LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN THE BROADCAST MEDIA OF A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF KOGI STATE, NIGERIA.

By

FUNMILAYO MODUPE OBUKADETA

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School of English
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
University of Sheffield

First Supervisor: Prof. Susan Fitzmaurice
Second Supervisor: Dr. Jane Mulderrig

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ABSTRACT

Studies on language policies and planning in Nigeria have mostly focused on education while the broadcast media domain has received very little attention. This situation may be attributed to the fact that unlike in the educational sector where there is an explicit and substantially detailed structure of language policy and planning, there is no such thing in the Nigerian broadcasting media. Yet the Nigerian broadcast media has a complex task of deciding which languages to use for communicating information to a vast multilingual audience. This study addresses this gap in the literature by examining the language practice of four public broadcast stations consisting of two television stations and two radio stations. A wide range of interviews were carried out with relevant staff members who have a range of different functions at these broadcast stations. Data was also collected from official documents and programming records. My iterative process of data analysis informed by Grounded Theory Method produced two broad interesting findings.

First, the data analysis reveals that although the broadcast stations claim they have no language policy, I argue for the existence of a de facto macro language policy in the Nigerian broadcast media which is being interpreted and implemented at the local broadcast stations in various ways.

Secondly, the analysis of the language use in these broadcast stations demonstrates that English occupies a dominant position. Ample evidence from the analysis of the interview data collected and the stations' programme schedules show how the dominance of English is being perpetuated in the stations through standardisation and commercialisation mechanisms. Although the stations have a multilingual framework by using some indigenous languages in their broadcast, this study reveals that these languages are under-utilised and there is generally very little will to increase their use. This study also shows that the Nigerian Pidgin English is gaining force as a proxy for the indigenous languages in the broadcast media. The study ends by advocating the need for an explicit language policy that will recognise and promote the use of indigenous languages in the stations as well as securing a decent airtime slot for indigenous language programming. By so doing, the general audience will not be excluded from the public space irrespective of their knowledge of English and/or Nigerian Pidgin English as a lingua franca.

Finally, this study is the first of its kind to situate the language practices in the Nigerian broadcast media in the language policy and planning field.

DEDICATION

To the Almighty God, who gave me wisdom, knowledge and understanding to write this insightful piece.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study and the Motivation of Study

Nigeria is a complex multilingual society consisting of about 400 indigenous languages (Adegbite, 2003; Omoniyi, 2012; Danladi, 2013). Its colonial history[1] has in part shaped the situation in which English is dominant in the country. English is the first official language in Nigeria while French is recognised as the second official language. On the other hand, only three of the indigenous languages, namely: Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa are 'recognised as national languages' (Adegbija 2004: 68). The complex sociolinguistic landscape in Nigeria has made language policy and planning activities very complex (Brann 1995). Whereas language policy and practice in the field of education has been explored in detail (Jagusah 2001; Orekan 2010; Imam 2012), other domains of public sphere have been less scrutinised. This situation may be attributed to the fact that unlike in the educational sector where there is an explicit and substantially detailed structure of language policy and planning there is no such thing in other public domains (Brann 1995). Since the multilingual nature of Nigeria is also reflective of its multi-ethnic and politically complex environment, I consider it pertinent to explore the dimensions of multilingualism in other settings. Given the dominance of English in Nigeria, I am particularly interested in investigating the role of the indigenous languages in the broadcast media. In other words, this study sets out to investigate the politics of language policy and planning (henceforth LPP) in Nigeria, specifically as it operates at the state level, in the broadcast media.

The broadcast media has been identified in the literature as a platform where the sociolinguistic unevenness of a multilingual society is reflected or mirrored (Spitulnik 1992; Jaffe 2007; Hult 2010). Given that part of the role of the media (in this case the broadcast media) includes ensuring 'democratisation, freedom of speech and information dissemination' (Mpofu & Mutasa 2014: 225) the broadcast media has to make crucial decisions about the languages to be used in order to achieve these goals. Thus, the broadcast media is portrayed as language policy agents as well as language planning agents in the sense that the status and popularity of the languages used in the media are enhanced (Pavlou 2004; Mpofu & Mutasa; Hult 2010).

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[1] Nigeria was colonised by Britain in the mid-1800s until 1960 when she became a sovereign nation.

While some languages might dominate through the quantity of programmes allocated to them, some may either be sparsely represented or have no representation at all in a given broadcast media (Spitulnik 1992). Furthermore, decisions as to which languages get used in the broadcast stations can become ideologically politicised 'in the sense that language can *represent* speech communities, and thus become the focus of political struggles over who counts and is counted in the national arena' (Spitulnik 1992: 336; Hult 2010; Mpofu & Mutasa 2014). In this case, language use in the broadcast media becomes symbolic of the speech communities it represents while the unrepresented speech communities seek to get attention or recognition in this much contested media space.

Beyond merely assigning roles to languages, a broader perspective associated with the broadcast media and LPP in the literature concerns the "power" the broadcast media wields as an LPP agent in implicitly including and excluding members of a society from actively engaging and understanding the "world" around them (Cormack 2007, Hult 2007, Mpofu & Mutasa 2014). Cormack (2007: 53) argues that:

> It is through the media that members of a society (whether seen as citizens or as consumers) gain the knowledge that allows them to participate in complex social activities (such as politics or social development).

Thus, when the language(s) used in the broadcast media is unrepresentative of the entire society it is expected to serve, the implication is that some members of the society are implicitly excluded from the public sphere.

This study aims to contribute to these ongoing discourses in the literature by examining the role of the broadcast media in the management of multilingualism at the state level. Much of the empirical studies on the role of broadcast media in LPP have focused mostly on national public broadcasters while the local or even regional levels have been under-studied. Kogi State, one of the states in Nigeria, is particularly ideal for this kind of study for two reasons. Firstly, Kogi State is a multilingual state with over ten languages; hence it is a viable research site for LPP. Secondly, characterised by three major ethnic groups and several minority groups, Kogi State has been 'occasioned largely by the struggle for power by the dominant ethnic groups in the State' while the minorities have not been given much attention (Omotola 2008: 73). These points listed above make Kogi State particularly ideal, not only for investigating the language policies and planning activities of the broadcast media but also for highlighting how much of the LPP decision-making is influenced by the political activities of the State. In this way, this study gives explicit illustrations about how the broadcast media's

language practice models the political structure and imbalance in the State. In sum, this study examines the internal and external factors (e.g. political, societal, multilingual, financial) that influence the democratic distribution of languages in the broadcast stations.

1.2   Research Questions

The following research questions guided the inquiry:

- To what extent are indigenous languages included in the language policy and planning of the broadcast media in Kogi State?

- How do Kogi State broadcast media present their language

  policy?

- How is language policy reflected in media practice?

1.3   Methodological Framework

The data collection and analysis of this study are to a large extent informed by Glaser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). GTM can be broadly described as a method that allows the researcher to explore and unfold the core issues of interest first from the perspective of the key participants involved. The core aim of GTM as the proponents, Glaser and Strauss put it is the 'discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research' (1967: 3). GTM was formulated on the premise that theory logically deduced from the data is more likely to resemble the "reality" than is a theory derived from speculations or existing hypothesis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 12). I use the principles and methods of GTM to guide me in gathering the kind of data that 'fit and works' (Glaser & Strauss 1967). By "fit and works", I mean collecting data that are relevant and capable of explaining the identified research questions under study (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 3). GTM accommodates data of all sorts such as interviews, observations, focus groups, government documents, video tapes, newspapers, letters, and books--anything that has the potential of shedding light on questions under study. The salient data employed in this study were interview data, observation data, policy documents, programme schedules and media publications.

Although Grounded Theory has its roots in social science, it has been widely used across various field of studies (e.g. in Conflict & Terrorism – see De Bie & De Poot (2016); in Business management – see Rodon & Pastor (2007); Rosenbaum, More & Steane (2016)) but has been 'unwittingly overlooked' in linguistics (Hadley 2017: 5). By using this method in this study, it is hoped that the usefulness and value of GTM will be foregrounded and more linguists, especially sociolinguists, interested in LPP research will be encouraged to apply it in their studies.

Data were collected from two federal government-owned television stations namely: NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba and two Kogi State-owned radio stations (known as KSBC), namely FM 94 and Radio Ochaja. These stations were selected for two major reasons: they all broadcast in indigenous languages as well as in English (the official language of Nigeria) and they all commit to providing a wide reach of their services to a large audience within their coverage. For example, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) on its official website describes itself as follows:

> NTA is the National Broadcasting Network for Nigeria expressly mandated to provide as a public service in the Interest of Nigeria, Independent and Impartial television broadcasting for general reception within Nigeria and beyond (NTA official website, 2015).

From the above statement, it is clear that NTA aims to reach every segment of Nigeria with its services. As a step towards fulfilling this objective, it has established at least one satellite television station across each of the thirty-six states in Nigeria. Two of these NTA satellite stations in Kogi State are the selected case-studies in this study.

The objective of KSBC is analogous to NTA albeit at a state level. As its key goals, it aims to inform, educate and enlighten the people of Kogi State, who form its immediate audience (Director General KSBC). KSBC consists of four radio broadcast stations but only two are selected as case-studies in this study.

1.4   Organisation of Chapters

The Introductory chapter of this thesis has provided a general background to the study as well as situated it in current discourse on language policy and planning in the broadcast media. It has identified the gap in the literature this study intends to fill. Furthermore, the research

questions that guided the line of inquiry are provided in addition to an overview of the Grounded Theory Method which influenced the data collection and data analysis of this study. This chapter ended with definition of key terms.

Chapter two reviews the literature of language policy and planning with the aim of providing a general overview of what the field entails and the recent trends that have emerged in the field. Furthermore, as a step towards understanding the state of language policy and planning in Nigeria, especially in the broadcast media a review of some policy documents is provided. This chapter also traces the development of LPP in the Nigerian broadcast media from the colonial period up to the present. This chapter establishes that the broadcast media does not have a coherent and detailed language policy and planning; rather LPP decisions have been driven by conventions traceable to the colonial government.

Chapter three discusses in more detail the Grounded Theory method drawn upon in this study and the rationale for using this method. This chapter describes the tools of data collection and the research procedure. This includes the pre-field trip stage, the data collection stage and the data analysis stage.

Chapter four provides an overview of Kogi State and a description of the ethnic and linguistic composition of the state. It also analyses the socio-political contexts of the state. This chapter provides a background context for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter five provides the description of the Nigerian Television Authority and the distribution of the satellite stations in Kogi State. Specifically, discussion focused on understanding the structure and operation of NTA Kabba and NTA Lokoja as well as the programming of both stations.

Chapter six discusses the structure and operation of Kogi State Broadcast Corporation (KSBC), with particular emphasis being placed on understanding the operation of FM 94 and Radio Ochaja as well as the programming of both stations.

Chapter seven is the first chapter of the data analysis. It analyses the language practice of the four selected broadcast stations and examines the place of the indigenous languages in the broadcast stations' programming as well as language use in the work place.

Chapter eight continues to probe the place of indigenous languages in the broadcast media by focusing on the activities of the news translators. The office role of the news translators emerged from the field trip during the data collection. The news translators are casual staff

members who use the indigenous languages in their news translating roles. The news translators and the different roles within their broadcast stations as well as the challenges they encounter in the course of performing their roles are examined in this chapter.

Chapter nine discusses the key findings that emerged from the data analysis presented in chapters 7 and 8. Prominent among the findings is the need to make a case for a detailed and coherent language policy and planning framework for the Nigerian broadcast media. Secondly, the explicit hegemony of English observed in the stations is presented and the various forms of its manifestations are illustrated. Finally, this chapter discusses how other factors like the state's politics and commercialisation influences the language policy and planning of the broadcast media.

Finally, chapter ten ends the study with a conclusion and recommendation for further studies. It also discusses the limitations of the study as well as the contribution of the Grounded Theory method to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

The chapter reviews the existing literature on language policy and language planning (LPP). This chapter provides a general overview of language policy and planning research and considers specifically LPP studies in the broadcast media. It also provides a historic description and review of LPP in the Nigerian broadcast media.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of the language policy and planning field. This section captures how the LPP field has been expanded over the years through ample research conducted in different contexts. This section ends by reviewing LPP studies on the broadcast media, considering how it has been used as a tool for implementing LPP goals. The second section focuses on language policy and planning in Nigeria. This section reviews briefly the few institutions in Nigeria that have established LPP while those that do not have LPP are highlighted. The third section reviews literature on language practice in Nigeria in the broadcast media since the colonial period up to recent times. In addition, empirical studies on the Nigerian broadcast media are also examined in this section. Finally, this chapter ends with a section on the regulatory environment for linguistic diversity in the Nigerian broadcast media. The official documents that are examined in this section are: the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), the Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage, (2014), revised in 2018 and the National Broadcast Code (5th edition, 2010).

2.1   A State of the Art Review of Language Policy and Language Planning

The field of language policy and planning has expanded beyond what it used to be over five decades ago. From a field of study that explicitly targeted proffering solutions to language communication problems emerging in multilingual post-colonial nations, especially in Africa and Asia (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Wright, 2004; Ferguson, 2006), it has now become relevant to 'all countries, whether multilingual or monolingual' (Carroll 1997: 1). Global developments like: 'globalisation, migration, resurgent ethno-nationalisms, language endangerment, the global

spread of English, new states and failing states' (Ferguson, 2006: 13) have turned seemingly 'monolingual' countries into interesting fields for LPP.

Some African scholars have criticised the traditional model of language policy and planning as being eurocentric, idealistic and mostly unrepresentative of the African setting (Bamgbose, 1987; Chumbow 1987). According to Bamgbose, the traditional LPP field seemed to conceive multilingualism as a problem and sought to promote monolingualism; which was a common feature of some western countries at that time. Ricento's (2006) argument corroborates Bamgbose's point. Referring to Africa in particular, Ricento noted that:

> Western-based ideologies about the requisites for national development, which included the ideology of monolingualism as necessary for social and economic equality, were imposed on new states comprised of multiple national (and linguistic) groups (2006: 14).

Furthermore, attention has also shifted from the field being an activity carried out by the government on a macro level (i.e. large scale) to include micro activities too. The traditional view of Language Policy as 'a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 7) no longer aptly fits the field. As recent studies have argued, language policy can be unwritten, implicit, de facto instead of de jure, bottom-up, in terms of its being grassroots oriented, not only top-down, from the national government to the grassroots for instance (Schiffman 1996: 13). Recent LPP studies are looking beyond written language policies as a precursor to understanding the language policy of a polity, due to its disconnection from reality (Schiffman 1996; Spolsky 2004). Ample studies have reported on the non-implementation of written policies. Schiffman (1996: 4) states emphatically that:

> It is futile to look for overt policies where none exists, and a waste of time always to focus on explicit planning, or to consider something to *be* the policy simply because it is written. …. much more happens at the covert level … than at the overt level.

Schiffman instead calls attention to how speakers relate with languages in practice as influenced by their already ingrained linguistic culture. By linguistic culture, he means 'the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural "baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture'(2006: 112). Thus, Schiffman introduced an anthropological perspective to understanding language policy.

Arguing along similar lines to Schiffman, Spolsky (2009) states that by studying the language practice of a speech community, you can discern what the actual language policy in operation is. He defines language practice as 'the observable behaviours and choices – what people actually do. They are the linguistic features chosen, the variety of language used. They constitute policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable' (Spolsky, 2009: 4). Spolsky maps language practice directly onto language policy by stating that it is the ''real'' policy (p.4). This means that it is possible to have a society with clearly stated policy yet the actual practice might deviate from the overt laws. An apt illustration of this policy type is obvious in Laitin's (1991) report of Somali in Somalia. He reports that despite the promotion of Somali as the official language in 1971, a de facto or invisible form of language policy existed that was not explicitly written but was implicitly created. This implicit policy privileged the banned foreign languages; Italian, Arabic and English[2] (these languages were banned by the Somalian government at that time) were still the most sought after languages especially as mediums of instruction in schools. Some of the elites sent their children to schools outside the country where international languages (especially English) were the mediums of instruction while some even organised private lessons in the international language thus subverting the purpose of the Language Policy (Laitin, 1991: 133). This led to further aspiration to learn in the international languages; thus, the real policy was different from what it was on paper.

Another aspect where the study of language practice is considered advantageous to LPP is cases where there are no explicitly stated language policies. In such cases, language policies could be 'derived and deduced implicitly by examining a variety of de facto practices; in these situations policies are hidden from the public eye' (Shohamy 2007: 119).

Moreover, language planning which is usually associated with large scale, government driven forms of implementing language policies (Baldauf 2004) has also expanded in scope. The traditional conception of language planning situates government agencies as the key actors that implement language policy. However, as more research has been conducted in the field, LPP scholars have begun to realise how narrow it is to situate language planning on a macro (i.e. large-scale) level only, as such an approach tends to exclude the self-driven language planning activities undertaken by different individuals (linguists and non-linguists) and

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[2] These languages were the official languages of Somalia before she gained independence in 1960; however, virtually all citizens speak Somali. Upon independence, these languages were banned and Somali was promoted as the official language (Laitin, 1991: 133)

speech communities in response to language problems (Bamgbose 1987; Cooper 1990). This new way of thinking led to a renaissance of micro studies on LPP (Kamwendo, 2005; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Makoni, S; Makoni B; & Nyika 2008; du Plessis, 2010). Such micro studies have been commonly described in sociolinguistic journals as language planning from below. Cooper's (1990) study for instance draws attention to the activities of lone linguists at the grassroots level (e.g. Ben Yehuda in promoting the revival of Hebrew in Palestine and the huge contribution of Samuel Johnson to the development of some English lexical items) and pressure groups. More about actors in language planning will be fregrounded later in this section.

Liddicoat & Baldauf (2008) make a distinction between two types of micro planning. The first type is the one that derives from the implementation of macro planning at a local level. The second indicates the type of planning that is not directly the result of some macro policy but that is planned as a response to the local needs of the people involved (2008: 26). Micro-level studies are the same as bottom-up or grassroots or local level studies. My focus on the micro studies of LPP does not diminish macro studies in importance at all. For only when the macro and micro LPP are combined can 'we fully understand the relationship between the multiple (and multiply layered) official and unofficial language policies and linguistic practices as they occur in schools and communities' (Johnson, 2013: 106). According to Linn (2010: 115) approaching language planning from below 'in practical terms means allowing the views and priorities of language users, rather than top-down political will, to dictate the direction of language policy-making'.

In addition, the term 'unplanned language planning' has been coined by Baldauf (1994) to describe the language issues that emerge as the unintended by-product of 'failure to make LPP explicit' (2004: 2) or even the unpopularity of a language imposed on a speech community in explicit language policies. According to Baldauf, the "planned" and "unplanned" features often coexist in the same situation and 'the unplanned aspects can interact with and change or pervert the planned' (1994: 82). This situation is clearly observed in multilingual contexts where the national language is not in reality the common language at the local level; hence the planned language exists side by side with other languages which are indigenous to the mostly uneducated speaker. These languages end up being in keen competition with the planned languages. A good example here is the case of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea which is in keen competition with English – the planned language (Jourdan, 1990 cited from Baldauf 1994: 83). This kind of language planning challenge calls

for the need for more bottom-up studies compared with the traditional top-down studies. The knowledge of LPP at the micro levels will help researchers understand the intricacies of implementing top-down policies (which sometimes leads to the failure of LPP) and even proffer local solutions that would address problems explicitly at this level. Such studies that focus on LPP at the micro level will be able to provide an explanation for the gap between *De jure* and *De facto* policies.

Broadly speaking, language planning activities focus on three aspects which are: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Hornberger 2006; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). These three aspects are explained briefly below.

Status planning: This has to do with assigning roles to languages or language varieties in a given polity. The roles assigned could be: medium of instruction in school, language used in the media (print and electronic), national language, etc. For example, the selection of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa as the national languages and English as the official language in the Nigerian constitutions are examples of assigning status to languages.

Corpus planning: Corpus here does not refer to a collection or compilation of text. Rather, it is narrowly used to refer to the forms or structure of a language. Corpus planning refers to reforms aimed at changing, simplifying, standardising, purifying, expanding or reviving the form of a language, especially in areas of spelling, grammar and vocabularies (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997).

Acquisition planning: This has to do with strategies put in place to ensure that the target speech community adopts the language form. This stage aims to create awareness of the language and ensure the spread of the language form across various institutions.

As a field of study situated in linguistics, there is a rapidly growing literature on the aspect of agency. Beyond the traditional assumption that language planning is conducted by 'faceless' government agencies, scholars have sought to identify the individuals specifically responsible in the planning process and how much influence they have in influencing change in language behaviour (Zhou 2011; Baldauf & Zhou, 2012). Edwards argues that despite the fact that LPP is an academic discipline grounded in linguistics, it is controlled more by politicians, those with less experience of the discipline than the experts (i.e. linguists) themselves. He goes further to state that the "real" language planners are 'politicians, administrators, captains and kings' (2009: 227) while linguists' roles is confined to corpus planning, which is purely

linguistic in nature as described above and it requires specialists.

Spolsky questions if there ever could be a policy maker or planner (irrespective of the authority he or she wields) somewhere who could successfully control or modify the language beliefs and practices of others in a democratic system. He opines that if such a person exists at all, 'it is more likely in a totalitarian situation, where the power of the state is wielded indiscriminately, than in a liberal democracy' (Spolsky, 2009:15). Liddicoat & Baldauf, arguing along similar lines, aver that a realistic language change can only be achieved through very subtle means of persuasion and not through power or force, not even when the leader has absolute power. They explain that 'power lies not simply in the ability to dominate but also in the ability to shape the behaviour of others. Thus, it is not through the coercive and normative power of institutions … that behaviours are changed but through more subtle operations on the choices of others' (2008: 4). When people are made to take action against their will, there may be some resistance rather than co-operation. For instance, despite the forceful implementation of the language policy that targeted assimilating the Kurds in Turkey into the Turkish way of life in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Kurds continued to resist through generations until they eventually won the freedom to use their language, Kurdish, in public, which had been banned from use in public (see Üngör, 2012).

Studies focusing on schools have identified the class teacher as a crucial agent who wields the power to decide how the macro educational policies are implemented in the local classrooms (Nero 2014; Nguyen & Bui, 2016; Kayi-Ayder 2018).

Finally, the success of language policy and planning processes has been attributed to the influence of some other factors which are non-linguistic in nature (Ouedraogo 2000; Spolsky 2009). With specific reference to West Africa, Ouedraogo (2000) highlighted the non-linguistic factors that hindered the successful implementation of language policies promoting indigenous language use in the educational sector: historical constraints, political obstacles, economic constraints, socio-cultural obstacles and pedagogic constraints. For instance, Ouedraogo explains that colonial legacies manifest in the language of education in West African countries. Hence, English dominates all former British colonies, French in all former French colonies and Portuguese in former Portuguese colonies.

2.1.1 Definition of Key Terms

In this study, I will define language policy as explicit or implicit rules which influence the language practice of a speech community. Language planning on the other hand will be defined as activities undertaken to either implement explicit or implicit language policies in a bid to change language behaviour. Another point worthy of mention is how language policy and planning will be referred to in this study. Some authors view them as distinct aspects that occur in tandem, i.e. language planning leads to language policy or vice versa (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997; Truscott & Malcolm 2010; Kaplan 2013) while some others see both as being coalesced into one and have no clear boundaries demarcating one from the other (Ager 2001; Wright 2004; Ferguson 2006). However, a point of convergence in the literature is that the authors are unanimous about the ultimate goal of LPP - change in language behaviour. From the discussions on LPP above, I argue that while their practices are perceived separately, in reality the interesting thing is how they come together; the relationship between them and that is what I am interested in, in this study. They can be described as two ends of the same process. As a result of the similarity in goals, I shall consider them as a co-ordinate phrase *language policy and planning (LPP)* at some points in my discussion while at other times when I discuss their peculiarities, I will refer to each by name. In sum, I have chosen to view them in this study as two ends of a cline.

Furthermore, macro language policies will be considered in this study as: (a) policies that emanate from the national government or from institutions/agencies authorized by the national government, (b) policies that apply to the entire nation on a wide scale; that is, that influence the nation from the national sphere to the grassroots (also known as top-down policy). Micro policy on the other hand will also be considered from two perspectives: (a) micro policies that are implemented at a local level or even confined to a specific institution at the local level; (b) policies that emerge from the local context and may or may not influence macro language policies (also referred to as bottom-up policies).

In conclusion, this section shows how extensively the LPP field has grown over the years. Its growth also comes with lots of complexities as new findings continue to challenge traditional knowledge. LPP researchers have taken up more complex roles of illuminating and understanding not just explicit and written language policies but also covert or implicit policies and practices shrouded in different ideologies, which Shohamy (2006) refers to as hidden agenda policy texts, discourses and practices (Hornberger 2015). The focus of LPP has gone

beyond the traditional or canonical study of state or institutional-level policies to include smaller contexts like classrooms, mass media and families. Having presented an overview to the LPP field in this section, I now proceed to review literature on broadcast LPP in broadcast media which is the immediate research context for this study.

2.1.2   A Review of Studies on Language Policy and Planning in the Broadcast Media.

There is a growing body of literature on how the media, particularly the broadcast media, is positioned as a site for LPP status, corpus, and for acquisition planning (Spitulnik 1992, Lippi- Green 1992, Carroll 1997; Pavlou 2004; Hult 2010; Mpofu & Mutasa 2014). Aspects that have been focused on relate to how the broadcast media is used to define language status, codify languages, develop the corpus of a language and is also responsible for its acquisition.

Spitulnik (1992) demonstrates how Radio Zambia ranks and places value on the languages used in the station's transmission through its broadcasting practices in a way that reproduces the existing social imbalance among the speakers of such languages. By examining a wide range of data such as political documents, historical records, interview data and data gathered from participant observation, Spitulnik argues that language valuation is achieved through Radio Zambia's 'differential allocation of resources (e.g. channels, airtime, staff, and programme types) among the eight radio languages' themselves and in comparison to the use of English (1992: 352). More info might be needed here. Among the eight, there are majority languages and minority. The majority receive more attention than the minority.

Arguing along similar lines, in his study of *Sveriges Television* (Swedish television), Hult shows that television can be framed as a tool for discourse and status planning. By analysing some Swedish language policy documents and the station's programme schedules across an eight year period (i.e. 2001-2008), Hult argues that through the distribution of content across the languages used in the domain, the Swedish television perpetuates the 'power relationships among languages and speakers that is *status quo* in Sweden' (Hult 2010: 172). Thus, he argues that status planning is created through the linguistic hierarchy that favours Swedish,the national language, as the dominant language used, followed by English and then the European and Scandinavian languages and lastly other national minorities. Hult refers to the role Swedish television plays at mirroring the linguistic hierarchy in multilingual Sweden as its way of contributing implicitly to discourse planning. What is discourse planning?

Mpofu & Mutasa (2014) examine the language practice of Zimbabwe television (ZTV) and show that the station promotes the dominance of English over Shona and Ndebele in its transmissions. Though the method used is not clearly stated, the finding may be significant in shedding light on the language politics and the practice of placing values on languages (known as language valuation) on television.

Carroll (1997) illustrates how Japan's only public broadcaster *Nippon Hyôsô Kyôkai* (NHK), comparable to BBC in the UK, is framed as a tool for codifying and establishing the correct norms for the Tokyo Japanese dialect, which is the standard language. In addition to NHK's codification role, it also takes up the position of an arbiter by ensuring that its announcers 'use the Tokyo standard, appropriate for the public domain' in its broadcasting (Carroll 1997: 11).

Finally, studies have also shown how television has been used to revive and even construct the identity of minority languages that are being threatened or subsumed by other bigger languages around them. For instance, Shetty's two year ethnographic study reports how by including Tulu, a language mainly spoken in South India, in *Namma TV* (Our TV) programming, Tulu's status has somewhat increased from being a domestic language, spoken only in family settings to one 'capable of expressing beautiful thoughts' (2008: 102).

One thing that is common among these studies is that they are all macro studies which examine LPP in national broadcasters. In other words, micro LPP studies focusing on local broadcast stations are rare. The current study seeks to fill this gap in the literature as it aims at examining LPP in four local stations in Nigeria. I discuss below the language policy and planning in Nigeria.

2.2   Language Policy and Language Planning in Nigeria

Due to the sociolinguistic wealth of Nigeria, language policy and planning has been very complex (Brann 1995). Unlike in certain multilingual nations that have official policies for language used across various public institutions, Nigeria only has a few explicit language policies which focuses on the educational sector. Brann further describes the dearth of LPP official documents in Nigerian institutions as follows:

> Whereas in certain bilingual and trilingual nations the use of indigenous languages in
> various public services – notably transport and communications, health care, security

– has been laid down officially, this has not been specified in Nigeria, with the aforementioned exceptions of education and culture. Although the Federal Ministry of Information has for many years circulated posters, magazines, and leaflets mostly in the 'network' languages plus *English* and *Pidgin,* no policy statement has ever been published about the actual ways and means of communication in a multilingual society (1993: 647).

One crucial point that can be gleaned from the above comment is that language policy and planning activities have not received much legislation in Nigeria as would be expected from multilingual nations. Rather, languages are just put to use without much explicit and written planning deliberately invested into them. Although Brann seems to insinuate that there is a language policy on culture, later in the article, he states that this was implicitly stated in the *Cultural Policy for Nigeria* which he quoted as follows:

> The policy shall serve to evolve, from our plurality, a national culture, the stamp of which will be reflected in African and world affairs… More specifically: the state shall recognise Language as an important aspect of culture and a vehicle for cultural expression and transmission… (Cultural Policy for Nigeria 1988 cited from Brann 1993: 646).

Hence, the language policy in culture referred to is more of a declaration of intent with very little detail. On the other hand, the Nigerian National Policy on Education (NPE) which was first published in 1977 and later revised in 1981, 1998, 2004 and 2013 is much more detailed. The NPE spells out the specific languages to be taught as subjects or used as the medium of instruction across the pre-primary, primary and secondary levels of education; and some measures the government promises to undertake in developing the corpus of the Nigerian languages. Table 2.1 shows the major highlights of the NPE.

Language Provisions themes	Details	Implementation plan	Govt targeted measures	Remark
Early childhood care/Pre-primary education	Medium of instruction principally mother tongue or the language of the immediate environment (NPE 2004: section 14c; 2013: 16j)		Develop orthography of more Nigerian languages Produce textbooks, supplementary readers and other instructional materials in Nigerian languages. (NPE2004: section 14c; 2013: 16j)	
Primary education	Languages to be learnt include: language of the environment, English, French and Arabic (NPE 2004: section 19b; 2013: section 20b).	The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first three years. During this period, English shall be taught as a subject (2004, Section 4. 19e). From the fourth year, English shall progressively	Specialist teachers shall be provided for English, Arabic, French, sign language and Nigerian languages (NPE 2013: section 20f)	In the 2013 edition, Arabic is made elective

		be used as a medium of instruction and the language of immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects (2004, Section 4. 19f).		
Junior secondary education	Students will learn: English, French, language of environment taught as L1 and one other major Nigerian language as L2 (NPE 2004: 24a).			L1 will only be taught if it has orthography and literature. Where it does not have there, the oral form will be taught as L2 (NPE 2004: section 24a)
Senior secondary education	English and one major Nigerian language (NPE 2004: section 25c)			The 2013 edition de-emphasizes the three major Nigerian languages. Rather, it opens the option up to any Nigerian language.

Table 2. 1 The highlights of language policies in the Nigeria National Policy on Education 2004 and 2013.

From the provisions above, four categories of languages are assigned roles. These are: English, French, language of the immediate environment, and three major Nigerian languages. The Policy holds much promise for improving the status of the Nigerian languages through their active use as language of instruction and the corpus of the languages through the development of their orthography, and various instructional materials. However ample studies on LPP in education record a series of challenges associated with the implementation of the policy provisions (Dada, 1985; Brann, 1977; Akinnaso, 1993; Jagusah, 2001; Orekan, 2010; Imam, 2012 and Bamgbose, 2016). The unanimous concern in these studies is the scanty use, development and study of the Nigerian languages in practice despite their importance in status on paper. Worthy of mention here is also Bamgbose's criticism of the NPE policy as being 'policy without implementation' (2016: 5).

Although the federal government established a couple of language agencies to facilitate the implementation of these language provisions, these agencies have been ineffective due to political interference and lack of support from the government (Bamgbose 2016). For instance, the National Language Centre, now known as the Language Development Centre, was set up to design instructional materials in the Nigerian languages and to train teachers in teaching the Nigerian languages. The National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) was set up as an inter-university centre for Nigerian language studies in order to promote the study and use of Nigerian languages (National Institute for Nigerian language, objective section).

Unlike the National Policy on Education where the roles of the indigenous languages are comprehensively spelt out, there are a few policy documents that briefly recognise the use of the Nigerian languages within some public domains, without comprehensively assigning roles to them. One such document is the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, amended for the third time in 1999. The constitution recognises the use of indigenous languages in four public institutions: the legislative house (National and State level), mass media, law courts and police stations. The Constitution requires that arrested or detained persons as well as any one being charged with a criminal offence should be informed about their offences in languages they understand, where they do not understand English (1999: section 35.3; 1999, section 36.6a). Furthermore, in addition to English, the Constitution officially allows the complementary use of Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo in official discourse in the National Assembly and any specified indigenous language for the same purpose in the State

House of Assembly (1999: sec 55; sec 97). However, there is a caveat attached to the use of indigenous languages in the national assembly, which is: 'when adequate arrangements have been made therefor' (1999: section 55). Such a caveat, which is also evident in the policy on education (see remark column under Junior secondary school level of Table 2.1), is an instance of what Bamgbose describes as 'built-in escape clauses to justify non-implementation' (2016: 6).

Within the scope of the mass media, the Constitution acknowledges the freedom of expression of Nigerians as well as the freedom to access information without restriction (1999: sec 39.1). However, it steers clear of decisions relating to the languages to be used to facilitate that. What this means is that the broadcast stations are not bound by the Nigerian Constitution to transmit content in any of the Nigerian languages. Implicitly, this means allowing the respective broadcast stations the liberty to decide on language issues, by implication, English continues to be the predominant language used in the broadcast. The Nigerian Constitution does not provide a framework for how citizens who do not understand or speak English would be able to share or receive information using the broadcast media.

Another policy document that is worthy of mention is the Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage. The Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage (henceforth referred to as Code of Election) was launched in December 2014 as the primary legislation that governs media coverage of elections in Nigeria. It was written on the premise that relevant institutional stakeholders such as the Government, Political parties, Election Management Body and the Civil Society Organizations will encourage a conducive working environment for the media during electoral processes (2014: 2). This would enable the media to freely access and impartially disseminate information on the electoral process.

The Code of Election recognizes the significant duty of the media as educating the people on the electoral process so that they can make informed choices while also encouraging them to freely express themselves about electoral issues (2014: 1). Fulfilling this duty appropriately will promote credible elections in the country. The Code of Election positions the Nigerian indigenous languages as the appropriate medium for discharging this electoral enlightenment duty to the under-represented. Specifically, the Code of Election states that:

> A Media organization shall disseminate voter education in indigenous languages and through messages that target under-represented groups including women, youths and People Living with Disabilities; (2014: sec 2.1.7).

To use indigenous languages as the medium of communication means getting the electoral messages to a wider population in the languages they are used to. Here, the Nigerian languages are used as tools for political inclusion for the people who might be excluded because they do not understand English.

However, the Election Code offers no guidance on how the indigenous languages will be used in the broadcast media. For instance, based on the multilingual nature of Nigeria and its regions, it doesn't say which or how many languages are to be used. This has freed broadcasters to choose languages of interest or exclude indigenous languages altogether and broadcast only in English.

Finally, the last policy document to be reviewed is the National broadcast code. The National Broadcasting Code (henceforth referred to as the Code) drafted by the Nigeria Broadcasting Commission contains a body of rules and regulations guiding media broadcasting in Nigeria. In 2016, the Commission published the sixth and the latest edition of the Code. The provisions of the NBC Code are distributed across four classes, A, B, C and Nil according to their importance. By 'Nil' I mean zero sanction. Each of these classes has specific sanctions attached to them when violated. For instance, most provisions regarding the appropriate licensing of broadcast stations or the transmission of sound or vision by any other medium in Nigeria are categorized under Class A. Violation of the provisions under Class A can attract a fine of ₦500,000 and above. The requirements under Class B are of less severity. Some of these include ensuring the broadcast media transmit only programmes that uphold good morals and social values. (2010, sec. 3.6.1: 38-39). It also covers among others the definition and descriptions of local content programmes. The penalty for violating any of Class B provisions is a fine of ₦200,000 and for class C, a lesser fine. There seems to be no sanction for violating the linguistic provisions in the Nil class.

Although the Code includes a few rules on language use in public broadcast stations, these mostly fall between Class C and the Nil class. The Code requires that the Nigerian broadcast stations be linguistically relevant to their areas of operation in respect to programming and news transmission. This requirement is spelt out as follows: 'Greater emphasis on the broadcast of news and programmes in Nigerian languages to ensure direct relevance to local communities' (2010: section 0.1.1.4n). This section has no sanction attached. The Code also requires that 'a presenter/continuity announcer shall have a good command of the language of presentation, in diction, grammar and elocution' (2010: section 1.10.2). This section falls

under category C. In addition, the Code also demands that 'community broadcasting service shall give prominence to the languages spoken within the community' (2010: section 9.3). Finally, other aspects of language regulations concern the need for programmes produced in any foreign language or Nigerian languages to be sub-titled in English in order 'to allow a general audience appeal' (2010: sections 3.1.4, 3.1.5). These sections fall under class B.

Although the Code has the potential to improve the linguistic diversity and programme pluralism of the broadcast media, its force is weakened by assumptions and ideologies that enshrines the Code. This point will be discussed later in chapter 9. Besides, the absence of sanctions in most of the language policies may likely give room for violations from broadcast stations.

In contrast to the ways the Nigerian languages are presented, it is important to note that the sections in the Code that have to do with providing subtitles in English of non-English programmes are categorised under sanctionable class B. This tends to suggests that English is portrayed as a lingua franca in Nigeria and extremely widespread. Moreover, the language sections in the Code, similar to language sections in other policy documents presented above appear to have no practicable and comprehensive framework of implementing the stated policies.

Finally, a language which is widespread and spoken across many public service domains in Nigeria is Nigerian Pidgin English. Although it has no official status, it functions as both lingua franca and L1 of a substantial population in the Southern part of Nigeria (Igboanusi, 2008).

In conclusion, one salient point foregrounded in this section is that although most Nigerian language policies tend to recognise the country's linguistic diversity, none is as detailed and comprehensive as the educational policy. Moreover, most of the language sections in the different policy documents appear vague and tend to overlook the complex sociolinguistic landscape of Nigeria. Even the NPE has been greatly criticised for being a policy without providing specifics about implementation. As established in this section, the mass media is one of the public service domains that has no comprehensively drafted official policy. I now turn to consider the development of the Nigerian broadcast media.

2.3   The Development of Broadcast Media in Nigeria

The evolution of broadcasting in Nigeria from the colonial government monopoly to media pluralism has significantly contributed to media development in Nigeria. Broadcast media in Nigeria has its roots in the British colonial period; as far back as 1933, radio broadcasting was introduced in the form of Radio Distribution System which was later named Radio Diffusion System (RDS). This entails the 'reception of the overseas service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (henceforth called BBC) and re-broadcasting through wired system with loudspeakers at the listening end' (Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001:12). The first radio station was set up in Lagos, which was then the administrative capital of Nigeria and by 1949, ten further relay stations had been opened at different locations in the country (Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001:13).

The introduction of Radio Diffusion System was not limited to Nigeria alone; it was a development that swept across the British Empire albeit at varying times. The language of broadcast at this time was English. The languages used for broadcasting through the developmental stages of media in Nigeria will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

The aim of this Empire broadcasting service at this time was chiefly to maintain home ties with British expatriates overseas (Head 1974; Wedell 1986). Holmes (1999: xxxvi) argues that during the early days of broadcasting, colonial governments denied Africans the opportunities to participate actively in broadcasting or hearing programmes about their own culture and in their languages. This appears so, possibly because there was no independently run broadcasting system within the colonies yet. Rather, the colonies were heavily dependent on the BBC. By 1937, the British government had developed a broader aim for broadcasting within the colony. A committee was set up in Britain to look into measures that could be put in place in order to ensure more productive and widespread broadcasting services within the colonies (Wedell 1980). In 1937, the committee headed by Lord Plymouth published the report of their study titled "Broadcasting Services in the Colonies". The report pointed out that despite the efforts of the BBC at relaying services across the colonies, it would be unable to produce programmes that could meet the indigenous needs of its colonies. More practically, the report called for the need for local production of programmes in the colonies and not just the transmissions of the BBC's Empire service (Head, 1979:40). The outcome of this report can be said to have prepared the way for an independent broadcast radio station in

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Nigeria and in some other African colonies. The recommendations of the report were welcomed by the colonial government and the next challenge was how to effect these changes within the colonies. In the late 1940s after the end of the Second World War, plans were started to transform the face of broadcast media in Nigeria.

First, two British surveyors were invited by the Nigerian colonial government to survey how broadcasting could be turned into a full-fledged system rather than a mere relay system. Byron and Turner embarked on a survey called "the Nigerian Broadcasting Survey" with the task of identifying ways the broadcast media could be more inclusive.

While in the field, the surveyors observed that a very small percentage of people listened to radio and emphasized the urgent need to increase the number of listeners. Specifically, Wedell (1980: 217) reports that by 1948, 'there were 12,000 radio sets in Nigeria in addition to 8,000 wired boxes'. This showed that the relay system only served a very tiny part of the Nigerian population, mostly upper classes living in the cities. Hence, Byron and Turner, as noted in their report, advocated for 'vernacular broadcasts with national programmes in English for educated Africans' (Armour 1984: 375). Nigeria being an oral society at that time, with about 75% of the population being unable to read or write (Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001: 29), the use of indigenous languages was encouraged in the radio stations. The surveyors recommended that broadcasting should be a separate organization with regional stations; by so doing, it was assumed that it would be more democratic as more indigenous languages would be used in broadcasting within the region. They also attached importance 'to cheap and reliable receivers which they felt would be bought in towns if there were attractive programmes as an inducement' (Armour 1984: 376).

The outcomes of the survey led the colonial government to establish the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) on April 1, 1951 with Tom Chalmers as the first Director General. The task the new leader was faced with was to set up one national and three regional stations. This was judiciously carried out as the national station was set up in Lagos while the regional stations were located at Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan. The station set up in Kaduna covered the northern region while the one set up in Enugu covered the eastern region and lastly the western region station was sited in Ibadan. Twelve Nigerian languages were selected by the colonial government as languages of broadcasting in addition to English. However, the NBS did not last long as it was accused of being biased and unrepresentative of the divergent views and cultural composition of the nation. It was subjected to much debate

in parliament, which eventually passed a resolution for the establishment of a more representative and non-partisan broadcasting corporation. In April 1957, the NBS, by an act of parliament was converted into a statutory corporation to be known as the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The NBC was said to be different from the NBS in the sense that it was independent of colonial government control and would be more representative of the populace. A significant benefit for the NBC was that it received enormous support from the BBC since it was the first broadcasting corporation to be established in the colonial territories. Wedell reports that 'between 1950 and 1962, nearly sixty members of the BBC staff helped to put the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation on a firm footing' (Wedell 1980: 218). The benefit of this was that Nigerian broadcasters had the opportunity of training under these personnel so that after independence in 1960, they were able to continue running the corporation independently.

Thus, before independence, the radio broadcast media in Nigeria succeeded in transitioning from a relay system to a full-fledged broadcast system with twelve indigenous languages already introduced into broadcasting. The literature is however silent on the proportion of time given to the broadcasts in indigenous languages or the types of programme that were transmitted in these languages during this period.

It is worthy of mention at this point that the country was divided into three regions – Northern Region, Western region, and Eastern region by the Federal government following the provisions of the 1951 Macpherson constitution in 1951. The provision of the constitution allowed each region to have a regional Legislative body and an Executive council. The importance of this regional division to media development was that it created opportunities for the NBC to spread its stations among the regions. These stations that were sited in the regions served as relay stations to the central one located in Lagos. This idea of regionalization of the media was to be passed on to future broadcast systems in Nigeria.

However, the regional governments were not satisfied with the way they were represented by the national radio (NBC). They accused the NBC of misrepresenting them as well as being biased in their presentations especially in news reports (Uche 1985: 23). One of the dissatisfactions expressed by the Northern Regional Government at this time is as follows:

> The Northern Regional Government wishes to express its serious concern about the presentation of news from the Lagos studio of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). Despite its continuous representations to the NBC about its handling of news

items concerning the Northern Regional Government in which facts favourable to the Northern Regional Government are omitted, while those damaging to the Northern Region are given considerable prominence, the NBC have (sic) continued to present unbalanced news programmes from their Lagos studio. The Northern Regional Government has now lost faith in the NBC news service from Lagos and intends to go ahead without further delay with its own sound broadcasting service (Federal Ministry of Information, 1961 cited in Uche 1985: 23).

The issue of misrepresentation of the regional governments thus promoted the establishment of regional broadcast systems which gave them the opportunity of representing themselves properly.

Television broadcasting began in Nigeria in 1959, under the leadership of Obafemi Awolowo, the premier of the Western region. He launched the very first television station in the entire African continent called Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) sited in Ibadan, the regional capital city. Seven months later, in May 1960, the regional government started its own radio broadcasting system under the banner of the Western Nigerian Broadcasting Service (WNBS). This remarkable feat motivated the other regional governments to set up their own television and radio stations too. So, two additional television and radio stations sprang up in Nigeria in quick succession. In 1960, the Eastern Nigeria Television Service (ENTV) was set up alongside its radio broadcasting service called Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Service (ENBS) by the Eastern Regional Government. This was followed by Radio-Television Kaduna (RTK) and Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) which was the radio broadcasting arm established by the Northern Regional Government in March, 1962. Besides the regional television stations' establishment, the Federal Government owned television station; the Nigerian Television Service (NTS) was also established in 1961 in Lagos. Furthermore, in 1962, the Federal Government launched an International Service of Radio Nigeria called Voice of Nigeria (VON). VON was broadcasting to West Africa; East Central and Southern Africa; North Africa and other parts of the world in 6 languages: English, French, Swahili, German, Hausa and Arabic (Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001:13). And since 1990, VON has continued to exist as an autonomous corporation.

Thus, by 1962, the Federal Government and the three existing regional governments all had television stations and radio stations of their own. This gave the regional government control over their broadcast media.

In the 1960s, the regional broadcast stations became more powerful than the Federal

government's broadcast stations in their respective regions and 'were used as powerful political instruments for the integration of each region and cultivation of regional loyalty and awareness to the detriment of national integration' (Umeh 1985: 24). The aftermath of this regional loyalty was the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war from 1967-1970, according to Umeh (1985). The civil war was fought by the Nigerian Federal Military Government to counter the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria.

Wholesale changes were made in the Nigerian broadcast media following the military take-over of government from 1966-1979. For example, an immediate measure taken by the incumbent Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, to reduce the power of the three regions was to divide them into several states.   On 27th May, 1967 the regions were divided into twelve states; and later nineteen states by subsequent military Heads of States. In addition, the state television and radio stations were taken over by the military government and broadcasting became centralized (Uche 1989). According to Umeh, the centralisation of broadcasting by the military government was borne out of the successful attempt at a joint broadcast in Nigeria in 1973. Umeh explains that, in a bid to provide an 'effective and co-ordinated coverage of the second All-Africa Games hosted by Nigeria in 1973' (Umeh, 1989: 59-60), all broadcasting agencies in the country were merged to form the Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON). BON successfully co- ordinated all the broadcasting activities and fed all the media units (radio and television stations) in the country at that time. Further state affiliate broadcasting stations were created during the military occupation of Nigeria in addition to the regional broadcasting stations taken over. These were all controlled by the federal government.

However, in 1978, when the military government handed over power to the civilian government, the state affiliate radio broadcasting stations were handed over to the state governments for management while the previous 'regional radio stations' were retained by the federal government. The decree that gave the re-organisation strength of law was promulgated in April 1, 1979. The striking difference between the federal radio stations and the state-controlled stations at this time was the medium of transmission. While the former transmitted on short wave, the latter were restricted to transmit only on medium wave (Uche 1989). In contrast, the television stations across the states were united by the Federal Military government under one body – the Nigeria Television Authority empowered by decree No. 24 of 1977. At this time, there were 19 state television stations in the country and these were all

subsumed under this new body.

When the military government returned to power in 1984, after a few years of civilian rule (1979-1983), measures were taken to stem the proliferation of media units in the country as the broadcast stations were accused of being misused/abused by politicians to manipulate and distort law and order, and perpetuate disharmony among the ethnic groups.

It was only in August 1992 that broadcasting was deregulated in Nigeria by the Federal Government. The 1992 act repealed the provisions which conferred exclusive monopoly of ownership of electronic media on the federal government and the state governments; thus private and independent ownership of the electronic media became legalised in Nigeria. Prior to this act, private individuals were not allowed to operate broadcasting stations in Nigeria.

Moreover, the act also allowed the state stations to transmit on other waves (aside from medium wave) without any restrictions. This development led to the proliferation of several state-owned and privately owned broadcast stations in Nigeria. Some of the private stations that were founded shortly after the deregulation were: African Independent Television, established in 1994 by Dokpesis Raymond, Channels television, founded in 1995 by Momoh John and Sola Momoh, Raypower 100.5 FM, founded by Dokpesis Raymond in 2005 and Wazobia FM 94.1 by Amin Mousalli in 2007. These stations are still in operation today. The spread of broadcast media over the years has increased access of broadcasting to the majority of Nigerians who were initially excluded due to inadequate broadcasting services in the country. In Lagos State for instance, there are over ten television and radio broadcast stations owned by either the federal government, state government or private individuals.
The 1992 Decree also promulgated the National Broadcasting Commission as the body empowered to regulate the activities of the broadcast media in the country.

From the description of media development in Nigeria so far, one thing is evident. Broadcast media development has been shaped predominantly by prevailing political factors. More of these political factors will continue to be discussed below.

2.3.1   Language Policy in the Broadcast Media

The earliest decision on language use in the Nigerian broadcast media was in 1952, following

the formation of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBS) in Lagos as well as studio centres at Kaduna and Kano in the northern province; Enugu in the eastern province and Ibadan in the western province. As mentioned in the previous section, Byron and Turner's survey outcome led to the emergence of indigenous languages in the NBS. Thus the establishment of the NBS in 1952 saw the end of seventeen years of re-diffusing BBC programmes which broadcast solely in English for about '7 ¾ hours daily' (Brann 1995: 263). Nine indigenous languages mostly selected for use in the NBS on account of having the highest numbers of speakers are: 'Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Hausa, Ibo, Ijo, Kanuri, Tiv & Yoruba' (Brann 1995: 265). Each of these languages had 15-30 minutes programmes within their NBS studio centres (Brann 1995: 264).

The establishment of regional (and later state) radio and television stations before and after Nigeria's independence meant that the decisions on language were made by the respective stations. By 1980 the number of indigenous languages used on the radio (now FRCN) had increased to twelve. These languages, in addition to English were: Hausa, Fulfude, Kanuri and Nupe for Northern region; Igbo, Tiv, Efik and Izon for the Eastern region; Yoruba, Igala, Urhobo, and Edo for the Western region (Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001:29). This significant development led to the inclusion of indigenous languages in the broadcast media. And as the stations continued to increase due to the series of political events as explained above it led to more indigenous languages within the States were being used.

According to Osoba (2014a), NPE was used in the Nigerian broadcast media for the first time in the 1980's for presenting request programmes on Radio Nigeria 2. The widespread use of NPE made it particularly tempting for use in the broadcast media. Today, more programmes are presented in NPE than fomerly. There are even instances of broadcast stations dedicated to broadcast solely in NPE. For instance, Wazobia FM and BBC digital service for West Africa with its production hub in Lagos, Nigeria.

Language policy in the Nigerian broadcast media is an example of policies that Akinnaso (1991: 30) describes to have 'simply grown out of history and convention'. Today, with more radio stations and over 101 television stations in the country, it is believed that more indigenous languages are being used.

In conclusion, this section establishes that since the colonial period, indigenous languages as well as NPE have been used in the broadcast media. Although there was no official language

policy in the broadcast media during the colonial and postcolonial periods reviewed above, more of these languages continued to be used in the broadcast media due to political issues such as state creation.

2.3.2   Recent Studies in Nigerian Broadcast Media

Unlike certain multilingual nations like South Africa that have official policies for the language used in the broadcast media, this has not been specified in Nigeria. Thus, unlike LPP in education, which has received so much attention in the literature, there is yet to emerge any study on LPP in the Nigerian mass media, not to mention the broadcast media. Available empirical studies on the Nigerian broadcast media as far as I know have tended to describe and analyse how much impact the language choices of broadcast media have on their audience. The focus is never on understanding the implicit policies behind the selection of languages.

