



Benin
MEDIA COM
JOURNAL

...For Critical Media Research, Evaluation and Analysis

No. 5, 2012

ISSN: 2276-9994



Ideology and Nigerian Media Practice

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Abstract

Most effective national, regional or block mass media around the world have ideological platforms. The United States mass operates a free press ideology, former USSR (now Russia) and China practice a socialist press ideology, Britain has a spectrum-centre or centrist media ideology, etc. In the backdrop of the Nigerian press performance curve seemingly crawling along the X-axis "Ideology and Nigerian Media Practice" seeks to know if there is a correlation between poor media performance and lack of ideology, if the Nigeria media has an ideological base; if a mass media ideology is desirable or/and obtainable. Using a triangulation of library study (secondary data) and in-depth interview it finds that the Nigerian media have ideology, but not in the cast of the modes in the West and East. Nigerian media ideology seems to exist in the form of media owners' obligation to the nation which they have abandoned for ethnocentric ideology attended by statism, party patronage, elitism and such narrow passions. This puts the national course in jeopardy reminiscent of the immediate post-independence First Republic press which portends bad for Nigeria. It finally recommends that Nigerians rise up to the challenge before they are swallowed by another ethnic war.

Introduction

Members of any given society have set of ideas that guide the members. They provide the basis of their understanding of the world and what it should be. It is a sort of belief that inspires the members to act in peculiar ways. The ideas regulate the social and political actions of the members. This is what aptly referred to as ideology. However, there are different definitions of the concept;

The 'street' perspective which holds out ideology as a system of government that forbids individual or private ownership of material possessions in favour of a collective state ownership of all properties on behalf of the people. Needless to say that what this represents is socialism and communism which are but forms of ideologies and merely restate the traditional uneasy relationship between science and street wisdom.

From the scientific perspective: Ideology as a word came into usage first during the encyclopedia project of the eighteenth century French philosophers. Destutt de Tracy first used it and described it as "the study of the structure of the ideas dominant in a society". Hence it is a compound of ideo-(idea) and logy (logic) (Sillars and Gronbeck, 2001, p.261). Gouldner (1976) agrees with this,

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however adding that constructing logics of ideas (ideology) makes it easier to avoid erroneous assumptions, map error or superstition empirically, and compare development states of various societies.

Karl Marx whose *diamat* (dialectical materialism) gave birth to the world's most popular ideologies (socialism and communism) did not offer and detailed exposition on the word "ideology". Yet his position on Destutt de Tracy is clear from his assertion that,

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force is, at the same time, its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (Marx and Engels, 1965, p.61).

From this and other fragmentary usages Bennett, in Gurevitch, et al (1982, p. 48-49), made out a Marxian view of ideology as being "...concerned with the transmission of systems of signification across class lines... not as an abstract process but as being effected... via the means of mental production controlled by the economically dominant class." Marxists believe that ideologies are not natural but deliberate, created and artificial was not lost on Bennett. Thus he adds, "The consciousness of those subjected to this relay of ideologies is thus distorted not abstractly but in a way conducive to the perpetuation of existing relationship of class domination". Hence Marx regards the content of an ideological system as a "false consciousness" handed to the lower class by the dominant industrial class as anaesthesia (Sillars and Gronbeck, 2001). It did not stem from the collective and individual consciousness of the lower class but one given and reinforced by those who have the means of "material production" and who profited from their sweat (Fowkes, 1977).

From all the above and to put it simply, ideology can be described as a set of different but agreeable bits and pieces of ideas, principles, norms and likes which together make and reinforce a behavioural pattern which keeps a system functional and grinding towards a definite ideological goal. This can be perceived from the traditional African bourgeoisie ideology which sustains itself with consolatory, sometimes intimidating ideological particles such as, "All fingers are not equal", "Half a loaf is better than none" in a context of abundance, "The bird below must take the shit of the bird above", "A child that grows long teeth must grow lips to cover them", "cut your coat according to your cloth", "Wait for your turn", etc. Ideology can also be perceived from a chemical point of view where an atom represents an ideology consisting an electron, a proton and a neutron – differing bits of elements as ideas but which yet agrees to collectively sustain and reinforce the atomic root or ideology.

