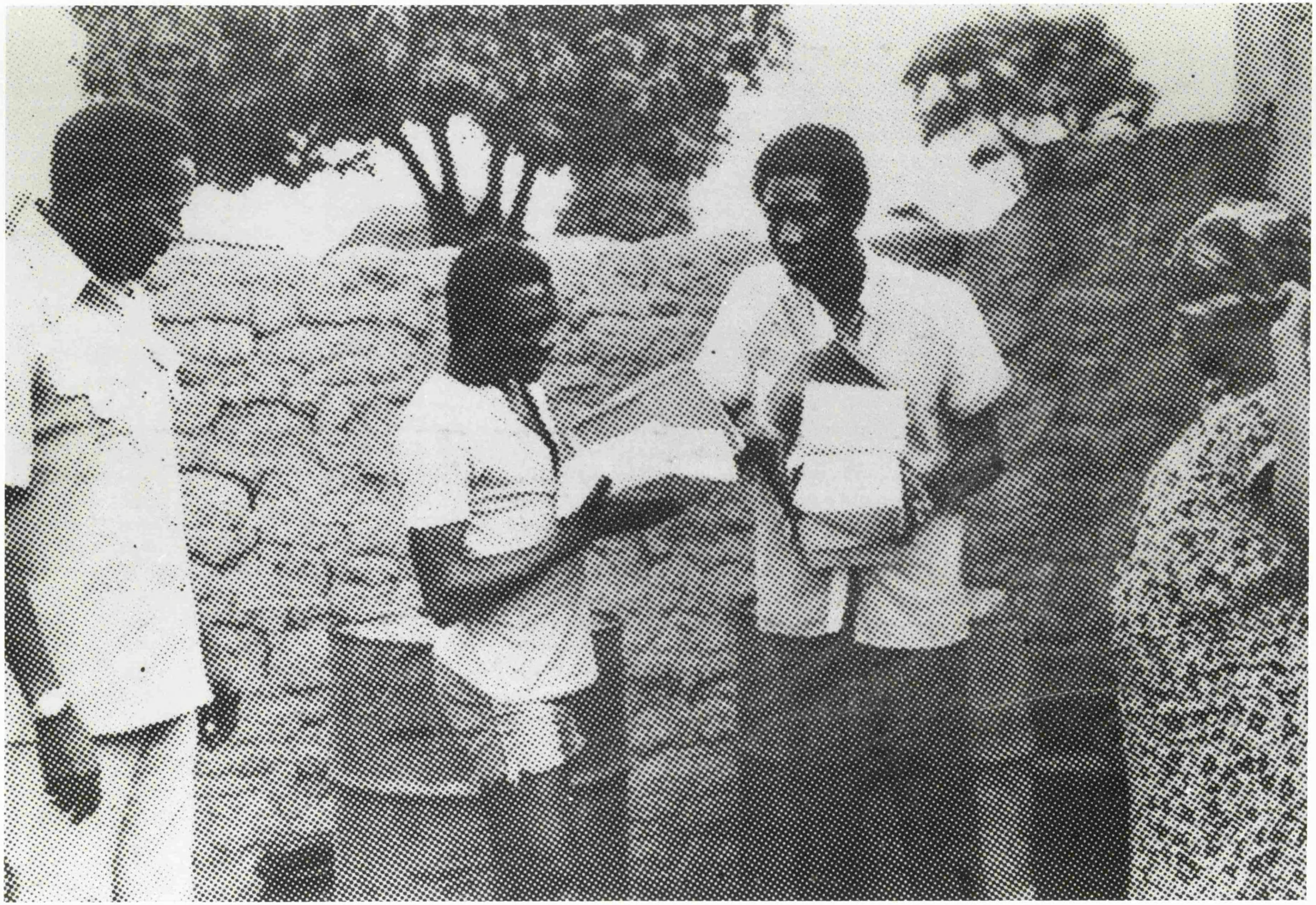

FIGURE 8.3 TELEVISION DRAMA IN A VILLAGE

A scene in Cock Crow at Dawn (Source: NTA)

3. Due impartiality shall be observed in respect of matters of political or industrial controversy, or relating to any current public issue.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, the production of Ogun Ekute demonstrated the manner by which the house rules affect content. The producer/director objected to the use of profane language because the production policy states:

GOOD TASTE AND DECENCY

1. Nothing shall be included in programmes which offends against good taste and decency.

2. The use of bad or obscene or vulgar language, blasphemy, swearing and presentation of incidents or words derogatory to the black or other races, societies ethnic or religious groups is forbidden.

3. Dresses or costumes not within the bounds of propriety or those that emphasize such anatomical details as would embarrass or offend viewers shall not be worn by any performer on television, except in a specifically relevant situation.

4. The sanctity of marriage, and the value of the home shall be respected.

5. Physical and mental disabilities shall not be exploited nor should reference to them be used to ridicule sufferers or embarrass members of their families.

6. The use of suggestive expressions except in specifically relevant situation shall be avoided.

Similar to other production studies by Alvarado and Buscombe (1978), Elliott (1973) and Cantor (1971 and 1980), this study found that the producer/director was the prime mover in the process of production. His name must be "printed" on the television programme in order to assert his professional responsibility for the quality and content of the production. Should the programme contain libellous or other legally offensive materials, the producer/

director is liable for prosecution either individually or jointly with his television station and writer. It stands to reason therefore to expect the producer/director to be extremely cautious about programme content by undertaking rigorous pre-production planning which includes production meetings and intensive rehearsals. The question of adlibing during final taping should in no way arise. But it is apparent that many producer/directors are walking on tight ropes by accepting, with little or no modification, package deals from theatre groups who have no legal obligation whatsoever for programme content, even if the theatre groups' names appear in the credit lists. The television stations have attempted to indemnify themselves from the inadvertent errors of legally offensive content by requiring producer/directors to prepare carefully and rehearse very well before final tapings. The strictures outlined in the programmes code are the following:

PRODUCERS

1. Programme makers shall exercise proper judgement in subject matter, content, and execution.
2. They shall be liable for errors and inaccuracies arising from the lack of adequate preparation and rehearsal or carelessness in execution.
3. All production crew members, producers, presenters, operators and artistes shall be liable for errors and inaccuracies arising from the lack of adequate preparation and rehearsal or carelessness in execution.
4. All programmes packaged for transmission must carry such vital pieces of information like title of programme, duration, producer, director, VTR engineer, etc.

It was found through content analysis and observation that Nigerian productions contained less sexual overtures than those imported from abroad. Three reasons may account for this. First, the production constraints earlier mentioned may prevent producers from embarking on complex and controversial productions. Secondly, the Nigerian culture inhibits actors from engaging in sexual activities (such as kissing) on the screen. Thirdly, there are guiding rules on the treatment of sexual or moral behaviour. Some of them are the following:

MORAL BEHAVIOUR

1. Reference to sex relations shall be treated with discretion.
2. Ostentatious living shall not be extolled.
3. The use of liquor and the depiction of smoking on programmes shall be de-emphasized. When shown they should be consistent with plot and character development.

Most public criticisms of television concerned its alleged promotion of crime, violence and negative influence on children. It will be worthwhile, as such, to present the programmes code's attempt to minimize the adverse effects of television against the background of the theories which have guided research on the effects of media violence. Thoughts on the effects of the media have changed over the years from "direct effects" (up to the late 1930s) to "no effect" (1940s to 1960s) and later (from 1960s upwards) to "limited effects" because of some psychological and sociological variables which intervene between the media and their audiences. The theories which have underpinned research into the effects of television violence are catharsis, aggressive cues, observational learning, reinforcement and cultivation which are rooted in the individual difference, social categories (e.g. age, sex, race) and social relations perspectives (DeFleur 1982, p.201).

The catharsis theory views television violence as positive in that it offers viewers opportunities for vicarious participation in others' aggression, and such experience relieves viewers of their frustrations built up in the course of their daily life (Feshbach 1961). On the negative side, the aggressive cues (stimulating effects) theory proposes that television violence serves as stimulus which raises a viewer's level of physiological and emotional arousal and thereby increases the probability of aggressive behaviour, especially if such violence is portrayed as justified (Berkowitz 1962). Also, on the negative side, the observational learning theory proposes that viewers can learn aggressive behaviour from exposure to television violence (Bandura and Walters 1963). This theory forms the basis of several criticisms of television for its influence on children.

The reinforcement theory considers the influence of television violence as neutral in that it only reinforces the viewers' established pattern of violent behaviour (Klapper 1960). The theory argues that people often selectively perceive the media in a manner that suits or reinforces their predispositions. In other words, people who are normally violent will perceive television violence as a justification of their aggressive behaviour. In contrast, people who are normally non-violent will perceive television violence in a manner that conforms with their non-violent attitude. The exceptions to this rule are young children, adolescents and people of unstable character who have not established strong attitudes. But by and large, according to DeFleur, "Reinforcement theorists look to such factors as cultural norms and values, social roles, personality characteristics, and family or peer influences as the primary determinants of violent behaviour."

The cultivation theory looks at a different issue from those mentioned above. It concerns the view of social reality derived by viewers from the symbolic world of television. Its major proponent, Gerbner (1980), content-analysed American television and found it to be a violent white-male-dominated world which "seeps into viewers' consciousness so that they see the real world as being like the TV world" (DeFleur 1982). The effect of television violence in this case is the creation of fear, anxiety and alienation among people in the real world.

One of the theories that underline the debate about TV violence in Nigeria is the observational learning theory. Some people have attributed armed-robbery in society to the influence of television. There may be many factors (such as unemployment, poverty, the civil war etc.) other than TV violence which contribute to the incidence of armed-robbery in Nigeria.

The interviews of producers show that they have different views on the issue of television violence. While some see it as dramatically necessary for entertainment, others prefer to use conflict issues and other non-violent devices. According to the NTA Controller, "the question of violence in drama is not a serious current problem at the television house." Nonetheless, the organizational policy laid down in the programmes code is as follows:

CRUELTY AND VIOLENCE

1. The use of horror for its own sake shall be avoided.
2. Violence in all its forms shall not be portrayed as a desirable trait or a means to an end.
3. Unnecessary portrayal of physical suffering and pains, or the irrelevant showing of death or of corpses shall be avoided.

CRIME, LAW AND ORDER

1. Nothing shall be included in programmes to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder or to be offensive to public feelings, or to contain any offensive representation of, or reference to, any person living or dead.
2. Criminal tendencies shall be presented as undesirable. The condoning of crime and the treatment of the commission of crime in a frivolous, cynical or callous manner shall be forbidden.
3. The presentation of techniques of crime in such detail as to invite imitation shall be avoided.

4. Law enforcement shall be upheld at all times, and except where essential to the plot, officers of the law shall not be portrayed in bad light.

5. Drunkenness, drug addiction, sex crimes and abnormalities, cruelty, greed, selfishness, revenge, as a motive for murder or other crime shall not be presented as desirable or worthy human motivations.

6. Narcotic addiction shall not be presented except as a destructive habit. The use of illegal drugs or the abuse of legal drugs shall be discouraged and shown only as socially unacceptable.

PROTECTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

1. As children are sometimes allowed to watch programmes designed primarily for adults, care should be taken in the presentation of material in programmes when children may constitute a substantial segment of the audience.

2. Any matter which departs from sound social concepts or shows disrespect for law and order, good morals and honourable living shall not be broadcast.

3. Exceptional care shall be taken to avoid vulgarity, swearing or blasphemy of any kind in any programme intended primarily for viewing by children.

4. The depiction of conflict, when presented in programmes designed primarily for children, should be handled with sensitivity.

5. Children shall be protected from racial or other inferiority complexes resulting from careless or deliberate comparisons or misinformation.

6. Violence and crime, when depicted in children's programmes, shall on no account go unpunished.

7. Religious rites or rituals shall be avoided in children's programmes, excepting when the programmes are designed specifically to teach the beliefs or faiths of those religions.

8. Children shall be protected from undue exposure to foreign folklores and values, while emphasis shifts to Nigerian folklores and values.

It is pertinent to find out how the rules listed above have generally affected drama production and presentation. With regard to "good taste and decency", the content analysis of Nigerian programmes showed that dresses and costumes were "within the bounds of propriety". There was neither male nor female nudity from the waist down. There was no suggestive expression. However, there were exposures of the body from the waist up: 16% on NTA and 26% on LTV for males; 11% on NTA and 22% on LTV for females (Appendix D.14). These are not designed to be suggestive, since exposure of the upper part of the body is inoffensive in Nigerian society.

The use of "bad or obscene or vulgar language, blasphemy, swearing and presentation of incidents or words derogatory to the black or other races, societies, ethnic or religious groups" which was coded under "Verbal Threat of Violence" (Appendix D.16) was low, 27% on NTA and 24% on LTV.

The use of liquor was coded under "Drinking" which included non-stimulants. The percentage is 57% on NTA and 54% on LTV. "Smoking" had 14% on NTA and 19% on LTV. Since most of the drinking observed was connected with dining, liquor drinking accounted for less than 50%. Therefore neither the use of liquor nor smoking was made prominent. Even if people drank liquor while dining, the symbolism was not such that alchoholism was encouraged. It was presented as a normal activity that could have passed unnoticed.

On "antisocial activities", there was little violence in Nigerian productions compared with those from advanced countries. No drug abuse nor dependence was featured. The programme schedule in Figure 9.1

indicates a children's viewing period from 4 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. The programmes featured in this period were on education, cartoon, musicals, comedy series and news. Movies were featured later in the evening. From all these observations, it is clear that the rules had some cautionary effect on Nigerian productions. They could not be adhered to rigidly on presentation because imported programmes were produced with different standards and cultural symbolic codes.

Producers : Backgrounds, Career, Roles

Producers at NTA are university graduates who occupy grade levels 7, 8 and 9. As mentioned in Chapter 7, their advancement from a low level to a higher lever is automatic every two years provided there is no adverse report. Promotions are not tied to vacancies. NTA offers them training on the job as well as formal mass communication education in various institutions in Nigeria and abroad. The producers are guided by NTA's regulations in regard to standard or decency and code of conduct. Other than that, producers are free to produce materials of any content which are inoffensive. If a producer broadcasts offensive materials, he is issued a query. The mode of punishment is a letter of reprimand or official demotion. Conversely, there are official rewards for conscientious work.

There is a Guild of TV Producers and Directors which is not very active. The Guild was formed with a view to improving the quality of productions, to monitor what was being shown on television and to project and protect the image of producers. Most of the producers claimed that they were capable of contributing drama materials to radio, theatre and newspapers (as comic strips) but the pressure of work made such creative freedom impossible. Their work was limited by inadequate equipment and funds. Poor funding had a direct effect on the relationship between producer/directors and actors. The few experienced actors demanded high remuneration. But because producers were short of funds, they were in no position to cast the right actors in their productions. They often had "to settle for mediocres," said a producer. Even then, the producers did not have complete control on the inexperienced actors.

Since the acting vocation is not well paid and has no job security, most actors spend their time in the quest for viable means of living, and acting tends to be relegated into the position of a hobby. Producers, therefore, had to schedule rehearsals for the convenience of actors in the evenings, weekends and holidays. A producer/director stated that sometime ago, out of desperation, he had to play the part of an actor when the latter failed to show up on the rare day that equipment was available for recording. Does this suggest that all Nigerian actors are part-timers? "No," answered an NTA producer, "about two or three stubbornly cling to acting full-time because they believe that is what they can do best." They try to make ends meet by free-lancing between radio and television.

How would producers compare Nigerian drama with that from abroad, the U.S. and Britain? The common response was: "There is no basis for comparison." An LTV producer said that it was like attempting to compare the wealth and power of America with that of Nigeria. They are miles apart. The structures of production are entirely different. A producer/director in America is not a civil servant struggling for existence as is the case in Nigeria. Just as production ideas come unprofessionally from various sources, feedback on programmes is received through similar unsystematic channels from friends, colleagues, seniors, etc. In many cases, the feedback received is not reliable. There is no rating service to assist Nigerian producer/directors. Whereas such a service is rendered free of charge to the Western producers. Basic infrastructure taken for granted by the Western producers are luxuries to their Nigerian counterparts. Therefore, the production qualities are bound to be different. An NTA producer commented that Nigerian drama productions fell short of what the producers had in mind. With a note of resignment, another producer, at LTV, epitomized the comparison thus: "Nigeria is not yet ready for television, inspite of the 25 years of operation."

The majority of the producer/directors at NTA and LTV are between the ages 22 and 30 years. A few are between 31 and 40 years, but on the whole, they have a median age of 26. None of them comes from a very rich or very poor family. Only those whose parents had creative inclinations were encouraged to pursue mass media career. For the majority, the parents only contributed to and encouraged the possession of general education towards earning a good living. Most of the producers developed interest in creative vocation right from childhood. The majority were trained in the United States.

A Nigerian-trained producer said that he had been careful not to be influenced by exposure to foreign programmes on television. He believed that drama mirrored life and the objective of drama was to provide models for the solution of social problems. He was of the view that foreign drama inhibited the development of the Nigerian culture. But he admitted that there were some good things to be learnt from foreign programmes. He was not happy with violence on television. The majority of the producers, however, did not consider television violence as a social problem.

One producer was trained in Ghana. He is actually a Ghanian. Another was trained in Greece where drama first fired his imagination. He had completed an undergraduate degree in an unrelated discipline in Britain. But while on summer holidays in Athens, he watched a play which had quite an effect on him. He felt he had "discovered" himself and then proceeded to the Athens College of Television and Art for training. His ambition now is to have a private studio where he can produce at a high level. Most of his colleagues have a similar ambition to become independent producers for theatre, television and film. The similarity of views between NTA and LTV producers is a reflection of their identical working conditions.

One of the producers interviewed has an entirely different background from the rest. Ebony Ajibade was born and bred in England where she started her career as an actress. She is a British Jamaican. She is the only Senior Producer (drama) at NTA and the only female producer/director (drama) indentified in the two stations. From her childhood, she had developed interest in music because her father was a guitarist and they had a piano in their home. She went to singing and dance school. Her childhood ambition was to become a great actress and singer. When she left school, she acted in theatre and on TV in London. In a modest way, her dream became reality with the popularity that acting on television and newspaper publicity brought. Her parents and neighbours were proud of her. But because there was not much opportunity for black women singers in Opera, she changed her career to production with the London Education Authority. Marriage to a Nigerian creative writer influenced her career further away from acting to production.

She became a producer at the NTV-Ibadan, Nigeria. At the beginning, her ignorance of the Nigerian society got her into trouble. She trod the dangerous, unholy road of featuring religious themes in her drama programmes. Such themes were often avoided by her Nigerian counterparts because they were aware that one religious group or the other, from among the multitudes of moslems of various sects, christians of various Western denominations, christians of various African denominations and traditional worshippers of various shades, was bound to be offended. After more than five years of learning from hard knocks, Ebony got to know what works on Nigerian television. Also, her British background enabled her to place the problems of productions in Nigeria into proper perspectives. She viewed her position (Senior Producer) ideally as a place to produce specials to serve as models for junior producers. A socialization process for producers was badly needed in view of their youth and shallow experience.

To the question: How do you view Nigerian television in comparison with those of Britain and the U.S.? She too said that there was no basis for comparison. The structures of organization are entirely different. British and American television used to have producers in-house. Now they contract production out to specialized free-lance producers and directors whose income depends solely upon their creative abilities. Such abilities come with long experience. That is probably why most Western producers are old and very experienced. In contrast, Nigerian producer/directors are in-house. Their appointments depend upon their educational qualifications rather than creative abilities. Invariably, they do not remain long enough as producers to acquire the necessary experience or to become specialists. Part of the problem is poor salary. This led to a strike in the past by the TV and Radio Workers' Union which includes staff from the status of Principal Producer (Grade Level 12) down.

Inspite of poor pay and shortage of facilities, producers are over-burdened with too many projects at any given time. This lowers their efficiency and encourages their easy acceptance of package-deals from external sources. Producers saddled with many programmes often view package-deals as welcome assistance rather than as erosion of their creative authority. Package-deals tend to make the work of in-house producer/directors become technical, more of physical rather than social engineering.

Writers : Backgrounds, Careers, Roles

If writers have a lot to write, their interviews show that they also have a lot to say. But professional writers are few. Their socio-economic status is higher than those of actors and producers. They are well educated, articulate and competent in the use of English. All the writers identified are males between the ages of 35 and 45 years. None of them sees his writings as purely for entertainment. Most consider themselves as social critics who aim at improving the quality of life. They view their freedom to write as not absolute. It is within the bounds of the law. They can write for several media : theatre, film, radio and television. The interviews of four of the writers are presented below to reflect their distinct perspectives.

While it was easy to find actors on locations, producers and controllers in their television houses, writers were hard to trace. This is because they are the most independent of all talent involved in drama. They are widely spread apart, working in different organizations. Perhaps that is why their input reflects their variety of backgrounds. Such diversified sources of ideas for drama were taken advantage of in the production of Cock Crow at Dawn by Peter Igho, an NTA writer, producer and director.

Peter Igho is another example of a talented creative person who has obtained quick promotions into top administrative position as a result of his impressive productions. About five years ago, Peter Igho made his national debut with Cock Crow at Dawn, considered to be the second most popular serial in Nigeria. Technically, the production is the best. Now, he is Acting General Manager, National Network. Examples of some other civil servant artists who have "suffered" such absurd rewards are Segun Olusola and Isola Folorunso.

Segun Olusola created the most popular serial, Village Headmaster. So far, this programme has been his first and last significant contribution to Nigerian TV drama. He created the programme more than fifteen years ago. Without staying long enough in production to create some other works, he was promoted to the office of Controller of Programmes, then to Director of Television, and now he is a zonal Managing Director of NTA, directing the affairs of about two or three television stations within the network. There is no doubt that Chief Olusola has been a very competent administrator, but his creative talent was lost to the TV industry the moment he was saddled with administrative work.

In the case of Isola Folorunso, he was a first-class radio sports commentator in the 1950s-60s. Admiration for his talent brought him promotion into top administrative position, and since then, the Nigerian public has missed the golden voice that added unusual excitement to sports. It is the civil service structure of broadcasting that accounts for this anomally. In the United States, successful producers like Norman Leer (creator of All in the Family, Good Times and The Jeffersons) remained in production to achieve greater works. Walter Kronkite remained a newscaster till he retired. He was rated one of the most powerful men in the U.S. as a result of his unusual skill and talent in newscasting. Johnny Carson was for a long time a living legend as host on the Tonight Show, a nightly discussion programme. Ed Sullivan hosted several generations of singers in his variety programme till be retired. All these cases were possible because the structure of broadcasting in the U.S. enhances the development of its performing arts industry.

On the day of interview, Peter Igho was preparing to move into his new large exquisitely furnished office. He was very busy attending to staff and visitors. The researcher was lucky to be granted an interview without a prior appointment. A new producer/director, Dejumo Lewis, was on location producing Cock Crow at Dawn. Peter Igho wrote most of the scripts of the episodes that he produced. In order to have variety of input, he commissioned four free-lance writers (Jab Adu, Femi Jarret, Eni Clinton and Irhia Enakimio) to submit scripts. The objective of the programme was to compare city life with village life to the advantage of the latter. This was part of the government's campaign to make village life and farming vocation attractive. Igho planned most of his shots rigorously before going to locations. To achieve good quality, he produced the programme on film. Commercial sponsorship of the programme by a bank, U.B.A., came after 13 episodes had been produced and adjudged to be good both in content and quality.

The idea for the programme actually originated collectively within the NTA. After the success of its Drama Festival in 1978, NTA felt that drama might be one of the best ways of promoting the Federal Government's campaign on agriculture. Peter Igho who submitted the best drama, Moment of Truth, at the Festival was invited to produce a serial located in the village with a theme on farming. This serial, accompanied by a top-of-the-chart theme music, brought Igho into the limelight, but ironically, away from the production locations. Perhaps his elevation to the high office was partly with the rationale that he would be in a good position to direct NTA's operations towards more creative endeavours. Such cases as his in the past have not supported such a rationale. But because many variables are at play in cultural industries, innovative uses of administrative positions are not impossible. It is just that they are rare.

Further stressing the many conflicts involved in drama productions in Nigeria is the fact that Cock Crow at Dawn was produced in English, ostensibly to address a wide national audience. This is a contradiction because the masses in the urban peripheries and villages, who need the programme messages most, do not understand them. Questioned about this issue, Igho responded that by virtue of the two-step flow theory of mass communication, those who received the programme messages first hand would pass them on to those who could not receive them. Unfortunately, this argument runs counter to Roger's (1983) principle of homophily and heterophily in interpersonal communication. Those who understand English are invariably urban elites who have very little contact with the rural people. In urban areas, their socio-economic status segregates them from the masses in the ghettoes. Hence, the chances of the elites passing media messages down to the masses by word of mouth are very slim.

The researcher is of the view that Cock Crow at Dawn is a good idea. But like the American Sesame Street, many versions of Cock Crow at Dawn should be produced. There should be versions in English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Just as the local news programmes are broadcast in at least these four languages, drama with national development messages should be produced in as many versions as are required for communication to take place with the target audiences. Once produced, the broadcast of such programmes should be followed by research and development exercises in order to ascertain their effectiveness.

Bode Osanyin, writer and stage director, is a Senior Arts Fellow at the University of Lagos, Centre for Cultural Studies. He has a Post-Graduate Diploma in Drama from a German university. Before joining the University of Lagos, he worked at NTA as writer, producer and director. He is better known for his stage plays than for his contribution to television. Two of his successful plays are Shattered Bridge, written in English, and Ayitale, written in Yoruba.

Shattered Bridge is about the leader of some workers who were up against the establishment for not receiving a fair deal. The establishment offered a bribe (consisting of a large house, a luxurious car and some money) to the group leader for assistance in suppressing the workers. The group leader rejected the bribe. Then the establishment turned against him. They did everything to annihilate him. He suffered personal reverses. In the end, he had a mental breakdown. He tore up his clothes, took to the streets and became a lunatic. Thus, the social bridge shattered. The play ended here, leaving the audience to guess the nature of the future relationship between the establishment and workers.

Ayitale was subtitled as the story of the fruits (children) that crushed their trunk (mother). The play was commissioned as part of a UNESCO project on family planning. Bode Osanyin based the plot on child delivery and rearing practices. It presented the agony of a woman who went through hell everytime she delivered a baby. On her sixth delivery, she died. The play conveyed a message that having many children was suicidal. Its purpose was to stress the need for family planning. It was performed for a village audience in Yoruba language and was considered successful and effective. Attempts have been made to adapt the play for television and film. The results are not yet known.

An interview with Osanyin goes thus. How much freedom do you have to express your ideas? Do you have any fear of being victimized for your works?

> Not at all. What I only fear is libel. A writer must know the limit of freedom. So, I won't be libellous, but I will be free to criticize the society, to be public-oriented, and my weapon against that is to be sincere. Once a writer is sincere and not parochial then criticism, even if against the government, should be taken positively. But once a writer begins to be personal and parochial in his outlook, then he runs into difficulty. What I write about is human problems: about NEPA,(1) lack of water. These are the basic things that nobody can say it is a lie. So these are factual things. But essentially, I aim at good theatre. I am not a reporter. I am not a journalist. I am an artist, so I must first of all have an effective theatre, effective in all ramifications and, at the same time, the theatre must have content.

You convey an impression that as a writer, you concentrate on critical dramatic writing. Is that right?

> Yes, entirely so. Infact, that is my own type of theatre. I believe in the committed theatre. By the word committed, it means that you are public-oriented, that you are not just writing what is called "domestic drama", that is, love affairs and so on. You are very much public; you are a critic. You know my influence, I have studied dramatic literature like the works of Bretch and other social critics. I take very much after them, for they use the epic form of theatre to elaborate on man vis-a-vis his society.

What is the purpose of writing critically about society?

> It is for social change. A writer must not be too ambitious or to flatter himself. But generally, the committed theatre is aimed

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1. NEPA = Nigerian Electric Power Authority

> at social change, social mobilization. You see, you mobilize the people, the masses. You re-orient them. You make them debate. at social level. Your theatre is like a parliament, a platform It is a forum for discussion, and once you discuss, once you can have self-criticism, then you can develop.

Audience reactions to Osanyin result from their having been provoked by his drama. After the staging of Shattered Bridge, for instance, he received many anonymous letters. One of the comments stated that his style was too pessimistic. His response was that if he was so perceived, his pessimism should make people re-examine the issues. It should make them think further. Thereby, his style yields positive results. Art, to him, is an abstraction on life. He deliberately uses artworks to provoke people to engage in social debate. He does not always expect favourable comments on his works.

Have you been reprimanded in any way by the government, or the higher authorities for your critical stance?

> Not at all. I've never experienced any reprimand from the government or any quarters. Well, it is part of the craft to escape direct attack or libel. So far, I have not experienced that, but I don't fear it either. I believe that I must function as I deem fit. There are writers who go to jail. Although I don't go out of my way to look for trouble. But if it comes my way, in the course of my profession, I wouldn't mind it at all. I do my work as I deem fit, criticize positively, and not narrow-minded.

In most cases, Osanyin writes when he has a rush of overwhelming thoughts. Sometimes he has to force himself to write because, as he said, "man is naturally lazy." The best time for his writing is early in the morning, from 4 a.m., when he is most fresh. He would recommend a habit of writing in the mornings to other writers. He was not happy with producers who did not plan their work ahead. There have been cases when producers demanded scripts for up to 13 episodes within a few weeks. It was impossible for writers to produce their best under such a condition of pressure. Ideally, producers should start to talk to writers about two years prior to productions. Most Nigerian dramas were of poor quality because the scripts lacked content when they were written in a hurry.

With regard to language, he considers his use of English a handicap to his creative expression. He is not the only writer who suffers from such inadequacy. Many writers' conferences have been held to debate the issue of what type of English words should be used for what types of indigenous concepts. He feels that a writer is most effective and most intimate with his audience in his first language. But English has the advantage of communicating to large audiences within and beyond Nigeria. Osanyin thinks both in English and Yoruba depending upon the concept that engages his mind at a particular time. He has acquired an appreciable level of competence in English by virtue of his education. His parents are neither very rich nor very poor. His wife is a great force behind him. She has a university degree in Theatre Arts. So, she is his first critic. She contributes invaluably to his work.

Layi Ashadele, writer and actor, is a bank executive. He has been writing for television for 12 years. He writes only when inspired to do so. He does not force himself to write if he does not feel like writing. His view of drama is that it should educate, inform and entertain. Drama can also be used to make social commentaries. The Village Headmaster serial to which he has made a lot of contributions treats social problems, highlights some mistakes of the government and enlightens viewers about their rights and duties to their communities. It is partly because the programme concerns the lives of the viewers that it is popular.

Ashadele's writings are basically to entertain, and then within that context to introduce educational messages to viewers. It is the message that he seeks to impart that inspires him to write. Even when he writes for a comedy programme, he includes some social lessons for viewers to learn. He has written in English and in Yoruba. He found it difficult to express some indigenous concepts, especially proverbs, in English. But he has been making efforts to overcome the problem. What he does is to use the nearest equivalent expression in English. With literal translation, such concepts are meaningless in English. He is not conscious of the language in which he thinks because he writes mainly under inspiration. His mind works freely in English or Yoruba depending upon the subject of his thought.

He does not deliberately set out to place the social locations of his drama in the village or city. It is the ideas or storylines that determine the social locations. His writings are affected by his knowledge of facilities and production crew available, but this does not reduce the impact of his work. Such constraints only make him think deep in plotting his drama. His scripts can be adapted for studio or outside locations. They can be written for big or low budget productions. He gave an example as follows:

> Where you would have shown a man driving into a house, you cut that off and say the man walks into the house. What would have added more to the beauty of the production will have to be cut off, just for those constraints. But I always mark on my manuscript what is missing so that if I want to redevelop it, maybe when there is enough equipment and finance, then I can put in all those things that were absent.