For instance, Adeniyi and Bello (2006) seek to understand the extent to which audiences watch indigenous programmes (in this case, Yoruba programmes) and how much impact these programmes have on the audience. They conducted a survey using questionnaire and interview as the major tools of data collection to sample their informants' attitudes to the broadcast media and their reasons for watching or listening to Yoruba programmes on two television stations (Lagos State Television, a state-owned broadcaster; and African Independent Television, a private owned broadcaster) and two radio stations (Eko FM, a state-owned broadcaster and Ray power, a private owned broadcaster). The sampled population were all from Lagos and they were selected based on their literacy levels, hence two categories emerged – educated and uneducated. They also examined the programme schedules of the selected broadcast stations. Based on the programme schedule analysis, the researchers found that only the television stations transmit in indigenous languages. While AIT has only one Yoruba programme, LTV has more which are mostly religious programmes. Furthermore, out of 100 questionnaires analysed, Adeniyi and Bello's findings reveal that while 80% of the audience indicated that they watched most of the Yoruba programmes intentionally, a considerable proportion prefers enlightenment and entertainment programmes more. The crux of the researchers' study is that the audience has a positive attitude towards the use of indigenous languages in the broadcast media and therefore they advocate for more programmes to be presented so that they be involved more.

Oyero's (2007) study is quite similar to Adeniyi and Bello (2006) in that it investigates audience preference for programmes broadcast in indigenous languages. Using Radio Lagos 107.5FM (a state owned broadcaster) as a case study, Oyero sampled 200 respondents who listen to the radio station and who can communicate in Yoruba and presented them with questionnaires on the study. Oyero selected Radio Lagos because it transmits predominantly in Yoruba and Ogu, with the former having a larger time allocation. In addition, the manager of programmes of the station was also interviewed. Oyero's study reveals that listeners have a positive attitude to indigenous language broadcasting irrespective of their competence in English. Accordingly, preference for listening to indigenous programmes is not dependent on their level of education.

Nwagbara's (2013) study seeks to investigate whether languages used in the news programmes of some selected stations corresponds with those taught in public schools within the environment in which the stations were broadcasting. In her study, she examined the programme schedule of four Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) stations in Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River and Rivers States; all states are located in the Southern parts of Nigeria. She also surveyed eight public schools (two from each State); however, Nwagbara did not provide much detail about the population she sampled or how the survey was carried out. Her analysis shows that indigenous languages were used more in the news programmes of the selected NTA stations than they are taught in schools. The implication of this interesting finding was not given much attention in Nwagbara's discussion; hence the contribution of the study remains unclear. However, one could infer that more emphasis is paid towards the functional use of the indigenous languages than in their formal development in schools.

Finally, Brann's (1995) anthropological study on language choice and language allocation in Nigerian broadcasting services provides a broad description and rationale for language selection in Nigeria. This study was very useful in providing a background understanding to language practice in the broadcast media. However, the study does not mention or discuss the policy and planning measures that guided the selection and development of the selected languages. In other words, it does not situate the language choices discussed in LPP study.

In conclusion, this section shows that while more studies have focused on language choice in the broadcast media, the implicit rules and regulations that guide the selection of these

indigenous languages have not received much attention. One plausible reason for this gap in the literature could be that there is no detailed and coherent language policy in the broadcast media which researchers can use to assess its implementation in broadcast stations unlike in the educational institution. It is this gap in the literature that this current study seeks to fill as this study aims at situating the broadcast media language practice in the LPP field.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.0   Introduction

In this chapter, I provide the empirical process and activities I undertook to investigate the language policies and planning in my four selected broadcast stations. I start by reviewing briefly some methods used in the lpp research, particularly those used in broadcasting studies. I then proceed to describe the method I adopt Grounded theory method and how it has benefitted this study. Finally, I lay out the steps and procedures I engaged in before, during and after collecting my data. This chapter is divided into four sections.

The first section briefly reviews common methods used in lpp studies, namely, the historical-textual method, ethnography and the survey method. The purpose of this section is to provide justification for why these methods are unsuitable for this study. The second section provides a description of Grounded theory method (GTM) and its particular data collection and analysis features. This section also provides my justification for adopting the GTM. The third and fourth sections focus on how GTM informed my data gathering and analytical approach. I discuss the procedures I undertook towards securing ethical approval for this study from the School's Research Ethics committee. These sections also focus specifically on the various arrangements I made and the expectations I had prior to my field trip, and the various steps I engaged in during data collection and data analysis stages.

3.1   Review of Methodologies Used in the Literature

Three research methodologies will be reviewed in this section. These are: historical-textual analysis, survey and ethnography. The first two are the methods commonly used in the lpp studies on broadcast media while the last method is commonly used in lpp studies on education.

3.1.1 Historical-textual method

This method relies principally on analysing different historical data such as 'newspapers, governmental decrees, publications by political organisations and movements, historical documents, media publications, and political publications' (Johnson 2013: 125). Most of the lpp studies use this method as the sole method or as one of the methods in their studies (Spitulnik 1992; Hult 2010). While this method is instrumental in providing a rich background understanding of language policies and how underlying ideologies inform and 'control the processes of policymaking' (Tollefson, 2015: 141), the historical-textual method means 'very little without the human agents who act as interpretive conduits between the language policy levels' (Johnson 2013: 145). As a step to understanding language policy and planning in the Nigerian broadcast media, this study draws on this method by analysing the available policy documents (see chapter 2) that provide useful guidance to language use in the broadcast media.

3.1.2 Survey method

This refers to gathering data from a defined population sample mostly using questionnaires and or interviews. This method has been commonly used by studies that focused on audience research in the Nigerian broadcast media (Adeniyi & Bello 2006; Oyero 2007 & Nwagbara 2013). The survey method is usually ideal for audience research. I did not use this method because my study is not audience research; rather, it involves eliciting detailed information from a complex layer of sampled population.

3.1.3 Ethnography

The Ethnography research method which has its roots in anthropology has been adopted in lpp research studies (Hornberger 2008; Valdiviezo 2013; Brown 2015) in local classrooms. Such ethnographic studies involved the researchers entering and engaging with participants in pre-selected contexts with the aim of understanding and producing 'thick' descriptions of the activities of interest over a long period of time (Hornberger 2008; Valdiviezo 2013; Brown 2015, Johnson 2015). LPP ethnographers make use of all sorts of data such as: (unstructured)

interview data, artefacts, videos, documents, and pictures to gather detail about their contexts of study. One benefit of ethnographic studies highlighted in the literature is that they shed light on the interaction between macro and micro LPP and help to 'uncover the indistinct voices, covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances, or unintended consequences of language policies emergent in context' (Hornberger 2015: 275). Brown (2015) also argues that ethnography method is useful in revealing agency in language policies and planning. However, ethnography is not without its shortcomings. Findings are not generalizable because the studies are usually context specific in order that a thick description can be obtained. Secondly, it requires that a researcher stays in the research field for a long period, usually over a year. Such a period of time is usually beyond what a PhD study can accomodate; hence, I did not use this method. Although I needed to spend time in the field and learn the language practice of the contexts I was interested in (similar to what ethnographers do), I needed to do so using a method that would allow me do so within a limited time frame, which is grounded theory. I now turn to describe the Grounded theory method and how it benefitted my study.

3.2 Grounded Theory Method

Grounded Theory Method (GTM) allows the researcher to enter the research field with a formulated topic or domain of investigation but with no pre-conceived hypothesis. Instead the researcher remains open to exploring and discovering what is really going on in the field of enquiry. Therefore, GTM is described in the literature as an emergent method as it sets out to unfold the core issues of interest by allowing the concerns of those actively engaged there to take the lead. The aim of GTM is to develop theories that emerge or as Glaser and Strauss (1967: 1) put it, are 'grounded' in the data collected from the research field. Glaser and Strauss argue that theory grounded in data can be reliable, accountable and will be such that 'fits or works' for the immediate problems being investigated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 30). Thus, two distinct features of GTM distinguish it from other qualitative studies. The first is its ability to 'connect a study by describing the relationships among the various parts, and the second is that it provides a theoretical model for subsequent studies' (Davis 1995: 440), thus findings from GTM are potentially generalizable. Just like other qualitative methods, grounded theory goes through the procedures of data collection and analysis before it can lead to the generation of a theory. However, what makes GTM stand out is in the strategies

involved in arriving at the generated theory. Data collection and analysis in grounded theory are non- linear but simultaneous, interwoven and iterative. I describe briefly these two GTM strategies below.

3.2.1 Data Collection

GTM generally requires the researcher to be physically present at his/her research setting while sourcing for data over a considerable period. Data in grounded theory can come from various sources. It could be from interviews, field notes, observations, historical documents, government records, video tapes, newspapers, letters, books--anything that may shed light on the questions under study. The nature of the data could be quantitative or qualitative.

When it comes to collection of data in GTM, the sampling size is determined by collecting as much information as will aid the development of the theory targeted. In other words, the kind of empirical data the researcher will search for will be such that promotes the emergence and construction of the theory. The sampling method used in GTM is called theoretical sampling.

3.2.1.1   Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is aimed at discovering categories and their properties which will eventually lead to theory generation and formation. The crucial task of sampling is to select participants to observe or interview who know the information (or have had or are having the experience) in which you are interested and will contribute to your theory formation (Morse, 2007:232).

The theoretical sampling has been identified in the literature as one of the challenges of using GTM in research especially by student researchers (Griffiths et al. 2011). This is because prior to the study, the student researcher is unable to identify sample characteristics such as sample population, precise research setting, and the possible data to be collected or which data will befit his theory. Besides, the researcher might be unable to judge when his field work will be completed before he goes to the field. As with all other aspects of grounded theory procedures, theoretical sampling is constantly adjusted according to what emerges during the research project. Due to the unpredictability of the sampling method, Luckerhoff & Guillemette (2011: 409) advise that in order to reduce the risk of a project's being rejected

by an evaluation committee or funding body, researchers can generally describe the domain of their research while allowing for the emergence of different samples in the field. However, they quickly add that researchers must provide justification for whatever changes occur. This piece of advice from Luckerhoff & Guillemette (2011) informed the way GTM was used in this study for data collection. More details on the data collection process will be provided later in this chapter.

3.2.2   Data Analysis Process

Data analysis in GTM usually amounts to a process of engagement which involves description, interpretation and re-interpretation, in an iterative relationship. Activities such as: transcription of recordings captured during interviews, coding of data collected from the field, writing memos on data, forming categories and describing their properties are the key focus of this stage of GTM. The researcher's in-depth engagement with these stages enables the formation of a theory grounded in the data. Hence, theory in GTM is data driven and inductive. I now turn to describe the stages briefly below. As stated earlier, these stages in GTM are mutually inclusive; in other words, they are dependent on one another.

3.2.2.1   Transcription

Transcription can simply be described as the act of providing a text form of recorded interviews or any spoken word. A distinction is made in the literature between verbatim transcription and naturalised transcription (Oliver, Serovich & Mason 2005; Simon & Goes, 2013). The former requires a word for word transcription that excludes discourse markers and pauses while the latter endeavours to capture every detail in the recording taking note of nuances of discourse markers and pauses. According to Oliver et al. the naturalised transcription is popular in conversation analysis studies (2005: 1275).

As is the case with other qualitative methods, transcription in GT could be done using some online transcription tools that enable researchers to transcribe audio files in a single screen without having to constantly switch between a media-player and a text editor. Besides, most of them have a speech recognition tool that enables hand-free transcription. Thus, this makes transcription less cumbersome and rigorous. Some examples are: Transcribe, NVivo, Scribie,

dragon voice, etc. The challenge to using these tools is that they are not usually free; affordability is key.

3.2.1.2 Coding

Coding in qualitative research can be described as 'a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and /or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data' (Saldaña 2009: 3). Broadly speaking, Coding provides a researcher with a means to navigate complex data, summarise what the ideas are that are considered significant and make meaningful connections between different parts of the dataset as a whole. These summaries can be written as words or phrases called *categories*. Researchers can also code by assigning a label to a section of the data using a word or phrase taken from that section of the data. This process is called coding *in vivo*.

3.2.1.3 Memoing

This is a reflective practice that helps researchers to express and conserve the sense they make of their data. Memoing involves capturing emerging ideas and thoughts in the process of coding. The essence of writing a memo is to be able to go beyond describing the data to analyzing it, trying to make sense of what it means. Through this writing process, the grounded theorist's ideas emerge as discoveries unfold. In order to go beyond description, the researcher could ask questions of the data such as "what is this an example of? When does it happen? When is it happening? With whom? How? Under what conditions does it occur? With what consequences?" (Lempert, 2007: 249). It can initially be messy and incomplete as nascent opinions are developed. Ideas may be represented in fragmented phrases, diagrams in a mapping with a bit of narration for the connections and links. Continuous memo writing, and cumulatively integrating patterns among memos tend to lead to theory formation.

3.2.2.4 Theoretical Saturation

The criterion that determines when to stop sampling for data, coding and memoing is when theoretical saturation has been achieved: "saturation means that no additional data are being

found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category" (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 61). So, when findings become repetitive during data collection, it's a signal that saturation has been arrived at. Also, theoretical saturation is also expected in the formation of theories from the data.

3.2.3   Justification for Using Grounded Theory

Although grounded theory has become widespread in other fields of study within the social sciences and to some extent applied linguistics, it is not popular in sociolinguistics studies. Only a few applied linguistics studies have used grounded theory (e.g. Davis 1995; Chakraborty, Rosenkranz & Dehlinger 2012). Hadley points out that applied linguistics as a field of study has 'unwittingly overlooked one of the most widely used research methodologies in today's world' (2017: 5). Even more deeply concerning for Hadley is the fact that the grounded theory method is 'underrepresented in the methodological textbooks for graduate students in applied linguistics, where it typically receives only cursory mention' (2017: 4). Similarly, there is also a cursory mention of GTM in language policy and planning methodological textbooks. For example, only a paragraph was dedicated to GTM in *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide* (Hult & Johnson, 2015: 160) and there was no reference to any empirical LPP research that employed GTM in the few lines of description on it. Yet, GTM is very valuable to sociolinguists in that it helps focus research on interesting concepts or themes that emerge from data collection (Davis 1995). It could also be very useful in researching topics that have been under-studied where few materials are available (Milliken, 2010: 2). These two reasons among others have been the main drive towards the selection of GTM in this study. First, as established in chapter two, there is yet to be a comprehensively structured language policy in the Nigerian broadcast media. Hence, any lpp studies in the broadcast media may only be successful if I go to the field to enquire (from key participants) and observe the language use of the intended broadcast stations in practice. As illustrated in the previous chapter, there is now a greater emphasis on studying the language practice of an institution as a precursor for understanding the underlying LPP. Hence, this study is well situated in the literature only that it seeks to employ GTM to achieve the goal.

Furthermore, GTM increases flexibility to data gathering in that new data can be gathered following leads that emerge in the course of data collection. This is especially useful for my field of inquiry which is presently under-studied and has few studies as reference points.

Another justification for choosing GTM in this study is that this study seeks to depart from the survey method which has been mostly employed in lpp studies in the Nigerian broadcast media (Adéníyì & Béllò, 2006; Oyero, 2007; Nwagbara, 2013; Odegbenle, 2013). Because my study aims at uncovering complex issues relating to language use in the Nigerian media across multiple layers, the survey method is too narrow. I have decided to adopt Grounded theory in this study because it provides me with the framework (e.g. using multiple data collection tools) that allows me to collect triangulated data from a selection of policy makers, station managers and relevant staff members at the respective broadcast stations. GTM enables me to really investigate fairly fundamental questions, which are not easily surfaced by using a survey method.

3.3   Research Design

In order to examine the complex issues relating to lpp in the Nigerian broadcast media across NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja, a wide range of interviews were carried out with relevant staff members who have a range of different functions at these broadcast stations. As stated in chapter one, I decided to focus on these four broadcast stations because they all transmit in indigenous languages; although with some notable variations. Furthermore, some relevant National Broadcasting Corporation staff members who could provide useful information and background about the provisions of the NBC code were also interviewed. Some relevant staff members from NTA national headquarters as well as one staff member from the national headquarters of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria was also interviewed. My rationale for interviewing the staff members at the national level was to enable me to probe how much influence the national broadcast stations have over the State or satellite stations. Specifically, I was interested in investigating how much influence the national headquarter stations have over the LPP decisions of the state/satellite stations. In total, 38 staff members were interviewed for this study. Data was also collected from official documents and programme schedules.

Furthermore, by selecting two of each type of broadcast stations (i.e. two NTA stations and two KSBC stations), I am able to assess whether practices and behaviours are idiosyncratic or shared across the broadcast stations. Due to the scanty literature available on each of the stations, I had to use the interview method in order to gather as much details as possible and necessary.

While designing this study at the outset, I had thought about including an audience survey in order to get a fully rounded perspective of LPP in these stations. I initially planned to do a purposeful sampling in the different communities where the broadcast stations of interest were located. The plan then was to select a substantial sample of those who listened to the four selected stations and survey their perspectives on whether the language practice of the selected stations was a key criterion to their listening to the stations. However, the audience sampling was notoriously difficult and impractical due to time shortage; hence, I was advised by my PhD confirmation review panel (a compulsory part of the PhD assessment at the University of Sheffield, consisting of a submission of work and a lengthy meeting about the candidate's research which takes place 12-18 months into the period of study) to reconsider the research design before I travelled to the field. Since this was not a central aspect of my research, I abandoned the audience sampling. Further, as mentioned earlier (in chapter 2), previous studies on language use in the Nigerian broadcast media had focused mostly on audience research; hence I decided to focus on aspects that have been given less attention in the literature. As I am more interested in understanding the language policy and planning in the stations, the most crucial population sample are the staff members whose decisions and engagement with languages influence language practice in the stations. Sampling in this study is guided by GTM's theoretical sampling by which only staff members I considered to be relevant to providing the needed information to this study were surveyed. The sub-sections below provide specific details of the stages that characterised the design of the research process for this study.

3.3.1   Pre-field Trip Arrangements

Prior to my journey, I had selected[3] the broadcast stations where the research would take place namely, Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Lokoja, Radio 94FM, Radio Egbe and NTA Kabba. What informed the selection of these four broadcast stations was the fact that I wanted to have a broad understanding of the language policies and planning in the stations located in

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[3] The selection was informed by the responses I got from preliminary phone enquiries I made with some gatekeepers across the broadcast stations in Kogi State. Some of the preliminary questions were: which public stations are in operation, which of the broadcast stations do they transmit in indigenous languages? The preliminary enquiries were very useful as I was able to screen out broadcast stations that were not relevant to the study. For instance, I gathered that the only private radio and television broadcasters in Lokoja do not transmit in indigenous languages at all. As the use of indigenous languages in a station's broadcast was an important variable to this study, I could not sample these stations.

Lokoja, the capital city, and the ones located in local communities within the State. NTA Lokoja and Radio 94FM are in Lokoja while Radio Egbe and NTA Kabba are located in rural settlements. Besides, apart from English, I speak fluent Yoruba which is a common language used by the people living in these rural areas.

However, when I arrived at the research field in July 2015, I discovered from one of my interviewees[4] that Radio Egbe had been off air for close to 10 years and had only just resumed transmission in June 2015. This was because much of the equipment were obsolete and inefficient. They were only replaced in 2015. For this reason, I had to replace Radio Egbe with Radio Ochaja, which is a sister station, which has been in operation. Despite the replacement, the language of communication did not pose any challenge at all because all my participants understood English and they were comfortable being interviewed in it.

Furthermore, before I travelled to the field, I did some readings in order to generate the kind of questions that would provide answers to my research questions. My initial questions for my interviews were significantly informed by Carroll (1995), Chibita (2006), Oyero (2007) and Hult (2010). So, the initial questions (see appendix 1) I went with were to serve as a starting point for my interviews. I was prepared to use a grounded theory approach which would then enable me to pursue emerging themes and concepts during the data collection.

Since my study requires understanding language use in the broadcast media from multiple perspectives: national, state and local levels, I identified some specific staff members, whose views I expected would be pertinent to this study based on their professional roles in the Nigerian broadcast media. These pre-identified participants are listed below according to their institutions.

NBC national level

The chair of the NBC current board

The Director General (representing the Ministry of Information)

NTA national level

Director General of NTA

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[4] I interviewed the station officer of Radio Egbe. It was from him I gathered that the station has just resumed transmission in June, 2015 having been off-air for 10 years.

Executive programme director

Director of news

 Four selected broadcast stations

 General Manager NTA Lokoja

 Director General of Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation (KSBC)

 The Executive Director of KSBC

 Station Officer Egbe radio

 Officer- in- charge NTA Kabba

To these officials, I sent out letters through my parents and friends to secure interviews with them. However, because I was unsure of what to expect in the field, I was prepared to allow my environment and initial experiences to guide or shape the process of data collection. In this way, the grounded theory method was put to use.

In addition, prior to the research, I had access to three official policy documents, namely: Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), National Broadcasting Code (5th Edition, 2010) and Report of the core working group on the review of the National Mass Communication Policy (2004). I hoped to access others from the individual stations (if there were any) when I went for the field work.

3.3.2   Expectations made about my Research before Data Collection

Before I travelled for my field trip, I had some expectations of what my data would look like. These expectations were formulated based on two factors. First, as a Nigerian and also an indigene of Kogi State, I had spent most of my life living in Lokoja with my family aside from times spent at college and university which were located outside Lokoja. For over a decade, the only broadcast stations available to us with clear reception were NTA Lokoja and FM 94; this was way before we got our satellite dish (in 2002). The other stations located in the State during this time were Radio Ochaja, Radio Otite and Radio Egbe. Aside from the

fact that they could not be received from Lokoja, they operated only for a few hours per day. NTA Lokoja mostly operated in the evening from 5pm and ended at 12am while FM 94 operated in the day and evening times with breaks in between. Armed with the consumer knowledge I have of these stations, I had certain expectations about the stations I was hoping to be able to investigate when I went to the field. These expectations which are explained below centres around political influence on the language use in the stations, the nature of language policies in the station and the amount of developmental work on the indigenous languages used in the stations.

Secondly, before I went to the field, I contacted some people working in the broadcast stations as administrators to enquire about the conditions of the stations which enabled me to decide whether they were viable as case studies or not. I was aware that NTA Lokoja was owned by the Federal Government and was part of a larger television network service. Similarly, I knew that the radio station, FM 94, was owned by Kogi State government and that there were some local stations operating under it. Due to the government ownership, I expected that the stations would not be free from political influence or control and I thought that to a certain degree, the ethnic power imbalance that plays out in the State would be directly or indirectly evident in the stations. In other words, I expected to see the role of politics in the broadcast media which might surface as language policy and planning.

In addition, since I gathered from my informants that the selected stations transmit in the indigenous languages, I expected there to be a clear language policy in the stations considering the fact that Kogi State is multilingual. I was also curious to know the kind of policy that would be in operation; whether macro policy from the central station would be implemented at the State and community levels or whether the policies evident in the state stations manifest directly in the form of a micro policy. Hence, I set out to interview the Director General of the NTA and some other Executive staff at the national level. Furthermore, I was also looking forward to seeing a structured language planning procedure in place and perhaps see some level of partnership between the stations and institutions like schools and language institutions which might assist in developing the indigenous languages for use in the media. In addition, I expected that there would be training available for the members of staff that make use of indigenous languages. The reason for this expectation was because I am aware that there are some languages used in the media that are not necessarily taught in schools, e.g., Bassa, Egbira and Igala. I expected to see the station management actively promoting the development of the indigenous languages, especially at

the community stations which I believe are set up to meet the needs of the rural people.

Particularly with the NTA stations, since they operate under a network service, I expected there to be a framework which monitors the percentage of airtime allotted to indigenous language content in the State and community stations. As for government-owned stations, I expected them to be a real public broadcast system geared towards public service rather than profit oriented.

I also expected that the NBC would be very active in checking the activities of the media and since they have visible policies on indigenous language use in the broadcast media in the NBC Code, I expected them to have a way of monitoring that these are adhered to.

Finally, in addition to direct evidence in the form of interviews with people working in the broadcast media, I hoped to gather indirect evidence in the form of programme schedules, official and station documents. Recognising the dearth of academic material on this topic, I hoped that historical and cultural documentation about the stations and their activities would shed additional light on their policies and practices. I also hoped that I would be able to retrieve the precise picture of Kogi State's linguistic topography from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Kogi State.

3.3.3   Data Collection Process

3.3.3.1   Ethical Approval Procedures

Prior to my field trip, I was required to seek ethics approval from the University for my Research as it involves eliciting information from human subjects. As part of the University ethical approval procedure, I was required to submit my initial interview questions, participant information sheets and consent forms which my participants were required to complete prior to my engagement with them. I also explained how I would present my participants as well as the confidential measures I would take to protect the interview data of my participants. In order to ensure the anonymity of my participants, I represented them as pseudonyms. These pseudonyms as well as my interviewees' office roles were the key identifiers for my participants throughout this study. Part of my ethics application involved the description of the method of data collection, identifying participants as well as a precise explanation about how my participants would be recruited. Once I had received ethical

approval, I was ready to take the field trip. In the field, In keeping with the ethical principles in research, I obtained written consent from all my participants. Each participant filled in a participant consent form which included: information about the research, what the participants were expected to do, their rights to withdraw from the study at any time as well as the confidentiality that would be offered in the study.

The field trip for this study was conducted between 22nd July-October 16th, 2015. While in the field, I sampled a slightly different set of participants than I had earlier identified. The emerging data dictated to a very large extent the respondents in this study; thus I screened out those considered irrelevant to the study. For instance, during my brief meeting with one of the pre-identified participants, the Executive Programme Director (at the national level of NTA), she told me that she was unable to provide me with information on the language policy of the NTA. She instead directed me to the Language channel unit of NTA, a unit that had just been recently established. As the Executive Programme Director declined to help with any interview, I did not follow through with her again. In total, I interviewed 42 officials, generating 30 hours of recordings. Appendix 1 consists of the pseudonyms of all my participants, their office roles, the broadcast stations they work with as well as the dates I interviewed my participants.

3.3.3.2 Data Gathering Stage

While in the field, I collected some copies of programme schedules from the selected broadcast stations. This would enable me to understand the types of programmes broadcast by the stations and how time is distributed across the languages used by the stations. I also collected recordings of programme content on CDs as evidence that the stations transmit in indigenous language programmes. Using an unstructured observation data collection tool I wrote down useful notes on what I observed during the data collection. Although I had some general ideas of what might be significant based on my readings in the literature, e.g. information about programming, I did not know what would be specifically relevant in my own context. Hence, I was prepared to be guided by an emergent research design (in this case, GTM) 'recognising that what is observed may change as experience is gained in the setting' (Mckechnie, 2008: 908). Furthermore, using the unstructured observation tool, I would be able to compare between my participants' interview accounts and the actual practice in the stations. Some of the notes I took in the field included the work practice of

some of the staff members, especially as it impacts on the use of language in the station. I also took notes on the kinds of programmes that are transmitted in the stations. In sum, the unstructured observation instrument enabled me to collect a comprehensive and rich data.

Furthermore, I got some materials from the Corporate Affairs of NTA headquarters, including some pamphlets[5] such as *This is NTA* and *Political Broadcast Handbook,* which contained some briefs about NTA, their mission, vision and organisational structure. I also received two magazines: *TV Guide, April-June 2015 edition* and a newsletter called *Contact, Vol. 12, No.2 March-May, 2015.* These are publications produced quarterly by the NTA to inform the public about its activities, achievements and challenges. They are important to this study because they contain a cursory account of the history of the NTA and its recent achievements. All these materials would provide a good contextual background to the broadcast stations in this study.

In addition, I was given four copies of a book titled *Radio Nigeria Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* in FRCN. This book provides useful information about the history of broadcasting in Nigeria and cursory information about the indigenous languages that were used in broadcasting during the colonial and post-colonial period.

As stated earlier, I accessed some of my participants through my parents and some few known members of staff in the broadcast stations. Each time I approached a potential participant, I introduced myself (my name, status – research student and university – this also worked as most of them seemed thrilled and challenged to see someone as young as me doing a PhD) and invited them to allow me to interview them. If they were free at the time, they obliged me immediately and I interviewed them. Otherwise, they gave me a more convenient date to conduct the interview.

Beyond the questions informed by the literature (Carroll (1995), Chibita (2006), Oyero (2007) and Hult (2010)), I asked some other questions that emanated from what my respondents told me. Though I used a semi-structured interview format, I made the interview free flowing and encouraged the interviewees to go beyond what I asked if I considered it relevant to my research. I discovered this technique helped a lot as I gathered lots of information through it and it opened up room for other questions. It allowed me to delve deeper into what was going on, in the field.

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[5] These were the only materials I was given at the NTA headquarters in Abuja.

Furthermore, a trigger question I found very useful was 'how long have you been in the media for?' because it allowed me to gain an idea of the varying experiences of my interviewees as they would even go further to tell me what offices they had occupied in the course of their progressing up their career ladder. For instance, one of my respondents had once been a Hausa news translator but at the time I interviewed him he was already the Programme Director at the same station. This enabled me to interview him based on both his past and present roles; especially the roles that relate to my research.

Another technique I used in eliciting responses from my respondents was that in most cases, I asked questions that concerned matters that extended beyond their institutional roles. For instance, I did not limit questions relating to programming to the Programme Director alone. I asked as many people as possible and discovered that they were able to provide relevant responses to the questions based on their observations. This meant that I could gather a range of perspectives on some key topics, such as programming. At the point when I discovered that no new data emerged out of a particular line of enquiry and the constant comparison activity only reinforced existing interpretations, I knew I had reached saturation in data collection.

Moreover, I followed up earlier interviews with further questions as new findings emerged from the interview recording as a result of questioning different staff about similar issues. I was able to get new information which I then took back to different people, to seek clarification. And again, there were some interviewees I had to do in two sessions with because of time management. For instance, I met with some of the news translators twice because the first interview was done at inconvenient times, for example, around the time they resumed work for their news translation. In order to allow them to get to work, I had to release them in time but I re-scheduled another time with them for a follow-up interview. This was very helpful because before the follow-up interview, I listened to the first interview session, jotted down some new questions that my review of the interview recording generated which I then asked in the following session. Again, I formulated my questions from some of the responses I had asked other respondents from my previous interview. For example, while I was interviewing one of the news translators working in Radio Kogi, she told me about the logistical issues that made her leave NTA Lokoja. I found her explanation very interesting and I discovered that I had never asked any question of the same sort in my previous interviews with some other news translators so I decided to conduct a phone interview with one of the news translators to ask for his opinion in that regard. His responses were further

enlightening and raised further questions. This enriched my data further.

Lastly, during my data collection, I discovered that most of my informants performed different roles/functions from the theoretical positions they occupy. The impact this has on the study is that in the thread of data presentation and discussion, it is common to find reference being made to the same participant but identified by a different role(s) in some contexts. For example, the Director General of Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation (KSBC) is also the same person as the DG of FM 94. Furthermore, in NTA Lokoja, I found that the Technical officer is quite influential in areas of recruitment and news translations. He was even instrumental in recommending two of the current news translators for interview. Hence, his contributions feature even in discussions related to the news translators, for example.

3.3.3.2.1 Challenges Encountered in the Course of the Field work

Dearth of relevant literature: When I got to the field, I found that there was a dearth of documentation on the media stations I was interested in. There was no written record of language policies nor written history of the stations. There was also no proper documentation of the stations' daily activities. The programme schedules were more like programme notes than an actual schedule. In short, I discovered that the archival system was poor, so I had to rely on oral literature. By oral literature, I mean that the stations' history and events are usually conveyed by word of mouth both across time and across the communities of the people involved. This made the interview data collection tool significant.

I also observed that the only book[6] I found during my field work, which documented sparingly the history of the four media stations I was interested in, had no references nor bibliography provided at all. The author relied on interviews; so that made the interview data collection tool very important for this study. This allowed me to corroborate the account offered in the book as well as check whether there was a material difference between what I observed and what was published.

Furthermore, it was important that I gathered documentary materials that I could use in preparation for my actual field work. Since the census data did not have information on the

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[6] *Broadcasting in Kogi State: A Basic Handbook*

language population or the literacy population of the country and regions, I decided to visit the Ministry of Information and Culture in Kogi State to enquire about the linguistic topography of the state. However, I could not get anything useful. They do not even seem to know the ethnolinguistic topography of Kogi State. The only materials I was given were photocopies of a few pages of the State magazines that provide brief articles of two ethnic groups in the State and the history of the state itself. The information I gathered from these photocopies are no different from what is on the ministry's website (which I consider to be sparse information).

Shortage of/Inconsistent power supply: My initial thought was that I would do a week's observation of the stations early on to have an idea of the kind of programmes aired on NTA Lokoja and Radio 94FM before proceeding with interviews. I knew that NTA transmits from 4pm-12am on weekdays and 6am-12am during weekends while radio 94FM transmits from 5am-12.05am daily but it was challenging doing a proper monitoring of the programmes because of inconsistent power supply. Power supply is rotated in most parts of the State due to the limited megawatts generated in the country. Rotation of power supply meant some places would have electricity while some others would not. In my neighbourhood, rotation of power supply meant that we had electricity for ten hours in a day or less.

I had to rely on my phone most times to monitor some of the radio programs. Every evening when there was no power supply, our generator operated for 5 hours (i.e. 7pm-11pm) before it was switched off. During this time, I was able to monitor NTA programmes especially the news at 7pm-7.30pm. In the day time when there was electricity, I watched the programmes as well; so in the long run, I was able to circumvent the challenge of power supply and the observations I made by monitoring these programs were extremely rewarding. For example, in the course of observation of radio 94FM, I noticed some of the news translators were not consistent and that a particular indigenous program had been off-air for some weeks. Yet these programmes were in the programme schedule.

In NTA Kabba, I couldn't monitor the programmes at the house I stayed in because all through the four days I spent there, there was no light in that area. The transformer was faulty and was unattended to even though other areas had light. However, I was able to overcome the problem because all through the time I was at the station, I went to the studio where I was able to see the programs that were transmitted. For three days, I would spend the entire day at the station.

Problems associated with interview: As I conducted most interviews in the office environment, the most frequent problem was background noise from other staff members in the offices and from passing traffic where the interviews were conducted near main roads. The others were actual interruption of recording by other staff members who would want to ask the respondent some office questions.

3.4   Processing of Data

I returned from the field with a whole lot of interesting data. I transcribed the interview data using *Transcribe*[7]. I did a verbatim transcription leaving out all non-verbal utterances. The essence was to capture the main discussion of the interview. I also did not transcribe utterances I considered to be off-point, however, in such cases, I provided brief summaries of what had been said.

In addition to guiding my data collection process, GTM enabled me in analysing the data. A tool that aided and complemented my GTM data analysis was NVivo. NVivo is one of the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) tools useful for storing, coding and sorting data. NVivo enables the researcher to sort, annotate and interpret data. This means whether the data exist as transcript, text or videos, NVivo has the capacity of storing it and allowing the researcher to easily access it (Hadley, 2017: 83).

NVivo's sorting features allowed me to identify the important institutional roles and it was in this process that the news translators' role was foregrounded. NVivo also enabled me to engage in the iterative process of coding, memoing and discerning patterns in the data across the four stations and also across the various roles identified. This was the process that foregrounded the roles of news translators as worthy of closer analysis in chapter 8. GTM was also relevant in processing data using the capacity for NVivo to help me code and memo my data. Thus, GTM guided my use of NVivo.

A big disadvantage of NVivo for me in this study is that it is non-transferable or accessible. NVivo can only be accessed in the computer you start out with from the outset. It does allow

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[7] *Transcribe* is a transcription and dictation tool that helps you transcribe audio in a single screen without having to constantly switch between a media-player and a text editor.

you to extract documents and save on your computer but this can only be done one at a time; thus, making it cumbersome. The greater problem with lack of transferability is that one stands the risk of losing everything if the computer becomes corrupt, lost or erased.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated how GTM informed the data collection and analysis of this study. The fact that GTM is particularly suited for contexts that have been under-studied and have scanty literature makes it particularly suitable to this study. In the course of the data collection, some new ideas and themes emerged which were not pre-conceived. These new data in some way helped shape and re-focus this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND TO KOGI STATE

4.0   Introduction

This chapter seeks to set the stage for the data analysis chapter by providing an overview of the multi-ethnic nature of Kogi State and the attending socio-political tensions that arise from the context. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes the administrative system of Kogi State. The second section aims to describe the intricate multi-ethnic composition of Kogi State. Finally, in the light of the multi-ethnic nature of Kogi State, the last section considers the complex socio-political tensions that characterise Kogi State, as evidenced by marginalisation and structural imbalances among the ethnic groups. It is important to mention here that the examination of the complex and tense socio-political landscape of Kogi State was the initial motivation for this study; however, as the study progressed, the researcher decided to focus on the broadcast media, seeking to understand among other things, how much socio-political influence the State has on the language policy and planning in Kogi State media. This section is therefore very significant in providing a broad description of the ethnic and linguistic composition of Kogi State, in order to better understand the complex ethnic, social and cultural landscape that has developed over time.

Due to a dearth of literature on Kogi State, this chapter relies heavily on anthropological studies, official websites of Kogi State and newspaper articles.

4.1   The Administrative System of Kogi State

Kogi State was formed in August 1991 following successive state creations which characterised post-colonial Nigeria. Due to its ethnic composition, Kogi State is said to be a remnant of the defunct Kabba Province which existed under the then Kwara state from 1967 (Otitoju 2002, Omotola 2008). According to Omotola (2008: 75) further state creations in 1976 split the population of Kabba Province, separating the Igalas and some other smaller ethnic groups from Kwara State, thus merging them with Benue State. However, when Kogi State was created under the thirty-state structure in 1991, the same ethnic groups that constituted the Kabba province were extracted from Kwara state and Benue state and re-unified under a distinct administrative unit- Kogi State (Bagaji et al. 2012: 133).

Kogi State is administratively divided into three senatorial districts, namely, the East, West and Central senatorial districts. In Nigeria, a senatorial district is a district in a state from which the members are elected into the House of Senate (the upper chamber of the Nigerian legislative arm). For convenience, I will refer to the senatorial districts as Kogi east, Kogi west and Kogi central. In Kogi State, these districts are further divided into twenty-one local government areas (LGAs) as shown in figure 1. Each local government has a chairman as its administrative head.
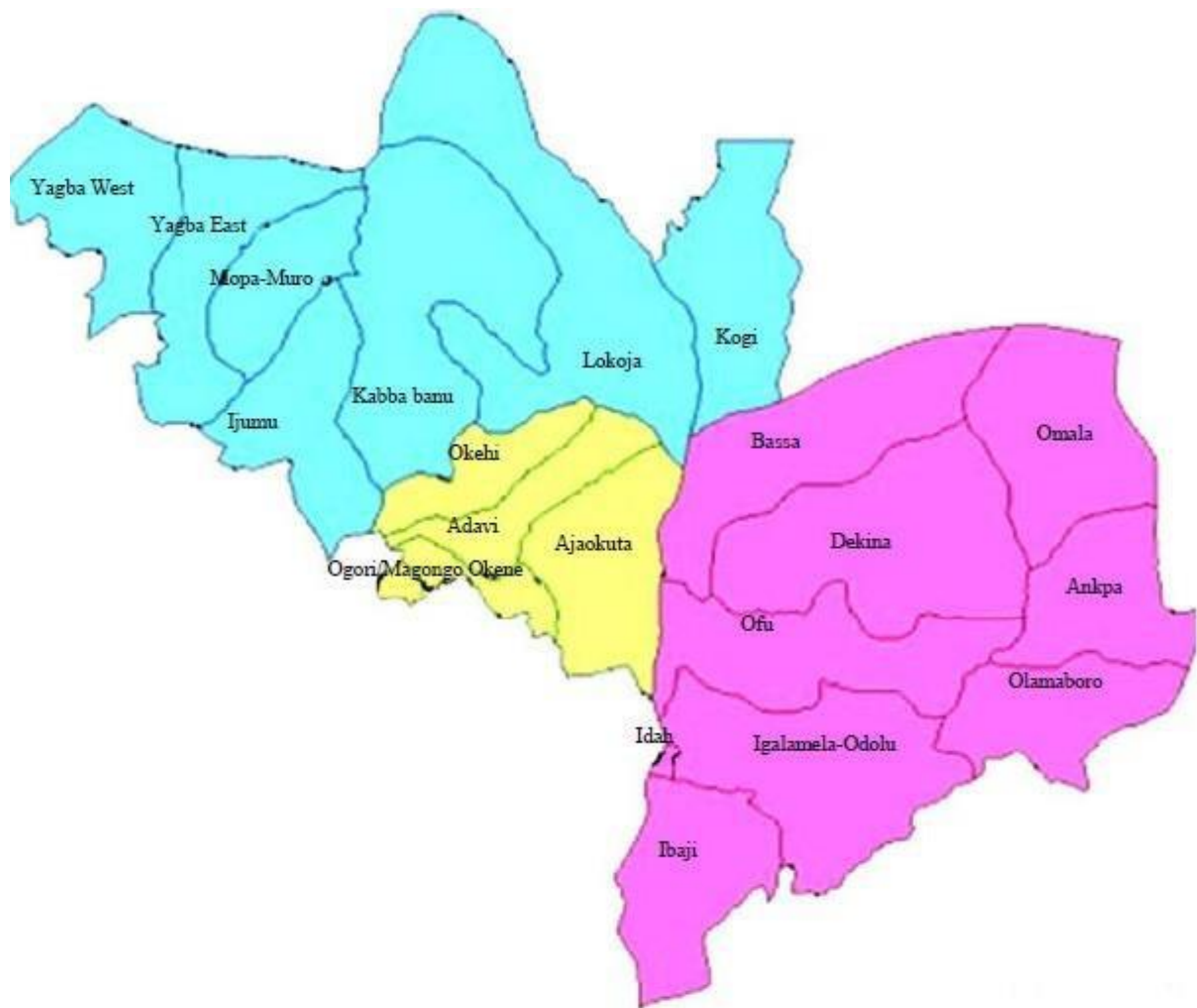
Figure 4. 1 The map of Kogi State.

The blue-shaded area is Kogi west; the yellow area is Kogi central while the pink area is Kogi east.

Source: Abogun, 2014.

One notable feature of the administrative structure of Kogi State is that it is divided into senatorial districts following ethno-linguistic criteria. The predominant ethnic group in Kogi west district is Okun which has five LGAs namely: Yagba west, Yagba east, Ijumu, Mopamuro and Kabba bunu. According to the latest population census in 2006, the population of these five LGAs is 594,501 (City population, 2016). The other two LGAs in Kogi west; Kogi and Lokoja, have a total population of 115,100 and 196,643 respectively and they comprise smaller ethnic groups such as Hausa, Bassa Nge, Bassa Komu, Nupe, Ebira Igu, Ebira Koto, Gwari, and Kakanda (Jimba 2012: 3-4). The yellow shaded area in figure 4.1, Kogi central, is dominated by the Ebira speaking community, who occupy four LGAs namely: Okehi, Adavi, Okene and Ajaokuta. The total population of the Ebiras in this LGAs is 888,848 (City population, 2016). The fifth LGA in Kogi central, Ogori/Magongo, is occupied by the Ogoris and Magongos who are 53,700 in number, following the 2006 census result (City population, 2016). Finally, the pink shaded area, Kogi east is dominated by the Igala ethnic group, who occupy eight LGAs namely: Omala, Dekina, Ankpa, Olamaboro, Igalamela-odolu, Ibaji, Ofu and Idah. In total, the Igalas in this district number 1,339,457 according to the 2006 census result (Ibid). The ninth LGA in Kogi east is occupied by Bassa Nge and Bassa Komu ethnic groups who are 188,600 in number. According to Bagaji et al. (2012: 133) the population figures presented is considered by some members of the ethnic groups in Kogi State as being controversial.

It is noteworthy that these broad demographic categories correspond to the administrative divisions of Nigeria during the colonial and post-colonial periods (Brann 1993, 1995). According to Brann (1995) the first administrative division of Nigeria in 1914 into the North, East and West provinces (later regions) by the colonial government, corresponds to the spheres of influence of Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo respectively: the three dominant ethno-linguistic groups (p. 262). Brann observes that subsequent administrative divisions of the regions into States (19 states in 1976 but currently 33 states) in post-colonial Nigeria further correlate to a certain extent with ethnolinguistic dynamics.

4.2   Ethnic Groups and their Languages

It is impossible to arrive at a precise number of ethnic groups and languages in Kogi State, a situation that historically corresponds with the defunct Kabba Province. In Niven's linguistic description of the defunct Kabba Province, he states that 'some twenty-five languages are in

common use, and of them about eighteen belong to tribes the greater parts of which are permanently domiciled in the province' (1926: 296). Some of the tribes Niven identified were: Kakanda, Okun, Ebira, Bassa Komo, Bassa Nge, Kupa and Hausa. Niven's linguistic description indicates the lack of specificity that characterises the linguistic landscape of what today is Kogi State. A plausible reason could be because language information is not usually elicited from the people during a population census. Therefore, the ethnic groups and languages that will be presented in this section are those commonly listed in official documentation and research literature such as Kogi State's Ministry of Culture and Tourism website and Ethnologue. These are: Igala, Ebira, Okun, Bassa Komu, Bassa Nge, Nupe, Kakanda, Oworo, Oko, Kupa and Hausa. It is also important to state that due to a dearth of research on the ethnic groups, the description provided on some of the ethnic groups may be sketchy. By 'ethnic group' in this section, I mean the set of traits, values, common ancestry and collective consciousness shared among a group of people who perceive themselves as being different from other groups (Enninger 1991). I present below the ethnic groups in Kogi State.

Ogori/Magongo: These ethnic groups are grouped in Kogi central. The Ogoris and Magongos are usually treated as a single ethnic unit, judging from the fact that they were lumped together within the same LGA, namely Ogori/Magongo. Adegbija (2004) explains that although both ethnic groups see themselves as distinct, they have areas of convergences such as common ancestry and identical languages. For instance, the Magongos are believed to have migrated from Ogori into a neighbouring village called Osanyin (2004: 8). Furthermore, Adegbija notes that the language of the Magongos, called Osanyin, is exactly the same as the Ogoris' Oko, such that the small phonetic, supramental difference that are noticeable among them does not hinder them from being 'perfectly mutually intelligible'(Ibid). Despite these similarities, both ethnic groups resent being categorised under one single bloc due to existing 'petty political rivalry' and 'ethnic dialect loyalty' (Ibid). In order to accommodate the distinctiveness, the language of both groups will be referred to as Oko-osanyin in this study following Voegelin 1977 (cited in Adegbija 2004). Ahmadu observes that although most of the Ogori-Magongos are educated, 'the people have not utilised their education fully in fostering local unity and district development generally' (2010: 35).

Igala: The Igalas are the predominant ethnic groups in Kogi East. The name of their language is Igala. The Igalas have been ruled by a traditional ruler called Ata since ancient times. Some

of the speakers can also be found in some states outside Kogi State, namely: Delta, Edo, Anambra, and Enugu states (Arokoyo, 2012). Its dialects are: Ankpa, Anyugba, Ebu, Ibaji, Idah, Ife and Ogugu (Lewis, et al. 2015). As far back as the colonial period, Igala gained recognition as one of the predominant languages (about 800,000 speakers) spoken in the West Region (Brann 1995). Igala is now being offered as a language course in Ankpa College of Education.

Okun: Beyond being a common salutation among the Okuns, the term Okun is the generic name used to describe an ethnic group in Kogi State whose origin is traceable to Ile-Ife, the home of the Yorubas (Otitoju, 2002: 1). As a result of this historic root, the Okuns are believed to be Yorubas who speak different dialects of Yoruba collectively called Okun. The Okuns can be described as a federation of five distinct groups namely: Owe, Ijumu, Yagba, Bunu and Oworo (Ibid). Each unit lives independently with its own social organisation and leadership although there are some inherent historic, cultural and linguistic similarities among them. Linguistically, there are some variations in intonation, accent and syntax in the dialects of Okun which are by extension analogous to Yoruba. These dialects are: Owe, Bunu, Ijumu, Yagba, Oworo, Gbede. The divisions among the Okun are ethnolinguistic, as indicated by the fact that the names of the distinct groups are also the names of the dialects. Another dialect of Okun that is very distinct and usually undocumented is Uwu, spoken by the Ayere people in Kogi State. Adegbija (2004 :51) describes Uwu as a one-village language. It is therefore common for Okun people to speak and understand Yoruba, however, it is not uncommon to find Yoruba speakers who do not understand Okun (Niven 1926: 296). Most of the Okun speakers live in Kogi State while some live in neighbouring states like Ekiti and Ondo states. In terms of language development, none of the dialects of Okun is codified, to the researcher's knowledge. Rather, they are acquired as vernaculars.

Ebira: Ebira is the language spoken by the Anebira (literally, the people of Ebira). Anebira can be described as an ethnic group with different units whose dialects are mutually intelligible (Kabiru, 2009: 1). Though there are variations in intonation and accent, each unit tends to understand the members of other units when they converse (Kabiru, 2009: 1). Similar to Igala, Egbira was recognised in the 1950s as one of the languages with over 100,000 speakers (Brann 1995). There are six Ebira groups each defined principally in terms of the dialect of Ebira they speak. These are: Ebira Tao, Ebira Igu, Ebira Panda, Ebira Oje, Anetuno and Agatu. The first two dialectal groups live in Kogi central while the others live in neighbouring states like Nasarawa and Edo states (Ahmadu, 2010: 13; Kabiru, 2009: 1). Of

these groups, Ebira Tao is the largest and is adopted as the standard language among the Ebiras. Tracing the consanguinity of the Anebiras, Ahmadu argues that they are most likely of Jukun origin rather than any other tribe. The Jukuns are believed to have migrated from the East, possibly from Yemen (Ahmadu, 2010: 17). Ebira is taught as a subject at 'the College of Education, in primary schools and on Radio programs' (Lewis, et al., 2015). From historic times, the Ebira people have been identified by the different clans they belong to, with each having a patrilineal head. By clan, I mean a group of families related through a common ancestor and having a similar interest (Kabiru 2009: 10). However, in the recent past, there has been a series of communal and political conflicts among the clans which has resulted in colossal destruction of lives and properties (Tenuche 2009; Kabiru 2009; Ohida 2002).

Bassa: The group is generally used to represent an ethnic group formed out of two disparate tribes – Bassa Nge and Bassa Komu. Habi (2006) argues that while the Bassa Komu tribe migrated from the Fulani Bororo of Zozo kingdom, Bassa Nge people have their ancestral roots in the Nupe tribe[8]; hence they are Nupe and speak a Nupe dialect (p.19). According to Habi, both groups were believed to have migrated into Lokoja around 1840-1850 hence, the British colonial masters assumed they were the same and grouped them under the same administrative unit. Habi's position on the distinctiveness of the Bassa Nges gains strength in Niven's (1926: 293) description of the Bassa Nges as people whose 'style of housing, dress, customs and speech' are different from the Bassa Komos. However, presently, in Kogi State, the situation has not changed as both groups remain subsumed under one LGA – Bassa. In terms of language development, Blench (1991) reports that Bassa is a language is used in the Bassa Bible and reading books.

Kupas: This ethnic group is located in Lokoja LGA, Kogi west and in Niger state. Though the ancestry of the Kupas is reputed to be traceable to Hausa speaking states, Niven (1926: 292) reports that 'they have no trace of Hausa in their speech, which is a corruption of Nupe'. The Kupas are mainly farmers, fishermen and hunters (Ibid). To the researcher's knowledge, the Kupa dialect of Nupe is not codified.

Kakanda: There is consensus in the literature about the relatedness of Kakanda to Nupe ethnologically (Habi, 2006; Kolo, 1996; Meek, 2013) and linguistically, in terms of structure and vocabulary (Encyclopedia.com 2002). According to Meek (2013: 47), the Kakanda people who refer to themselves as Ashe have similar cultural practices and architectural

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[8] majorly on the low basin formed by the valleys of the Niger and Kaduna Rivers (Habi, 2006: 10).

designs to the Nupe people. There are two dialects: Budon kakanda and Gbanmi-sokun kakanda (Lewis et al., 2015). Some of the speakers are located in the riverine area of the Kogi LGA and they are mostly fishermen, blacksmiths, canoe builders and mat knitters (Niven 1926; Audu, 2009). The researcher is not aware that Kakanda has been codified.

Hausa: According to Oyigbenu (2014/15) the first set of Hausas to live in Kogi State (then known as Kabba Province) were the deposed Northern Nigerian Emirs and Islamic scholars who refused to adhere to the colonial mandate of collection and management of tax. These deposed emirs as well as their families were taken to Lokoja and kept under close watch by Lugard's British colonial administration (Oyigbenu 2014/15). Hausa, the dominant language in the Northern protectorate, was adopted as the official language by the British colonialists at that time (Niven 1926). As mentioned earlier (chapter one), Lokoja was the administrative headquarters of Nigeria in 1900 following the formal establishment of British rule in the defunct Northern protectorate of Nigeria (Audu 2009). Today, the Hausa community, who are mostly found in Lokoja, has gained political, economic and administrative recognition (Oyigbenu 2014/15). Their traditional head is called the Maigari of Lokoja. According to Audu (2009: 328) most of the Hausas are itinerant traders and Hausa, which is one of the major languages in Nigeria, is well codified and taught in schools up to the university level.

Gbagyi: The Gbagyi people speak the Gwari language. Their major occupations include farming, calabash carving, pottery, hunting and fishing (Niven 1926). Culturally, Gwaris put their personal loads and luggage on their backs or shoulder rather than carrying them on their heads. As an ethnic group, they respect their heads and believe that there can be no life without the head (Niven 1926). A larger population of Gwaris are found in Niger state, Nassarawa state, Abuja.