Ideology is not exclusively a social, political and economic phenomenon but also applies to the communication sphere where it is referred to as a mass media ideology. Although Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, opine that the mass media of any nation takes on the colouration of the socio-political and economic

system of government of that country, the important point here is that a set of differing but agreeable ideas are operationally defining and reinforcing the practice mechanistically and driving all towards a definite goal as against a divided end where there is no vision or mission.

Other forms of ideologies are nationalism, Catholicism, professionalism and ethics among numerous others.

The US “Free Press” Ideology

The US mass media acquired its existence, authority and freedom from the Constitution of the United States of American from the First Amendment which expressly states that “Congress shall make no rule... abridging the freedom of speech and of the press”. This media is well to known for its diversity, liberality and pluralism as its intransigence and vibrancy. Aside the Constitution and First Amendment, it is structured along the line of individual liberty and social responsibility. This was the culmination of the negotiation with the Hutchin’s Commission of 1947. The Commission was established to device strategies to curb the excesses of the press during the abuses of the Libertarian era. This ended with the press, insisting on its freedom under the constitution with the First Amendment, in exchange accepted a self-righting process and fulfilling some obligations to the society (note: not to state or government) which gives it the basis of existence (McQuail, 1987, p.117-118). Its pluralism is not restricted to the grand ideals of freedom of expression and the press, but also in infrastructures, localization, ownership and editorial policy focus. The free press ideology therefore, is not a happenstance, but a rationalized status with government and society. Government is created and elected to serve the wellbeing of the US citizens the same way the mess media is constructed for the same purpose. This implies that the state or government and the mass media are a creation of society for its good.

One phenomenon that unites the American society, state and mass media is the agreement by all to be free under society’s collective will backed by the agreement to work for the social good. This is the common ground that melts out individual differences of the US mess media and unifies them into a formidable force. Between the state and the mess media there is no grouse perhaps just mutual envy of their mutual independence if you like. All segments of the American society are committed to the “American Dream” to be free and indeed free only under the constitution. Udoakah (2006, p.85) refers to this arrangement as the “states which see themselves as a conglomerate of competing interest with the state not there to dictate what is good for them but to protect individual rights as enshrined in law.”

From this socially agreed upon ideological foundation the US mass media is able to launch attacks on local and external threats to the national consensus. This is the cultural or ideological root of the US mass media but of which the Eastern ideological school disagrees. For example, Miliband’s (1969) analysis asserts that the said freedom of the US mass media is a ruse and a disguise for “unwilling tools of conservative and commercial forces... suppressed rebels, cowed radicals and left wingers, reluctant producers and

disseminators of ideas and opinions which they detest..." (p.210). Nevertheless, the centrality of freedom of speech and of the press to the American society, life and mass media cannot be over-stated. Its foundation is further revealed by several attributions to notable Americans. For instance, former president, Thomas Jefferson (1987) once opined that, "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right, and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspaper, or newspapers without a government, I would not hesitate a moment to choose the latter". (Reston, 1966) On his part Alfred Friendly (1911 – 1983), founding father of Alfred Friendly Press Fellowship (AFPF) believes that, "A free press is the best, the most effective, the most constantly functioning instrument by which a people, a community, a nation looks at its self and finds out who and what it is and what it is doing" (Okoro, 2004, p.144).

This "beatitude" sort of, is also shared abroad. Former Indian prime minister, Pandit Nehru, opines thus,

To my mind, the freedom of the press is not just a slogan it is an essential attribute of the democratic process. I have no doubt that even if the government dislikes the liberties of the press and considers them dangerous, it is wrong to interfere with the freedom of the press. I would rather have a completely free press with all dangers involved in the wrong use of the freedom than a suppressed or regulated press.

Again, one of the best journalists ever in Nigeria and chief executive of Newswatch magazine, Ray Ekpu, wrote that, "the press is no less an important political institution in its own right, standing out there, shoulder to shoulder with any of the three acknowledge estates, affecting them and being affected by them in turn" (Ekpu, 1993).