Inspite of his writing skill, Ashadele has never had any drama training. After obtaining School Certificate from secondary school, he pursued a career in banking. He has not benefitted from travels either, for he has never travelled outside Nigeria. Even within Nigeria, he has not travelled much. But he reads a lot about distant places and this gives him a mental picture of how the places look. Ashadele's statement is yet another testimony of how "the pictures in our heads" get formed with the aid of the media (Lipmann 1934). Ashadele has never been to Britain, yet he has a vivid mental picture of Trafalgar Square derived from newspapers and television pictures. The most common symbolism is that it is a place where people either relax feeding pigeons or gather making protests. Such symbolism may or may not reflect accurately the reality of the place.

Asked to make a general comment about the radio, TV and film industries in Nigeria, Ashadele said:

> Most radio stations are not functioning properly when it comes to drama. They are not recording enough of plays. They repeat a lot of their old programmes, and I think the cause of this is the question of funds. It is either funds are not available, or they are not properly utilized because every year the stations claim that they have not got money. But when the budget is read out, you will find that there is a little bit percentage over what they had the previous year. So you'll expect that they should improve on their standards, but what you find is they do just what they did last year, and the year before and so on. For example, I've heard a particular programme, Citizen Muda, this year more than thrice on radio. The same thing happens with television stations, especially the federal stations. Most of the things you see are repeat programmes. For example, they have started this Marathon TV on weekends. They are just repeating the whole programmes they have in the house.

By the way, what is the idea of the weekend non-stop TV drama broadcasts?

> You see, in this country, there is this crazy competition. When this competition comes on, people don't really sit down to see what hardships they are creating. It is not everybody who wants to watch television 24 hours a day. But because this television station is for federal and the other is for state, there is this morbid rivalry.

Can you think of a motive behind it?

> It's not unconnected with political interests. Everything in this country is politicized.

Ashadele plans to acquire video equipment and produce programmes independently. He would like to see a change in the structure of broadcasting from a government monopoly to a multiplicity of ownership and control involving private enterprise. The structure should be similar to that of the print medium whereby there are privately-owned newspapers and government newspapers competing on equal level.

Ihria Enakimio, writer and actor, is an independent(1) TV producer. He produces programmes for NTA on contract basis. Independent producers are just beginning to emerge in Nigeria. The few of them have formed Independent Producers' Association. The working relationship of their Association and the television stations is yet to be defined and formalized. In the meantime, they depend on their individual long-term connections with television either as writers, actors or in-house producers. Enakimio has been writing and acting for radio and television since 1973. Between 1976 and 1980, he went to the United States to study television and film production. After obtaining a Master of Fine Arts, he returned to Nigeria and started rightaway to write for Cock Crow at Dawn.

Unlike Ashadele who writes only when inspired, Enakimio has to force himself to write on many occasions in order to meet the deadlines. As a full-time free-lance writer and producer, he has to write a lot of scripts so as to earn enough to make a living. He does not find it difficult to write under pressure because the series and serials that he contributes to have already had their dramatic frameworks, in terms of major themes and major characters,

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1. An independent TV producer is a freelance producer who undertakes productions on contract basis without being on the permanent staff of any station.

established. All he has to do for an episode is to decide on what kind of treatment to give the major theme and what kind of conflict to introduce within the major characters. On account of his familiarity with the programmes, he is not handicapped from producing good scripts by the pressure to meet deadlines.

He does all his writings in English. This is because he is more fluent in English than in any other language. He has been speaking English since his early childhood, so it is now his first language. He thinks only in English. If he wants to speak to his mother who does not understand English, he has to translate his ideas from English to Pidgin or to an indigenous langauge. In regard to drama, he said:

> If you took a Yoruba comedy series and translated it directly into English, now you have a problem, a cultural problem in the sense that what is funny to an English man is not necessarily funny to a Yoruba man. There is a historical and cultural barrier that you have to bridge. If in transferring, I don't say translating, in transferring from Yoruba into English, you dealt with equivalence rather than direct translation, you could solve the problem. But it means you are doing a different script altogether.

Like Osanyin and Ashadele, Enakimio believes that writers are free to write, but within bounds. Criticism of government should be made without heading for a collision course with the authorities. A writer should recognize that certain levels of criticism are tolerable while others can evoke repression. He is also constrained by the knowledge of limited resources available for production at the television houses.

From the standpoint of an independent producer, Enakimio is threatened by programmes imported from abroad. He feels that competition with foreign sources of production is unfavourable to indigenous producers. Foreign programmes which have recouped all their production costs and made profits in their home markets are made available at low prices to Nigerian television stations. It is, as such, very much cheaper to import than to produce programmes locally. He is, however, hopeful that the growing number of homes with video recorders will open up opportunities for indigenous producers. He is convinced that Nigerians are hungry for locally-produced programmes, from the fact that the first days of public screenings of all locally-produced cinema films are accompanied by large crowds eager to see the films. The crowds tail off only if the films turn out not to be good. The good ones are blockbusters for months, thereby earning profits for their producers.

Enakimio's optimism about home video cassette's becoming a viable mass medium in Nigeria should not be taken lightly. According to Screen Digest (1985, p.111), at the end of 1984, there were 100,000 video recorders in Nigeria. This represented 20% of homes with television sets. In Lagos, it is common to see hawkers hovering around vehicle owners, who are caught in the perennial traffic jams, in a bid to sell video cassettes at extreme discount prices unobtainable in shops.

Actors : Backgrounds, Careers, Roles

Apart from the fundamental issue of government ownership and control, there are many other problems in the production of drama programmes, such as, inadequate equipment and finance. But contrary to popular belief, the greatest problem is that of the status of actors. Producers have devised ways of achieving something tolerable with meagre equipment, and there is plenty of money in Nigeria to pay actors, but little of it comes their way. Traditionally, in capitalist countries, workers have to embark on some collective action before they are rewarded in accord with their growing significance. The less united they are, the more vulnerable they are to exploitation. Such is the case with Nigerian actors. They have continuously made their demands known without any industrial muscle in their backs. They have not mustered their collective weight, in the form of a union, to turn the administrative wheel in their favour. Their trump card is their social significance.

Television drama is now an indispensable aspect of Nigerian culture. It is the offspring of festivals, folk-lores and oral literature which date far back in history. Many viewers have become attached to Nigerian television drama, because it deals with their life experience, psychologically and sociologically. Perhaps this explains why, in the face of odds, a few actors "stubbornly cling to acting full-time," as remarked by a producer.

There are basically two categories of actors: 1. individual actors who perform from written scripts, mainly in English; 2. theatre group actors who perform unscripted drama by improvisation, mainly in indigenous languages. For a cast of ten or less actors, theatre groups are paid on a range of ₦150-₦300 (£146-£293.4) per episode of comedy series and a range of ₦400-₦500 (£391.2-£489) for a play. Individual actors, especially those who perform in English are paid slightly higher than those in theatre groups.

The low pay of actors suggests that it is cheaper to produce drama locally than to import films. In reality, it is cheaper to produce low quality(1) programmes than to import high quality programmes. However, since there is a demand for high quality programmes, as evidenced by the growing popularity

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1. "Quality" refers to technical and acting quality.

of video recorders in Nigeria, the TV stations have to import films. It is definitely more expensive to produce high quality films or TV programmes locally than to import. For example, Hubert Ogunde spent approximately ₦.3m (£.29m) to produce his very successful Aiye (1979). Within the context of Nigeria, a developing country with poor finance opportunity, £.29m is a lot of money. He had to charge ₦5 (£4.89) for admission ticket to cinema theatres, whereas it costs only half or even less than half of that amount to watch foreign films in Nigerian theatres. There were complaints about the high cost of watching Nigerian films. But if Ogunde had charged less than he did, his films would not have been the economic success that they are. As mentioned earlier, the market for Nigerian films is very limited, not as big as the market for Western and Oriental films. It would definitely have been an economic disaster had Ogunde's films been shown on television within the first few years of production. Revenue from TV adverts is insufficient to support such high quality local productions.

Quantity is another factor. Television requires a lot of programmes to fill its enormous time daily - and much more so with weekend non-stop broadcasts. It is cheaper to hire 10 American films which can fill 15 hours of TV time initially, and then multiples of that time with repeat runs, than to produce, locally, one good quality programme which can fill only 1.5 hours initially. The cost of hiring the 10 American films may be £45,000. This is one-sixth of the cost (£290,000) of producing Aiye.

Even if it is argued that television production cost should be much lower than film cost, a good quality TV drama (1 hour) should cost no less than £50,000. The production items of expenditure can be the following: 1. script, 2. producer, 3. editorial writer, 4. director, 5. production assistant, 6. clerical services and facilities, 7. music and sound effects, 8. costumes, 9. props, 10. the building of sets, 11. organising location shootings for part of entire programme, 12. rent of studio for rehearsal and/or taping, 13. transportation, 14. camera persons (two or three), 15. sound recordist, 16. technical editor, 17. floor manager, 18. lighting technician, 19. stunts (if needed), 20. production equipment, 21. post-production facilities (editing and making of copies) and 22. adequate payment of actors (usually not less than five) for good acting.

The median age of actors is 25, almost the same as that of producers. They, however, have a wider range of age distribution than do writers and producers. Their ages range from 13, in Youth Theatre to 50 or more in Play of the Week. Their home backgrounds are not different from those of producers and writers. The majority of them are self-made, having had little or no encouragement from parents and friends until the glare of television lights started to shine on them. Even then, their folks continue to urge them to "settle down".

In view of the unfavourable conditions of work of actors, it is astonishing that they have not formed a union. One of the full-time actors explained that attempts at forming a union have been frustrated by many problems. It is not easy to get together many actors who only undertake acting as part-time. Moreover, actors are discouraged by the National Assembly's rejection of the musicians' union, PMAN, inspite of the fact that its members devote full-time to their vocation and are also very successful. It is generally felt that actors have to first unite and function collectively before they can hope to achieve government recognition. While the majority of actors are in poor situations, a few derive considerable individual benefits from the vocation. It should be illuminating to find out the sources of inspiration of the various categories of actors. This may be revealed by taking "close-up" looks at the career profiles of a sample, referred to as Actor A, B, C, etc.

Actor A described himself as strictly professional. He does acting full-time. He does not earn much money, but his interest in acting is what keeps him staying on. If he were allowed to act in many programmes simultaneously in the same quarter, he could earn adequate income. But such multiple appearances are not possible on TV. Once an actor performs in a drama programme, he becomes identified with it and that makes him less useful in other programmes featured in the same quarter. Nevertheless, by performing in radio, theatre and occasionally in film, he manages to make ends meet. He is 34 years old. He has a car and he is married. His wife has an office job. She encourages him in acting. In fact, she enjoys the attention and admiration her actor-husband gets when they go to social gatherings. She is the envy of other women.

His acting career actually started by pure accident. He had worked as a primary school teacher, and then as a policeman. One day, he casually went to watch a drama rehearsal and observed that an actor was fumbling with his part even after several trials. He was annoyed at the actor's ineptitude. Instinctively, he got up and demonstrated the part to the actor. The play director was impressed and asked if he, then a policeman, would consider acting the part. He accepted the offer and subsequently resigned from the police force. Thereafter, he went for training in drama at Ahmadu Bellow University, Nigeria, where he obtained a Diploma in Theatre Arts.

He has been acting since 1976. He is one of the pioneers of the Nigerian National Theatre. He now enjoys acting very much and he will never go back to police work. He is happy with the freedom that acting gives him even though many people think that he is a loafer because he does not have an office. At the beginning, his parents were sad that he left the police force, a secure job, for acting. But now, if his father, who lives in a place miles away, does not see him on television for one or two weeks, his father will be worried that he must be sick, or something must be wrong.

Actor A is a principled performer who insists on acting a part as he sees fit. A director must convince him that an alternative is better before he can accept it. He admits that personality clashes among actors, producers and directors have tended to jeopardise productions. Some producers have favourites among actors. If an actor is not liked, he may not get acting parts easily. Actor A obtains acting jobs through information from friends about productions coming up. The TV stations do not advertise for actors. He sings, dances and performs mainly in English. Indigenous language actors earn less than English-speaking actors. At NTA, a theatre group obtains ₦450 (£440.1) while at LTV, a group gets ₦500 (£489) for a play. All the stations do not pay their actors promptly. It takes almost four to five months after completing a production before payment is effected.

He feels that drama is meant for entertainment. At the same time, drama can "teach about life and contribute to development of the society." Drama plays an important role in society, and so he would like his children to become actors. His ambition is to become a successful actor. He does not aspire to be a producer or director.

Actress B also does acting full-time. She is married and has children. Her age is between 25 and 35. When her children got to school age, she resumed acting because she felt that she would miss a lot of social life by staying at home. Her interest in acting is not really for money. Her husband is a public relations practitioner. He was formerly an actor, and the two of them have acted together. She was trained in London for one year in make-up and dressmaking. Later, she had training in acting at the Nigerian National Theatre. For up to three years, she combined work and training in puppet manipulation at the Nigerian National Theatre. She started acting professionally right after she finished training. Although she found acting exciting, she considered it tough because of its insecurity. The gaps she had between productions were devastating. To bridge such gaps, she opened a hair-dressing saloon. Ironically, the saloon had to fold up because her acting engagements prevented her from devoting sufficient attention to the business. It is interesting to note that long after the closure of the saloon, a few clients continued to come to her home for hair-dressing so that they could be close to a television actress.

Her relationship with her parents follows the common pattern of initial disapproval which changes to admiration and commendation as she makes appearances on television. She feels that Nigerian drama is of low standard but she cannot identify where the problem lies because, in her opinion, actors obey their directors. She enjoys foreign drama, particularly as she learns more about acting from them. "Violence in foreign drama," she said, "teaches a lesson for good social behaviour." Apart from acting on television, she acts on radio. She dances, designs costumes and does make-up. Her ambition is to become a successful singer and actress.

Actress C, 22, is a new-comer to the vocation. She has just finished education at the School of Nursing and passed the JAMB (Joint Admissions Matriculation Board) examination for admission into a university. She hopes to go and study Theatre Arts or Mass Communication. She currently acts in Ward 15, a hospital drama serial, because her relation suggested it as something she could do while preparing for further education.

Actor D, 29, was formerly a baker. Currently, he works as a machine operator in a factory. The company is aware of his hobby because he is seen on television. The pride of having an actor on staff makes the company bend over backwards to permit Actor D to take as much day-offs as he needs for rehearsals and productions. He has been interested in acting right from primary school which he completed in 1968. He did not pursue education beyond the primary school level. Perhaps that was why his parents readily supported his acting career in the hope that he might become successful at something.

His acting career has been as a member of one indigenous theatre group or the other. His theatre groups speak only Yoruba language. Occasionally, in order to appeal to large audiences, his groups perform in pidgin English. The groups are not residential. They perform in various places: cinema theatres, public halls, hotels and school halls. One of the groups' interests in television is publicity. Television appearances make theatre groups become popular. This helps to get their off-TV performances in halls packed with crowds. Thereby the groups make a lot more money than the pittance received from television stations. For a 30 minute comedy with a cast of ten or less actors, television pays between ₦150 - ₦300 (£146 - £293.4). The pay for a full-length play of 2 hours is ₦400 - ₦500 (£391.2 - £489). Plays cost about three times more to produce than comedies. The cast for plays have to be large. The costumes, props and sets have to be elaborate.

The major problem of theatre groups is lack of actresses. Females are discouraged from acting because they do not enjoy as much cultural freedom as males. The attempts of females to break out of the cultural norms are often stamped as prostitution. Actresses invariably have difficulties in getting husbands. Hence, the few actresses in theatre groups are either married to actors or are seriously involved with actors. If an actress cannot find an actor to be attached to, she most likely will discontinue acting. This explains why Hubert Ogunde, a pioneer and the most successful indigenous language dramatist, had to marry many of his actresses in order to retain them in his theatre company (see Figure 8.4). Nowadays, his grown-up children, wives and himself play the major roles in his productions.

The theatre groups originate their ideas, and once the ideas are developed into plots, and characters identified, the plays are improvised because full scripts are never written. Every actor improvises his part and this appears as spontaneous collective oral scriptwriting. Actor D's ambition is to become rich and popular as a television and film personality.

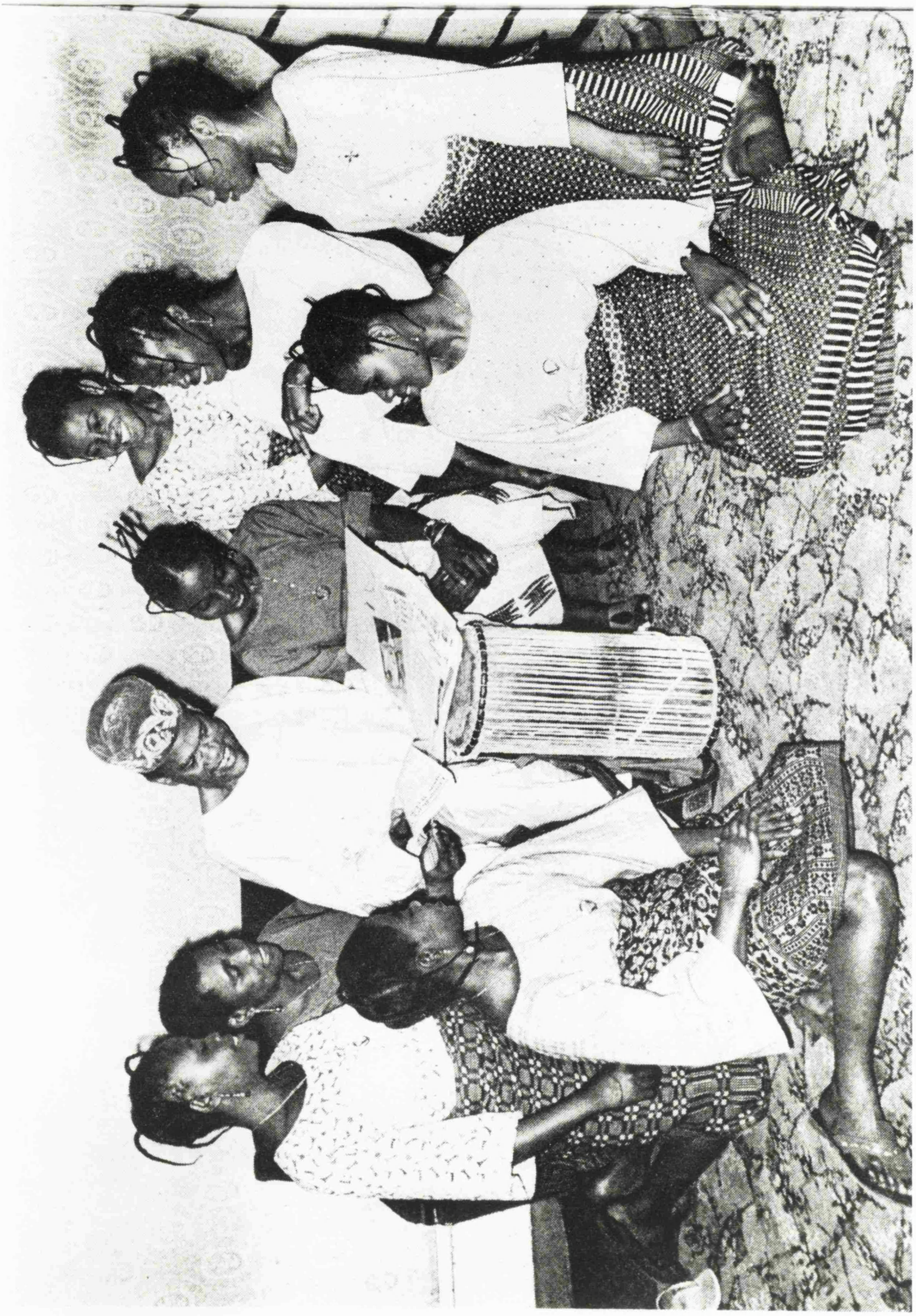

FIGURE 8.4 HUBERT OGUNDE, A PIONEER DRAMATIST, AND HIS ACTRESS WIVES

(Source: Clark 1979)

Actor E, 48, also belongs to a theatre group. He is a Local Government Council driver. He has acted in Nigeria's most popular serial, Village Headmaster. He takes acting seriously because it is a means of promoting African culture. "Drama," he remarked, "is for teaching knowledge of our past. Europeans know their past, so we too should know ours." He finds the English language inadequate for expressing certain African concepts, and because of that when his group went to perform in Germany, they performed in Yoruba and gave out a scene-by-scene synopsis written in the German language.

To produce traditional plays, a lot of research is necessary, but data on the past is scanty. Coming from a man in his late forties, the comment shows that inadequate records about the past poses a lot of difficulties in producing African historical plays. Actor E has never been divorced from the indigenous culture. His education did not exceed the primary school level and his life has been spent mainly within the indigenous society. By virtue of his age and cultural background, he should know a lot about African culture from first hand as well as from contacts with his preceding generation. But he does not know enough because the African oral literature did not preserve much, and some of the preserved materials are distorted. His ambition is to promote African culture, to bring the glories of the African past into awareness.

Actor F, 52, is one of the pioneers of Nigerian indigenous theatre. His career started at the age of 16. With only a primary school education, he became a full-time actor. Later, he formed a theatre group which undertook tours to all parts of Nigeria. He found the operation of a theatre company very difficult because until lately, actors were thought of as hooligans and lazy people. Every time he employed actresses, their parents came to take them away to some other jobs. This was frustrating because females were very much needed in order to develop conflict themes in drama. The various problems forced him to turn to other vocations by learning welding and blacksmithery. He now operates a blacksmith's shop and a hotel business. Despite his success at both, his friends continue to pressure him not to give up acting entirely. His plan for the future is to obtain a large acre of land on which to establish a video/film production studio and cinema theatre complex.

In comparison with Nigeria, Ebony Ajibade stated that the acting profession in Britain and America was very competitive,(1) and for some very glamorous, very prestigious and very lucrative. The Western actor spends a lot of time doing workout and speech exercises in studios. On coming out of acting school, the fortunate actors become members of Equity, the actors' powerful union which caused the British Channel 4 a loss of millions of pounds in advertisement revenue in 1982 because of a disagreement over the level of actors' payments for appearances in advertisements.

In contrast, actors in Nigeria work for next to nothing. Of course, he has had no significant training, nor lasting experience because his occupational rate of attrition is the highest. He is a part-timer and this makes the formation of a union which can change his status difficult.

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1. According to a British actress, about 90% of people in the profession are in search of acting work at any given time.

In-House Production in Action : Some Examples

The production of Ward 15, an NTA hospital serial, was based at the Health Centre of the University of Lagos. At first, the Director of the Centre, a doctor, assisted the producer only in the capacity of a medical consultant. But as production progressed, the consultant became more involved because the producer had to rely heavily on his expertise. Eventually, the consultant had to write the scripts, with suggestions for conflicts from the producer.

The serial was about the social relationships between doctors and nurses in a fictitious hospital Ward 15. In the episode observed, two females (one a doctor and the other a nurse) were in conflict over their love for the same male doctor. The female doctor attempted to use her elevated position to victimize the nurse, but this was foiled by the male doctor. Other characters in the serial were nurse's assistant and a messenger. The real Health Centre's staff and patients provided environmental context for the serial. The staff went about their work, at times getting into shots, without any special regard for the taping. The patients and their visitors also behaved normally. When at times, the sound from the patients' rooms interfered with the shootings, the patients were asked to lower their voices.

The collective nature of television drama production was highlighted at a point when an actress was confused about how to move from one place to another (either fast or slow) in such a way that the camera could portray her movement in proper character. Everyone involved in the production (actors, crew members and the producer/director) had a discussion on the right approach. Arguments were made for fast as well as slow movement. Eventually, the producer/director decided that the actress should move slowly because the span of movement was short. A fast movement in such a situation would not register appropriately on the screen.

The production crew consisted of two cameramen, a light operator, a floor manager and an OB van staff. The equipment consisted of two studio cameras, one 2 kw light, one 10 kw light, two microphones and an OB van in which was installed a vision mixer, a sound mixer, a set of preview monitors, a line monitor and a videotape recorder. On the shooting floor, there was only one headphone for communication with the OB van. Only one camera(1) was operated. The cameraman wore the only intercom headphone available, so the floor manager had no means of receiving instructions directly from the producer/director. It was the cameraman, who should have concentrated on only camera-work, that had to transmit the producer/director's instructions to the floor manager. In so doing, the cameraman was likely to be less efficient in camera operation as well as to introduce extraneous noise into the taping.

There was not sufficient space for two cameras in the hallway of the Health Centre where most of the shootings took place. Hence, the taping was done with only one camera seemingly in a film production style. If the producer/director had adopted an entirely film production style, she would have called for

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1. The use of one camera for TV drama production was the norm rather than the exception. Inadequate facility is one of the factors that caused poor productions. Yet, despite the rock-bottom costs of these low quality programmes, films are still imported.

many takes of one scene in order to have various shot sizes (close-up, medium shot and long shot), angles (high level, eye level and low level) and points of view (objective and subjective). She did not call for these, probably not because she was incompetent in production but because she was swamped with many problems typical of the Nigerian situation.

It was observed that the cameraman took mainly wide shots, relying upon the actors' movements towards the camera for medium shots. Close-up shots were accidental, few and far between. The angle of shooting was on the eye level throughout; nor was the point of view varied. In short, the full potential of the camera was not utilized to communicate the producer/director's intended message.

An example of one of the logistic problems will explain the cause of the shoddy production. At about 11 a.m., everyone involved in the production had assembled on location. While the production crew were setting up their equipment, the electricity supply went off. The crew continued with their work in the hope that the power cut would be for only a few minutes. Actors continued to get ready. The producer/director went up and down giving last-minute instructions. She finally took her seat in the OB van, ordered everyone to be in place and waited for the return of electricity supply.

She waited and waited in vain. Everyone in the OB van began to sweat; the day was hot. On the shooting floor, actors and crew strayed up and down. Some actors seized the chance to rehearse their lines. The waiting period continued till after four hours when electricity supply was restored. At this time, everyone was tired and hungry. NTA does not generally provide snacks or food during location shootings, so the artistes and technicians had to go in search of eating places.

It was also getting close to the time that some of the part-time actors had to leave. One of them swore not to return for shooting the following day. The fatigue was unbearable. On enquiry, the researcher found that the day's experience was typical of all production days. This unpleasant aspect of production was very discouraging to actors. Nevertheless, when they finally watched themselves on television, in the comfort of their homes, and perhaps in the company of friends and relations, their interest in acting was rejuvenated.

The production of Just A Present by another producer/director was no less problematic. It was a play based in a home. It concerned the family affairs between a man and his wife. Other characters were the relations of the couple.

On the production day, two of the actors had gathered in the producer/director's house, a suitable meeting place en-route the location site, as early as 7 a.m. The producer/director himself had left earlier for the TV house to pick up an NTA vehicle, crew and equipment. He returned to his house at about 10 a.m. making apologies for not arriving sooner. His delay was caused by the perennial Lagos traffic "go slow". He brought with the crew two other actors. So the NTA vehicle was already full. He asked the researcher to assist by giving a lift to the two actors waiting in his house.

When the researcher remarked that the NTA vehicle had no identification mark, the actors laughed, stating that "NTA" was a bad name to carry around in Lagos. It was for the safety of NTA staff and equipment that the vehicle identity was hidden (by contrast, see Figure 8.5). The Lagos people,

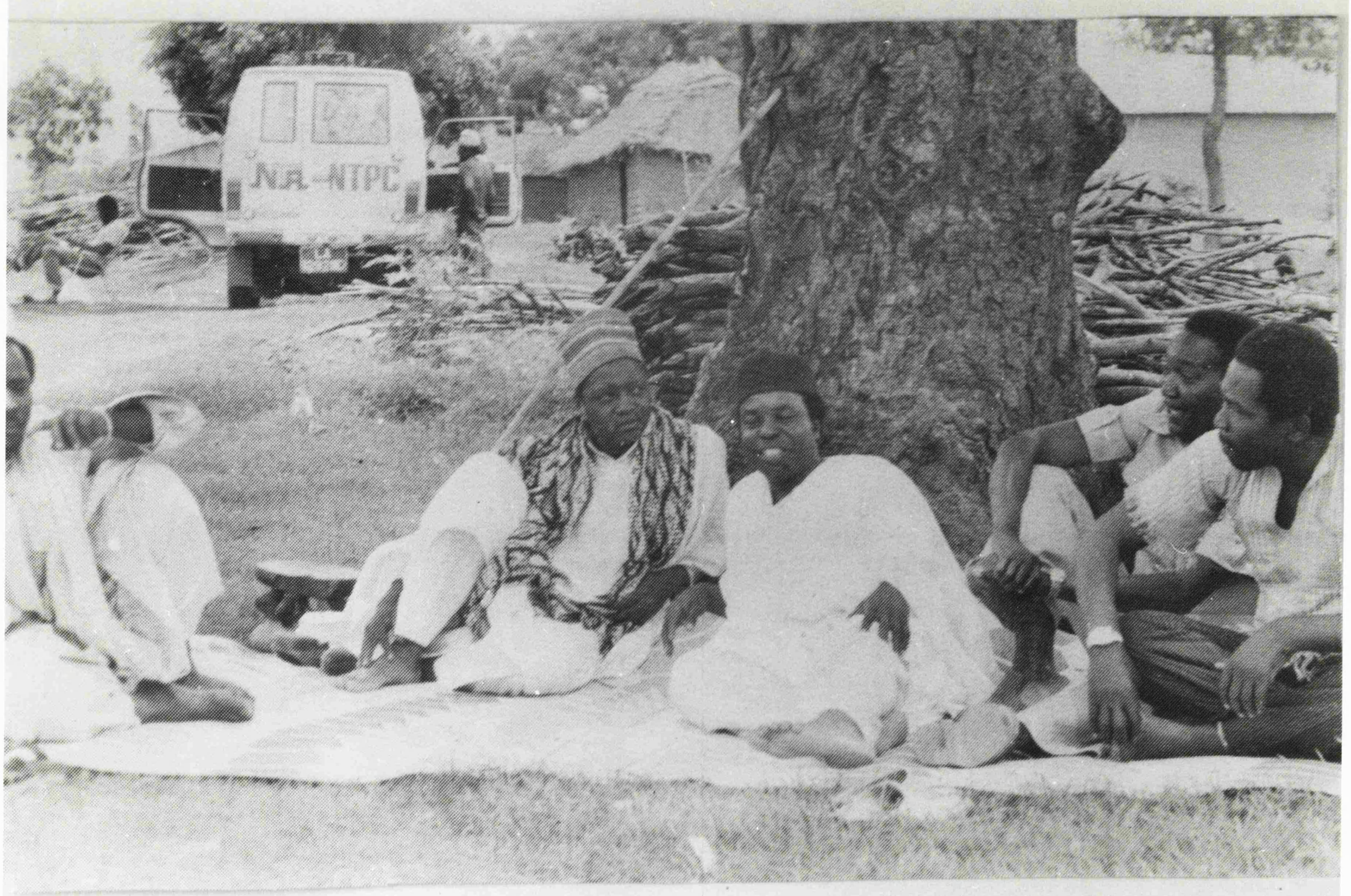


FIGURE 8.5 AN OUTDOOR TELEVISION DRAMA

A scene in Cock Crow at Dawn located far from Lagos, with a marked NTA/NTPC vehicle parked in the rear.
(Source: NTA)

most of whom were fans of LTV, hated to see anything connected with NTA, an agent of the Federal Government. Graham Mytton (1983, p.120) succinctly states the root of the conflict thus (the word "NTV" in the quotation below is the former name of NTA):

> Due to a dispute over wavelengths, Lagos State's television was effectively jammed by NTV. Anger against NTV is said to have been severe, with stories of NTV staff being attacked in public. In February 1981 the Federal Government decided that there was insufficient room on the VHF television band; the new state television services would therefore have to use the UHF band. At that time few television sets in Nigeria had the facility to receive UHF, and some state government spokesmen have accused the Federal authorities of deliberately making things difficult for any new state television station.
>
> Until the commencement of the Lagos State television, NTV had a monopoly.