In addition to all these listed ethnic groups, Audu (2009) documented other fragments of unrelated communities that migrated into Lokoja at various points either for economic reasons or security reasons. Lokoja is notable for two reasons: it has various mountains and hills which offered significant hide-out points to those fleeing from slave raiders in the pre-colonial period (Audu 2009). Furthermore, as the city where the river Niger and the river Benue converge, it is very attractive to economic migrants. According to Audu, amongst the migrants were some foreigners from Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gambia and Gold Coast (now Ghana) who served as missionaries and constabulary clerks (2009: 329).

From the description of the ethnic composition of Kogi State presented above, it is obvious

that Kogi State has a complex multi-ethnic outlook that makes it difficult to give a precise description of the demography. It is further complicated by the fact that although some of the ethnic groups appear to have similar ancestry and language, such as the case of Ogori and Magongos, they still want to retain and be respected for their discrete identities and "linguistic idiosyncrasies, however minimal they may be perceived to be by non-native speakers or linguists" (Adegbija 2004: 8). The same is also true of the Kakandas, Kupas and Bassa Nges who claim affiliation with the Nupe. Yet, this complexity becomes further magnified in the broader Nigerian multi-ethnic context. According to Adegbija (2004: 8), "the socio- political implications and privileges often attached to discreet language and ethnic or cultural identifications, especially in a multilingual situation" exacerbate the need for demarcations and distinctions among speech communities. An apt illustration of how politics affect the multi-ethnic constitution of Kogi State is in the distribution of the senatorial districts along ethnic lines, thus favouring Igala, Ebira and Okun alone. Moreover, the issue of using political considerations to measure the distinctions among languages of similar ancestry is common beyond Nigeria. For example, despite the similarities between Scandinavian languages like Swedish, Norwegian and Danish, or between Urdu and Hindi; Serbian and Croatian; to mention a few, they are treated as distinct languages owing to political reasons (Kovačič, 2005: 1).

4.2.1 Relatedness among the Languages of Kogi State Languages, Myth or Fact?

One common assumption made by the people in Kogi State about the languages in Kogi State is that most of them are genealogically related. The assumptions made about most of the Kogi State languages have led some to believe that certain ethnic groups are bilingual or multilingual as the case may be. For instance, Adegbija (2001: 289) recorded that though the Ogoris are not surrounded by any Yoruba community, most of them can speak Yoruba, hence, the wide usage of Yoruba in some Ogori homes and churches alongside Oko. The Ogoris are also assumed to understand Ebira quite well (Ahmadu 2010). Igala is claimed to be spoken by some Bassa people as L2 (Lewis et. al. 2015). A plausible reason for this assumption and possible justification for the acquisition of languages among some of the ethnic groups could be the long existing contact among them. For instance, the claim that some Ogoris speak Ebira could be attributed to the fact that the Ogoris used to be in the same administrative area as the Ebiras until the Ogoris got their own local government area in

1996. This increased the level of contact and promoted inter-marriage among the communities (Adegbija 2001: 53). Besides, the fact that the Bassas speak Igala as L2 according to Ahmadu (2010) could also be as a result of their being in the same administrative unit, namely, Kogi east as the Igalas. In other words, the idea that the languages of the ethnic groups in Kogi State are related has not been proven empirically.

It is worthy of note that it is mostly the speakers of the smaller languages that acquire the languages of the bigger languages and not vice versa despite the long existing contact among them.

In conclusion, the central assumption that some languages in Kogi State are related has been debunked in this section. These assumptions have been established without any empirical investigation to back them up. A plausible reason for the acquisition of some languages by non-native speakers, could be as a result of long language contact with speakers. In addition, due to the increased number of Igala, Egbira and Yoruba (Okun in this case) speakers, a situation attributable to the colonial period, the status of their languages must have increased over time unlike the other indigenous languages.

4.3   The Socio-Political Landscape and Tensions in Kogi State

The existence of diverse ethnic groups with distinct identities in Kogi State has not been without tensions. Since its creation in 1991, Kogi State has been governed by both military and civilian regimes. Although a significant part of this period (about 17 years) have been under a democratically elected civilian government, the structure and politics of the state reveal an imbalance of power and political representations and revenue allocation among the ethnic groups. For instance, Omotola (2008) argues that the Igalas have dominated key positions and institutions in the state by extension marginalising 'not only the minorities but also other major groups in the state' (2008: 81). Until January 2017, the Igalas, who have the highest numeric strength, occupied the governorship position all through the civilian history of Kogi State. On the other hand, Ebira and Okun, the next dominant ethnic groups in the state, have held 'subsidiary roles' such as deputy governor and special advisers while very few political positions have been held by for the minority ethnic groups.

Omotola reminds us that despite the fact that the wealth of the state's revenue (up to 93%) comes from Kogi west and Kogi central, where Okun and Ebira dominate respectively, Igala

still occupy key political offices and dominate the public bureaucracy (Omotola 2008: 73).

For instance, there is a large deposit of iron ore and limestone in Kogi central and Kogi west respectively which serve as great resources for the two major factories in Kogi State: the Obajana cement company, reputed to be the largest producing cement company in Nigeria and Ajaokuta steel company located in Kogi central.

Besides the political sector, inequality is also obvious in the distribution of health care facilities in Kogi State. According to Babatimehin et al. (2011), out of 810 public health care facilities (comprising of primary and secondary health care facilities) in Kogi State, 559 are located in Kogi east, 161 in Kogi west and 90 in Kogi central. This indicates that Kogi east has far more health care facilities than Kogi west and Kogi central combined. Although it appears that Kogi west has more health care facilities than Kogi central, Omotola (2008: 82) warns against this belief by stating that "the seeming advantage of Kogi West over Central may not be real after all. The reason is that most of the allocations to the zone ended up in Lokoja, the state capital, which is a part of Kogi West".

Furthermore, the distribution of public-owned tertiary institutions, shown in table 4.1, also reveals a lot about the imbalance of resource allocation/distribution in the state.

Tertiary Institutions	Senatorial districts	Local Government Area
Federal University Lokoja	West	Lokoja
Kogi State University	East	Dekina
Federal College of Education	Central	Okene
Kogi State polytechnic	West	Lokoja
Federal polytechnic	East	Idah
School of Health Technology	East	Idah
College of Education	East	Ankpa
College of Agriculture	West	Kabba
Kogi state College of Education (Technical)	West	Kabba/ Bunu
College of Nursing and Midwifery	Central	Okehi

Table 4. 1 The distribution of the public-owned tertiary institutions, state and federal government owned.

From table 4.1, it can be seen that four of the tertiary institutions are located in Kogi east, four in Kogi west and two in Kogi central. It is noteworthy that two of the institutions in Kogi west district are located in Lokoja; thus further strengthening Omotola's comment above.

The imbalance and inequality in the state has led to serious recurring tensions especially among the major ethnic groups in the state (Bagaji et al. 2012; Omotola 2008, Tenuche 2009). The privileges attached to being in control of political power make the electoral processes very competitive and aggressive. Bagaji et al. (2012) notes that some of the politicians even engage in all manner of undemocratic acts, such as using thugs to rig elections, in a bid to win. During the 2007 general elections, particularly the gubernatorial election in the state, the level and extent of electoral violence and corruption were unprecedented (Bagaji et al. 2012). According to Bagaji et al. the elections were marred by widespread irregularities, including the use of guns, machetes, and other instruments of violence and force which led to assaulting and killing of several voters (2012: 134).

The nature of politics in the state which benefits the Igalas has caused the state to be polarised into two contending power blocs- power stay and power shift (Bagaji et al. 2012). I infer that these are identifiable movements. The power stay constitutes mostly the Igalas and also those from Kogi West and Kogi central who benefit from the political positions and appointments of the incumbent government. The power shift on the other hand represents a movement from politicians, mainly from Kogi west and Kogi central and some displeased members from Kogi east, who are desperate for the power to move from Kogi East to either Kogi centre or Kogi west. However, the power shift movement has failed to achieve their objective due to the fear of being outwitted by ethnic rivals within the party (Obaro 2015, September 8). This has left them disunited and fragmented. A very salient example of disunity among the bloc can be seen in the preparation for the 2015 governorship election. There were struggles to shift power from the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) headed by an Igala governor, Wada Idris, to the major opposing party, All Progressive Congress (APC). However, the APC which consists of the power shift bloc had 28 aspirant governors prior to the party's primary election. One of the aspirants was a former governor of Kogi State, the late Abubarkar Audu who is from Kogi east and was still very popular in the state at the time. In order to be in a strong contending position against Audu in the party's primary election, notable political and traditional leaders from Kogi west and Kogi central called on over 10 aspirants from Kogi

west and Kogi central to unite and decide on a consensus candidate (Obaro, 2015, September 8). However, according to Obaro, 'the aspirants allowed themselves to be swallowed by selfishness, ego and pride at the expense of their love for the overall wellbeing of their people'. The aftermath was that all the aspirants lost to Audu, who became the flag bearer of the APC, presumably because they split the opposition vote. In an attempt to pacify the enraged voters of Kogi central and Kogi west, Audu promised to return power to the two districts after his four-year term in office; a promise that was dismissed as mere 'political gimmicks aimed at getting the support of the people at election' (Adah 2014, June 30). It is worthy of mention that during Audu's second tenure (1999-2003) most of his achievements were more beneficial to the Igalas than the other ethnic groups in the state. For instance, in a speech presented to the Igala Association, USA at Boston during the annual conference, Idris (2016, September 14) highlighted some of these benefits as follows:

> … the establishment of Kogi State university at Anyigba, appointment of Igala sons and daughters to various positions of responsibilities and authorities, construction of township and rural feeder roads, massive rural electrification projects, building of new and rehabilitation of dilapidated existing health facilities across Igala land, creation of additional Local Government areas that were more in the eastern flank, but not adopted by the Federal Government, and the earlier LGAs status quo was returned…

His lack of fairness during his past regimes further point to the fact that the Igalas have been ethnically biased in their administrations. Although Audu won the 2015 state election, he died before he was sworn in as the governor of the state. This thereby paved way for Yahaya Bello, an Ebira man from Kogi central who is still the current governor of Kogi State. In this way, the power has finally moved from Kogi east to Kogi west.

Although it is important to state that the Igalas in political power have not been even-handed to the other ethnic groups in the state, it is also significant to consider how the attitude of Kogi west and Kogi central have not aided or fostered their own development, using the resources available to them. While the Igalas use their political positions to their advantage in different sectors, the Okuns and Ebiras have been criticised for being too self-centred and wasteful when in political power; albeit in subsidiary positions (Joseph 2017, March 13; Oshaloto 2017, October 30; Tenuche 2009, Ahmadu 2010, Kabiru 2009). In a paper presented by Joseph (2017, March 13) to the Okun Youth Development Association, he

stated that paucity of funds cannot be put forward as the only reason for underdevelopment in Okun land. Quoting from the Punch, one of the leading Nigerian newspapers, he summed up the monthly allocation of the five Okun local government councils (i.e. Ijumu, Yagba east, Yagba west, Kabba bunu, Mopa-muro) from June 1999-May 2013 as up to N78 billion. Despite these allocations, most communities in Okun land lack basic amenities like water, good roads, electricity and industries, to mention a few. Joseph accuses the leaders of lacking self-discipline and of being squanderers. Arguing along similar lines, Oshatolo (2017, October 30) opines that the Okun people are very individualistic, having very little to do with unity. He further argues that unlike the Igalas, who pull together their intellectuals from different institutions to actively brain storm and plan for the socio-political and economic advancement of Igala land through ample annual conferences and summits, the wealth of Okun intellectuals, who are in top positions in Nigeria, means they are disinclined to advance the development of Okun land.

The Ebiras on the other hand are notable for conflicts which continue to undermine development and security in Ebiraland (Tenuche 2009, Ahmadu 2010, Kabiru 2009). The political elites are usually blamed for promoting the atmosphere of violence in Ebira land. For instance, Ahmadu (2010) reports how the Ebira elite politicians recruit the unemployed youths, equip them with ammunition and use them to promote their political interests. In his paper titled: 'Ebiras: a people at war with itself', Joseph (2006) describes how Ebira land is notable for fights among members of the different Ebira clans which involves killing of lives and destruction of properties. He decries that such an aggrieved and violent attitude does not promote an economically viable environment (Joseph 2006).

All the internal chaos and attitude among Kogi west and Kogi central further entrenches the dominance of the Igalas. Although Kogi east is not devoid of selfishness, disunity and under-development, some scholars argue that it is more united than the other ethnic groups in Kogi State (Oshaloto 2017, October 30). Surprisingly, the Igalas too complain of marginalisation from the other two senatorial districts (Adah 2014, June 30; Idris 2016, September 14). The Igalas complain that despite the fact that they have the highest population in Kogi State, they have the same number of representatives at the House of Senate and House of Representatives as Kogi west and Kogi central. Note that both the House of Senate and House of Representatives make up the National Assembly, which is the federal legislative arm of government (Adah 2014, June 30; Idris 2016, September 14). In other words, the Igalas expect to have more representatives in all spheres of influence than the other ethnic

groups in Kogi State; anything short of this is seen as marginalisation.

In conclusion, the socio-political landscape of Kogi State is marked by mistrust, blame games, violence and under-development. Consequently, most people in the three senatorial districts are of the opinion that disintegration of Kogi State will be the only solution to ensure peace. For instance, the Okun people agitate for an autonomous state called Okun state (Otitoju, 2002, Obafemi 2014, March); the Igalas speaking on behalf of Kogi east demand a separate state called Okura state (Akinfehinwa 2017, October 9). Ebira however, is yet to demand a state.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF THE NTA IN KOGI STATE

5.0   Introduction

The preceding chapters have established the theoretical foundations for this thesis and placed it in a historical context. This chapter constitutes a background to the Federal government-owned television broadcast media in Nigeria, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) particularly with reference to Kogi State. Specifically, discussion will focus on two television stations, namely, NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba as well as the description of their structure, operation and programming. Together with chapter 6, this chapter lays the foundation for the analysis of the language practice in Kogi State broadcast media.

This chapter is divided into seven sections. The first section gives an overview of the structure, operation and programming of the NTA in general. The significance of these sections is to provide a context that will facilitate an understanding of the umbrella broadcaster, namely the NTA, under which NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba operate. The second section gives a background to the distribution of NTA stations in Kogi State and it highlights the political aspects involved. The next two sections offer a brief description of NTA Lokoja and its programming as well as a discussion of findings from the station. The last two sections provide a background to NTA Kabba and the Kabba people's attitude to the station.

The material presented in this chapter as well as chapter 6 depends heavily on the interview data collected from my respondents in these stations due to the dearth of literature in this area. As I conducted the research, I gained a better understanding of the relationship between these stations but this information is not formally published or communicated in a manner that is publicly accessible. In this context, grounded theory was significant in creating an emergent and rich data. For the purpose of confidentiality, I assigned pseudonyms to my interviewees as presented in Appendix A.

5.1 Overview of the Structure and Operation of the Nigerian Television Authority

The Nigerian Television Authority (henceforth referred to as the NTA) is a Federal government owned public broadcaster. NTA runs one national channel in its headquarter station located in Abuja and it boasts a national network of over 100 television stations located across each State in Nigeria (This is NTA, ND: 1; NTA Service Charter, 2015, Structural

Information section, para. 2). This figure published by the NTA has been challenged in the literature. According to Akingbulu & Bussiek (2010), only 89 of the NTA stations are in operation. Similarly, in an interview with one of the Nigerian national newspapers, *Vanguard*, a former Director General of the NTA, Mr Musa Mayaki, gave interesting information about the situation of the NTA prior to his assumption of office as the DG in 2012. According to him, "we were just calling ourselves 'Africa's largest network' when in actual fact the network was collapsing gradually" (Ujah). He went on to give specific examples of some of the NTA stations that have been down for some years, which he was able to salvage during his tenure. He describes the situation as follows:

> One, Oshogbo [NTA Oshogbo] was down, Oshogbo is now on. NTA Lafia was down, it is now up. The only thing we need to do at NTA Lafia is to connect it to the national grid because they are still using generators. Then, NTA Ife which was down for more than three years or so is up now. … Ijebu Ode used to be a very key station in Ogun State because Abeokuta had a problem of visibility, so to say, because of the hills blocking the signals. So we had a complimentary station in Ijebu Ode … It was also down… It was down for more than one year (2012, para. 5).

This excerpt highlights some useful points about the NTA. Firstly, most of the inoperative stations are usually included among the 101 stations in the network. Secondly, even among the operational ones, some, like Ijebu Ode, are obstructed by hills such that the coverage is limited. NTA stations have been criticized in the literature for being wrongly located (Iredia, 2015). Iredia, who also is a former DG of NTA, suggests that unlike other countries that allow decisions emanating from feasibility studies to determine the initiation and location of projects, the location of NTA broadcast stations is usually politically driven (Iredia, 2015: 31). The location of Ijebu Ode referred to in the above excerpt presumably might be politically related. Thirdly, some stations like NTA Lafia are not connected to the national grid hence they depend on generators for power. This is a factor capable of posing a financial challenge to transmission in the station due to the cost of fuel and maintenance. All these highlighted points lend credence to Mayaki's assertion that NTA is collapsing. This reveals a lacuna between how large the NTA as a national public broadcaster claims it is (in terms of been the largest broadcast network in Africa with over 100 television stations) and what it really is in practice.

NTA is financially sustained through three major means. It receives yearly grants (called subvention) from the federal government, although some NTA officials complain that the grants have dwindled to zero in recent years. For instance, Iredia told of how he received 'a

zero-capital allocation every year from 2003-8' from the federal government while he served as the DG of NTA (Iredia, 2015: 30). Furthermore, the NTA generates revenue internally through selling airtime to customers for different programme types, corporate news and commercials (NTA Service charter, 2015; This is NTA, ND). In the light of a dwindling subvention from the Federal government, Akingbulu & Bussiek argue that the NTA has become intensely aggressive in its sourcing for funds through commercials and programming at high rates (2010:80). A sample of the NTA charges is given below as presented by Akingbulu & Bussiek:

> For example, a 60-second advert between 20h00 and 20h30 is charged at N 150 000 (US$ 1 282), while a same length slot during the 21h00 news costs N 500 000 (US$ 4 273). The broadcaster airs at least nine adverts during the one-hour programme. For sponsorships, airtime charges are N 750 000 (US$ 6 410) for 30 minutes and N1300 000 (US$ 11111) for 60 minutes with an additional handling charge of 50 per cent (2010: 80).

The implication of this is that in the light of these high charges, the NTA tends towards a commercial broadcaster rather than the public service it is meant to be. However, the NTA still identifies itself as a public service broadcaster in its service charter. In keeping with its public broadcaster role, the NTA claims that it produces and transmits short-format social service messages in the forms of jingles, announcements, short documentaries, dramas as well as public service programmes and general news without sponsorships (NTA Service Charter, 2015).

Furthermore, with respect to the language use in the NTA national station, broadly speaking, English is the dominant language used in all its content except the the NTA language channels which were established in 2012. The NTA language channels consist of three channels: NTA Hausa channel 106, NTA Yoruba channel 107 and NTA Igbo channel 108. These channels were established in order to preserve the Nigerian local languages, values and norms (NTA official website, 2013). Four years after the establishment of the language channels, although the three channels are in operation, I gathered from my informants that they have departed in some sense from their initial objectives. Bryan, the Programme Manager for Yoruba channel, explained that three zonal centres were initially set up to source and supply programmes for the channels. In other words, although the language channel offices are located in Abuja, the zonal centres which are located in the areas where the native speakers of the language channels are, are expected to be the production zones for the channels. However, this is not the case as Abuja functions more as a production centre, a

departure from the original concept. According to Bryan the reason for this departure is because the zonal centres are poorly staffed, equipped and funded. For instance, the Yoruba zonal centre has just one staff member, who is the coordinator of the centre. This makes the zonal centre ineffective and less productive. The implication this has for the language channels is that Abuja, being a cosmopolitan city, is unsuitable for gathering information from those who can speak the local languages fluently, thus constituting a major linguistic challenge (Bryan). Thus, most of the programmes aired on the language channels are basically around talk shows, thereby limiting the creativity of the channel. Bryan recalls his experience with an Igbo man who told him 'I don't think in Igbo, I think in English'. The bigger implication this has on this study is that although the NTA prides itself in having three functional language channels that promote the indigenous languages, in practice the structural lapses in the station in terms of understaffing, lack of equipment and poor funding have the potential of crippling the effectiveness of the station in fulfilling its intended purpose.

NTA national is headed by a Director General and he is assisted by Executive directors who head six departments, namely: administration & training, marketing, news, finance, engineering and programming. NTA national is also responsible for the recruitment and posting of all the members of staff located across the network.

In sum, this section reveals that the NTA is not as large a network as it claims. The network is characterised by several inoperative stations, and other factors such as absolute reliance on generators and bad choices of location. Furthermore, the NTA as a public television broadcaster, in a bid to survive has become more commercialised, through running large number of adverts and selling airtime for programme sponsorship. In addition, an interesting finding this section unveils is that the NTA language channels are bedevilled with structural lapses that make it difficult to fulfil set objectives.

5.1.1   Programming in the Nigerian Television Authority

The NTA seems to be modelled after foreign public broadcasters like BBC and ITV in that it has a main broadcaster in the centre producing the largest part of the content, and several stations located within the regions (in this case, states and local communities) providing their own domestic content. The NTA headquarter station in Abuja designs the network master programme schedule quarterly (i.e., every three months) and it runs on a 24 hour

basis. As shown in Figure 5.1, the 2015 Programme Schedule, 2nd quarter for instance consists of time belts for 6 color-coded categories of programmes. The white slots are for programmes from the (state) stations / zones, the blue slots are for sponsored programmes which are managed by the NTA national marketing department, the green slots are produced by the NTA national programme department, programmes from the Federal government are in the red slots while the yellow slots are for News Programmes. Besides the NTA news programmes that get network coverage, there are certain programmes that are simultaneously transmitted nationwide by all the NTA stations in the country. These programmes could originate from any NTA station in the country, as far as they are approved by the zonal committees responsible for national programme selection. Programmes of this nature are also referred to as network programmes (Uche 1989).

The NTA headquarter also decides the commercial value of the programmes to be aired on all its stations. According to the programme director at NTA Lokoja, the charge for content is determined by the location of such stations. Some States are considered to be more prosperous than some others. Lokoja was not classified as one of the commercial cities; hence the rates are less than for cities that are wealthier.

Network programmes on the 24-hour schedule are generally in English; there is no indigenous programming language content on the schedule. Although the schedule reflects 24 hours of programming, most of the programmes from 2am until 6am are repeats of the previous programmes. One can observe from Figure 5.1 that the news programme slot is more frequent than any other slot.

To summarise, this section shows that the programming slots of the NTA satellite stations are regulated by the programme schedules designed by NTA headquarters.

NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY

2nd Quarter 2015-Network Schedule…April 2015

TIME	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	TIME
6.00-6.30	Life Stories	Heritage	Boundaries & Transits	Visual Impressions-R	Guest Chef -R	NTA Classic	Spoken Word-R1	6.00 - 6.30
6.30-7.00		Dateline 360	Moment for Thought	The Scale	Senate 109	Nigeria Today		6.30 - 7.00
7.00-7.05	WEEKEND DEAL	GOOD MORNING NIGERIA					WEEKEND DEAL	7.00 - 7.05
7.05-7.30							WEEKEND DEAL	7.05 - 7.30
7.30-8.00	WEEKEND DEAL							7.30 - 8.00
8.00-8.30							WEEKEND DEAL	8.00 - 8.30
8.30-9.00								8.30 - 9.00
9.00-9.30	Stations/Zones	The Scale	Sportsreel	Explore Nigeria	Sportsreel	Insight	Work It Out	9.00 - 9.30
9.30-10.00	Stations/Zones	Why Nigeria Matters-R	Discovery 234-R	Young Boss	Health Report		Nickelodeon	9.30 - 10.00
10.00-10.30	Tales By Moonlight-R	Moment for Thought-R		My Music & I		AM Express Reloaded	Click Clap	10.00 - 10.30
10.30-11.00	Heritage	Global Parliament	Local Colour	Stations/Zones	Periscope	Entertainment 1/2hr		10.30 - 11.00
11.00-11.30	Ecowas Today		Business & Economy				Footprints	11.00 - 11.30
11.30-12.00	Sesame Square	Property & Style	Visual Impressions	From National Assembly (Live)	From National Assembly (Live)	Reflections	Insurance & Claims	11.30 - 12.00
12.00-12.30	Super Book	Panorama	Panorama			Panorama	Hot Sports	12.00 - 12.30
12.30-1.00	Pension Matters	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones			Rogo at Large	My Music & I	12.30 - 1.00
1.00-1.30	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Ultimate Soccer Experience	1.00 - 1.30
1.30-2.00	Stations/Zones	The Correspondents	Stations/Zones		Stations/Zones	Sport Chat	Stations/Zones	1.30 - 2.00
2.00-2.30	Stations/Zones	Young Hearts	Senate 109	One on One	Platform	Environmental Matters	Basketball Show	2.00 - 2.30
2.30-3.00	Inside Sports	Boundaries & Transits	DIGI TV	Footbal Classic		Political Update	Nigerian Idol	2.30 - 3.00
3.00-3.30	DIGI TV-R	Business News	Rogo at Large-R	Emergency Update with NEMA	Spoken Word	Click Clap -R	Sport World	3.00 - 3.30
3.30-4.00	Take A Step	Voyage of Discovery	You & Your Reps.	NTA Classic	Imo Diary	The Street2	Sport World	3.30 - 4.00
4.00-4.30	Stations/Zones	NATIONWIDE						4.00 - 4.30
4.30-5.00	Nigerian Idol						Sport World	4.30 - 5.00
5.00-5.30	Nigerian Idol	Nickelodeon	Nickelodeon	The Street	Nickelodeon	Guest Chef -R	Discovery 234-R	5.00 - 5.30
5.30-6.00	Nigerian Idol	Young Inventors	Fun Bus	Sesame Square	Work It Out	Tales By Moonlight		5.30 - 6.00
6.00-6.30	Guest Chef	CBN	Food & Drug	Lalola	Nigeria Content Weekly	Lalola	Telecom Today	6.00 - 6.30
6.30-7.00	ICPC	Centre of Unity	Power Wheel	MDG	Towards A Greater Nation	Oil & Gas Forum	Mother Care	6.30 - 7.00
7.00-7.30	News at Seven	News at Seven	News at Seven	News at Seven	News at Seven	News at Seven	News at Seven	7.00 - 7.30
7.30-8.00	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Change Train	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	7.30 - 8.00
8.00-8.05	Promo	Promo	Promo	Promo		Promo	Promo	8.00 - 8.05
8.05-8.30	Who Wants To Be A Millionaire	Happy Family	This Life	Jennifa's Diary	Super Story	Yr Products & You	Emerald	8.05 - 8.30
8.30-9.00		UAC 1/2hr	Oasis	Life Stories		No Ordinary Day	Secrets & Scandals	8.30 - 9.00
9.00-10.00	News Line	NTA News	NTA News	NTA News Extra	NTA News	NTA News	Weekend File	9.00 - 10.00
10.00-10.05					commercials	commercials	commercials	10.00 - 10.05
10.05-10.30		Powerlinks / commercial	Dateline 360		Nowhere to be Found	Cracking the Wall	Fenz Championship	10.05 - 10.30
10.30-11.00	Ali Baba Excess	Why Nigeria Matters		Nigerian Movies Today	Bridges	INEC	Developmental Strides	10.30 - 11.00
11.00-11.30		People & Events		House Ticket	Business Weekly	Moment for Thought	Saturday Nite	11.00 - 11.30
11.30-12.00	WEEKEND DEAL	MTV Base		MTV Base	Spotlight	Inside The Senate	Weekend Deal	11.30 - 12.00
12.00-12.30	WEEKEND DEAL	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	One On One	Weekend Deal -R	12.00 - 12.30
12.30-1.00	ONE O' CLOCK LIVE							12.30 - 1.00
1.00-1.30								1.00 - 1.30
1.30-2.00								1.30 - 2.00
2.00-2.30	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Business & Economy-R	From National Assembly (R)	From National Assembly (R)	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	2.00 - 2.30
2.30-3.00	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	Life Stories			Basket Ball Show-R	Stations/Zones	2.30 - 3.00
3.00-3.30	Stations/Zones	Stations/Zones	DIGI TV-R			Telemovies	Stations/Zones	3.00 - 3.30
3.30-4.00	Heritage -R1	No Ordinary Day	Environmental Matters-R					3.30 - 4.00
4.00-4.30	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News	4.00 - 4.30
4.30-5.00								4.30 - 5.00
5.00-5.30	Stations/Zones	Spoken Word-R2	Ali Baba Excess-R	My Music & I -R	Discovery 234-R	You & Your Reps-R,	Footprints -R	5.00 - 5.30
5.30-6.00	Best of AM Express	The Street		Business News -R		NTA Classic		5.30 - 6.00

Figure 5. 1 A snapshot of the weekly programme schedule for the 2nd quarter, 2015

Source: (http://www.nta.ng/program-schedule/attachment/programme- schedule/).

5.2 Background to the Distribution of Nigerian Television Authority in Kogi State

A cursory look at the distribution of NTA stations across Kogi State indicates that it is unsystematic and politicized. The first NTA station to be sited in Kogi State was located in the capital city, Lokoja, in 1992. Following the Federal government policy to further expand television services in Nigeria especially to rural areas (This is NTA, p.1), five other NTA stations were established in Kogi State and were politically distributed along the three senatorial districts. According to Opara, a technical Officer in NTA Lokoja, just three NTA stations were supposed to be established in Kogi State but 'political ambitions brought in more'. Three NTA stations were sited in the East senatorial district and one each in the West and Central senatorial districts. This distribution pattern reflects inequality and political maneuvering of the broadcasting media establishment. This inequality indicates that NTA has neither quota system nor transparent justification for the distribution of its satellite stations across the country; hence, this loop hole gets easily exploited. After all, as we will see in the way NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba were established, the Federal government or NTA headquarter provided very little support towards the projects. The point being made here is that NTA in its aggressiveness to increase its stations and become 'the largest network in Africa' as it boasts on its website makes very little contribution to the sustenance of these satellite stations in practice. In Kogi State for instance, I gathered that out of three community stations in Kogi east senatorial district, namely, NTA Idah, NTA Anyigba and NTA Ankpa, the latter was not in operation at the time of this field work (personal conversation). Similarly, NTA Okene, the only community station in Kogi Central senatorial district, was still under construction thus was not broadcasting at the time of this fieldwork in 2015 (Adams, Acting officer in charge, NTA Kabba).

According to Kabir (2014) the completion of NTA Okene remains 'a prolonged dream' while the construction site has merely become a visiting centre for government officials who come to make unfulfilled promises. Kabir stated that despite the fact that five Local Government chairmen (similar to the position of local council leaders in the UK) visited the site the year before and promised to get the station on air, this never happened. The situation of the station was not helped by the fact that the Commissioner for Information at that time (2014) was an Ebira man in a context in which Igala, the majority ethnic group, occupies the governorship position. Unfortunately, the State Radio station in Okene, *Radio Otite* was also out of

operation at that time, leaving only the private radio station, *Tao FM 101.9* in the area which broadcast 14 hours daily in Egbira. However, by 2015 during this data collection, I also gathered that Tao FM station was actually set on fire by some assailants (personal conversation). All these inoperative stations further cast doubt on the number of NTA stations that are supposedly in operation, as NTA claims in section 5.1.

Another interesting feature of the NTA stations in Kogi State is that they are named after the cities or towns they are located in; hence, NTA Ankpa in Ankpa, NTA Kabba in Kabba, etc. Besides, most of the NTA stations are also believed to have been located in the headquarters of the senatorial district they represent (Adams, Acting Officer in Charge for NTA Kabba), except of course the NTAs in the East senatorial district that are sited in three different locations.

In sum, this section unveils the fact that NTA in Kogi State has been unevenly and unsystematically distributed. Driven by politics, the distribution of NTA stations in Kogi State tilts heavily in favour of the Igalas, the major ethnic group in Kogi State. The distribution of NTA stations in Kogi State further re-enforces the unequal resource allocation that exists among the three senatorial districts as discussed in chapter 4. I will now turn to discuss NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba, the NTA stations selected for this study.

5.3   Background to the Structure and Operation of NTA Lokoja

NTA Lokoja, which started broadcasting in 1992, had a monopoly over television broadcasting in Kogi State for over twelve years before the community stations and private stations began to emerge. This made it quite popular in Kogi State. Two of my interviewees told me that what makes NTA so popular in the State is the brand that NTA has built over the years, as the sole Federal government-owned station. According to Opara, 'some sectors of the community still believe that whatever NTA is giving is authentic because it is a federal government media'. Clementine, one of the reporters, also confirms that each time he goes out for news coverage as an NTA staff representative, he gets positive responses from people, especially the ones in local communities who 'see you [him] as a highly placed man, so it makes the job of getting somebody to help out very easy'. Such testimony is consistent with findings from

the NTA Kabba too. According to Opara, NTA Lokoja's administrative office and studio were built through the support of the then Kogi State governor; although the management of NTA Lokoja is under the NTA headquarters.

NTA Lokoja relies on public funding as well as revenues generated from commercialised programmes. The station receives about ₦500,000 (£1020) monthly from the State government, and 80% of this money is expended on fuelling the station's generator (Sunday, Accountant in NTA Lokoja). NTA Lokoja relies on power supply from the national grid; however, as power outage is really common in Nigeria, it runs on generator most of the time. Furthermore, NTA generates funds through selling airtime slots for commercials, programmes, corporate news and special interest news. The corporate news and special interests news are referred to as Let Them Pay (henceforth referred to as LTP news), meaning that these news programmes cannot be transmitted without payment. According to Sunday, 25% of the money generated from sponsored programmes is sent to the NTA headquarters monthly while the rest is used to run the station and pay the salaries of auxiliary workers, such as the security men and news translators. The only financial support NTA Lokoja receives from the federal government is to cover the salaries of the permanent staff.

Information supplied by personnel at the station indicates that the station only just manages to get by, financially. The Head of News, Fadama, informed me that previously, NTA Lokoja was in such poor financial shape that it struggled to pay the news translators' stipends for some time in 2014. This affected news translations during this period as some of the news translators stopped coming to work and so news translation was cancelled altogether for three months.

Furthermore, the station lacks viable broadcasting equipment. For instance, Sunday reports that although the station has up to three cameras, the cameras were not in good condition as they get damaged quite often and the station's finances are not buoyant enough to purchase new cameras. In 2015, NTA Lokoja had to borrow broadcasting equipment from an external producer in a form of partnership. According to Dada, the programme manager, NTA entered into a partnership with an independent producer by letting him air some episodes of his Yoruba programme *Idile Alayo* for three months, with the hope that within the period of partnership, he would have secured sponsorship. In exchange for this, NTA was able to access and use some of his broadcast equipment such as cameras. However, when the station was able to secure its own equipment, the partnership ended and *Idile Alayo* stopped

broadcasting as the producer remained unable to get sponsorship for it. Thus, the station's lack of funds hampers its public service duties as every programme must pay for itself, whether in cash or kind.

In addition, the station does not have a teleprompter for news casting as most contemporary broadcast stations do. The traditional method of reading directly from the script obtains in NTA Lokoja. Two administrative staff are assigned to the news department. As part of their responsibilities, they type the English news bulletins before handing them over to the English newscasters; however, sometimes due to technical faults or late arrival of news items, the newscasters are handed handwritten news bulletins (Gabriel, an English newscaster in NTA Lokoja).

Besides limited broadcasting resources, Yusufu, the Yoruba news translator, also complained of the very old cars that the station owns which frequently break down. NTA Lokoja has two old vehicles: a bus and a 504 Mercedes car. When I was investigating the station, the former was not in use due to mechanical faults. According to Yusufu, 'at times the bus was down for six months, nobody was saying anything'. These vehicles are used to convey the newscaster crew from the administrative office to the studio which is sited on a mountain located in Lokoja called Mount Patti. Mount Patti, which is one of the tourist attractions in Lokoja, is said to be about 1500 feet or 458.3 metres above sea level and the road on the mountain is 'winding' and not straightforward to navigate (Sule, 2016). The time it takes to get from the administrative office to the station is less than 30 minutes. Due to its space capacity, the bus is the preferred means of transporting the news crew to the studio. However, in the absence of the bus the 504 station wagon is the usual substitute. Yusufu describes his experience in the station wagon thus:

> When there is no bus, the station wagon is not convenient at all because there are four translators, the camera man, the English newscaster, the studio engineer, the news director and that is how we will tighten one another in that small car and we are going to Mount Patti, can you imagine how risky and dangerous it is? it's not as if the car is that good, we thank God for the experience of the driver because it is not funny at all. At times, some of us will go with our own vehicles to see that things go well.

This description shows how limited the resources of the station are and possibly poor management of available resources too. By driving their own vehicles to the station, the staff shows lack of confidence in the station's official car. Adeyanji & Okwori (2006) also found

that the major problem for most of the NTA stations is the complete lack of broadcasting equipment or where resources are available, they are outdated.

In terms of work force, I found that NTA Lokoja seems have a good number of staff in terms of the size of the area that the station serves, across its departments. For instance, I gathered that there are up to nine reporters, four newscasters in the news department, but two are from the programme department, two admin staff, and the Head of News who is also a programme producer. In addition to this, the station recruits temporary workers via the government's Nigerian Youth Service Corps, known as corps members[9]. For instance I observed two of them in the news department. For every activity of the day, there is a supervisor/ news editor. The Programmes department is headed by a Programme Manager and includes eleven others who are programme producers and cameramen. An important finding this data reveals is that despite the substantial work force of the station, some of the staff work in a number of departments having multiple functions. Sometimes, the work load could be very demanding as a result of this. For instance, Gabriel explains that although she was employed in the Programmes department of the station, she also works as a newscaster in the News and Current Affairs unit. Due to her workload, she is usually denied training when it becomes available, even though she gets recommended for it. In her own words,

> In this station, I have had the opportunity of being nominated for several of these technical seminars and workshops and at the end of the day, I was told by the management, 'madam, sorry we don't have money, you have to stay back or, if you go, we will be short of staff', but it is not that the staff are not there. So I told the manager that but you have staff that you can train, he said, they kept training but they are not getting there

From her comment above, it seems that the station has more unskilled newscasters in practice hence the department is 'short of staff'. Under normal circumstances, NTA station is supposed to sponsor its staff for training, but this is usually not the case due to lack of finances (Sunday). The implication of this is that the few who have had such training in the past are encumbered with a heavy work load. Gabriel, cited above, has been to the TV College for a course on Presentation and Production and she has a Mass Communication degree. This background might be the reason why she is in high demand in the station.

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[9] These are young higher institution graduates deployed to different institutions across Nigeria to work and serve the nation for one year. The corps members are recruited under a government scheme called The Nigerian Youth Service Corps.

The second kind of training which the station resorted to since it cannot send people on standard courses in NTA College is what Fadama calls 'in-house training'. According to him, in-house training focuses on general training sessions on English phonetics and news presentation. He says the training is done twice weekly; this contradicts the account of Clementine, one of the English reporter's. According to Clementine, the last in-house training was over a month ago while Gabriel noted that it was irregular. As described by my interviewees, the trainer was a retired Head of News who worked in NTA. He now does contract teaching and training jobs. According to Clementine, the previous in-house training which lasted for two months focused teaching on vocabulary and pronunciation. Both Clementine and Gabriel attested to the fact that they enjoyed the training and felt that it was worth it. From Gabriel's comment above, despite the in-house training however, it turns out that some of the members of staff in the news department are still not skilled enough to be newscasters.

Another illustration of multi-tasking is the case of one of my interviewees, Itokpa, who was introduced to me as a programme producer as well as a former Egbira news translator. I learned later on that he is also one of the news reporters but I never had the opportunity of interviewing him in this role. He must have been a reporter when he took up the news translation role (which is a voluntary role) and from these two roles proceeded to become a programme producer. According to Itokpa, his motivation for taking up the producer role in 2007, in addition to news translation, was his perception of his people, the Egbiras, as lacking 'press awareness'. He explains thus:

> I initiated the 30 minutes magazine programme to enlighten my people. I noticed that my people were backward, they had no press awareness, they don't know how to publicise their things and I knew that the news I was giving to them was not enough to enlighten them. So, I sought for another avenue to expose them to the world. So I met with some people who offered to sponsor the programme.

Upon getting sponsorship, he secured an air slot to 'enlighten' his people through engaging in discussion and cultural songs, as a teacher would do. Recall that the dysfunctional Radio Otite and the yet to be completed NTA Okene mentioned in section 5.2 above are located within the Egbira community. Itokpa therefore uses his position as a member of staff of an NTA station to reconnect his people to the media. Although he reflected that the magazine programme which ran from 2007-2011 became popular among the rural Egbiras, the programme was stopped due to an end in its sponsorship. At the time I interviewed him in 2015; he was neither producing a programme nor translating. However, from my interview

with the current news translator, I gathered that Itokpa still exercises great influence in the station's news translation sphere in that he is part of the team that recruits news translators due to his previous experience. In addition, Otuoze, the current Egbira news translator, spoke of how he was trained for some weeks by Itokpa before assuming his role as a news translator. Therefore, based on this background knowledge of Itokpa's versatility, my interview with him was based on his previous roles as a programme producer, news translator and his current role as a news translator coach. With these illustrations of members of staff working across departments, it is clear that NTA Lokoja is not maximising the fairly large work force it has.

5.3.1   Programming in NTA Lokoja

The transmission time of NTA Lokoja has increased over the years. According to Jacob (2009: 33), from its inception to 2005, the transmission period of the station was from 5pm- 12 midnight daily. It later increased to 18 hours and by 2015 during this field work, the station was broadcasting for 20 hours 25 minutes. In spite of the increase in transmission time, most of the programmes aired by the station emanate from the network.

Following the provision of the 2015 Network programme schedule in figure 5.1, within NTA Lokoja's 20 hours 25 minutes of operation in a day, table 5.1 specifically shows the number of slots available for NTA Lokoja to transmit its local programmes.

Days of the week	Number of hours/minutes for transmission per day
Sunday	4 hours
Monday	2 hours 30 minutes
Tuesday	2 hours 30 minutes
Wednesday	2 hours 30 minutes
Thursday	2 hours 30 minutes
Friday	1 hour 30 minutes
Saturday	1 hour
Total weekly	16 hours 30 minutes

Table 5. 1 Number of hours of local programmes in NTA Lokoja .

As Table 5.1 shows, a very minimum amount of time is available for the station's transmission. I present below NTA Lokoja's programmes following the 2015 (July-September) weekly programme schedule. This will be followed by discussion on the programmes, some of which will reflect my observation of the station's programming.

Coast to Coast- This is a live discussion programme produced by the News and Current Affairs department. It runs from 7.00pm-7:55pm on Sundays. It focuses on the discussion of topical issues in Nigerian society. Relevant guest speakers from organisations or institutions are usually invited onto the programme but they have to pay in order to appear as guests. The justification for requesting sponsorship from its guest speakers, according to the Programme manager, is because the station is providing them with a platform for commercial services. However, if the topics are of broader community interest, such as social welfare, health, for instance, there will be no need for sponsorship. In this case, the station will bear the costs of production.

Kiddies Time- This is an educational children's programme produced by the Programme department. According to Dada, the programme used to be sponsored by the Nigerian Postal services but when the sponsorship stopped, the station continued to support it. However, he added that when there is no new content for the programme, the station usually connects to the Network for cartoons. It runs from 5.30pm-6pm on Sundays.

Idile Alayo- NTA Lokoja permitted the transmission of this programme in exchange for borrowing the producer's equipment. It airs at 1:30pm - 2pm on Sundays. At the time of this fieldwork however, because the station no longer needed to borrow the equipment and because it had no sponsorship, it was no longer running.

NTA Lokoja Confluence news- This is the station's only local news transmitted by the station and it includes translation services too. The news bulletin covers diverse sectors of public life within the state such as the government, agriculture, education, transportation, power supply and health. Non-government news often features under the sponsored segments such as business news, religious news and so on. During my field work (July-September 2015), a significant policy was introduced by the General Manager of NTA Lokoja, who had spent barely 3 months in the station. The policy, which had a significant bearing on news transmission, was fostered by the station's commercial challenges. According to Dada, the usual practice was that NTA Lokoja broadcast some sponsored news stories sent to them by NTA Kabba without receiving any money from NTA Kabba for performing this service. This is NTA Lokoja's way of assisting NTA Kabba. The idea is that the community members

within the region will be encouraged to patronise and sponsor programmes (in this case news stories) through NTA Kabba if they know that their news stories will be aired by the NTA Lokoja despite the fact that they are paying less than NTA Lokoja's rate. As NTA Kabba has been through different financial crises which has continually halted operation in the station (see the next section for more information on this), this support from NTA Lokoja comes as a big relief. However, Dada explains that the new policy in place now means the end of such a welfare system, hence, all news to be broadcast in NTA Lokoja has to be provided based on the station's charges and nothing less. This policy led to the reduction of the overall news content from the station. Consequently, the English news time was reduced to 15 minutes and the news translation was condensed to 15 minutes as well. The remaining half hour (7.30pm-8pm) is then made available for purchase.

Kogi diary- This is a political programme that focuses on the weekly activities from the government house. It is sponsored by the state government. It runs from 5.30pm- 6pm on Sundays.

Feminine Tit bit- This is a magazine programme that features segments that are considered to be relevant to women, e.g., teaching to cook and discussion of women's issues. It runs on Mondays from 5.30pm-6pm.

Commercials: Although these are not accounted for in the programme schedule, as a media consumer, I observe that commercials are usually inserted during programmes in the station. Commercials are usually presented in either English or Nigerian Pidgin English; this is usually decided upon by the sponsors. This is encountered throughout the station's programming; for instance in news transmission.

Hello Doctor- This is a live call-in health programme produced by the programme department. In this programme, a health professional is invited to discuss health issues and also respond to health questions raised by the audience who could either call in or post their questions to the station prior to the programme. It runs on Tuesdays from 5:30pm-6:30pm. It is a sponsored programme.

Christian half hour- This is a Christian programme that is produced by the Programme department of the station. It runs for half an hour (4.30pm-5pm) on Sundays without sponsorship.

Islam Calling: This is an Islamic programme that is produced by the Programme department of the station. It runs for half an hour (5.00pm-5.30pm) on Fridays without sponsorship.

Other religious programmes are sponsored and produced outside the station:

Islam a complete way at 6.30-6.55pm on Fridays

Ufane Adini Islam at 7.30-8pm on Fridays

Women in focus/success power at 1pm-2pm on Saturdays

Dunamis church at 2pm-2.30pm on Saturdays

Salem church at 2.30pm – 3pm on Saturdays

Crowning blessing at 3pm-3.30pm on Saturdays

Christ Embassy at 3.30pm-4pm on Saturdays

Millenium Christian Ministry at 4pm-4.30pm on

Saturdays New Testament church at 5.30pm-6pm on

Saturdays Christ Eaglets at 6.30pm-6.55pm on Saturdays

Eagle Christian half hour at 4.30pm-5pm on Sundays
Redemption way at 4pm-4.30pm on Sundays

5.3.1.1   *Discussion on the Station's Programming*

Contrary to my initial simple expectation that there would be a series of unsponsored programmes produced and presented by NTA Lokoja from the programmes listed above, it is obvious that just two religious programmes : *Christian Half hour and Islam Calling* are the only programmes NTA Lokoja broadcast without any form of sponsorship. Prior to the fieldwork, I expected NTA Lokoja, as a public broadcaster, to be non-profit oriented to a great extent as it discharges its public duty of information dissemination. However, this was far from the case. According to Dada, 'NTA is partially commercialised. Whatever goes on air, we need money for it'. What this means in essence is that although NTA Lokoja is a public service broadcaster, it is unable to render free content; hence, each content programme will have to pay for itself. The above programme list shows that there are more sponsored programmes on the station than unsponsored ones.

Moreover, I observed from NTA Lokoja's 3rd Quarter 2015 weekly programme schedule that the station sometimes does not fill up the hours scheduled for it to broadcast as shown in Table 5.1. Most of the programmes listed above are featured on Saturdays and Sundays only. On Wednesdays and Thursdays for instance, the only local programme featured is the local news; the others are from the NTA network. The point here is that beyond the institutional requirement to link up for network programming, NTA Lokoja transmits more network programmes than local programmes. The reason put forward for this is that NTA Lokoja is financially incapable of transmitting local programmes without sponsorships. The key question here is of what relevance then are all the network programmes to the audience?

Another notable point from the station's programmes listed above is that most of the programmes aired are religious programmes. This fact in itself violates the provision of the NBC code which stipulates that 'religious programmes shall not exceed 20% of the total weekly airtime of any broadcaster' (National Broadcasting Code [NBC] 2015: 4.3i). According to Dada, the station is caught between fulfilling the NBC provision for religious programme broadcast and maximising profit. The NBC requires that broadcasters maintain a balanced coverage of both Christian and Muslim programmes (NBC, 2015: 4.3a). However, Dada argues that this poses a financial challenge to the station because the Christian programmes are sponsored regularly through the year while the Islamic ones are seasonal. There are more Islamic programmes during the month of Ramadan than any other month. Hence, it always appears as if the Christian programmes are more frequent. However, because most of the sponsored programmes are religious, they are hard to turn down (Dada). In practice, the commercial need of the station trumps the NBC provisions.

In conclusion, in a bid to sustain transmission in the station, NTA Lokoja has become commercial and as a result, transmits more sponsored local programmes than unsponsored ones. This section also indicates that most of the programmes transmitted in the station emanate from NTA national station. Furthermore, the station is not financially viable as the station is under-resourced and under-equipped.

5.4   Background to the Structure and Operation of NTA Kabba

NTA Kabba was established following the Federal government's approval for the establishment of community stations in 2000. NTA Kabba, located in the city of Kabba, was

established to serve the west senatorial district, which consists of five local government areas: Kabba Bunu, Ijumu, Yagba West, Yagba East and Mopa. However, according to Adams, the acting station manager, the station does not cover some parts of the senatorial district. He describes the station's coverage as follows:

> We don't cover these five local governments effectively. We are supposed to cover it effectively but we cover Kabba Bunu and Ijumu effectively then some parts of Yagba East because there is a hill in Mopa that is blocking the signal so when the signal get to that hill, the signal will jump over and that is why some parts of Yagba East are able to receive us. You will be surprised they don't receive us in Mopa. The irony of it is that some people receive us in Edo, Delta, Ekiti, Ondo states because there is no blockage and they are neighbouring states. They don't receive us in Lokoja but we are receiving Lokoja in some part of Kabba; it depends on how powerful your antenna is. What we normally do before is to receive Lokoja and we now beam it to our people ....

The situation whereby some locations are cut off from broadcasting may suggest that the station was not properly located as Iredia (2015) argues in section 6.1. In the case of NTA Kabba, Adams asserts that NTA might have been sited in Kabba because 'Kabba is recognized as the headquarters of Okun[10] [the Okun people]'. I observed that the coverage of the station described above was not arrived at based on any survey conducted. Rather, findings from the data show that coverage is guessed at based on face to face interactions with the community members or during phone-in programmes where callers will have to identify the locations they are calling from (Itodo, the Head of Programmes in NTA Kabba).

Transmission started in NTA Kabba in 2005 with enormous support from members of the Kabba community and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) which has its headquarters in Kabba (Ogundimu, Secretary to NTA Kabba). The support was mostly in kind and cash which helped get the station running. Besides these sources of support, Adams explained that the NTA headquarters provided subventions[11] on a quarterly basis to the station for the first six months and also provided two official cars and three cameras. The subvention which ranged between ₦40,000-200,000 (about £80-£400) was used for miscellaneous expenses within the station such as: purchasing fuel for the generator, repairing machines with mechanical faults and paying the security men employed locally by

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[10] The Okun people is the term generally used to describe the communities that speak Okun dialect in Kogi State. The Okun people are located in the West senatorial district.

[11] This is an amount of money given to new NTA stations as support by the government for a particular purpose.

the station (Adeola, Assistant Finance Director). However, this support was not sustainable as NTA Kabba struggled to meet the cost of transmission transmission. NTA Kabba, just like every other community station, was expected to be financially independent after six months of transmission but things did not work as planned.

From the outset, NTA Kabba had no Uninterruptible Power Supply (UPS)[12] hence, it operated mainly on generator. The lack of UPS could be damaging to the broadcasting equipment when relying on power supply. With very limited funds, the station could only maintain 3hrs on air (7pm-10pm) daily. According to Ogundimu, all they did during this time was to hook up to NTA Lokoja for the state and national news. What this meant was that the transmission was done only in English. They did not produce any local programming from the station. However, further financial strictures reduced the transmission time to 2 hours daily and later to an hour daily. Findings indicate that the marketing strategies yielded very little benefit. For instance, Ogundimu reported that at the inception of transmission in the station, Adams at the time made free time slots available to churches as a way of encouraging sponsorship of church programmes on air. Ogundimu explained further that the station even went as far as recording part of some church sermons and aired them for free on two occasions but overall, only one church responded to the clarion call.

By 2011, it was operating only on weekends. This reduced and erratic transmission style had a major effect on the viewers who lost interest in the station, failed to patronize it and settled for traditional means of information dissemination. Baffled at the situation of the station when he took over, the newly appointed Officer in Charge, as of 2012, addressed a letter to Deputy Director Internal Audit in the headquarter office, describing the state of the NTA Kabba as follows:

> The station could not generate fund to transmit due to lack of fund for diesel as a result of low patronage from the people. The people have lost confidence in the station and have resulted to using DSTV cable in receiving NTA Network services and Town-crier in disseminating information and advertisement within the Kabba community.