Socialist Mass Media Ideology

Udoakah (2006, p.85) declares that, "the right to decide how a society should be ruled is that of the nation itself. The course it decides to take is a direct result of its conception of the nature of that society and what it wants to achieve." This includes the type of mass media it wants. Thus, former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) leading a block of nations showcases their own kind of ideology. Ironically however, the decision to adopt the socialist system both as a political practice and a press ideology was not the free making of the people of former USSR, but an outflow from a revolutionary takeover of the machinery of governance and the establishment of a totalitarian dispensation by the revolutionists. This is an aberration; but since the status as of today is that the Russian society has accepted the October 1917 new order, and is in peace with it, it remains their national ideology. More so, it was not corrected along the events of the eighties when the socialist structure and system collapsed.

The central feature of the socialist society is the direct reversal of American freedom. Instead of the freedom to acquire material possessions, the socialist society forbids individual ownership of properties. Therefore, citizens work for the state and the state provides their needs in accordance with the

socialist principle of “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his works” (Karl Marx, *Brainy Quotes...* Referred August 20, 2010) and its equivalent communist slogan of “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs” (German, 1985, p.59).

In the sphere of the mass media, Lenin (1920) cited in Okoro (2004), leader of the revolution, knew where he was taking the Soviet society from the start. Therefore, he did not mince words on freedom of expression and of the press thus:

Why should freedom of speech and of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes to be right allow itself to be criticized?... ideas are much more fatal things than guns. Why should any man be allowed to buy a printing press and disseminate pernicious opinion calculated to embarrass the government?

Lenin’s perspective on the role of the mass media within a socialist context is reinforced by Tse-Tung (1975), cited in Udoakah (1998). According to Tse-Tung, the role of the press consists in “their ability to take party activities, policies and tasks to the masses in the quickest and most extensive way”. It is not impossible that it is in line with this thesis that Udoakah (1998) observes that, “the press no matter who owns it is in the last instance subject to government” (p.28). In authoritarian setting, yes; in a constitutional milieu, certainly no!

From Western perspective both Lenin and Tse-Tung are simply authoritarians and contrary to Jeffersonian libertarianism. The underlying fact nonetheless is that, like every other citizen, the socialist press serves the state (people) along the dictates of state ownership rather than individual ownership for the good of the masses or people. This way government avoids the much-feared “pernicious” propaganda. Thus the mass media in the USSR (now Russia), China, North Korea, Cuba, and other socialist countries serve the state’s need of information dissemination. Roth (1982), cited in Kunczick (1988), synthesizes socialist mass media news values into four definite criteria as follows: (1) Partiality (emphasized), (2) Truthfulness, (3) Commitment to the people, and (4) Mass character.

It goes therefore that the mass media system in socialist countries, like its American counterpart, was from the onset deliberately styled to meet the ideological needs of the state in line with Udoakah’s (2006) submission that, “in societies with the idea that the state is the supreme political authority, the media are assigned definite roles by the state”. While freedom dominates the mental space of the US media practitioner, its socialist counterpart thinks in terms of how it can help the state realize a truly poverty – Free State through their reportage

British “Spectrum-Centre” Press

This is another form of mass media ideology. The US mass media vogue and their counterpart system in the socialist world represent two extremes of a mass media spectrum. One is free and the other is restricted. In-between

however is the mass media of the United Kingdom (UK) occupying the spectrum-centre.

The British mass media evolution began in the eighteenth century; it was a creation of the commercial middle class aimed at providing business news to meet its requirements. (Williams, 1965) it is notable that the "commercial middle class" referred to in no way suggests the involvement of the monarchy or government of Britain of the time as well as it is silent about the ordinary Britons. The emerging scenario therefore is that of a capitalist socialist spectrum with Britain at the middle, the same way the UK mass media has a government-people spectrum with the commercial middle class (mass media owners) at the centre.

Even if the middle class media owners have over the years integrated into the main stream of British political class, captured or by conquest, the fundamental mix-economy foundation of British socio-political and economic life remains. The UK government tries to shy away from media ownership in the spirit of Western freedom, yet, like its US counterpart watches over the Voice of America (VOA), it is unable to take its sight off the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). This explains the exercise in logic, perhaps not to offend the sensibility either of government, the people or international watchers of events, by the head of the BBC during the 1929 General strike in Britain. Lord Reith (1949, p.108) argued that, "Assuming the BBC is for the people and that government is for the people, it follows that the BBC must be for the government in the crisis too". Also see Tracey (1977, p.418). This was too apologetic to be suitable for the bona fide owner of a property. It is easily discernible that, whether privately owned or owned by whatever class, the British mass media ideology is neither right nor left but centre of right and left in tandem with the socio-economic and political philosophy of the United Kingdom.