On our way, we picked up another actor. We finally arrived at the location site at 11 a.m. and the producer/director informed us that there was yet another actress to be picked up. She was an elderly woman who had an important part to play. The producer/director then went for the actress. For more than two hours, he did not return. The cast and crew started to wonder if he had missed his way. In the meantime, the one-man crew (cameraman) started to set up his portable videotape recorder, camera, microphone and two lights. Everyone watched and offered to help, even though not loudly.

The equipment set up was soon completed, and a long chit-chat waiting period started. One of the actors had anticipated what might happen by bringing along a radio-cassette player. He switched on the radio for us to hear more about the national election results. We had a lively discussion about the absurdity of the results and other issues of the day. One of the actresses was very impressive with her eloquence and wit. The researcher found that she was a real medical doctor who did acting on part-time, just for the fun of it. She was lively and was in no way distressed by the long wait. Even though she was a doctor, she had always wanted to be an actress. It was the social prejudice against acting that made her study medicine. How did she feel about this waste of time? "It is one of the hazards of acting," was her reply.

Technically, the production of Just A Present was similar to that of Ward 15 in the use of one camera, but different in that its camera was portable. While Ward 15, a serial, had a crew of no less than five people and an OB van, Just A Present, a play which should be more difficult to produce, had only a one-man crew, excluding the producer/director. Maybe the production requirements of the two programmes, added to the status and personalities of the producer/directors, accounted for the difference in technical facilities.

Theatre Group Productions : Some Examples

In order to make comparison with LTV productions possible, one of the productions by a theatre group which featured on NTA as series was observed. NTA obtained the programme from one of the stations in the NTA network. It could not be produced directly by NTA Channel 10 because of its rule to produce only drama in English. The production was a package-deal performed in Yoruba language with the title of Owo Idibo (campaign money). It was one of the very few drama programmes that had their source from the current political situation in the country. The plot was about a politician who was seeking re-election into office. He borrowed a lot of money to bribe voters. He lost the election and was unable to repay the loan.

The production did not have the same long waiting period as that of Ward 15 and Just A Present. The problem of power failure was circumvented with the use of a battery-operated Sony Umatic, portable videotape recorder. The camera movements (i.e. shot sizes, angles and points of view) were as unvaried as in the other two NTA productions.

The majority of LTV's productions were done with theatre groups who spoke Yoruba language. The productions were similar to that of NTA's Owo Idibo except that they were based mainly outdoors. Also, similar to Ward 15 and Just A Present, LTV's Obe Oda Lorun (stabbing hurts, a metaphor on the law of retribution) had a long wait of more than six hours during production. It was an episode in a comedy series.

On the production day, the leader of a theatre group, an actor, reported at the LTV station at 9 a.m. for the purpose of taking the producer/director and his crew to the location site where other actors were waiting. But the producer/director could not get any crew to go along inspite of his advance booking. He was seen making frantic moves up and down looking for the technical people. He found that all the cameramen had been assigned to other duties. So, he had to wait till after 3 p.m. when a cameraman, just arriving from an assignment, was able to follow him. He, the cameraman and the leader of the theatre group got into his personal Subaru car, having stocked the equipment (a Sony Umatic videotape recorder, camera and microphone) into the boot of the car.

The producer was asked whether the equipment would not get damaged while being transported in the boot of his car without any padding. He was also asked why he had to use his personal car instead of the official LTV production vehicle. He answered that, as usual, no official vehicle was available. Some were on assignment while others had broken down. The use of personal cars on official duties was one of the many sacrifices that producer/directors made because "the show must go on." Does the TV station reimburse staff for the use of personal cars? "There is always argument with the accountants," was the response.

Finally, at about 3.45 p.m., we arrived at the location site, and the theatre leader had to wake up some of his actors who had dozed off. The location was outdoors in the front of a house. The windows and doors of the house were closed so that the residents would not appear in the shots. As the cameraman set up his equipment, a crowd of on-lookers started to gather around. They were excited to watch the production. They were pushing and gradually diminishing the sandy performance area. The producer/director had to warn them to move back, otherwise there would be no show. Wouldn't the microphone pick up all the extraneous crowd noise? Or were crowd noise and atmosphere needed in the dramatic plot? "We have to put up with the crowd," answered the producer/director, "so long as we shoot outdoors. The crowd don't actually get into shots and we try to minimize their noise with crafty placement of the microphone, along with an adjustment on the videotape recorder. We also ask the crowd to keep quiet."

The producer/director asked the theatre talents to rehearse their act. That was the first time he was to see the performance of the unscripted thirty-minute episode. But after seeing about twelve minutes of it, the producer/director asked everyone to standby for taping. He had seen enough to know what to expect in the rest of the episode. The cameraman was ready with his hand-held camera. For the entire fifty minutes that it took to shoot the thirty-minute episode, the cameraman took a standing position with the camera shooting down on actors on seats and shooting eye level at actors standing. He used the zoom lens to vary the shots, but the point of view was not varied at all. How was the cameraman able to hold the camera steadily, without a tripod, at that 5 p.m. time of the long day when he had completed other assignments that could have fagged him out? Laughingly, he answered, "It is a combination of experience and interest." The sunlight obviated the need to use artificial lighting, and the equipment was battery-operated, so there was no nervousness about power outage. The cameraman was sure that the battery was fully charged. How about the effect of the sun on the videotape recorder? He responded that the videotape recorder could pack up if overheated. But if the machine was covered, there should be no problem.

There were seven characters in the episode, namely: father, daughter, daughter's girlfriend, daughter's boyfriend, old man friend of the father, a friend of the old man and a policeman. The father was indebted to his old friend who got him a job as caretaker (rent collector). To repay his friend's favour, he promised to offer his daughter for marriage. Happy about this, the old man gave the father a lot more presents and regularly paid visits in the company of another friend in order to court the girl's friendship. Somehow, the old man saw signs that the girl was pregnant and wondered how it happened because he had not had any contact with her. He mentioned this to her father. On enquiry, the father realised that the girl's boyfriend was responsible for the pregnancy. In order not to lose all the gifts and favours he had been receiving, the father decided to abort the pregnancy and to prevent the boyfriend from visiting his home.

He drove the boyfriend away and gave his daughter an abortion medicine to drink, telling her that the medicine was only a love potion which would make her boyfriend love her a lot. She argued that her boyfriend already loved her enough, but the father said that a lot of love could not hurt her. So, he encouraged her to take the drink while he went for a short walk.

The girl picked up the drink reluctantly. She held it, thought about it for a while, and was about to drink it when her girlfriend walked towards her. The girlfriend wondered what she was about to drink. After having a look, the girlfriend exclaimed that the drink was an abortion medicine. While she was wondering why her father had deceived her, the father returned from his walk. Coincidentally, the old man came back to demand all his gifts. But as the father was explaining that he was about to fix the pregnancy so that the old man could have his daughter, the boyfriend, who had been briefed about the incident, walked in with a policeman.

The boy and the policeman asked the father what kind of medicine he gave his daughter. The father said it was only a love potion. The boy then asked the father to drink part of it. But the father quickly refused, stating that it would fill him with too much love. The boy argued that love could never be too much, so he urged the father to take the drink in order to prove his veracity. The father looked around. Everyone seemed to agree with the boy. The father then started to tremble. The boy pushed the cup into his hand. He burst into tears, begging for forgiveness. The policeman arrested him, and the episode ended comically with the father repeatedly begging for forgiveness while the soundtrack played the metaphoric theme song that stabbing hurts.

That late afternoon (between 5 and 6.30 p.m.) two more episodes were videotaped. The theatre group had a repertoir of unscripted comedy acts and was prepared to record as many episodes as the producer/director wanted. The second episode, Ogun Ekute (rat poison), was about two greedy men who mistakenly took rat poison. The third, Owo Emi (die for money) was about a tight-fisted rich man who lost all his hidden money. There was an attempt to tape Owo Emi indoors, in a luxuriously furnished living room in order to display the wealth of the main character. But the cameraman had no production lights, and the light coming in through the windows at that late afternoon was very dim. So the production was done outdoors in the front of a magnificent one-storey building which served as background and conveyed the desired visual message of wealth. There was therefore no significant difference in the production process of the three episodes.

Contentwise, there were differences in themes, plots and messages. Obe Oda Lorun had the themes of love and marriage. The plot was based on the interplay between traditional and modern culture with respect to a father's involvement in the marital prospects of his daughter. Its explicit welfare message or lesson was on the natural law of retribution. Ogun Ekute had the themes of friendship and greed. The plot was based upon people who lived as parasites on others, with a message on the consequence of greed. In Owo Emi, the themes were wealth and stinginess. The plot was based upon the interaction between a miser and his children. Its message was the condemnation of miserly habits.

Table 8.1 shows the roles played by the seven members of the theatre group in the three episodes. The names listed on the table are the fictitious names used by the actors. All the leading characters in the three episodes were males, but the closest person to the leading characters were females in the subordinate position of wife or daughter.

TABLE 8.1

THE ROLES PLAYED IN A COMEDY SERIES BY A THEATRE GROUP

ACTORS IN A THEATRE GROUP	EPISODE I	EPISODE II	EPISODE III
	OBE ODA LORUN	OGUN EKUTE	OWO EMI
1. Gbologo (Male)	Father (leading character)	Businessman's friend	Traditional doctor
2. Toyin (Female)	Daughter	Friend of businessman's wife	(no role)
3. Ajirebi (Male)	Old Man (friend of the father)	Businessman's friend	Rich man (leading character)
4. Femi (Male)	Boyfriend of daughter	Businessman's friend	Rich man's son
5. Yemisi (Female)	Girlfriend of daughter	Businessman's wife	Rich man's daughter
6. Seye (Male)	Policeman	Businessman (leading character)	Modern doctor
7.* Ateyepe (Male)	Old Man's friend	Businessman's friend	Rich man's friend

* Most of the theatre group's dramas had a maximum of seven characters.

The three episodes concerned family life. There was no serious violence in any of the episodes. The only violence featured was presented in a comical context. In spite of the rough production condition, the episodes turned out to be very entertaining. The crowd of on-lookers could not help roaring with laughter as the actors displayed their comic talents. In a way, the crowd inspired the actors. Over and above all, it was the talent of the actors that made the productions worthwhile. The theatre group demonstrated quite well its philosophy of presenting viewers with social welfare messages to learn during the process of entertainment.

Two other types of LTV drama programmes observed, a play and a serial, were videotaped in exactly the same fashion as that of the series. They were performed by theatre groups in Yoruba language. The productions were done outdoors in front of houses and with crowds watching. The same type of portable, Sony Umatic videotape recorder and camera were used. The producer/ directors had transportation and production crew problems. The camerawork was similar. The only differences were in content and types of drama.

The play was titled Magun. Literally, the word means "don't climb", but it is the indigenous name of a medicine that alledgedly could be applied on a woman, with or without her consent, so that any man who dared have sexual intercourse with her would tumble from her top several times, bark like a dog and die. Thus the title of the play suggested its theme. The story goes thus: a man suspected that his wife was having an affair with another man. Without the wife knowing it, the man applied the magun medicine on her. But during an amorous session with his wife, the man forgot about the "don't climb" medicine. He climbed, and was caught in his own trap.

The serial was about the continued adventure of a war general called Balogun. In this episode, the general was returning home victoriously with the spoils of war. He was treated to a hero's welcome with dancing and feasting. The entire town was agog with happiness. The town's king honoured the general with many gifts. This aroused the envy of the chiefs who felt that their services were not appreciated and rewarded. They plotted to eliminate the general, and at this point of suspense as to whether or not the plot could be effected, the episode ended.

Summary

Ideas for drama production originate from in-house, free-lance writers and theatre groups. The fiction messages are packaged by producer/directors who are guided by their organizations' policies on, for example: 1. the separation of fact from fiction, 2. balance and impartiality, 3. good taste and decency, 4. moral behaviour, 5. violence and cruelty, 6. crime, law and order and 7. the protection of children. The Nigerian model of production was derived from the West which continues to be a source of influence because most of the Nigerian artists undergo training there, and the imported Western films and television programmes are very popular.

Most producers are young, averagely 11 years younger than their Western counterparts. They are at the early stages of their careers. Writers, on the other hand, are mature and seasoned in drama, but they are very few. Actors have the least socio-economic status, the lowest basic education and are the least trained in the art of drama. Most actors are involved in television drama as part-timers and operate within theatre groups.

Both in-house and theatre group productions were underfacilitated. They were laden with infrastructural problems which lowered their quality. But the contents of the productions were entertaining; some, particularly those of the theatre groups, had explicit welfare messages (i.e. lessons of life) intended for viewers to learn.

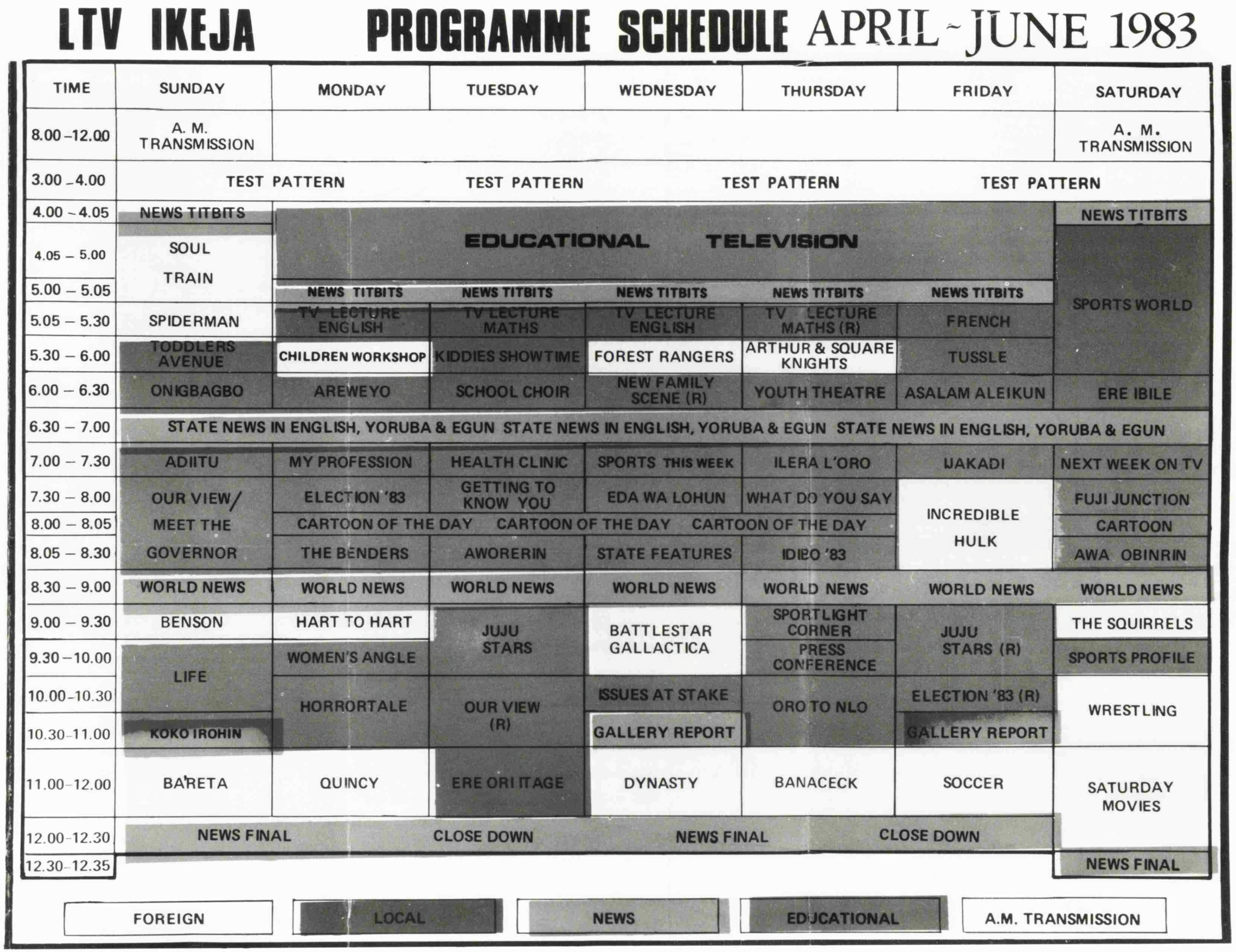
CHAPTER 9

THEMES AND ISSUES IN DRAMA PROGRAMMES

Introduction : Total Programme Output

The weekly programme schedules of NTA and LTV (see Figure 9.1) are prepared on quarterly basis. Each quarter lasts three months, or 13 weeks. This means that a scheduled programme is expected to last at least three months. Thereafter, the programme may be taken off the air or rescheduled for another quarter. In spite of the quarterly review, some programmes, such as popular drama serials, are known to have lasted up to 10 years without a break. On the other hand, some poorly conceived programmes have failed to last for even one quarter. News programmes take permanent slots every quarter at NTA and LTV. After news, the next priorities at NTA are network programmes. LTV is not a part of a national network, so it does not carry network programmes. The two stations take commercial breaks to broadcast advertisements.

At NTA, local news has been enshrined to come up at 7 p.m. and network news at 9 p.m. unfailingly as the night follows the day. At LTV, local news comes up at 6.30 p.m. and world news at 8.30 p.m. The scheduling of the news programmes shows that LTV attempts to upstage NTA (the older station) by obtaining a large share of the TV audience early in the evening, in the hope that once tuned to LTV for news, viewers will remain tuned to it for the rest of the evening. All the local news are first delivered in English, then followed by vernacular translations in the major indigenous languages. "Network News" and "World News" are delivered only in English.



LTV IKEJA PROGRAMME SCHEDULE APRIL - JUNE 1983

TIME	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
8.00 -12.00	A. M. TRANSMISSION						A. M. TRANSMISSION
3.00 - 4.00	TEST PATTERN		TEST PATTERN		TEST PATTERN	TEST PATTERN	
4.00 - 4.05	NEWS TITBITS	EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION					NEWS TITBITS
4.05 - 5.00	SOUL TRAIN						SPORTS WORLD
5.00 - 5.05		NEWS TITBITS	NEWS TITBITS	NEWS TITBITS	NEWS TITBITS	NEWS TITBITS	
5.05 - 5.30	SPIDERMAN	TV LECTURE ENGLISH	TV LECTURE MATHS	TV LECTURE ENGLISH	TV LECTURE MATHS (R)	FRENCH	
5.30 - 6.00	TODDLERS AVENUE	CHILDREN WORKSHOP	KIDDIES SHOWTIME	FOREST RANGERS	ARTHUR & SQUARE KNIGHTS	TUSSLE	
6.00 - 6.30	ONIGBAGBO	AREWEYO	SCHOOL CHOIR	NEW FAMILY SCENE (R)	YOUTH THEATRE	ASALAM ALEIKUN	ERE IBILE
6.30 - 7.00	STATE NEWS IN ENGLISH, YORUBA & EGUN			STATE NEWS IN ENGLISH, YORUBA & EGUN		STATE NEWS IN ENGLISH, YORUBA & EGUN	
7.00 - 7.30	ADIITU	MY PROFESSION	HEALTH CLINIC	SPORTS THIS WEEK	ILERA L'ORO	IJAKADI	NEXT WEEK ON TV
7.30 - 8.00	OUR VIEW/ MEET THE GOVERNOR	ELECTION '83	GETTING TO KNOW YOU	EDA WA LOHUN	WHAT DO YOU SAY	INCREDIBLE HULK	FUJI JUNCTION
8.00 - 8.05		CARTOON OF THE DAY	CARTOON OF THE DAY		CARTOON OF THE DAY		CARTOON
8.05 - 8.30		THE BENDERS	AWORERIN	STATE FEATURES	IDIEO '83		AWA OBINRIN
8.30 - 9.00	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS	WORLD NEWS
9.00 - 9.30	BENSON	HART TO HART	JUJU STARS	BATTLESTAR GALLACTICA	SPORTLIGHT CORNER	JUJU STARS (R)	THE SQUIRRELS
9.30 -10.00	LIFE	WOMEN'S ANGLE			PRESS CONFERENCE		SPORTS PROFILE
10.00-10.30		HORRORTALE	OUR VIEW (R)	ISSUES AT STAKE	ORO TO NLO	ELECTION '83 (R)	WRESTLING
10.30-11.00	KOKO IROHIN			GALLERY REPORT		GALLERY REPORT	
11.00-12.00	BA'RETA	QUINCY	ERE ORI ITAGE	DYNASTY	BANACECK	SOCCER	SATURDAY MOVIES
12.00-12.30	NEWS FINAL		CLOSE DOWN	NEWS FINAL		CLOSE DOWN	
12.30-12.35							NEWS FINAL

FOREIGN

LOCAL

NEWS

EDUCATIONAL

A.M. TRANSMISSION

FIGURE 9.1

Table 9.1 shows that NTA broadcast for 62.25 hours per week in the April-June, 1983, quarter. Out of that, 15.25 hours were devoted to news and information, 39 hours to entertainment and 8 hours to education. Drama took the largest share of time with 20.5 hours (33%). Hard news took only 8.75 hours (14%). LTV on the other hand broadcast for 67 hours per week in the same quarter, as shown on Table 9.2. Out of that, 22.5 hours were devoted to news and information, 27 hours to entertainment and 8.5 hours to education. Drama also took the largest share of time with 15 hours (22%). Hard news took 10 hours (15%). At NTA, 29% of the entire programme output were imported and 21% were network programmes. The station produced 48% of its programmes, whereas LTV imported 20% and produced 68% of its programmes. The analysis above does not include the recently-started weekend all-night broadcasts featuring mainly drama programmes from abroad.

Development of TV Drama : Village Headmaster

One of the pioneer Nigerian television drama programmes is Village Headmaster. NBC-TV (Lagos), now NTA Channel 10, started producing it in the 1960s. It is now the longest running and most popular programme in Lagos. Its main competitor, Alawada (joker), produced in the 1960s by a then rival station, WNTV (Ibadan), did not last as long. Besides, Village Headmaster addressed serious issues in the process of entertaining while Alawada merely focused on light humour, mainly slapstick comedy. Alawada's humour, however, attracted advertising sponsorship from Biode Pharmaceuticals, which was denied to Village Headmaster.

Up till now, Village Headmaster has not had any regular advertising sponsor. Its survival had depended on its being a child of the NBC-TV

TABLE 9.1

ANALYSIS OF NTA's PROGRAMME SCHEDULE FOR APRIL - JUNE, 1983, IN HOURS PER WEEK

Programme Origin	Information		Education	Entertainment			Religion	Total
	News	Other		Drama	Variety	Sports		
Foreign	-	-	3	12	0.5	2.5	-	18 (29%)
Exchange	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1 (2%)
Network	4.75	5	0.5	0.5	0.5	2	-	13.25 (21%)
Local	4	1.5	4.5	7	11	1	1	30 (48%)
TOTAL:	8.75 (14%)	6.5 (10%)	8 (13%)	20.5 (33%)	12 (19%)	5.5 (9%)	1 (2%)	62.25 (100%)

TABLE 9.2

ANALYSIS OF LTV's PROGRAMME SCHEDULE FOR APRIL - JUNE, 1983, IN HOURS PER WEEK

Programme Origin	Information		Education	Entertainment			Religion	A.M. Trans-mission	Total
	News	Other		Drama	Variety	Sports			
Foreign	-	-	0.5	9.5	1.5	2	-	-	13.5 (20%)
Exchange	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Network	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local	10	12.5	8	5.5	6	2.5	1	-	45.5 (68%)
A.M. Transmission	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8 (12%)
TOTAL:	10 (15%)	12.5 (19%)	8.5 (13%)	15 (22%)	7.5 (11%)	4.5 (7%)	1 (1%)	(12%)	67 (100%)

establishment. Its creator, Segun Olusola, was the most senior creative executive of NBC-TV. He, in fact, took over from the American producers who established the station. From the advantageous positions of Senior Producer, Controller of Programmes and Director of Television, Segun Olusola developed Nigeria's ace drama and nurtured it to maturity before departing from NBC-TV to become a Managing Director of NTA in charge of a group of television stations in the western part of Nigeria.

With a strong institutional support, Village Headmaster enjoyed priority in the provision of facilities. The best producer, director, crew, actors, set and prop designers were assembled to evolve a drama with an unusual formula which provided for people of different ethnic groups to reside in one locality and interact amicably. The result was a serial based on a fictitious Yoruba village called Oja. The name of the village signifies that it is a market centre where traders from far and wide meet. The fact that Nigeria was, in the 1960s, a newly independent nation desirous of unifying her divergent ethnic groups provided a strong economic rationale for the programme.

Laudable as the creator's intention was, the fate of the programme in different parts of Nigeria other than the Yoruba area reflects the difficulties that message films and television dramas often have. One of the pioneers of broadcasting administration, Mike Olumide, who was questioned on this issue explained that the programme's situation in a Yoruba village, with a Yoruba king and the fact that the creator himself was a Yoruba counted heavily against its acceptance in non-Yoruba areas which are the majority. This is partly why Cock Crow at Dawn, the second most popular drama, was produced, starting from the 1970s, in locations in the North where the majority of Nigerians live.

The characters of the programme were also identified with northern personalities. The main theme, agriculture, was national. In spite of these devices aimed at correcting the problems of Village Headmaster, Cock Crow at Dawn still had some problems, particularly with language. The majority of northerners speak their native language, Hausa. But Cock Crow at Dawn used only standard English with no subtitle in any indigenous language. Had it borrowed a leaf from Village Headmaster in using pidgin English, it might have had some measure of success.

There are four major male characters in Village Headmaster namely: king, titled the Oloja of Oja; headmaster; chemist; a senior chief. The major female characters are the headmaster's wife, a plam-wine seller and the chemist's niece. The king and his chiefs wear Yoruba dress and speak pidgin English with Yoruba accent. The headmaster cannot be identified with any ethnic group because he speaks standard English and wears English dress with a tie. The village chemist is from the Calabar area of Eastern Nigeria and dresses as such. He speaks pidgin English in a funny way. His trousers are always baggy and over-sized. He uses a tie instead of a belt to hold his trousers up. He is generally an eccentric person, very unpredictable. There is a village rumour-monger, a woman, who sells palm-wine. Various people patronise her shop in order to pick up news of village affairs. Her dress and speech show that she is from Eastern Nigeria. The wife of the headmaster is a sewing mistress. She mends clothes and sews new dresses in the veranda of their home. She is from the Mid-West of Nigeria. There are many minor characters(1) from various parts of the country.

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1. The ethnic identities of the characers in Village Headmaster and the roles they play can have a negative influence on the attitudes of some ethnic groups to the programme, and possibly to real social life. This unexpected reaction underlies the difficulty of producing a unifying drama in a conflictual society: "one man's meat is another man's poison." The reaction of American audiences to All in the Family is a good example. Studies showed that some of the audience reacted in ways which the producer had not expected.

A typical episode starts with a Yoruba theme song rendered by a talking drum (see Figure 4.6) as follows in English translation:

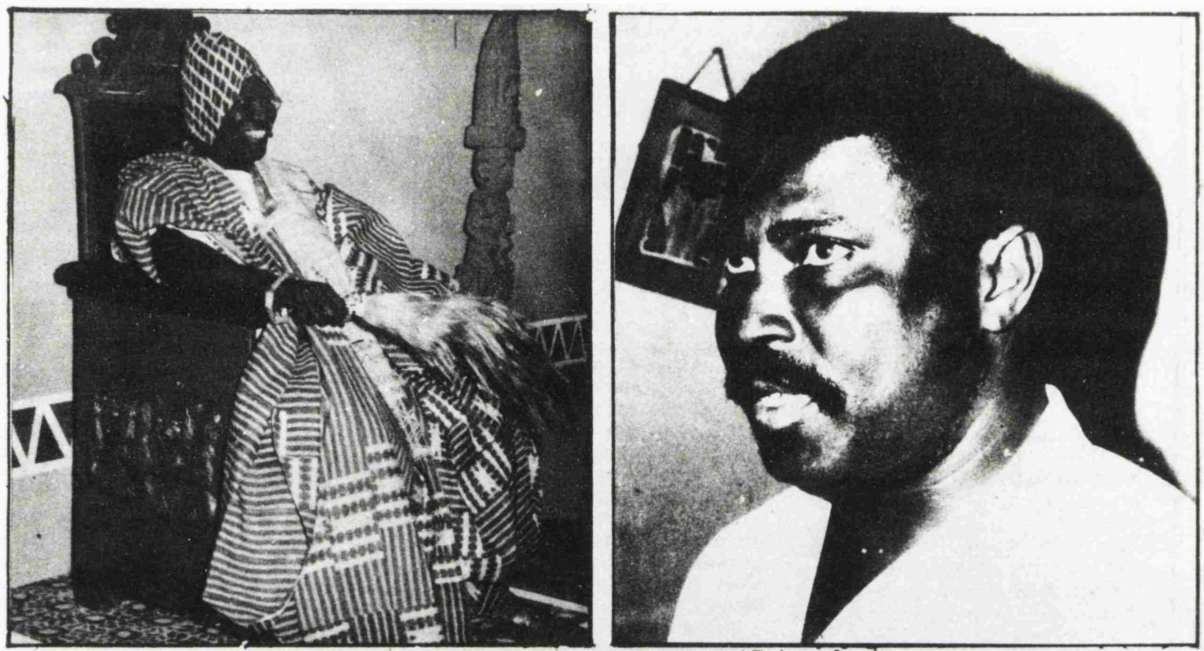
> Teacher, hear me.
> I want to go and find something to eat.
> Teacher, hear me.
> I want to go and find something to eat.
> The rice seller has arrived.
> Her stew smells good.
> Aduke, Ayoke, the rice seller has arrived.

This is an old lunch-break song kept alive on television. Accompanying the song are various short scenes of market activity in the village.

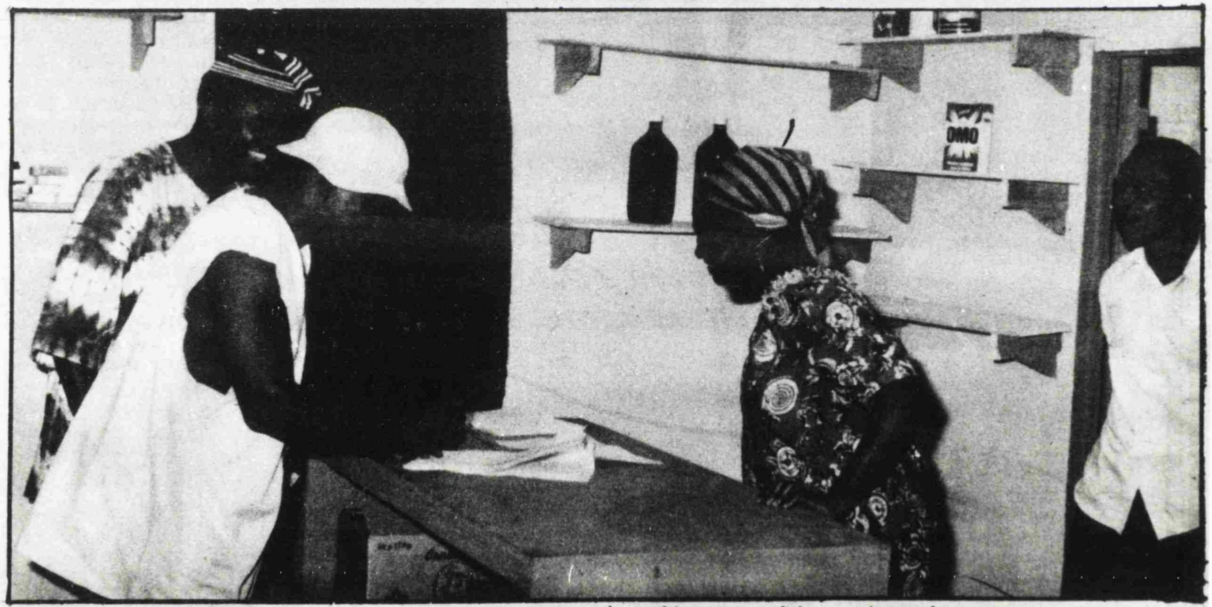
If the episode's story starts at the king's palace, usually he is found sitting on his throne (see picture of the king, the Oloja of Oja, acted by Dejumo Lewis in Figure 9.2). Two or three of his chiefs may be arguing a point while a villager may walk in at a strategic moment to heighten the tempo and tension of argument.