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[12] UPS is a device that provides battery backup when the electrical power fails or drops to an unacceptable voltage level. It provides power for some minutes; enough to power down the computer or other electrical gadgets in use, in an orderly manner.

The audience thereby sought alternatives to NTA Kabba which was struggling to remain solvent. The town-crier method requires that the town crier uses a public address system mounted on top of a car to pass across information to its audience. The town crier method is considered to be economical, effective and far-reaching (Austin, the Marketing Officer in NTA Kabba). All these had a devastating effect on advertising revenue which further reduced the revenue of the station. However, due to the intervention and initiatives of the officer in charge mentioned above, NTA Kabba's transmission was improved and by extension, its impact. I will describe in the next section the specific methods and actions undertaken by the officer in charge to improve the impact of NTA Kabba. The new officer in charge at the time of this study had stopped working in the station, and had been replaced by an Acting officer in charge. For the purpose of reference, I will refer to this officer in charge as the outgoing officer in charge (henceforth outgoing OIC) as that was his status at the time when this study was being carried out in 2015.

So far, this section has revealed that the NTA has no framework for sustaining its satellite stations, which for the sake of being the largest network in Africa, compromises quality and the impact of its stations in their environment.

5.4.1   Case Study: Improving the Transmission of NTA Kabba

Since its establishment, NTA Kabba has been headed by at least three Officers in charge at different times. However, my interviewees spoke about the impact the outgoing OIC had on the station which is worth mentioning at this point. When the outgoing OIC assumed office in 2012, the station was operating under reduced hours of transmission only on weekends; the staff showed a low level of engagement as the station transmitted network programmes only at this time, the broadcasting equipment was obsolete, and the viewers had lost trust in the station. The outgoing OIC immediately strategized how to give NTA Kabba a facelift. He started out by writing a letter to NTA headquarters soliciting intervention both in cash and kind. In response to his letter, the federal government provided the station with a UPS of 30Kw volt amp worth ₦3 million (about £6000) in 2013. With the provision of UPS, the station expanded its transmission time to include morning and evening sessions between 7am-1pm and 4pm-10 (or 10.30pm on Wednesdays and Sunday because the national news ends at 10.30pm).

This new development at the station encouraged the production of local programmes of

different genres, designed to suit the life styles and educational backgrounds of its audience and most significantly of all, they were presented in the local languages of the region (Itodo, NTA Kabba programme manager). Some of these programmes were: *Ise logun Ise* (Hard work is the antidote of poverty) and *Ọjọ ọjá* (Market day). *Iṣe loogun Ise* was a programme where self- employed entrepreneurs in the community such as carpenters, masons or hairdressers are invited as guests and interviewed about their work. It was on air for three months in 2014. *Ọjọ ọjá* on the other hand was a programme designed to give traders in their market sheds a platform to advertise their products to customers for 4 minutes. The traders were charged ₦200 (£0.39) for this service and the programme was on air for some months in 2014. News translation was also revived in the station during this time and it was done in two languages: Egbira and Yoruba. Itodo, the Head of Programme Director, NTA Kabba describes the audience feedback at that time to one of the local programmes she produced as follows:

> …the kind of calls I get, it came to a point I had to change my contact number displayed on the screen and fix one that is less used because whenever it is time for the programme, in a day, I could get up to 30 or more calls relating to the programme. Once the programme is on air, some will call the number and be praying for me especially the elderly ones that you are trying to revive their dying culture because it is all about folklores, traditional dances and songs and things like that. And those people, it's like you remind them of their childhood days and youthful age, so they loved it. We discovered that the people here are interested in the indigenous programmes because when we stopped the production of those ones, they will start calling… to ask 'why is this programme not on air, we want it back on air' but we couldn't due to some limitations, mostly sponsors; though we are still working on how to still go back on most of those programmes.

NTA Kabba was now beginning to gain the community's attention again especially from the elderly ones who mostly understood only the local languages. However, due to lack of sponsorship for the programmes, the production cost was no longer commercially viable and they stopped transmission (Itodo).

The outgoing OIC also set up an association known as the Stakeholders. The Stakeholders were constituted principally of 'sons and daughters of Kabba' (Ogundimu). Some of the members were politicians, the traditional ruler of Kabba (Obaro of Kabba), KDU (Kabba Development Union) and business owners who felt sympathetic to the situation of the station. The stakeholders provided money to the station and used their connections to raise funds and support on behalf of the station. For instance, it was through the intervention of the politicians amongst the stakeholders that NTA Kabba was able to secure a new UPS from the

Federal government (Itodo). The stakeholders also donated a generator set to the station (Ogundimu). However, I observed that the generator was not in use. Instead, when the power supply from the national grid was out, transmission generally ended. The justification my interviewees gave for this was that there was no point running the station with diesel when most if not all the viewers have no power supply to watch the programmes. But besides this, I observed a lack of commitment and energy from the staff.

The outgoing OIC also worked out a way of training its members of staff. Most of the members of staff in NTA Kabba have not been trained at the NTA TV College and the station is not financially buoyant enough to send them on training courses. I gathered from my respondents that in order to bridge this gap, the outgoing OIC encouraged its staff to learn something from their colleagues in other departments within the station. This enabled them to function across departments. For instance, the senior finance officer tells of how he and other members of staff had to join the marketing team to seek programme sponsors and advertisers. By so doing, they all learnt to work in a team and learn on the job as they progressed. The outgoing OIC himself was also a programme producer. More staff were auditioned (before the outgoing OIC and members of staff within the station) and successful ones with positive feedback from the staff were added to the news department unit as support staff. One of them was the English newscaster who was originally from the Admin department. This in-house training method was the outgoing OIC's strategy of maximising the potential of the limited number of staff in the station to meet the demands of broadcasting in the station.

Furthermore, the outgoing OIC contracted an expert to train some of the staff in the news department on how to edit news and programmes using computer software. Although the training was quite rewarding as a few of the staff were able to edit the station's programmes by themselves, the newscasters did not have sufficient knowledge about the basics of news casting. For instance, according to Ekele, the English newscaster, he was not taught the house style in news writing when he joined the news department. It was only when he needed to develop stories in Kabba for broadcast by NTA Lokoja that he discovered from his counterparts at NTA Lokoja that he was not doing news writing properly.

The outgoing OIC also organised a Christmas party at the end of the year 2012 with the intent of getting feedback from members of the community on what they make of NTA Kabba. This was a strategic way of including the viewers in decision-making in the station. According to the programme manager, about 300 people turned up for the event. I gathered

that one of the traditional rulers in Kabba requested news translations in Kabba dialect: Owe, with the assurance that the community would patronize the station more if more programmes were featured in Owe. In response to this appeal, NTA Kabba decided to start news translations in Owe that same year but this has not increased the station's patronage in any noticeable way (Adams).

These initiatives improved the NTA Kabba to a great extent, however, it was hard work producing and presenting local programmes without sponsorship. Due to linguistic challenges, they usually invite Okun speakers to present the programmes but the station is usually unable to pay these presenters a fee beyond covering their transport fare. This discourages the presenters a lot. By 2015 when the field work for this study was in place, there was no locally produced programme anymore beyond a sponsored educational programme.

5.4.2   Programming in NTA Kabba

Before my fieldwork, I expected to see more localized programmes at the community stations simply due to the fact that they are situated in the local communities where the majority do not understand or speak English. This expectation was further strengthened by comments made by some of the NTA staff (both those I interviewed in NTA Lokoja and the ones I read about in the literature) assuring me that most of the programmes, especially news in NTA community stations, are presented in the local languages. In a newspaper interview, a former Director General of NTA explicitly stated the purpose of establishing NTA community stations. He puts it as follows:

> Community stations are supposed to broadcast purely in the local language because we cannot bring over 250 languages on board at the network here. That is why the community stations were set up – to do programming and read news in local languages. We also have state stations that devote certain percentage of their airtime to the local language (2012).

A notable distinction is made in the quotation about the nature and language of programming that is expected to be broadcast in the state stations and community stations. While state stations are expected to devote a 'certain percentage of their airtime' the community stations are supposed to broadcast 100% in the local languages. With a tiny percentage of airtime

devoted to news translations, the only local language programme in NTA Lokoja, Dada, the programme manager of NTA Lokoja justifies this on the following grounds:

> [M]ost of these community stations, they do translate the news into the languages of such areas where they are operating so it is left to them to do that. They have everything they need for that, they have reporters and whatever it is…

The reality in NTA Kabba as regards programming, information about the workforce, and the general operation of the station, is far removed from what the former Director General of NTA and Dada described above. At the time I conducted this field work in 2015, the only local programme produced by the station was a children's educational programme called NTA Kabba quiz competition. The participants in this programme are students from schools within the Kabba community and the programme is presented in English. This educational programme is sponsored by a member of the House of Representatives (the lower chamber of the national legislative arm in Nigeria) who is from the west senatorial district. In addition, there are two religious programmes sponsored by the local churches in the community. Each of these programmes runs once a week. From 7am-1pm during the first broadcast session to the end of the second session at 4pm-10 or 10:30 the station simply connects to the network service all the rest of the time.

The station still maintains its morning and evening transmission sessions, rebroadcasting mainly national programmes as I observed. Due to the inconsistency and shortage of programmes, the station has no programme schedule. The information on programming provided in this section is based on the details my respondents could remember. In other words, one could estimate that about 95% of programmes transmitted by the station at the time this data was collected are from the national TV. The remaining 5% may include religious programmes, occasional jingles, educational programmes and the news transmission. As for the local news programme, it is no longer clear whether it is still on air or not. There was no consensus among my interviewees on this. The English newscaster explained that he transmits news on Saturdays only for 30 minutes and then the news translations come up on Sundays while Balogun, the Owe news translator, explains that, prior to her two weeks leave (she was on leave at the time the interview was conducted), she had been broadcasting news at least three times a week. In contrast, Itodo asserts that transmission of the news programme is no longer consistent. In her own words, she says:

> It's not every day that things happen in this local environment, so getting news daily

is irregular. With time, it became 3 times till it became twice and then every Saturday (once) except [when] there is important news that needs to be circulated but now even the ones they read is not consistent due to some challenges, such that even if there is news, there is no light. We depend on PHCN[13] and the power supply is not regular. There was a time I was to cast news for about 6 days I couldn't cast the news till it became stale, so it kept on happening like that from time to time till it became discouraging (Itodo).

There is likely to be some credibility in Itodo's comment because the English news was usually transmitted in the news segment of a magazine programme called *Saturday Square Meal* which is no longer on air due to lack of sponsorship. The divergence of opinion among the employees who are directly involved in the news production indicates the lack of coordination, apathy and low morale among the staff. This may be as a result of the difficult situation the station operates in as described in Itodo's comment above.

In addition, as noted by Itodo's comments above, there is the belief that it is impossible to find local newsworthy items every day in NTA Kabba. So, in order to cast news during the weekend, Ekele explains that they cover events as they unfold 'and then we gather in bits and pile up'. This method of news gathering raises two concerns. Firstly, to what extent can one categorise these bits and pieces of information as news when they are eventually transmitted? News must carry the element of recency. Furthermore, their comments seem to suggest that they mostly look for news within Kabba alone thus limiting the actual station's audience reach. Other towns and villages within the west senatorial districts are rarely visited. Perhaps with more effective outreach, more news items would have been gathered and possibly sponsors and advertisers would have increased thus making the station more sustainable. Besides, this restricted mode of news gathering has the risk of further exacerbating conflict among the senatorial district units. One of the marketing staff reveals that he overheard some Okun people disassociating themselves with the station because it represents everything Kabba; even the name NTA Kabba has not helped here. According to Austin, one of the marketing officials,

> [W]e have also heard many parts of the Okun area saying, this is Kabba NTA not for the whole Okun people. At times, some of them will not want to do business with you because they consider it as Kabba NTA and not for the whole senatorial district (Austin).

From the above quotation, it is clear that it is important for NTA Kabba to endeavour to bridge this already evident gap.

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[13] PHCN is an abbreviation for Power Holding Company of Nigeria. This is an organisation that governs the use of electric power supply in Nigeria.

Findings from the data highlight three factors responsible for the inconsistency in the news transmission and the continuity of the magazine programme and by extension, programming in the station. These are: lack of funds which leads to reliance on irregular power supply, insufficient trained personnel and obsolete broadcasting equipment. Itodo's quotation cited above captures the first two factors.

The importance of power supply in the station cannot be over-emphasized. Although the station claims to have a generator set, they don't rely on it much due to lack of funds to supply fuel and because they are not confident that even if they use the generator, they would be broadcasting to their target audience. Presumably if this is the case, it is because their audience is also unlikely to have the electricity needed to power their TVs. However, one cannot discount the fact that it is possible for some of the members of the audience to own generators. Most Nigerians have adapted to the power supply problem by purchasing generator sets however small their capacities are. For instance, the family I lodged with in Kabba during the fieldwork owns a small generator set. The father of the house is a civil servant while the mother is a college teacher. The transformer in their street was faulty at the time which deprived them of light for days, even when central Kabba had power. So, for about 3 hours in the evening, the generator is switched on in the house for the family to watch satellite programmes and to charge their mobile phone batteries. When I asked one of the members of the family why they do not watch NTA Kabba, the response was 'are they now on air?' This response indicates how invisible and insignificant NTA Kabba had become to some of its audience; such a broadcast climate simply promotes satellite channels and the town crier method. The station's ultimate reliance on power supply was a major reason that frustrated the magazine programme, *Saturday Square Meal,* because when the invited guests come in for the programme, they get weary and demoralised when the power is out (Ekele).

Ekele holds the view that lack of trained staff and equipment discouraged news production. Thus, the technical aspects of programmes in terms of quality, composition and conception are generally poor. He puts it this way:

> Sometimes … when you finish your work and you are burning [into the computer], when it is 90 or 99% for the work to be ready, you will just discover that the system will crash and the computer we were using then was an old computer …. It was difficult. Again, the news we were doing then, because we didn't have enough hands and the cameras were not many, we were doing reports that some of them were not based on visuals. You just write, no videos to back them up because if you want to do

all of that, you will edit, by the time you come back from assignment to capture, to voice, to write, you will discover that the time will run off.

Ekele's description paints the picture of how fused the roles in the NTA Kabba news room have become; a complete contrast to Dada's comment above. Dada claims that most of the community stations [i.e. NTA stations located in rural areas] have every support and facilities they need in terms of equipment and staff to facilitate news translations in their stations. However, unlike in a standard news department where it takes the synergy of at least the newscasters, news reporters, news editors, technicians or news engineers, news director and camera operators to gather, produce and broadcast news effectively (Iredia, 2015), the case in NTA Kabba is different. The roles are fused such that one staff member could have more roles than he is usually employed for. For instance, from Ekele's description above, it is obvious he functions as a reporter, editor and newscaster. This is beside the fact that he was initially recruited into the Administrative department but he provides support to the news unit which has just two staff. Despite this effort, the qualities of the programmes produced are still not optimum (as described in Ekele's comment above) and the lack of skilled personnel persists. It is important to state here that the way the staff get around the lack of equipment is to use their own resources if need be, like Ekele above asserts that he uses his laptop for editing in the absence of a functioning one owned by the station.

In sum, programming in NTA Kabba has been erratic due to lack of broadcasting resources, poor funding, and under-staffing. Yet a more significant challenge to the success of NTA Kabba as reported by my respondents is the attitude of the Kabba people to the station itself. It is to this point I now turn in the next section.

5.4.3   Kabba People's Attitude to NTA Kabba

Many of my respondents are happy working with NTA as a public broadcaster. However, they have become discouraged due to the lack of success they have had in sustaining the station in terms of marketing and programming. Some of my interviewees blamed the Kabba people and its environs for the lack of success. According to Adeola, the Assistant Finance Director, NTA Kabba, 'the major challenge we are facing here is just the environment the station is located'. Kabba as a rural area is considered to have a low standard of living and the people appear uninterested in the media activities (Austin, the Marketing Officer, NTA

Kabba). My respondents expected to see great enthusiasm for sponsoring programmes, advertising products and encouraging the services provided by the station. For instance, Austin explains that all the marketing to 'virtually all the hotels in Kabba and even churches' which are the commercially viable places in Kabba have been met with very poor returns. Adeola said that the sponsorship rate has been adapted to suit the local economy. The rate of advertisements for instance is between ₦2000-3000 (about £3.96-5.94), and a news item cost ₦ 3000 (£5.94). Itodo also expressed her disappointment at the poor response of the members of the community towards one of the local programmes she produced. The defunct local programme (Oja oba) was designed to create a platform for the market people to advertise their products in their shops for 4 minutes, at the rate of ₦ 200 (£0.39). She described the response she got as follows:

> Some were not being encouraged may be they thought that once I do this between today and next tomorrow my sales should have boomed but it wasn't as they imagined. Some felt that the charge is a huge amount (Itodo).

The traders were expecting instant rewards for their financial investments and once it was not forthcoming, they withdrew their interest. But could it really be that the Kabba people are apathetic towards NTA Kabba as illustrated above? It might be that the Kabba populace are discouraged by the inconsistencies that have characterised NTA Kabba for a long time. It could also be as a result of different perceptions the community members have about NTA as a public broadcaster. While NTA Kabba operates within a framework that depends on the consumers for its existence and profit, the Kabba community members who are mainly low income earners might expect free services. Relying on rural dwellers to run a station is not sustainable; a lesson NTA Ankpa, a community station located in the East senatorial district, seems to have learnt quickly. Itodo, who previously had worked in NTA Ankpa before being transferred to NTA Kabba, posits that the Local Government provides stable diesel to run the station without relying on power supply. This has made the station have a steady tranmsision and thus to be accountable and trusted by its consumers.

Another issue raised among my respondents is how the socio-cultural tensions that exist among the Okun ethnic groups affect the people's attitude to NTA Kabba. Okun is a conglomerate of five subgroups namely, Owé, Ìyàgbà, Ìjùmú, Gbede and Bùnú or Abunu. The individual Okun language subgroups share some historical and linguistic affinity with Yoruba but still maintain individual peculiarities among themselves in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. Each unit of the Okun group wants to be identified

and treated distinctly and this is reflected in the way they relate to NTA Kabba. Austin reflects on the complexity of having NTA Kabba among the Okun people.

> What I have discovered in this area is division. This one will say I'm from this part and that will say I'm from that part in Okun area. ... Even in Kabba itself, there is division. You discover there are about three sets of people in this place, just as the Bible said 'where there is no unity, progress is hard to come by' I have heard people say the area where NTA is sited is the Oba [king] part not the political class area so the politicians will not have anything to do with it and that is just in Kabba alone. We have also heard many part of the Okun area saying, this is Kabba NTA not for the whole Okun people. At times, some of them will not want to do business with you because they consider it as Kabba NTA and not for the whole senatorial district (Austin).

This excerpt illustrates how much discontent the sub-groups have as a result of where NTA Kabba is located. The other sub-groups are unhappy because NTA is sited in Kabba while within Kabba, there is tension over the immediate physical location of NTA. The point made here is that these socio-cultural nuances influence how the Kabba people respond to NTA Kabba. Austin wonders if naming the television station NTA Okun in the first place instead of NTA Kabba would have been more inclusive and given every aspect of Okun 'a sense of belonging'.

In conclusion, NTA Kabba has struggled to survive among myriads of external and internal factors that limit its efficiency. Firstly, the location of the station and the attendant hindrances to reception of signal in certain areas do not reflect adequate planning before the station was set up. Secondly, NTA Kabba operates on a framework that depends on a very limited segment of consumers for its existence and profit. Evidence from the data indicates that NTA Kabba targets its services and marketing to the people in Kabba alone, one of the 5 local governments in the West senatorial district, at the expense of others. This has a dangerous potential to limit the station's revenue generation. Thirdly, NTA Kabba is under-resourced and many of the personnel are unskilled, thus reducing its efficiency. Finally, this study indicates a huge disconnection between theory and practice. Theoretically, NTA Kabba is meant to broadcast purely in the local languages within its coverage but in reality, it operates more or less as a booster station, simply re-transmitting the network programmes; this is a total departure from its purpose of existence.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF KOGI RADIO IN KOGI STATE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter provides background to the state-owned radio broadcast stations in Kogi State dubbed Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation (KSBC). Specifically, discussion will focus on two radio stations, namely, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja as well as the description of their structure, operation and programming. Together with chapter 6, this chapter lays the foundation for the analysis of the language policy and planning in Kogi State broadcast media.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section gives an overview of the structure, operation and programming of KSBC. The section provides a context that will enable us to understand how the umbrella broadcaster FM 94 and Radio Ochaja operates. The second section gives the background to and a discussion of FM 94 and its programming. The next two sections focus on a brief description of Radio Ochaja and its programming as well as a mini discussion on findings from the station.

As stated in the previous chapter, the narration presented in this chapter depends heavily on the interview data collected from my respondents in these stations due to the dearth of literature in this area. As I conducted the research, I gained a better understanding of the relationship between the stations; this was not made clear anywhere; hence, the significance of grounded theory in creating an emergent and rich data. For the purpose of confidentiality, I assigned pseudonyms to my interviewees as presented in Appendix A.

6.1 Background to the Structure and Operation of Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation

Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation (henceforth KSBC) is owned by the Kogi State government. It consists of four radio stations distributed politically to cater for the three senatorial districts in the state. FM 94 is located in the state capital, Lokoja; Radio Ochaja is

in the East senatorial district; Radio Otite 93.5FM is sited in the Central senatorial district while Radio Egbe 97.1 is sited in the west senatorial district. The radio stations sited in the senatorial districts used to be inherited booster stations from the state that Kogi State was created out of (i.e. Kwara State and Benue State). Radio Otite and radio Egbe were from Kwara State while Radio Ochaja was from Benue State. The stations broadcast through medium wave frequency until 2015 when they were upgraded to FM stations by Kogi State government (Isah, Director General of KSBC). Following the creation of Kogi State in 1991, the state had relied on its inherited booster stations for broadcast. All that there was in Lokoja was an administrative office where the news was gathered, written and then sent off to the booster stations for transmission. The intervention of the state government in 2015 regarding Radio Otite and Radio Egbe first led to the revival of these broadcasters which had been off the air for about 10 years due to their inefficient obsolete transmission equipment (Gbokogboko, Egbe station manager). Much of Radio Egbe and Otite studio infrastructure was the original installation from the stations' inception. This ageing equipment had become unreliable, causing the station to "fall off air" regularly. Because the refurbishment required was significant it was not possible to continue to broadcast. Furthermore, a new transmitter with power output of 10KW was supplied to Radio Ochaja. It was reported that the state government released ₦500,000,000 (about £987,018.30) for the rehabilitation of Radio Otite and Radio Egbe (Kogi reports 2014). As of July 2015 when the field work for this study was in progress, Egbe radio had been approved to function by the NBC and it was undergoing test transmission (Gbokogboko). I could not get reliable information about the state of radio Otite at that time.

KSBC has as its administrative head the Director General who is also the Director General of FM 94. This office is supported by heads of the six departments in the station known as Directors. The six departments are: news, programmes, engineering, administrative, finance and commercial. These directors both function as the heads of their departments in KSBC as a whole and specifically in FM 94. This means that the offices of the satellite stations are subordinate in nature; consequently, Radio Ochaja has a deputy programme manager but not a programme manager.

Furthermore, the state government supports KSBC by paying the salaries of its full time staff as well as providing money for diesel to run the generator (Isah). Even though KSBC is a state owned radio broadcaster, Tehila, the Director of Programmes KSBC, relates the magnitude of support the stations receive from the state government to how much

propaganda the state government aim to achieve. He explains that the previous military governments never cared about the stations.

In addition, KSBC generates funding through revenues from sponsored programmes and commercials run across its stations daily. From the generated funds, the station is expected to remit a stipulated amount to the Ministry of Budget. This remitted amount is usually calculated by the Ministry of Budget based on the station's previous revenue history.

Furthermore, I observed that my respondents still refer to Radio Ochaja, Radio Otite and Radio Egbe collectively as booster stations even though they are now fully-fledged FM stations. However, in this study, in order to avoid confusion, I will refer to them collectively as satellite stations.

6.1.1   Programming in the Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation

The KSBC's headquarter station is FM 94 where the network content is produced. The network content includes the news programme (i.e., state and foreign news) and a political programme, *Kogi in Focus*. Individual stations run their own programmes outside the combined service slots.

Although KSBC is a state owned station with independent programming, it is not totally free from federal government intervention. For example, KSBC, just like every other state radio station in Nigeria, is expected to hook up with the federal government-owned radio station, Radio Nigeria, twice a day for the national news broadcast. Furthermore, FM 94 has been invited to participate in federal government sponsored projects like *Literacy by radio* in 2009 (Tehila). The project, aimed at teaching uneducated adults in the rural areas how to read and write in their local languages via the radio, was sponsored by the federal ministry of Education in conjunction with UNICEF. To facilitate the project, representative staff members of radio stations in Nigeria were invited for a two week training course. After the training, the members of staff were required to return to their home stations and work on translating the English primer into the respective languages within their states and then teach the target learners via the radio.

When the project was to be carried out in Kogi State, the KSBC management decided to have the translations done in the three major languages spoken in the state, starting with Igala, with a timeline of 26 weeks, before proceeding to Okun/ Yoruba and then Egbira (Tokunbo,

the former Director of programmes KSBC). According to Tehila, he worked on the translation of the English primer into Igala and recruited artists[14] to run the programme on radio. Furthermore, face to face evening classes were organised for the adult learners through some local governments in the Igala community and facilitators were employed to teach them the translated primer. However, according to Tehila the project ended prematurely while the Igala translation was still in progress due to lack of financial support. It is not clear how much finance the federal government committed to the project. Tehila reported that 'the Federal government did their own bit but the Local Government couldn't pay the facilitators, they couldn't maintain it'. This means that at some point, the sponsorship shifted from the federal government to the local government. The way the project ended was so hazy that Tokunbo remarked that 'We don't understand I think it has to do with the Nigerian factor because this thing is supposed to go round but after the Igala edition, we didn't hear anything again' (Tokunbo). The term 'Nigerian factor' used here is very interesting. Omotoso (2014) defines 'Nigerian factor' as follows:

> The national attribute – the "Nigerian factor" – is the major disease affecting service delivery in the country. This term refers to an inelegant or improper way of doing things, which puts sectional interest, political considerations, elite interests, pecuniary consideration and wealth accumulation over and above public service (Omotoso 2014: 129).

Simply put, the Nigerian factor includes every element that militates against service delivery in Nigerian public service. This Nigerian factor supposedly resulted in the lack of sustainability of the project across the three languages, which is an indication of a lack of adequate planning or framework of the operation, despite its being a federal government project. Besides, the implementation of the project in Kogi State indicates a shift in focus from the objective of the project. The teaching of the Igala primer was supposed to be via the radio and not face to face teaching. One would expect that Radio Ochaja would also have been used as a medium to facilitate this project but that never happened (Amadu, the Deputy Director of programmes, Radio Ochaja). And finally, it appears the federal government never supervised or monitored the programme. All these are the various ways the Nigerian factor manifested in the project.

In sum, this section unveils a series of points worthy of note. Firstly, the state-owned radio stations in Kogi State, KSBC, are distributed along ethnic lines with one headquarter station

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[14] An artist as used in the station is someone who presents programmes voluntarily in a broadcast station.

in the state capital. The satellite stations are established to serve the districts that they are located in. Secondly, the sub-section indicates that Radio Ochaja, which is located in the Igala dominated area, receives more support from the state government than the other state-owned radio stations. The implication of the support is that it is able to sustain broadcasting even when the others were not. This indicates how the government marginalises the other groups through the radio station. Finally, it is evident that previous federal government projects in the state were not totally successful. We will now focus on the operation of FM 94 and Radio Ochaja.

6.2   Background to the Structure and Operation of Confluence Radio FM 94

Confluence radio FM 94 (henceforth FM 94) was established in 1994 by the former state Governor, Prince Abubarkar Audu. It was the only radio station in Lokoja for over twelve years. This monopoly was only broken in 2007 with the introduction of Grace FM, a privately owned station. As the headquarter station, FM 94 oversees the operation of the other satellite stations in the senatorial districts.

Although FM radio's transmitter is located on Mount Patti (like NTA Lokoja), unlike NTA Lokoja its studio is located within the same building as its administrative offices. I observed that the offices are quite small for the size of the staff working in the station. Up to 6 members of staff or more share an office space in some of the units in the station; only the station's Directors have office spaces to themselves. Yet, I gathered that in 2016, the state government approved the recruitment of new staff to ensure the efficiency of the radio stations. KSBC recruited 182 new staff (Kogi reports 2016). This would only make the station more crowded and noisy.

A common entry point for some of my interviewees into the radio broadcasting career is the artist role. Artists are not paid by the station but it offers a good prospect for a permanent role in the station. The successful artist whose service is considered acceptable could be recruited in the station as an announcer. One of the current announcers in FM 94 told of how he became an announcer trainee after working in the station as an artist, producing music programmes for three years. As an announcer trainee, shadowing an experienced announcer for four years, he received a very small stipend before becoming a duty continuity announcer, a full time staff member of the station. An announcer presents a variety of information such as music, news, sports, commercials and moderates panels or discussions (Belanger 2004).

They also sign in and also sign off for the station at the end of transmission. The news translators, some of whom are also local programme presenters, are artists. By allowing more artists to work in the station, it is cost efficient for FM 94 although the lack of payment affects the commitment level of the artists.

Furthermore, findings from some of my respondents reveal that FM 94 does not have the financial capacity to send its members of staff for training as before. In the early years of FM 94, the station prioritised training its workers employed in four of its six departments, namely: Programme department, news room, Engineering and Commercial units. Others in the Account and Administrative units do not usually receive further training because they are usually recruited based on their academic backgrounds and experience. The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria runs a FRCN training school which has now been upgraded to an Academy in radio presentation. It has different independent levels of training: Basic, intermediate and senior, but usually, the station sends its staff for the Basic training level because it is cheaper (Tehila). The Basic training usually lasts for 8 weeks. However, the station presently has no money to sponsor most of its staff for training; rather 'it is individuals that are training themselves' (Tehila). Two of the newscasters I interviewed said they have not been to FRCN School for training while most of the staff who had been with the station in the booster stations have been trained. The only available training the station organises is the in-house training for programme presenters. The in-house training, called clinic, is done fortnightly every Friday (Magaji, English newscaster, FM 94). Magaji explains that the Head of presentation usually records the presenters while they are transmitting on air before the clinic. The recorded piece is then played before everyone in the presentation unit during the clinic and criticisms and comments known as 'xray' are made on the presenter's errors in terms of phonetics and general programme presentation.

In conclusion, FM 94 is a state-owned radio station that relies on public funding and commercial funding. As the headquarter station, it oversees the operations of all the satellite stations.

6.2.1   Programmes on FM 94

According to Tehila (the Director of Programmes FM 94), in 2006, FM 94 was transmitting from 6am-10.05pm with three hours break in between but by 2015, the station had increased

transmission by 3 hours (5am-12.05am). This was because the station now uses generator to power its transmitter rather than relying solely on power supply from the national grid (Tehila). Isah (the Director General of FM 94) explains that the demand from the people at the grassroots (west and central senatorial districts) who were cut off from radio transmission at this time motivated the increase in airtime. With the increase in airtime, the station is able to accommodate more local content such as magazine programmes, request programmes and cultural music which were originally excluded from the programme schedule. However, Isah and Tehila asserts that more of the local content is taken from their satellite stations located in the   senatorial   districts.

Days of the week	News	Music/Commer- cial	Education	Religion	Variety	Indigenous programmes	Sports	Politics	Health	Others
Sunday	2 hours 17 minutes	10 hours 45 minutes	30 minutes	4 hours 13 minutes	1 hour	-	-	-	-	20 minutes
Monday	3 hours 58 minutes	6 hours 52 minutes	1 hour 15 minutes	15 minutes	3 hours 20 minutes	1 hour 45 minutes	25 minutes	45 minutes	30 minutes	20 minutes
Tuesday	3 hours 28 minutes	8 hours 12 minutes	30 minutes	1 hour 5 minutes	3 hours 30 minutes	45 minutes	-	45 minutes	30 minutes	20 minutes
Wednesday	3 hours 56 minutes	7 hours 42 minutes	-	20 minutes	5 hours 2 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes	1 hour	-	20 minutes
Thursday	3 hours 56 minutes	5 hours 17 minutes	30 minutes	35 minutes	6 hours 32 minutes	45 minutes	-	45 minutes	30 minutes	15 minutes
Friday	3 hours 38 minutes	6 hours 47 minutes	-	3 hours 5 minutes	3 hours 20 minutes	1 hour	-	30 minutes	30 minutes	15 minutes
Saturday	2 hours 20 minutes	6 hours 5 minutes	30 minutes	2 hours 30 minutes	6 hours 5 minutes	-	30 minutes	45 minutes	-	20 minutes
Total	22 hours 13 minutes	50 hours 20 minutes	3 hours 15 minutes	11 hours 23 minutes	28 hours 9 minutes	4 hours 45 minutes	1 hour 25minutes	4 hours 30 minutes	2 hours	2 hours 10 minutes

Table 6. 1 A snapshot of the genres of programmes in FM 94 from May 2015 weekly programme schedule

I will now discuss briefly the content of the programme genres provided in table 6.1.

News: the major news on FM 94 consists of the state news, national news and the network news. FM 94 links up daily with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) in Abuja for the network news transmitted for 30 minutes at 7am-7.30am and 4pm-4.30pm. According to the Programme Director, the three local stations of Radio Kogi connect with FM 94 to relay the FRCN news which consists of national and international news. The other news taken by the station is illustrated below. There are also news titbits where just the major headlines will be broadcast on the hour for 5 minutes.

5pm- 5.30pm=This consists of foreign news+national news+state news items (combined service- The three satellite stations hook up with FM 94).

6.30am- 6.45am= This consists of the repeat of the previous day's state news (combined service- The three satellite stations hook up with FM 94).

8pm- 8.15pm= This bulletin consists of national news.

6pm-6.30pm= This bulletin consists of news translations of the state news. According to Gowon, the head of news, FM 94, it is the aspects that concern the local communities that are translated.

3pm-3.15pm= This bulletin consists of the state news presented in Nigerian Pidgin.

Music/Commercial: This consists of different genres of songs including reggae, country music, cultural songs and religious songs. There are also request programmes where callers request a particular song to be played. Some of these request programmes are sustained through cards purchased by callers from the station. Most of the request musical programmes are done in English while a few are done in Nigerian pidgin such as *How Una Dey? Wetin Dey?* and *We Throw Away Salute.* Adverts are also played during the music/commercial slots. In the absence of adverts, the station plays music. Commercials feature all through the station's programme.

Educational: This includes quizzes and debates for school children; there are also programmes geared towards enhancing the proficiency, eloquence and oratory of the

audience in the English language, such as: *English with Pleasure* and *Right the Wrongs*.

Religious programmes: These include Christian and Islamic programmes, which feature more on weekends. Moreover, FM 94 always starts the day with 10 minutes prayer in both religions. Two of the Christian programmes (*Ona Abayo* and *Horeb Ministry)* are presented in Yoruba.

Political programmes: These are programmes that focus on the state government and the state legislative arm of government (state assembly). These are: *Political Panorama*, *Assembly Reports*, *Democracy at Work* and *Kogi in focus*.

Indigenous programmes: The station has magazine programmes in Igala (*Oluka)* which is re-broadcast from Radio Ochaja, in Egbira (*Ebato nini*) and Okun (*E okun* o) which create a platform for the listeners to call in to participate in the discussion of various topical issues concerning local people within their respective speech communities. It also features cultural music. In addition, there are also request programmes in 4 indigenous languages: Igbo, Egbira, Okun and Igala. This is a programme where audience members request songs and also send greetings to their loved ones.

Health programmes: These feature programmes on wellbeing. The station has two programmes in this area, namely, *HIV/AIDS* and *Health line.*

Sports: These include: *Weekend Sports, Mid-week Sports* and *World of Sports.*

Variety: This includes series of interviews, discussions and phone in sessions on different programmes such as: a programme to encourage the disabled (*World of Special persons)*, youth programmes, women's programmes and a drama (*FM Play house*) aimed at correcting social ills.

Others: This includes the opening and closing sessions of the station. It includes: the station call sign, opening announcement, National Anthem, prayer and closing formalities.

6.2.1.1   Discussion on FM 94 Programming

According to Tokunbo, about 70% of the programmes in FM 94 are sponsored. The indigenous programmes are sponsored by their local government areas. For instance, she explains that the phone-in programmes are sustained by the customers who buy cards to send greetings to their loved ones. Tokunbo also says that all the Nigerian Pidgin English programmes are sponsored except for the news in pidgin. However, just like in NTA Lokoja, FM 94 witnesses a higher percentage of Islamic sponsored programmes during Ramadan.

Inspection of the FM 94 programme listing confirms Isah's and Tehila's comments that just a few local content programmes presented in local languages are featured on the station. However, I observed that two of the indigenous programmes (E*bato nini and E okun)* did not transmit for about two weeks. When I enquired informally from one of the staff in the station, I was told that the producers who are artists are no longer working with the station due to very poor incentives made available to them. Specifically, in the case of the *E okun* producer who was also the Yoruba news translator, she was paid a paltry stipend of ₦5000 or ₦7000 (£10-£13.80) monthly, hence her lack of commitment (Tokunbo). In other words, although the station appears to feature some indigenous programmes in the programmes schedule, in reality, just a few of them transmit regularly. In the absence of these programmes, I observed that music, which according to Table 6.1 is the lead programming in the station, is used as filler. According to the programme schedule, the study shows a disparity between what the station claims they do and what they actually do in practice. The 2015 programme schedule creates a 30 minute slot for news translations in 5 local languages, namely: Egbira, Yoruba, Igala, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu. However, in practice as I observed, only two of the news translators namely, Bassa Nge and Egbira, reported for work, and so I infer that there are only two news translations that are broadcast.

Although FM 94 appears to have different genres of programmes in its schedule, I observed that nobody monitors the actual transmission of these programmes, including the sponsored ones. For instance, while Tehila, the programme manager, was showing me round the station's facility, he received a phone call from Isah, the Director General of KSBC, who queried him about a sponsored programme that was supposed to be transmitting in place of music at the time but was not. Isah had received a call earlier from the programme sponsor

who complained that about 10 minutes into paid airtime, his programme was not on air. Tehila, who was already on his way with me to the studio with the intent of showing me around, went to the studio to inquire what was going on. On getting there, we saw that it was the complacent attitude of the controller on set who was carried away with playing music that was responsible for this. Tehila cautioned him, immediately instructing him to play the sponsored programme which the controller did. The point made here is that if the programme sponsor had not called to complain, his paid airtime would have been mis-used without anybody taking notice.

Furthermore, most of the programmes (religious, indigenous and government programmes) are sponsored except the three 30 minute slots earmarked for magazine programmes in Igala, Yoruba and Egbira. This was the station's way of encouraging the indigenous language communities (Gbokogboko, programme producer FM 94). Furthermore, by translating the news into indigenous languages, FM 94 complies with the provision of the NBC code which requires that broadcasters should produce programmes and news in the dominant and minority languages in the environment (2015: subsection 0.2.4n). FM 94 has news translation services for 3 dominant languages (Igala, Egbira and Yoruba) and two less dominant ones (Bassa nge & Bassa Kwomu).

In conclusion, a major finding of this section is that in FM 94 there is a disparity between what the station management say they do and what they actually do in practice. The station says that they broadcast a few indigenous programmes as well as news translations in five local languages. As I observed, some of the indigenous programmes and news translations in three out of five local languages had not been on air for two weeks or more, yet they appear on the programme schedule. In addition, the study also indicates that due to a lack of a monitoring system to check the complacency of some of the studio staff members in the station, some of the programmes go unaired.

6.3   Background to the Structure and Operation of Radio Ochaja

Radio Ochaja is one of the Kogi State-owned radio stations, established to specifically serve the east senatorial district of Kogi State. The deputy director of programmes, Amadu, stated the objective of the station more clearly as follows:

That is the main objective which is to cater for the Kogi East most especially the Igala and Bassa languages or tribes because most of the languages we use is Igala, Bassa and English language (Amadu).

This objective agrees with the expectation of Isah, and Tehila about what the language practice of Radio Ochaja should be. Amadu's comment also indicates that the members of staff in the station demonstrate awareness of its scope of coverage and the key languages to use in the station; namely, Igala and the Bassa languages. Radio Ochaja used to be a booster station to Radio Benue, serving the same geographic demographic before Kogi State was created. After Kogi State was created in 1991, it became harnessed into the State as it continued to be of use in the Eastern Kogi State. Radio Ochaja is located in a community without power supply. Ochaja has been without power supply for years because it lacks the facilities needed. The audience had to rely on battery radios to receive the station. As mentioned in section 8.1, Radio Ochaja benefitted from the state government's intervention as it was recently upgraded to an FM station from an AM station in November 2014 (Amadu).

From inception up to the point this field work was carried out, the station has continuously transmitted, unlike its counterparts which have been functionally erratic. For instance, Radio Egbe in the west senatorial district and Radio Otite in the Central Senatorial district were off air for almost ten years. Two reasons can be provided for this. Firstly, Radio Ochaja has always enjoyed more efficient and easily replaceable broadcasting equipment than the others, as explained by Audu, the station manager of Radio Ochaja:

> … the former General Manager, Mr Edimeh [a former manager of Benue radio] fought for us to have a transformer that was transistorised, it doesn't use valve transmitter like we have in Otite. That of Otite was completely analogue, what we have here is transistorised. Analogue transmitter consumes a lot of heat, the valve alone consumes a lot of heat and anytime the valve is down before you get a new one, it will be difficult. If you tell a contractor to come and fix a new valve, they will go and refurbish an old one and claim it is new but in the case of Ochaja, we could easily get a replacement for transistors in the market that is why we have been on air for a long time (Audu).

What this meant was that the former General Manager of Benue radio used his political influence to secure a better transmitter for Radio Ochaja than it would normally have gotten.

Although one might argue that this happened in Benue state, a different political entity from Kogi State, as we proceed in the analysis, we will see that Igala politicians are practised at gaining economic and technological improvements through exercising influence in their home regions, often at the expense of other ethnic groups (Omotola, 2008).

Radio Ochaja also receives direct support from the Igala-dominated state government, unlike the other state-owned radio stations. My informants told of how Kogi State government headed by an Igala governor has been actively supporting continuous transmission in the station by supplying them with diesel while its counterparts Radio Egbe and Radio Otite have been off the air. Sheila, the commercial manager, Radio Ochaja describes the state government support as follows:

> For about 2-3 years back, the State government has been supplying… us diesel from Lokoja; about five drums - six drums every month. That is the magnanimity of the government (Sheila).

The state government's justification for supplying diesel as provided by my informants is because the Ochaja community does not use power supply from the national grid. Hence, Radio Ochaja depends solely on generator. However, power supply in Nigeria, even in cities where all the necessary facilities are in place has not really encouraged broadcasting. The situation of NTA Kabba which had witnessed a series of programme cutbacks and reduction in transmission hours as a result of erratic power supply is a good illustration here. The supply of diesel from the state government sustains transmission of the station and makes the station very attractive to patrons, and this had a boosting effect on advertising revenue. Sheila describes the impact Radio Ochaja has on the Igala community as follows:

> Yes, in fact, we have a lot of customers. In fact, out of the 3 booster stations in Kogi State, we have got a letter of commendation. Igala people are more advanced in commercials than others so we generate a lot of money in this station than others. We have a lot of patronage. In fact, even before I came here, before the advent of mobile phones, the first place people visit when somebody dies in Igala land is radio to inform their people. At least we generate up to ₦25,000-₦300,000 every month in this station (Sheila).

What makes the commercials more accessible to the audience is that they are presented mostly in Igala and not just English.

Furthermore, following the intervention of the state government in the KSBC satellite radio stations, while the state government bought Radio Ochaja a new 10KW transmitter in addition to its 5 KW transmitter, Radio Egbe and Radio Otite were given a 5KW transmitter each. According to Sheila, Radio Ochaja's previous 5 KW transmitter is in poor condition; the engine gets hot when in frequent use, so the station was unable to transmit beyond 4 hours daily (i.e. 6am-8am and 4pm-6pm). However, the additional 10KW transmitter has enabled the station to expand its transmission hours by three hours (6am-10am and 3pm-6pm) while maintaining its usual morning and evening transmission sessions (Amadu).

Speaking in administrative terms, Radio Ochaja operates under KSBC. The station is headed by the station officer who is answerable to the Director General of KSBC. Radio Ochaja has only three departments: Engineering, Commercial and Programmes because it is not a fully-fledged broadcasting station. In other words, it does not have news, administrative or finance departments. All the members of staff are recruited by FM 94 before being transferred to work in the satellite stations. As a result of the organizational hierarchy within KSBC, most of the revenue generated by Radio Ochaja is deposited into KSBC's bank account while a small percentage is reserved to meet the station's immediate needs, such as fuelling the station's only official car (Sheila). According to Audu, whatever the station needs or wants to do, 'we take it directly to the mother station; we were not signatories to the bank account'. This requires travelling to Lokoja to receive assistance from the station. For instance, when I went to Tehila's office in FM 94 Lokoja to interview him for this study, Amadu was with him having a discussion about the condition of Radio Ochaja and some of their needs. Amadu requested blank radio cassettes and some other miscellaneous items for use in his station from the programme manager.

Despite the support Radio Ochaja receives from the state government, it appears physically unprosperous and under-resourced, although this is very typical of a rural broadcast station in Nigeria. The studio is located on the outskirts of Ochaja, about 15 minutes' drive on the motorway away from the administrative building. The administrative office has just two rooms, one for the station officer and the other for at least 6 members of staff. I am unable to state specifically how many people work in the station because, as I was told, some of the staff were out on official assignment. However, I observed that the station does transmission in the morning hours because while I was at the administrative office around 9.30am in the morning, I saw about 4 of the staff drive in with the official car from the studio. One of them

told me he would return to the administrative office later in the day after he had gone home to freshen up.

I observed that a particular number of staff used to be on duty (the station manager designed a rota and placed this on his door daily) even outside transmission hours and when the office is closed officially at 4pm or 5pm. I observed during this field work that those on duty were doing nothing but chatting. In an informal conversation with one of the staff on duty on a particular day, he told me that there is usually nothing to do in the office; basically people just come to pass the time, but he commended the effort of the station manager who according to him, is trying his best to manage the station.

Most of the programmes produced by the station are recorded not live. For programme presentation, the station has two producers plus some artists who work voluntarily to produce programmes (Amadu). Using artists makes it cost effective. In describing how one of the religious programmes is produced, the deputy programme director simply puts it this way: 'you will just get your artist, get your guest, interview him and bring the tape for it to be aired'. The process, then, is basic and simple on the station.

I also observed that Audu, the station manager, has a small radio on his table. According to him, he uses that to monitor transmission on the station.

In conclusion, this section shows that Radio Ochaja is structured to operate directly under FM 94 and not as a full-fledged station. With just three departments, the station depends on FM 94 on issues relating to staff recruitment, welfare and finance, administrative matters and as I will show in the next section, even in the area of content. Furthermore, this sub-section has shown that Radio Ochaja has enjoyed more government support than any other state-owned station; hence its continuous transmission.

6.3.1   Programming on Radio Ochaja

In terms of programming, the station operates independently, having its own programme schedule. However, it does link up with Radio FM 94 for State and National news and a few political programmes. As regards programming in KSBC satellite stations, Isah, the Director

General, asserts that 'like Radio Ochaja now, most of the things there are localised, that's where most of the Igala programmes are aired'. What this means is that the content of the satellite stations is expected to focus more on what will benefit the rural people and the communication should be more in Igala than English. Isah and Tehila, the Programme Director of FM 94, are in agreement in stating that the other languages in the districts where the stations are situated are also taken care of by the satellite stations.

Table 6.2 shows the hours and genres of programmes presented on Radio Ochaja following its 2015 weekly programme schedule. I also present below the description of each programme on the station followed by a brief discussion section on the programmes.

Days of the week	News	Music	Commercials	Religious	Education	Variety	Politics
Sun	1 hour 30 minutes	40 minutes	1 hour 45 minutes	1 hour 25 minutes	-	1 hour 30 minutes	-
Mon	1 hour 45 minutes	1 hour	2 hours	10 minutes	-	25 minutes	1 hour 30 minutes
Tue	1 hour 45 minutes	2 hours 10 minutes	1 hour 30 minutes	10 minutes	-	1 hour	15 minutes
Wed	1 hour 45 minutes	25 minutes	1 hour 30 minutes	10 minutes	30 minutes	1 hour 15 minutes	1 hour 15 minutes
Thurs	1 hour 45 minutes	1 hour 40 minutes	1 hour 30 minutes	10 minutes	30 minutes	1 hour	15 minutes
Fri	1 hour 45 minutes	1 hour 40 minutes	1 hour 30 minutes	10 minutes	-	-	15 minutes
Sat	1 hour 30 minutes	55 minutes	1 hour	40 minutes	-	2 hours 15 minutes	30 minutes
Total	10 hours 25 minutes	8 hours 30 minutes	10 hours 45 minutes	2 hours 55 minutes	1 hour	7 hours 25 minutes	3 hours

Table 6.2 The genres of programmes in Radio Ochaja and the hours allocated as documented in the 2015 programme schedule.

6.3.1.1　　　Description of programmes

Religious programmes: These include Christian and Islamic programmes which feature more on weekends. The programmes are: *Sunday service, Christian half hour, Alnur – the light of Islam, Jumuat service, Jumuat talk, Iko Uredo Enyo-Ojo and Restoration Hour Friday.* The last two are sponsored. Moreover, Radio Ochaja always starts the day with 5 minutes prayer in both religions.

News: Radio Ochaja only rebroadcast news from FM 94 such as *State news and News around the globe* (excluding news in pidgin) and the *network news* from radio Nigeria. Radio Ochaja does not take the news translations from FM 94 at 6pm because it is outside its transmission hours. However, the station has a half-hour weekly update programme *Enwu Ogbogaga Efu-Aladi* on Saturday that summarises the important issues of the week.

Music: This includes mostly Igala songs, a few gospel and other genres of Nigerian songs. The station also has two request programmes *weekend request* and *Ugwa Uyo, Ugwa-mewola ugwugwu* where callers call to request for a particular song to be played.

Commercials: These are adverts presented in Igala and English. According to Sheila, the commercial manager of Radio Ochaja, the station generates most of their income from commercials; a success owed to the increase in patronage from the Igala people. Sheila further explains that Radio Ochaja used to be a major port of call for the Igalas whenever they want to pass across any information among their people. However, he admits that with the ubiquity of mobile phones, Radio Ochaja is no longer as popular as it used be .

Educational: Radio Ochaja re-broadcasts *Kiddies time* from FM 94 while it produces *Education platform*

Political programmes: These programmes focus on Kogi State government and the state legislative arm of government (state assembly). These are: *the people's Parliament* (a phone in programme), *Democracy at work* (a discussion programme) and *Kogi in focus (*rebroadcast from FM 94*)*

Health programmes: This features programmes on wellbeing. The station has two programmes in this area: *HIV/AIDS, Health line* which are re-broadcast from FM 94.

Sports: These include: *Weekend Sports* and *Mid-week Sports.*

Variety: This includes series of interviews, discussions and phone in sessions on different programmes such as: health- *Olafia-Anola*, sport- *World of Sports* (rebroadcast from FM 94), and discussion programmes - *Iko abobule* and *ola Ikoyi and Oluka*.

Others: This includes the opening and closing sessions of the station.

6.3.1.1   *Discussion on the Programmes on Radio Ochaja*

A superficial study of Radio Ochaja's 2015 programme schedule shows that most of the programmes are localized in terms of content and they are presented in Igala which is the predominant language in the East senatorial district. However, there is no space for Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu, the languages spoken by the second most dominant ethnic groups in the district. Taking the objective of establishing Radio Ochaja as stated by Amadu above, which is repeated here for easy reference, the station is far from fulfilling its role. According to Amadu,

> That is the main objective which is to cater for the Kogi East most especially the Igala and Bassa languages or tribes because most of the languages we use is Igala, Bassa and English language (Amadu).

The above quotation shows that although the station demonstrates awareness of its need to transmit to the predominant languages in the district namely: Igala, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu, this is far from the case in practice. Two excuses were given for failing to transmit Bassa programmes by my informants. According to Audu, the station used to feature Bassa programmes and Bassa news translations (without giving a specific period). These Bassa programmes were presented by Bassa artists who worked as volunteers in the station but they were paid stipends by the station to cover travel costs. However, when the station could no longer pay the stipends, they stopped coming, so the programmes were removed from the programme schedule (note that there was no specific time given as to when this happened). Comparing the attitude of the Bassa people to the Igala people in relation to programming in the station, Audu claimed that unlike the Igalas, the Bassa local community in the district did not appear to care when the station stopped transmitting their programmes. He puts it as follows:

> If the people are not complaining so why should we but like our people now [referring to the Igalas] anything that is lacking in the programmes, they will complain and even

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be serious about it asking why a particular programme is not going on. Then the government will try to do something about it but in the case of Bassa, none of them seems to bother even in terms of news if not government would have done something about it (Audu).