Reality of the Nigerian Mass Media

Taken chronologically, the first broad phase of the Nigeria modern press was before independence in 1960. That press fought for Nigeria's independence from colonial bondage and succeeded in overwhelming the British conquistadors. The records and our eras are filled with the exploits of that generation of Nigerian journalists. It was a dynamic journalism of purpose and hope, one that inspires and bestows honour and pride. Contemporary Nigerian journalists must be nostalgic as, before a Gulliver, they stand like Lilliputians, or a midget before a sumo. Why so? In other words, modern journalists appear not comparable with their forebears in nationalism and the quest for a just society.

If we are to hazard a guess, the singular differential factor is that pre-independent Nigerian journalist had a vision and mission – a driving purpose to which they were committed. A purpose and spirit that brooks no odd, obstacle or danger! That "big picture" was "freedom" whilst the boost was "Nationalism". It has been stated above that nationalism is an ideology and that ideology is a system of pieces of differing idea forms which are nevertheless agreed to stick together, sustain, reinforce and define a functional system. To test these assertions we only need to exhume the content of the brains of these colossus of

Nigerian journalism to determine if nationalism is truly an ideology and, too, if ideology is truly a set of different but related ideas that functions a network. For instance, the pre-independence press reinforced their disdain for the colonialist with reference to the colonialist as; "White idiots" and "Cheats" in reference to the "white" masters. "Oppressors", "Get rid of them", "We must rule our land", "They have to go home", "The idiots carry away our money", "We can rule ourselves", "Our lives will be better", "We must stop them", and much more vituperations. These and more are systemic bits and pieces of ideas that constituted and reinforced nationalism as an ideology which drove the pre-independent Nigerian journalist to all-risk peak performance.

Okoro and Okolie (2004), citing Okafor (2002) note, "Bound together by the spirit of nationalism, the mass media at this period (1920 – 1960) displayed a brand of journalism that could be described as fire brand. This nationalistic spirit is now impossible to talk about... outside the context of the Nigerian press" (p.91). This was verified by Hachten (1961), who wrote (in Okoro and Okolie (2004) that "the press gave to nationalism its prime of diffusion (while) nationalism gave to the press its *raison d'être* in extending its circulation" (p.92). Amazingly, however, Ainslie, cited in Chukwuemeka (2006:217), contends that other than nationalism the very pre-independence Nigerian press were established primarily for political reasons. (Also see Ekwelie (1986). Expatriating, Chukwuemeka (2006, p.217), citing Coleman (1963), submits that its (pre-independence mass media) operation and character of information dissemination depended on, "who owns what; the situation/dynamics of the period, and contending issues and interests". He further charged that even in government owned media outfits, "their (mass media) activities depend on the ethnic group that controls power... thus, clashes of interests, cries and conflicts become multiplied and enlarged".

Udoakah (1998) extends this sordid description to post independence Nigeria mass media when he opines that since independence the mass media in Nigeria, "have been structured along ethnic lines to fight the cause of these groups". He added that what is known as the Nigerian mass media today is actually "an amalgam of the Hausa press, the Igbo press, the Yoruba press and the minority press".

The contrary tone is not done yet. Eminent mass communication theorist, late Folarin (2002) avers that Nigeria mass media is a child of circumstance, born into a background dominated by a conflicting dual mass media influences of the West and East variant "Prior to the advent of... the Nigerian press operated with a base of authoritarianism, and a superstructure of libertarian and social responsibility principles, while every now and then the structure was interrupted by a smattering of socialist principles" (p.40). He also grants that under this duality of media philosophy in an authoritarian socio-political setting nurtured by military leaders the media shuttled between the two extremes but are like and unlike their Western or Eastern counterparts. Again, that when the media choose to play the Western "gate-keeper" and neutral "advocate", they are constrained by their socio-cultural environment and in some circumstances their personal ethics. He therefore laments that unlike his Western

counterpart “the separation of personalities and events from issues and causes would appear to be one mental “feat” which the quintessential Nigerian journalist is yet to prove himself capable of achieving”. Equally when the (Nigerian journalist) assume the role of the Eastern “propagandist” or “agitator” he does not find support from his patronage group (owners especially), government and the indigenous environment.