The school scene may follow with the headmaster dealing with a problem which has come up. A parent may come to lodge a complaint against a teacher for one reason or the other: beating a child too much, incompetency, delaying a child from coming home after school hours, etc. The teachers too may have problems of their own, ranging from disobedient pupils and poor salary to romantic conflicts among themselves. As usual, the headmaster has the experience and force of personality to handle any situation dexteriously. He himself is impeccable. He is, as such, well respected in the school and in the village at large. This is the back-bone of his authority.

Someone may then walk into the chemist's shop to buy a drug. The chemist attends to his customers usually in a crude and funny manner. The chemist has an adolescent niece who is always getting on his nerves with one



Left: Dejumo Lewis as Oloja of Oja Right: The real Dejumo Lewis



Dejumo Lewis — the producer (wearing, white cap) explains a point to the cast.

FIGURE 9.2 THE KING IN VILLAGE HEADMASTER

problem after another. She is the cook for the chemist because he is a bachelor. Their shop doubles as a living room where many domestic activities, such as attending to visitors, take place.

The next scene may move back to the school, the king's palace or to the palm-wine shop where the rumour-monger always has a new story (fact or fiction) to tell her eager customers. In the midst of these, the headmaster's wife may be busy with her sewing machine or interacting with one of the other characters.

Occasionally, a government official (tax officer, health officer, policeman, etc.) may come to the village from a nearby town. His visit is usually to enforce certain regulations or to introduce new government directives which affect the village. An official's visit usually sets the village agenda for several episodes before, during and after his visit. Issues arising from the visit are well discussed and integrated into communal life.

On matters of tax, justice, health and community development, the village king plays a leadership role. His chiefs serve as a sort of parliament because they are always divided on most issues. They often argue heatedly, in the style of an informal debate, and even threaten one another with the use of their powers which include chieftaincy rank, popularity, influence on the king and in the community, wealth and charms. On matters of education and affairs of the youth, the headmaster is the specialist. He lives clean and projects the personality of a calm, fair and wise person. He is the custodian of knowledge. He has had more exposure to life beyond the village than anyone else. The characters of the king and headmaster are designed to serve as models in society. The other characters play supportive, less serious but entertaining roles.

The programme features various crafts and rural vocations.

Two cameras were usually used for the production. They moved from one set to another in a large studio which sometimes had up to five sets. The tapings were done on Sundays for later broadcast once or twice in the week. At the start of taping, the studio was always tense with the producer/director issuing commands for everyone (actors and production crew) to standby. Taping proceeded until there was a mistake when the producer/director ordered a retake of the scene or a restart of the entire episode. As a priviledged in-house production, Village Headmaster had better facilities than other productions. It was always scripted. It was for a long time the best drama that came out of NTA. Also, it has been exported to East Africa. It is now understood that a revised version called New Village Headmaster will be shot in real village locations.

None of the actors of Village Headmaster was engaged in full-time acting. Ted Mukoro who acted the part of the headmaster for many years was an advertising executive. The senior chief, Funso Adeolu, in real life combined acting with reading commentaries over documentary films and running a printing business. Adeolu is considered to be a very good actor. He has played the star role in a few feature films which include Son of Africa (1970) and Golden Woman (1970). Alan Aroyewun, in the role of Lawyer Peters, was a junior producer at NBC-TV. Later, he became a public relations executive to a bank and then a print journalist. The headmaster's wife, Clara Olusola, in real life is the wife of the creator of the programme and she is a member of staff of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria. She is one of the few who have remained constant with the programme. Jab Adu, in the role of the chemist, is a freelance producer, scriptwriter and actor. He produced and directed a feature film, Bisi Daughter of the River, in 1977.

Sanya Dosunmu was the producer and director of Village Headmaster during the teething period of the 1960s to early 1970s. He later co-established a film company, Starline Films, with Wole Amele who was one of the funny characters in the programme. Starline Films produced Dinner with the Devil in 1976. Although the film was successful in terms of box-office returns, the company folded soon after. The problems of distribution, management of box-office returns and repayment of huge debts earlier incurred on equipment purchase were too heavy for the company. Sanya Dosunmu later became a politician and gave up active production. Wole Amele, his partner, became a public relations executive for an electronics sales company. Another producer/director who made some impact on Village Headmaster is Bayo Awala. He too left to establish a film company. He has produced a few advertising films.

Involvement in Village Headmaster has no doubt benefited many artists. The real life story of the star of the programme, Dejumo Lewis, in the role of the king, Oloja of Oja, is the most dramatic of all. Lewis had spent ten years in a Catholic seminary training to become a priest before he had a change of heart and became a junior administrative staff of NBC-TV. He got married and started to act, part-time, in Village Headmaster in the 1960s. By the 1970s, he had moved from administrative work to full-time work as producer. Usually, this progression is the reverse for most people. He continued acting on part-time. Now, in the 1980s, he became a producer, director and actor in a resurrected Village Headmaster (see Figure 9.2). His new robust figure shows that Village Headmaster has been good to him while he has enriched many viewers' lives through the character that he dutifully portrayed. An evidence of his worth as well as that of Village Headmaster in society shows in the incessant public's demand for the programme whenever it is taken off the air.

Dejumo Lewis is the only Nigerian male actor who has remained with one programme, as it went on and off the air, for almost 20 years. He is also the only member of staff of NTA Channel 10 who has contributed to programme production for that length of time. Perhaps in recognition of this, he became the producer/ director of another important programme, Cock Crow at Dawn. His unusual long creative career was possible because he started as an actor on part-time. Had he started as a producer, most likely, he would have been promoted out of creative positions and his talent would have been lost to Village Headmaster. With an abundance of dedicated fans, the old Village Headmaster has many more fruitful years to live, and Dejumo Lewis is expected to perform wonders.

Structure of Television Drama

While the general structure of drama from the Western and Asian countries is well known globally, that of Nigerian and African countries is obscure. Like everything else, television drama in a developing society is in the process of developing. This section, as such, is designed to provide a background for understanding the Nigerian data from content analysis presented in the rest of the chapter. Four synopses are presented with comments. Two of them are in English and two are in Yoruba with English translation. As pointed out in the last chapter, a substantial part of television drama is contributed by theatre groups. Usually, their plays are unscripted. They work from outlines or synopses similar to those below which are originals.

1. Title: Atundade (another victory)
By: Ayan Agalu Theatre

Akintola, the old rich man had one son and his son married and had two children, a boy and a girl. He also had three intimate friends that used to enjoy with this old man. The man later died and the son was prepared to continue with his father's business. Later his father's friend came and tell his son a wonderful story, they told him. The money the father had belong to the four of them, and they would like to get the property. This son was sad about this and decided to leave the city. They travelled by boat and unfortunately the boat sank, later no body knows the whereabout of them selves. Later, the father became a hunter/farmer. The

> wife was married to a Honsa man and the two children were captured by the slave traders, one is taken to London and the other to America. They were helped over there and the two of them came back with (doctor and lawyer). Unknowingly they were posted to the same place, one day when the lawyer fell sick, she was taken to the hospital where the brother was a doctor, after she was getting better, she started thanking and telling both the nurse and the Dr. his story: the doctor later identified her to be his sister. By then the mother was the cleaner in the hospital ward. She was listening to the story and by the time they were embracing with each other, the mother got hold of the two of them but the reasons for this was not known and they dragged themselves to the king. The new king was then their father. This story narrated by them and the mother then shouted they were her children and the king ran to bring the old pictures later all of them knew themselves. Happy ending.

This is a story about a family split by the slave trade. But it does not follow the normal pattern of slaves getting lost in foreign lands and forgetting their roots. By some miraculous means, the boy who became a doctor, his sister who became a lawyer and their mother who became a cleaner were reunited in a hospital. They then proceeded to their father who had become a king. Some considerable artistic liberty was taken in this story, for it is not realistic for a king's wife (i.e. if the mother was married to the king), the queen, to be engaged as a cleaner. It was expected that an efficient director would modify many ideas in the story and place the queen in a more dignified position, perhaps as an important visitor to the hospital. This illustrates the point in the last chapter that package—deals presented by theatre groups to television stations are inadequate.

2. Title: Aforobaniro (friendship with tears)

By: Ayan Agalu Theatre

> There were three jolly friends, two of them were foolish and the third was a clever one (Agbontan, Amotan, Aforobaniro) each of them was claiming to be the wisest later they quarrel with them selves later, they dragged this to the king's palace. There they were given three tests. Aforobaniro was the one that succeeded in these tests. Later he was given the power and was given a staffs: while he was coming from the king's palace, he met his girl friend dying on the way. He was sorry for this but quickly wanted to make love before she died, he was caught by the two friends they later decided to report the matter to the king. He pleased for this

> but they asked if he could give out the staff of office to them, but said Aforobaniro went out to discuss this matter to the elders. And they told him what he would do, later all of them appeared before the king. Aforobaniro started the matter before the king and left within again, but where the two of them were asked to state their own matters. They repeated the same thing said by Aforobaniro, later, he asked to go away and later made Aforobaniro one of their chiefs.

This and the previous story show the problem that Yoruba theatre groups have with English language. None of the two narratives contains any pidgin English. They are attempts at using standard English. Unfortunately, the attempt ended up in limiting this group's ability to express its creative ideas. The key to the drama problem was not mentioned in the second text. An experienced director who was familiar with this type of presentation was expected to deduce the solution of the problem from the sketchy narrative. With the use of a charm, Aforobaniro controlled the speech of his adversaries so that rather than accusing him of a crime of rape, they merely regurgitated his window-dressed version of what happened. So, he got free; on top of that, he was given more honours.

The theme of this story is that a man's wisdom and power can always put him ahead of others. Aforobaniro became a chief, not because he had made any spectacular achievements. Instead of being kind to his dying girlfriend, he was more concerned about having his selfish pleasure. Caught red-handed in a shameful criminal act, he managed to escape punishment and turned his vice into virtue, similar to such lopsided turn of events in real society, sometimes with the aid of smart lawyers.

3. Title: Oloye-nla (big chief)
By: Kamoru Aremu Theatre

Ni ilu iyagba, otun oba ti owa
(In the town of Iyagba, there was)

nibe je, olowo, olo-ogun, gbajumo
(a top chief, next in rank to the king,)

o si ni du ki a lorisirisi. Osi tun je
(who was very rich in money, charms)

oni gberaga. Osi lawo, ni toripe
(and properties. He was arrogant.)

opolopo ninu awon ijoye lo ma npade
(He was a big-spender because many)

nile re ni gbogbo igba ati onilu,
(chiefs and musicians visited his home)

bi onilu bati kuro lodo re ni oto
(regularly. He had more money than the)

nlo si ile oba nitoripe Ade ni oba
(king. But when a community improvement)

fi julo, on na si fi owo ju oba lo.
(programme was launched for the purpose)

Nigbati won gbe idagba soke ilu dale,
(of establishing a secondary school, the)

ko fe bawon lowo si. Kabiyesi si pase
(chief refused to contribute to it. Instead,)

pe ilu gbere elere lati fi ko ile iwe
(he spread a charm)

giga, o taku, o si lo olo bu ifoju si ile
(around his house to blinden)

na ni ireti pe ki oba tabi awon ijoye
(the king or anyone of his chiefs)

de ori ile re ki oju won si fo.
(who might come to look for him.)

Pelu igberaga re, o da ojo ipade ija
(In his characteristic arrogance, he)

fun awon oloye ati oba ilu, sugbon
(threw a challenge to do physical battle)

iyalode lo siwaju gbogbo awon ijoye.
(with the king and his chiefs.)

Ni oju agbo ija ni Iyawo re ti wa
(On the day of the fight, he went to)

sare ba wipe omore kan soso ti
(the battle ground. Very soon, his wife)

o bi lo si ori ile re oju re ko si
(rushed from home to inform him)

riran mo. Oje ibanuje fun o
(that his only child had been blinded)

sare wale o si ronu ara re
(by his charm. He rushed back home.)

ti ti, o si gbe majele je.
(On seeing what he had done, he committed suicide).

The story presents the imagery of a wealthy, powerful but selfish man. He was arrogant. He squandered his money and was not interested in improving his community. His misuse of power led to his self-destruction. This is a clear lesson intended for viewers to learn.

4. Title: Afowofa (stupidity)
By: Kamoru Aremu Theatre

Ogbeni kan wa ti oruko re je Akanbi,
(There was a man by name Akanbi.)

Oje onise owo o si rise dada.
(He was a successful craftsman.)

Ni asiko kan igba yi pada fun
(There came a time when things went bad;)

ogbeni yi, o wa se titi ko ri ise.
(he could not get any job. He went everywhere)

Gbogbo ibi ti o ba wa ise de ni
(But he could not get anything.)

won nso fun ogbeni yi pe won ti pe.
(He was turned down everywhere.)

O pinu ati joko sile re fun iyakiya
(He resolved to stay home and suffer.)

ti o ba fe je. Ore re wa baa, o si
(A friend of his volunteered)

mu lo si ile onisegun fun iranlowo.
(to take him to an oracle priest)

Babalawo yi si se iranlowo fun ogbeniyi,
(for divine help. The oracle priest gave him)

o si se ikilo fun pe bi oba ti ndi
(a charm with instruction that every year)

ododun, ki ogbeni yi maase etutu,
(Akanbi should make a ritualistic sacrifice)

ati pe ifa se alaye fun babalawo yi
(if he became rich. The oracle)

wipe ogbeni yi koni se etutu. Sugbon
(priest warned seriously that Akanbi)

baba temo ogbeni yi leti dada. Nigbati
(should follow the instruction of the oracle.)

ogbeni yi di olowo tan ko ranti etutu
(But when Akanbi became rich, he forgot)

ti babalawo yi so mo o njaye bi eni njesu
(all about the oracle's instruction. He began)

o ko iyawo jo igberaga si bere Babalawo
(to have fun. He took on wives. He became)

ati ore re lo si ile re lati gba ni
(arrogant. The oracle priest and his friend)

yanju lati ma se etutu yi o ko jale.
(went to remind him to make sacrifice.)

Nigbati ose alujannu owo wole to ogbeni
(He refused. After a while, the spirit)

yi. O si ya were.
(of money went to Akanbi and struck him with insanity.)

This is another story with a theme of wealth and careless living. This time, the problem was solved with the use of a supernatural force, the spirit of money, who taught the culprit a good lesson. This story is another tragedy with a message.

Comparison of Indigenous and Stage Drama

None of the drama productions discussed in the last chapter and the stories presented above contained a masquerade role which, as explained in Chapter 4, is the nucleus of indigenous drama. While masqueraders were masked and symbolised supernatural phenomenon, television actors are unmasked and symbolise natural phenomenon. Masqueraders communicated with mime, guttural sounds and dancing; television actors communicate with speech only. Masqueraders performed in outdoors and interacted with their participant-audiences; television actors perform in studios or locations and are remote from their audiences.

The two forms of drama were, however, similar in that they both dramatised social themes relevant to their periods. The sketches of indigenous drama featured hunting, farming, magical displays and satirical acts. Lack of record makes it impossible to examine the satires performed in indigenous drama. All that is known is that they were designed for social control, similar to some of the television dramas which have social welfare messages for audiences to learn. Indigenous dramas expressed political themes in the form of satires, reverence for one leader or another, criticism, praise songs, etc.

Drama Programme Analysis

The sample of programmes selected for quantitative analysis consisted of drama (series, serials, plays and feature films) presented between 7 p.m. and midnight. Although the programmes were mainly for adults, it was likely that many children also watched them, particularly before 10 p.m. But because cartoons for children were not featured after 7 p.m., none was included in the sample. Neither did the sample include drama in space nor any programmes solely with dolls and robots as major characters.

The objective of content analysis was to obtain data for comparing the drama outputs of NTA and LTV. Since the drama outputs consisted of programmes produced locally and those imported from abroad, it was considered worthwhile to analyse on the basis of programme sources and, also, to compare programmes from the advanced countries with those from the Third World. Also, considering that the study was conducted close to the period of the Nigerian national elections, the influence of political campaigns on the content of drama was documented. The information obtained from content analysis supplemented the other two research approaches (interviews and participant-observation) in revealing the factors of drama production in NTA and LTV.

At this point, the rationale for selecting NTA Channel 10 and LTV Channel 8, from among other Nigerian television stations, for this study needs to be re-stated:

1. The two stations are located in Lagos, the capital.
2. NTA was controlled by the NPN party which administered the Federal Government, while LTV was controlled by the UPN party which administered the Lagos State Government.
3. NTA is a national station. It operates as part of the NTA network.
4. LTV is a state station. It covers mainly the Lagos State area.
5. NTA is an old station, founded in 1962, while LTV is a young station, founded in 1980.
6. Naturally, NTA is much bigger and has better facilities than LTV.
7. The audience of NTA is larger than that of LTV by a ratio of 3:2 (BBC's IBAR 1983).

Data analysis was done with the University of Leicester's Computer, Cyber 73, using the SPSS Frequencies and Crosstabs programmes. The z-test, normal approximations to binomial (Hayslett 1968, pp.119-124), was used to compare the difference of two proportions with the formula:

$$z = \frac{p_1 - p_2 - (\pi_1 - \pi_2)}{p\,(1 - p)\,(\frac{1}{n_1} - \frac{1}{n_2})}$$

where $p = \frac{n_1 p_1 + n_2 p_2}{n_1 + n_2}$

π_1 and π_2 are the means of various values of p_1 and p_2.

$p_1 = \frac{x_1}{n_1}$, $p_2 = \frac{x_2}{n_2}$ (p_1 and p_2 are the proportions compared).

x = the number of cases recorded on the content analysis coding paper (i.e. the frequency value of a variable within NTA or LTV programmes).

n = the size of the sample in a column. For example, Table 9.3 shows that n_1, for NTA, is 37 and n_2, for LTV, is 54.

By making a null hypothesis, H_0, π_1 became equal to π_2. That is, $\pi_1 = \pi_2$ or $\pi_1 - \pi_2 = 0$. Therefore, the formula for calculating the z values became:

$$z = \frac{p_1 - p_2}{p\,(1 - p)(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2})}$$

With a knowledge of x_1, n_1, x_2 and n_2, as explained above, and the use of computer, a value of z was calculated.

The region, among the three outlined below, in which a value of z fell determined the level of significance of the difference of two proportions $\frac{x_1}{n_1}$ and

$\frac{x_2}{n_2}$. Hence, for a value of z:

1. within the critical region

   $1.96 \leqq /z/ \leqq 2.57$, H_o was rejected at the .05 (*) level;

2. within the critical region

   $2.58 \leqq /z/ \leqq 3.28$, H_o was rejected at the .01 (**) level;

3. within the critical region

   $3.29 \leqq /z/$, H_o was rejected at the .001 (***) level.

The boundary values were obtained from a statistical table.

This statistical test was, however, used only as a guard against drawing unwarranted conclusions from the data. The significant levels of the differences of proportions are not reported because the nature of the sample drawn for the study was such that the use of the z-test was not wholly justified. The values calculated served merely as a rough and ready guide to the researcher in interpretation of the data.

There were 393 variables investigated. For ease of analysis, they were grouped together under the following 16 subheadings: Influence of Political Campaigns, Broadcast Stations and Programme Sources, Types of Drama, Tones of Drama, Languages of Drama, Dates of Major Action, Countries of Action, Geographic Locations of Drama, Social Locations, Social Activities, Antisocial Activities and Weapons Used, Types of Actors and Occupational Profile, Social Relationships, The Themes of Drama, The Problems of Drama and Explicit Welfare Messages.

Influence of Political Campaigns

The national election period had a little effect on the content of drama of the two stations. Only 5% of the programmes sampled had overt political content relevant to the elections. This low percentage at a period when politics was at its peak suggests that overt politics might not be a popular theme in television drama. The major effect the election had was in reducing the number of drama programmes to provide time for political campaigns a few days before the elections. This effect, however, was limited to the prime-time viewing period, 7 p.m. - 11 p.m.

To some extent, the all-night weekend drama broadcasts made up for the time lost to politics in the evenings. It was clear that drama programmes were used generally towards securing and maintaining large audiences. In-between the drama programmes, announcements of political messages were made. Commercial messages were few; beyond the midnight, there was none. In order to draw a large enough sample of programmes between 7 p.m. and midnight, the period of coding was extended from four to six weeks.

Broadcast Stations and Programme Sources

A total of 91 drama programmes were content-analysed. Fifty-four of the programmes (i.e. 59%) were broadcast on LTV while 37 (47%) were broadcast on NTA, although an attempt was made to sample equal numbers of programmes from the two stations. A little more than half of the programmes originated from the advanced countries, as shown on Table 9.3, among which the United States of America and Britain were the major sources.

Two things which encouraged the dependency of Nigerian TV stations on American and British programmes were the common language, English, and the relatively low cost of purchasing such programmes compared to the cost of local productions of equal quality. The high technical quality of the Anglo-American programmes made them more appealing to Nigerian viewers than the locally-produced programmes which were of low quality. An evidence for this, as mentioned earlier, was found in the growing popularity of video recorders used for viewing foreign films released on video cassettes.

Despite the factors which favoured dependency, the two TV stations shared a policy to raise local productions as high as possible. Thus, 43% of programmes aired on NTA had their source from in-house (35%) and from its network pool (8%). LTV, on the other hand, had an in-house share of 41% of the programmes it aired. Eleven percent of the programmes aired on LTV originated from India, Pakistan, other Third World countries, Japan and Hong Kong. These programmes used Asian languages which were unintelligible to Nigerian viewers, and some of them had no English subtitles. An explanation for their broadcast was sought from LTV's Controller of Programmes. His answer to this and other questions were presented in Chapter 7. It is striking that none of the programmes originated from the Eastern socialist countries. This may have more to do with the global scarcity of socialist drama programmes (in contrast to American global surplus) than with their ideological orientation. On the other hand, the ideological orientation of the socialist bloc could have caused the global scarcity.

NTA differed significantly from LTV in that the former participated

TABLE 9.3

PROGRAMME SOURCES OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Programme Sources	NTA	LTV
NTA	35%	-
LTV	-	41%
Other Nigerian TV	8%	-
Other African Countries	-	-
Total African Countries	43%	41%
India and Pakistan	-	4%
Other Third World Countries	-	3%
Total Third World Countries	43%	48%
U.S.A.	30%	31%
Britain	24%	15%
Japan & Hong Kong	-	4%
Other Western Countries	3%	2%
Eastern Socialist Countries	-	-
Total Advanced Countries	57%	52%
Total Number of Programmes	37	54

in a national network pool which made programme exchange as well as production collaboration with some other Nigerian television stations possible while the latter was independent in all its operations.

Types of Drama

The type of drama mostly featured on the two stations between 7 p.m. and midnight was series. It constituted 52% of all the programmes sampled, followed by feature films 22%, plays 13%, serials 10% and other programmes (such as musicals and dance drama) 2%. Table 9.4 compares the types of drama presented on the two stations. Series had the highest score in both cases. This result, however, would have been different if data recording had been extended beyond midnight. Most drama presented on both stations after the midnight were feature films.

NTA showed more plays than LTV while the latter showed more feature films than the former. As to what types of drama were produced by the two stations and other programme sources, Appendix D.1 shows that NTA did not produce much of the series it aired. It had only a share of 29%. Much of the series it aired originated from the U.S. LTV, on the other hand, produced half of the series it aired. Even though NTA aired more plays than LTV, it was clear that NTA produced only one-quarter of the plays. Of the few plays that LTV aired, it produced three-quarters of them, but most of the feature films it aired originated from the United States. NTA faired better in serials. It produced the entire three serials that it aired, while LTV produced four of the six it broadcast.

When productions from the advanced countries were compared with

TABLE 9.4

TYPES OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Types of Drama	NTA	LTV
Series	57%	48%
Plays	22%	7%
Feature Films	8%	32%
Serial	8%	11%
Others	5%	2%
Number of Programmes	37	54

those from the Third World, it was found, as shown on Table 9.5, that the advanced countries produced more feature films while the Third World produced more serials. This is a predictable result because there is no virile film industry in Nigeria (as shown in Chapter 4) to vie for a good share of the feature film input. Moreover, production of serials can be simplified to a level that allows considerable local input. Additional evidence for this point was provided in the result of participant-observation which was presented in Chapter 8.

Tones of Drama

Majority of the programmes on both stations were comedies (i.e. "serious with happy ending" and "comical") which scored 60% on NTA and 61% on LTV. Table 9.6 shows that there is no major difference in the tones of programmes of the two stations. But analysis of their productions, Appendix D.2, shows that LTV produced more comical drama than NTA which depended on the U.S.A. for its laughter shows.

Appendix D.3 shows that most of the comedy programmes originated from the advanced countries. The Third World programmes had a greater mixture of serious and comical tones than those from the advanced countries. It may be suggested that the Third World's interest in using communication for national development accounts for most of the programmes which were serious with happy ending or serious but acted in a comical tone.

Atundade (another victory) is a good example of a play which dealt with a serious issue, slavery, but had a happy ending when the scattered family was reunited. Obe Oda Lorun (stabbing hurts) dealt with the serious issue of an attempted abortion but the acting tone was comical all the way through. When at

TABLE 9.5

COMPARISON OF TYPES OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Types of Drama	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Series	57%	45%
Feature Films	29%	14%
Plays	10%	17%
Serial	4%	17%
Others	-	7%
No. of Programmes	49	42

TABLE 9.6

TONES OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Tones of Drama	NTA	LTV
Serious with Happy Ending	38%	41%
Comical	22%	20%
Mixed	21%	11%
Serious with Sad Ending	19%	26%
Unclassified	-	2%
No. of Programmes	37	54

the end, the father who attempted to trick his daughter into having an abortion was caught and arrested, he started to cry, begging for forgiveness. But the acting was such that rather than cry with the culprit, the audience were drawn to laugh at him. The sound track which relayed the metaphoric theme song (stabbing hurts) further provoked audience laughter.

The use of comical tone for serious drama is probably for audience appeal. Although tragedies can be very entertaining, people would rather laugh than cry. The theatre groups who chose to act in a comical manner might have simply instinctively done so out of their desire to give their drama popular appeal, without having given serious thought to their stylistic artistic options.

Languages of Drama

Since it is possible to have more than one language spoken in a drama programme, multiple languages were coded where they occurred in the programmes. Appendix D.4 shows that standard English was the most spoken language in the drama presentations. On the production side, Appendix D.6 reveals that NTA concentrated on English language drama while LTV concentrated on indigenous language drama. It is easy to explain the cause of the difference by the fact that NTA is a national TV station with a linguistically heterogenous audience which can be better reached with the English language. LTV, on the other hand, is a regional (state) station whose audience are linked with a common indigenous language.

Cock Crow at Dawn and Ward 15, both NTA serials, used standard English. Village Headmaster, another NTA serial, used pidgin English, while most of the theatre group's productions on LTV (e.g. Oloye-nla and Afowofa) used Yoruba. The choice of languages for drama, as mentioned before, is a big problem for producers because, to make production efforts and resources worthwhile, a large national audience with a common language is needed. This does not exist in Nigeria.

Certainly, this same language problem limits the potential of Asian and English language imported films (and even English newspapers), but there are many other variables in their favour which enable them to succeed. Both of them are of high technical quality. They provide escape from the harsh conditions of life in Nigeria by opening the window to see other lands and other ways of life. As such, their entertaining and general social value is very high. If Nigerian drama comparable to the imported films can be produced, it will succeed equally well in spite of the difficulty posed by the multiplicity of languages. One is even tempted to state that they will be much more successful than imported films in view of the popularity of Aiye among non-Yoruba speakers. However, because of poor adverts revenue, local TV drama may continue to be produced at its present low level, and so it may not have sufficient visual appeal to overcome verbal language problem.

Dates of Major Action

A majority of the programmes on both stations dealt with contemporary affairs which took place recently between 1974 and 1983, as shown in Appendix D.5. Only 13 out of the 91 programmes sampled (Appendix D.7) concerned periods other than recent. Appendix D.8 reveals that most of these 13 programmes were contributed by the Third World countries while majority of the recent programmes were contributed by the advanced countries. An attempt to keep alive the traditional cultures of the Third World countries may account for the few programmes devoted to periods of the past.

Two good examples are Kurunmi, a play, and Balogun, a serial. Both of them bore the names of their heroes. Balogun is the name of an ancient war general who made great achievements during the period of inter-tribal wars. He was so feared that the very mention of his name was enough to scatter a whole army in disarray. In modern times, Balogun has become a coveted chieftaincy title. Its rank is very close to that of king. It can be bestowed as a hereditary or honorary title.

Countries of Action

The main countries of action of most of the programmes were Nigeria, U.S.A. and Britain as indicated in Appendix D.9. Interestingly, some Eastern socialist and African countries were used as locations for productions even though no programme originated from these countries. The cross-national productions were undertaken by American multinational companies. It appeared that the enormous cost and complexities of international productions restricted most producers to locations within their own countries. Table 9.7 presents a very strong evidence for this point.

In spite of encouragement from URTNA, not much intra-African production and exchange have taken place. With the formation of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), however, co-productions among at least West African countries should be possible. Television stations and/or film companies in the English-speaking, French-speaking or a combination of both states can produce programmes using sub-titles for bi-lingual communication. This can enlarge the market for local productions in West Africa. The productions may be done in any one or in a multiple of co-operating countries. Such cross-national productions can even make local programmes marketable beyond Africa. Television channels such as BBC2 and Channel 4 in Britain and PBS in the United States are noted for featuring international programmes. Hence, television global traffic needs not be one-way.

Geographic Locations of Drama

The city was the most common geographic location of all the programmes. Appendix D.10 shows that there is no significant difference between NTA and LTV. Analysis of the productions of the two stations, Appendix D.11, shows that they maintained a balance of locations between the city, town and village. The few productions located on river and sea were undertaken by advanced countries, Britain and USA. Table 9.8 further highlights the difference between the advanced and Third World countries. While most of the productions based in cities originated from the advanced countries, most of those based in villages originated from the Third World countries.

The pattern of geographic locations of productions closely reflected the socio-economic and technological positions of the various programme sources. Advanced countries are highly industrialized societies with large cities and also with a mastery of the technology of transportation on land, sea and air. The Third World countries on the other hand have many villages with agrarian communities which utilize low-level technologies. This technological position, however, is not sufficient to prevent Third World productions on river and sea, for there are some fishermen who use dug-out canoes and fishing nets. Nowadays, many fishermen have modernized their vocations, in order to

TABLE 9.7

THE LOCATIONS OF DRAMA PRODUCTIONS BY THE MAJOR PROGRAMME SOURCES

Major Programme Sources	Locations of Drama	
	Production in Own Country	Production in Other Countries
NTA	100%	-
LTV	100%	-
U.S.A.	89%	11%
Britain	88%	12%

TABLE 9.8

COMPARISON OF THE GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Geographic Locations	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
City	80%	38%
Town	10%	31%
Village	4%	31%
River and Sea	6%	-
No. of Programmes	49	42

improve their efficiency, by driving their canoes with motors rather than paddles. Certainly, stories of the life of fishermen, their families and their relationships to their communities can make interesting drama.