In other words, in addition to admitting the inability of the station to fund Bassa programmes in the station, Audu blames the absence of Bassa programmes on the station on the attitude of the Bassa people to programming on the station. Audu's comment above exonerates him from acknowledging the station's duty (as stated in the objective of the station above) to transmit Bassa programmes as a form of public service as is the case with Igala programmes. This in itself is a subtle attempt at denying responsibility. Holding a different view which leads to the second excuse given by my respondents, Amadu blames the government policies for the lack of Bassa representation on the station, insisting that the Bassa people are willing to hear their programmes on air. According to him, '… they are not carried along, there are some government policies, health programmes that they are not been carried along. This definitely affects them'.

In other words, the Bassa local community in Igala land is politically excluded and thus they are disadvantaged in many areas. This comment opens a window onto how the local Bassa communities are politically excluded in the Eastern district through the government policies, leaving them disadvantaged.

Although Amadu did not state in what ways the Bassa people are 'not carried along' a closer look at how they are represented on Radio Ochaja can serve as a reflection on what obtains in other sectors. During my fieldwork at Radio Ochaja, I observed that of all the staff I saw in the station (about 12 of them) only one was a Yoruba man (i.e., the commercial manager); the rest were all Igalas, with not a single Bassa staff member. This shows a major failing from KSBC management who upon recruiting staff members to Radio Ochaja failed to encourage diversity and inclusiveness in its selection criteria. Thus, the absence of Bassa programming in the station does not come as a surprise. While the station seems to have enough funds to pay the Igala artists and ensure the continuity of Igala programmes, the same station does not support Bassa programmes.

All these illustrations, namely, the state excluding Bassa through her government policies, the non-representativeness of the Bassa-speaking communities in Radio Ochaja, a station meant to cater for the interest of Kogi east senatorial district and the absence of programming in Bassa languages (Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu) are indices of ethnic marginalisation that is

achieved through ties between the state government and its radio broadcaster – KSBC. Thus, contrary to the objective of Radio Ochaja in Amadu's comment above, Radio Ochaja appears to represent the interest of the Igalas and not the Bassas. This supports existing research that 'ethnic bias is a product of personalised ties between the leadership as public officials (sic) and certain interest groups within the same country, both usually from the same ethnic group' (Ilorah 2009: 696). In this study, the personal ties are found to be evidenced between KSBC (through Radio Ochaja) which is headed by an Igala management team and the state government which is headed by an Igala governor.

Furthermore, the hours dedicated to commercials on the station (10 hours 45 minutes) as shown in table 6.2, indicates that the commercial is given primacy on the station as it is a key source of revenue for the station as reported by Sheila. This is followed by music which transmits for 8 hours 30 minutes. Just two of the programmes aired on the station (religious) are sponsored namely: *Iko Uredo Enyo-Ojo* and *Restoration Hour* (Sheila). The others are either produced by the station or re-broadcast from FM 94 and Radio Nigeria. However, the number of the rebroadcast programmes trumps the locally produced ones.

In sum, although it is clearly understood that the primary motivation for locating Radio Ochaja in the east senatorial district is for it to represent the interest of the predominant ethnic groups therein namely: Igala, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu, this finding reveals that Radio Ochaja primarily represents the interest of the Igalas. This point is visibly supported by evidence from the state government policies and interventions on issues that concern Radio Ochaja. The influence of KSBC over Radio Ochaja is illustrated by the absence of Bassa staff members and by the lack of financial encouragement of the production of Bassa programmes on the station. Besides, Radio Ochaja's staff structure and programming provide no space for the Bassa ethnic group.

6.4   Summary of Findings from the Four Selected Stations

Based on the information on NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja presented above, the following findings have emerged.

The distribution of the broadcast stations in Kogi State, irrespective of the ownership (i.e., State owned or Federal government owned) has been politically driven. The East Senatorial

District has always had the larger share over the other two Districts namely, West Senatorial District and Central Senatorial District. In terms of programming, scope of coverage and diversity there is a disparity between what the broadcast stations claim they do, what they are expected to do (expectations defined by the mother stations for the other stations located in the rural areas) and what they actually do in practice.

The stations receive varying amounts of support from their proprietors. While support from the NTA headquarters has been very limited, sometimes just limited to payment of the staff salaries, support in KSBC has been predominantly politically driven. The radio stations sited in the West and Central Senatorial Districts have received less attention through the years compared to their counterpart in the East Senatorial District. The amount of support affects their impact on their environment and the extent to which they are able to achieve the objectives for their establishment.

KSBC exercises more overt control over its satellite stations than NTA national has over NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba. While NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba are structurally designed to be independent in terms of managing their own generated funds and having complete departmental structures, Radio Ochaja does not enjoy full autonomy. It is structurally designed to be dependent on FM 94 for most of its operation.

The distribution of KSBC and NTA satellite stations across Kogi State is very closely linked to the construction of social-political inequalities among the three senatorial districts in Kogi State.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN KOGI STATE BROADCAST MEDIA I

7.0   Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the focus was on examining the media environment in Kogi State. This chapter seeks to understand the place of indigenous languages in Kogi broadcast media through the analysis of the language practices in four selected stations, namely: NTA Lokoja, FM 94, NTA Kabba and Radio Ochaja. The analysis provided in this chapter seeks to address two questions: to what extent are the Nigerian languages included in language policy and planning as reflected in Kogi State broadcast media? And how is language policy reflected through the broadcast media? However, the discussion in this chapter is not necessarily restricted by these questions.

In Chapter 2, reference was made to the similar definitions given by Spolsky (2004) and Schiffman (1996) of language policy. Both linguists argue that to have a true picture of the language policy of an institution (in our case the broadcast media); one must pay keen attention to what people do with language in practice. Examining the language practice of the four selected stations in this study is critical, due to the fact that to my knowledge, none of the broadcast stations has any written policy on language.

As a step towards understanding the language practice of the four stations, the opinions of key role players in the stations were gathered through interviews and these are explored in this chapter. This chapter is divided into eight sections; the first four sections focus on the language practices in NTA Lokoja and FM 94. These four sections analyse the perspectives of the management staff on language selection and allocation in FM 94 and NTA Lokoja. These sections also provide analysis of the languages used in the stations' programming as well as the work environment.

The last four sections examine the language practice of NTA Kabba and Radio Ochaja. Specifically, these sections analyse the views of the management staff about language selection and allocation in both stations. By management staff, I mean those who occupy leadership positions within their stations such as station managers, heads of departments and

deputy directors.

7.1 Unwritten Language Policies: Perspectives of the Management Staff of FM 94

Although FM 94 and NTA Lokoja make use of local languages in their broadcast stations, my questionning of some of the management staff in both stations reveals that neither of them have a written form of language policy. Speaking in respect to language policy in FM 94, Tehila, the Director of Programmes, FM 94 asserts that:

> There is no policy that says it must be this or it must be that. But from the population, that is how they are able to derive what and what language should be used. That is why anything you are doing here in Kogi State now, they would refer to the three major languages and it happens that the three major languages fall into the three senatorial districts. So when they are talking of senatorial districts here, they are looking at languages (Tehila, FM 94).

One significant point that can be gleaned from the excerpt above is that Kogi State is administered geo-politically by convention. It is then no wonder that the State broadcaster, Kogi State Broadcasting Corporation (KSBC) followed that same pattern of locating its satellite stations across geopolitical lines which are defined by the three dominant languages in the State, namely, Igala, Egbira and Yoruba. In other words, the choice and priority given to language use in FM 94 is geo-politically discerned and numerically motivated. In the data, I discovered that Yoruba and Okun are used to interchangeably to refer to the same ethnic group. This is because the Yoruba speaking group in Kogi State are the Okuns.

It is important to mention here that there is no data anywhere, to my knowledge, which gives a precise description of the linguistic demography for Kogi State; however, one can deduce this information from the result of the last population census conducted in Nigeria in 2006. As illustrated in chapter 4, the Igalas have the highest population followed by the Ebiras and then the Okuns. However, since the census figures do not provide the specific total for each of the ethnic groups, it is difficult to determine the fourth largest language in the State. For the sake of convenience, I will use Adegbija's (1997) classification of languages as 'small' and 'big' to refer to the languages in Kogi State. The big languages here will refer to Igala, Ebira and Yoruba which have the highest speakers while the other languages in Kogi State will be referred to as small languages.

The small languages used in FM 94 programming are Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu. According to Tehila,

> [t]hese languages were carried over from the former states: Benue and Kwara. Bassa Nge and Bassa kwomu were used in Benue then. …. If you look at our programme schedule now, it is having Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu …

These small languages were selected based on political history between the Bassa community and the Igalas. Prior to the creation of Kogi State, the Bassa community as well as the Igalas used to be a part of Benue State and their languages were used in the Benue state broadcast media. After the creation of Kogi State, and FM 94 in particular, the Bassa languages were excluded from FM 94, just like every other small language within Kogi State. However, the Bassa people never stopped clamouring for their languages to be recognised on FM 94, citing the historical tie they had with the Igala communities; thus in 2015, they were included in the programme schedule (Ugbede). Thus, because of political expediency, the Bassa languages are singled out from the other small languages, to be used on FM 94 for news translations, which is an unsponsored programme. Although the other small languages seek representation in FM 94, just like the Bassa languages, language choice in FM 94 is 'based on what was there before, they cannot just bring any language anyhow' (Tehila). In other words, any local language that will be used in presenting the station's (unsponsored) programmes must have a historical relationship with either Benue state media or Kwara state media.

Beside the local languages mentioned above, namely, Igala, Yoruba, Egbira, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu, FM 94 uses Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth NPE). Isah, the Director General of KSBC justifies the use of NPE as follows:

> Deliberately we use the Pidgin for instance we have music in Pidgin, programmes in Pidgin we have advertisement in Pidgin. So these deliberately are in place so that when you cannot have all the things said in the languages of the ethnic groups in the State, in the Pidgin language, a lot of people who understand little English who wouldn't have been able to understand grammar will now be able to pick the information we are passing across. This is part of the things that we wish to actually do to cut across the multi-ethnic groups we have in the State.

Isah's comment indicates that NPE is chosen to serve as a lingua franca, being a common language that unites binaries: educated and uneducated; competent speakers of English and fairly competent speakers. NPE is also assumed to be a neutral language for all the local languages in Kogi State; hence the factor at play here is inclusiveness. It is worth noting here that no audience research or survey was conducted in order to substantiate this view that NPE plays a neutral role in Kogi State.

Thus, the factors that shape language use in FM 94 are (a) geo-political factors (influencing the selection of Egbira, Igala and Yoruba), (b) historico-political factors (influencing the

selection of Bassa Nge and Basa Kwomu) and (c) inclusiveness (in the case of NPE).

In conclusion, this section has established that there is no written language policy in FM 94. Rather, certain factors influence or guide language choice and usage in the station. These are geo-political factors, historico-political factors and inclusiveness.

7.2   Unwritten Language Policies: Perspectives of the Management Staff of NTA Lokoja

NTA Lokoja is similar to FM 94 in that it does not have any written language policy either. Fadama, the Head of News asserts that

> I am not aware of any documented language policy in NTA but I know that it is a matter of policy that NTA wherever it is located should serve to a very large extent its immediate environment and that is where the issue of language comes into place because majority of the people here are the locals. So, we cannot limit television to English alone because there are some other local people who should also benefit from our services and in doing that, we localise and initiate programmes at this level and make sure that the key languages are brought on board so that our viewers are brought on board in terms of policies of government or the workings of government and through that route, the government can also get feedback.

The above excerpt makes vital points worth noting. Firstly, it outlines that the significance of using local languages in NTA Lokoja is premised on the belief that the people in Kogi State are predominantly locals who may not understand or speak English. This indicates that NTA Lokoja as an institution is quite aware of the 'low literacy level' of their viewers. Secondly, the term 'locals' as used in the excerpt suggests a derogatory label that is used to differentiate between those who understand and can speak English from those who cannot. Thirdly, note that the term 'key languages' invokes the notion of importance of certain languages and unimportance of some others. The key languages referred to here are: Igala, Yoruba and Egbira which are the big languages in the State. It is worthy of mention that the practice of selecting the dominant languages for use in the broadcast media is not peculiar to NTA Lokoja or FM 94 alone. In Nwagbara's (2013) survey study of four NTA stations located in four multilingual states in Nigeria, namely: Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Cross River and River states, she finds that the dominant languages are mostly used for news presentation at the expense of the minority languages.

Furthermore, NTA Lokoja features Hausa, one of the small languages in the State. The choice

of Hausa, according to Dada, the programme manager, is as a result of political as well as economic influences. Hausa, the language of the Hausa community in Lokoja who are predominantly traders, was included as one of the languages for news translations in 1993 (Dada). At that time, according to two of my respondents, news translation in Hausa was sponsored for 15 minutes by the Lokoja LGA due to the political influence of the Hausa community leader, the Maigari of Lokoja (Aina and Dada). The Maigari advanced the use of Hausa in order that the Hausa community in Kogi State, who are mostly uneducated traders, be kept up to date (Dada). As a sponsored news translation session, Hausa was different from the other unsponsored news translations (in Yoruba, Egbira and Igala) then. For example, Hausa news translation was done from 9.45pm-10pm, after the network news, unlike the others that were done between 7.30pm-8pm. This meant that the Hausa news translator could in addition to translating the local news, translate some items in the national news he considered would be of interest to the Hausa local community. In addition, there was also an economic benefit to the use of Hausa in the broadcast station, in that the Local Government reckoned that its use would potentially encourage more Hausa traders into Lokoja (Dada). Hausa continued to be used for news translation, even after the sponsorship stopped in 1996, but its transmission time was reduced and brought to the level of the other three languages. This meant that Igala, Egbira, Yoruba and Hausa news translations were done between 7.30pm-8pm. Thus, in addition to English, the four local languages used in NTA Lokoja's programming are: Igala, Yoruba, Hausa and Egbira. Thus, the selection of languages in NTA Lokoja is based on: (a) population (in relation to Egbira, Yoruba and Igala) (b) political and economic factors (in the case of Hausa).

Contrary to my initial naive expectations (as discussed in chapter 4) that the language policy of NTA Lokoja would be a case of macro policy being implemented at the micro level, this study found that NTA generally do not have a written language policy. I had initially set out to interview some key management staff of NTA on the language policy of the public broadcaster. However, I could not carry out the interviews because I was told by two of the management staff that NTA does not have a general language policy although they did have policies regarding the establishment of the NTA Language Channels in 2012. This to me indicates that NTA do not have any official language policy document at the national level nor language policies for the satellite stations. The language used across the NTA national channels is English; however the Language Channels broadcast mainly in Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. So although the NTA satellite stations interact with different languages at varying fronts, there is no macro written policy to state what languages to use.

In conclusion, this section has established that there is no written language policy in NTA Lokoja. Rather, certain factors influence or guide language choice and usage in the station. These are factors relating to population, politics and economics.

7.3   Language Practice of NTA Lokoja and FM 94

Based on the perspective shared by the management staff of FM 94 and NTA Lokoja, one point is crystal clear: neither station has written language policies as demonstrated above. From my interviews with my respondents in management positions, I infer that discourses around language choices in the stations are based on their own understanding and perception of what the language practices of their respective broadcast stations are. In the absence of a written language policy, I now turn to explore the actual language practices of both broadcast stations, in terms of the stations' language choice for programming and use in the work place. However, a pertinent question to bear in mind as I proceed in this analysis is as follows: Is it really true that 'NTA and KSBC' lack written policies and planning as their managers claimed above?

7.3.1   Language Choice for Programming

This sub-section will describe the language practices in NTA Lokoja and FM 94's programming and present the themes and discussion that emerged from the interview data. The material for this section will be derived from the programme schedules and the interviews with my informants. Table 7.1 shows a picture of the languages used in both stations and the number of hours allotted to them. To arrive at these figures in Table 7.1, I made use of both stations' programme schedules: the May (2015) programme schedule for FM 94 and the July-September (2015) schedule for NTA Lokoja. These were the ones the station was using at the time of this study in 2015. However, there were some new updates in NTA Lokoja that were not reflected in the programme schedule. For instance, according to Dada, the Yoruba programme I*dile Alayo* was no longer on air even though it appears on the programme schedule. As stated earlier, the reason for this was that NTA had ended its partnership with the producer and he could not secure sponsorship. The second instance is that due to the station's recent news policy, the time for the news presentation has been

reduced to 30 minutes from 1 hour as reflected in the programme schedule (see chapter 5 for more on this). Furthermore, to arrive at the number of hours in the 2nd and 4th columns of Table 7.1, I simply added up the minutes allotted to each of the indigenous programmes as they appear in the programme schedule. The languages of the programmes are easy to identify because the title of the programmes in the schedule reflect the languages they are presented in.

Furthermore, it is worthy of note that the calculations in table 7.1 include all the programmes in the schedules: sponsored or unsponsored, streamed from the national station or locally produced.

Languages used	FM 94 (133 hours 35 minutes weekly)		NTA Lokoja (134 hours 40 minutes weekly)	
	Time allocation	Programme type	Time allocation	Programme type
Igala	2 hours 10 minutes	News translation, phone in and discussion programmes	16 minutes	News translations
Yoruba	1 hour 55 minutes	News translations and religious programmes	16 minutes	News translations
Okun	1 hour 15 minutes	Phone in and discussion programmes	-	-
Egbira	1 hour 40 minutes	News translation, phone-in and discussion programmes	16 minutes	News translations
Bassa Nge	25 minutes	News translations	-	-
Bassa Kwomu	25 minutes	News translations	-	-
Hausa	-	-	16 minutes	News translations
Igbo	30 minutes	Phone in programmes	-	-
Nigerian Pidgin English	6 hours 22 minutes	News, discussion, phone in and enlightening programmes.	-	-
English	118 hours 53 minutes	All others	133 hours 36 minutes	All others

Table 7. 1 Languages used in FM 94 and NTA Lokoja and the hours allocated to them.

For the sake of convenience, the languages used in both stations will be discussed under three headings: local languages, Nigerian Pidgin English and English. Each discussion will begin with comments on the language practice of both stations based on the data provided in table 7.1 before proceeding to discuss (if appropriate) the language practice as observed during the field work for this study. The purpose of this approach is to enable me distil between the language practice as it seems to appear on the programme schedules, a representation of the perspectives of the management staff in the station (as presented in the above) from the actual language practice of the stations.

7.3.1.1 Local Languages

A superficial study of the language representation on the programme schedule (summarized in table 7.1) indicates that FM 94 and NTA stations feature programming in the local languages spoken in Kogi State; however, there are some distinctive features associated with both stations. One striking difference between FM 94 and NTA Lokoja is that the former features more local languages than the latter. While FM 94 broadcasts in seven local languages namely: Yoruba, Okun, Egbira, Igala, Bassa Nge, Bassa Kwomu and Igbo, NTA Lokoja broadcasts in just four local languages, namely: Yoruba, Igala, Egbira and Hausa. This implies that FM 94 has attempted to represent the multilingual nature of Kogi State more; and thus, become more localised and adapted to reach out to a wider audience who may not necessarily speak or understand English; unlike NTA Lokoja that creates a very limited space for their non-English speaking audience.

In addition, FM 94 has a wider range of programming in the local languages than NTA Lokoja. For instance, while NTA Lokoja restricts the use of local languages to news translations, FM 94 uses local languages beyond news translations to include: request programmes, discussion programmes, religious programmes and magazine programmes. Moreover, all the indigenous language programmes except the news translations and the magazine programmes on FM 94 are sponsored programmes (Tokunbo, the former Director of programmes). However, GbokoGboko reported that the magazine programmes in Igala, Okun and Egbira are unsponsored, as the station created the slots to encourage local programmes. This means that FM 94 has more patronage for sponsored indigenous programmes unlike NTA Lokoja which has none.

It is also worthy of note that although FM 94 makes use of more local languages, the spatial distribution of the languages among the programmes is uneven. For instance Bassa Kwomu and Bassa Nge only have slots for news translations, not for magazine programmes like the other three big languages used in the station. This implies a power difference among the languages deliberately selected for use in the station. However, one notices the evenness in the time distribution for news translation across the selected languages in both stations.

Also note that there is a very little representation of small languages in both stations. While only Hausa is used in NTA Lokoja, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu are used in FM 94. By using a few small languages and excluding some others, the broadcast stations create a hierarchy among the small languages spoken in Kogi State. As discussed in the previous section, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu were selected by FM 94 based on political factors while both political and economic factors influenced the choice of Hausa by NTA Lokoja. I will refer to this category of small languages with an official function in the broadcast media as 'small languages with status' while the others will be simply described as 'small languages without status'. The place of the small languages without status in both stations will be discussed later in this section. Broadly speaking, based on the local language representation on FM 94, the hierarchy created among the local languages from the most powerful to the least powerful is as follows:

Big languages (Igala, Egbira and Yoruba) ———→ Small languages with status (such as Bassa Nge and Bassa kwomu)———→Small languages without status.

The situation of language use in both stations is however slightly different from what appears on the programme schedules. An important finding from my observation during the data collection is that most of the local language programmes in FM 94 are no longer on air. For example, I gathered that the Okun producer-cum -news translator had passed away following weeks of being unwell (Gbokogboko) yet the programmes still appear on the schedule. Besides, before her death, it does not seem she was committed to her sessions to due to poor remuneration from the station. Tokunbo, describes her situation vividly in the following lines:

> for the Okun/Yoruba, there was no support and for me, if someone is not receiving a monthly salary that is commensurate to the job and you come here every day to translate and read the news, you also help in producing programmes and at the end of the month maybe they are given something like ₦7000 or ₦5000 just to support him/her, the person will not be committed. I think that is the challenge.

Hence, poor remuneration of the producer was one of the key factors that led to non-

transmission of the programme. In addition, I observed that *Ebato nini*, the Egbira magazine programme was not transmitted for two weeks. I later gathered from an informal conversation with one of the station staff that the Egbira programme producer was no longer working at FM 94 (personal conversation). I also observed that only two news translators, namely Bassa Nge and Egbira come to the radio stations for their sessions. In other words, in reality, just a few of the local language programmes in the programme schedule are running. This indicates a difference between what the station claims they do and what they do in reality. The implication for the local languages is that they seem to have more representation on paper than in practice. It is therefore important to note that the seemingly higher indigenous language representation on FM 94 compared to NTA Lokoja may not be so real after all.

Another important finding relates to the use of Yoruba and Okun in the station. Unlike Yoruba that has been used in the station since inception, Okun was first introduced into FM 94 by Gbokogboko, a few years after he began working for FM 94 in year 2000. After securing sponsorship, Gbokogboko produced a one-hour programme called *Isokan Okun,* now defunct. According to him, he decided to use Okun for *Isokan Okun,* because he wanted to reach out to the Okun communities and engage them in pragmatic conversations pertaining to Okun development and well-being. In his own words, Gbokogboko explains that:

> As a producer, my main purpose of producing the programme was that I observed that we, the Okun people are not as united as expected compared to the other tribes. We are so individualistic in our thinking so I decided to start that problem to stimulate discussions about the need to come together as a nation.

From the above comment, it becomes clear that the need to unite the people as the title of the programme suggests (*Isokan Okun* means 'unity of the Okun people') necessitated the use of Okun, a language that identifies and defines the Okun people. This means that the choice of Okun and not Yoruba was instrumental on two fronts. Firstly, Okun serves as an identity marker; a means of separating the Okun speaking community from the broader Yoruba community. Secondly, the choice of Okun has the potential of fostering unity among the Okun people and even encouraging participation from the target group. Furthermore, Gbokogboko, who was at that time one of the staff of FM 94, in a way influenced the use of Yoruba for news translations. According to him, he could translate in Okun but his concern was 'when I leave the station, would we be able to get another person who can translate in Okun'? Indeed, when he left the station to head Radio Egbe, Okun continued to be used for other programmes on the station while Yoruba was used for news translations.

His successor (who had passed away at the time of this field work) was also an Okun member of staff who anchored the two Okun programmes, *E okun o* and *Request in Okun,* on the May 2015 programme schedule. And news translation continued to be done in Yoruba.

In addition, although there appears to be parity in the time allocated to news translations in the local languages in NTA Lokoja, I gathered from one of my informants that the order in which the news is read is influenced by the political state of the government in power. The usual practice in NTA Lokoja was to have the news translations read in alphabetical order (Ilora & Aina). However, according to Aina, an Administrative staff member and a former Yoruba news translator, following a newly elected government in Kogi State in 2003, the language ordering of NTA Lokoja was changed to mirror the political hierarchy in the government. She describes the situation as follows:

> We read Igala first because it is the language of the governor and when we started that, Salawu was the deputy Governor and he was an Egbira man hence the choice of Egbira as the second language of translation. Then the Speaker of the House of Assembly was an Okun man hence the choice of Yoruba as the third language. That is what informs the order but since the present deputy governor who is a Yoruba man came on board, we have not been able to re-establish it. In those days when the languages were seven, they were read in alphabetical order … democracy is what informs the ordering that Igala will be honoured because they (sic) are the Governor, followed by the Deputy Governor followed by the Speaker.

This excerpt indicates the extent to which the state politics influences NTA Lokoja. Igala comes first because it was the language of the then elected governor followed by Egbira, the language of the Deputy Governor, then Yoruba, the language of the speaker and lastly, Hausa. However, it must be stated that the language ordering at the time of this field work remained the same even though the political representation had changed. By 2015 when this study was conducted, an Igala man was the governor, a Yoruba man was the deputy while an Egbira man was the speaker.

In conclusion, this section illustrates that indigenous languages are allocated more programmes on FM 94 than is the case on NTA Lokoja. While NTA Lokoja features the indigenous languages in news translations alone, FM 94 features them in discussion, phone ins, news translations and music. However, this section also reveals that although FM 94 seems to have more indigenous programmes than NTA Lokoja, there are more defunct indigenous language programmes in practice than represented on paper. I now turn to consider the fate of the other indigenous languages in Kogi State, within NTA Lokoja and

FM 94.

7.3.1.1.1   No Representation for the Small Languages on NTA Lokoja and FM 94

As illustrated above, there is no space for the small languages on FM 94 and NTA Lokoja. Aside from the use of the small languages with status for news translation, any other language representation in the history of both stations was just based on personal initiatives. An example of this initiative was that displayed by Gbokogboko, who told of how he decided to devote 10-15 minutes of its one hour sponsored programme *Isokan Okun* (a former sponsored programme in the station) to transmit in Oworo in order that the Oworo people can benefit from the programme. According to Gbokogboko, he allotted time for Oworo because the Oworo community is a part of the West Senatorial District and he wanted them to be represented. He used one of his Oworo-speaking colleagues as an artist for the Oworo session. So, again, the selection of Oworo by the programme producer showed his power over language choice in the station. Although the Oworo people responded positively to the session, Gbokogboko cancelled it after it ran only twice because 'I didn't know how to speak the language so I couldn't regulate what was been said' (Gbokogboko). This describes the fate of the small languages; even when they are included as part of the major programmes, the issue of mistrust looms large and they are ultimately thus excluded.

Furthermore, as reported by my informants, there have been complaints from speakers of smaller languages about the exclusion of their languages from the NTA Lokoja programming. This pressure prompted NTA Lokoja in the past to increase news translations from its usual four languages to eight local languages, namely: Igala, Egbira Tao, Yoruba, Hausa, Egbira Koto, Nupe, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu (Ilora). The last four languages were the small languages added at that time. Note that although the languages increased to eight, the transmission time for news translation remained the same, i.e. 7.30pm-8pm, restricting each translator to just three minutes' worth of content. However, between1999-2005, news translations in the four small languages were cancelled by the NTA Lokoja General Manager then in post and never brought back on air. None of my interviewees could provide a reason for this. Hausa became again the only small language used on NTA Lokoja due to political considerations as stated in the previous session.

The conventional wisdom towards the use of local languages on NTA Lokoja and FM 94 is that it is not possible to use all the languages in Kogi State in the broadcast media (Isah &

Fadama). The speakers of the small languages are usually at the receiving end of this because their languages are easily excluded. When the speakers of the smaller languages in Lokoja complain, they are told that their languages are used in the satellite stations located within their senatorial districts which they can connect to (Dada & Tehila). Specifically, in relation to language use on FM 94, Isah states that the satellite radio stations are in a better position in terms of free space to accommodate the small languages 'instead of over-burdening the one [FM 94] at the centre with languages'. Yet, these satellite stations cannot be easily and conveniently received from Lokoja due to the low transmitters they operate on (Magaji). In NTA Kabba, for instance, one of the Engineers explained that the station is operating on less than a 3.5KW transmitter. The implication of this is that it reduces the capacity of the station to transmit beyond its immediate environs. Besides, as we will demonstrate from the language practice of the community stations (sampled in this study), we will see that the small languages are utterly excluded from their transmission.

In conclusion, this section shows that previous attempts to incorporate more indigenous languages into NTA Lokoja and FM 94 have been unsuccessful; hence they have been utterly excluded. As a form of compensation, the speakers of these languages have been encouraged to look to the satellite stations located within their local communities for representation.

7.3.1.1 *Nigerian Pidgin English*

From Table 7.1 above, it is obvious that unlike in NTA Lokoja, Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is deliberately and explicitly used in FM 94; this confirms Isah's comment above, about the use of NPE on the station to promote inclusiveness of the non-English speakers. This view is confirmed by the fact that much more content is broadcast in NPE compared to the indigenous languages. For instance, the total hours devoted to NPE each week is 6 hours 22 minutes; this is very close to the total hours allotted to the local language programmes combined (8 hours 20 minutes).

Besides, while the NPE news lasts 30 minutes content, each indigenous language lasts just 5 minutes. The NPE news which is more elaborate and detailed than the news translation is intended to provide access for the uneducated audience who may not likely understand the news in English. NPE is also used for other programmes like discussion, enlightenment and phone in programmes; all of these are allocated more time than the indigenous language programmes.

In contrast, NPE does not feature on NTA Lokoja's programme schedule but it sometimes features in the station's broadcast. Firstly, I observe that commercials are not included in the programme schedule of NTA Lokoja despite the fact that the stations usually broadcast them. I observe they run commercials either in Nigerian Pidgin English or English; based on the sponsor's choice.

The other occasion when NPE is used as reported by one of my informants is in programmes designed to be presented in English. For example, the use of NPE is obvious in one of NTA Lokoja's live health programmes, *Hello Doctor*. The call-in programme, presented in English, usually receives input from different audiences who call to ask the invited doctor on the talk show some health questions. The audiences have varying command of English; some may be able to make their input comfortably in English while some others end up speaking Nigerian Pidgin English. Gabriel, the producer of the Health programme, illustrates how she navigates the complex linguistic landscape in which the media sits. She gives an example below.

> Like the health programme you are talking about, I am the producer and it is very interactive; people call and ask questions. It [language] is not a barrier because we try as much as possible to kind of break our English down to the simplest form. In fact, sometimes, we find ourselves even speaking vernacular. Sometimes, you will hear someone say, 'hello madam, abeg my pikin in fact I wake up today, in body hot', … so you have to say 'ehn, so which side in particular con dey hot am, na in neck abi na im stomach?' So I don't think they have any challenge per se because at least the English we are speaking is not too hard for them to comprehend. So I think we flow with them except for those who cannot hear, who cannot understand the simple English we use (Gabriel).

There are two noteworthy points in this excerpt. Firstly, one could see that Gabriel does not attempt to correct the caller's Pidgin English because she is focused on getting the caller's question and ensuring it is properly answered. By entertaining questions in Nigerian Pidgin English, in a programme expected to be anchored in Standard English, one could infer that Gabriel does not see English and NPE as different codes, but as two ends of a continuum. It equally indicates that she welcomes Pidgin English and vernacular as linguistic resources on the programme. The term 'vernacular' is very significant here. According to the Cambridge online dictionary (n.d.), vernacular is 'the form of a language that a particular group of speakers use naturally, especially in informal situations'. In Nigerian schools, vernacular is used to refer to the Nigerian local languages. In a bid to promote the acquisition of a flawless Standard English in most Nigerian schools, speaking vernacular is prohibited and students are punished for speaking their native languages. However, in the excerpt above, Gabriel seems

to be referring to NPE as vernacular, as if trying to place NPE on the same platform as the local languages or even as a proxy for the indigenous languages. Although this may not be intentional about this, by referring to NPE as vernacular, it seems to imply validating NPE as a popular language that cuts across the linguistic complexity the media sits on. Thus, Nigerian Pidgin is thus used on the station as an alternative to using the indigenous languages and English.

In another instance, Gabriel reflects on her experience when she went out to poll the audience about the 2013 carnival in Kogi State. She reflected on her experience with one of her interviewees as follows:

> Like I went out for an interview and I asked a lady 'how would you expect next year festival to be like?... and she said 'me o, I will like this next year own wey dey come to be gooder than this one'

Although the Nigerian English Pidgin is not explicitly factored into the station's language practice, the reality of the audience's linguistic situation which contradicts the English-only ideology of most of the station's programming cannot be ignored.

In conclusion, Nigerian Pidgin English is explicitly and deliberately used on FM 94. More programmes are produced and presented in NPE with the intention of appealing to a wider audience, irrespective of their linguistic and educational background. On the other hand, the use of NPE on NTA Lokoja is contingent on external factors: when sponsors want commercials to be presented in NPE and when callers use NPE in phone in programmes originally designed to be presented in English. Although NPE is not explicitly planned for use on NTA Lokoja, the attitude towards it is positive (as can be inferred from the attitude of the health talk host for instance).

7.3.1.2 *English*

The total hours devoted to English broadcast on NTA Lokoja and FM 94 demonstrate that the programming is predominantly in English. It is important to emphasise that the level of English dominance on NTA Lokoja is more marked than on FM 94 in the sense that English takes up 133 hours 36 minutes of NTA Lokoja's weekly programming while the selected local languages are squeezed into 1 hour 4 minutes and are only used in one aspect of programming, namely: news translations. English on FM 94 on the other hand takes up

approximately 118 hours 53 minutes of the weekly broadcast while the local languages-cum-NPE take up the other 15 hours 18 minutes spread across a wider range of programming.

One plausible reason for the dominant use of English on NTA Lokoja is that most of its programmes are network programmes which emanates from the national headquarters. As presented in chapter 5, NTA Lokoja has very few local programmes to fill up over 20 hours of transmission time hence, it ends up hooking up to the headquarter station for national programmes more than it is supposed to. The implication of this is that these national programmes are only accessible to audiences who understand English; those who do not are implicitly excluded from these programmes.

Beyond the allocation of airtime, the dominance of English is also prominent in the aspect of programme content. Comprehensive news packages featuring aspects of international, national, state and community news are presented in English while the abridged form of the state and 'community' news, worthy of less than 5 minutes content is presented in the local languages. In addition, discussions on current affairs, scientific innovations and general enlightenment programmes are done in English while mostly cultural (presented in the form of magazine programmes or discussion programmes) and religious programmes are presented in the local languages. English is therefore assigned more prestigious and 'elitist' functions while the indigenous languages are left to play second fiddle. In a later section, we will be discussing the hegemony of English in both stations as can be clearly observed from the language practices of the programming presented above.

7.3.1.3 *Summary of Findings*

In conclusion, this section yields a set of findings that are worthy of mention. Firstly, it demonstrates that English is dominant in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 programming; however, it is more dominant in NTA Lokoja. While NTA Lokoja has negligible space for local language programming, FM 94 is more inclusive in that it uses Nigerian Pidgin English and some selected local languages for varieties of programme. Secondly, this section reveals that although FM 94 appears to feature more local languages, in practice, some of the programmes are no longer transmitting. Furthermore, there is very little spatial representation for small languages on FM 94. Out of over seven languages in Kogi State, Bassa Nge, Bassa Kwomu and Igbo are used on the station for just one programme genre: news translations (for

Bassa Nge, Bassa Kwomu) and request programmes (for Igbo). On NTA Lokoja, Nigerian Pidgin English is used as a lingua franca, in a health programme that is meant to be exclusively presented in English. Furthermore, this section shows that the languages used for news translations on NTA Lokoja are ordered to reflect the political hierarchy in Kogi State. Finally, the languages used for programming on both stations create an interesting inverted pyramid relationship among the languages in Kogi State which looks like figure 7.1, where English takes the dominant position followed by Nigerian Pidgin English, the three big languages, small languages with status and then small languages without status.
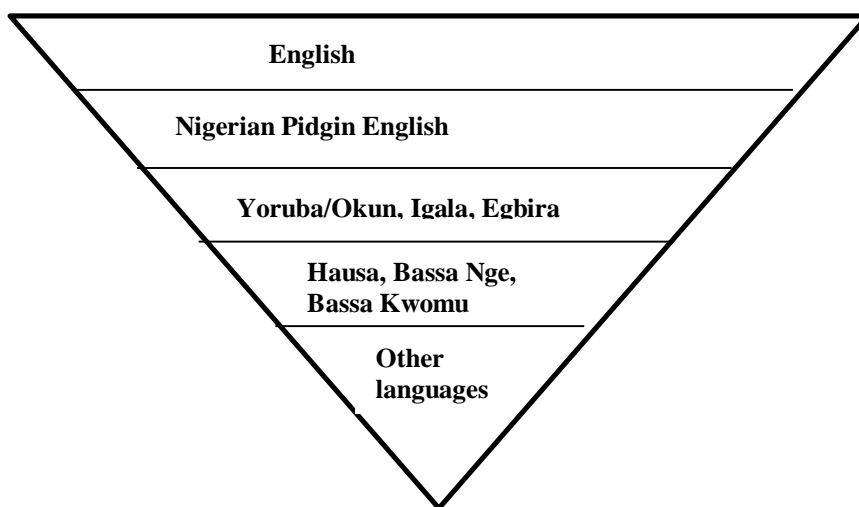
Figure 7. 1 The hierarchy of languages created through NTA Lokoja and FM 94's language practice in programming.

7.4   Language Practice at the Work Place

Beyond its use in broadcasting, I observed that English is the corporate language used for interaction among the staff members in both stations, especially those from diverse linguistic backgrounds. It is the predominant language of official communication, in situations such as staff meetings, staff training and for communicating with clients (on the phone or face to face). Staff recruitment interviews are conducted in English (Trailer 2015) and the programme schedules are written in English too.

However, despite prioritising English, the employees usually communicate with one another

or with their clients in an indigenous language when they share the same L1 for social reasons. For instance, I observed that the Director General and one of the clients who shared the same L1 (Igala) with him switch from English to Igala as they discussed the sponsorship fee for programmes. I observed that the client initiated the switch, probably to appeal to the sentiments of the DG, based on the similar linguistic identity they shared, with the aim of reducing the sponsorship price. However, as they spoke Igala, I could not tell if the client eventually succeeded in getting the DG to reduce the sponsorship cost. Similarly, in NTA Lokoja, I observed two employees discussing work related issues in Hausa, their L1. The local languages are also used for small talk among the employees while English is used as a lingua franca to include colleagues who do not understand the local languages spoken.

Another situation where English is used in both stations is staff training. An interesting finding from my informants indicates that much of the training in both stations focusses on improving the spoken English of the presenters. In FM 94, for instance, the in-house training 'Clinic' is done fortnightly every Friday. Worthy of mention is the fact that one of the reasons that Clinic was initiated by the Presentation unit was 'because of the pitfalls of some people' as regards their use of English (Magaji 2015). According to Magaji, an English newscaster, the Head of presentation usually records the presenters while they are on air and uses these recordings for the in-house training. The recorded piece is then played to everyone in the presentation unit during the Clinic and criticisms and comments known as 'xray' are made on the presenters' errors in terms of phonetics and general programme presentation. The 'xray' is not done by the Head of presentation alone but by the other presenters in the meeting. The significance of this exercise as can be deduced from the use of the health terms *clinic* and *xray* is that it enables the presenters to get tailored corrections and 'treatment', so to say, on their use of English. Note that the use of the health terms *clinic* and *xray* implies the intense care and attention given to correcting errors of the presenters' spoken English. In NTA Lokoja, too I gathered from my respondents that much of the training focused on English phonetics. In addition, the presentation unit has the Daniel Jones English pronunciation dictionary as a resource to improve their spoken English (Magaji, 2015). The use of the pronunciation dictionary as a model for pronouncing words suggests using the British RP as a standard for pronunciation. This is very similar to the Nigerian classrooms where RP is used as a model for teaching English phonetics.

Despite the amount of effort put into improving the presenters' use of English in both

stations, they still face criticism from their listeners for speaking incorrectly. Prior to my field work, I expected to see the broadcasting stations making frantic efforts at improving the use of English of their newscasters following a series of criticisms from their listeners reported in the literature (Omoera, 2008, Akpan *et al*. 2012). Previous studies have reported some of the errors made by some English newscasters both in terms of syntax and phonetics during their presentation (Omoera, 2008, Akpan *et al*. 2012). In these studies, some of the English newscasters are accused of sounding too western on the one hand and on the other hand, they are criticised when there is L1 interference in their pronunciation. Thus, the expectation of the viewers/audience is for the newscasters to achieve a delicate balance between both extremes. Even the NBC Code stresses the need for presenters to 'have a good command of the language of presentation, in diction, grammar and elocution' (NBC 2010, subsection 1.10.2). Although the NBC's provision does not refer specifically to English, Okeowo, the NBC Director of Public Affairs, confirms that the provision is more applicable to English than the indigenous languages. According to him:

> I think the problem is always with the English language because with the indigenous language, you have to have known how to speak in that language before you can qualify to reasonably translate English into it. If you are going to speak English, then you need to speak it the way the English people will speak it.

I have already discussed the role of the in-house training which focuses on English phonetics and pronunciation. Further findings from the study confirm these elements are seen as important as my informants report cases where they have been criticised or have themselves criticised the newscasters. For instance, the NBC official in Lokoja, commenting on the way some of the English newscasters generally use English, says:

> The English aspect is beginning to be headache for us… I keep telling them that there is a pronunciation dictionary, the English language did not emanate from here, Africa. So, if you have to speak like the white people or the Americans, you have to do a very good job (Amos 2015).

From the above excerpt, Amos complains that the newscasters attempt to speak like 'the Americans' or 'white people' but are not successful. She recommends the pronunciation dictionary; again the conservative RP model is flagged as the correct standard variety for broadcasting. Amos is quite particular about eloquence just as the NBC code demands. Furthermore, I also noted this point during my interview with her where she spoke particularly about the FM 94 presenter that read the news the day before at 8pm. According to the NBC officer, the newscaster pronounced the word *hospital* with an American accent by

pronouncing the /t/ sound as a voiced /d/. This phonological process called alveolar flap is represented by the sound /ɾ/ in the literature as an allophonic variant of /t/ (Bauer, 2005; Eddington & Elzinga 2008). Alveolar flap is a key feature of American English and one of the environments of occurrence is when the letter 't' occurs in intervocalic position in an unstressed syllable for instance in words like water or city. The NBC officer accused the presenter of using an American accent in her broadcast instead of British English. She ended by saying 'I will need to report that later to the station'. This illustrates that the NBC not only place emphasis on the elocution in English language in the NBC code, it also pursues this in practice.

The explicit attempt of Amos' role at correcting the English news is further confirmed by Magaji, one of the English newscasters in FM 94. Commenting on the roles of the NBC in the station, he says:

> Then even you as a presenter, they [NBC] tell you that if you are not eloquent it is clearly stated in fact, they have a representative here in the State who has ensured she has every one of us contact. She calls and says this person is on air this is that this person did, the news delivery was poor. Why did you allow such person to do that knowing fully well that news is a grade A programme?' Then any other programme she feels you are not meeting the NBC standard, she marks it out (Magaji).

In NTA Lokoja, one of my respondents reported on how she was criticised by one of the viewers for mis-pronouncing a word. Gabriel (2015) describes the situation as follows.

> … at the earliest stage of my being here, I was casting news and I had to mention the 'commissioner for Education', so I was looking at it for the first time and wondering how the 'ssion' in it [commissioner] was pronounced, should it be like the /ʃ/ in television like 'commission' or what? So, what I did was to chew it [devoice it] 'hmm, co co /k∂miʃ∂n∂/, for unknown to me, a professional had noticed despite the fact that I tried to chew it. So he came to me and said, I love your news but then as in speaking professionally, this was what happened one day. Before he said anything, he wrote down the word on a paper and said pronounce this. So, I laughed and knew that he caught me. So he said what you said that day is / k∂miʒ∂n∂/, so I now said that at the beginning I was unsure. So he said, please madam, next time learn it well. So those kinds of checks will really make you sit up. Like now, if you look at my car, I have phonetics dictionary. … I'm always studying it because I want to get to the peak professionally (Gabriel, 2015).

The observation made by the critic referred to in the excerpt above indicates that the newscasters' use of English, not necessarily the news content, is critically scrutinised by the audience. Note that the critic had to go all the way to the newscaster's office to make this correction. The newscasters are expected by their viewers to be flawless, advancing the Received Pronunciation accent used in Daniel Jones' pronunciation dictionary. Gabriel also

shares the belief that by studying the phonetics dictionary, she would be able to rise to the top of her profession.

However, the implication of all these criticisms on the newscasters in both stations is that they become pressured into bearing a different linguistic identity than they would normally have to. For instance, Gabriel explains how uneasy she feels whenever she is on air.

> Each time I am going on air, the first thing that comes to mind is trying to do it well; trying to do it correctly, even if my normal self will not speak the way I speak then. I try as much as possible to pronounce properly. I am very conscious when it comes to presenting on air …

This kind of self-consciousness associated with on air performance in itself is very distressing and mounts pressure on the newscasters. From my perception of Gabriel's pronunciation, however, she speaks very clearly and audibly though with some traces of regional accents, which does not affect our conversation in any way. I observed from my conversation with Gabriel that because of her regional accent, she still feels a bit insecure and uncomfortable with her level of spoken English even though she is one of the best broadcasters in the station. For instance, she shares her experience about when she travelled to the United States to attend a conference alongside delegates of other countries. She recounted how shy she was to speak English amidst her colleagues from other countries. According to her,

> … It's just that I had to talk, but each time I am talking, I am talking with caution. I discovered that I have not gone anywhere and I need to do more in order to be able to sustain myself in this profession.

The point being made here is that Gabriel equates the ability to speak the British RP accent or any other 'posh' English accent (e.g. the US accents) to excelling in her profession. This is a way of implying that the inability to speak the RP accent means a lack of success in the broadcasting profession.

To summarise, the local languages in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 work environments are used informally for socialising among workers who share the same L1. In FM 94, L1 is also probably used as a persuasive strategy among the staff and the clients that share the same linguistic identity. English on the other hand is reserved for a more formal role in the stations. The study also reveals that both stations strive to improve the spoken English of their presenters through in-house training. Furthermore, this section shows that beyond the use of English, the RP is greatly advanced both institutionally and by media consumers. For instance, the RP accent is advanced by the NBC in theory (as drafted in the NBC Code) and

in practice, as reflected in Amos' effort in ensuring strict adherence to the correct form of pronunciation. In addition, the use of Daniel Jones' pronunciation dictionary in both stations indicates that the RP accent is the form of English required.

In conclusion, the language practice also reveals the dominant position of English which is associated with official roles while the indigenous languages are used for building informal social relationships among staff.

7.5   Emergent Themes from Language Practice of NTA Lokoja and FM 94

Based on the analysis of the language practice of NTA Lokoja and FM 94 above, the following themes have emerged.

- The hegemony of English

- The promotion of the RP in the broadcast media

- The significance of Nigerian Pidgin English: as a proxy for the indigenous languages and as a lingua franca

- The influence of state politics on the broadcast media.

I proceed to present and analyse the factors that influence the language choice in NTA Kabba and Radio Ochaja; as well as the language practice of the stations.

7.6   Unwritten Language Policies: Perspectives of the Management Staff of Radio Ochaja

In NTA Kabba, the three indigenous languages selected for programme broadcast in addition to English are: Yoruba, Owe and Egbira. According to Adams, the Acting Officer in Charge of NTA Kabba, there were different motivations that inspired the choices of these languages. For instance, the station transmits majorly in English because 'that's the lingua franca' (Adams). Yoruba was selected because Yoruba is intelligible to the speakers of the different Okun dialects in Kabba (Adams). In Kabba alone, there are three sub-groups. One sub-group speaks Owe, another speaks Bunu and the last sub-group speaks Ijumu; however, it is assumed that they can all understand and speak Yoruba, which is the parent language. In other words, Yoruba is an inclusive language. The choice of Owe on the other hand was as a

result of the station's responsiveness to 'community interest' and also because of the prospective commercial benefit the station intends to derive from sponsored programmes in Owe. Adams explains that due to the enormous support the station received from the Kabba community (see chapter 5 for more information), especially the particular jurisdiction where NTA Kabba is situated, the station felt obliged to grant the community's request of using Owe in news translations. Besides, the Owe speakers also promised to patronize the station by way of sponsoring Owe programmes if their dialect is used for news transmission. However, as observed by Adams, although Owe was included as one of the languages for news translations in 2012 following the request made by the Owe speakers, there has been no record of patronage from the community.

Finally, Adams says that Egbira was chosen because NTA Kabba is well received in Okene, a neighbouring town in Kogi State dominated by Egbira speakers. Okene, which is located in the central senatorial district of Kogi State, has an NTA broadcast but it is inoperative. Unlike NTA Kabba which started transmission in 2005, NTA Okene still remains uncompleted and inoperative as at 2015 as explained in section 5.2. By using Egbira in NTA Kabba, it is a way of exploiting the marketing opportunity there, Adams argues. The logic here is that the Egbira community will begin to sponsor programmes in their languages, although the Egbira community never did.

Broadly speaking, from the motivations provided above, language selection in NTA Kabba has been based on three factors: Inclusiveness (in the case of Yoruba), community interest (in the case of Owe) and commercial interest (in the case of Owe and Egbira). It is important to emphasise the point made in chapter 5 that there were no more indigenous language programmes on NTA Kabba at the time this fieldwork was conducted in 2015.

On Radio Ochaja on the other hand, the languages used are English and Igala. According to Amadu, the Deputy Director of programmes, Radio Ochaja transmits in Igala, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu because they are the predominant languages spoken in the east senatorial district. However, Amadu noted that for some time, Bassa programmes have not been aired on the station due to lack of artists. As explained in chapter 6, KSBC did not recruit any Bassa speaker in the station and they are unwilling to pay any artists to produce programes in the station; hence, effectively, KSBC excludes the use of Bassa on Radio Ochaja. Thus, only English and Igala are used in the station. Similar to NTA Kabba, English is used in the station

because it is a lingua franca (Amadu). In other words, the selection of the local language in Radio Ochaja is based on number of speakers

In conclusion, this section has illustrated how there is no written language policy in Radio Ochaja and NTA Kabba. Rather, just as it is the case with NTA Lokoja and FM 94, language choices are guided by certain factors. In NTA Kabba, these factors are: inclusiveness (in the case of Yoruba), community interest (in the case of Owe) and commercial interest (in the case of Owe and Egbira). Radio Ochaja on the other hand is only guided by the number of speakers (in the case of Igala). One other point to note is that the decisions on the selection of languages emanate to a large extent from NTA Kabba while Radio Ochaja is implicitly influenced by KSBC's recruitment decisions (as is the case with Bassa languages).

7.7   Language Practice of NTA Kabba and Radio Ochaja

Based on the perspective shared by the management staff of Radio Ochaja and NTA Lokoja, it is clear that there are no written policies that guide language use in the stations. In the absence of a written language policy, I now turn to explore the actual language practices of both broadcast stations, in terms of the stations' language choice for programming and use in the work place.

7.7.1   Language Used for Programming in Radio Ochaja

I will present the language practices in Radio Ochaja programming based on data extracted from Radio Ochaja's programmes schedule (undated). Hence, this analysis will only focus on Radio Ochaja. Table 7.2 shows a picture of the different programmes in the station and the hours allocated to them. To arrive at the figures in table 7.2, I added up the minutes allocated to programme titles that are labelled in Igala to get the total hours of Igala programmes. The rest of the hours, I classified as English.

Radio Ochaja (49 hours)	Number of hours per week	Programme types	Percentage %
English	40 hours	All others	82
Igala	9 hours	Request, religious, news recap, political and social discussion programmes.	18

Table 7. 2 Languages used in Radio Ochaja and the hours allocated to them

From the programme schedule, it becomes obvious that the only local language used on Radio Ochaja is Igala. Bassa Kwomu and Bassa Nge are utterly excluded. There are different genres of programmes presented in Igala, which localizes Radio Ochaja's offerings. A large proportion of the Igala programmes are discussions of the issues that concern the Igala community. This seems to indicate that the programmes deemed to be of importance to the local people (who do not understand English) are presented in Igala while the others are done in English. Despite the wide use of Igala on the station, English still plays a dominant role. Besides the fact that there are more programmes presented in English, the content of English programmes is usually more detailed than some of the Igala programmes. For example, while the daily rebroadcast news and political programmes from FM 94 and Radio Nigeria are presented in English, it is only the summaries that are presented in Igala on weekends.

Moreover, the station has four phone-in programmes in total, three of which are presented in English while just one is presented in Igala. This means there is more participation from the audience who speak English than from those who do not. On the other hand, as at the time this field work was in progress, there was not much representation of local languages on NTA Kabba. For instance, news translation which was the only programme presented in the local languages was a controversial issue among my respondents. There were divergent views about whether the news programme is still being aired on the station or not (see chapter 5 above for more discussion). I observed that over 96% of the programmes transmitted on NTA Kabba are network programmes and they were all presented in English. The very few local

programmes it runs are subject to sponsorship. Unlike Radio Ochaja, I observed that the station does not have a programme schedule as it transmits essentially the network programmes.