Folarin agrees with the foregoing postulates by other scholars on the fragmented state of the Nigerian mass media when he referred to the “segmentation within the press itself along lines of ethnic, regional, class or party interest”. He nevertheless, argues that the floundering of the Nigerian mass media is a product of the absence of a national socio-political and economic ideology around which to construct a mass media ideology for joint purpose and effectiveness, stressing how the press is the most affected for it. “It can be postulated with a high degree of confidence that no other system within the Nigerian polity better illustrates the country’s ideological indeterminacy than the press system; and nowhere are the resulting scars more visible, more recalcitrant and more painful than on the press”.

Current State of the Nigerian Media

The military “brewed” Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, at section 39 (1) provides that, “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without prejudice”. Even though in one subsection it also tried to rubbish this freedom in the area of right of ownership of a media organization, the Nigerian press owes itself a responsibility to ensure that whatever limitation on its part is corrected. Within the law as it is, nothing hinders the Nigerian mass media from taking advantage of the above quoted provision which without other qualification equates with the provision of the US constitution and the First Amendment. Be that as it may, the above assertions among Nigerian’s foremost media scholars are pointers to an underlying rotten state. Are they supported by the realities on ground? Performance is the only index on which these can be measured.

On this, this paper is aware that the Nigerian press of today, unlike its powerful pre-independence nationalist counterpart, practiced “responsible” journalism “ethically” and “professionally”. Unlike the modern press with its ethnic colouration, partisanship and corruption which have deprived it of its capacity to perform very critical role.

This paper is informed on the state of corruption in the nation today. That corruption has been legitimized and digitalized. It is aware of government cosmetic effort at fighting it. How EFCC pursues the Iboris, Etes, Alamieseighas, Kalus, Dariyes, Adewusis for corruption. Yet it is aware that these are members who simply displeased the “Giboguns” of the cult and must be punished. Not the product of a vexed mass media determined to pull down the house of corruption. The failure of the press to hold government accountable to the people is common knowledge and stinks to high heaven. Where is investigative journalism?

This paper is also aware how the "Yoruba" press deals patriotically when the victim is Ibo or Hausa, especially minority; how the "Hausa", "Ibo" or "Minority" presses deals deadly if the culprit is from the other camps respectively. How they are silent or non-existent when it is one of their own. Party line also informs such mass media inter-tribal wars and mutual "kill and divide". Poverty and disease now flourishes in place of prosperity. Concomitant increase in crimes, including blatant murder for money, kidnapping, duping, the boom in prostitution and consequent doom through HIV AIDS! What about spiralling inflation? What about the fact that nobody is held for PHCN's sins or failure? We dare to say that giving the zeal the press performs in some instances; it can become a high performer if driven by an ideological thrust that is pro-Nigerians.

On ideology however, a few questions can be helpful in determining the actual base of the Nigerian journalist of today. For instance, when a Nigerian journalist sets out for his beast, what is the dominant idea in his mind? Is it the news or what will come to him from the news? Is it service or self-service? Does he ignore or publish some news items except he is "mobilized"? Between the "brown envelope" and the Nigerian nation and its people, which is uppermost in his mind? Editorial judgments –are these based on the standard news values or other narrow considerations? Who determine news- what goes into the newspapers, state belongingness, political patronage, advertisement or the media owner? Answers to these questions will help share light on the underlining thought behind the study.

Objective of the Study

This study sets out to determine the ideological base of the Nigerian mass media, if any; if ideology has any effect on mass media performance; if mass media ideology is desirable; and if mass media ideology is attainable. The motivation is to highlight and draw attention to areas problem within the culture industry and to point a way out. Specifically, it seeks to find out whether ideology is desirable for Nigeria mass media; find out if Nigeria press has an ideological base, whether ideology has effect on media performance and if ideology is obtainable in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

This paper believes in the utility of information to individuals as to society. It believes that nobody or society can survive without information. The more information and options available and accessible the better for society as it is empowered for better judgment. The power of information is such that it should not be left in the hands of any fallible individual, government or group. Society, not government, and not the mass media or other fallible factors, should organize the information establishment along liberal lines to ensure that it serves the wellbeing and happiness of the individual and society. (Seibert, et al 1956) cited in Okunna (2002) hence this paper subscribes to the libertarian model of mass media theories which postulates liberalism, availability, options and access (Okunna, 1999, p.9). This is "the open market place of ideas" attributed to

Milton (1964) (Ojobo in Okunna (2002, p.9). This freedom can only be abridged by society for social good by way of ideological redirection.