It is often alleged that because the mass media are based in cities, their contents are dominated by the concern of city life (Idowu 1979) except when there are crises, catastrophies and tragedies in villages. While the point is true with respect to newspapers, radio and news programmes on television, it is not true in the case of drama programmes. This study shows that the content of locally-produced drama is balanced between the various geographic sectors of the country. The two most popular programmes, Village Headmaster and Cock Crow at Dawn were based in villages.

Social Locations

The home, outdoors and office, in descending order, ranked higher than other social locations listed in Appendix D.12, with no difference between NTA and LTV. The productions of the two stations included farm and forest, Appendix D.13. This corroborates the finding of geographic location in village. A higher percentage scored by LTV reflects the national and state characters of the two stations. NTA's selections from USA featured homes while LTV's selections from the same country featured restaurants, night clubs and hotels. This difference does not have anything to do with the image of the U.S. perceived by the film acquisition officers of the two stations.

The Third World countries featured outdoors (Table 9.9) more than the advanced countries which concentrated on scenes in the office, restaurant, night club, hotel, police station and court. The earlier argument also holds in this case.

TABLE 9.9

COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL LOCATIONS OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Social Locations	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Home	38%	47%
Outdoors	10%	28%
Office	20%	5%
Restaurant, Night Club, Hotel	18%	3%
Police Station and Court	10%	3%
Farm and Forest	4%	14%
No. of Occurrences	93	60

Production of outdoor scenes is much less expensive and less complicated than that of indoor scenes. No artificial lighting is required outdoors. There is plenty of space for movement of actors and production crews. The outdoor scene is natural, so no artificial wall (set) needs be built, no building facility needs be rented. But production control, particularly of sound, is much less outdoors, and the result is often low standard of technical quality. Obe Oda Lorun (stabbing hurts), Ogun Ekute (rat poison) and Owo emi (die for money) were all produced with a theatre group under poor outdoor conditions. In spite of their low technical quality, the programmes were entertaining, and possibly they got the groups' intended messages across.

Social Activities

The range of social activities observed points to an argument that drama programmes do not accurately reflect real life. Dynamic activities were over-represented. This supports Murdock's (1977) view that drama selects and emphasizes certain aspects of culture while it ignores others. Drama may infact present a distorted view of life, a distortion consumed voluminously by enthusiastic viewers. This, therefore, presents a rationale for sociological studies of the processes of manufacturing, packaging, consuming and digesting drama. What is dramatic, by nature, is what is dynamic. Static subjects and objects are hardly suitable for drama. Introspection, meditation and sleeping which are indispensable elements of social life are undramatic. To make sleeping dramatic, it has to be in the context of dreaming upon which is superimposed dynamic activities.

Fruedian psychologists and semiotic theorists (Monaco 1977, Wollacott 1977) have advanced various interpretations of dynamic symbols in order to expose their salient meanings. Appendix D.14 lists the symbols of social activities observed. The predominant activities involved movement: walking, swimming, talking, drinking and driving vehicles. Flying a plane and sailing a boat ride did not feature in Third World drama (Table 9.10) probably because they involve higher production costs than land-based activities.

NTA and LTV are similar on presentation of social activities but not so on productions. Appendix D.15 shows that LTV produced more dancing programmes than NTA. The latter's programme selections from Britain had more motor vehicle movements than those selected by the former. This difference is probably due to pure chance and is of little importance. Some considerable differences between the advanced and Third World countries are also recorded on Table 9.10. Driving a vehicle and kissing were more featured by the advanced countries. This finding again reflects the socio-economic and cultural differences of the various countries.

Antisocial Activities and Weapons Used

Apart from dynamism, another important element of drama is conflict. Drama selects and emphasizes the types of conflicts that are visible. Feelings of conflict must be demonstrated with actions in order to be dramatic. The most common antisocial activities and the weapons used are listed in Appendices D.16 and D.17. Some other not so common antisocial activities were arson, fraud, bribery, hijack and property destruction. LTV's programmes used rods and sticks more than those of NTA.

Table 9.11 shows that generally, more males committed antisocial activities than females. The ratio is 3.5 to 1. This finding is corroborated by several other content studies reviewed in Chapter 3.

TABLE 9.10

COMPARISON OF SELECTED SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Social Activities	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Driving Vehicle	34%	14%
Kissing	26%	10%
Romantic Hand Touch	15%	21%
Dancing	11%	55%
Flying Plane and Boat Ride	14%	-
No. of Occurrences	85	29

TABLE 9.11

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES INVOLVED IN ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN DRAMA

Antisocial Activities	Males	Females
Beating	31%	21%
Verbal Threat of Violence	26%	29%
Shooting and Stabbing	20%	17%
Stealing	16%	17%
Armed Robbery	5%	12%
Burglary	2%	4%
No. of Occurrences	84	24

Analysis of the productions in Appendices D.18 to D.21 shows that advanced countries featured fist fights, shootings and stabbings more than the Third World countries. This does not prove that these antisocial activities are any less committed in the Third World countries. In view of the many Third World real conflicts, crises and military interventions, the reverse may be the case. What the finding suggests is that either the Third World fiction productions are quite different from their social realities or the producers have not mastered the craft of manufacturing complex dramatic violence. Notably, the Third World countries had a higher percentage of "verbal threat of violence" and used the simple weapons of rods and sticks more than the advanced countries.

In its long years of running, Village Headmaster did not have much violence, although whips were used infrequently for discipline in the village school. There were plenty of abuse and verbal threats, especially among the chiefs. Most of the episodes of Cock Crow at Dawn did not have violence. The emphasis was on conflict issues. Instead of violence, charm was often used in most theatre groups' drama. Generally, weapons like guns, knives and swords were rarely seen in Nigerian drama. Physical fighting did not occur very much either. To achieve dramatic impact, there was greater dependence on humour and slapstick comedy than on violence.

Types of Actors and Occupational Profile

Adults (males and females) between the ages 20 and 60 years were the main actors. Ninety-nine percent of the programmes sampled had adults. Thirty-four percent had teenages (13 to 19 years), 13% had children (less than 13 years), 10% had old people and 5% had handicapped people. Domestic animals featured in 19%, wild animals 5% and dolls 3% of the programmes.

Appendices D.22 and D.23 show a similarity between the two stations with respect to types of actors and occupational profile. In Appendix D.24, LTV featured more females in drama than NTA did. There is no clear reason for this difference.

The presentations and productions of the two stations show a similarity of occupations in Appendices D.23 and D.25. They concentrated on mother/domestic roles, trading and chieftaincy. On Table 9.12, the advanced countries featured the police and business occupations while the Third World countries featured trading and chieftaincy occupations. The occupations of women, presented in Appendix D.26, were mother/domestic roles, trading, farming, clerical work and typing. Female traders were mainly in programmes from the Third World countries, while female clerks were mainly in programmes from the advanced countries as shown in Appendix D.27. The drama programmes also accurately reflected the different societies in this case. Clerical positions are dominated by females in advanced countries, and petty trading is a speciality of women in Third World countries. All women naturally engage in mother/domestic roles.

It is surprising that engineering was not featured at all despite the fact that many roads, bridges, buildings and other visible infra-structural projects were at the same period undertaken in Nigeria. Activities connected with the crude oil industry, which sustains the Nigerian economy and through which the funds for establishing television stations were derived, were totally ignored. Agriculture, the traditional occupation of Nigeria, which the government is making efforts to improve (in view of the prevalent oil glut) received low prominence.

TABLE 9.12

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Occupations	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Police	39%	10%
Mother/Domestic Roles	15%	19%
Trading	7%	31%
Chieftaincy	-	21%
Business	17%	2%
Crafts	7%	12%
Medicine	15%	5%
No. of Occurrences	41	42

It scored only 3% on NTA and 9% on LTV. In contrast, the police, mother/domestic roles, trading and chieftaincy scored high on both stations.

The imagery of chieftaincy is very popular in Yoruba drama as shown in the samples presented earlier. This accurately reflects real life situation in the southern part of Nigeria. In the past, being a chief was like being a Lord in Britain. It is not so nowadays because the chieftaincy institution has been polluted. Almost every village and town has a king or paramount chief. Kings are traditional figure-heads of their communities. They receive very little income in comparison to their expenses. The smaller a village or town is, the worse off is its king. Hence, most kings tend to live on the generosity of their subjects. Those who are desperate and those who simply need additional income go into business part-time. Their poor financial position makes them vulnerable to politicians and wealthy people who are prepared to bribe their way into receiving honorary chieftaincy titles. Lately, the military regime is trying to curb the situation by limiting the number of chieftaincy titles that each king can confer in a year, and by forbidding some civil servants from becoming chiefs. Such has been the craze for chieftaincy titles that an American professor on a one-year visit to Nigeria became infected by it. On returning to the United States, he started to call himself a chief, without being conferred the honour.

Social Relationships

Relationships within the homes were the most explored. Appendix D.28 shows that family affairs (husband/wife, parent/child and relatives) featured more than business affairs. There is not much difference between NTA and LTV on presentation. Neither is there any with regard to production as shown in Appendix D.29. But there is a difference between their selections from the

United States. NTA selected programmes which featured parent/child relationships more than LTV did. A possible explanation for this can be a desire to focus on this aspect of family situation.

The comparison of productions from the advanced and Third World countries, Table 9.13, again reflects the nature of the two societies. Programmes from the advanced industrialized societies featured more business affairs than those from the traditional societies which had oracle consultation. In real life, the consultation of oracle is taken very seriously and it affects a subject's life more than the modern fortune-telling and electronic oracle on TV. The message of the oracle, in traditional societies, is gospel truth. It is often believed that imminent danger can be averted by ritualistic sacrifice for help from the supernatural powers rather than by human effort.

Paul Hartmann (1979, p.98) notes a similar fatalistic attitude in his study of drama in the Philippines. Since none of the programmes sampled in this study came from the Philippines, the discovery of such a trait in some other Third World countries suggests that fatalism is perhaps common among traditional societies. Hence, the occurrence of oracle consultation in Third World drama. A good example is in Afowofa (stupidity) whereby Akanbi, the star, ignored the instruction of the oracle to make an annual ritualistic sacrifice. As a result, he was struck into insanity by the spirit of money. The producer's use of the spirit reflected the societal belief in it.

The Themes of Drama

Appendix D.30 shows that NTA had the themes of "friendship/loyalty", "family" and "morality" more than LTV. But it was NTA's selection

TABLE 9.13

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Social Relationships	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Husband/Wife	38%	40%
Parent/Child	33%	30%
Relatives	13%	15%
Business Colleagues	16%	-
Oracle Consultation	-	15%
No. of Occurrences	45	47

NOTE: The full list of relationships is presented in Appendix C. It is by no means exhaustive. It concentrates on specialised social relationships in the areas of family, office, politics, religion, law, medicine and traditional culture. It will be illuminating to design future research to include or to concentrate on general social relationships such as boy/girl, man/man and woman/woman on casual terms and in various situations (home, street, shop, market etc.)

(Appendix D.31) from the U.S. that accounted for the theme of "friendship/ loyalty". Generally, the productions of the two stations were not different with regard to themes.

Table 9.14 further highlights the source of the theme of "friendship/ loyalty" as being from the advanced countries. Another theme, "justice", occurred in programmes from the advanced countries more than those from the Third World countries. The occurrence of the "supernatural" theme from solely the Third World countries follows logically from the fatalistic, counter-productive attitude (Schramm 1964) earlier mentioned.

At times, the supernatural theme is featured in theatre group dramas as a convenient device in place of physical violence. Where actors have not been well trained, it is difficult for them to make fictitious physical violence credible. On the other hand, actors need no training to be able to use charms to have their way by force. The effectiveness of using charms depends upon viewers believing in them or their being able to suspend disbelief.

The Problems of Drama

The problems dealt with, in descending order, were "economic deprivation", "emotional relationship", "power" and "mental health". Analyses of the problems and their solutions, presented in Appendices D.32 to D.37, show a striking correspondence between NTA and LTV in presentation, production and selections from other countries. Comparison between the advanced and Third World countries also reveals no significant difference. Generally, most of the programmes had their problems solved towards the end.

The problems mentioned above are of universal relevance; each has a

TABLE 9.14

COMPARISON OF THE THEMES IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Themes	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Friendship/Loyalty	22%	11%
Death/Dying	17%	18%
Family	15%	18%
Morality	12%	12%
Power	9%	17%
Supernatural	-	12%
Love/Romance	9%	5%
Wealth	7%	5%
Justice	9%	2%
No. of Occurrences	94	65

causal relationship with a range of specific behavioural activities. For instance, "economic deprivation" may lead to fraud, bribery, armed robbery, etc. Such specific issues were investigated in the analyses of social and antisocial activities. Generally, the treatment of problems in drama sought to intensify conflict in order to achieve dramatic appeal.

The four examples of theatre group series (Atundade, Aforobaniro, Oloye-nla and Afowofa) had their problems solved in the end, especially to provide explicit welfare messages for viewers to learn.

Explicit Welfare Messages

Only one-third of the programmes had explicit welfare messages. Appendices D.38 and D.39 show that while NTA presented more messages on economic welfare, LTV produced more on social welfare. Most of the programmes from the advanced countries, as shown on Table 9.15, had no overt welfare message. On the other hand, some programmes from the Third World countries had messages on social welfare, political and cultural welfare. These findings are logical because most Third World countries expect their mass media to be instruments of national development (McQuail 1977). Explicit messages were found in several programmes ranging from Village Headmaster to theatre group productions. Most Nigerian producers seem to have a natural instinct to include explicit welfare messages in their dramas. Some of the writers emphasized that they intentionally provided viewers with lessons of life to learn during the process of being entertained.

Oftentimes, the discussions of cinema audiences while walking out at the end of some Nigerian film shows were concentrated on what message or

TABLE 9.15

COMPARISON OF EXPLICIT WELFARE MESSAGES IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Explicit Welfare Messages	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
None	96%	40%
Social Welfare	2%	36%
Economic Welfare	2%	4%
Political Welfare	-	10%
Cultural Welfare	-	10%
No. of Programmes	49	42

messages the films offered. Films and television programmes, as such, were not judged solely on their entertainment and/or artistic values but also on their social value in real life. This partly explains why Ogunde's films have been very successful. One of them, Aiye, pitched a witch, representing the forces of evil, against a traditional priest who represented good forces. After several battles, the devil was overpowered and destroyed. The clear message of the story was similar to the biblical message, "the righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever" (Psalm 37, 29).

Conclusion

The difference found in the contents of drama of NTA and LTV reflects their organizational differences. NTA is a national station while LTV is a state station. But both of them compete for their primary audience in Lagos.

The differences found between Nigerian productions and Western productions are accounted for by the economic and technological differences of the countries. Nigerian producers do not have a production philosophy or style different from their Western counterparts, whereas, there are marked differences between the Western and Asian styles of production, as pointed out in Chapter 4. Generally, Nigerian producers aim to tell their stories in the same fashion as the Western producers do. Nigerian producers will be glad to produce a Nigerian "Starsky and Hutch" or other action cops drama if they have the skill and resources; very likely, they may include explicit welfare messages for viewers.

Some findings of this study corroborate the American content studies reviewed in Chapter 3. This may be because more than half of the programme samples of this study originated from the West. The essential points of agreement are:

1. Most of the drama stories were contemporary.
2. Most programmes featured only scenes within the countries of the producers.
3. Males committed more antisocial acts than females.
4. Most actors were middle-aged.

In the use of violence, programmes from the West differed from those from Nigeria. While Western drama used fists, guns and knives, Nigerian drama used verbal threats, charms and spirits to enforce compliance.

Summary

Out of the 91 programmes content analysed, LTV broadcast 59% NTA broadcast 41%. Twenty-four percent of the programmes originated from LTV and 14% from NTA. More than half of the programmes originated from the advanced countries (the United States and Britain).

Most of the drama programmes aired between 7 p.m. and midnight were series which were either entirely comical or serious with happy ending. The language mostly used in the programmes was standard English. But the two stations differed on productions. In conformity with NTA's national status, its productions used the national language, English, while LTV, a regional station, used indigenous language. Generally, NTA's participation in a national network created some difference from LTV which operated independently.

The majority of the programmes analysed dealt with contemporary issues in cities. They were located mainly in homes, outdoors, restaurants and night clubs. The actors were mainly adults between 20 and 60 years of age, whose occupations were law enforcement (males), domestic roles (females), trading (males and females) and chieftaincy (males). The number of males that committed antisocial activities outnumbered females by almost four times.

The programmes dealt with the themes of "friendship/loyalty", "death/dying", "family", "morality", "power", "supernatural", "love/ romance", "wealth" and "justice". Dramatic conflicts were presented with the problems of economic deprivation, emotional relationship, power and mental health. About one-third of the programmes had explicit developmental messages.

The differences found between Nigerian and Western productions are accounted for by the economic and technological differences of the countries. There is no philosophical or stylistic difference between them except that Nigerian producers tended to feature supernatural concepts and to provide explicit welfare messages for viewers.

CHAPTER 10

THE DRAMATIC PLOTS

Introduction

This chapter presents the plots of programmes whose contents were analysed in the previous chapter. The plots are the formats (the frameworks or contexts) for actualising the themes, problems and messages of drama. Without knowledge of the plots, the contexts in which the themes, problems and messages occurred cannot be understood. Hence, information about such drama programmes will be incomplete. Messages out of context are sometimes distorted and misleading.

Most of the criticisms of Gerbner's content analysis and the corresponding advocacy of structural analysis (Scholes, 1974) lay in the fact that quantitative data presented out of context were meaningless. As such, one of the attempts made in this study to improve content analysis was the writing of narrative summaries (synopses) of the programmes and then classifying the summaries into categories. Eleven of such categories were identified. They are: crime, domestic life, domestic/business life, health, politics, chieftaincy affair, legal process, mostly fighting, media production, dance drama and religion.

The Contexts of Themes, Problems and Messages

In presentation (Table 10.1), production and selections (Appendix D.40), NTA and LTV were not much different on the contexts of drama. Table 10.2 shows that the advanced countries had the top score on the context

TABLE 10.1

THE CONTEXTS OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Contexts of Drama	NTA	LTV
Crime	40%	35%
Domestic Life	19%	32%
Domestic and Business Life	14%	9%
Health	8%	8%
Politics	8%	4%
Legal Process	3%	-
Mostly Fighting	3%	3%
Media Production	3%	-
Dance Drama	2%	-
Chieftaincy Affairs	-	7%
Religion	-	2%
No. of Programmes	37	54

TABLE 10.2

COMPARISON OF THE CONTEXTS OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Contexts of Drama	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Crime	53%	19%
Domestic Life	21%	34%
Domestic and Business Life	10%	12%
Health	8%	7%
Politics	-	12%
Chieftaincy Affairs	2%	7%
Legal Process	2%	-
Mostly Fighting	2%	5%
Media Production	2%	-
Dance Drama	-	2%
Religion	-	2%
No. of Programmes	49	42

of crime, while the Third World countries had the top score on the context of domestic life. The format of politics is attributable to the period of Nigerian national elections close to which this study was conducted. Even then, the number of programmes with politics as format was low, only 5 out of 42 programmes from the Third World.

Some examples of programmes were referred to in the previous chapter in order to place the various quantitative data within their contexts of occurrence. This chapter takes a step further by examining the plots of drama qualitatively. Although some differences were observed between NTA and LTV as well as between programmes of the advanced and Third World countries with regard to themes and messages, analysis of the contexts will be done on all the programmes as a whole without differentiation. This is because the emphasis in this chapter is on making holistic appraisal of the drama programmes.

Tables 10.3 to 10.5 attempt to synthesis information on the programmes whose bits and pieces were presented in the earlier tables. The programmes were placed within nine frameworks or contexts. Sixty-eight of the programmes (i.e. 75% of the total sample) were concentrated within three formats: crime, domestic life and domestic/business life. The rest of this chapter, therefore, presents samples of story plots within the three categories of formats. The story plots should provide readers with additional information about the programmes aired by NTA and LTV between 7 p.m. and midnight in the months of July and August, 1983.

Although Western stories outnumbered Nigerian stories by ratio 11:9 more Nigerian stories were selected below for examination only because they are not as widely known as the Western stories. Among the Nigerian stories in the total sample, only the ones which used English and Yoruba were selected. Those which used other Nigerian languages were not selected because the researcher did not understand them. Besides, the focus of this study has been on Yoruba-influenced television drama in Lagos. The drama programmes which used other indigenous languages were less than five in the sample content analysed.

Crime Format

The most featured theme in the crime format concerned death (Table 10.3), and economic deprivation was found to be the most probable cause of crime, as shown on Table 10.4. These two findings are quite logical. In real society, economic deprivation often leads to crime. In Nigeria for example, the wave of armed robberies can be traced to the social problems of unemployment and poverty. In order to deter such criminal acts, the death penalty was imposed shortly after the civil war (1967-1970), and those caught were publicly executed at the Lagos beach. Some of the executions were even televised.

There was a debate as to the value of dramatising the real termination of life on television. Some feared that what was gained through deterence might be lost through the cultivation of unconcern for the loss of human life, especially because real death was televised in the same fashion as death in fiction. This is the type of argument that has raised questions in many societies. The finding in Comforth's study, reported here in Chapter 3, that TV viewers did not react differently to real and fictional crisis events should contribute an insight to this on-going debate.

Presented below are fourteen varieties of fictional crisis events from different countries. They include murders committed by a witch, burglary, kidnap, hi-jack of plane, criminals chased by the police and killings because of

TABLE 10.3

THE CONTEXTS OF THEMES IN DRAMA

THEMES	CONTEXTS OF DRAMA								
	Crime	Domestic Life	Domestic & Business Life	Health	Politics	Chieftaincy Affairs	Legal Process	Mostly Fighting	Media Production
Friendship/Loyalty	16%	18%	28%	22%	-	10%	-	-	50%
Death/Dying	25%	7%	-	34%	-	40%	-	25%	-
Family	4%	32%	33%	11%	25%	10%	-	-	-
Morality	15%	12%	11%	11%	-	-	50%	-	-
Power	12%	5%	6%	-	75%	30%	-	75%	-
Love/Romance	4%	12%	17%	-	-	-	-	-	50%
Wealth	9%	7%	-	11%	-	-	-	-	-
Justice	9%	2%	5%	-	-	-	50%	-	-
Supernatural	6%	5%	-	11%	-	10%	-	-	-
Total Occurrences	68	43	18	9	4	10	2	3	2

TABLE 10.4

THE CONTEXTS OF PROBLEMS IN DRAMA

PROBLEMS	CONTEXTS OF DRAMA							
	Crime	Domestic Life	Domestic & Business Life	Health	Politics	Chieftaincy Affairs	Legal Process	Mostly Fighting
Economic Deprivation	56%	27%	34%	25%	20%	-	-	-
Emotional Relationship	8%	47%	33%	25%	20%	50%	100%	-
Power	20%	13%	11%	-	60%	50%	-	100%
Mental Health	16%	13%	22%	50%	-	-	-	-
Total Occurrences	25	15	9	4	5	4	1	1

dissatisfaction with a will.

1. Title: Iya Aje (a witch, series)

   Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

   Plot: A witch was fond of befriending people for the purpose of destroying them. After several people had died in a small community, a herbalist discovered that the witch was the cause of the deaths. She was made to pay for the crime by being forced to take poison.

2. Title: Sinbad (feature film)

   Source: India/Pakistan

   Plot: Some evil spirits went about terrorising people. For no reason whatsoever, they destroyed properties. Their being non-human made it impossible to arrest them.

3. Title: Special Branch (An episode in a series)

   Source: Britain

   Plot: A man was murdered and the detectives of Special Branch went into action to track down the murderers. In the course of investigation, some vital witnesses who could assist the detectives were also murdered. In the end, the murderers were caught and brought to justice.

4. Title: Raid on Entebe (feature film)

   Source: USA

   Plot: A plane load of Israelis was directed to Uganda by some hi-jackers. In a surprise raid, the Israeli Air Force stormed the Ugandan airport, freed the hostages and took them home.

5. Title: The Will (play)

Source: Nigeria

Plot: The children of a wealthy man were not happy with his will because it gave an illegitimate child a part of the property. One of the legitimate children who wanted to have all the property to himself engaged two hit-men to kill all the other children. The hit-men killed all other children except the illegitimate child who could not be found. They therefore proceeded to the child who engaged them to collect their pay. The child failed to give them money, so in annoyance, the hit-men killed him. This left the illegitimate child as the sole beneficiary of their father's property.

6. Title: The Man from Hong Kong (feature film)

Source: Japan/Hong Kong

Plot: A man was murdered by three men. The man's brother swore to avenge the death. He therefore went about on a detective mission to get the men. One by one, he eliminated the three murderers.

7. Title: Incredible Hulk (series)

Source: USA/British

Plot: A doctor had the power to change into a hulk during critical situations. As he travelled in a plane, he noticed that a man and a woman were attempting to hi-jack the plane. He then quickly changed into a hulk and overpowered the couple.

8. Title: Different Strokes (series)

Source: USA

Plot: A young boy witnessed a crime and informed his father about it. He wanted to report the crime to the police but his father discouraged him. Secretly, the boy went to the police. He narrated the story and helped the police to catch the criminal. The boy was then rewarded for his help.

9. Title: Adawo Nise (neglect of duty, serial)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: A certain community failed to perform the annual ritualistic festival to supplicate the gods. Angry at this, the gods sent the spirit of death to teach the people a lesson. Many people, young and old, died with no trace of the cause of death. The oracle was consulted, and the people received instruction to perform the neglected sacrifice.

10. Title: S Department (series)

Source: A Western country.

Plot: A network of thieves hatched a plan to burgle a building and steal gold worth two million dollars. While executing the plan, the guards on duty were killed. They succeeded in getting the gold, but as they were driving off, they were chased and caught by the police.

11. Title: Palmerstown (series)

Source: USA

Plot: A woman illegally made and sold whisky. She was caught, but she played a trick on the police and got free.

12. Title: Soldier Kekere (small soldier, series)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: A short man had a brother who was a soldier. One day, the short man put on his brother's uniform and went about pretending to be a soldier. He committed a lot of havoc and was caught.

13. Title: The Good, The Bad and The Ugly (feature film)

Source: Italy/USA

Plot: The title of the film bore the names of a gang of three. The men would stop at nothing to get money. There was a time when they were in prison, another in-mate who was on the verge of death informed them about a place where he had buried his stolen money. On getting out of prison, the gang of three went in search of the money. In the process, they committed other crimes. Eventually, the Good found the money, the Bad was hanged and the Ugly was killed.

14. Title: The Missing Girl (feature film)

Source: USA

Plot: Some kidnappers demanded a big ransom for a girl held hostage. Instead of paying the ransom, two detectives went in search of the girl. Their effort paid off, and they got the girl released.

Domestic Life Format

The most featured theme in the domestic life format was the family (Table 10.3). Emotional relationship (Table 10.4), perhaps love affairs, was found to be the most frequent cause of family friction. It is interesting that emotional relationship was a stronger problem than the practical problems of living together, such as finance, child rearing and domestic work. The domestic life format had the most frequent message about social welfare (Table 10.5). Eight stories on domestic life are presented below.

1. Title: Omo Ile Ise (apprentice, feature film)

   Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

   Plot: This is one of the few feature-length television programmes in Yoruba. An adolescent girl was in the habit of wandering about the streets and was subjected to all the attendant evils. To stop this, her parents placed her in a sewing institute so that she could learn a skill with which to obtain decent employment.

2. Title: The Many Wives of Patrick (serial)

   Source: Britain

   Plot: A man who had divorced six wives was in the habit of inviting each of them to dinner. One evening, there was a clash when two of the ex-wives arrived separately for dinner. One was invited and expected; the other was not expected. Patrick quickly warmed up to the situation by putting the two women in different rooms. He then proceeded to act to each of them as if everything was normal, shuttling back and forth with a feigned smile. Eventually, one of the ex-wives,

TABLE 10.5

THE CONTEXTS OF EXPLICIT WELFARE MESSAGES IN DRAMA

MESSAGES	CONTEXTS OF DRAMA							
	Crime	Domestic Life	Domestic & Business Life	Health	Politics	Chieftaincy Affairs	Legal Process	Mostly Fighting
Social Welfare	50%	100%	60%	67%	-	-	100%	-
Economic Welfare	-	-	40%	33%	-	-	-	-
Political Welfare	-	-	-	-	100%	-	-	-
Cultural Welfare	50%	-	-	-	-	100%	-	100%
Total Occurrences	4	7	5	3	4	1	1	1

the one invited, became aware of the situation. In annoyance she stormed out of the house, making so much noise that the other woman got to know what was happening. She too got up abruptly, and fuming, she left the house. Poor Patrick was then left to face the evening all alone.

3. Title: Palmerstown (serial)

Source: USA

Plot: The plot is similar to the Romeo and Juliet story. Two young lovers had family disapproval problems owing to a long-standing feud between the two families. The young people struggled hard to overcome their problem. In the end, their love survived; the two families settled their differences and became friends.

4. Title: Uncle Alagbin (series)

Source: Nigeria

Plot: The series bore the name of the major character, Alagbin. Owing to his eccentricities, his nephews were in the habit of disrespecting him by not calling him uncle. There came a day when the nephews needed a help from Alagbin very badly. They had no choice but to show respect by calling "Uncle Alagbin".

5. Title: The Champ (feature film)

Source: USA

Plot: A man who was a single parent to a boy wanted to have his wife back. But she couldn't come back because she had been involved with another man. In order to win her love back, he took part in a boxing match. He fought with all his might and won the match but, out of exhaustion, he collapsed and died.

6. Title: Omolomo (innocent child, series)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: The question of how a child should be brought up (with firm discipline, with much love or with work responsibility) was the subject of this comedy series. The subject was serious yet it was treated lightheartedly.

7. Title: Isinku (funeral, comedy series)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: The news of a death in the family signalled the beginning of funeral merriment for two comedian characters. They were more engrossed with drinking and having fun than with the funeral itself.

8. Title: Ogun Ekute (rat poison, series)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: Two men were in the habit of going uninvited to eat in their friend's house. One day, while their friend and his wife were out, the men came in, looked round and started to eat food prepared as a bait for mice. On return, the couple exclaimed that the two men had taken poison.

Domestic/Business Life Format

The domestic/business life format is very similar to the domestic life format with regard to themes (Table 10.3) and problems (Table 10.4) featured. There is, however, a slight difference with regard to explicit messages presented. Apart from both featuring social welfare messages, the domestic/business life format, true to its name, also featured economic welfare messages (Table 10.5).

The use of drama to deal with issues of family and business life is common among the American popular serials: Dynasty, Dallas and Falcon Crest. From an observation that more of family issues are treated than business issues in the three serials, one can conclude that the businesses, oil in Dynasty and Dallas, and wine in Falcon Crest, were used merely to provide environmental contexts for exposing the affairs of the rich families. For one thing, in spite of their massive wealth their domestic problems never end.

The six stories below present another view of this format by focusing on families at the lower levels of society. The first story concerns a woman trader. In Nigeria, trading is a very popular vocation among women. They undertake trading in streets, markets and shops. Even some female office workers moonlight with trading in the offices. The fronts of most houses are dotted with shops, kiosks or tables for selling food, drinks, household goods or clothes. Many women find trading in front of their homes convenient because they are able to combine it with domestic work.

1. Title: Obinrin Onikanra (tempestuous woman, play)

Source: Nigeria (Yoruba)

Plot: A woman trader had a very bad temper. She was in the habit of beating her children for any slight offence they committed.

With or without sufficient provocation, she often resorted to fighting with people. When some people went to advise her to stop her unsociable behaviour, she beat them up. This adversely affected her trading business.