7.7.1.1 Representation for the Small Languages on NTA Kabba and Radio Ochaja

In Radio Ochaja, there is zero representation of the small languages in the station's programming. According to my informants, Bassa Nge and Bassa kwomu programmes have been removed from Radio Ochaja's programme schedule because there is no artist to present programmes in them. As stated in chapter 6, KSBC is unwilling to recruit Bassa artists to present rather the station is relying on the Bassa local government to sponsor artists (Audu, Amadu). Although the Bassa community normally appeals for Bassa programmes to be aired, according to Amadu, the excuse the station provides is 'we don't have producers, but the moment we have them, we will begin to air these programmes' (Amadu).

The situation in NTA Kabba is slightly different in that, in addition to Yoruba, Owe, a Kabba dialect, is used in news translation. The choice of Owe in the station has been contested by other Okuns who speak different dialects. Itodo, the programme director, reports the case of discontentment expressed by the Okun sub-groups over the news montage used before Owe news translations. The sub-groups were dissatisfied because the montage was representative of only one dialect of Okun. Itodo reflects on the situation as follows:

> The Owe translation that we did, there was complaint about the news montage which was from a particular dialect and was not representative of the entire Okun community. Hence, it was changed to a montage which mentioned the names of the different towns in Okun land. (Itodo)

This indicates that the Okun audience appreciates a more inclusive language representation in the media. These kinds of linguistic demands that stem from the desire for ethnic representation put huge pressure on the station management who desire to satisfy community interests as well as maximise profit, through the choice of Owe. As stated above, the Owe community members requested for Owe to be used on the station with a promise that they will patronise NTA Kabba more when that is in place. One can infer that it is the commercial benefit that encouraged the choice of Owe on the station rather than the other dialects that hold no such promise.

7.7.2   Language Practice in Radio Ochaja and NTA Kabba's Work Place.

Beyond broadcasting in Radio Ochaja, Igala is the dominant language the staff used to interact with one another; sometimes, the staff code-mix Igala with English. The fact that I observed that about 90% of the staff are Igalas, encouraged the use of Igala for informal conversations and even for some office discourse. But when the staff converse with colleagues from other linguistic backgrounds for instance, Sheila, the commercial officer who is a Yoruba speaker, the language used is English or Nigerian Pidgin English. I also observed that whenever the station manager receives a call, he starts off in Igala and then switches to English if it turns out that the caller does not understand Igala. However, I conducted the interviews with my informants in English.

In NTA Kabba however, the linguistic make-up of the staff members is quite heterogeneous as most of the staff were posted to NTA Kabba from various locations. English is used to interact among staff members, especially with those from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Those who speak the same L1 usually communicate in their L1. English is also used for official talks between staff members and clients. I interviewed all my interviewees in English except the Owe news translator (in NTA Kabba) who was not so competent in English. I had to code switch from Yoruba to English with her and I gave her the liberty to respond in either Yoruba or English.

In conclusion, the language practice of Radio Ochaja and NTA Kabba presented above indicates a disparity between what the stations actually do and what is expected of them. For instance, the NTA national and NTA Lokoja expect and even assume that NTA Kabba transmits programmes more in the local languages within the west senatorial district, since their audience are the local people who have little or no understanding of English. I restate here the purpose of establishing NTA community stations cited in chapter 5. According to Mayaki, the former DG of NTA,

> [t]he community stations are supposed to broadcast purely in the local languages because we cannot bring over 250 languages on board at the network here. That is why the community stations were set up – to do programming and read news in local languages (Ujah 2012).

From the excerpt above, it is clear that a station like NTA Kabba was set up to transmit programmes purely in the local languages. In other words, while it is acceptable for the

national station to broadcast in English, the community stations are expected to be linguistically localized. Similarly, findings from some of my respondents in NTA Lokoja indicate that NTA Lokoja assumes that the community stations already produce programmes in the local languages around them. For instance, Dada, the programme manager posits that

> Most of these community stations, they do translate the news into the languages of such area where they are operating so it is left to them to do that. They have everything they need for that, they have reporters and whatever it is.

This means that the community stations are assumed to be well equipped with both staff and resources for their role of presenting the news in the local languages around them. In other words, the national station and NTA Lokoja expect that the local languages should be used more to transmit programmes in the community station. In contrast to this expectation, the language practice of NTA Kabba reveals that no local language is used on the station. Rather, the station simply rebroadcast network programmes. A similar situation is in operation in FM 94 where the community stations are expected to present programmes in the predominant languages within their catchment areas (Isah, the Director General of KSBC). In practice, Radio Ochaja reflects the use of Igala; it utterly excludes Bassa Kwomu and Bassa Nge which are also dominant languages within the east senatorial district. A glaring finding from these two stations is the dominance of English even in the community stations. This is more obvious in NTA Kabba.

7.8   Summary of Chapter

This chapter has established that NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, Radio Ochaja and FM 94 have no written language policies. From the discourse of key management staff, it is evident that they are not aware of any language policies that guide or should guide language practice in the stations. However, they are unanimous in stating that there is a need to broadcast in indigenous languages as a way of reaching out to a vast local audience who do not understand English. This general understanding informs the selection of languages based on different factors illustrated above. As presented in this chapter, all the stations do feature programmes in indigenous languages; however, across the four stations there are variations in the numbers of local languages used, the number of programmes allocated to local languages and the duration in which programmes are transmitted in the local languages on a weekly basis. The data analysis reveals that although the stations appear to have a multilingual outlook (in terms of using a couple of local languages), they make use of English far more than any local

languages and in some cases, make far more use of Nigerian Pidgin English in practice than local langauges. As stated in section 8.5, the themes below have broadly emerged in the course of the data analysis.

- The hegemony of English

- The promotion of the RP in the broadcast media

- The significance of Nigerian Pidgin English: as a proxy for the indigenous languages and as a lingua franca

- The influence of state politics on the broadcast media.

It is important to state that these themes are more applicable to some of the stations than others. For example, while all the themes are clearly evident in NTA Lokoja and FM 94; the second and third themes are not relevant to Radio Ochaja.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES ON KOGI STATE BROADCAST MEDIA II
CASE STUDY: THE NEWS TRANSLATORS' INTERACTION WITH THE LOCAL LANGUAGES.

8.0   Introduction

This chapter elaborates further on the place of the indigenous languages in the stations, with a particular emphasis on the interaction of the news translators with the local languages in the selected broadcast stations. In keeping with the grounded theory methodology, I discuss the unexpected roles of the news translators as people who actively develop and promote the use of indigenous languages in their respective stations as emerging from the study. In discussing the roles of the news translators, this chapter focuses on the news programme only because that is where I noticed the concentration of the local languages most. This chapter will reflect discussions and illustrations on two stations only, namely: NTA Lokoja and FM 94 because these were the stations that I observed had an established and well-structured news translation slot as well as clearly identified news translators.

In this chapter, I focus on the news translators who play a central role in news translation in the stations. I also highlight how the audiences' expectations influence the news translators' perception of their roles in the news room and finally how the news translators carry out their role amidst attendant challenges. It is hoped that by examining the experiences and activities of the news translators, who I will argue are the drivers and promoters of the indigenous languages in NTA Lokoja and FM 94, this chapter as well as chapter 7 will further illustrate the extent to which the indigenous languages in Kogi State broadcast stations are used.

This chapter consists of four sections. The first section seeks to describe who the news translators are, their previous experiences as well as their interaction with the head of news in their stations. The second section describes the news translation process while section three focuses on the different roles the news translators play in their respective stations. The data reveals that the news translators do more than barely translating the news into the local languages. The roles highlighted in this section are news translators as language developers,

transeditors, cultural icons and teachers. The final section identifies the challenges the news translators encounter in their stations.

8.1   Who the News Translators Are

In this study, I interviewed 3 current news translators and two former news translators in NTA Lokoja while at FM 94 I interviewed two current news translators and one former news translator. I also interviewed the NBC Public Officer about the news translator role which he did occupied in the 1980's. My interview session with the former news translators enabled me to gain more insight and perspective into the news translation role. I was also able to see the consistency in the method the news translators use in translating.

The news translators I interviewed in this study can be grouped into two categories: news translators who are permanent staff in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 and casual workers recruited exclusively for news translations. As far as recruitment for news translation is concerned, the first port of call is looking inward (within the broadcast stations) for staff who are native speakers of the respective local languages, are able to speak and write in their languages and most importantly are willing to take up the news translator role as a voluntary service. However, when there seems to be no staff available for news translations within the stations, casual members of staff are recruited to fill the role. According to Yusufu, NTA Lokoja, the news translators are paid so little that their work can be compared to artists who work as volunteers with small stipends akin to an unpaid volunteer for a charity. In addition to these informants, I also interviewed some media staff who had worked as news translators before.

Unlike most of the English newscasters and reporters in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 who have degrees in Mass Communication, most of the news translators do not. Just two of the news translators have degrees in Languages: one in English and the other in Hausa. The former is an English lecturer at the Federal University Lokoja while the news translator that has a degree in Hausa is one of the former news translators. The other news translators are graduates of either polytechnics or universities with disciplines in Accounting and Administration. Just one of them is currently studying at Kogi State Polytechnic. However, most of them seem to have gained competence in their languages under similar circumstances. Firstly, they all seem to have at some point grown up with elderly people in the village where they have been exposed to what is popularly regarded as the 'unpolluted'

form of the languages laden with proverbs. By 'unpolluted', I mean that in rural areas, the elderly people are unlikely to have had much contact with English speakers and so their language is regarded as pure or uncontaminated by contact. The elderly ones are considered people who know the correct standard of the indigenous languages because they are usually unexposed to and mostly unable to speak English or any other language besides their dialect/language. Yusufu in NTA Lokoja described how he got a distinction in his GCSE due to the knowledge of Yoruba he learnt from some elderly people he grew up with.

> After a while, I learnt and I became very good at speaking Yoruba. I love staying with old people because I love to hear stories about the culture, tradition. From there, I learnt so many proverbs and idioms and how to speak *Àkọtọ́ Yorùbá,* that is the most accepted Yoruba, the speech, writing. So, when I wrote my WAEC in 1995, I scored an A in Yoruba (Yusufu).

Àkọtọ́ èdè *Yorùbá* is regarded as the standard dialect of Yoruba taught in schools. The elderly, especially in the rural areas, continue to be a great resource and reference point for the news translators. Balogun, the Owe translator in NTA Kabba, talked about how she consults an elderly person if she encounters a difficult word in her translation, 'If I find a difficult word, I go to meet the security man who is an elderly man in this station, a native born Owe speaker too'.

Furthermore, the churches are an important resource because they are institutions that conduct services in the indigenous languages, because they recognise the importance of serving their entire congregation. They offer interpreting services from English to indigenous languages because they operate in the context of an overwhelmingly English-centred environment.

Some of the news translators I interviewed described how their local Churches had been a resource for the acquisition and mastery of their indigenous languages. Ilora in Kogi FM94 explained how she learnt Egbira in her local church (an Anglican Church, located in Adavi Local Government Area of Kogi State) in 1987/1988. The need for her to learn Egbira arose from a need for an interpreter who would interpret sermons from English for Egbira members who formed a sizeable number of the congregation. In her own words, she describes her learning experience:

> It was in Anglican Church. We have Egbira Bible and they teach us what each word stands for. We learnt the grammar, pronunciation, spelling and the orthography of Egbira there using the Bible. I developed the interest so as to help my people because in our local church, we have elderly people, those that are not learned. Then we were

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forced to learn it [Egbira], we that were educated. Then they organised a form of lesson for us. Because we have Egbira Bible, they teach us, then we will come to the church and read lessons in Egbira …The preachers are usually transferred, they can be from the West or another tribe so there was a need for interpreter (Ilora).

Besides the Church being a learning platform for indigenous languages, it also creates the opportunity for people to use their language skills. Otuoze, the current Egbira translator for NTA Lokoja, explains how his 10 year role as an interpreter in the church has built his language skills. In his own words, he says:

Yes, and let me say the church where I translate for my pastor really helped me a lot. I am a chorister, I sing, I can translate English-Egbira; English-Yoruba; Yoruba-English. So, it really helped me. Sometimes when we have Bible study and we want to do a summary, they will want someone who can speak the 3 languages so that it will be done at once because if the interpretation is done individually in the three languages, it will take time. And it really helped me to develop the skill for what I am doing today (Otuoze).

Furthermore, a few of the news translators have had previous experiences that involve performing in a number of languages; for instance, as a Master of Ceremony and musicians using their indigenous languages. All these are the previous experiences the news translators bring to their job. Besides, the news translators share a strong motivation and passion for the news translation role. Some of them see news translation as an opportunity for self-development in their languages, some see it as an opportunity to keep the languages from going extinct, some simply enjoy the translating art and most translate as an opportunity to help people in their ethnic groups who do not understand English.

Often times, the news translators are interviewed for the post of news translators in the station based on recommendations by friends who work in the broadcast stations or even by the members of their communities. For instance, Yusufu and Otuoze were recommended by a member of staff who had seen them performing in their indigenous languages. The recruitment requirement is to have a native speaker of the required language who can speak, write and read his/her own news translated script. The interview usually requires the news translators to translate a short text written in English into their mother tongue after which they will be auditioned before an interview panel which usually consists of one or two native speakers of the languages as well as station staff from either the News department or Programme department. The significance of this translation exercise is to test the candidates' knowledge of English, the knowledge of their own languages and their presentation skills. They also assess the candidates' dialect to see if it will be generally intelligible, at least to some extent. This implies that the candidates will not necessarily speak what might be

construed as a dialect that is widely used or at least known. According to Fadama, the recruitment team requires a high level of editorial and presentation skills from the candidates due to the fact that in practice, the translators' news is not edited in the same way the English news is edited. A news editor typically proof-reads news items, verifies facts and also ensures that the news stories are written in compliance with the broadcast house style (I will explain how the news translators perform the role of editors later in this chapter). Often, a successful candidate may still need to shadow a professional news translator for a while before taking on full responsibility for their own translation work. However, this is dependent on the availability of staff members competent in the language. Otuoze narrated his shadowing experience under his predecessor who now works in the Programme department as follows:

> When I came in, he gave me some news script that have been read in the past so he told me how to come up with it, that is in the area of correspondent, i.e. how to do correspondent in my language. He also gave me some scripts to go and translate into the dialect and then I will come and read for him. He also trained me on how to face the camera; I should not feel like people are looking at me and make mistakes. He taught me the art of news casting (looking up to the camera and down to the script in a professional way). He made me to know how the news is being cast. From there, I started writing and he was giving feedback (Otuoze).

In sum, the news translators are people who have had previous varying experiences that involve performing in their languages, but none of which includes translation or language development. In addition, they are people who could write in their languages irrespective of whether the languages have orthographies or not, e.g. Okun dialect. Furthermore, this section reveals that most of the news translators consult the elderly people in the rural areas as the pure resources for their translations. Furthermore, the recruitment of news translators by the broadcast stations is contingent on the unavailability of staff members who are available to work as voluntary news translators within the station.

8.2   The News Translation Process

The news translation process in FM 94 differs considerably from NTA Lokoja in structure and in operation. To start with, out of five news translators that work for FM 94, I observed that just two of the news translators, namely, the Bassa Nge and the Egbira news translators come to the station for their news translation session. Although the FM 94's May 2015 programme schedule indicated that news translation runs in five languages, I observed that news translations are done in only Bassa Nge and Ebira in practice. Trailer, the Bassa Nge

news translator's comment about the other news translators in the station is that, 'the Yoruba translator has not been coming and … other translators too play truancy'. A likely reason for their 'truancy' could be because the news translators work as artists in FM 94, hence are not being paid. According to Trailer, he keeps coming to work under the expectation he will be paid by the station, as discussion concerning payment was still ongoing with the management staff (Trailer). However, Tokunbo, the former Director of programmes states that the news translators receive payment from their respective local governments except the Yoruba news translator who is not receiving any payment for news translations. At least, what is clear from Trailer's report and Tokunbo's is that FM 94 does not pay the news translators. The impact this administrative issue has on my data collection is that only the two news translators available, Trailer and Illora, were interviewed primarily about news translations in FM 94. Although this does not affect the quality of data elicited, it does impact on the quantity[15].

On the other hand, the four news translators in NTA Lokoja report for work at the premises of the station from 5pm and they head straight to the news department where they are provided with the English news bulletins. Although the news translators in NTA Lokoja are four in number, the copies of the news bulletin made available to them are usually limited. So in most cases, they have to share copies, waiting patiently for the scripts to go round. I was able to interview one of the news translators on the day I visited during this waiting time. The news translators begin by reading through the news items, endeavouring to familiarise themselves with the content and also trying to understand the meanings of unfamiliar English words before they begin translating. Translation is not done verbatim or line by line, rather, the translators read through the news items and then translate the sense conveyed in it. The key thing the translators seek to achieve is to be able to explain the news to their audience in a way that they will understand (Adaji, the Igala news translator).

Most times, the news translators in NTA Lokoja work as a team and brainstorm together to get the meaning of words. Brainstorming is very vital in news translation because it is common for the translators to come across words that they may find challenging to translate into the indigenous languages. I observed once how the news translators in NTA Lokoja do their job. While reading the English scripts (individually), Adaji, the Igala newscaster, asked

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[15] It is worthy of note that Trailer, the Bassa Nge news translator appears to be naturally taciturn, hence he was less forthcoming than Illora, the Ebira news translator. However, my interview with Illora was interrupted by a downpour of rain and the researcher's subsequent effort to schedule another interview time was unsuccessful as Illora did not make herself available for further meetings. A plausible reason for this could be because of her terrible experience navigating her way home through the rain the previous day. Thus, much of the information provided in this section is from Trailer.

for the meaning of 'e-payment' from the team. Yusufu first consulted the English dictionary on the office table for the meaning and he tried to explain the definition as best as he could. Then the next task was to decide how they would translate the sense of the term into their languages. They all agreed to describe it as 'modern payment'. In my interview with Otuoze, he reflected on this moment thus:

> Like what we were talking about the other time 'e-payment', there is no 'e-payment' in any local language but we just take it as 'e-payment' should be taking to mean 'modern payment'. So, in Yoruba it could be translated as 'sisan owo igba lode' [literally means: making payment in the contemporary way]. So, that is what we are using now and all these things begin to come up and I think by now that is how far we have gone (Otuoze)

From the above quotation, it shows how the news translators brainstorm to agree on which words to use. Presumably because the standard, traditional method of payment is understood by everybody to be physical, paper payment, the term 'modern' is associated with the internet. It is also interesting to note that according to Otuoze above, the translators first try to make sense of the meanings of 'modern payment' in Yoruba before translating to their own languages. This could be because Yoruba already has a translation for 'modern payment' which is *sisan owo igba lode* (this literally means paying money according to the current method) that they could draw from. Although 'modern' does not imply a perfect approximation of 'internet', it points to a different and recent payment method in contrast to the traditional paper payment method that the local people may be used to. This form of translation reinforces the fact that the news translators are non-specialists who only aim to translate to a standard for communicative purposes.

The practice of brainstorming among news translators to tackle and coin names for unfamiliar words is an old practice. Okeowo who now works with the National Broadcasting Commission shares some experiences in the 1980s, during his early career in the broadcast media as a Hausa news translator.

> If new words came and we didn't know what to do with them, we brainstorm, discuss among ourselves and see how we could translate such a word and that style was taking from the BBC Hausa people. I remember one of our managers then, late Ibrahim Ademu, he was our manager news in NTA Jos. He was a former Hausa reader in BBC and he told us that for instance when they were looking for a translation for 'Apollo 11', they brainstormed in the news room and somebody said, "you know this thing is up there in the sky suspended. It is neither on the ground nor up there and in Hausa, there is something that women use because of rats, they will put the thing inside a kind of metal case and cover it and then suspend it from the ceiling of their house, and they use to call it *kumbo*". And now almost every translator

used to call it *kumbo* to translate the satellite conveyor [Apollo 11]. That is how the word evolves and it is used (Okeowo).

This study confirms Akanbi & Aladesanmi's (2014) finding that the media staff in Orisun FM 89.5 coin new words to describe new English concepts they use in their programmes. More on how the newscasters coin new words will be discussed later in this chapter.

The news translators in FM 94, on the other hand, appear to be self-reliant and independent in their work. For instance,   when I asked Trailer about how he confronts the challenge of translating uncommon words in a news bulletin, he replies thus, 'normally, when you are translating, you must come across new words and when you do, the idea will come up immediately for you to pick up what suits that purpose'. Trailer gives an example of how he would translate a word like 'Ebola' as follows:

> Like the Ebola, I know it is a term under health and when you talk about health you talk about hospital, you talk about sanitation so it's very easy. We don't consult any paper.

This method of translation is akin to a method of teaching vocabulary through familiar word associations and contexts discussed in the Applied Linguistics literature (Gipe & Arnold 1979, Seguine 2015). Teaching by word association is a common method of teaching new concepts or words to students, by way of associating such words to those previously known to the learners. Trailer denies having to consult any reference when translating for he is quite confident to say 'all I know is that I know the job. Had it been you are a Bassa person, you will know that I know the job'. Thus, news translations in FM 94 look to be more individualistic and less rigorous than in NTA Lokoja.

Furthermore, in addition to brainstorming, some of the news translators use the ad-libbing method for their news translations. Since the news bulletins of the news translators are hand written and unedited, it gives them the flexibility of ad-libbing. Ad-libbing in journalism is defined as an 'unscripted talking, usually by a broadcaster in this context' ("Ad-lib", 2008). As reported by some of my respondents sometimes due to a lack of expertise or due to inability to engage with the script, they go off the script. For instance, the Bassa Nge news translator, FM 94 mentioned to me that he does not bother to write out the news; he simply 'read through [the news bulletin] and I just go straight to the news room to translate'. This means that he reads over the news bulletin and then presents a Bassa Nge summary that is ad-libbed. According to him, he ad-libs because he is used to the art of news translation; thus ad-

libbing is used as a bypass to a planned and premeditated news preparation. Another example of flexibility displayed by the news translators is the case of Otuoze (2015) who writes his news scripts without inflecting with diacritics because he lacks the knowledge. He explains to me that because of the absence of diacritics that indicate the intonation of the words in his bulletin, sometimes when he is presenting the news, he gets confused about the pronunciation or the meaning of some words which makes him ad-lib. He explains the situation as follows:

> I will not even remember what I have written but I have read it in English so when I get there and it is trying to create some confusion, I will forget it and face the camera and tell you what I have read in English' [in Egbira].

In Otuoze's case, ad-libbing is used as a remedy to his inability to engage with the words in his script. This forces him to work within a stream of consciousness. Thus, in both illustrations presented above, the ad-libbing technique is used to either enhance flexibility or to cover up improperly written words. Whatever the reason for ad-libbing, it is important to note that this method of translation has the potential to lead to errors of facts, memory lapses and to run into other news translators' presentation time.

Speaking extemporaneously or ad-libbing had been characteristic of the broadcast media from the beginning. Live events, interview shows, entertainment programmes have been presented without a script with optional scribbled notes for lead-ins or to aid recall (Belanger 2004; Conway 2009; Mills 2012). However, due to the amount of information needed to be communicated, ad-libbing is not common among newscasters who are known to read from physical scripts or tele-prompters. Thus, the experience of Walter Cronkite in the news room is one of the rare instances of ad-libbing in the news room documented in the literature. Conway's (2009) biography about Cronkite, offers a useful insight into our understanding of ad-libbing in the newsroom. According to Conway, Cronkite developed the news ad-libbing art as a result of his inability to maintain eye contact with the camera while reading from a script in a local television station in Washington DC called WTOP-TV. While looking into the camera was not an issue for Cronkite during his previous career working with the print and radio, it was inevitable on a television newscast. Part of Cronkite's role in WTOP-TV was to present a five minutes "straight news reporting", as part of the station's half-hour evening news (Conway, 2009: 42). Before his news session, Cronkite reads and absorbs the news items in the bulletin, with scribbled notes on the proper names, distances or numbers he cannot easily remember (Ibid). In the newsroom, he reads without a script except for the scribbled notes which he tapes on a WTOP-TV news plate in the studio, which is off-camera (Ibid).

In this study, Trailer's news translations ad-libbing experience in FM 94 is quite similar to Cronkite's. Firstly, Trailer believes he had enough experience in radio news translations to justify his reading without a script. "Right from the beginning, I used to put up scripts but these days, I read through because I'm used to it" said Trailer. Trailer had been working as Bassa nge news translator as far back as Radio Benue, prior to the creation of Kogi State. Moreover, while the other news translators in FM 94 take time to write out their news translations, Trailer says he simply comes early to get the news bulletin "read through and I just go straight to the news room to translate". Unlike Cronkite, Trailer never mentioned having to scribble down notes to aid recall in the studio; this makes his approach less rigorous. Another difference between Cronkite and Trailer is the nature of the task. While Cronkite had to memorise an English news bulletin and present in English, Trailer had to memorise the Nupe translated version of the English news items; a feat which is uncommon. How well Trailer does this however, is hard to judge since the researcher does not speak or understand Nupe.

Unlike Trailer who intentionally goes into the news room to adlib, Otuoze in NTA Lokoja only ad-libs when he cannot make sense of his hand written script. As mentioned earlier, when faced with such a scenario, he simply ignores the script, 'face the camera and tell you [the viewers] what I have read in English, since what the viewers are interested in is the story'. A significant point to note from ad-libbing in FM 94 (in particular) and NTA Lokoja is the fact that they have a very flexible 'policy' towards ad-libbing.

In summary, an important finding in this section is that the news translators rely on two techniques, namely: brainstorming and ad-libbing, when preparing their news bulletins. While brainstorming allows the translators to draw upon each other as language resources, the ad-libbing method is self-dependent and used either as a way of avoiding the rigour of writing or as an escape from unclear writing. Furthermore, in translating unfamiliar words, the news translators simply extrapolate the meaning of the terms in English or in a language that has more established words/descriptions for such terms.

8.2.1   The News Translators Versus the Gate Keepers

Aspects of the roles of the Head of the news in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 are similar to the gate keeper's role as discussed in the literature (Lenin 1949, Fujii 1988, Tsai 2005). Gate

keepers in the television media are those who have the capacity to influence 'the travelling of a news item through certain communication channels in a group' (Lenin 1949: 145) before it gets to the viewers. In the case of NTA Lokoja, Fadama selects from the English news bulletin, the news items to be translated. In other words, while the English bulletin reflects a complete transmission of all the State news, the news translators' scripts only consist of as much information as Fadama permits. In keeping with the gate keeping role, Gowon, the Director of News FM 94, stated that a key factor he takes into consideration while selecting the news to be translated is the relevance of such news items for rural dwellers. In his own words,

> It may not be all, for instance in a bulletin, you have sections, you have international news, national news. It is the ones that concern especially the rural dwellers that are being translated. The ones that concern at least the people of Kogi State that are being translated essentially (Gowon).

However, the news translators hold a different view from the gate keepers on the factors that inform news selection. They argue that such factors as time, technical issues and political influence go a long way in dictating the content of their news translations.

The fact that news translators have to work within a very limited timeframe has been discussed in the literature (Bassnett 2014, Tsai 2005). In Tsai's (2005) study, she describes the time constraint and pressure imposed on 'a television news translator (who) needs to produce a target text almost instantaneously with or without transcripts' (p.147). This study confirms such pressure the news translators are exposed to but beyond that, there is another connotation of time in NTA Lokoja. This concerns how when the news bulletin translation is ready, Fadama may further reduce it. For instance, Otuoze explains that Fadama at times reduces the news they had taken time to translate. The way it works is that, the news translators are presented with the news bulletin which contains only the English news items Fadama has selected. However, the translated news may be further reduced at the studio by Fadama, giving limited time as an excuse. Otuoze describes the situation as follows.

> They select from the office here. We can even write three stories and at the end of the day, the director/manager news can say because of time, we are picking one item and it is this one. Whichever way they direct us we are like sheep now. We have a shepherd here anywhere they direct us to we don't have option.

The level of frustration the news translators report experiencing can be felt in the 'sheep/shepherd' relationship painted above. This relationship captures the news translators' helplessness in the light of the authoritative way they are being treated. This further heightens

the pressure on the news translators and affects them psychologically.

Furthermore, Fadama might decide to delete a news item due to lack of proper footage. Tsai (2005) describes the footage problem as 'a nightmare' a news translator can encounter as without it, 'a big chunk of the translated scripts will have to be deleted [in other words, will go to waste and are not used]' (p. 147, additional information, mine). What the news translators experience is quite similar to Tsai's description. For instance, Yusufu, NTA Lokoja, explains the psychological effect they experience each time a news item they believe is relevant to their audience is deleted.

> … they will tell you these are the pieces of news or stories that will go and you are already prepared so, when you get up [to the studio], they will now tell you because of video or audio problem on the tape they are going to use, so so so news should be dropped and you as a translator psychologically you will be affected because you believe that that story is good for your people. And once a story is dropped, it is dropped forever, it won't come again … If it is dropped, when the video tape is ready, they will run it the next day but when we come again, they will give us another story to transmit, that one is gone forever.

Whatever the justification for dropping a news item may be, the concern here is that once dropped the news will not be translated again, even when the footage becomes available. It may be read in English at a later time but not in the news translations, due to 'limited time factor'. This raises the question: who should decide what news the non-English speaking audience listens to and what are the criteria for selecting the appropriate news item(s) to be translated? Nevertheless, the news translators are at the receiving end of the pressure and they are left with no choice but to adapt; hence the sheep-shepherd relationship referred to in the extract quoted from the interview with Otuoze.

In addition, the news translators also point to the fact that Fadama's decisions about the content of the news translations is politically influenced. According to Ilora, the selected news items are more politically motivated than promoting the interest of the rural dwellers. In other words, the news items tend to advance or promote the activities of the present government than the interest of the rural audience.

> Sometimes, the stories you rack your brain to write, they will ask you to drop some especially in this political era. If they bring political news and insist that it must go on air today, they will force us to reduce our news items. Right in the studio, you will see people still coming to say this news must be on air this evening o.

From the illustrations above, it becomes clear that the translators take the view that the news

items are not really selected on the basis of audience-relevance as Fadama had claimed. The selected news items sometimes replace those the news translators consider to be more relevant and have utility for the livelihood and experiences of their audience. Yet the challenges mentioned above seem to be a tip of the iceberg as Otuoze says that 'there are still some other challenges you don't need to know'.

In summary, the section examines the limitations imposed on the news translators by gatekeepers in the news department. Such factors as identified are: time, technical issues and political influence; all of which limit the content of the news translators' news. In contrast, this section also reveals that the same factors do not affect the English news to the same extent.

8.3 How the News Translators Understand their Roles in the News Room

Findings from this study indicate that the way the news translators perceive their roles in the news room is shaped by their understanding of their audience's expectation of them. This section will thus explore what the audience expectations are, as told by the news translators themselves and how these have informed/ framed their roles. The roles the news translators perceive themselves to perform are: language developers, teachers of the indigenous languages and trans-editors. It is important to re-state that members of the audience of the selected stations in this study were not interviewed directly; rather, the opinions of the audience that will be presented in this section are a construction provided by the news translators in the stations and other relevant comments from the station staff.

8.3.1   News Translators as Language Developers

Most of the news translators agreed that they were language developers in the sense that translation requires lexical innovation in the local languages for the news to be adequately shared. Most of the languages (like Egbira, Igala and Bassa) used in news translations suffer from what Adegbija (1997) describes as 'low language development status' (p. 11). These languages cannot boast of much written literature; yet the news translators have the responsibility of translating both already existing words that are absent in their languages or even newly coined lexical units, known as neologisms in English, in a way that their audience will be able to understand. For even the 'big' languages like Yoruba, which can be classified

as one of the developed languages in Nigeria, its corpus is still not developed enough to meet the burgeoning demands of broadcasting at this current time (Akanbi & Aladesanmi 2014). Findings from Akanbi & Aladesanmi's study of language use in Orisun FM 89.5, a station that broadcasts exclusively in Yoruba in Osun state, Nigeria, reveal that the media staff in the station contributes to the development of the Yoruba language by coining new words. They found that neologisms were coined across different fields, for example, politics, technology, health, education and sports. Describing the linguistic structure or forms of the neologisms, they observed that 'there are no one word coinage (sic). All the words … are phrases, clauses and even sentences' because 'there is no one word that could capture the meaning essence of the concepts that the broadcast house wants to disseminate to its audience' (p. 566).

Similar to Akanbi & Aladesanmi's (2014) findings, the news translators in this study coin phrasal neologisms to describe new concepts that they come across in their translations. Adaji's example below illustrates how she translates 'ATM card', a term not in her language.

> … like we don't have the word for ATM card in Igala, so when you call it ATM card, even my grandmother knows what you are talking about because they go to the bank to use it. For ATM card, we can say *card ki madu fi gboko ki mado ATM card*-that is *the card that they use to withdraw money from the bank that they call ATM card*.

The example in this quotation indicates that to form the term *ATM card*, Adaji introduces the English term 'card' followed by a definition of its function in Igala (i.e. used to withdraw money from the bank). This style of translation is descriptive in nature. Table 8 shows some other examples of neologisms the translators built and how they are used. Notice that the translated neologisms are without diacritics. Diacritics are signs or marks placed before, after or over a written syllable or letter of a word that indicates how the marked syllable or letter should be pronounced. Most of the news translators hardly use diacritics because they do not have sufficient phonetics knowledge in their languages and besides, it does not seem to matter as the scripts are written for their own consumption anyway (Otuoze).

Neologisms	Indigenous language	Translation of neologisms	Meaning of the translations
1 ATM card	Egbira	Card Oyideke 'card money'	Card to collect money
2. E-payment	Yoruba	Sisan owo igba lode 'payment money contemporary time'	Making payment according to contemporary method
3. Ebola disease	Yoruba	Aisan Ebola 'disease Ebola'	Ebola sickness

Table 8. 1   Examples of how the news translators translate neologisms.

Note the compound phrases with the English words *card* and Ebola; these are more illustrations of how the news translators deal with neologisms. According to Akanbi & Aladesanmi (2014), each neologism that originates in a newscast might take off and spread throughout the community of local language speakers and therefore add to the corpus building process. However, it is important to note at this point that the language development role carried out in this case is accidental and not deliberate. Unlike most language planners that will set out specifically to develop the corpus of a language for general use and function, the news translators' effort is merely instrumental to the news translation at a given time.

Although this study confirms that the audience learns from the translations, as we will consider later on in this section, the data also indicate some media consumers criticise the news translators' formation of neologisms. They are critical of the fact that the news translators include other languages (aside from the one they are expected to translate in) in their translations. To these sets of critics, news translation is never just about information dissemination; hence they evaluate the words used in news translations for appropriateness and authenticity and they disapprove of borrowed terms. The experiences of two news translators in NTA Lokoja (Adaji and Otuoze) of their audience critics are very instructive here.

> The first challenge I got was that one of the viewers called me, I don't even know how they got my number in the first place but I believe they might have known me

before, probably through my church because there, my number is on our bulletins. He called me and challenged me of fixing Yoruba in my translation. Because Yoruba says *Ijoba ibile* and I say *Ijova ojete* [meaning *local government*] you know it's almost talking about the same thing…. (Otuoze).

… there was a time we translated something about pension and gratuity; so, when I came to the office, one of my uncles called me and said, 'I did not do my research well o, that I called pension and gratuity *pension pai gratuity'* so I told him that well I explained what pension was, which in Igala is called *oko ku ma ra abo ku ma tene kukolo* which means 'the money they pay to people that are retired'. But for the word 'gratuity', I didn't know what to call it, so I called it 'gratuity'. So, he told me [the meaning of gratuity] that day and I learnt it. He said *oko gbolane* meaning 'the money that you are to be using when you are not going to work'. As a translator, you have to accept corrections because people will correct you and I welcome it (Adaji)

The news translators' language use has been subjected to intense scrutiny by these critics who expect the linguistic content of the news translations to be 'correct' and 'pure'. People look to the news translations not just to inform but to represent and instruct. This pressure subjects the news translators to considerable scrutiny. On the other hand, it also encourages the news translators to broaden their research scope and also allows them to question their reference literature. For instance, Otuoze explained to me that he uses the Egbira Bible as a resource and that was where he learnt the translations for 'local government' which he was criticised for. Although he replaced *ijova* with *government ojete* this was only an interim solution; 'since then, I have begun to look at myself as someone who can do more for the development of the language'. He sets out strategies of how he intends going about this development as follows:

I intend doing that through some personal research. I have to meet some elderly ones at home who are not educated. They don't understand Yoruba nor English but only Egbira. Like I did some research last week when I travelled home. I discovered that Egbira boys and girls of this age call the word 'room' *yara mi* and that is Yoruba language. then I discovered that it has a name it is called *Aku,* while the word 'compound' is called *oweje*, then there is a name for an entrance, for master bed rooms. There are names for all these things so I try to gather them up then I will be able to develop either by putting it into writing or even organise a program as time goes on though I am very fresh here, I want to see how things are. Gradually, we are going to organise a programme by bringing the elderly ones on air to tell us some things but you know it would require some sponsorship. (Otuoze)

His strategy includes a number of measures. Firstly, he uses archaic terms such as *Aku* (room) in his news translations in place of *yara mi,* the commonly used one associated with the new generation. He also intends to purify the Egbira language of borrowed words, especially Yoruba ones (*yara mi* is a Yoruba word) through his news cast and hopes it will spread

throughout the Egbira community. Finally, he hopes to produce a programme contingent on the availability of sponsorship that will feature the elders in his local community as guests. Their role will be to encourage the revival of archaic terms and practices among the Egbira local community. Yusufu in NTA Lokoja on the other hand intends to also use his research as a platform for developing Yoruba. In his own words,

> This is a kind of dream I have that I really want to work towards as I grow in this profession. Any paper I want to do, I am tailoring them to saving our indigenous languages from extinction (Yusufu).

The news translators' development strategies are driven by the limited contributions of language development centres in Nigeria. For instance, the activities of the Nigerian Educational Research & Development Council (NERDC) through its Language Development Centre department (LDC) have been limited in scope in terms of the languages worked on. Much of the LDC work is characterised largely by the development of orthographies, metalanguages, translation of manuals and documents and curriculum development (NERDC 2018) in a small number of languages which excludes Egbira among others.

In sum, in this section, the role of the new translator as a language developer is brought into focus. As the news translators carry out their translating role, they have to coin neologisms which have the tendency of becoming very popular among the audience when the news is presented. A key finding to note in the section is that the translators' role as language developers is accidental and not deliberate.

8.3.2   News Translators as Cultural Icons

Findings from the data indicate that the news translators are regarded as the representative of their different culture and speech communities. Although this is true of the newscasters in both NTA Lokoj and FM 94, this is particularly salient in the former, because television is an intimate medium of communication, where the news translators are seen and observed unlike in radio where presenters are generally 'faceless'. The iconic status of the news translators is recognized and fore-grounded by the viewers and this is exploited by the station's management/staff. Firstly, by having news translators in their languages, the speech communities of the selected languages feel represented in the public (media) sphere; thus,

each of these communities try to do everything within their reach to retain this position. For instance, Fadama recalled the reaction of some of the viewers when news translation was cancelled from NTA Lokoja's broadcast for about three months. According to him, the financial crisis the station was in at the time made it impossible to pay the news translators' salary, hence some of the news translators fail to turn up for work; this led to the cancellation of news translations. Fadama describes the viewers' reaction to the cancellation below:

> Within that period, you needed to see the number of people who walked in here to ask why the news translations have stopped, what is the problem. In fact, it got to an extent that even from government house, there were complaints. Observations were made about why some certain people were not on air? A policeman who I have never met before walked into my office one day and introduced himself as a police officer. He told me a story, he said look, his mother is in town and anytime his mother is in town, she watches NTA news religiously and these days, the mother no longer sees that. People even volunteered that if it is because we are not getting people, they would do it. Government agencies, non-governmental agencies and individuals came in to complain. Because of this pressure, we had to go back and re-instated the translators and we began to flow again.

Fadama stated specifically that amongst those who came to his office to complain were: "The Igalas, Hausa, in fact the Hausa even sent a delegation from their Hausa community, Egbira koto, Nupe and Bassa". These excerpts indicate the significance of the news translators to the public and the amount of attention they get. The story of the policeman's mother related above indicates the value of news translations, the only feature left of local languages on NTA Lokoja, to those who do not understand English. In order words, the news translators are the hope of the 'voiceless' who seek to have a knowledge of their environment.

Furthermore, the fact that the news translators have to wear complete native outfits when casting news is another aspect of their iconicity. The outfit defines their identities and the richness of the culture they represent; thus, the newscasters are expected by the station and viewers to dress appropriately albeit there is no provision for dress allowance. Consider for instance, the comment of Opara, one of the key staff in charge of recruitment of news translators in NTA Lokoja. "…The translator needs to be aware that he/she is privileged to be on air to represent the community of speakers" says Opara. This comment indicates how the station exploits the iconic feature of the news translator by demanding them to dress in cultural outfits, without making financial allowance for it. By so doing, NTA Lokoja seeks to exploit the visual platform by using the news translators to boost their profile; thus making the station appear like it reflects the cultural richness and diversity of Kogi State.

Furthermore, Otuoze's experience with one of his viewers who called to complain that he had put on an incomplete outfit in one of his broadcast sessions is quite significant here. Otuoze recalls the experience as follows:

> As translators, we are not allowed to put on any other outfit aside our native attire but I'm not used to wearing natives but I had to, because of the job. So, the man called me one on one and complained that I wasn't putting on a matching cap, I had to apologise to him, and I adjusted.

The fact that viewers comment on the news translators' outfit indicate that the viewers notice and value the cultural symbol of the outfit. It also reinforces the iconicity of the news translators, a reality the news translators must embrace. Although the English newscasters do not receive dress allowance either (Yusufu), there is flexibility to the outfit they can wear as long as they look very smart and corporate. The news translators on the other hand will have to wear a complete outfit, whether convenient or not; whether they can afford it or not.

Furthermore, Otuoze's excerpt shows a major difference between television stations and radio stations. The visual aspect of the news translators means they are more open and available to criticism than the radio station news translators.

8.3.3   News Translators as Transeditors

The role of the news translators goes beyond making the content of the news available in their local languages. It involves carefully rewriting the news bulletin using words or expressions such that the audience may easily understand the concept being communicated. For example, Otuoze describes how he simplifies the phrase 'peaceful demonstration' in his news translations as follows:

> Yes, there was a time I came across the phrase 'peaceful demonstration' in the news I had to translate. So after much thought, I decided to phrase the statements as 'being angry but according to the law'. So somebody then called me and ask how I have been able to express that technical expression in a simple and explanatory way.

The findings of this study confirm Stetting's argument that news translators, in addition to their role, engage in certain tasks associated with editors such as 'improv[ing] clarity, relevance, and adherence to the intentions of the textual type in question – without 'killing' the personality and the interesting features of the actual piece of writing' (Stetting 1989 cited

in Schaffner 2012: 867).

Furthermore, the way the news translators write their news scripts indicates their awareness of the sensitive socio-political context of Kogi State emanating from the multiethnic nature of the state. The news translators carefully choose 'non-inflammatory' words when describing very sensitive issues in the English news bulletin. This is in order to foster peaceful co-existence. This approach treats translation as a type of mediation that goes beyond the rewriting of texts in a different language. According to Otuoze, NTA Lokoja,

> …in the course of our translations, my colleagues and I ensure we tread softly on sensitive issues like religion and government that can stir some controversies, so in doing that, we have to construct the language of the translations so that it will not generate conflicts or create bias in the minds of the people; in a way that accommodate the people.

This indicates that the news translators tailor their translations, such as they are, to their audiences. This 'mediatory' role the news translators engage in is what Stetting describes as *Cultural transediting* (Stetting 1989 cited in Schaffner 2012: 867). According to Stetting, *cultural transediting* is the situation whereby texts are adapted to suit the needs and conventions of the target culture (Schaffner 2012: 868). In Kogi State, there has been a series of cases where political grievances have been acted out on broadcast stations in the State. Salient examples are the experiences of Radio Ochaja, Tao FM and Grace FM of arson attacks. In an informal chat with the station manager, Radio Ochaja, he told me that part of the station's building was burnt down by members from the opposition party due to the political tension in 2007. The arson attack did not however affect the studio or their transmitting equipment although the attack affected transmissions. Tao FM on the other hand was bombed by some assailants barely a month after the Kogi State House of Assembly election in April, 2015. It was reported that the assailants that killed four members of the station's staff had come to the station that evening with the pretence of advert booking (Kogi report 2015). Finally, the only privately owned television and radio stations, Confluence Cable Network and Grace 95FM in Lokoja, have been shut down indefinitely by the station's management following another fire attack. According to Kogi Reports, a website dedicated to reporting news in Kogi State, the incident which occurred in January 2017 was believed to be politically motivated especially because the radio station, Grace 95FM 'had been critical of the state governments' activities' (Kogi Reports 2017). Grace 95FM's studio was burnt down in 2013 (Kogi Reports, 2013).

It is very likely the news translators are aware of all these cases and based on the episodes of arson referred to above, one could infer that the news translators think carefully before selecting their words. If this is the case, then the news translators, just like editors, show awareness of the multi-cultural and dynamic composition of their audience, and thus, use non-offensive words in their news translations.

Moreover, unlike the English news that is always edited in NTA Lokoja and FM 94, the news translators edit their news scripts by themselves, with their audience in mind. According to Fadama, for example, NTA Lokoja relies 'on the credibility of the translators' when it comes to editing of the news as the news translations are not edited.

8.3.4 News Translators as Teachers

Another role the news translators identify with is that of a teacher of the indigenous languages. Most of the news translators shared experiences of when members of the audience approached them especially at their work places to ask for the meanings of some words they used during translations. Itokpa, NTA Lokoja, explained how an 80 year-old man learnt what the word 'cross' is called in Egbira from him. Yusufu, NTA Lokoja, also gave an example of a woman in her 60s, the Secretary to the History department in the university where he lectures (Federal University, Lokoja), who came to his office so he could explain the meaning of *j'ebure* (to forgive), a term she heard him use during his translations. It is also important to note that the audience also provides positive feedback to the news translators which provide a strong motivation for them. The translators receive accolades at work, and in public places; in fact some receive phone calls where they are showered with praise for their roles and commitment.

Furthermore, the news translators also act as resources and mentors for novice translators who consult them whenever they do not know how to translate some English words into their local languages (Tokunbo and Adaji). Even though the news translators play the role of teachers to the audience, three of them still admitted that as 'professionals, they are not perfect' as they are always open to learn more from their audience.

Furthermore, the news translators demonstrate an understanding of the linguistic knowledge of their audience as well as the sociopolitical and cultural setting of the State. This knowledge shapes their translations to a great extent. For example, Yusufu of NTA Lokoja understands

that although the station expects him to translate in Yoruba, he is aware that his audience may not necessarily understand the 'original' Yoruba that is spoken in the Western part of Nigeria where he comes from. The 'original' Yoruba is very place-based and so local knowledge and experience are needed to understand it, especially because it comes with lots of proverbs. According to him, in a typical Yoruba news bulletin, 'at least you should be able to count up 6-10 proverbs'. However, in Kogi State where the majority of the Yoruba speakers are Okun speakers, Okun being a dialect of Yoruba, he uses a 'diluted [form of Yoruba] so that an average Okun person and other Yoruba speaking people that are within the State would at least get the message'. He defined a 'diluted' Yoruba as one with 'not too many idioms and not too many proverbs… it may include one or two. Even the ones [i.e. proverbs] I choose, 40% of the viewers will know what I am talking about'. In other words, he adapts his Yoruba news translations to meet the linguistic needs of his audience. This is very much like what teachers do. The news translators have this kind of flexibility because the broadcast management does not necessarily choose what dialect they have to translate in; all the recruiters usually look out for are those who can communicate well in their languages (Fadama, Tehila & Opara).

Furthermore, similar to the translators' role as transeditors discussed in 8.3.3, it can also be argued that the news translators as teachers demonstrate awareness of the sensitive socio-political context of Kogi State by using non-offensive words in their news translations.

Although the 2015 programme schedule reflects that news translation is done in five languages, namely, Yoruba, Igala, Egbira, Bassa kwomu and Bassa nge within a 30 minute time slot, during my field trip, I realised that in reality, there would be just two translations in indigenous languages on occasion, namely in Egbira and Bassa nge. This means the news translators could afford to run over to the other news translators' time slot if need be. However, I noticed that the news translators hardly run over anyway as they each stick to their allocated 5 minutes.

8.4   Challenges of News Translation

As stated earlier, the news translators operate within a very limited resource. NTA Lokoja and FM 94 only provide the news translators with an English dictionary which allows them to look up the English meanings of words. Other than that, the news translators are expected to find resources themselves (Dada, NTA programme manager). Outside the stations, there is only a very small body of literature that could serve as a reference point aside from Bible

translations and newspapers. Otuoze, NTA Lokoja, finds the Ebira Bible misleading because it contains some borrowed words from Yoruba as discussed in section 9.3.4.1 which when he used in his translations, was criticized by a member of the audience. For instance, Yusufu states that he reads *Alaroye,* a Yoruba newspaper, and watches Yoruba movies. However, the others do not use any of those possibly because they are unable to access them. This is unlike the English newscasters who have a wealth of resources.

Furthermore, there is no structured training for the news translators unlike the English newscasters, that have periodical in-house training on pronunciation and programme presentation techniques and styles. Yet, the translation role requires having a very good knowledge of the vocabulary, grammar and structures of both the language of the source text and the target language the news translator aims to translate into. Since most of the news translators are without degrees in Languages, training on linguistic skills and news presentation would have been an asset. Gabriel, one of the English newscasters sometimes notices how the news translators struggle to find suitable vocabulary for their translations. "Sometimes, they feel, O God, how will I put this," says Gabriel.

Even when NTA Lokoja transitioned to the reduced minutes policy which meant each news translator now has about three minutes each for their transmission instead of the previous seven minutes, the news translators were not trained on how to adjust to the new translation time. With the news presentation time reduction, the need to have a good reading skill and the ability to summarise the news items is clear. Unfortunately, based on Yusufu's assessment, some of the news translators lack the skill of critical reading and the ability to summarise texts effectively. The lack of these skills causes the four news translators to run over their time to the detriment of others who translate last; thus, further condensing their translation time. Otuoze's illustration is very useful here.

> Like if you watched the news yesterday, the news I read yesterday was incomplete because of the short time given. I read the first and last page and omitted the middle. The Igala translator had to end abruptly yesterday because the director asked her to stop but she couldn't just sign off like that so she crash-landed. … but it's challenging because we are on a high jump because you have just 1 minute to settle down and get set for the translation and the other 4 minutes for the translation itself.

What the excerpt above means in essence is that each news translator has at most 5 minutes for their session. Since the newscasters share the same seat when presenting, as soon as the first newscaster finishes his sessions, he stands up for the next newscaster to sit (this happens

off stage). However, from Otuoze's excerpt above, the five minutes includes his settling down time, which leaves just 4 minutes for translation. This time is usually too short to do a conclusive news translation. Note the psychological effect the news translators went through because they were yet to adjust to the newly reduced translation time. The terms 'crash landed' and 'high jump' are significant metaphors, just like the sheep/shepherd relationship referred to above that paint a picture of being under psychological pressure in the studio. Besides, the lack of training influences the news translators' performance and professionalism in a serious way as can be seen from the quotation above. Hence, Yusufu, NTA Lokoja, stresses the significance of emotion on news translation. According to him, 'if you are not happy, you can't translate'. Note that although FM 94 news translators also lack training in translations, they are not pressed for time as is the case with NTA Lokoja. Recall that unlike in NTA Lokoja where four news translators have fifteen minutes in total for their presentation, the two news translators left in FM 94 has 30 minute slots for their presentation. And as I observed, they both use the first ten or fifteen minutes only of the allotted time.

Another challenge the news translators experience is in the aspect of logistics. After the news translators have finished translating in the NTA office, the next stage is to head to the studio, located a few miles away on a mountain called Mount Patti, for a live presentation of the news. The news translators usually leave together with the English newscaster, reporters, Fadama and the camera men. According to Yusufu, since the station's bus is unreliable, they all go up to Mount Patti in the station's station wagon which can be inconvenient and risky for them all especially considering the rough terrain leading to the studio. When the news presentation is over, they all return to the NTA office from where they will have to find their way home. This is the most challenging part for those who do not have their own cars. Ilora FM 94 explains that it was the challenge of getting home upon return from the studio that led to her quitting her news translation role in NTA Lokoja. In her own words,

> It is because of the logistics that I left the place because we need to go to the Mount Patti to transmit the news and the programme is in the night and my house is very far. If they drop us in their station here, I will be struggling to get Okada [commercial motor cycle] in the night and some days rain will be falling and I will be trapped down in the town.

Upon quitting her role in NTA Lokoja, she decided to take up the Egbira news translation role in FM 94 because the transmission time is earlier (6pm) and the studio is located in the station, not on the mountain. In other words, FM 94 was more convenient and accessible than NTA Lokoja plus the fact that there is no comparable time pressure during news presentation

that she experienced in NTA Lokoja. However, she meets a bigger challenge in FM 94 which is non-payment of salary.