Methodology

The word "ideology" strikes most people as a grandiloquent (a "big" word). It is ambiguous to many, scary to some while to others it represents "Eastern Hell" (a contemptuous description of the stilted life style of socialist-communist countries). Few are interested in it. Using simpler forms to express it will naturally take the steam out of it. More so, such synonyms will never really truly convey the sense of meaning of the word. Therefore people with average knowledge may not be helpful except that they have to be taught what it is and what response to give. The paper therefore settles for a qualitative approach using the instrument of secondary data to get informed sources and their opinion on the subject. The instrument of in-depth interview was also used to obtain primary data as appropriate.

The interviewee is an expert communicologist who is well grounded to answer issues raised in this study. He is the person of Professor Des Wilson, Dean, Faculty of Arts University of Uyo, Uyo

Findings

On the Ideological Base of the Nigeria Mass Media

- Udoakah (1998), Ekwelie (1985) and Chukwuemeka (2006) outstanding mass media scholars are agreed that the Nigeria press has an ethnocentric media ideology mixed with statism, connectionism, party patronage, etc.
- Wilson believes that Nigerian mass media has ideology in the form of obligation of media owners to also serves the social good of the country. He however regrets that this obligation is later abandoned in favour of ownership interest only. (Ownership ideology cited by the experts above).
- Folarin (2006, supra) believes that the Nigerian press flirts between East and West ideologies but tilting more to the West.

Whether Ideology has Effect on Media Performance

- From the secondary data gathered and expressed above, it is obvious that ideology enhance performance. First, ideology is like a vision and mission without which nothing can be achieved. Empirically the success of the US media, the British media and those of the socialist media can only be attributed to their ideological driving force or foundation.
- Wilson responded that ideology ought to enhance media performance but laments that just as private ownership abandoned the national interests, even government owned press at both federal and state levels in Nigeria are "run as if they're personal estates." Therefore he believes that media achievements are highly minimized.
- Folarin laments the negative impact of the lack of ideology on the Nigerian mass media as above suggests that he agrees that ideology has effect on mass media performance.

If Ideology is Desirable in Nigeria

- Taking the Nigerian mass media to the cleaners over its self-inflicted narrow ideological base as they did, shows that Udoakah, Ekwelie and Chukwuememka wish that it was a national or society-centred ideology that informed media practice.
- Wilson believes that ideology is desirable and there is one which regrettably is not being followed or honoured. He said that ideology is not only when it has “advanced like those of the Western or Eastern nations” but a guide, which is on ground in Nigeria.
- Folarin (2002) believes in a synthesis of socio-political and economic ideology around which to construct a press ideology. He believes that the two goes or should go together.

Whether Ideology is Obtainable in Nigeria

- It is obvious by now that there is a correlation between a political system and its mass media. For example, the US, British and the socialist models referred in this paper were not predestined but determined and suitably obtained for those nations. The implication is that ideology can also be achieved here in Nigerian and not thrust on the nation by the elements.
- Udoakah (1998) believes that the press should be subjected to government in order to get the best for the society. That in itself is an ideology as well as there are other options open to a society.
- Wilson maintained that Nigeria has as mass media ideology but that if we see it only from the perspective of the advanced media ideology, then that would take some time to come by.
- Folarin (supra) totally agrees and calls for an ideology for even the Nigeria State.

Recommendations

Babatope (1972) charged that the media was responsible for the Nigerian civil war by the way it reported events of that time through ethnic prism. It is a cause for concern therefore that the press remains un-weaned of its intoxicating ethnic posture as established by the above findings. To avoid another crisis of ethnic nature the culture industry should be reformed as a matter of urgency. It is therefore recommended that:

- (1) The media should be compelled by law to embrace national values and ideals as basis of journalism practice as against ethnic journalism they are involved in now.
- (2) Media should be free but must be made to perform some obligation to the Nigerian society in like manner as its US counterpart.
- (3) The media should be divested completely from government-Federal and States. These governments should divest from ownership of media organization and sell existing ones to the people through the capital markets.

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