2. Title: Stinker (feature film)

Source: Britain

Plot: Two friends had attended the same college when they were teenagers. On becoming adults, one of them was successful in life. He had a business company. The other, called Stinker, was unlucky. He was jobless. He was therefore offered a job by his friend. At the urge of his wife, he reluctantly accepted the job offer. Later, Stinker suspected that his friend, who had become his boss, was having an affair with his wife. So he killed his friend. He eventually became aware that his friend was innocent. It was his friend's driver who was involved with his wife. In disgust, he committed suicide.

3. Title: Good Times (comedy series)

Source: USA

Plot: A couple used their house to run an illicit business. There came a time when a neighbour noticed their illegal activity. The neighbour resorted to blackmailing them, but they succeeded in getting rid of him.

4. Title: Good and Bad (play)

Source: Nigeria (pidgin and standard English)

Plot: This was a rare philosophical play that concerned life on earth and after death. People who did good things on earth were given good rewards after death; those who did bad things were given corresponding bad rewards.

5. Title: Keep it in the Family (series)

Source: Britain

Plot: An adult behaved childishly and so he was threatened with a sack by his boss who was his relation. He decided to form a musical group. In the process, he kept getting drunk and made no headway. His wife therefore arranged for him to be sent to a mental institution.

6. Title: The Wife and the Mistress (feature film)

Source: Nigeria

Plot: A businessman discovered that his wife was barren. All the same, both of them wanted to have a child very badly. To achieve this, the businessman made love to his secretary who, as a result, gave birth to twins. The businessman then informed her that he made love only for the purpose of giving his wife a child. Hence, he would like to take one of the twins to his wife for adoption. The secretary objected vehemently, claiming that she loved all her children, and since the businessman was their father, he should marry her. The businessman refused to marry her, and so she swore never to see him again. Fortunately for the businessman, on getting home, his wife happily informed him that she was expecting a baby.

Summary

The 91 drama programmes content-analysed were found to have been placed within eleven formats. Sixty-eight of the programmes (i.e. 75% of the total sample) were concentrated within three formats: crime, domestic life and domestic/business life. By crosstabulating the themes, problems and messages against their contexts of occurrence, some holistic descriptive statements about the programmes were made. These were followed by samples of plots which illustrated each of the three major formats.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

Introduction

In the course of this study, three striking statements from informed sources epitomized the state-of-the-art of television operation in Nigeria. A drama producer assessed the past performance thus: "Nigeria is not yet ready for television inspite of the 25 years of operation." Secondly, a controller of programmes sadly predicted: "There is no future for television in this country." Thirdly, a commercial manager considered the adverse effect of government controls and interference and prescribed conditions for improvement: "If the government gives freedom and freehand, TV will progress. But if present restrictions are maintained, TV here will ever remain mediocre." These statements leave no doubt that the system of television broadcasting has many problems.

At the beginning of the study, seven research questions were posed. The results presented in Chapters 7 to 10 have answered the questions. We shall in this chapter briefly summarize the answers to match the questions and point out the theoretical implications. We shall as well take a look at the future development in the electronic industry with relevance to drama as an international cultural product. Then we shall present some suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings

Question 1: What media production models influence television drama production in Nigeria?

The Western model is the source of influence on the process of television drama production in Nigeria. This is to be expected because apart from the fact that Nigeria was formerly a British colony, all of the pioneer Nigerian mass media institutions were established by the British. Since the 1840s, the British missionaries, businessmen and colonialists introduced the Western form of stage theatre. The first Nigerian newspaper, cinema theatre, radio and television stations were British institutions implanted in Africa. These pioneer institutions have over the years set the modus operandi which newer institutions invariably adopted. The shortcomings in the operation of the Western model were caused by the peculiar problems of the Nigerian society. These problems were part of the teething stages of national development.

> Question 2: Are the models indigenously generated or are they copied from abroad through personnel training overseas, exposure to foreign-produced programmes presented on Nigerian television and the general imperialistic channels?

The model identified was imported directly through institutional establishment and indirectly through personnel training in Britain and the United States. Continuous exposure to British and American programmes on Nigerian television also contributed to the propagation of the model.

> Question 3: How have the models facilitated or denied the expression of Nigerian culture through television drama?

The expression of Nigerian culture has not been adequately facilitated owing to factors which are exogenous and endogenous to the system. Among the factors are: 1. local productions of high quality programmes were too expensive relative to the cost of importing British and American programmes, 2. government interference in broadcasting led to inappropriate use of resources for political rather than cultural programmes. Two flagrant cases of government interference were mentioned in Chapter 5. The President of the nation, between 1979 and 1983, replaced the NTA Board of Directors and the Director General with political appointees so that the NTA could be used as an instrument of his party, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN).

> Question 4: What foreign-induced factors (e.g. the involvement of multinational corporations in production decisions through programme sponsorship and advertisement) influence the local television drama production?

No foreign-induced factor influenced local production decisions. Multinational corporations were not involved in productions. They sponsored very few programmes. Their use of television was mainly for spot advertisements which were concentrated around news programmes. The operation of television stations mainly as government-controlled, semi-commercial organisations discouraged the full involvement of private industries in programme production and sponsorship.

> Question 5: What national factors influence the local television drama production?

Government monopoly of ownership and control of television stations denied diversified access which could contribute to the volume of productions. In order to reflect the federal character of Nigeria, NTA Channel 10 was stopped from producing drama in indigenous languages. This resulted in the loss of input from artistes who performed only in indigenous languages. The station was confined to productions only in the national English language which was difficult for the expression of indigenous cultural comedies.

Inadequate infrastructures created some problems. Frequent electric power cuts were observed during productions. This wasted considerable time, caused fatigue and generally discouraged artistes.

The political rivalry between the federal and some state governments severely limited the creative freedom of some producer/directors. The NTA producers were not free to move about in Lagos. At one stage, their station's identification marks on vehicles had to be removed. There was fear that the producers, production crew, their equipment and vehicles could be in danger if identified by the public. NTA had to insure the life of each producer for ₦50,000 (£48,900).

The two stations' engineers could not obtain spare parts to maintain equipment owing to the national shortage of foreign currency with which to purchase the spare parts from abroad. Television components and spare parts were not manufactured in Nigeria.

Question 6: What institutional factors influence drama production?

The stations' policies and guidelines on programme content affected productions. There were indications that some form of censorship existed.

The organizational structures of the television stations discouraged the pursuit of creative careers. Producers were treated as civil servants and were placed at the lower rung of the executive ladder.

Inadequate supply of production vehicles not only limited the amount of location shootings, it put the equipment at a risk of being damaged while being transported in unsuitable personal vehicles of producers.

The shortage of production crew prevented the holding of production meetings and this resulted in shoddy works.

Although there was some informal social feedback to writers, producers, directors and actors, this was neither regular nor systematic. Hence, the artists tended to operate from a basis of guesswork.

Question 7: What personal factors influence drama production?

Writers were inhibited by the restrictive nature of the Nigerian society. Consequently, they limited their critical messages to safe areas. Only general items such as irregular electricity supply, faulty telelphone lines and water shortages were treated. They did not feel free to criticise the establishment.

The knowledge of limited facilities available in the television houses curtailed the range of ideas that writers could include in their scripts.

The social pressures for personal advancement have forced many producers to either escape into higher-paid administrative positions or to abandon the broadcasting profession for more lucrative jobs.

Worse still, most actors could not earn their living from acting alone. They had to devote their full-time attention to jobs unrelated to the performing arts, and thereby treated acting as a hobby.

In conclusion, the factors that adversely influenced television drama productions in Nigeria were:

1. Concentration of resources on the coverage of political activities at the expense of drama productions.
2. Government control of television stations.
3. Institutional structures which discouraged the pursuit of creative careers within television.
4. The multiplicity of languages.
5. The poor working conditions of actors.
6. Insufficient equipment, spare parts and production crews.
7. Lack of regular systematic feedback from and about audiences.

Artists (producers, writers and actors) obtained some social feedback informally, but non-regular systematic feedback limited their knowledge of audience needs. Nonetheless, artists displayed some sense of social responsibility by using drama to promote national development, in programmes such as: Village Headmaster, for national integration; Cock Crow at Dawn, for a revival of agriculture; and Ayitale, for family planning.

Analyses of the drama contents and plots showed that television was not an exact mirror of society. While it emphasized some points, it ignored others. Some differences were found between drama from the advanced and developing countries. More programmes originated from the West (USA and Britain) than from Nigeria, and this suggests that television cultivates more of Western than Nigerian culture. An illustration of the effect of propagating Western culture can be drawn from a comment about Hollywood films made by President Sukarno of Indonesia, "So you see that, in a hot country like mine, a refrigerator is a revolutionary symbol. In two hours any of your films can stimulate desires for more refrigerators than Indonesia can produce in 20 years" (Schramm and Lerner 1976, p.293). Political rivalry in Nigeria misdirected communication planning, and this contributed to the poor performance of television in society.

Discussion of Findings

Politics and the proliferation of stations created a drawback in television operation. Foreign exchange resources which should have been concentrated in supplying equipment to a few viable stations were spread thin in such a way that no station was adequately facilitated. Funds which could support a few good production studios, companies and actors were similarly diffused to all and sundry. As a result, the 25 years of operating television have not achieved much to write home about.

Records show that since as far back as 21 years ago, wise counsel had been available but it did not prevail. Ian Mackay, the last British Director-General of the then Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria), had forseen the future of broadcasting in Nigeria if it evolved a dual or multiple system of government ownership and control. Perhaps the present unsatisfactory situation might have been avoided if Mackay's (1964, pp.64-104) plea had been heeded:

> In many respects this duplication is a wasteful expenditure of technical resources, money and manpower, and without doubt some of the regional ventures have been both costly and disappointing. There is still room for negotiation if not for amalgamation, then at least for a degree of co-ordination. A united broadcasting and television authority in which control could be shared by the Federal and Regional Governments would be a force of incalculable strength and would make for maximum stability of purpose.... Under an all-Nigerian Television and Broadcasting Authority, operating costs would be reduced, there

> would be one Board of Governors instead of seven, and one overall staff and set-up to ensure maximum efficiency in operation. Spiralling costs would be halted, the horizons of executives and staffs would be broadened, salary scales and artist's fees would be standardized, and Nigerians would have a country-wide stage for their arts.

Laudable as Mackay's ideas were, politics and the conflictual nature of the Nigerian society prevented their adoption. It was under the past and current military regimes that options close to those of Mackay have been taken. Where civilian administrations failed, the military administrations succeeded in taking a number of decisions and in effecting them expeditiously in the genuine national interest. It was the third military regime (1975-1979) that established the NTA as the only organization to operate television, and empowered it to take over all the scattered mushroom services. But when a civilian administration took over from 1979 to 1983, the politics of the period led to a reversal of the existing judicious broadcasting policy. Indiscriminate establishment of stations ensued, resulting in deterioration of standards. Under the current military regime which started in 1984, there is a return to sanity and realism. The number of radio and television stations may be cut down through amalgamation or direct closure as, once again, the ethnic voice of politics remains uncomfortably silenced.

As to what other options are available for improving the operation of television, the following are some suggestions:

1. First and foremost, the structure of ownership and control needs to be changed. Television stations should be independent of government. In order to serve the public's interest and not the party's interest, broadcasting should not be subjected to the vicissitudes of politics.

2. The internal structures of the TV organisations should be altered to favour creative people. Producers should be paid according to the quality and quantity of production and not according to educational certificates and longevity of service. Independent (i.e. freelance) producers should be encouraged.

3. Actors should be given higher payments in order to attract well-talented people to undertake the acting vocation as permanent full-time careers.

4. Just as multinational corporations have established factories for producing soft drinks (e.g. Coca Cola), beer (e.g. Guinness Stout), chemicals, paint, tyres, vehicles and musical records, they should also be encouraged to establish film production companies. A definite advantage of this is that international distribution of films so produced will be guaranteed. Multinational corporations have the managerial skill, efficiency and financial resources to effectively organise co-operative productions among African countries, especially where they have branches. They should be provided with incentives to expand their existing film units (which produce public relations and training films) to full-fledged feature film production companies. Some broad-based production and distribution machineries will be needed to cope with the new factors that technologies, such as Direct Broadcast Satellite and High Definition TV, will introduce.

5. Communication planners should always be cognizant of the role of new technologies; they should keep an eye on the future. Hence, Nigeria

should establish research facilities to develop new technologies appropriate to the Third World situation as well as to incorporate technologies from the advanced countries in a less upsetting manner - that is, without running into the kind of £140,000 debt that NTA owed the BBC in 1979, and which led to a ban on sales to Nigeria.

Theoretical Implications

The differences found between the drama programmes from different countries validate the theoretical assumption of the study that production factors have a bearing on the outcome of television drama. This indicates that there is a link between a work of art, the artist and his process of production. As such, information about the artist and his modus operandi, particularly within mass media organizations, can be valuable in appreciating and understanding a work of art.

The study also yields some explanation on the process of developing television messages. As in the studies of Alvarado and Buscome (1978) and Cantor (1971, 1980) reviewed in Chapter 3, the producer was found to be the central figure on the production floor. Newcomb and Alley (1982, p.69) simply conclude: "Television is a producer's medium." The Nigerian producer was as well the creative director. So, he combined two powerful functions in the message development process.

The producer/source (or talent) relationship in the drama productions observed differed from that of documentary productions. While the talents of drama created the production material, those of documentary merely supplied ready-made materials. This means that the messages in drama are a lot more tied to the personalities of the talents than they are in the documentary.

Although the contents of news programmes are facts while those of drama are fiction, certain similar features were observed in their productions. The prediction of news events is made with the use of News Diary or Assignment Desk. This is like a story's synopsis or partial scripting in drama. The editorial conferences that precede newscasts are like rehearsals in drama productions. Also, the team work observed in broadcast journalism under the leadership of the news editor is present in the case of drama under the leadership of the producer/director. So, to a large extent, television news is as much staged as drama. Golding and Elliott (1979, p.115) in fact describe the content and packaging of news stories as similar to drama stories.

"Television news", according to Comstock et al. (1978, p.84), "is a selective shaping of stories in accord with the needs of the medium, and is difficult to evaluate because there are seldom readily available criteria by which to judge the authenticity of news." This implies that some news items may actually be fictitious (i.e. pseudo-events). They may be staged merely for the benefit of television. The stagings of documentaries observed by Elliott (1972, p.27) were undertaken through three production chains: subject chain, presentation chain and contact chain. Therefore, this common feature in the production of news, documentary and drama programmes leads to two inferences:

1. that the message development process of television involves staging;
2. that the content of programmes and the way they are staged are affected by factors which are personal to producers,

institutional, national and international.

The Future : New Technology

New technology may lead to greater concentration of the resources of production and distribution in a few multinational corporations, and this may introduce new international relations. The transmission channels of TV programmes may change, so also may the ordinary aspects of life: shopping, newspaper reading, education, office work etc. The new problem of life may become what to do with leisure and where to spend it, whether on earth or in space! The content of TV drama will reflect and continuously project future dramatic changes, as already done in films such as Star Wars, Close Encounter of the Third Kind, Star Treck, Star Fleet and E.T.

Advance in technology will introduce new factors into television drama production. Satellite television has actually started to pave the way for this. National and international satellite transmissions are no longer dreams or space fantasies. Recently, Bob Geldof's Live Aid (an all-night, marathon, fund raising musical 13.7.85) campaign was watched by an estimate of 1,500 million people across several continents. In Britain, 30 million viewers, more than half of the population (59%), tuned into the 16 hours of global concert from Wembly (UK) and Philadelphia (USA), and donated more than £13 million to the starving people of Ethiopia (Baker 1985, p.2). This is a clear demonstration that we are slowly entering into the age of satellites in which the world may become a global village, more close-knit than ever before.

Computers and satellites are now changing the practice of journalism (Communication Research Trends 1985, p.1):

> In Japan, the newspaper Ashai Shimbun has installed a computer system which transfers newsprint to the presses, photosets the print, automatically bales the 12 million copies in the required numbers for each district of the country, and loads them on to waiting lorries; all without the help of a single human being.
>
> Though the degree of automation at the Ashai Shimbun is exceptional, newspapers throughout the world are beginning to exploit the power of the computer to revolutionize the work of journalists and printers. And not only the computer. The use of satellites for remote site printing and facsimile transmission, the replacement of news film by videotape, and the emergence of videotex all herald a profound transformation in the practice and organization of newsmaking.

Already, satellites have technological histories in places such as the United States, Canada, India and the USSR. All over the world, the possibility of international satellite television gradually obliterating national terrestrial television has generated some heat concerning the fate of national cultures. On the economic angle, it is feared that direct broadcast satellite (DBS) will "erode the control that broadcasting organisations exercise over television advertising within their own countries" (Mitchel and Venables 1983, p.3). The advent of satellite broadcasting is described by Wigand (1983, p.283) as "a primary example of how technology has developed well before man is able to put it into proper use when considering the social, legal and international implications."

Although the USSR, Japan and a few other industrialized countries have satellite launching facilities, only NASA in USA and Arianspace in Europe are in the launching market. The deposit for a launching reservation at NASA or Arianspace is $100,000. It costs between £15-£30 million to launch a satellite into space. Its manufacture may take up to three years at a cost of £20 million or more. Some of the manufacturers are the Hughes Aircraft Company, RCA and Ford Aerospace and Communications in the USA, British Aerospace, Messerchmitt-Bolkow-Blohn in West Germany and Aerospatiale in France

(Howkins 1981, p.14). While satellite broadcasting is a profitable business in the USA, its commercial prospect in Britain is not rosy. The BBC weighed the cost of its satellite project, estimated at £250 million (Intermedia 1983, p.7), against the value of the service, with respect to revenue to be generated through satellite, and decided to give up its monopoly and share DBS with its erstwhile competitor, ITV.

Satellites are used for monitoring the weather, for studying the earth's resources, for communications and for military purposes. Communication satellites are used for broadcasting and telecommunication. While some satellites occupy variable positions in space relative to the earth, some occupy geostationary positions. The principle of geostationary technique for satellite communication was first described by Arthur C. Clarke, a Briton, in 1945. If a satellite is put in a circular earth orbit at a distance (22,300 miles or 36,000 km) such that it makes one circuit of the earth in 24 hours, it will appear stationary relative to the earth. Thus, ground receiving dishes need to be pointed only in fixed directions towards geo-stationary satellites. The advantage of this fixed position over the earlier variable positions has caused the universal adoption of Clarke's geostationary technique for "normal" satellite communication (Gregory 1980, p.9).

Since 1957, when the Soviets launched Sputnik into orbit, satellites have played significant roles in worldwide communications. Hurricanes "David" and "Frederic" which struck the Caribbean in autumn 1979 were detected well in advance by American weather satellites. The information enabled meteorologists to predict the target towns which were evacuated to avoid loss of lives (Mathews 1982, p.22). Satellites provide the most cost-effective means of reaching the remote areas of the world with high-quality television signals. For instance, the 1978 World Cup Soccer Championship was transmitted by INTELSTAT to about one billion people in 3,200 transmission and reception hours (Wigand 1982, p.255). The development of satellite technology, therefore, is a significant advancement in human civilization.

In 1977, the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC 77) allocated a minimum of five satellite broadcast channels to all the countries of the world in ITU Regions 1 and 3. Although the countries of Region 2 (North and South America) attended the WARC 77, they did not sign the final agreement. It was six years later, in 1983, that a Regional Administrative Radio Conference was organised by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) at its headquarters in Geneva for the Americas to decide on allocation of orbital slots and frequencies for their DBS. Owing to the big differences in sizes among the Americas and because of more recent developments in satellite technology, the orbital allocations were not shared equally. They vary from one for the 16 Caribbean island countries to eight for the USA. Canada has six and Brazil, five slots (Intermedia 1983, p.7).

Politically, conventional terrestrial broadcasting has been less controversial than satellite broadcasting because the former is mainly confined to national boundaries. Governments, as such, have been in a position to control it. But DBS has a potential for international broadcasting and can be beyond control. If the footprint of a country's satellite spills over to another country, the transponder operator is in a position to broadcast signals across his national boundary without the permission of the receiving country. For example, West German satellite broadcasts can be received in parts of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland. It was the possibility of such unauthorised cross-national television broadcasts that made the Soviet Union issue a threat to destroy any West European satellite whose footprint came into the Russian border (Tilcock 1982, p.24).

Interestingly, some Nigerian engineers did not forsee any cause for alarm from DBS. They argued that the incompatibility of different television colour systems (i.e. the PAL group led by Britain, the NTSC group led by the United States and the SECAM group led by the USSR) is a stumbling block. Secondly, the absence of a universal language is a hindrance to DBS. But these handicaps will be removed by more recent developments. The HDTV (High Definition Television) is one of such innovations. It will make television pictures clearer and sharper by establishing a new internationally acceptable standard of 1125 lines at 30 frames per second with an aspect ratio of 5:3. The older standards of 625 lines used in Britain and some other countries and 525 lines used in the United States and some other countries were established about 25 years ago. Hence, the technical progress made since then demands an improvement in the TV standards which will as well ensure compatibility among the various television systems. The second barrier, langauge, can be overcome by using the extra sound channels of the satellite to dub different languages over the original language or the teletext capacity of the satellite may supply translated subtitles (Tilcock 1982, p.24).

Nonetheless, DBS into homes is very expensive at the moment. It requires a costly receiving dish antenna. In the United States, a dish antenna of 4.6m in diameter costs $15,000 excluding shipping and installation costs

(Wigand 1982, p.260). For the reception of BBC's satellite signals in British homes, it was estimated that the necessary descrambler box will cost £500, or £16 a month to rent (Broadcast 1984, p.5). Most homes cannot afford such extra expense. Hence, the future of DBS is seen in coalition with cable television. Dowling (1982, p.31) describes the structure of a commercial DBS linked to cable TV system as follows:

1. Programme Producer,
   who sells programmes to ...
2. Programme Supplier,
   who sells ads. on show and beams it to ...
3. Satellite Operator,
   who charges (2) a fee for retransmitting to ...
4. Cable System Operator,
   who distributes signal to and charges ...
5. Subscriber.

This structure is demonstrated by WTBS, Channel 17 in Atlanta, Georgia, USA, which was once a local (i.e. a one-city) television station. But since 1976, it has become a superstation, broadcasting nationally to over three million homes through a combination of the services of the Southern Satellite Systems, Inc. and several CATV (cable) systems. This linkage provides advertising revenue to WTBS on a national basis (Wigand 1982, p.267).

A link to cable system will also provide a number of other facilities. Where cable networks use another innovation, fibre optics, the possibility of providing many channels for broadcast and interactive communication is enormous. DBS will therefore serve as a commercial stimulus for the long-envisaged use of cable networks and computer systems for personal services such as (Wigand 1982, pp.274-275):

- direct broadcast television and radio;
- tele-education;
- telemedicine;
- transportable emergency terminals;
- newspaper facsimile transmissions;
- simultaneous, multilanguage translation between two continents;
- high-speed facsimile transmissions;
- electronic mail;
- electronic newspaper (videotext);
- electronic shopping and funds transfer.

The communication network will also provide an option of work at home on a much larger scale than ever before. Wigand (1982, p.273) forecasts future business relationships as follows:

> There are definite indications that during the next 25 years top management may be remote management and that these managers will not have a need to see their subordinates on a daily basis. Subordinates can be contacted by a touch of the button. The advent of satellites advances geography, and many persons will be able to work in areas distant from their office or factory.

Therefore, the full use of satellite, cable, computer and video technologies, in addition to the super powers' race to colonize the space, will have tremendous impact on society. As for cultural products, particularly drama, new factors will be introduced into their production process, content and distribution. Already, the film industry in Hollywood is experimenting with the use of HDTV (a 1125 line video system) to replace film. But given its current state and foreseeable development, Fox (1983, p.11) says, "it is likely that HDTV will find its future in the film industry as an intermediate carrier medium. The action will be shot on HDTV video, edited electronically and transferred on to 35 mm film for distribution to cinemas."

Will these innovations solve the current problems of imbalance in the production, content and distribution of cultural products around the world? Littunen et al's. (1980, p.299) view gives no cause for optimism:

> Direct satellite broadcasting implies a tendency towards even greater intensity of international concentration in programme production and distribution, occasioned by the demand for efficiency of high-technology hardware and its economic management, and also by the cost of programme production and distribution.

Neville D. Jayaweera (1983, p.19), the Deputy Director General of the World Association of Christian Communication, expresses a similar dim view:

> If structural reforms are not carried out according to programs of the new international economic and information order, then the satellites will only offer advantages to the prevailing interests and therefore hardly help to solve problems of the developing countries.

These views show that some burning issues of broadcasting remain to be solved. But should the problems be solved? Will attempts to solve social problems retard technological progress? In view of the prevalent international concentration of media production and distribution in a few multinational corporations, does the free marketplace of ideas and information have a self-correcting mechanism which will benefit all parties in the long run? These are ideological questions for which there are no easy answers. The issues are broadly debated as between the individual's rights to freedom of opinion and information (i.e. the free flow of information principle) and the state's right (the national sovereignty concept) to control the flow of information between nations with communication policies against, for instance, cultural imperialism. It is clear, however, that the airwaves are natural resources which are limited. Most nations, as such, see the airwaves as a public asset which must be used in the public interest. Littunen et al. (1980, p.297) argue:

> Broadcasting is a public service always and necessarily so, even when it is conceded partially and as an exception to private interests ... broadcasting is a basic tool for development and progress ... Broadcasting must attend national needs ... state action (in broadcasting policy) is to harmonize public and private interests into a single system.

We may therefore conclude that social achievements, so far, lag behind technological advance. Perhaps an intensification of social science research will produce the wisdom and necessity to direct technological developments towards the benefit of not a few multinationals but all nationals.

Suggestions for Future Research

As mentioned before, this is an exploratory study to map out the field in view of the fact that there is no known study that has addressed television drama production in Nigeria or in Africa. The situation is in sharp contrast to the preponderance of studies of news and news organisations. There is not even any known study of the process of producing documentaries, feature films and sociological examination of the producers themselves within the African setting.

As Ibeabuchi (1984, p.7) comments, "Division of labour in film production is alien to the African film producer. He is Mr. know all. He feels he can do everything." There is a need to know why the African film-maker operates unconventionally, and what effect his professional attitude has on his artwork. Granted, studies of media production and personnel are also few in the advanced countries, compounding the African situation is the fact that the cultural use of the mass media is still an emerging area. The first feature film produced in Nigeria was made in 1960, certainly within living memory, by a Briton, Eric Connor. Most of the television drama programmes emerged much later than that date. On the other hand, the use of the media for news has long attained sophistication because of its role in politics.

The currency of most local drama programmes makes this study a documentation of the development of Nigerian television and film drama. The status of actors as hobbyists and NTA's ambivalent policy on the use of language are clear indications of the embryonic stage of television and film drama. This may explain why many adverse factors were found in the process of production, and it shows that television drama in a developing society, such as Nigeria, is still in the process of developing. Further research will hopefully not only record this early history, but also contribute to the development of work on television drama.

Cinema theatres have thrived successfully in Nigeria for no less than forty years. The feature films, wherever they came from, have played an important part in the lives of viewers, yet studies of the theatres, their audiences and their films have not been done, except for the modest effort reported in Chapter 4 of this volume. The problems addressed in this study call for research in several areas such as: 1. media organisations, personnel and production processes; 2. the relationship between language, culture and the television medium in multilingual societies; 3. cross-cultural (i.e. across national boundaries) consumption of drama programmes; 4. social learning from broadcast drama.

Studies of media organizations need to investigate, among others, the utilization of resources (funds, equipment and personnel) for different outputs. Such studies should reveal the interests that the media organizations strive to serve.

This study has revealed a dire need for media research in the use of language in multilingual societies. Such research should involve the techniques of dubbing various languages on the sound track of television programmes. It should also investigate the effect of translating cultural comedies from one language to another.

The question of cross-cultural consumption of drama programmes arises from the progressive increase in the international flow of the programmes through film, videotape, video cassette and satellite. Tulloch and Alvarado (1983, pp.10-11) articulate the need for research thus:

> This is clearly an important area for future media analysis and research and one which, when engaged with in terms of the differentials of class, sex and race (as well as in terms of age, as indicated in the first example above), will prove to be theoretically, analytically and politically crucial.
>
> It is also becoming an urgent project in terms of the increasing international circulation of texts (to be intensified with the technological developments of video, cable and, in particular, satellite transmission). To take our area of investigation, Doctor Who, having become a British television phenomenon and what amounts to a domestic institution, has now also become an international success. It is now sold to more than thirty-eight countries and enjoys a huge following across the world - a Doctor Who convention held in Chicago in June, 1982, attracted 10,000 fans. Clearly the cultural specificities of the programme and the cultural differences of the readings of it will further compound the difficulties of attempting to conduct research into the decoding process within any one national boundary.

Perhaps some Nigerians with faint memory of their ancient drama may interprete the robots in Doctor Who as masqueraders and the planet of action as a spiritual realm filled with embodied ghosts and timeless continuum. Of course, viewers in Kenya, India, Korea, China, Canada and America may have different interpretations based upon their cultural backgrounds. Therefore, studies in international symbolic codes will provide some illumination into cross-cultural communication.

Hartmann's (1979, p.99) study in the Philippines found that radio drama programmes with explicit social welfare messages had significant high ratings. There was, however, some doubt about whether or not the objectives of the programmes were achieved, for, to quote him again, "the value of a family planning radio message would seem questionable if it is sandwiched between two soap operas in which unrestricted fertility is presented as normal." Similar to Hartmann's finding, some attempts at using television drama programmes for national development in Nigeria were observed. Unfortunately, none of the programmes has been tested for effectiveness. This calls for research in the use of drama programmes to promote social welfare learning. Particular attention needs to be placed on the presentation of such programmes so that the type of neutralizing effect that Hartmann observed in the Philippines can be avoided.

APPENDIX A

THE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF THE NIGERIAN SECOND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN *

The war and the experience of the majority of Nigerians during the darkest days of the long drawn-out crises have demonstrated that Nigeria is no longer a mere "geographic expression". She has indeed emerged from the war as a united country. To enable the new nation to march forward in progress, it is necessary for the country to accept and work for the realisation of a set of national objectives. Every individual and every segment of the country and all persons in positions of trust must henceforth be guided in their utterances and actions by these national objectives. The National Development Plan should, in this context, be seen as the first in the series of plans and programmes of action to help achieve the agreed national objectives and priorities.

What Nigeria lacked most in the past has been the national sense of purpose, particularly in economic matters. The Federal Government will, therefore, occupy the commanding heights in the quest for purposeful national development and provide the leadership and honest administration necessary for the attainment of a national sense of purpose. Government intervention in economic matters designed primarily to protect and promote the public interest is, therefore, fully justified.

The five principal national objectives are to establish Nigeria firmly as:

(i) a united, strong and self-reliant nation;

(ii) a great and dynamic economy;

---

* Nigeria's Second National Development Plan (1970-74), Lagos, The Federal Ministry of Information.

(iii) a just and egalitarian society;

(iv) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and

(v) a free and democratic society.

It is appropriate for the Government and people of the country to seek to give concrete meaning to these objectives and ensure their full realisation at all times.

The background to the basic issues in the country and the character of the civil war have all demonstrated the political necessity that Nigeria must henceforth remain a united nation. It must direct its energies towards evolving a strong and powerful nation capable of sustaining its territorial integrity against all enemies of Africa. The defence and security of the state must be geared to the objective of national unity and the evolution of a well-integrated national community. The pursuit of a strong and united nation, as a fundamental social aim, is the very antithesis of secession or the exploitation of ethnic group, class and similar sentiments. In a free and democratic society there will always be divergences of views. But the inevitably vigorous debates about the great political and social issues facing the nation must be conducted at all times in a healthy, open and sincere manner. All programmes of social action must be guided by the overriding commitments of all citizens to the fundamental objectives of building a strong and united Nigeria.

In the context of modern power relations in the world and especially of the international threats facing the African peoples, Nigeria cannot be truly strong and united without a prosperous economic base. Material power exerts a disproportionate influence on international morality. Nigeria will, therefore, pursue relentlessly the task of development to make the national economy strong, dynamic and responsive to the challenge of world competition.