The news translators have described their work as nothing less than community work due to the very low financial incentive they receive (if at all). In FM 94, Trailer complains that the news translators are not been paid by the station while in NTA Lokoja, the news translators receive only a modest payment for their job, about £20 monthly (Yusufu). Although Tokunbo, the former programme director of FM 94, insists that all the news translators in FM 94 are paid by their local governments except the Yoruba news translator, she never denies the poor financial conditions the artists experience. For instance, she justifies the Yoruba news translator's lack of commitment to her roles as follows:

> If someone is not receiving a monthly salary that is commensurate to the job and you come here every day to translate and read the news, you also help in producing programmes and at the end of the month maybe they are given something like ₦7000 or ₦5000 [about £14 or £10] just to support him/her, the person will not be committed. I think that is the challenge.

The poor remuneration for the news translators could be the reason why most of the news translators in FM 94 do not turn up for work. Similarly, Fadama, the Head of News, NTA Lokoja admits that the news translators in NTA were only paid a 'token' amount which nevertheless is difficult to pay when the station is experiencing financial crisis. He recalls one such occasion when the station was unable to pay the news translators for some months; this affected the enthusiasm of the translators; thus, most of them stopped coming to work. As a result, news translation was cancelled in NTA Lokoja for three months, from December 2014 to February 2015 before been re-instated (Fadama). Fadama also reported that while the news translations were cancelled, some of the news translators volunteered to continue working without payment but this only began in February 2015. The station delayed transmission till February after it had succeeded in replacing the previous translators who failed to sympathise with the station when in financial crisis.

Finally, a significant challenge that has a great implication for the sustainability of news translations in the broadcast media is the difficulty in recruiting translators who can read and write in the selected local languages. According to Tokunbo, the former Programme Director of FM 94, a crucial obstacle to news translator recruitment in the station is the complacent attitude paid towards teaching the local languages in schools. Trailer seconds this view by stating that attempts to get support from some of his Bassa friends to assist in translations

came to nothing as they all complain of incompetence in reading and writing in the Bassa Nge language.

In conclusion, from the discussion presented above, it is clear that the news translators have a passion for news translation and they endeavour to make the best of a different situation with the interest of their audiences in mind. However, their ability to do their job is afflicted constantly by a series of challenges which vary depending upon the broadcast stations they work for. Such challenges are low financial incentives, logistical issues, time constraints, psychological 'hostility', lack of training and a dearth of resources for news translations. The implication of all these challenges is that although the indigenous languages are recognized and used in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 for news translations, beneath the surface, they exist in an unsustainable environment. The news translators receive very little support in terms of material, resources and finance from their station management. According to most of the news translators, the key motivation for their commitment to their role is community service. The question is just how long will this motivation hold for? Besides, the fact that the number of native speakers who can both read and write competently in the local languages are dwindling constitutes a serious challenge to the future of news translations and indeed the future of local languages in Kogi State broadcast media.

CHAPTER NINE
DISCUSSION

9.0   Introduction

This study set out to investigate the language policy and planning in Kogi State broadcast media. The grounded theory method was used to gather data in four public broadcast stations in Kogi State, namely, NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja. The analysis of data gathered was presented in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this study. Chapters 5 and 6 provided descriptions on the structure and operation of the four broadcast stations under study while chapters 7 and 8 examined the place of the indigenous languages in the broadcast stations. The main findings that emerged from these sections are the absence of a written language policy and planning structure in the broadcast stations, the predominance of English, as evidenced in the stations' programming and language use, and the construction of linguistic hierarchy (among the languages used) by the broadcast stations through its daily language practice.

This chapter, which is divided into three sections, will discuss the key themes that emerged from the data analysis in relation to the wider literature on language policy and planning and media studies. The first section seeks to situate the language practice of Kogi State broadcast media within the language policy and planning field. It aims to argue that although the analysis of interview data collected from key participants in the study suggests that there are no policies in place in the four selected broadcast stations, there are notable aspects of language policy and planning which are worth foregrounding. Salient questions considered in this section are: do the Nigerian broadcast media truly have a language policy? What is the nature of language policy and how is it implemented, top-down or bottom up? How is the policy implemented in Kogi State broadcast media? How might we situate the discussion of language practice in Kogi broadcasting media in the language policy and planning field? The second section foregrounds the extent to which the predominance of English is encouraged in the stations; such that its use reduces the value of the indigenous languages used in the broadcast stations. This section discusses how the hegemony of English is achieved through ideologies expressed through discourses on standardisation and commercialisation. The third section argues that the broadcast stations engage in status and corpus planning. The activities of the stations are examined against the backdrop of previous studies in the literature.

9.1 Making a Case for an Explicit and Detailed Language Policy and Planning in Kogi State Broadcasting Media

One of the astonishing features of my data is the fact that the respondents, especially the Management staff, appear convinced that their broadcast stations have no language policies guiding the selection and use of languages. Despite this claim, an in depth analysis of the data and the language practice reveals that the stations are involved in language policy and planning at varying levels. However, I argue that the way language policy works in the Nigerian media and by implication, Kogi State broadcast media, is quite different from the canonical model of language policy and planning which has clear features of policies, agency and models of implementation. For instance, the Nigerian Educational system has explicitly written top-down language policies as contained in the 1977 National Policy on Education (later revised to include 1981, 1998 and 2004 editions), officially recognised language agencies set up to develop the corpus of selected languages and models of policy implementation across the states and levels of education illustrated in the policy draft.

Over the history of broadcast media in Nigeria, the need to communicate with a large audience has tended to be the key driving force for the management of language. As noted in chapter 2, language was first identified as a problem in the Nigerian broadcast media during the colonial period. As the colonial government prepared to transform the Nigerian broadcast media from a re-diffused system into a full-fledged broadcaster, it was discovered that a very small percentage of Nigerians understood English which was the only language of broadcasting at that time. This identified linguistic problem led to the selection of twelve indigenous languages spoken by ethnic groups with the largest population across the three Nigerian regions of East, North and West (Brann, 1995; Amadi & Atoyebi, 2001). Since then, the need to communicate to the general populace has continued to be the motivation for including indigenous languages in the broadcast media alongside English. As far as I know, no form of policy or planning accompanied the language selection, however, the selection of the twelve indigenous languages then marked the beginning of a pattern of language practice in the broadcast media. Thus, as broadcast stations (especially public service broadcasters) proliferated and thrived amidst state creations in post-colonial Nigeria (see chapter 3), the need to reach out to a wider audience (mostly uneducated people) with information, entertainment and general enlightenment was seen as part of the public service responsibilities. Consequently, more indigenous languages were incorporated into the

broadcast media alongside English. Going by this sustained language practice and convention in the media, I argue that a '*de facto*' language policy emerged in the process (Akinnaso, 1991: 30). Thus, over the years, whenever a public service broadcaster (PSB) emerges, such a PSB considers it a responsibility and duty to broadcast in one or two indigenous languages as the context demands. My argument for the existence of a *de facto* language policy in the Nigerian broadcast media finds legitimacy in the literature. Much work has identified *de facto* policies that emerge out of consistent language practice (e.g. Shohamy, 2006; Shohamy 2007; Nero 2014).

Furthermore, the *de facto* policy I argue for can be put forward as an example of 'unplanned' language policy and planning discussed in the literature (Baldauf 1993; Eggington, 2002). By 'unplanned', Baldauf generally means a policy that is not deliberately planned or intended. As Baldauf suggests, there are so many cases of unplanned language policy and planning 'going on all around us, but this often goes unrecorded by language planners' (1993: 83). Language use in the Nigerian broadcast media is unplanned to the extent that it is not deliberated upon by any particular policymaker, nor is there a planned form of its implementation. Rather, the needs to be inclusive, democratic and contextually relevant were the key highlights and driving forces of the unplanned *de facto* policy which promoted the use of indigenous languages. As English is the colonial language and now an official language in Nigeria, it is no surprise that it is naturally included in the broadcast media language practice alongside the indigenous languages. Broadly speaking, the Nigerian broadcast media landscape can be understood as having a *de facto* overarching language policy framework without any visible agency.

9.1.1 The Place of the NBC Code, the Nigerian Constitution and the Election Policy on Media Coverage in the Broadcast Media's Language Practice

Drawing upon illustrations in my data, I argue that the overarching *de facto* policy I propose in this chapter subsumes the *de jure* language sections on broadcasting in the three policy documents reviewed in chapter 2. These are: The Nigerian Constitution, the Election Policy on media coverage and the National Broadcast Code (2010). In chapter 2, I explained all four policy documents that provide a regulatory framework for the Nigerian broadcast media are less detailed about the selection and use of languages for programming in the broadcast media compared to the Nigerian Policy on Education. They also lack implementation

strategies. At best, they could be described as mere statement of intent. My main focus in this section is to probe how known these policy documents are. Using the NBC Code as a case in point, I illustrate that the language sections in these three policy documents are unknown to my participants; hence they have not informed the language policies decisions.

As stated earlier, there are no serious sanctions attached to most of the language regulations in the NBC Code. Justifying the reason for this situation, Jacobs, the Head of Research department explains that:

> The framers of the Code did not look at it from the compulsion angle that it must be compulsory but they should be encouraged. … you are going to find that stations were encouraged in the Code to translate their news into local languages because news carries every necessary information not only for the elite but for everyone. But it's not that when a station refuses to translate into local languages they will be punished, no. They are encouraged to … it's not a directive. The only thing we [NBC] can do is to encourage them to continue, so it is not sanctionable.

Jacobs' comment above tends to suggest that the language sections of the NBC Code were framed on the assumption that all the public broadcasters in Nigeria already adhered to them in practice. Thus, one could infer that although the linguistic policy appears mandatory in the Code it has been downgraded to a mere 'encouragement policy'. However, it is worthy of mention here, that a revised edition of the Code has now been published (see 6th edition, 2016) which includes more language sections, accompanied with higher levels of sanctions, if violated. This would be an interesting area for further research to investigate how the language sections have been and are being enforced across the broadcast stations since the revised Code's publication in 2016. It would be interesting to see the ways in which the sanctions are applied upon violation.

To strengthen my argument further about the existence of a *de facto* top down policy in the Nigerian broadcast media, I will now consider how well-known the language sections of the Code are across the selected stations in this study. From my interaction with all the participants in this study, it appears that none of them seems aware of the language provisions in the NBC Code. Participants' discussions of the NBC related to the physical role played by the NBC officials in the State. For instance, as the November 2015 governorship election was

in view, my participants related how the NBC officials created awareness across the broadcast stations (particularly the ones in Lokoja) of the need to allocate broadcasting time equally to as many political parties that seek coverage without favouring any political party in particular. Issues like avoiding playing indecent programmes/music classified under Not To Be Broadcast (NTBB) were also associated with the NBC. The only area in which the NBC was linked to one of the language sections was as it relates to the use of English in the stations. And even this was not because they knew about the language sections; I observed that of the four stations, only NTA Lokoja had a copy of the NBC Code. The frequent presence and criticism of Amos (NBC officer, Lokoja) in FM 94 was what made them aware of the use of the English language section. What this means is that the NBC was more physically visible than the language provisions of the Code. Despite this visibility, the selection and the allocation of languages to programmes are not monitored. Although the stations' language practice confirms the use of indigenous languages across the stations (with the exception of NTA Kabba), this means that decisions about language choice were not influenced by the NBC Code and as such may not necessarily be conceived as a guiding framework to language policy in the media. I argue that the *de facto* language policy is at work here.

The case for the existence of a *de facto* policy finds more support in the responses the management staff gave about language policy in their stations. Tehila (the Director of Programmes, FM 94) says 'there is no policy that says it must be this or it must be that'. As reported in section 8.1, Tehila went further to state how the station by itself came up with its language policy. Gowon, the Director of News, responds to the same question more explicitly, in a way that explains the nature of the *de facto* policy.

> It's not a policy per se but essentially the role of the media is to inform, educate and entertain and we must do this in the language that people generally will understand. I think that has guided us in arriving at the decision which we have taken that we should inform our people who are generally not literate, those of us in the cities. So it is not a policy but a direct way of ensuring that they understand and get the messages from government to them and then their own messages to the government

Tehila and Gowon's comments indicate that what guides language practice in the station is nothing to do with the NBC language sections. Rather, the language practice of the station is guided by the responsibility of informing, enlightening and educating the audiences using mediums they can understand. This point captures accurately the reason for the emergence of the *de facto* practice. The same rationale is evident in NTA Lokoja. Fadama (the Head of News, NTA Lokoja) says:

> I am not aware of any documented language policy in NTA but I know that it is a matter of policy that NTA wherever it is located should serve to a very large extent its immediate environment.

Here, though Fadama shows no awareness of an explicit policy in the NTA, he admits that there is an 'invisible' policy in the NTA that requires that NTA stations use context-relevant linguistic resources in their broadcasts. Thus, the *de facto* language practice in the media which pre- dates the NBC Code is still effectively the overarching language policy which regulates language use in the Nigerian broadcast media. Although covert, in terms of its not being written on 'paper', this *de facto* language policy, which connects top to bottom, is quite well-known to my participants in the Kogi State broadcast stations as it surfaces in their discourse about language policy in their respective stations.

9.1.2 The Nature and Implementation of the *De facto* Policy in Kogi State Broadcast Media

Having argued for the existence of a *de facto* policy in the Kogi broadcast media, two salient questions to ask at this point are: does the *de facto* policy manifest itself in Kogi State broadcast media and if it does, how does it do so? The covert nature of this *de facto* policy and its lack of agency makes the issue of language policy very complex and open to different interpretations by the different stations. In other words, what counts as the 'implementation' of this covert policy varies across stations in terms of the number of languages used for broadcasting, the duration allocated to indigenous programmes and the frequency of the indigenous programmes. For instance, while news translation is the only programme that NTA Lokoja uses indigenous languages for, in FM 94 and Radio Ochaja, the use of indigenous language goes a little beyond news translations to include discussion and request programmes. Meanwhile, the indigenous languages are fast disappearing in NTA Kabba as the presence of indigenous languages (mostly Yoruba) in the station is contingent on availability of sponsored programmes (especially religious ones). Nwagbara's (2013) survey study on the languages used for news broadcasting also shows the same variation in the NTA stations located across four state capitals, namely: NTA Calabar, NTA channel 12 Uyo, NTA channel 28 Yenegoa and NTA Channel 10 Port Harcourt. While three out of ten languages spoken in Akwa Ibom are used for news presentations, four languages are used for the same purpose in NTA Bayelsa out of 30 languages; three languages are used for news translations in Cross River out of 37 and in Rivers, three or four languages are used for news presentation

out of 21 languages. Consequently, the *de facto* policy I argued for only regulates the use of languages in the broadcast media while yielding the power of agency to individual stations to select languages based on their own criterion or criteria.

Furthermore, because there are no visible proponents or enforcers of this *de facto* policy, it is open to different interpretation in practice. Baldauf (2006) identifies two forms of micro language planning, namely: micro language planning and micro implementation of macro planning. While the former involves an institution's policy and planning initiatives targeted at solving its own language problems, the latter strives to implement the policies that are directed from a macro, that is, overarching, policy. Following Baldauf's definition of macro policy, I argue that the macro *de facto* policy depends on the individual stations for agency. In the case of the four stations under study, agency lies with the management staff of the respective stations. For instance, based on the data analysis presented in chapter 7, it becomes clear that in the absence of an explicit top-down policy from the parent stations (i.e. NTA headquarters and KSBC), the management staff in the respective satellite stations play the key role of making decisions that shape language selection and language usage. The selection of languages by the different stations has been dictated by varying factors. In NTA Lokoja, the factors identified are the population of speakers, the political influence the speakers of the dominant languages wield and the economic value of the languages. FM 94 is broadly influenced by the numeric strength of the speakers; geo-political and historico-political factors and how popular a language has become (e.g. the English pidgin). In Radio Ochaja, the numeric strength of the speakers of a language is the only factor identified while in NTA Kabba, numeric strength and economic factors are the driving forces of language choice.

Although there are some cases where the members of the audience requested the use of their languages in the stations, e.g. Owe in NTA Kabba, the actual usage of a language or dialect is subject to approval by the management staff. The fact that there are some factors that guide the choice and use of languages (e.g. socio-political and numerical) in the stations restricts the choice of languages that are used in the stations. As a result, I argue that there is clearly a form of language policy in place here.

My assessment of the language practice of the stations also suggests that there are some aspects of language planning (e.g. status planning and corpus planning) in place. Hult's study on the Swedish *Sveriges television* reveals that television can be 'explicitly framed as a tool for status planning through regulations about the relative positions of different languages in

this domain' (2010: 158). This study mirrors Hult's finding and extends his findings to radio stations too. This study also shows that the news translators employed in these stations engage in a form of corpus planning (on a micro scale, i.e. within their local stations) in response to the problem of 'insufficient vocabulary' to describe modern terms in the indigenous languages. In the literature, this is usually considered as an aspect of language planning from below (Baldauf, 2006; Nero 2010). These language planning activities will be developed more later on in this chapter.

I argue that language policy and planning in Kogi State is an example of a micro implementation of macro (*de facto*) policy which emanates from the colonial government. Although the management staff of Kogi State broadcasting stations construct their own language policies and decide on the mode of implementation, this activity is not peculiar to Kogi State broadcast media alone. Rather Kogi State media is similar to other public broadcast stations in Nigeria who have to make decisions on the choice of languages to use. Hence, language policy and planning in Kogi State broadcast media is best situated as an example of a micro implementation of macro *de facto* policy. The term 'macro' policy is usually used in the literature to refer to language policies located at a large-scale government level (Baldauf and Kaplan, 1997; Baldauf, 2006). I have used macro (*de facto*) policy in this section to mean non-prescriptive language practice that emanated from the central government in the colonial occupation of Nigeria (as discussed in chapter 3). As explained earlier, this language practice proliferated along political lines of state creation. The micro implementation of this macro policy in this study refers to how the public broadcasters located in the state and community levels seek to appropriate or put into practice the use of the indigenous languages in their respective stations.

The diagram below captures the complex relationship of language policy and planning in the Kogi State media provided so far.
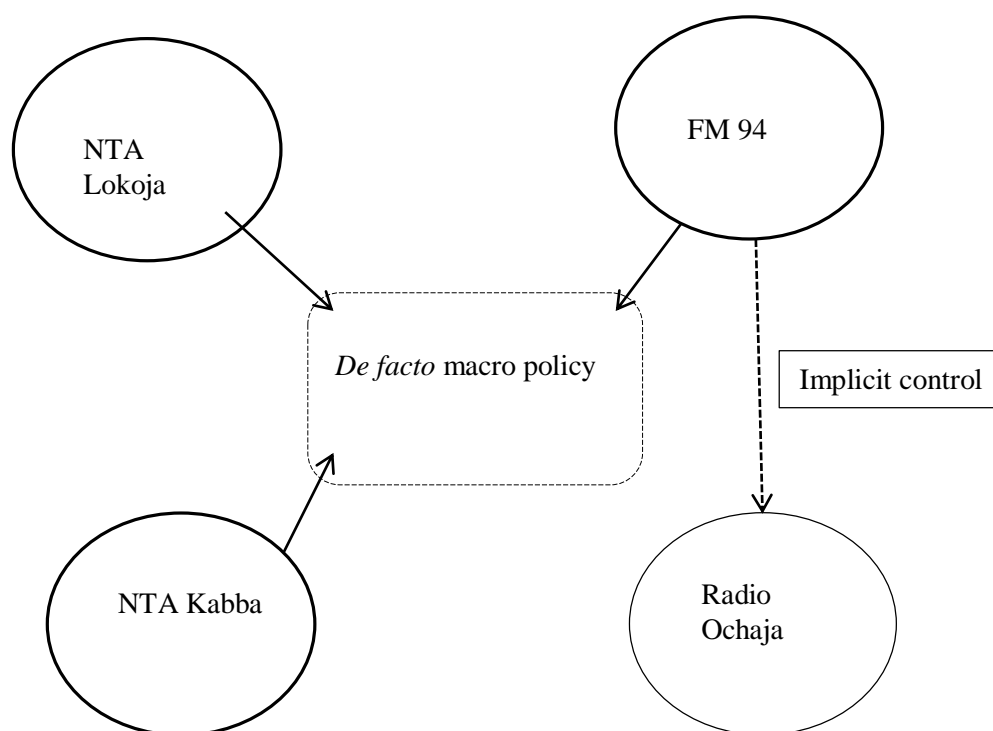
Figure 9. 1   Modelling the source of language policy in Kogi State broadcast media

10.1.2.1   Explaining Figure 9.1

The rectangle represents the macro *de facto* policy that guides the use of indigenous languages in Kogi State broadcast media. The dotted lines of the rectangle indicate that the macro *de facto* policy by nature is unwritten and lacks agency (i.e. no human creator or implementer) as argued above. Note also that unlike the other three stations that appeal directly to the macro policy (as indicated by the arrows' directions), Radio Ochaja has an implicit connection with the de facto policy through FM 94.

It is also worthy of note that the NBC code is not explicitly included in the diagram because, as I earlier argued, evidence from my data suggests that my participants are not aware of the language sections in the Code. I also argued that the NBC language provisions are subsumed under the *de facto* policy; hence, the *de facto* policy is the guiding framework for language policy in Kogi State media.

Three stations, namely, NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba and FM 94 are represented in bold circle lines because therein resides the major agency of language policy and planning. Radio Ochaja

on the other hand is represented with a non-bold line because it has limited agency on language policy. As is apparent from the data, although Igala, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu are the dominant languages in the east senatorial district, KSBC limits the use of the Bassa languages on Radio Ochaja implicitly, by not recruiting Bassa speakers or financially encouraging Bassa artists in radio Ochaja (see chapter 6 for more details). Hence, the only language that is available for use in the station and is financially supported by the station is Igala. This relationship accounts for the dotted lines connecting FM 94 and Radio Ochaja. On the other hand, as analysed in the data in chapter 7, although NTA Lokoja has some expectations concerning language use in NTA Kabba, NTA Lokoja does not have any control directly or implicitly over NTA Kabba.

In conclusion, based on the findings from this study, I have argued that the Nigerian media and by implication Kogi State media does have a *de facto* language policy which regulates the use of languages in Kogi State. I argue that the *de facto* policy is grass-roots oriented and democratic in that it promotes the use of indigenous languages in the broadcast media. I also argue that the policy has no human agency due to the fact that it simply grew out of convention. I also argued that the implementation of *de facto* policy in Kogi State allows agency from below. In conclusion, I propose a model that captures how language policy works in Kogi State media.

9.2   Hegemony of English

As discussed in the previous session, the macro *de facto* language policy is non-prescriptive, more inclusive, democratic and grass roots oriented which intends to make broadcasting services available to the wider populace (irrespective of their educational backgrounds) by not broadcasting in English alone. Hence, the micro implementation of this policy would focus on how the Kogi State broadcast media seek to utilise indigenous languages at the stations in their broadcast practices. As evidenced in the stations' language practices analysed in chapter 7, although indigenous languages are used in the stations, the reality is that English has more utility than the indigenous languages. Hence, this section aims to illustrate how the hegemony of English is promoted across different levels through top-down and bottom-up explicit and implicit interventions inferred from the discourses and actions of the actors in this study. The former is encouraged by the NBC and the NTA national TV while the latter is aided by the broadcast stations themselves, and the educated members of the audience.

This line of reasoning echoes Shohamy's (2006, 2007) finding that ideologies are the key building blocks to creating *de facto* policies. Shohamy proposes a model which captures how *de facto* policies can be created and perpetuated by using different mechanisms (which he refers to as language policy tools) to manipulate or alter an existing policy (2006: 122). In his study, he shows how language tests were used as mechanisms by key players in the education system in order to manipulate existing language education policies (2007: 122). Shohamy explains how language tests can be a covert mechanism as follows:

> The LEP [Language Educational Policy] may state that correct grammar or 'native-like' accents are not essential for acceptable proficiency; yet language tests do set correct grammar and native-like accents as part of the criteria and these can become barriers for keeping unwanted groups such as immigrants and indigenous groups from entering educational institutions and/or the workplace (Shohamy, 2007: 120).

In other words, Shohamy argues that language tests can be used to implicitly reduce or streamline access to the educational system; a situation which the official language policy in education does not originally promote. Hence, language testing is used as a powerful mechanism to manipulate the official policy. Based on his finding, Shohamy then proposes a model (see figure 9.2) in which he describes how mechanisms manipulated by ideologies constitute a language policy. I will use Shohamy's model to explain the operation of the top-down and bottom-up *de facto* policy in the selected broadcast stations. I identify two mechanisms by which I argue that the hegemony of English is promoted in Kogi State broadcast media. These mechanisms are standardisation and commercialisation. Figure 9.3 shows the adapted model I use for this work. I discuss below how these mechanisms work in relation to the data.
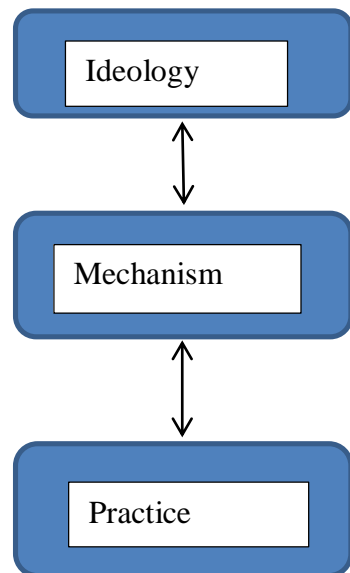
Figure 9. 2 Shohamy's model of how *de facto* policies are formed.
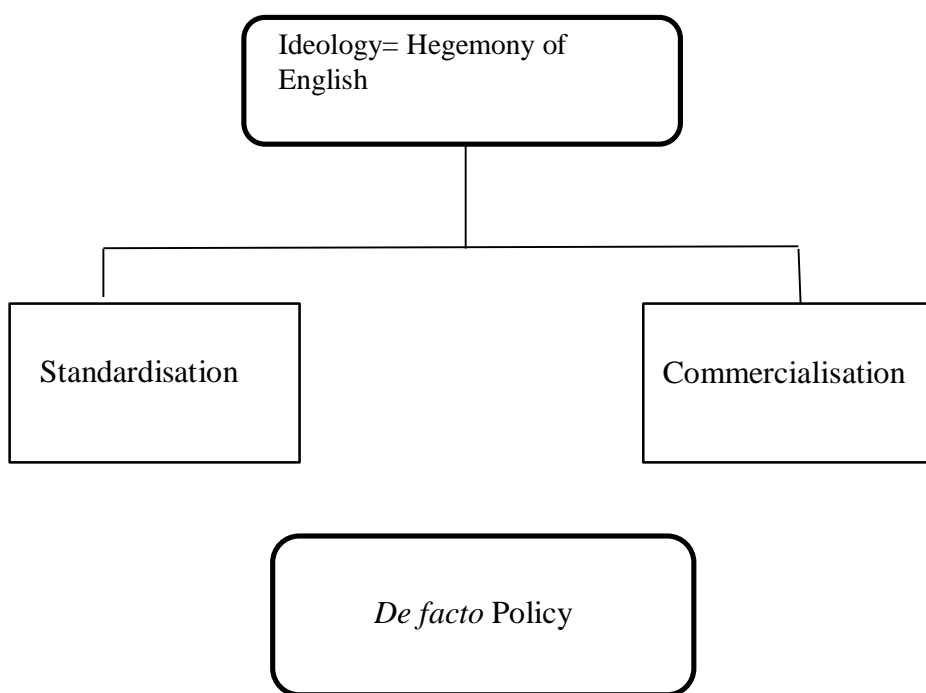
Figure 9. 3 Shohamy's model adapted to show the mechanisms that influence language policy in Kogi State broadcasting media.

9.2.1   Standardisation

By standardisation in this section, I mean the search for a language variety that is considered representative and ideal for a named language and tending to expand its use in as many spheres of human life as possible (Nikolovski, 2015). Discussions on standardisation in this

section will only focus on the aspect of pronunciation and not on grammar or even orthography as they did not emerge as significant themes from my data. Standardisation is deeply rooted in the standard language ideology (SLI) which has received a lot of attention in the literature (Lippi Green, 1994; Ricento, 2013). I argue that the essential component of SLI is the hegemony of English. I adopt in this section the definition of SLI provided by Lippi-Green as this captures succinctly the interpretation of the phenomenon in this study. According to Lippi-Green (1994: 166), SLI is 'a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which takes as its model the written language'. This written language model, mostly contained in dictionaries and grammar books, never reflects authentic language usage in any systematic way; hence its abstraction (Ricento, 2013). In other words, SLI esteems a particular variety of a named language (e.g. British RP) over other varieties which are reduced to low variety status. This elevated variety is portrayed as being 'more "correct," "logical" and "efficient" in communicative terms than other varieties, many of which are identified as being "nonstandard," "illegitimate," "ignorant," or just plain "bad"' (Ricento, 2013: 530). Woolard (1985) argues that SLI is a form of linguistic hegemony in that it sets up a language variety over others.

Previous studies have identified educational institutions as a key proponent of enforcing SLI (Wiley & Lukes, 1996). However, Lippi-Green draws attention to how the news media can become a tool for promoting SLI. According to her, the news media consciously report news items that position other accents of English as sub-standard while promoting the use of SLI in their presentations. In Lippi-Green's study, the speakers of these other dialects are the target of SLI while the news presenters are the major "enforcers". In this present study, the situation is slightly different in that the news media as an institution and the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission are positioned as the advocators of SLI while the news presenters themselves are the immediate target. One key area in which my study differs from previous studies is that while general discussions about SLI have principally focused on contexts where the 'dominating' language has its native speakers (for instance, Lawton, 2008; Ricento 2013; and Lippi Green 1994 all focused part or all their discussions of SLI on the United States), the situation in Kogi State broadcasting is quite different in that the standard language here referred to is RP, a variety native to England, far removed from Nigeria. Woolard underscores that a non-native population can promote an exogenous language variety by simply 'acknowledging and endorsing its authority, its correctness, its power to convince, and its right to be obeyed' (Woolard, 1985: 741).

In Nigeria, SLI is already in operation in the educational system where standardisation of English pronunciation is achieved by using RP and the Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary as a guide for teaching RP in the classroom (Jowitt, 2016). The Cambridge English pronouncing dictionary contains about 80,000 words and phrases, each entry having British and American phonemic transcriptions (Jones, 2006). The pronouncing dictionary, popularly called Daniel Jones' pronouncing dictionary (by my respondents), is authored by Daniel Jones, a professor of Phonetics and published in 1917. The dictionary was traditionally modelled after the pronunciation style of the British upper class that were mostly educated in the UK public schools at that time. In his first edition, Daniel Jones selected the Public school Pronunciation (PSP) as the model accent for the dictionary but later renamed it the Received Pronunciation (Jones, 2006). The dictionary has since been revised to include recent editions, the latest being the 18th edition published in 2011. In the 17th edition, BBC English was adopted as a more 'broadly-based and accessible model accent for British English' in place of RP which was described as archaic (Jones, 2006). Thus, emphasis here shifted to the kind of accent used by the 'professional speakers employed by the BBC [British Broadcasting Corporation] as newsreaders and announcers' (Jones 2006: v).

Following the trends of SLI in the Nigerian educational system, this study will foreground instances of SLI in the Kogi State broadcast media. As evidenced in the data, there is a conscious effort by the NBC, the broadcast media stations (considered in this study) and the members of the audience at achieving standardisation (of English) by promoting the use of RP. I discuss below how these actors promote SLI in the stations.

9.2.1.1 How NBC Promotes SLI through Standardisation

As a government agency, the NBC's intervention as regards broadcasting is best understood as being on a macro level as it represents the interest of the national government. To start with, there is a series of events that surrounds the use of British RP in Kogi State broadcast media. Despite having a language stipulation in the NBC Code that requires good pronunciation practice in any language being used for broadcast (see NBC Code, 2010, sub-section 1.10.2 under the Programme Presentation sub-heading), one could see the NBC narrowing the scope of this provision by focusing on English only. The NBC actively situates itself as the watchdog that protects the way spoken English is used in news presentation. A good illustration is the role Amos plays in FM 94 where she actively monitors and criticizes

news presenters' spoken English during live broadcast. Amos' comment which was analysed in chapter 7 as well as Magaji's comment about Amos are worth referring to here to better understand Amos' role at promoting SLI. According to Amos,

> The English aspect is beginning to be headache for us… I keep telling them that there is a pronunciation dictionary, the English language did not emanate from here, Africa. So, if you have to speak like the white people or the Americans, you have to do a very good job.

> Magaji says:

> She [Amos] calls and says this person is on air, this is what this person did, the news delivery was poor, why did you allow such person to do that knowing fully well that news is a grade A programme?

From both comments, it is clear that Amos simply judges news presenters' competence based on the 'correctness' of their spoken English, and not based on factors like intelligibility for instance (Soneye, 2008). Amos seems to be saying that a grade A programme like news deserves to be presented with a good spoken English which that particular newscaster referred to lacked. By advancing the Daniel Jones' pronunciation dictionary as the appropriate model for good English speaking, Amos is implicitly pointing to the British RP as the desired standard to be adopted. By extension, she expects the newscasters who are L2 speakers of English to act as native speaker substitutes when broadcasting. In other words, the other varieties of English that the news presenters use are considered to be incorrect and unsuitable for use. This is a good example of how the NBC implements SLI in practice.

Moreover, as shown in the interview data analysis, Amos accuses one of the FM 94 newscasters of Americanising her pronunciation of *hospital*. The newscaster pronounced the word *hospital* with an American accent by pronouncing the /t/ sound as an alveolar flap /ɾ/, a phonological process quite popular in American English. The NBC official's argument is that the newscaster adopted an American accent in an environment meant to be governed by the British RP. The concept of *Americanism* among Nigerians has been recognised in the literature (Igboanusi, 2003). Igboanusi notes that there is a growing influence of American English (henceforth AmE) on Nigerians which is being promoted essentially by the Nigerian media. Commenting on how prevalent AmE is at a phonological level, he states that

> …[T]he most noticeable influence of the AmE accent among many NE speakers lies with the consonant sounds. Apart from the rhotic influence (which is clearly a striking

phonetic feature of AmE), other influences lie with the use of a voiceless labio-velar approximant which serves to distinguish between such pairs as *witch* and *which*; and the weakening of the fortis plosive /t/ (which is affected by either T Voicing or Tapping (sic).) Consequently, the opposition between fortis /t/ and lenis /d/ may be neutralized in a position between two vowels as in *pity, bidder;* and in sequences of vowel plus /n/ or /l/ or /r/ followed by /t/ as in *twenty, altogether, party* (2003: 602).

From Igboanusi's comment above, it becomes clear that the NBC official's observation about the newscaster's pronunciation referred to above stems from a linguistic change that is spreading across Nigeria. While the influence of British English in Nigeria can be traced to British colonization of Nigeria and the fact that English is the official language, the spread of American English within Nigerian English has been attributed to the dominant influence and economic power of the United States in the global world (Igboanusi, 2003: 601). The influence of AmE on pronunciation must not be seen as peculiar to Nigeria alone. Recent publications have also documented the influence of the broadcast media in spreading AmE in other former British colonies (Blankson, 2005; Deuber & Leung, 2013). Blankson reports how programme hosts and newscasters compete to use the best American and Caribbean accents in Ghanaian radio stations. According to Blankson, the term LAFA (Locally Acquired Foreign Accent) has been coined in Ghana to refer to the imitation of foreign accents by radio 'presenters and hosts, who had never travelled to the United States or the Caribbean' (2005: 13).

In this study, however, I argue that the newscasters americanise their pronunciations in an attempt to dissociate themselves from the Nigerian English (they are used to) while associating themselves with foreign accents which are more abstract to them than real. The point made here is that Nigerian English is more available in the Nigerian public space than AmE or any other western variety of English. Nigerian English captures the socio-linguistic reality of Nigeria; it's more like 'home made English'. To demand RP variety from Nigerian newscasters as the NBC official implicitly does, in place of an American accent 'would be a quixotic task' (Soneye, 2008: 189) and the result would be nothing short of an 'imitation' pronunciation aimed at sounding posh.

On the other hand, the NBC is not so keen on examining elocution in the delivery of news translations despite the fact that this is also relevant to news, a grade A programme. Besides, the indigenous languages used in the broadcast stations, just like English, have one or two varieties, hence might have benefitted from standardisation. However, by limiting the application of the language section (i.e. NBC Code 2010, sub-section 1.10.2) to English news

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alone, it suggests that the indigenous languages are portrayed as having a lesser value than English in practice. This is an illustration of how SLI is manipulated to promote hegemonic practices.

The assumption NBC made about the indigenous languages, based on the analysis of the interview data, is that the broadcast stations recruit native speakers of the respective languages as news translators who in all ways will be very proficient in their languages. However, findings from my analysis reveal that the indigenous language programme presenters are not immune to errors as their L1 knowledge is an insufficient resource to meet the sophisticated demand of their roles. As such, their errors are very evident to their audience who seek ways to correct them. This finding corroborates Phillipson's argument that the fact that a teacher is a native speaker of the same language he teaches does not automatically translate to him/her becoming a good teacher because such a person may be ignorant of the structure of the mother tongue (1992: 15). In other words, Phillipson esteems the knowledge of the named language and relevant teaching skills as a teacher's hallmark irrespective of their linguistic background. Phillipson here offers a very useful insight for the broadcast stations in this study. The indigenous programme presenters go through a very basic recruitment stage. The news translators are neither language specialists (i.e. who understand the structure and use of their L1) nor do they have formal knowledge of what their news translation entails. And worse still, zero training is provided to them after recruitment, unlike the English newscasters who attend workshops and in-house training.

9.2.1.2   How the Broadcast Stations Promote SLI through Standardisation

By constantly organising pronunciation workshops and training targeted at improving the spoken English of their programme presenters, the broadcast stations (particularly NTA Lokoja and FM 94) can be seen as promoting SLI. These workshops aim at 'repairing' the presenters' non-standard variety of English and upgrading it to the 'correct' British RP. It is important to mention that the people invited to teach phonetics in the stations are not native English speakers but Nigerians who are deemed to speak 'good standard English' based on years of experience in the broadcasting field. The question is how likely will Nigerian English be expelled from the entire discourse in the training if the trainer himself is not an RP

native speaker? And of what use will the erratic phonetics workshop be to the programmes presenters if their daily conversations are in Nigerian English or even the Nigerian Pidgin when not speaking their L1? According to Okoro (2004: 7), learning a language in snippet form and not through a formal route of learning will only result in acquiring a non-standard form of the same language, not the target form. This may be one of the underlying issues affecting the presenters' spoken English.

By attempting to standardise pronunciation in the newsroom, the broadcast stations place the programme presenters in a position where they become very conscious of their spoken English whenever they are presenting. It also makes them lack confidence in their spoken English such that they begin to consult the Daniel Jones pronouncing dictionary for help in order to remedy their inability to speak RP English. Gabriel's comment, analysed in the previous chapter, is very useful here. Gabriel, one of the NTA Lokoja's English newscasters, says:

> Each time I am going on air, the first thing that comes to mind is trying to do it well; trying to do it correctly, even if my normal self will not speak the way I speak then. I try as much as possible to pronounce properly. I am very conscious when it comes to presenting on air …

Gabriel made a distinction between her normal way of speaking and the 'controlled' way she has to adopt when on air. This dual identity becomes the fate of the newscasters because they want to adjust to the demand of the broadcast stations. Such a controlled form of pronunciation is capable of producing errors due to its inauthenticity.

I argue that the ideology behind the organisation of pronunciation workshops stems from one crucial factor: the need to suppress the use of the Nigerian spoken English variety which is accented and to promote RP which is perceived as non-accented (Okoro, 2004). This argument confirms Lippi-Green's submission that 'the most salient feature [of SLI] is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds' (1994: 166). My argument in this section is also in consonance with Nero's (2013) finding on his work on the language usage in three Jamaican schools. Nero finds that despite the extensive use of Jamaican Creole (JC) in the public sphere and by students of lower socio-economic background, JC is still 'framed as a "problem" in school and the instinctive practice is therefore to correct JC rather than contrast it with SJE [Standard Jamaican English]' by teachers. Although Nero's study focuses on the classroom environment, his finding shares a similarity with this study in that SLI is operational in both cases. While the agents of Nero's SLI are teachers, the NBC are agents of

SLI in this study, as well as the broadcast stations under study and the educated audience (which will be discussed in the next section).

Finally, it is important to note that there are no workshops or training organised for the indigenous language presenters. As Fadama, the Head of News, NTA Lokoja puts it, 'we trust the credibility of our translators'. This again echoes the assumption that the news translators or indigenous language presenters are self-sufficient and well-equipped at performing their role. However, I argued in the previous section, this assumption simply shows a disconnection from reality as the indigenous language programme presenters (e.g. the news translators) are far from self-sufficient.

9.2.1.3 How the Educated Members of the Audience Promote SLI

This study confirms that SLI can be promoted by individuals and not just institutions as is always presented in the literature (Lippi-Green, 1994; Nero, 2013). The member of the audience who corrected Gabriel's pronunciation of 'commissioner' (see sub-section 9.4) is a good illustration of how SLI can be promoted by individuals. Gabriel mis-pronounced the unvoiced fricative /ʃ/ as /ʒ/. This was the mistake the audience member corrected. Gabriel described the man who corrected her as a professional, although she did not know his specific profession. She must have sensed that the man was a language expert of some sort who has an ear for distinguishing between 'correct' and 'incorrect' pronunciation. What is important here is the fact that the man walked into NTA Lokoja's office to advocate for the correct pronunciation of 'commissioner' and he ended the conversation with Gabriel on an "inoffensive but stern' warning note 'please madam, next time learn it well'" (Gabriel). Although the professional did not directly refer Gabriel to Daniel Jones, it is obvious that it is in the pronunciation dictionary that information about the English sounds is provided. Hence, I argue that the 'professional', just like Amos and the broadcast stations, implicitly advances the use of RP in the news room, thus downgrading every other pronunciation form.

A very useful question to ask at this stage is what is the significance of encouraging RP in the Nigerian broadcast media? I argue that the deference shown by the actors (i.e. the NBC, the broadcast stations and the educated members of the audience) towards RP in Kogi State broadcast media reveals how conservative they are, by holding on to colonial legacies. Ample studies have demonstrated more tolerance towards local varieties in the broadcast media unlike in Kogi State broadcast stations. Consider for example in the United Kingdom, where

RP emerged, there has long been significant changes. RP used to evoke a conservative idea that sustains social class division in the United Kingdom, in that it bestows status and prestige on its speakers while speakers of other regional dialects are denigrated. Although it used to be the sole standard accent in the BBC, hence the name BBC English, the linguistic situation has changed over the years. Clark explains that 'the BBC, once the bastion of Standard English and RP, has in recent years adopted a much more liberal policy towards employing presenters with regional accents' (2007: 9). In other words, the BBC, which was once a major gatekeeper of RP is not as rigid as to its use it used to be. Furthermore, some studies focusing on post-colonial speech communities have indicated positive attitudes towards local varieties (Deuber & Leung 2013; Westphal 2015). Amidst exonormative influences of British English and American English on Trinidadian radio newscasters, the findings of Deuber & Leung's (2013) attitudinal survey shows that participants 'favoured a local accent that showed the comparatively greatest distance from [Trinidadian English-based] Creole' (2013: 289). What this means is that the participants in the study showed more sympathy towards the use of a native-English accent that is not 'too Creole' and not too influenced by foreign accents; somewhere in between these two accents is considered to be more authentic (2013: 310). Similarly, Westphal's attitudinal survey also reveals that Jamaican English has 'established itself as the *de facto* standard of news casting' (2015: 326) instead of the Standard Jamaican English which is taught in schools.

However, as my data reveals, rather than shifting away from the use of RP in Nigeria, RP is even being advanced beyond the classroom setting to include the broadcast media. In the Nigerian classrooms where the RP variety is the officially prescribed spoken English standard, RP has not been so successful. Most scholars have expressed how difficult it is to get a complete approximation of RP both on the part of the teachers and the learners, due mostly to L1 interference (Soneye, 2008; English Teaching Corner, 2011; Jowitt, 2016). Some Nigerian linguists have even gone as far as suggesting an alternative endonormative[16] standard for English pronunciation in the classroom in place of the exonormative[17] RP standard. For instance, Olajide & Olaniyi (2013) advocate for the use of Educated Nigerian English (ENE) which they argue should be regarded as a Regional RP. They identified the national news broadcasters as the few Nigerians that speak this variety of English; however, this idea is yet to gain popularity. Some scholars have even gone as far as codifying dictionaries of Nigerian English usage (see Igboanusi, 2002; Blench & Dendo,

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[16] Norms determined outside of its context of use (Mckay 2010: 109).

[17] Norms that are determined locally (Mckay, 2010: 109)

2005) with the aim of facilitating the acquisition of Nigerian English. All these are steps towards promoting nativised English varieties in Nigeria. However, there are other Nigerian scholars who are less optimistic about the standardisation of English because they believe this might be unrealistic in the light of thriving English varieties in Nigeria (Jowitt 2016; Igboanusi, 2003).

Igboanusi cautions that

> [T]he reality of English today, particularly in non-native situations, is that it is no longer possible to recommend a single model or standard….What matters today in the use of English as a global language is 'intelligibility' (2003: 604).

Igboanusi therefore advocates for intelligibility, which simply means the state of being 'clear enough to be understood in speech and writing' ("Intelligibility", n.d.) as the most crucial feature to be considered in pronunciation.

The Kogi State broadcast media on the other hand is a domain where endonormative and exonormative standards are negotiated, with the exonormative accents having more influence on pronunciation than the endonormative accent, as the data reveals.

In conclusion, I have demonstrated how the standard language ideology is promoted in Kogi State broadcast media by three main agents, namely: the NBC, the broadcast stations themselves and the educated audience. I argue that these agents seek to promote the use of RP accents as the correct and appropriate model of spoken English to be used in the broadcast media just as it is already being used in the Nigerian classroom. On the other hand, other varieties of English (Nigerian English and AmE) are stigmatised, though they tend to thrive in the broadcast media. Hence, the SLI, though advocated by different agents, is yet to be successful in the newsroom rather, it makes the English newscasters lack confidence in their spoken English. Finally, this section reveals that by utterly ignoring important discourse on the use of indigenous languages in Kogi State broadcast media, in terms of implementing the language section and also by failing to organise workshops for the news translators, English hegemony is in operation. The indigenous languages, though in use, do not receive the same attention as English.

9.2.2 Commercialisation

Ample studies have considered the effect of commercialisation on broadcasting (Lwanga, 2002; Chernov, 2010; Udomisor & Kenneth, 2013; Odunlami & Adaja, 2015). I adopt in this

section Odunlami & Adaja's definition of media commercialisation as 'a concept that has to do with the restructuring of media structures, characters and contents to reflect the profit-seeking goals of media industries' (2015: 70). Much of the discourse has focused on how commercialisation impacts the quality of programmes made available to the public especially by the public broadcasters. For instance, Udomisor & Kenneth (2013) argues that the Nigerian broadcast media, in a bid to meet the economic demands of the industry, have compromised their public broadcasting mission by dispersing sensational news stories rather than comprehensive, balanced and unbiased stories. Odunlami & Adaja argue that as a result of media commercialisation, the Nigerian populace are becoming excluded from the media discourses and programme content because they cannot afford to sponsor programmes or news stories of interest which unfortunately are not focused on them. Lwanga established in her study that due to financial limitations, Radio Uganda has increased commercial programmes at the expense of education and development programmes, and thus, 'compromised the roles and character of public service radio programming' (2002: x) while Chernov (2010) focused on the use of stealth advertising in the Canadian local evening television news. By stealth advertising, he means 'the encroachment of commercially tinted messages into broadcast news segments' (2010: 33).

The overarching focus of this section is to illustrate how the broadcast stations use commercialisation as a mechanism for promoting the hegemony of English. This is a matter that to the best of my knowledge has not been covered in the literature, yet it is very significant. This section also strengthens Odunlami & Adaja's claim that the broadcast stations use commercialisation to create differentiation between the information (in terms of quality and quantity) that reaches the educated members of the society and the less educated members of the society which broadcasting in the indigenous languages is expected to benefit. This section is significant because as gathered from the interview data, Kogi State is predominantly composed of less educated people.

To start with, limitations in resources and finances are the key factors that lead to the emergence of commercialisation in the broadcast media (Lwanga, 2002; Chernov, 2010; Udomisor & Kenneth, (2013); Odunlami & Adaja, 2015). While commercialisation is the norm in private broadcast media, because that is the major source of income, it is not a central feature of the public broadcasters who are supposed to cater for the public interest. In this study, the effect of commercialisation is more visible in NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba than in FM 94 and Radio Ochaja. As discussed in chapter 5, NTA as a public national broadcaster

explicitly declares that it engages in some commercial activities like selling airtime for programmes and commercials (NTA Service Charter, 2015; This is NTA, ND). Akingbulu & Bussiek (2010) argue that a dwindling subvention from the federal government has led to an aggressive commercialisation on the part of NTA. This case of commercialisation is evidenced in the NTA stations covered in this study.

As the data reveals, NTA Lokoja receives no subvention from the headquarter station besides the fact that the headquarter station pays the salaries of its staff. The major source of funding is from its commercialised services and the grant it receives from Kogi State government (Sunday, Accountant in NTA Lokoja). Ciaglia (2016) suggests that public broadcasters are usually influenced by whatever funding model (i.e. either public funding or commercial funding) they rely on. Ciaglia noted that a broadcast station that receives steady public funding will be in a position to render public service fully, however, such a station 'carries a higher risk of political intrusiveness' (2016: 110). A total dependence on commercial funding may empty the public broadcaster of 'its publicness' which Ciaglia identifies as being the 'true and distinctive value' of a public broadcaster (2016: 95). In order words, when public broadcasters are market-driven, they tend to compromise their role of representing the interests of the public as they render their services. Ciaglia's argument finds support in this study. As Kogi State broadcast media rely on these two funding models, the data reveals nuances of politicisation that emanates from reliance on public funding and some instances where some of the stations compromise their publicness in their language practice and programme presentations while aiming for profitability. Discussions on how the broadcast stations politicise language practice for commercial purposes will be considered in the next section.

9.2.2.1 Kogi State Broadcast Media and Commercialisation

By relying on commercial funding, NTA Lokoja gives sponsors control over what content is provided and the mode of production (including language) of the content. Hence, sponsored programmes and adverts (as I observed) are presented mostly in English; and a few advertisements are done in the Nigerian Pidgin to the detriment of the indigenous languages which are not used for such programmes. Implicitly, the rationale for allocating languages to programmes in NTA Lokoja and by extension other broadcast stations in this study is amplified in Spitulnik's (1992) comment about the use of English in Zambian radio station,

Radio 4. According to Spitulnik, the use of only English at the outset of Radio 4 was justified on the claims that

> Advertisers preferred English, and that listeners who spoke only "the home languages" had no buying power and would therefore not be good audiences for a channel that was to be supported by advertising revenue. Other staff noted that since FM radio covered only urban areas, there was no need for the vernaculars which were for villagers (Spitulnik, 1992: 345).

Language use in the station continued to be tied to how commercially relevant the language is; and languages thought to be understood by the audience who are conceptualised as having the buying power are the priority. Unfortunately, the indigenous languages tend not to be considered here because of their limited reach (in terms of being intelligible to a wider audience) and the low-buying power of the speakers who cannot speak English.

Furthermore, commercialisation is also evident in NTA Lokoja's news translation content. As explained in chapter 5, a new policy which was commercially-driven was put in place by the new General Manager which caused a restructuring of the news time. This new policy led to a 50% reduction of the news time; thus, instead of a 30 minute news slot, the English news has 15 minutes' worth of content while the news translations share 15 minute between four languages in a back to back presentation. Hence, the core and essential news is included in the 15 minute English newscast (the master script) unlike the news translations which can only take the summarised version of one or two news stories. This illustrates how the hegemony of English is encouraged in NTA Lokoja. This finding is analogous to the subordinating role Zambian languages are subjected to as English enjoys a higher status in Radio 1's newscast (Spitulnik, 1992). Spitulnik reports that half the length of the ten minutes' main news presented in English is translated and presented in the seven official Zambian languages in the Radio 1 station. Spitulnik makes the point that by using the English news as a master script and by reducing what gets translated, the station constructs English as having a higher value than the Zambian languages. This situation is confirmed in this study as illustrated above.

In addition, by ensuring that news is presented in English on a daily basis in the station while news translation is only limited to Monday to Thursday, the amount of information the news translations' audience receive is controlled. This is an example of hegemony implicitly promoted under the guise of commercialisation. It is worthy of note that news translation is also limited in quantity and frequency in FM 94. Unlike the English local news which runs daily for 30 minutes, the news translations in five languages are allocated 30 minutes from

Monday-Friday. As analysed in chapter 8, in practice, I observed that only two of the news translators turn up for news translations and they barely go beyond ten minutes in total.

Another area where commercialisation influences the language practice of the station as mentioned earlier is in the drastic reduction of indigenous language programmes in the broadcast stations (as analysed in chapter 7). In NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba, 99% of the programmes are presented in English, thus leaving a minuscule space for indigenous programmes. The dominance of English in programming hinges on the fact that both stations rely on the NTA national station (which broadcasts solely in English) as their predominant input. This is because it is cheaper to re-broadcast programmes than to produce new ones. Thus, the hegemony of English which is established at the top (i.e. the national NTA station) is simply implemented at the bottom (in this case, NTA Lokoja and NTA Kabba). This supports the claim that there is hegemony of English that is strongly supported by commercialisation.