The country is fortunate in having the resource potential in men, materials and money to lay a solid foundation for a socio-economic revolution in black Africa. The uncompromising objective of a rising economic prosperity in Nigeria is the economic independence of the nation and the defeat of neo-colonialists forces in Africa. It is a race against time and Nigeria must bend its energies towards the achievement of the most rapid rate of economic development feasible as a means of raising the quality of life of the people.

Emphasis has been placed on growth as a pre-condition for a meaningful distribution of the fruits of development. The "national cake" must first be baked before it is shared; and the bigger the cake, the more it can go round at each succeeding round of the sharing game. But distribution is no less important for a country dedicated to the objectives of national unity and social integration. It also affects subsequent rates of growth in real output in terms of incentives for people to identify their interests with those of the nation and to give of their best to the development process.

A just and egalitarian society puts a premium on reducing inequalities in inter-personal incomes and promoting balanced development among the various communities in the different geographical areas in the country. It organises its economic institutions in such a way that there is no oppression based on class, social status, ethnic group or state. A distributive equity is, therefore, an important cornerstone in the set of national objectives for the Government's programme of reconstruction and social reform.

The ultimate goal of economic development is the welfare of the individual. The focus of our policy objective should, therefore, be on how the ordinary citizen is to be affected by the resulting set of action programmes and projects. The prospect of the citizen in the process of economic development and social change should not be determined by the mere accident of the circumstances of his birth. He should be able to have equal access to all the facilities and the opportunities which could help him realise his potential and develop his full personality. A sense of self-reliance and a sense of national pride are worthy objectives which the Government believes the average Nigerian wishes to cultivate. But he can only do so in an atmosphere of expanding opportunities for full employment, for education and for self-fulfilment. The nation will, therefore, remain fully committed to the achievement of these objectives at all times.

The war has brought home forcefully the important lesson that Nigeria's strength lies in the abundance of its resources, the size of its market and the innate dynamism of its people. It is, therefore, a primary objective of policy to promote and maintain at all times the indissoluble unity and interdependence of the national economy. The logic of a fully-integrated economy is the national application of economic policies, the unhindered mobility of production factors across areas and sectors, and the free access of every producer to the national market. It also implies the harmonisation and effective co-ordination of all policy measures by all decision makers for consistency, clarity and workability.

The changing pattern of the world economy and the increasing concentration of world's economic and political power poses a great challenge for Africa, which Nigeria cannot ignore. Nigeria will, therefore, quicken its pace of development through the use of her own resources instead of relying unduly on external aid.

This is the only way for an aspiring nation like Nigeria to develop at a rapid rate and in the right direction.

The volume of resources which can be raised by a community is a function of what the proceeds are used for as well as how they are used. Honest and dedicated leadership can go very far in stimulating a greater sense of sacrifice in a community and thereby sustain a successful self-reliant development. Economic nationalism today does not imply the restriction of international trade. It is directed at the progressive elimination of foreign dominance in the national economy, not merely in terms of nominal financial-ownership but really in terms of the level of managerial and technological control.

Experience through history has shown that a Government cannot plan effectively what it does not control. The widespread frustration of planning in contemporary Africa has also demonstrated the futility of partial planning that is restricted to public sector programmes, especially when the typical African public sector is an inferior junior partner in a game dictated by the global strategy of modern international combines. If Nigeria is, therefore, to be really serious about planned development, it is essential that she should play a dominant role in the public sector. This means having both access to and control of all the major national resources. For a minimum, resources such as land, mineral deposits and other natural endowments, must be owned by the nationals of the country. But more important than legal ownership is the effective control over the use of such vital resources. During the Plan period, Government, will, therefore, seek to regulate the use of those resources for the benefit of the community at large as well as to control the essential and growth-sensitive sectors of the country in the fields of commerce, industry, fuel and energy, construction, transport, finance and education.

For a country that has lagged so much behind in the development race and yet with so much widely-recognised potential, the need to achieve the highest possible growth rate of per capita income is so obvious to need restatement. Strictly speaking, rates of growth in per capita income are not direct operational targets as they do not constitute an end in themselves. They flow as the end-result of the optimum exploitation of real variables - growth of knowledge of natural resources, intensity and character of innovation, level of savings, character of invesments, quality of manpower, managerial ability and the degree of productivity consciousness. Various calculations reflected in different parts of the Development Plan indicate that, as an objective of policy, Nigeria is capable of achieving a minimum average rate of growth, in the Gross Domestic Product, of 6.6% per annum during the period 1970-74. But more important than this growth rate would be the extent to which the economy can succeed in removing the various obstacles to an even higher growth rate from 1974 onwards in later plan periods.

An important element of social justice for national integration is the worthy objective of balanced development as between different geographical areas of the country. The reduction of existing disparities must be pursued openly, although this cannot be accomplished at the cost of stagnation in areas which are presumed to be relatively more developed. To do so would be to slow down the rate of development for the national economy as a whole. The objective is to move rapidly to the achievement of a minimum economic and social standard for every part of the country. A corollary for such a policy objective in a federal system of government is the principle of relatively equal developmental effort and sacrifice as among the geographical areas concerned.

Full employment of resources, especially of the labour force, is the necessary policy objective for an economy dedicated to rapid growth and social harmony. The existence of excess capacity means resource waste and lost economic opportunities which an economy like Nigeria can ill afford. This is true not only of investment capacity, but also, even more strongly, of the nation's human resources. Commitment to a full employment policy implies that Government accepts responsibility to create, on a continuing expanding basis, the appropriate socio-economic environment for maximum utilisation of productive factors. It does not mean an obligation on the part of Government to find wage employment for everybody irrespective of his skill, wish or aspiration. It is essential that all citizens of working age are gainfully occupied according to the requirements of the economy and their skills.

The quality of life in a community depends partly on the level of social services which, collectively, the public sector can provide as social goods. In Nigeria, education and health facilities are at present the most important of such social services; and they are areas in which the Governments have been active in the past. In many well-ordered and economically advanced societies, such goods are supplied free to the citizens at the expense of the community at large. Nigeria is not yet in that happy position. The public sector is neither sufficiently endowed nor adequately organised to treat all social services as free goods without impairing the rational use of available resources for development. The level of such free social goods to be made available must, therefore, be related to what the economy can bear, consistent with its steady growth. In Nigeria today, the level of the social services and the magnitude of investment in education and health must, to a large extent, be determined by how much is available to the Governments and to what extent the people who expect to benefit directly from the services are themselves prepared both individually and collectively, to contribute to such services. In general, however, Government continues to accept as a basic objective of policy the primary responsibility for the mental and physical care of all the citizens.

A fast growing economy is often subject to strong inflationary pressures. Not all forms of inflation are bad, and experience in different parts of the world has shown that some forms of inflationary pressure can even be beneficial to the development process, given skilful planning and management of the economy. Some degree of inflation is, in any case, inevitable in the dynamic conditions of economic growth. Government, nevertheless, accepts it as an objective of policy to keep inflationary tendencies within reasonable bounds not only because of the competitive survival of Nigeria in international trade and payments, but also because of the need to preserve the external value of the Nigerian currency in the international trading community.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

I am a post-graduate student of the University of Leicester, England. I am undertaking a research on the factors that influence television drama production. Here is a letter from my supervisor in support of this.

As part of my study, I need to interview a number of television personnel. I hope for your assistance in supplying some information about the television industry. I wish to assure you that the outcome of this study will benefit the profession of broadcasting as well as contribute to our general understanding of the process of mass communication. As such, your co-operation in giving as much accurate information as you can will be very much appreciated.

This research is only for academic purpose. Its objective is purely educational.

Questions

1. Can you please explain the structure of your organization or department?
2. How are your operations financed?
3. Can you explain the procedure for scheduling your programmes?
4. Do you obtain suggestions or instructions from external sources about the scheduling of your programmes?
5. Can you please describe the nature of your work?

6. How much freedom do you have to perform your duty?

7. Can you describe how ideas are obtained for drama productions?

8. How are the ideas developed into drama productions?

9. What is your view about Nigerian television drama? Are Nigerian drama programmes popular? Are they comparable to imported drama programmes?

10. What problems, if any, are involved in drama productions?

11. How did you start to work in television?

12. What were your educational background and work experience before you started work in television?

13. Do you know of any industrial unions for the performing arts (i.e. music, theatre, radio, television and film)?

14. Are your talents and abilities such that you are able to contribute to other media organizations (i.e. newspapers, advertising, music, theatre, radio and film)? What roles do you play in these organizations.

15. In what various positions have you worked in television?

16. What future ambitions do you want to attain in television or other media organizations?

17. Would you say that you as a person have been very fortunate in life in that:

    (i) you were born into a rich home,

    (ii) or as you grew up, your parents climbed up the social ladder in business, politics, civil service or other areas,

(iii) or your parents have been moderately influential in society?

If your parents have been influential, to what would you attribute their source of influence?

18. Approximately, your age is between:

(i) 16 and 19 years,

(ii) 20 and 30 years,

(iii) 31 and 40 years,

(iv) 41 and 50 years,

(v) 51 and 60 years,

(vi) 61 years and above?

19. Respondent is male or female?

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX C

TELEVISION DRAMA

CONTENT ANALYSIS INSTRUMENT

1. Card No. 1 [1]

2. Programme Title:____________________________________

3. Programme No: (List in multiple figures to fill the allocated columns, e.g. for three columns, code as 001, 006, 037 or 215)__________ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

4. Broadcast Date: Day (e.g. 03, 09, 31 etc.) ____________ 5 ☐ 6 ☐

   Month (e.g. 05, 01, 12 etc.) __________ 7 ☐ 8 ☐

5. Day of the Week: M=1, T=2, W=3. Th=4,
   F=5, Sa=6. Su=7.__________________ 9 ☐

6. Broadcast By: NTA, Channel 10=1
   LTV, Channel 8=2 ______________________ 10 ☐

7. Production of Programme in: NTA, Channel 10=01 11 ☐ 12 ☐
   LTV, Channel 8=02
   Britain =03
   U.S.A. =04
   Other Nigerian TV stations =05
   Other African TV stations =06
   Other Western countries =07
   Eastern Socialist countries =08
   India and Pakistan =09
   Japan and Hong Kong =10
   Other Third World countries =11

8. Type of Drama: Cannot code, explain = 0 13 ☐
   Serial = 1
   Series = 2
   Play = 3
   Feature Film = 4
   Other, explain (e.g. dance drama, musicals) = 5

9. Tone of Programme: Cannot code, explain = 0 14 ☐
   Mostly humorous, comic, light = 1
   Neither light nor serious, mixed = 2
   Serious with sad ending = 3
   Serious with happy ending = 4

INSTRUCTION: For numbers 10 to 16, code one column for each specific variable.

PRESENCE
No = 0
Yes = 1

10. Language/s of Drama:
Silent -- ☐ 15
Indigenous ------------------------------------ ☐ 16
Non-standard English (e.g. pidgin) ------------ ☐ 17
Standard English ------------------------------ ☐ 18
Other foreign languages ----------------------- ☐ 19

11. Date/s of Major Action:
1900-1918 (Before the 1st World War) ---------- ☐ 20
1919-1939 (After the 1st World War) ----------- ☐ 21
1939-1945 (2nd World War) --------------------- ☐ 22
1946-1960 (Pre-Independence) ------------------ ☐ 23
1961-1973 (Post Independence) ----------------- ☐ 24
1974-1982 (Recent) ---------------------------- ☐ 25
Future -- ☐ 26

12. Setting/s (Country) of Action:
Nigeria --------------------------------------- ☐ 27
Britain --------------------------------------- ☐ 28
U.S.A. -- ☐ 29
Other African countries ----------------------- ☐ 30
Other Western countries ----------------------- ☐ 31
Eastern Socialist countries ------------------- ☐ 32
India and Pakistan ---------------------------- ☐ 33
Japan and Hong Kong --------------------------- ☐ 34
Other Third World countries ------------------- ☐ 35

13. Geographic Location/s:
Village --------------------------------------- ☐ 36
Small town ------------------------------------ ☐ 37
City -- ☐ 38
River and sea --------------------------------- ☐ 39
Air and space --------------------------------- ☐ 40

		PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	
14.	Social Location/s:		
	Farm and forest	☐	41
	Factory	☐	42
	Office	☐	43
	Hospital	☐	44
	Home	☐	45
	Police station and court	☐	46
	Leisure environment	☐	47
	Restaurant, night club and hotel	☐	48
	Outdoors	☐	49
15.	Social Activities:		
	Talking	☐	50
	Walking + Swimming	☐	51
	Dancing	☐	52
	Eating	☐	53
	Driving vehicle	☐	54
	Flying plane or boat ride	☐	55
	Reading	☐	56
	Watching TV or film	☐	57
	Medical attention	☐	58
	Other, explain	☐	59
16.	Animals:		
	Domestic	☐	60
	Wild	☐	61
	Doll	☐	62
17.	Card No.	2	1
18.	Programme No.	☐ ☐ ☐	2

INSTRUCTION: For numbers 19 to 24, code two or three columns as applicable for each specific variable.

19. Social Activity Portrayals:

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	IMAGE PORTRAYAL Neutral =0 Positive=1 Negative=2
Drinking	☐ 5	☐ 6
Smoking	☐ 7	☐ 8
Romantic face gesture	☐ 9	☐ 10
Romantic hand touch	☐ 11	☐ 12
Kiss When a married woman kisses another man, the image of "kiss" is negative	☐ 13	☐ 14
Heterosexual act	☐ 15	☐ 16
Homosexual act	☐ 17	☐ 18
Male nudity (waist up)	☐ 19	☐ 20
Male nudity (waist down)	☐ 21	☐ 22
Female nudity (waist up)	☐ 23	☐ 24
Female nudity (waist down)	☐ 25	☐ 26
Other, explain	☐ 27	☐ 28

20. Antisocial Activity:

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	BY MALES No=0 Yes=1	BY FEMALES No = 0 Yes = 1
Verbal threat of violence	☐ 29	☐ 30	☐ 31
Stealing	☐ 32	☐ 33	☐ 34
Burglary	☐ 35	☐ 36	☐ 37
Armed robbery	☐ 38	☐ 39	☐ 40
Beating	☐ 41	☐ 42	☐ 43
Burning	☐ 44	☐ 45	☐ 46
Shooting + Stabbing	☐ 47	☐ 48	☐ 49
Rape	☐ 50	☐ 51	☐ 52
Fraud	☐ 53	☐ 54	☐ 55
Bribery	☐ 56	☐ 57	☐ 58
Smuggling	☐ 59	☐ 60	☐ 61
Hijack	☐ 62	☐ 63	☐ 64
Property destruction	☐ 65	☐ 66	☐ 67
Other, explain	☐ 68	☐ 69	☐ 70

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1		BY MALES No =0 Yes =1		BY FEMALES No = 0 Yes = 1	
21. Card No.					3	1
22. Programme No.	☐	2	☐	3	☐	4
23. Weapons Used:						
Fist	☐	5	☐	6	☐	7
Legs	☐	8	☐	9	☐	10
Rod or stick	☐	11	☐	12	☐	13
Machete, axe or sword	☐	14	☐	15	☐	16
Knife	☐	17	☐	18	☐	19
Short gun	☐	20	☐	21	☐	22
Long gun	☐	23	☐	24	☐	25
Other, explain	☐	26	☐	27	☐	28
24. Actors:						
Children (less than 13 years)	☐	29	☐	30	☐	31
Teenagers (13 to 19 years)	☐	32	☐	33	☐	34
Adults (20 to 60 years)	☐	35	☐	36	☐	37
Old people (above 60 years)	☐	38	☐	39	☐	40
Handicapped people (all ages)	☐	41	☐	42	☐	43

INSTRUCTION: For number 25, code five columns for each specific variable. The category "INCIDENTAL" means not important and not essential to the dramatic plot. The outcome of the story could have been the same without it. In contrast, the category "CRUCIAL" means important and essential to the plot. The outcome of the story could not have been the same without it.

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1		BY MALES No =0 Yes=1		BY FEMALES No = 0 Yes = 1		SIGNIFICANCE Incidental=0 Crucial = 1 Unclear =3		IMAGE PORTRAYAL Neutral=0 Pos'tve=1 Neg'tve=2 Unclear=3	
25. Occupations:										
Farming	☐	44	☐	45	☐	46	☐	47	☐	48
Factory & labour work	☐	49	☐	50	☐	51	☐	52	☐	53
Landownership and Landlord	☐	54	☐	55	☐	56	☐	57	☐	58
Business (owner)	☐	59	☐	60	☐	61	☐	62	☐	63
Business (executive)	☐	64	☐	65	☐	66	☐	67	☐	68
Clerical work	☐	69	☐	70	☐	71	☐	72	☐	73
Typing	☐	74	☐	75	☐	76	☐	77	☐	78

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	BY MALES No =0 Yes =1	BY FEMALES No = 0 Yes = 1	SIGNIFICANCE Incidental=0 Crucial = 1	IMAGE PORTRAYAL Neutral=0 Pos'tve=1 Neg'tve=2
25a. Card No	4 1				
25b. Programme No.	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4		
OCCUPATIONS:					
Trading	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7	☐ 8	☐ 9
Contract work	☐ 10	☐ 11	☐ 12	☐ 13	☐ 14
Medicine (doctor)	☐ 15	☐ 16	☐ 17	☐ 18	☐ 19
Medecine (nurse)	☐ 20	☐ 21	☐ 22	☐ 23	☐ 24
Medecine (pharmacist/herbalist)	☐ 25	☐ 26	☐ 27	☐ 28	☐ 29
Engineering	☐ 30	☐ 31	☐ 32	☐ 33	☐ 34
Law	☐ 35	☐ 36	☐ 37	☐ 38	☐ 39
Teaching	☐ 40	☐ 41	☐ 42	☐ 43	☐ 44
Entertainment	☐ 45	☐ 46	☐ 47	☐ 48	☐ 49
Media practice	☐ 50	☐ 51	☐ 52	☐ 53	☐ 54
Mother/Domestic roles	☐ 55	☐ 56	☐ 57	☐ 58	☐ 59
Prostitution	☐ 60	☐ 61	☐ 62	☐ 63	☐ 64
Chieftaincy & monarchy	☐ 65	☐ 66	☐ 67	☐ 68	☐ 69
Government political office	☐ 70	☐ 71	☐ 72	☐ 73	☐ 74
Party political office	☐ 75	☐ 76	☐ 77	☐ 78	☐ 79
25c. Card No.	5 1				
25d. Programme No.	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4		
OCCUPATIONS:					
Begging for alms	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7	☐ 8	☐ 9
Police	☐ 10	☐ 11	☐ 12	☐ 13	☐ 14
Armed forces	☐ 15	☐ 16	☐ 17	☐ 18	☐ 19
Traffic wardens	☐ 20	☐ 21	☐ 22	☐ 23	☐ 24
Crafts (e.g. carpentry plumbing, electrical work, sewing, hair dressing, weaving etc.)	☐ 25	☐ 26	☐ 27	☐ 28	☐ 29
Hoteliering	☐ 30	☐ 31	☐ 32	☐ 33	☐ 34
Other, explain	☐ 35	☐ 36	☐ 37	☐ 38	☐ 39

INSTRUCTION: For number 26, code two columns for each specific variable. The category "Conflict" stands for problem, trouble, agitation, annoyance, hatred, sadness, etc. In contrast, the category "Harmony" stands for peace, happiness, agreement, love, friendliness, etc.

		PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	TYPE Conflict = 0 Harmony = 1
26. Social Relationship/s:			
(family):	Husband/Wife	☐ 40	☐ 41
	Parent/Child	☐ 42	☐ 43
	Relatives or Friends	☐ 44	☐ 45
(office):	Senior/Junior	☐ 46	☐ 47
	Senior/Senior	☐ 48	☐ 49
	Junior/Junior	☐ 50	☐ 51
(politics):	Party executive/member	☐ 52	☐ 53
	Party executive/exuctive	☐ 54	☐ 55
	Party member/member	☐ 56	☐ 57
(religion):	Christianity (universal forms)	☐ 58	☐ 59
	Christianity (local forms)	☐ 60	☐ 61
	Moslem	☐ 62	☐ 63
	Traditional religion	☐ 64	☐ 65
(law):	Police/criminal	☐ 66	☐ 67
	Police/victim/public/court	☐ 68	☐ 69
	Criminal victim	☐ 70	☐ 71
(medecine):	Doctor/patient	☐ 72	☐ 73
	Herbalist/patient	☐ 74	☐ 75
(traditional culture):	Drumming/dance	☐ 76	☐ 77
	Festival	☐ 78	☐ 79

26a. Card No. [6] 1

26b. Programme No. ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4

SPECIAL EVENTS:

Marriage ceremony	☐ 5	☐ 6
Child naming ceremony	☐ 7	☐ 8
House warming ceremony	☐ 9	☐ 10
Chieftaincy ceremony	☐ 11	☐ 12
Funeral ceremony	☐ 13	☐ 14
Oracle performance	☐ 15	☐ 16
Animal sacrifice	☐ 17	☐ 18
Other, explain.	☐ 19	☐ 20

27. Basic Theme/s:

	PRESENCE No = 0 Yes = 1	
Morality (good v bad, right v wrong)	☐	21
Power (who controls, struggle for dominance)	☐	22
Wealth (acquisition/possession of resources)	☐	23
Prestige (esteem, social deference)	☐	24
Love/Romance (boy/girl or homosexual)	☐	25
Family (marital, parental, family relationships)	☐	26
Justice (crime/law enforcement)	☐	27
Justice (not by legal process, retribution, reward)	☐	28
Friendship/Loyalty (non-sexual, non-family)	☐	29
Achievement (success/work/educational, etc.)	☐	30
Supernatural (unearthly happenings)	☐	31
Religious (relating to Deities	☐	32
Death/Dying)	☐	33
Idealism (ideals or principles over and	☐	34
above morality)	☐	35
Other, explain	☐	36

28. Source/s of Problem/s of Story:

Individual (individual's	☐	~~37~~
mental health)	☐	38
Individual (individual's physical well-being)	☐	39
Emotional (relating to relationships)	☐	40
Economic deprivation	☐	41
Affluence	☐	42
Power	☐	43
Sexuality	☐	44
Work-situated	☐	45
Morality	☐	46
Other, explain	☐	47
Mixed, unclear	☐	48
No problem	☐	49

PRESENCE
No = 0
Yes = 1

29. Problem/s Resolved: ☐ 50

No = 0
Partly = 1
Totally = 2
Unclear = 3
No problem = 4

30. Explicit Message: ☐ 51

None = 0
Social welfare (e.g. integration, family planning, etc) = 1
Economic welfare (e.g. agriculture) = 2
Political welfare (e.g. political participation) = 3
Cultural welfare (e.g. promotion of traditional culture) = 4

31. SUMMARY: Give one paragraph summary of plot identifying central characters, their relationships and storyline.

APPENDIX D.1

PROGRAMME SOURCE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF DRAMA

PROGRAMME SOURCES	SERIES			PLAYS			FEATURE FILMS			SERIALS			OTHERS		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	29%			25%			34%			100%					
LTV		50%			75%			6%			68%			100%	
Other Nigerian TV				25%									100%		
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	29%	50%		50%	75%		34%	6%		100%	68%				
India & Pakistan								12%							
Other Third World Countries															
Total Third World Countries	29%	50%		50%	75%		34%	29%		100%	68%				
U.S.A.	43%	23%		12%			34%	59%			16%				
Britain	28%	27%		38%							16%				
Japan & Hong Kong								12%							
Other Western Countries					25%		33%								
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	71%	50%		50%	25%		67%	71		-	32%				
Total Number of Programmes	21	26		8	4		3	17		3	6		1	1	

APPENDIX D.2

PROGRAMME SOURCES OF DIFFERENT TONES OF DRAMA

PROGRAMME SOURCES	SERIOUS WITH HAPPY ENDING			COMICAL			MIXED			SERIOUS WITH SAD ENDING			UNCLASSIFIED		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	21%			1%			71%			57%			100%		
LTV		18%			55%			83%			50%				
Other Nigerian TV	14%			12%											
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	35%	18%					71%								
India & Pakistan		5%									7%				
Other Third World Countries		4%									7%				
Total Third World Countries	35%	27%		12%	55%		71%	83%		57%	64%		100%		
U.S.A.	29%	50%		63%	9%		15%	17%		14%	29%				
Britain	29%	14%		25%	36%		14%			29%	7%				
Japan & Hong Kong		4%													
Other Western Countries	7%	5%													
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	65%	73%		88%	45%		29%	17%		43%	36%				
Total Number of Programmes	14	22		8	11		7	6		7	14		1		

APPENDIX D.3

COMPARISON OF TONES OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Tones of Drama	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Serious with Happy Ending	51%	26%
Comical	24%	17%
Serious with Sad Ending	16%	31%
Mixed	9%	24%
Unclassified	-	2%
No. of Programmes	49	42

APPENDIX D.4

LANGUAGES OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Languages	NTA	LTV
Standard English	67%	52%
Indigenous Language	22%	39%
Other Foreign Languages	8%	7%
Pidgin English	3%	2%
No. of Programmes	37	54

APPENDIX D.5

DATES OF MAJOR ACTION OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Dates	NTA	LTV
1974 - 1983 (Recent)	84%	87%
1900 - 1918 (Before the 1st World War)	3%	13%
1961 - 1973 (Post-Independence)	5%	-
Future	5%	-
1919 - 1939 (After the 1st World War)	3%	-
No. of Programmes	37	54

APPENDIX D.6

PROGRAMME SOURCES OF DRAMA IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	STANDARD ENGLISH			INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE			OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGES			PIDGIN ENGLISH		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	23%			75%			33%			100%		
LTV		3%			100%						100%	
Other Nigerian TV	4%			25%								
Other African Countries												
Total African Countries	27%	3%		100%			33%			100%	100%	
India & Pakistan								50%				
Other Third World Countries		6%										
Total Third World Countries	27%	9%		100%	100%		33%	50%		100%	100%	
U.S.A.	39%	58%					34%					
Britain	31%	27%					33%					
Japan & Hong Kong		3%						25%				
Other Western Countries	3%	3%						25%				
Eastern Socialist Countries												
Total Advanced Countries	73%	91%					67%	50%				
Total Number of Programmes	25	28		8	21		3	4		1	1	

PROGRAMME SOURCES OF DRAMA WITH VARIOUS DATES OF MAJOR ACTION

PROGRAMME SOURCES	1974-1983 (Recent)			1900-1918 (Before the 1st World War)			1961-1973 (Post-Independ.)			Future			1919-1939 (After the 1st World War)		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	32%						50%			50%			100%		
LTV		37%			57%										
Other Nigerian TV	10%														
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries					57%		50%								
India & Pakistan		5%													
Other Third World Countries					29%										
Total Third World Countries	42%	42%			86%		50%								
U.S.A.	29%	35%		100%	14%		50%								
Britain	26%	17%								50%					
Japan & Hong Kong		4%													
Other Western Countries	3%	2%													
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	58%	58%		100%	14%		50%								
Total Number of Programmes	31	47		1	7		2			2			1		

APPENDIX D.8

COMPARISON OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO DATES OF MAJOR ACTION

Dates of Major Action	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
1974 - 1983 (Recent)	92%	79%
1900 - 1918 (Before the 1st World War)	4%	15%
1961 - 1973 (Post-Independence)	2%	2%
Future	2%	2%
1919 - 1939 (After the 1st World War)	-	2%
No. of Programmes	49	42

APPENDIX D.9

COUNTRIES OF ACTION OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Countries	NTA	LTV
Nigeria	41%	39%
Other African Countries	-	2%
Total African Countries	41%	41%
India and Pakistan	-	3%
Other Third World	3%	3%
Total Third World	44%	47%
U.S.A.	35%	26%
Britain	19%	19%
Japan and Hong Kong	-	3%
Other Western Countries	2%	3%
Eastern Socialist Countries	-	2%
Total Advanced Countries	56%	53%
No. of Programmes	37	54

APPENDIX D.10

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Geographic Locations	NTA	LTV
City	53%	65%
Town	22%	18%
Village	19%	15%
River and Sea	6%	2%
No. of Occurrences	36	55

APPENDIX D.11

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	CITY			TOWN			VILLAGE			RIVER & SEA		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	21%			38%			71%					
LTV		22%			70%			88%				
Other Nigerian TV	5%			12%			15%					
Other African Countries												
Total African Countries	26%	22%		50%	70%		86%	88%				
India & Pakistan		6%										
Other Third World Countries		2%			20%							
Total Third World Countries	26%	30%		50%	90%		86%	88%				
U.S.A.	42%	45%		25%			14%	12%		50%		
Britain	27%	19%		25%	10%					50%	100%	
Japan & Hong Kong		3%										
Other Western Countries	5%	3%										
Eastern Socialist Countries												
Total Advanced Countries	74%	70%		50%	10%		14%	12%				
Total Number of Programmes	19	36		8	10		7	8		2	1	

APPENDIX D.12

SOCIAL LOCATIONS OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Social Locations	NTA	LTV
Home	44%	39%
Outdoors	15%	18%
Office	15%	14%
Restaurant, Night Club, Hotel	10%	14%
Police Station & Court	9%	6%
Farm and Forest	7%	9%
No. of Occurrences	59	94

APPENDIX D.13

SOCIAL LOCATIONS OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	HOME			OUTDOORS			OFFICE			RESTAURANT, NIGHT CB. &HOT.			POLICE STNT. & COURT			FARM & FOREST		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	27%			56%			22%			33%						25%		
LTV		43%			53%			-						17%			75%	
Other Nigerian TV	8%			22%			11%									25%		
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	35%			78%	53%		23%	-		33%				17%		50%	75%	
India & Pakistan		3%												17%				
Other Third World Countries		5%			6%													
Total Third World Countries	35%	51%		78%	59%		33%	-		33%				34%		50%	75%	
U.S.A.	39%	22%		11%	29%		34%	53%			62%		60%	33%		50%	25%	
Britain	23%	19%		11%			33%	31%		50%	23%		40%	33%				
Japan & Hong Kong		5%			6%			8%			8%							
Other Western Countries	3%	3%						8%		17%	7%							
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	65%	49%		22%	41%		67%	100%		67%	100%		100%	66%		50%	25%	
Total Number of Occurrences	26	37		9	17		9	13		6	13		5	6		4	8	

APPENDIX D.14

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Social Activities	NTA	LTV
Walking and/or Swimming	100%	100%
Talking	97%	100%
Drinking	57%	54%
Driving Vehicle	41%	33%
Eating	35%	24%
Kissing	27%	28%
Romantic Hand Touch	22%	20%
Dancing	19%	33%
Romantic Face Gesture	19%	15%
Male Nudity (Waist Up)	16%	26%
Smoking	14%	19%
Reading	14%	4%
Female Nudity (Waist Up)	11%	22%
Flying Plane and Boat Ride	5%	19%
Homosexual Act	-	2%
No. of Programmes	37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple social activities were coded where they occurred in programmes.