The hegemony of English is also evident in KSBC where over 88% of FM 94 programmes are presented in English compared to the 7% space allocated for indigenous programme broadcast. And from the data analysis presented in chapter 7, it becomes clear that although some of the indigenous language programmes appear in the programme schedule, they are no longer running, some due to poor remuneration of some of the producers while some were simply not paid. In Radio Ochaja, English programmes take 82% of the programming space while 18% is slated for indigenous language content. It is worthy of note that even in the stations established to serve those in the rural communities (i.e. radio Ochaja and NTA Kabba), English is still more dominant than the indigenous languages.

It is important to mention here that the use of Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) in FM 94 was commercially motivated. It is useful to refer back to the comment made by Isah, the Director General of FM 94's (analysed in chapter 7) about why NPE was chosen. He says:

> Deliberately we use the pidgin for instance we have music in Pidgin, programmes in pidgin we have advertisement in pidgin. So these deliberately are in place so that when you cannot have all the things said in the languages of the ethnic groups in the State, in the Pidgin language a lot of people who understand little English who wouldn't have been able to understand grammar will now be able to pick the information we are passing across.

This means that NPE was selected purposely as a bypass for having to produce programmes in the indigenous languages which would be more demanding on the station's budget. Hence, it is no surprise that 5% of the station's programme is presented in NPE. This is by far higher

than the 7% space shared between five indigenous languages in the station. The point here is that Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) stands as a cheap proxy for the five indigenous languages; in other words, it is thought to be a cheaper way of serving the popular audience.

In sum, this section has illustrated how the broadcast stations have implicitly promoted the hegemony of English and to some extent the Nigerian Pidgin English in response to the economic demands of broadcasting. Evidence was provided on how there is very little space for indigenous languages in the station due to its lack of selling power compared to the other languages. The implication of this is that the quality and quantity of programming in the indigenous languages are compromised in the process, thus leading us to question the 'publicness' of Kogi State broadcast media. The study also reveals that the general audience does not have much influence in changing their situation.

Having established how the stations promote the hegemony of English, I will now proceed to discuss how the stations construct linguistic hierarchy among the languages used.

9.3   Language Planning Activities in the Kogi State Broadcast Media.

This section focuses on the two salient aspects of language planning that Kogi State broadcast media get involved in in the course of their daily activities. These are corpus planning and status planning. I will discuss in section 9.3.4.1 how news translators in NTA Lokoja and FM 94 contribute to develop the corpus of their respective languages on a local scale. I will not be repeating that in this section. This section will only focus on how the stations construct status planning among the languages used; this I consider below.

9.3.1   Status Planning in the Broadcast Stations

This section draws upon work that highlighted the role of the broadcast media as an agent or tool of status planning through the way it facilitates or sustains linguistic hierarchy between the languages used (Spitulnik, 1992; Pavlou, 2004; Hult, 2010; Mpofu & Mutasa, 2014). Hult (2010) argues that Sveriges television, Swedish national television is positioned as an instrument for reinforcing the role of Swedish as the national language followed by English, which he points out dominates other European and Scandinavian minority languages in Sweden. Pavlou (2004) points out how the media perpetuates the dominance of Standard

Modern Greek over Cypriot dialect. He speculates that such perpetuation may induce 'Greek Cypriots … to abandon salient features of CD [Cypriot dialect] or even CD entirely' (2004: 116). Spitulnik describes the status differentiation by the broadcast media as the 'politics of language value' (1992: 343). This study supports the findings and demonstrates how Kogi State broadcast media implicitly promote a linguistic hierarchy in its use of language in day to day activities. I argue that English plays a dominant role followed by Nigerian Pidgin English, the three major languages in Kogi State and then the minority languages.

I have already demonstrated in the first two sections of this chapter how the hegemony of English has been promoted in the Kogi State broadcast media through standardisation and commercialisation mechanisms. These sections have covered how dominant English is compared to the other languages used in the broadcast stations. I will just quickly add that English is used for official work in the stations (e.g. the programme schedules are drafted in English and discussions with clients are mostly conducted in English) while the indigenous languages are used in informal discussions among those with similar L1. There are a few exceptions to this situation though, as noted in chapter 7, where Igala is used for official communication with a client. In FM 94, I observed that Igala was used by the client as a tool for negotiating price. The NPE is sometimes used as a lingua franca between speakers of different L1. This section will focus on how the broadcast stations construct a hierarchy between Nigerian Pidgin English and the indigenous languages. I also argue that the indigenous languages are treated with disparities; some are accorded higher status than some others. I discuss below how the broadcast media in this situation assign status to the languages they use.

9.3.1.1 *The Place of Nigerian Pidgin English in the Kogi State Broadcast Stations*

A number of studies have documented the proliferation of Nigerian Pidgin English in the Nigerian broadcast media (Durodola, 2013; Osoba, 2014a, Osoba, 2014b,). The major reason for adopting NPE is its popularity as the lingua franca among Nigerians and its accessibility (Osoba, 2014; Igboanusi, 2008). Unlike English which has its base in education, the Nigerian Pidgin English is acquired informally in the public sphere and its lack of standardisation means it can be spoken at different proficiency levels. The flexibility NPE offers in the broadcast media is what makes it all the more attractive when compared to the use of Standard English. For instance, one of the presenters of Wazobia FM (a private radio station

in Lagos state, Nigeria that broadcasts solely in NPE) was interviewed by GlobalPost, an online newspaper about his experience with using NPE. In his response, the interviewee, who had had sixteen years working experience in state-owned radio stations where RP is promoted as a model for pronunciation, compares his previous experience in linguistic terms with his current experience at Wazobia Fm as follows:

> Every day at my old station, after my broadcast, they would play the tapes back and my boss would say: 'you misused this adjective, your pronunciation was wrong'. It was called 'radio cleaning. But, in just 18 months at Wazobia, I've become more popular and famous than during my 16 years elsewhere' (GlobalPost, 2011).

However, despite the flexibility and popularity of NPE in the Nigerian broadcast media, compared to RP, NPE lacks status and prestige (Igboanusi, 2008, Osoba, 2014b). Igboanusi reports that NPE 'lacks prestige because it is seen by many Nigerians as a "bad" form of

English and associated with a socially deprived set of people' (2008: 68). This is also true of pidgins and creoles in other countries. For example, Deuber & Leung (2013) reports that most programmes are presented in Standard English while the Trinidad English-based Creole (TEC) is heard on a few programmes, such as phone-in shows and news broadcasts. However, TEC use in newscasts is 'confined to clips where ordinary citizens speak, e.g. when they are being interviewed by reporters' (2013: 296). What this means is that TEC is mainly used in programmes that require the participation of ordinary members of the audience who may not know how to speak English. Westphal (2011) reports a similar situation where the Jamaican Creole or Patois has limited use in the broadcast media compared to English. What these illustrations confirm is that unlike in Nigeria, where NPE holds currency in the broadcast media despite its lack of status and prestige, the case is different elsewhere. The use of NPE in the data for this study is only observed in two of the stations, NTA Lokoja and FM 94, hence discussions will focus on these two stations only.

In FM 94, there is less content and space for NPE compared to English. While the former has only 5% weekly content, English has 88% worth of content. However, NPE enjoys a superior role to the indigenous languages. This is obvious in the fact that NPE is used to present more programme genres than the indigenous languages. For instance, as analysed in chapter 7, NPE is used to present commercials, and a few enlightenment programmes which the indigenous languages are not used for. In this way, the relatively lower status of the Nigerian languages is constructed in comparison to NPE. As stated in the previous section, NPE is conceived of as a lingua franca in the station, which can be used to present some programmes

in place of indigenous programmes. Thus, the indigenous languages are conceived as having a limited audience reach compared to NPE.

Furthermore, even for similar programmes, NPE enjoys more time allocation than the indigenous languages. For example, while the news in NPE has half an hour worth of daily content, each indigenous language has 5 minutes. The implication of this time allocation is that the news in NPE is more detailed than the news summaries in the indigenous languages.

In addition, my data reveals that in NTA Lokoja, NPE is implicitly promoted in programmes that are intended to be presented in English. The health programme in NTA Lokoja analysed in chapter 7 is a good illustration of this. Here, one of the callers spoke NPE to the host and the latter co-operated by code-switching to NPE from English. Here, the NPE caller in a way was able to alter (albeit temporarily) the linguistic code used on the show, an advantage that the indigenous language audience may not have been able to exercise. The English-NPE code-switch is irrelevant to those who only know their L1. Similar findings have been reported in the literature (Pavlou, 2004; Westphal, 2011) where callers code-switch to a different linguistic code when making contributions by phone in programmes. Pavlou (2004) observes the non- deliberate use of Cypriot dialect in a programme originally designed to be in Standard Modern Greek. Westphal (2011) also noted the use of Jamaican creole in programmes intended to be in Standard English. A key difference between this study and the ones referred to above is that the host in this study recognised and accommodated the use of NPE in the programme, by also speaking NPE to sustain discourse with the caller.

9.3.1.2 *Hierarchy Constructed among the Indigenous Languages.*

Although Kogi State broadcast stations (NTA Lokoja and FM 94 in particular) ensure egalitarianism and uniformity among the indigenous languages used for news translations by allocating an equal amount of time to each of them, there are also instances where the broadcast stations promote hierarchy in their language practices. Firstly, as stated in chapter 7, the recognition and use of some indigenous languages in the stations already place them on a higher rank than the other languages in the state. Hence, the choice and use of Yoruba, Igala, Egbira, Bassa Nge, Bassa Kwomu and Hausa in either NTA Lokoja or FM 94 place value on them. However, the data reveals that there are great inequalities in the quality and quantity of airtime distributed to each of the indigenous languages used in the stations. For

instance, in FM 94, Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu are only used for news translations, whereas the big three languages, namely, Yoruba, Igala and Egbira are used for more than one programme. Based on this distinction, I refer to Bassa Nge and Bassa Kwomu as small languages without status while the big three I referred to are languages with status.

Furthermore, the data reveals that through politicisation, the broadcast stations encourage linguistic differentiation among the different indigenous languages in Kogi State. Media politicisation in the literature is discussed from two perspectives: the broadcast media itself is explicitly involved in politics with the aim of 'protecting their corporate and business interests economically' (Casero-Ripolles, Santamaría, & Fernández-Beaumont, 2015: 97). The second perspective of media politicisation is the direct or indirect intrusion of the state government in the affairs of the broadcast media (Ciaglia, 2016). Data from this study reveals a few instances of both perspectives of media politicization deployed as a means of manipulating the language practice of the stations. The politicised language arrangement of NTA Lokoja's news translation session is an appropriate illustration.

As analysed in chapter 7, rather than presenting the news translations in alphabetical order which used to be the usual practice during the military occupation of Kogi State, the language order was altered to reflect the political status of the state democratic government, sometime in the year 2000. The democratic government at that time was made up of an Igala governor, an Egbira deputy governor and a Yoruba Speaker as the head of the State's legislative arm of government. Unlike in FM 94 where the languages are presented alphabetically (I observed that the Bassa Nge news translator reads his news before the Igala news translator), the situation in NTA Lokoja is different. As of 2015 when this study was being conducted, the make-up of the government had changed slightly, to an Igala governor, a Yoruba deputy governor and an Egbira Speaker, yet the news translations order remained the same as before. Although this arrangement did not reveal a perfect political hierarchy in 2015 when this study was conducted, the fact that the language order is not in alphabetical form is striking. Besides, what really seems to matter is the language of the governor which still maintains the first place in the news translation ordering. This illustration shows the extent to which the language practice of a broadcast station can be manipulated to appeal to political backers and curry their favour.

Furthermore, by showing how politicised the order of news translation presentation is, I echo Hult's argument that television can be 'explicitly framed as a tool for status planning' (2010: 158) by making some languages appear more important than others. Zambia offers a much

better solution worth mentioning in its apolitical and egalitarian approach to news ordering in Radio 1. Spitulnik (1992) reports that there is no fixed language order for news presentation among the seven Zambian languages; rather, the ordering of languages differs at different times of the day as news translations take place thrice in a day.

Another aspect where politicisation is implicitly evident is in Radio Ochaja language practice. As affirmed in the data, Radio Ochaja is expected to broadcast in Igala, Bassa Kwomu and Bassa Nge, as the dominant languages in the East senatorial district. However, in practice, Radio Ochaja broadcasts in two languages which are English and Igala. Bassa programmes and staff are absent from the station; consequently, there is total linguistic exclusion of the Bassa languages on Radio Ochaja. Drawing from Amadu's comment (as analysed in chapter 7) below, I argue that the Igala government through its broadcasting agent, KSBC, appears to further alienate and subjugate the Bassa people within the region. This is achieved by neither financially encouraging programming in the Bassa languages nor deliberately recruiting Bassa staff to the station which might constrain their budget. On the contrary, by producing Igala programmes and recruiting Igala staff and artists, the hegemony of Igala over the Bassa languages is entrenched. According to Amadu '… they [the Bassa people] are not carried along, there are some government policies, health programmes that they are not been carried along. This definitely affects them'.

Thus, in addition to other sectors where the Bassa people are being politically marginalised, the broadcast media is not an exception. This illustration further indicates how politicisation can implicitly influence the language practice of a station.

In summary, the role of Kogi State broadcast media in encouraging linguistic hierarchy among the different languages used has been foregrounded in this section. It has been established that English plays the dominant role in the stations followed to some extent by Nigerian Pidgin English and then finally, the Nigerian languages. However, a linguistic hierarchy is also noticed in FM 94 among the indigenous languages whereby Igala, Yoruba and Egbira are used slightly more than Bassa Kwomu and Bassa Nge while the other minority languages are totally excluded.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.0   Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides the conclusion of the entire study and gives recommendations for further studies. The second section discusses the contribution of the Grounded theory method to this study. It also highlights the key limitations of this study and how they remedied.

10.1   Conclusion & Recommendations for Further Studies

This study was spurred by the need to understand the language policy and planning in the Kogi State broadcast media. Although there is a conventional belief that there is no language policy and planning in Kogi State broadcast media, this study has succeeded in situating the language practices in the language policy and planning field. A salient finding this study reveals is that Kogi State media implements on a micro level the *de facto* macro policy that has emerged from the language practice in the broadcast media since the colonial period. I argue that this policy seeks to promote the status and prestige of the Nigerian indigenous languages in the broadcast media. However, in the course of implementing this *de facto* macro language policy in Kogi State broadcast media, the hegemony of English and to some extent, Nigerian Pidgin English is perpetuated while the indigenous languages are marginalised.

Despite the fact that there is a general framework (such as the language provisions in the NBC Code, the allocation of indigenous languages to programmes, the recruitment of news translators and other indigenous programme producers) in place for the promotion of the status of the indigenous languages, I have provided overwhelming evidence for the fact that there is no will or commitment on the part of crucial gatekeepers (i.e. the NBC and the broadcast stations' managers) to improve the status of the indigenous languages.

It is worthy of note that the linguistic hierarchy constructed in Kogi State broadcast media is not a result of deliberate efforts to influence change; rather it is driven by the

stations' responses to non-linguistic factors like: media economics that promote languages with selling power, globalisation that continues to reinforce the power of English and the complexity of managing multilingualism. This reinforces Spolsky's argument that

> …changes in language variables (and so in languages) are most likely to be associated with non-linguistic variables…. In studying language policy, we are usually trying to understand just what non-language variables co-vary with the language variables (2004: 7-8).

This study reveals how language policy and planning can be so subject to political and environmental factors. Unfortunately, the general audience does not have any influence over the situation. The influence of these non-linguistic factors over the broadcast media domain raises concerns for the future of the indigenous languages in the domain. As these factors do not appear to be fading away, the fate of the indigenous languages in the broadcast stations might become history if not looked into. Empirical studies on language policy and planning report a similar fate of the indigenous languages in the Nigerian educational domain (Adegbija, 2004; Orekan, 2010). Adegbija (2004) hinted at how 'powerless' the indigenous languages are in the Nigerian education institution while the influence of English continues to grow. He warns that in the absence of a change to the education language policy in favour of the indigenous languages, there is the possibility of experiencing

> a large scale shift from the indigenous languages to English, particularly among people of the younger generation who are, at present, constantly being lured to English by the status, functional power and intrinsic value of the English language, both within Nigeria and globally.

Six years down the line, Orekan's (2010) findings suggest that the status of the indigenous languages have not changed from what Adegbija (2004) described above.

Vital actions that can remedy this situation will be first, the provision of an explicit and well documented and publicised language policy which not only recognises the use of indigenous languages but also demands a significant airtime be made available to indigenous programmes. Furthermore, the language policy should be underpinned by practical plans for dissemination to all public broadcasters as well as for implementation[18]. In addition, in response to the glaring financial needs of the public broadcasters, the government should be more pro-active at providing grants to the stations to facilitate the production of indigenous

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[18] The Nigerian Education Policy, though well documented and substantially detailed (with some vague areas) has been greatly criticised for poor implementation (Adegbija 2004; Orekan 2010).

programmes and the stations will then be in a financial position to train, resource and pay indigenous language programme producers. These actions if effectively implemented will likely foster the development and use of the indigenous languages.

Finally, by examining the role of the NBC and key staff at NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja, this study has contributed to our understanding of the language practice of the broadcast stations, their motivations and factors that interact with the actualisation of language practice. For further studies, an interesting aspect will be to focus on the attitude of the audience to the language practice of these stations and in particular their responses to the recent NTA Lokoja news policy which calls for the reduction of news time.

10.2 Contribution of the Grounded Theory Method to this Study & Limitations of the study

This study has benefitted immensely from the Grounded Theory Method (GTM) in two major ways. As far as I know, this is the first study to situate the language practice of the Nigerian public broadcast media in the language policy and planning field. Unlike language policy and planning in the Nigerian educational sector which has been widely researched, I argue the field of language policy and planning in the Nigerian broadcast media has not received the same attention due to the absence of a written and detailed language policy. As a pioneering study, the greatest difficulty I encountered is the dearth of literature or models which could guide the research. Hence, I find GTM to be very valuable because it is particularly well suited for areas 'that have attracted little prior research attention' (Milliken, 2010: 2).

In addition, the emergent nature of GTM allows for flexibility as well as focus in the research. Firstly, the theoretical sampling approach enabled me to focus sampling on key participants I had not pre-determined when I went to the field, e.g. the news translators. At the same time, the pre-selected variables that were considered unimportant to the study were easily identified and de-selected too, e.g. Radio Egbe, which was pre-selected, was replaced with Radio Ochaja because it was out of operation for a long time. The sampling in this study was driven essentially by the data. Furthermore, since most of the questions emerged[19] from

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[19] Although I went into the field with some initial questions, they were quickly revised and adapted to the stations as the data emerged. In other words, irrelevant ones were jettisoned while new ones were drafted; all driven by the data collected.

the field, I was able to generate and adapt questions to each variable. This is crucial as one of the hallmarks of a GT study is to present findings and theories that are 'grounded in the data' and that 'fits or works' for the context and problems being investigated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 30). This approach to data collection generated extremely rich data for this study which I was able to draw from in many ways in order to discuss different topics all the way through this research piece.

However, due to the emergent nature of GTM, it is possible to generate a large amount of data which can often be difficult to manage (Lawrence & Tar, 2013). The semi-structure interview tool I used to elicit information from my interviewees yielded a large quantity of immensely rich data. I was able to dig into the data using NVivo to access, sort, code, memo and connect ideas through mind maps; all these enabled me to analyse my data in 'smaller' chunks.

Time was another limitation to this study. Three months in the field was barely enough to elicit sufficient data from four broadcast stations, as well as from key policymakers. A thicker data would have evolved with more prolonged fieldwork; a daunting request to make in a structured academic research project of this kind that has a clear submission deadline.

Finally, one of the key concerns with studies that use the interview tool to collect data is the 'authenticity of experience claims' (Edwards & Holland, 2013: 26). This study, which relied on the interview instrument, was complemented by the observation instrument of data collection and content analysis of programme schedules. This to a great extent enabled me to make a distinction between what my participants claim they do and what happens in practice. In this way an objective view of the contextual situation is presented.

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APPENDIX 1

Pseudonyms	Roles	Stations	Date interviewed
Bello Fadama	Head of News & former Ebira news translator	NTA Lokoja	21st July, 2015
Taiwo Dada	Programme Manager & former Hausa news translator	NTA Lokoja	22nd July, 2015
Vincent Clementine	Reporter	NTA Lokoja	28th July, 2015
Binta Gabriel	English newscaster & programme producer	NTA Lokoja	31st August, 2015
Johnson Opara	Technical officer, founding member of NTA Lokoja & (news translator) Recruitment officer	NTA Lokoja	21st July, 2015
Vincent Otuoze	Egbira news translator	NTA Lokoja	27th & 29th July, 2015
Tobi Yusufu	Yoruba news translator	NTA Lokoja	27th & 29th July, 2015
Imabe Adaji	Igala news translator	NTA Lokoja	31st August, 2015
Eleojo Sunday	Accountant	NTA Lokoja	6th August, 2015
Samuel Itokpa	Reporter & former Ebira news translator	NTA Lokoja	30th July, 2015
Mary Aina	Administrative officer & former Yoruba news translator	NTA Lokoja	30th July, 2015
John Adams	Acting Officer in Charge and former head of news	NTA Kabba	1st August, 2015
Lucy Itodo	Head of Programmes	NTA Kabba	2nd August, 2018
Martha Ogundimu	Secretary to NTA Kabba & Yoruba news translator	NTA Kabba	2nd August, 2018
Seyi Adeola	Assistant Finance Director	NTA Kabba	1st August, 2015
Peter Austin	Marketing Officer	NTA Kabba	1st August, 2015
Enejo Ekele	Admin officer & English newscaster	NTA Kabba	1st August, 2015
Modupe Balogun	Admin officer & Owe news translator	NTA Kabba	2nd Augustt
Adejoh Isah	Director General of KSBC & FM 94	FM 94	28th August, 2015
Yakubu Gowon	Director of News KSBC & FM 94	FM 94	28th August, 2015

Musa Tehila	Director of Programmes KSBC & FM 94	FM 94	1st October, 2015
Feranmi Tokunbo	Director of Admin & former Director of Programmes	FM 94	22nd September, 2015
Omoyeni Gbokogboko	Former programme producer & presenter FM 94 and current station officer, Egbe radio.	FM 94	15th September, 2015
Ali Magaji	English newscaster	FM 94	5th August, 2015
Umar Ugbede	Editor	FM 94	6th August, 2015
Raji Toluwase	Announcer	FM 94	5th August, 2015
John Trailer	Bassa Nge news translator	FM 94	24th August, 2015
Sandra Ilora	Former Ebira news translator, NTA Lokoja & current Ebira news translator	FM 94	18th August, 2015
Alhassan Dudu	Station Officer	Radio Ochaja	6th September, 2015
Kayode Sheila	Head of Commercial unit	Radio Ochaja	7th September, 2015
Mohammed Amadu	Deputy Director of programmes	Radio Ochaja	6th September, 2015

Table 9- Broadcasters interviewees in NTA Lokoja, NTA Kabba, FM 94 and Radio Ochaja.

Pseudonyms	Roles	Stations	Date interviewed
Segun Okeowo	Director of public affairs	Nigerian Broadcasting Commission	24th August, 2015
Gunta Jacobs	Head of Research Unit	Nigerian Broadcasting Commission	25th August, 2015
Susan Amos	NBC Area Officer, Lokoja	Nigerian Broadcasting Commission	29th August, 2015
Olawale Bryan	Programme Manager, Yoruba Channel	NTA national headquarters	25th August, 2015
Richard Thomson	Assistant Director	NTA national headquarters	24th August, 2015
Hauwa Alilu	General Manager of Language Channel	NTA national headquarters	25th August, 2015
Ali Peterson	Deputy Director of Programmes	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria	25th August, 2015

Table 10 showing interviewees from the NBC, NTA and FRCN.

APPENDIX TWO

2.1 Interview Schedule for the broadcast employees and directors of the TV and radio stations.

1. What language policies are in place in this media station?
2. What are the motivations for the existing language policies?
3. Is there a connection between these language policies and the national policies formulated by NBC?
4. Do you formulate any local language policy that is restricted to this station alone?
5. If yes, who are the language policy makers?
6. Are they different from those that make other policies that govern this media station?
7. Are members of the audience involved in the formulation of programmes? If yes, how?
8. How do you allocate languages to programmes?
9. Who is your target audience?
10. Have there been changes in the language policies since inception?
11. Are these language policies regulated by National broadcasting Commission?
12. How much patronage have you got from the speakers of the languages you broadcast in? Have you got an idea of your audience size?
13. How is the station sustained financially?
14. Who is your target audience?
15. What is the literacy percentage of the state?
16. Are there language committees in this broadcast media? If yes, what are there roles?
17. Which languages do you transmit in?
18. Are all the indigenous languages in the state used in the media?
19. What guides the selection of broadcast languages in this station?
20. How do you decide the appropriate dialect(s) of these chosen languages that is suitable for use?
21. Who decides which programmes are transmitted in the different languages?
22. How developed are the languages of transmission? Are there literatures on them that can facilitate quick learning?
23. Do you work with any language agency in order to develop the grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation of the languages you have selected for broadcasting?
24. Are there limitations to the use of these broadcast languages?
25. Has there been any complaint from your media consumers about the languages used in this media.
26. If yes, how was it managed?
27. Are there any linguistic criteria that guide the recruitment of journalists?

28. What kinds of linguistic trainings or workshops are available to the journalists?
29. What language(s) is news first reported in before they are translated?
30. Who are those responsible for news translations?
31. From experience, what are the advantages and disadvantages of broadcasting in indigenous languages?
32. What are the benefits and constraints of broadcasting in English and other foreign languages you use?
33. What do listeners think about the use of indigenous languages in your stations? Are the people able to participate in important discussions through their languages? How enthusiastic are they?
34. Are there some other limiting factors to public participation in the media aside language?
35. What do you think about those that insist on the use of their languages even though they understand other languages of broadcast?

2.2 Interview Schedule for the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission top officials.

1. What were the political and historic issues that led to the creation of the National Broadcasting Code (NBC) and National Mass Communication Policy (NMCP)?
2. What are the aims and objectives of these policies?
3. What is the goal of the language policies enumerated in the NBC?
4. Is the way you deal with language policy in the past same as today?
5. How do the media language policies relate or promote multilingualism in Nigeria?
6. How do they promote equality among the majority and minority languages in the country?
7. What are the strategies that have been put in place to promote broadcast in Nigerian languages?
8. How do you create a balance between economic demand, ethnic diversity and inter-territorial relationship in the country?
9. Have you conducted any research or survey on language use in the media?
10. Do you have an independent language agency that develops and regulates the choice of languages used in the Nigerian media?

APPENDIX THREE

Description of my coding Process

I adopted a grounded theory approach in creating my nodes[20]. In generating my codes, I decided to first upload all the transcripts and save them in different labelled folders. Some folders I labelled according to a very broad institutional role description like: Management staff (here, I placed all the transcripts relating to the head of the stations and head of departments across the four stations I sampled); English newscasters (this contained all the English newscasters across all the stations), News translators (this consisted of all the news translators I interviewed across the stations plus those who, although they have different roles within the stations, had done news translation at some points in their career. I only saved the transcripts of my interviews with them as regards their translator role in this folder); etc. The essence of creating such broad categories is to be able to generate nodes/ themes from similar categories and then be able to look for similar patterns across the stations especially across institutional roles. These patterns would enable me to see the themes that are grounded in the overall data. Afterwards, I could compare the nodes generated from each folder with others. I also created sub-folders for each broad category.

For example, under the news translators' folder, I created some sub-folders for theme nodes related to news translations. Some of these theme nodes (see examples below) were: Differences between news translations then and now; challenges involved with the art of translations and news translators' solutions to challenges of translations. In each of the folders, I coded content related to the themes. Theme node 1 below, for instance, includes codes on challenges involved with the art of translation. The codes in these three theme nodes eventually informed my understanding of the roles of the news translators across the stations as reported in chapter 8. Note that 8.4 specifically focused on the challenges of news translation.

Furthermore, I used the mind map feature of NVivo to graphically represent, comprehend and synthesize ideas, concepts that emerged from my data. These mind maps were generated

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[20] These refer to containers which can be labelled and can contain pieces of information that are related to the labels.

from some theme nodes I created, such as: agencies of language practice, connections of the Nigerian broadcast institutions and ideologies guiding language practice. For example, mind map 1 (agencies of language practice in the selected stations) below captured the thought process that eventually informed my understanding of the nature of language policy in the selected stations. Mind map 2 (connections of the Nigerian broadcast institutions) contributed to my broad understanding of the Nigerian media landscape. Mind map 3 (ideologies guiding language practice) depicts my initial understanding of the ideologies driving language practice in the selected stations.

Theme node 1: Challenges involved with the art of news translations

<Internals\\Itokpa Ex-Egbira translator, NTA Lokoja> - § 1 reference coded [1.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.77% Coverage

I: Yes, that in itself is still a problem because there are some words in Egbira that are borrowed from Yoruba, so you cannot say you have purely your own language.

<Internals\\Otuoze Current Egbira Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 4 references coded [6.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.55% Coverage

You know, my language, the Egbira language is difficult it is not like Yoruba, I speak Yoruba; I read and write in Yoruba. In Yoruba, I am able to write but what helped me as regards Egbira is that the church I attend, I am the one interpreting in Egbira so it makes it easy when I come up here to work as a translator. That is in speaking but in writing, it is different. You must be educated a little bit so that you can see clearly and then know what it means and give it a meaning in your language.

Reference 2 - 1.88% Coverage

Like what we were talking about the other time 'e-payment', there is no e-payment in any local language but we just take it as e-payment should taking to mean modern payment so in

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Yoruba it could be translated as 'owo Igba lode, sisan owo igba lode'. So, that is what we are using now and all these things begin to come up and I think by now that is how far we have gone

I: That is a difficult thing but let's thank God that we are able to meet up. Speaking the language is quite different from writing it. A lot of people are able to speak Egbira virtually all Egbiras except those ones in abroad who may not be to speak. However, 95% cannot write down what they speaking.

I: One is reading meaning to what you see in English can be challenging at times. But I brainstorm with my colleagues and this has been very useful

<Internals\\Ogundimu NTA Kabba Yoruba translator> - § 1 reference coded [2.24% Coverage]

I: when they bring it at times, it will be so hectic because it will just be some few hours to the time when they will call you that there is news. That is challenging yet you will have to meet up but if you have 4 news items and the time is limited you can just take 2.

<Internals\\Trailer Bassa Nge FM Radio> - § 7 references coded [16.85% Coverage]

I: Right from the beginning, I used to put up scripts but these days, I read through because I'm used to it. Things are not as difficult as they used to be.

I: It's because I was born and brought up in the village. I even school there so it's not a difficult thing to me.

Reference 3 - 1.99% Coverage

I: Like the Ebola, I know it is a term under health and when you talk about health you talk about hospital, you talk about sanitation so it's very easy. We don't consult any paper.

Reference 4 - 1.15% Coverage

I: We are given 5 minutes which we complained that it is not enough because it is not easy to translate.

Reference 5 - 1.94% Coverage

I: The Okun translator has not been coming and we don't know the reason why. And other translators too play truancy but since they didn't tell us what happen, we can't tell.

Reference 6 - 2.31% Coverage

I: In Bassa Nge, it's not easy that why when I call some people to come and assist in translation, they don't feel like coming because they are not so competent though they are born and bred in Bassa Nge area.

Reference 7 - 6.47% Coverage

I: In any organisation, you need finance that is the number 1 constraint. Number 2 is material. You know we use midgets and other things and all these ones are to be produced by the corporation but if they don't you have to use your personal money to get the resources because you want the success of the programme. We advise them that it is necessary even as I'm doing it now they are not paying me but I feel like doing it to make sure that my people

are taking care of. After doing my normal job, I will come here around 4 and pick up the bulletin because by then, it will be ready,

<Internals\\Tokunbo former yoruba translator> - § 1 reference coded [2.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.58% Coverage

In fact I remember that we had challenges particularly with music especially with Okun music but because the Okun dialect is rooted in Yoruba, we were able to circumvent that

<Internals\\Ilora Ebira translator Kogi radio> - § 1 reference coded [2.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.99% Coverage

I: Yes, of course. My encounter especially with counting of numbers was challenging. There are some things I used to jot down and I go to ask the elderly ones. Numbers especially because the way they call numbers in those days is different from today.

<Internals\\Balogun Owe translator NTA Kabba> - § 2 references coded [8.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.87% Coverage

I: I am usually given the English news in the late hours of the morning or afternoon but sometimes, they may give me in the evening which is not usually easy to do before time. I had to complain

Reference 2 - 6.17% Coverage

I: There are some Owe people in this station who finds translating in Owe very challenging for instance our OIC wanted us to read the news the way it is done at the national level (network news) where two people (a man and a woman) broadcast. If one person reads one story, the other reads the next but the person they chose with me confessed that it was a herculean task. He couldn't cope with translating in the original Owe, he would want to use the contemporary one he is used to. There was a day, I wrote the script for him and when it

was time for transmission, he started slotting English words into it (laughs). He couldn't cope.

<Internals\\Adaji Igala Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 2 references coded [2.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.07% Coverage

I: I have that problem initially, like in Igala, from Ofu local government, Idah local government Igala dialect is different from what the Ankpa people speak though when all of us speak, we understand ourselves. Their accents are different in some aspects

Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

like we don't have the word for ATM in Igala

<Internals\\Yusufu Yoruba Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 1 reference coded [4.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.83% Coverage

I: The linguistic challenge in translation are: 1) Emotion that is the state of mind as a person. If you are not happy, you can't translate. 2) If you are not a good reader who understands what the story is saying (reading in between the lines) there is no how you can translate. You must be vast in idiomatic expressions of both languages, you must be vast in proverbs because Yoruba believes in proverbs and they believe it is very important in a matured conversation. 3. Financial issue: we are just doing community service that is how to describe it. They give us stipend of ₦10, 000 a month and you broadcast 4 times a week, Monday-Thursday.

<Internals\\Dada former Hausa translator NTA> - § 1 reference coded [1.84% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.84% Coverage

I: There is, at times, because the station doesn't have Hausa dictionary, I had to go for it since I needed it. There are some words which doesn't have only a single meaning. That is the only and major challenge then.

Theme node 2: Differences between news translations then and now.

<Internals\\Itokpa Ex-Egbira translator, NTA Lokoja> - § 1 reference coded [0.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.25% Coverage

I: Between 5-10 minutes

<Internals\\Otuoze Current Egbira Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 1 reference coded [8.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.77% Coverage

Before this new GM, we had 30 minutes for English news and 30 minutes for the translators but this new GM now has changed the whole story. Like if you watched the news yesterday, I wrote 3 news items but ended up reading 2. The Igala translator had to end abruptly yesterday because the director asked her to stop but she couldn't just sign off like that so she crash-landed. Now, it is 15 minutes for 4 translators: Igala, Egbira, Yoruba and Hausa. It means u have to summarize now than the usual. The news I read yesterday was incomplete because of the short time given. I had a news item spread thru three pages, he read no 1 & 3 not 2. Well, the GM is our boss here, the reason for the new policy is best known to her and the management but it's challenging because we are on a high jump because you have just 1 minute to settle down and get set for the translation and the other 4 minutes for the translation itself. Before now, we were picking 3 items, if the English news has 4-6 items, we take 3 stories and den we develop them to some extent before we read but now you will read the

whole news and then just summarise the news without going into details. Sometimes I discover that the real news is not been attended to in translation. There was one lady that was shown in English news and reported to be missing and was found in Kabba. They were trying to release some numbers so that anybody with useful information on how to get back home can call because she lost her memory a little. Such news are supposed to be translated very well so that the grassroots people will hear and may even be able to share some information but that wasn't the case. We have no choice than to follow suit what the management does.

<Internals\\Ogundimu NTA Kabba Yoruba translator> - § 1 reference coded [1.82% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.82% Coverage

I: Yes. After the English news has been cast in NTA Lokoja, I and the Egbira translator just translate directly into Yoruba afterwards. We don't read English news here at that time. We were 2 reading Yoruba then Egbira

<Internals\\ Trailer Bassa Nge FM Radio> - § 3 references coded [6.38% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.14% Coverage

I: We are given 5 minutes which we complained that it is not enough because it is not easy to translate

Reference 2 - 3.65% Coverage

I: Since we came to this state. When we came initially after the state creation, it got to a time that they reduced the languages to 3 which were the main languages: Igala, Yoruba and

Egbira. It is now after the rural people had complained that they made up their minds that since the government is for all, it has to be included.

I: No, they have not been paying. We have that desire to do it because we want our people to be part and parcel of what the government is doing.

And there were up to 8 languages that news was been translated into. We translated together for up to 5 years before we had another GM who ruled out translations claiming it is not necessary to have all news translations in 8 languages that only Egbira Tao would stand for Egbira because we had translations in Egbira Koto then. He reduced it to 4 languages: Egbira Tao, Yoruba, Hausa and Igala

I: 5 minutes each; sometimes, if we are behind schedule, we will have 3 minutes.

I: In alphabetical order: Igala, Egbira Tao, Egbira Koto, Nupe, Bassa Nge, Bassa Kwomu, Yoruba and Hausa.

I: What happened was that there was somebody that was doing it in Benue that time, his by name Joel Haruna Matthew so he was the one that started doing it at first but they said they need to be 2 people. Like before, all the languages that were translated, we used to be 2 each. It was later on that NTA said they cannot cater for that number again that they cut it to 1 each.

I: Yes, we used to take the translations from Monday-Friday when it first started. If he takes from Monday-Wednesday this week, i will take from Thursday-Friday, then the following week, we will alternate then I will take from Monday-Wednesday then he will take from Thursday-Friday. That was how we were doing it until they said they cannot sponsor 2 people again.

I: No, the days he is to translate, I don't come

I: When I started with them, the English news will go for 30 minutes or less than that; then the translations will go for 30 minutes or less than that because there are 4 translations in

local languages. But about 3 weeks ago now, they started giving 15 minutes for news translations instead of using aboout 9-10 minutes to yourself, you will have to compress what you have into about 3-4 minutes.

<Internals\\Dada former Hausa translator NTA> - § 6 references coded [15.34% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.89% Coverage

I: Like the papers we use in doing the translations, although there it was not typed, it was hand-written

Reference 2 - 1.38% Coverage

I: Because there were no enough workers who will take up typing translated news and you will find it easier reading what you have written with your own handwriting

Reference 3 - 2.70% Coverage

I: At the beginning, I started translating for 15 minutes. At that time, NTA network normally relayed their news from 9pm-9.30pm. Then out of the remaining 30 minutes, I will use 15 minutes for news translations. The translations normally start by 15 minutes to 10pm (i.e. 9:45pm). At times, I take up to 4-5 news items

Reference 4 - 4.94% Coverage

I: It is the same thing as now that is 7pm. English news ran from 7-7.30pm while there were some other local languages that will take from that 7.30-8pm but Hausa alone had to remain for 15 minutes for that time, that is, from 9.45-10pm. I think that time, it's like the NTA had

some collaboration with the local government to pay them some stipend to take that Hausa for 15 minutes because most of the people in the town here understand Hausa language so they make that language to take charge of 15 minutes while the other languages spent 5-7minutes then, since they were many then.

I: Yes, because it was sponsored partially by the Local Government.

I: Hausa here are minority and Lokoja been a no man's land whereby you see many tribes here both Hausa speaking and others are staying in Lokoja here. Yet, most non-Hausa people can speak Hausa. How do we know that they speak Hausa? If you go to the market, if you use Igala or Yoruba to transact your business, you may miss some of the customers but in using Hausa language all of them that do come to the market understand Hausa language so that is why it is been picked for translations and allow it to run for that 15 minutes and the local government take charge of that

Theme node 3: News translators' solutions to challenges of translations

<Internals\\Itokpa Ex-Egbira translator, NTA Lokoja> - § 2 references coded [3.43% Coverage]

I: Whatever you are given, if there is no direct word for it, you use descriptive words to summarise the words and the expression will be understood.

I: It is done by description, you can say 'it is government's anticipation for development and there is an agency responsible for it' then you can put which is called MDG

<Internals\\Otuoze Current Egbira Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 4 references coded [11.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.88% Coverage

Like what we were talking about the other time 'e-payment', there is no e-payment in any local language but we just take it as e-payment should taking to mean modern payment so in Yoruba it could be translated as 'owo Igba lode, sisan owo igba lode'. So, that is what we are using now and all these things begin to come up and I think by now that is how far we have gone

Reference 2 - 3.55% Coverage

Not only him corrected me. For instance the first English newscaster I saw in the studio, I watched how she did it and the very day I started broadcasting, she was still the person who broadcast the English news. After my translations, she gave me some corrections based on the mistakes I did and I accepted it. Some of my colleagues corrected some of my errors too. I received a lot of support from my colleagues. In any area you don't understand especially when you are struggling to translate a word to your language and you are un-sure, you can consult your colleagues (other translators in the station) and they will tell you the word they used for theirs which might provide useful guidance.

Reference 3 - 2.66% Coverage

Now, that I am writing before now in the church, I write it in the form of English, there are some dots that are supposed to come up that will not come up because I am the writer, I know what I have written and I will know what to read. In some cases, I will not even remember what I have written but I have read it in English so when I get there and it is trying to create

some confusion, I will forget it and face the camera and tell you what I have read in English, since what the viewers are interested in is the story.

I: Yes, I have coin new words twice, the ones that have not been in existence. Two weeks ago, we were translating a story that has to do with MDG (i.e. Millennium Development goals) in my language, there is nothing like that. So I coin words that a lay man outside will know what I am talking about. Another word is ATM card which we do not have in Egbira language but we can say *card oyideke* that is 'card to collect money'. Notice again that the word 'card' is not in Egbira language but in English. But it is going to be difficult to read meaning to it for people to understand but since *ekehe* which means 'money' is attached to it, they will understand.

<Internals\\Trailer Bassa Nge FM Radio> - § 2 references coded [3.81% Coverage]

I: Like the Ebola, I know it is a term under health and when you talk about health you talk about hospital, you talk about sanitation so it's very easy. We don't consult any paper.

I: Normally, when you are translating, you must come across new words and when you do, the idea will come up immediately for you to pick up what suits that purpose.

<Internals\\Tokunbo former yoruba translator> - § 4 references coded [16.66% Coverage]

I: It was not really easy but somehow as professionals, we had to work around it.

I: There were actually words that at times you just don't know what to do. I remember my experience with the word Fadama. Fadama is supposed to be a farming season that is related to a particular area to a particular type of soil in English you say. That Fadama, the soil is different from all other types. That day, I remember I struggled with the right word for it. Myself and the other translators who were also in a similar dilemma started brainstorming, until someone explained that it is a particular type of soil that doesn't need rain because it is water-logged. That was when I now remembered what it was called in Yoruba- *Akuro*.

Reference 3 - 3.03% Coverage

Ebola, I think there is no way you can explain it in the indigenous language. We call it Ebola because even a small child knows what Ebola means; especially if it is a health word, you don't toil with it.

Reference 4 - 2.95% Coverage

In this station, we use Yoruba in order to circumvent the multi shades of Okun but the Yoruba is not pitched as high as the typical one. it is watered down so that those in this area will understand.

<Internals\\Ilora Ebira translator Kogi radio> - § 3 references coded [3.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

I: It is true. Egbira translation is not pretty straight forward. There are ways you twist it for the people to understand.

Reference 2 - 0.92% Coverage

I: I will count in hundred for instance, if I see 1000, i will say 100 x 100.

I: No, but later I got to know the right word when I asked from elderly people.

I: I see words like that in English which might be a bit challenging. Sometimes, I read the context of the story and try to make sense of it in Owe or I can ask elderly people what word best suit the word in that context. Some would say they don't know but I always try to work something out.

I: The way I present it is always in line with the story.

I: Like the case of Ebola, we all know that is what it is called. For HIV I say (kokoro arun tio gbogun - a disease that has no cure) but in the case of Ebola, I call it Ebola (aisan Ebola - Ebola sickness). I translate all by myself.

I: This our translation job, you don't need to translate line by line, you will read a paragraph and translate it as if you are telling people the story there. You should imagine your audience sitted in front of you, they should be able to understand, even you as a translator should be able to understand and interpret the message. It is when you have understood what you have translated that you take it to the people. Initially when I started translating, i used to translate sentence by sentence but I discover that it was flowing so I started doing it paragraph by paragraph. It is not everything that you translate verbatim.

Reference 2 - 0.90% Coverage

but as a translator, you have to marry some things to see the one that is generally accepted from those people.

Reference 3 - 3.06% Coverage

like we don't have the word for ATM in Igala, so when you call it ATM, even my grandmother knows what you are talking about because they go to the bank to use it. For ATM card, we can say *card ki madu fi gboko ki mado ATM -* that is *the card that they use to withdraw money from bank that they call ATM*. Because if you just use ATM like that without a little bit of tanslations

<Internals\\Yusufu Yoruba Translator NTA Lokoja> - § 2 references coded [7.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.66% Coverage

When you look at the literature, the dictionary of Yoruba, series of literature in Yoruba, even if a word poses any challenge for translations, Yoruba is very good in describing. If there is no particular word for it, you will describe and the Yoruba speaking community will

understand what you are saying. Unlike other languages, just like you heard them asking what is e-payment in their language but in Yoruba, you can do that. In their language, they don't have what computer but in Yoruba, it is *ero ayara bi asa* i.e. the machine that will help you finish your work quickly. They don't have internet in their language in Yoruba, it is *ero ayelu jara*. So there is no much challenge in translating from English to Yoruba that is for whoever is competent.

Reference 2 - 1.39% Coverage

I: I describe it as a programme that has to do with millennium goals. Programme in Yoruba is *eto* while goals is *ifoju sun* that is your target, your goals, so you make those descriptions.

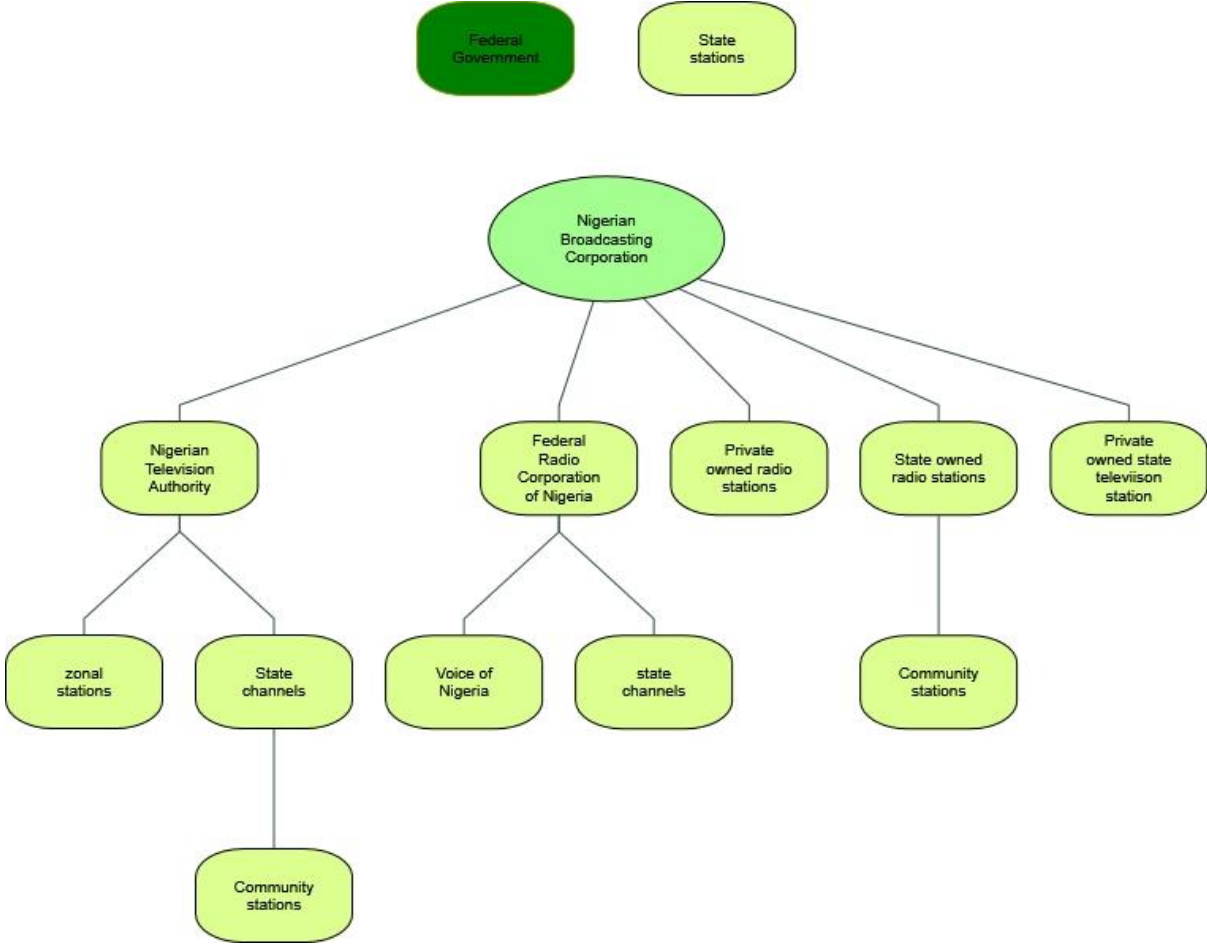<Internals\\Dada former Hausa translator NTA> - § 1 reference coded [2.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.02% Coverage

I: Yes, think of the common words people use. For instance, there is no word for computer in Hausa language but we use what people will understand i.e. 'a machine that has brain' and because the computer's CPU works like the human brain.

Mind map 1- Agencies of language practice in the selected stations
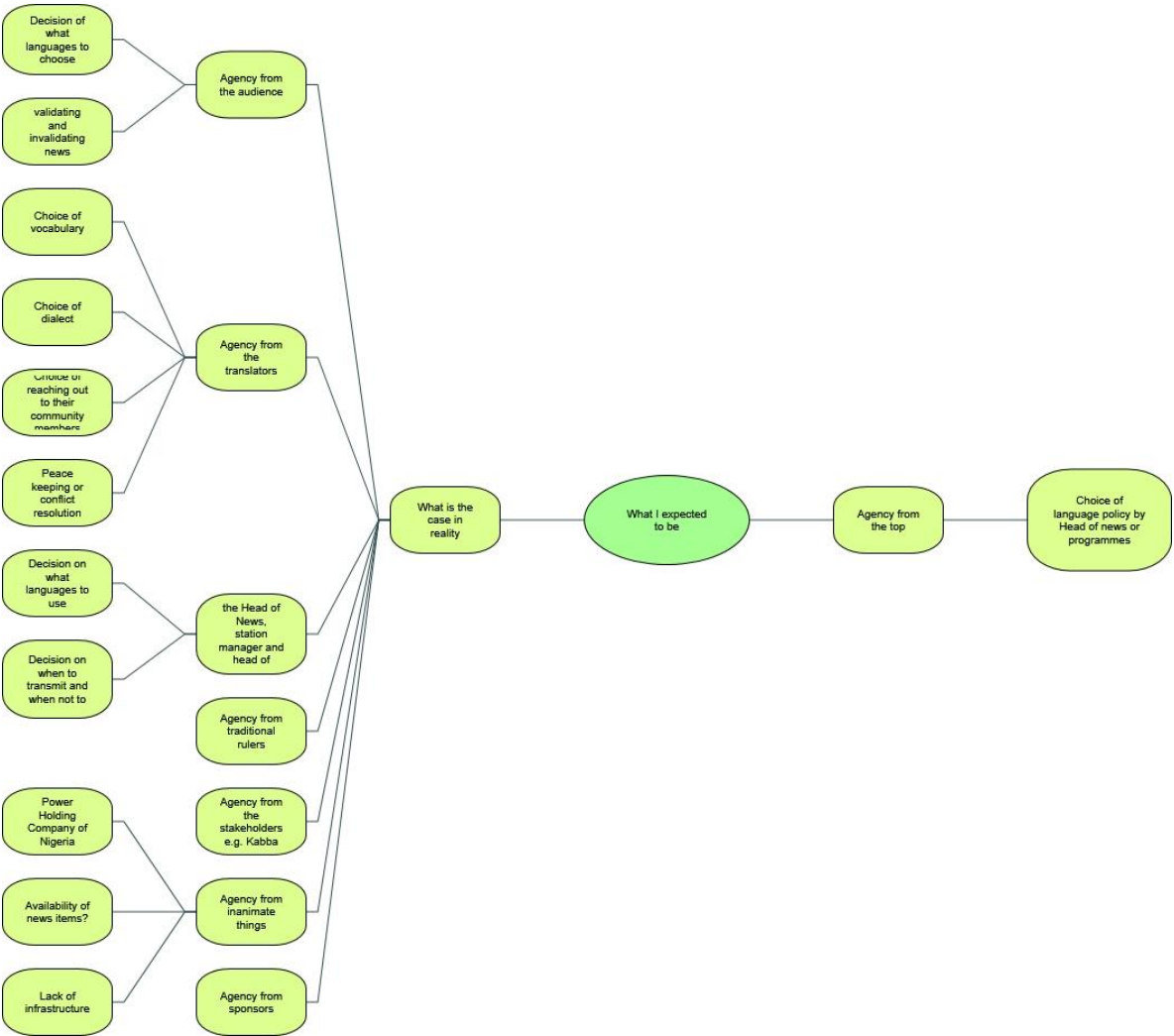
Mind map 2: connections of the Nigerian broadcast institutions

Mind map 3: Ideologies guiding language practice