APPENDIX D.15

SELECTED SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	DRIVING VEHIC			KISS			ROMANTIC HAND TOUCH			DANCING			SMOKING			FLYING PLANE & BOAT RIDE		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	20%			20%			37%			29%								
LTV					7%			27%			61%			30%				
Other Nigerian TV										14%								
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	20%			20%	7%		37%			43%	61%			30%				
India & Pakistan		5%									6%							
Other Third World Countries											5%							
Total Third World Countries	20%	5%		20%	7%		37%	27%		43%	72%			30%				
U.S.A.	33%	72%		40%	53%		13%	46%			28%		20%	50%			70%	
Britain	47%	11%		40%	53%		50%	18%		43%			60%	10%		100%	20%	
Japan & Hong Kong		6%			7%			9%					20%	10%			10%	
Other Western Countries		6%								14%								
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	80%	95%		80%	93%		63%	73%		57%	28%		100%	70%		100%	100%	
Total Number of Occurrences	15	18		10	15		8	11		7	18		5	10		2	10	

APPENDIX D.16

ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Antisocial Activities	NTA	LTV
Verbal Threat of Violence	33%	24%
Beating	27%	36%
Shooting and Stabbing	20%	17%
Stealing	13%	15%
Burglary	7%	-
Armed Robbery	-	8%
No. of Occurrences	30	53

APPENDIX D.17

WEAPONS USED IN DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Weapons	NTA	LTV
Fist	41%	34%
Short Gun	22%	22%
Long Gun	15%	12%
Knife	15%	7%
Legs	7%	9%
Rod or Stick	-	16%
No. of Occurrences	27	58

APPENDIX D.18

ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	VERBAL THREAT OF VIOLENCE			BEATING			SHOOTING & STABBING			STEALING			BURGLARY			ARMED ROBBERY		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	40%			25%						25%			50%					
LTV		54%			26%						50%							
Other Nigerian TV	10%						17%											
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	50%	54%		25%	26%		17%			25%	50%							
India & Pakistan					5%			11%										
Other Third World Countries					10%													
Total Third World Countries	50%	54%		25%	41%		17%	11%		25%	50%		50%					
U.S.A.	30%	15		38%	42%		34%	67%		50%	38%						100%	
Britain	10%	31		25%	6%		33%	11%			12%		50%					
Japan & Hong Kong					11%			11%										
Other Western Countries	10%			12%			16%			25%								
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	50%	46%		75%	59%		83%	89%		75%	50%		50%				100%	
Total Number of Programmes	10	13		8	19		6	9		4	8		2				4	

APPENDIX D.19

COMPARISON OF ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Antisocial Activities	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Beating	35%	35%
Shooting and Stabbing	27%	7%
Verbal Threat of Violence	23%	41%
Stealing	15%	17%
No. of Occurrences	48	29

APPENDIX D.20

WEAPONS USED IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	FIST			SHORT GUN			LONG GUN			KNIFE			LEGS			ROD OR STICK		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	40%																	
LTV		12%						14%			25%						56%	
Other Nigerian TV																		
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	40%	12%						14%									56%	
India & Pakistan		5%			8%						25%			20%			11%	
Other Third World Countries																	11%	
Total Third World Countries	40%	17%						14%			50%			20%			78%	
U.S.A.	35%	62%		33%	54%		75%	72%		50%	25%		100%	20%				
Britain	25%	11%		50%	23%			14%		25%				20%				
Japan & Hong Kong		10%			7%						25%			40%			22%	
Other Western Countries				17%	8%		25%			25%								
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	60%	83%		100%	92%		100%	86%		100%	50%		100%	80%			22%	
Total Number of Programmes	11	20		6	13		4	7		4	4		2	5			9	

APPENDIX D.21

COMPARISON OF WEAPONS USED IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Weapons	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Fist	37%	37%
Short Gun	27%	5%
Long Gun	15%	5%
Knife	9%	11%
Legs	9%	5%
Rod and Stick	3%	37%
No. of Occurrences	66	19

APPENDIX D.22

TYPES OF ACTORS PRESENTED IN DRAMA ON NTA AND LTV

Type of Actors	NTA	LTV
Adults (20 to 60 years)	97%	100%
Teenagers (13 to 19 years)	38%	32%
Domestic Animals	11%	24%
Children (less than 13 years)	8%	17%
Old People (above 60 years)	8%	11%
Handicapped	-	9%
Wild Animals	3%	7%
Dolls	3%	4%
No. of Programmes	37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple type of actors were coded for each programme.

APPENDIX D.23

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Occupations	NTA	LTV
Police	19%	24%
Mother/Domestic Roles	19%	13%
Trading	16%	11%
Chieftaincy	11%	13%
Business	11%	7%
Crafts	5%	11%
Medicine	3%	13%
Farming	3%	9%
Clerical Work	-	7%
Typing	3%	4%
Law	5%	2%
Armed Forces	3%	4%
No. of Programmes	37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple occupations were coded for each programme. Where the total is less than 100%, it indicates that some programmes did not have certain type or types of occupations (e.g. Clerical Work in NTA column).

APPENDIX D.24

THE SEX OF ACTORS IN DRAMA

Actors	MALES			FEMALES	
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV
Adults (20 to 60 years)	97%	100%		87%	98%
Teenagers (13 to 19 years)	38%	33%		43%	33%
Children (Less than 13 years)	11%	15%		11%	17%
Old People (above 60 years)	5%	9%		5%	7%
No. of programmes	37	54		37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple type of actors were coded for each programme.

APPENDIX D.25

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	POLICE			MOTHER/DOMESTIC ROLES			TRADING			CHIEFTAINCY			BUSINESS			CRAFTS		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	14%			57%			67%			100%			25%			50%		
LTV		15%			57%			83%			72%						67%	
Other Nigerian TV																		
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	14%	15%		57%	57%		67%	83%										
India & Pakistan		8%									14%							
Other Third World Countries											14%							
Total Third World Countries	14%	23%		57%	57%		67%	83%		100%	100%		25%			50%	67%	
U.S.A.	57%	54%		29%	29%		33%						25%	50%		50%	16%	
Britain	27%	8%		14%	14%								50%	25%			17%	
Japan & Hong Kong		7%						17%						25%				
Other Western Countries		7%																
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	84%	76%		43%	43%		33%	17%					75%	100%		50%	33%	
Total Number of Programmes	7	13		7	7		6	6		4	7		4	4		2	6	

APPENDIX D.26

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	MOTHER/ DOMESTIC ROLE			TRADING			FARMING			CLERICAL WK.			TYPING		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	57%			67%									100%		
LTV		57%			83%			67%							
Other Nigerian TV															
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	57%	57%		67%	83%			67%					100%		
India & Pakistan															
Other Third World Countries															
Total Third World Countries	57%	57%		67%	83%			67%					100%		
U.S.A.	29%	29%		33%				33%			67%			50%	
Britain	14%	14%									33%			50%	
Japan & Hong Kong					17%										
Other Western Countries															
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	43%	43%		33%	17%			33%			100%			100%	
Total Number of Programmes	7	7		6	6			3			3		1	2	

APPENDIX D.27

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Occupations	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Mother/Domestic Roles	40%	40%
Trading	20%	45%
Farming	7%	10%
Clerical Work	20%	-
Typing	13%	5%
No. of Occurrences	15	20

APPENDIX D.28

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Social Relationships	NTA	LTV
Husband/Wife	50%	35%
Parent/Child	41%	26%
Relatives	22%	9%
Business Colleagues	14%	4%
Oracle Consultation	5%	9%
Doctor/Patient	3%	7%
Police/Victim	3%	4%
No. of Programmes	37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple social relationships were coded where they occurred in programmes. Where the total is less than 100%, it indicates that some programmes did not have certain types of social relationships.

APPENDIX D.29

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	HUSBAND/ WIFE			PARENT/CHILD			RELATIVES			BUSINESS COLLEAGUES			ORACLE PERFORMANCE		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	41%			27%			38%						100%		
LTV		58%			50%			80%						80%	
Other Nigerian TV	6%			6%											
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	47%	58%													
India & Pakistan					8%										
Other Third World Countries					7%									20%	
Total Third World Countries	47%	58%		33%	65%		38%	80%					100%	100%	
U.S.A.	24%	21%		47%	21%		25%	20%		40%	50%				
Britain	29%	21%		20%	7%		37%			60%	50%				
Japan & Hong Kong					7%										
Other Western Countries															
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	53%	42%		67%	35%		62%	20%							
Total Number of Occurrences	17	19		15	14		8	5		5	2		2	5	

APPENDIX D.30

THE THEMES IN DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Themes	NTA	LTV
Friendship/Loyalty	43%	22%
Death/Dying	22%	37%
Family	43%	19%
Morality	32%	13%
Power	16%	24%
Love Romance	16%	11%
Wealth	8%	13%
Justice	8%	11%
Supernatural	5%	11%
No. of Programmes	37	54

NOTE: The column data are not equal to 100% because multiple themes were coded where they occurred in programmes.

APPENDIX D.31

THE THEMES IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	FRIENDSHIP/ LOYALTY			DEATH/ DYING			FAMILY			MORALITY			POWER			SUPER-NATURAL		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	19%			25%			37%			33%			50%			100%		
LTV		33%			35%			40%			57%			46%			67%	
Other Nigerian TV				13%			13%						17%					
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	19%			38%	35%		50%	40%		33%	57%		67%			100%		
India & Pakistan					10%									7%			17%	
Other Third World Countries																	16%	
Total Third World Countries	19%	33%		38%	45%		50%	40%		33%	57%		67%	53%		100%	100%	
U.S.A.	44%	17%			35%		25%	30%		34%	43%			31%				
Britain	31%	42%		50%	10%		25%	30%		25%			33%	8%				
Japan & Hong Kong		8%			5%													
Other Western Countries	6%			12%	5%					8%				8%				
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	81%	67%		62%	55%		50%	50%		67%	43%		33%	47%				
Total Number of Programmes	16	12		8	20		16	10		12	7		6	13		2	6	

APPENDIX D.32

THE PROBLEMS OF DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Problems of Drama	NTA	LTV
Economic Deprivation	43%	26%
Emotional Relationship	22%	25%
Power	7%	21%
Mental Health	14%	14%
Other	14%	14%
No. of Occurrences	28	43

APPENDIX D.33

THE PROBLEMS OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION			EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP			POWER			MENTAL HEALTH			OTHER		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	33%			50%						25%			75%		
LTV		27%			36%			56%			67%			17%	
Other Nigerian TV	8%			17%											
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	41%	27%		67%				56%		25%	67%		75%	17%	
India & Pakistan					9%										
Other Third World Countries														33%	
Total Third World Countries	41%	27%		67%	45%			56%		25%	67%		75%	50%	
U.S.A.	43%	64%			19%		50%	33%		25%	33%		25%	17%	
Britain	8%			33%	36%		50%	11%		50%				16%	
Japan & Hong Kong		9%													
Other Western Countries	8%													17%	
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	59%	73%		33%	55%			44%		75%	33%		25%	50%	
Total Number of Programmes	12	11		6	11		2	9		4	6		4	6	

APPENDIX D.34

COMPARISON OF THE PROBLEMS OF DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Problems of Drama	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Economic Deprivation	40%	24%
Emotional Relationship	21%	28%
Power	16%	15%
Mental Health	13%	15%
Other	10%	18%
No. of Occurrences	38	33

APPENDIX D.35

THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Solution of Problems	NTA	LTV
Totally	43%	63%
Not Solved	22%	15%
Unclear	19%	16%
Partly Solved	16%	6%
No. of Programmes	37	54

APPENDIX D.36

THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	TOTALLY		NOT SOLVED		UNCLEAR		PARTLY SOLVED	
	NTA	LTV	NTA	LTV	NTA	LTV	NTA	LTV
NTA	31%		63%		14%		33%	
LTV		38%		38%		45%		67%
Other Nigerian TV	6%							
Other African Countries							33%	
Total African Countries	37%	38%	63%	38%	14%	45%	66%	67%
India & Pakistan		3%				22%		
Other Third World Countries		3%						
Total Third World Countries	37%	44%	63%	38%	14%	67%	66%	67%
U.S.A.	32%	38%	12%	50%	57%		17%	
Britain	25%	12%	25%	12%	29%	22%	17%	33%
Japan & Hong Kong		3%				11%		
Other Western Countries	6%	3%						
Eastern Socialist Countries								
Total Advanced Countries	63%	56%	37%	62%	86%	33%	34%	33%
Total Number of Programmes	16	34	8	8	7	9	6	3

APPENDIX D.37

COMPARISON OF THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN DRAMA FROM THE ADVANCED AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Solution of Problems	Advanced Countries	Third World Countries
Totally	59%	50%
Unclear	18%	17%
Not Solved	17%	19%
Partly Solved	6%	14%
No. of Programmes	49	42

APPENDIX D.38

EXPLICIT WELFARE MESSAGES IN DRAMA PRESENTED ON NTA AND LTV

Explicit Welfare Messages	NTA	LTV
None	70%	70%
Social Welfare	11%	22%
Economic Welfare	8%	-
Political Welfare	6%	4%
Cultural Welfare	5%	4%
No. of Programmes	37	54

APPENDIX D.39

EXPLICIT MESSAGES IN DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	NONE			SOCIAL WELFARE			ECONOMIC WELFARE			POLITICAL WELFARE			CULTURAL WELFARE		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	19%			50%			67%			100%			100%		
LTV		18%			92%						100%			100%	
Other Nigerian TV	8%			25%											
Other African Countries															
Total African Countries	27%	18%		75%	92%		67%			100%	100%		100%	100%	
India & Pakistan		5%													
Other Third World Countries		3%			8%										
Total Third World Countries	27%	26%		75%	100%		67%			100%	100%		100%	100%	
U.S.A.	42%	45%													
Britain	27%	21%		25%			33%								
Japan & Hong Kong		5%													
Other Western Countries	4%	3%													
Eastern Socialist Countries															
Total Advanced Countries	73%	74%		25%			33%								
Total Number of Programmes	26	38		4	12		3			2	2		2	2	

APPENDIX D.40

THE PLOTS OF DRAMA BY PROGRAMME SOURCES

PROGRAMME SOURCES	CRIME			DOMESTIC LIFE			DOMESTIC & BUISNESS LIFE			HEALTH			POLITICS			CHIEFTAINCY AFFAIRS		
	NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV		NTA	LTV	
NTA	13%			43%			40%			67%			100%					
LTV		16%			59%			60%			25%			100%			75%	
Other Nigerian TV	7%			14%														
Other African Countries																		
Total African Countries	20%	16%		57%	59%		40%	60%		67%	25%		100%	100%			75%	
India & Pakistan		5%																
Other Third World Countries		5%																
Total Third World Countries	20%	26%		57%	59%		40%	60%		67%	25%		100%	100%			75%	
U.S.A.	47%	53%		29%	18%		20%	20%		33%	50%						25%	
Britain	27%	11%		14%	23%		40%	20%			25%							
Japan & Hong Kong		5%																
Other Western Countries	6%	5%																
Eastern Socialist Countries																		
Total Advanced Countries	80%	74%		43%	41%		60%	40%		33%	75%						25%	
Total Number of Programmes	15	19		7	17		5	5		3	4		3	2			4	

APPENDIX E

SYNOPSES OF SOME PIONEER NIGERIAN FEATURE FILMS*

1. DINNER WITH THE DEVIL (1976)
Director: Sanya Dosunmu
Colour 90 minutes
English language

When a young civil servant is posted to a town in another state, he discovers large-scale financial and moral corruption by a local Councillor and his henchman. In his youthful exuberance, he unofficially throws himself into a kind of mission spearheading a clean-up crusade. However, the only semblance of sympathy he gets comes from the young and beautiful wife of the Councillor's henchman - who is more interested in having 'fun' than in his crusade - and a young radical, who is beaten up for his association with Shehu.

When he finally calls the police to his aid, his action is belated because the star witness has died of 'megun' juju. But whilst the police are busy preparing a case, retributive justice steps in and judgement is delivered from above....

DINNER WITH THE DEVIL was intended as an allegory on both political corruption (which is seen as a passing phase) and the ushering in of accountability in the Nigerian body politic. Significantly, the film poses essentially a moral argument, wherein the terms of reference and final resolution are inextricably bound up with spiritual, as well as specifically political values.

2. BISI DAUGHTER OF THE RIVER (1977)
Director: Jab Adu
Colour 90 minutes
English language

Jab Adu's much acclaimed film stars the popular Nigerian actress, Patti Boulaye, who plays a young beautiful girl whose destiny is linked to the powerful River Goddess, from whence she came....

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* Culled from a leaflet on "Nigerian Film Week" which was organised by the Commonwealth Institute, London, December 3-9, 1984.

3. THE MASK (1979)
Director: Eddie Ugbomah
Colour 90 minutes
English language

An action drama about an attempt to 'recapture' the famous Emotan Mask (of the ancient Benin Kingdom), which the British appropriated during colonial days and still possess. For many years, Nigeria tried in vain to get the mask back, even offering to pay any price for its return, for example, in 1977 when it was used as the FESTAC symbol. Like his political drama, DEATH OF A BLACK PRESIDENT, Eddie Ugbomah's THE MASK uses the social and political circumstances surrounding an actual situation, in order to construct a fictionalised representation and critique of present-day politics in Nigeria. The mask provides a powerful symbolic link with both the colonial past and the uneasy post-colonial present.

4. EFUNSETAN (1981)
Director: Bankole Bello
Colour 75 minutes
Yoruba

The influence of Yoruba theatre on Nigerian cinema - reflected particularly in the work of Chief Hubert Ogunde and Ola Balogun - is strongly evidenced in Bankole Bello's short feature film, itself an adaptation from a highly popular Yoruba play, about a legendary chieftess, Efunsetan, whose tyrannical rule is challenged by the village. Bankole Bello, formerly an assistant to Ola Balogun, is Head of the Cinematographic Unit at the University of Ife.

5. ORUN MOORU (1982)
Director: Ola Balogun
Colour 100 minutes
Yoruba/English subtitles

Featuring the popular comic character, Baba Sala (Hon. Moses Olaiya Adejumo), this film is an ironic moral tale about a one-time successful businessman who runs amock and decides to kill himself, after being robbed of his wealth by dupes and pickpockets. He comes face to face with death, in the shape of 'Iku'. But Iku refuses to help him in his suicide bid, on the grounds that he never kills, and passes the responsibility on to 'Ayo', the spirit of joy.

Ayo gives Baba Sala two balls, one containing wealth and the other death, and instructs him to break one immediately when he gets home, and to leave a gap of 50 years before breaking the other. Baba Sala suddenly becomes very rich, but he soon starts to wallow in financial recklessness. During a house warming ceremony, he becomes intoxicated with joy and, contrary to Ayo's instructions, breaks open the second ball. Instead of making more money, as he expected, he is confronted by death. He tries to escape, screaming Ikuo! Ikuo!

6. OWO L'AGBA (MONEY POWER) (1982)
Director: Ola Balogun
Colour 90 minutes
Yoruba/English subtitles

A penetrating look at the overpowering role of the Naira (currency) in contemporary Nigerian society. Ola Balogun poses a series of provocative questions, which underpin the film's main impulse - Can money buy everything in the Nigeria of today? Can it buy love? Almost certainly. Can it buy respectability? Perfectly. Can it buy popularity? No difficulty. Can it buy election votes? Very interesting question! As the colourful millionaire character, Chief B.C. Ade points out in the film, nothing can resist naira power in the Nigeria of today....

The drama begins to unfold when the Editor of a major newspaper sends his star reporter to interview the main contestants of a forthcoming political election. Millionaire politician Chief B.C. Ade is out chasing a government contract when the reporter calls at his office, but the politician's absence turns out to be a blessing in disguise for the young handsome journalist, as instant romance blossoms between him and the Chief's newly employed receptionist. Will innocent love triumph over money power? A fascinating love story gradually develops against an unfolding background of election campaigns characterised by greed, violence and empty promises....

7. DEATH OF A BLACK PRESIDENT (1983)
Director: Eddie Ughomah
Colour 125 minutes
English language

Eddie Ugbomah's eighth feature film is a docudrama "inspired by a dedicated patriotic Nigerian who lived and died for his people" - the late Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed. The film is set in a fictitious West Coast African country, called Joram, and is based on a coup d'etat plot. When a popular government comes to power, following twelve years of military rule which had become very unpopular with the masses, some officers in the Army are unhappy with the change and plan a counter-coup, which fails. DEATH OF A BLACK PRESIDENT explores the intricacies of the coup d'etat and the results of greed for power. It was shot in Nigeria, Uganda, Benin Republic and Britain, and cost over £1 million to make.

8. IREKE ONIBUDO (1983)
Director: Tunde Alabi Hundeyin
Colour 135 minutes
Yoruba/English subtitles

A mythical action/adventure based on D.O. Fagunwa's classic story. On the death of his mother, Ireke Onibudo sets out on a journey in search of his destiny. He encounters different societies along the way - including Ilu-Adeorun, the city of the Chief Messenger of Heaven; Ilu-Oku, the city of the dead; Ilu-Eroeyin, the crazy city; Ilu-Arogidigba, the city of the water-goddess. Each provides him with new and sometimes bizarre challenges.

At Ilu-Eroeyin, an apparently ideal village where every hour has a special meaning (there are times for fighting, for loving, for eating, etc.), he finds the monotony unbearable and has to escape. At Ilu-Oku, the king of the dead gives him a magical kola, which he can make use of when facing any difficulty. At Ilu-Arogidigba, the water-goddess sets him the formidable task of building a mighty house in a day, then he has to fight Ewure-Iberu, the beast with sixteen horns of fire that works for Satan. At Ilu-Aluyipayida, Ireke Onibudo rescues a young girl who is about to be sacrificed to the 'killer snake' that seasonally visits the village.

APPENDIX F

BAUCHI RADIO PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

BAUCHI BROADCASTING CORPORATION BROADCASTING HOUSE

PROGRAMMES SCHEDULE FOR SECOND QUARTER APRIL, MAY & JUNE 1983

DAILY BROADCAST ON MEDIUM WAVE:
738 KILOHERTZ, 405 METRES - BAUCHI:
846 KILOHERTZ, 353 METRES - AZARE:
1404 KILOHERTZ, 213 METRES - GOMBE:

TRANSMISSION FROM 0527 HOURS TO 0005 HOURS (BP):

(BP) INDICATES PROGRAMMES ORIGINATING FROM BAUCHI:

(RN) DENOTES PROGRAMMES RELAYED FROM RADIO NIGERIA STUDIOS IN LAGOS:

(FT) INDICATES FOREIGN TAPES:

(HASSAN ADAMU SHIRA)
CONTROLLER OF PROGRAMMES.

FRIDAYS 1st, 8th, 15th, 22nd & 29th APRIL, 1983
FRIDAYS 6th, 13th, 20th & 27th May, 1983
FRIDAYS 3rd, 10th, 17th & 24th JUNE, 1983

	BP	0527	STATION CALL CUBICLE:	LIVE
	BP	0530	TIME CHECK AND OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT: Fadan lokaci da bude Tasha.	LIVE
	BP	0533	NATIONAL ANTHEM AND PLEDGE: Taken Nigeria.	TAPE
	BP	0535	ADDU'A:	TAPE
	BP	0540	TIME CHECK AND PROGRAMMES PARADE: Fadan lokaci da bayanin shirye-shirye.	LIVE
m	BP	0550	GARI YA WAYE/COMM: Music on records to be presented by D.C.A. Kade kade kan faya-fayen garmafo.	LIVE
	BP	0600	KUKAN KURCIYA: The words of our elders are words of wisdom Fadakarwa, Produced by Muhammadu Waziri (RPT at1755 hrs).	TAPE
m	BP	0605	INTERLUDE: Kade kade kan faya fayen garmafo.	LVIE
	BP	0620	NEWS SUMMARY: ENGLISH AND HAUSA: Takaitattun labarai cikin Turanci da Hausa.	LIVE
	BP	0630	UNITED NATIONS QUATER HOUR: The programme that brings report of development in the united Nations. Shirin dake kawo rahoton ci gaba da aka samu a Majalisar dinkin Duniya.	TAPE
	BP	0645	HANJIN JIMINA: A look at events of historical significance with emphasis on individuals who contributed a lot towards the total or partial emancipation of their respective communities. Tarihin kasashen duniya da kuma matanen da suke taimaka wajen ci gaban kasashensu. produced by Sagir Adamu (RPT. from Thursday 0645 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	0700	NETWORK NEWS: From the network service of Radio Nigeria. Labarun kasa baki daya daga Ikko.	RN
	BP	0715	SPORTLIGHT: The programme that takes a look at issues of special interest to the people of Bauchi State. Shirin dake tattauna kuma ya baiyana wa jama'ar jihar Bauchi. produced by Maigari Meh. Khanna. (RPT. from Thursday 0715 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	0730	YAU DA GOBE: Assembly reports and other stories of state and national concern. Rahoton wainar da aka toya a Majalisar Dokokin jiha da sauran labarun jiha. produced by Sama'ila Bala Guman (RPT. on Thursday 2054hrs.)	TAPE
m	BP	0800	WAKOKIN ADDININ MUSULUNCI: Muslim religious songs.	TAPE
m	BP	0815	ZABEN OMO/LUX: A request programme in Hausa. Presented by Baban Gida Mohammed Limanchi.	
	BP	0900	RABIN SA'AR MATA: Enlightenment on basic home keeping and Women's role in the development of the society. Shirin dake bada shawarwari kan hanyoyin gyaran gida da harkokin mata wajen ci gaban al'umma. Produced by Hajiya Jummai Hassan Bauchi. (Rpt. on Monday 1415 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	0930	ALLURA DA ZARE: A look at our cultural heritage and why there is a need to retain some of them. Shirin dake bayani kan al'adunmu na gargajiya da yadda za'a kyautata wassu daga cikinsu. Produced by Babaji Turaki (Rpt. from Monday 1630 hrs).	TAPE

	BP	1000	JUMA'A BABBAR RANA: Muslim magazine programme in Hausa. Shirin mabiya addinin Musulunci.	TAPE
	BP	1030	NOMA TUSHEN ARZIKI: A programme that enlightens farmers on new farming techniques. Shirin dake taimakon manoma da shawarwari don inganta aikin gona. Produced by State Agricultural Development project (Rpt. from Tuesday 1345 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1045	BAYANIN TSARIN MULKI: Simple explanation of our constitution. Presented by Al-Mustapha (Rpt. from Wednesday 0605 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1100	WORLD NEWS: Labarun duniya da Turanci.	LIVE
	BP	1110	COMMERCIAL SERVICE: Tallace - Tallace.	LIVE
m	BP	1130	SABABBIN KADE KADE: New recorded indegenous music on tape. Sababbin Kade kaden gargajiya.	TAPE
	BP	1145	KIMIYYA DA FASAHA: Scientific and Technological inventions as an irriversible gain to humanity in Hausa. Produced by Yusufu Ibrahim Bauchi. (Rpt. on Monday 0945 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1200	NEWS SUMMARY: Takaitattun labarai da Turanci.	LIVE
m	BP	1203	ALGAITA MUSIC ON TAPE:	TAPE
	BP	1230	IBADA DA HUKUNCI: Muslim religious programme in Hausa. Shirin mabiya addinin Musulunci. Produced by Sagir Adamu (Rpt. on Sunday 1500 hrs)	TAPE
	BP	1300	LABARUN DUNIYA: World news in Hausa.	LIVE
	BP	1310	INTERLUDE/COMM: SERVICE: Filin Talla.	LIVE
m	BP	1315	ZABEN RANA/COMM: A request programme in Hausa. Presented by Lami Buba.	LIVE
	BP	1400	TAKAITATTUN LABARU: News summary in Hausa.	LIVE
	BP	1403	BARKA DA RANA: Kade - Kade.	TAPE
	BP	1430	FATAWA: Answers to questions posed about the teaching of Islam. Filin Fatawa na Addinin Musulunci. (Rpt. on Monday 2235 hrs).	TAPE
m	BP	1500	GORON KOBI KOLA: A Friday special Hausa request. Sponsored by the makers of Kobi Cola. Presented by Isa Ahmed Getso.	LIVE
	BP	1530	STATE NEWS: Labarun jiha da Turanci.	LIVE
	BP	1540	FROM OUR DAILIES: Daga jaridunmu. Produced by Sule Moh:	TAPE
	NP	1600	NETWORK NEWS: Labarun Kasa daga Ikko.	RN
	BP	1615	GUEST OF THE WEEK: This programme presents interviews with some important guests who visit the State. Shirin da kanyi hira da manyan bakin da suka kawo ziyara wannan jiha. Produced by News and current affairs department. (Rpt. on Sunday 1615 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1645	IKON ALLAH: Possible explanations on the many beautiful creation of Allah within the immediate environment. Bayani game da Hikiman Allah akan wassu halittunsa. Produced and Presented by Alhassan Sani (Rpt. on Monday 1115 hrs).	TAPE

	BP	1700	SPOTLIGHT: The programme that takes a look at issues of special interest to the people of Bauchi State. Shirin dake tattauna kuma ya baiyanawa jama'a harkoki na musamman da suka shafi jihar Bauchi. Produced by Maigari Moh. Khanna (Rpt. from 0715 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1715	JIHADIN AFRICA: Progress report on the activities of liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America and other efforts by all the opressed people of the world towards freeing themselves from the Yoke of Colonialism and neo-colonialism. Rahoton kokarin 'yanto jama'ar Kasashen Africa, Asia da Latin America daga kangin 'yan mulkin mallaka. Produced by Ibrahim Umar Udubo. Rpt. from Wedneday 2015 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1730	LABARUN JIHA: State news in Hausa.	LIVE
	BP	1740	DAGA JARIDUNMU: From our dailies in Hausa. Produced by Ibrahim Dan-Madami.	TAPE
	BP	1745	STATE NEWS IN FULFULDE: Labarun jiha da Fillanci.	LIVE
	BP	1755	KUKAN KURCHIYA: The words of our elders are words of wisdom. Fadakarwa. Produced by Mohammed Waziri (Rpt. from 0600 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1800	YAU DA GOBE: Assembly reports and other stories of state and national concern. Rahoton wainar da aka toya a Majalisar Dokokin jiha da sauran labarun jiha. Produced by Sama'ila Bala Gumau (Rpt. at 2045 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	1830	BYI YI MALTI: Teranci Magazine Programme. Rabin sa'ar Tera. Presented by Alh: Muhammadu Deba.	TAPE
M	BP	1900	ZABEN ALMURU: A Hausa request programme. Presented by Inna Abubakar	LIVE
	BP	1930	NINU BA NINUWA: Warji Magazine Programme. Rabin sa'ar Warji. Presented by Joel Nababa.	TAPE
	BP	2000	STATE NEWS: Labarun jiha da Turanci.	LIVE
	BP	2010	FROM OUR DAILIES: Daga jaridunmu. Produced by Sule Mohammed.	TAPE
	BP	2015	KARATU DAGA ALKURA'ANI MAI TSARKI: Reading from the Holy Qur'an.	TAPE
	BP	2030	LABARUN JIHA: State News in Hausa.	LIVE
	BP	2040	DAGA JARIDUNMU: From our dailies in Hausa. Produced by Ibrahim Dan-Madami.	TAPE
	BP	2045	YAU DA GOBE: Assembly reports and other stories of state and national concern. Rahoton wainar da aka toya a Majalisar jiha da sauran labarun jiha. Produced by Sama'ila Bala Gumau (Rpt. from 1800 hrs).	TAPE
	BP	2115	STATE NEWS IN FULFULDE: Labarun jiha da Fillanci.	LIVE
M	BP	2125	INTERLUDE/COMM: Kade kade kan faya-fayen garmafo.	LIVE
	BP	2130	1982 SCHOOL'S CHALLENGE:	TAPE
	NP	2200	NATIONAL NEWS AND NEWS ANALYSIS: Relay Radio Nigeria Lagos. Labarun kasa daga Ikko.	RN
	NP	2220	TODAY AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: Relay radio Nigeria Lagos. Wainar da aka toya a Majalisar Dokoki ta Tarayya.	RN
M	BP	2235	KIDAN GOGE: Indegenous music on tape.	TAPE
	BP	2300	NEWS SUMMARY ENGLISH AND HAUSA: Takaitattun labarai cikin Turanci da Hausa.	LIVE
M	BP	2306	ZABEN DARE/COMM: A late night request programme in Hausa. Presented by Baban Janta.	LIVE
	BP	2345	READING FROM THE HOLY QUR'AN: Karatu daga Alkur'ani Maigirma.	TAPE
	BP	0005	CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT AND NATIONAL ANTHEM: Sanarwar rufe Tasha da taken Nigeria.	TAPE

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