



MEDIA ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF NEW PATTERNS, ORIENTATIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws attention to the emerging patterns of media entrepreneurship in Nigeria, which call for new research perspectives. For data on the demographic identity of the new entrepreneurs across all media, the study examined official records, media websites and publication information provided in the print media while data supporting new orientations and coping strategies were collected from a focus group of professionals and scholars. Results indicate that ownership of national daily newspapers is now 100% private as against the situation in 1980 when the Federal Government owned the two truly national dailies in the country. State governments still own some regional newspapers but magazine titles have grown to over 154 from about 22 in 1990. All 13 news magazines and 141 specialized magazines in circulation are owned by private entrepreneurs and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs). For the broadcast media, data indicate that the nation has moved from 100% government ownership, as was the case in 1990, to about 34% private/community ownership in 2011. Findings also indicate that majority of the new entrepreneurs are journalists. Based on these findings, this paper calls for a sort of paradigm shift in media discourse. It therefore recommends for a concerted research efforts to focus on audience satisfaction, audience feedback and feed forward.

Key words: Media entrepreneurship, Innovations, Patterns, Coping strategies.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria, like many other countries in Africa, returned to democratic rule in the past twenty years, precisely in 1999. This period is also noted globally as a period of great technological advances, especially in media and related industries; a situation which implies that innovations in technology and regulatory activities of democratic governments may have encouraged entrepreneurship in the media sector since then.

This, according to Skjerdal and Lule (2009) actually happened in Ethiopia where a democratic

government granted press freedom in 1991. In the case of Nigeria, the broadcast media benefited from the military government-initiated deregulation about the same period. The nation's return to civilian rule in 1999 ushered in more radio and television stations and increased the number of newspapers and magazines not exactly as it occurred in Ethiopia and some other countries. In addition to the foregoing, Achtenhagen (2008) states that:

The phenomenon of media entrepreneurship is currently attracting increasing interest by scholars and practitioners

alike. However, most of this attention is devoted to entrepreneurship within new media, while some of the traditional media industries – for example print media – are believed to be the living dead without much future promise (Achtenhagen, 2008, p. 1).

Looking at entrepreneurship research from a broader perspective, Hang and Weezel (2007, p. 1) argue that “the current entrepreneurship research in media industries is unevenly distributed, with newspapers, film and music being the favoured industries and the topics of innovation and family business the most frequently addressed”. This study intends to contribute to the efforts to balance this lopsided practice by looking at media entrepreneurship from a broader perspective, beginning with an examination of their demographic characteristics and cultural practices. In addition, to avoid the oversight identified by Achtenhagen (2008) in previous studies on this subject, emphasis is laid on traditional media in this work.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

From 1992, when the Federal Government of Nigeria granted licenses to private broadcasting stations, the media landscape has continued to change but little is written about the changes. A few attempts made to document these changes were done from historical perspective without any emphasis on entrepreneurship, emerging patterns

or entrepreneurial orientation. In the light of this background, the central problem of this paper is to identify the new entrepreneurs from 1990 to 2010, explain the pattern across all media (newspaper, magazine, radio, television and internet) with emphasis on whether they are private, commercial or non-commercial, male or female, partisan or non-partisan, local or regional, international or national. The paper will also examine their everyday culture and entrepreneurial orientations as well as identify other distinguishing practices among them where possible.

OBJECTIVES AND KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The major objective of this work is to explain the emerging patterns of entrepreneurship in the mass media in Nigeria. The study is also aimed at updating the history not only with the new patterns of entrepreneurship but also with research data on the everyday culture of the new entrepreneurs. The aim is to draw attention to practices that deserve the attention of scholars, entrepreneurs and regulatory bodies.

To place this paper properly, I proposed two major research questions and six minor ones to guide the investigation and later the discussion.

Research Question One: What is the demographic composition of the new entrepreneurs?

1. Are the new media entrepreneurs in Nigeria

- public or private sector operators?
2. Are they predominantly males or females?
 3. In terms of ownership, are they local or foreign investors?

Research Question Two: What are the entrepreneurial orientations and coping strategies of the new entrepreneurs?

1. Have the new entrepreneurs added voice and innovation to the media market in Nigeria?
2. Are the new media entrepreneurs pursuing commercial interests or community objectives?
3. Are the new media entrepreneurs evolving any discernible pattern of entrepreneurial orientation in their professional practices or not?

CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

An entrepreneur, in the words of Berns and Hairston (2001, p. 303) “is an individual who owns, organizes, and manages a business and, in so doing, assumes the risk of either making a profit or losing the investment”. Media entrepreneurship, according Hoag (2005) cited by Hoag and Compaine (2006, p. 2) is “the creation and ownership of a small enterprise or

organization whose activity adds at least one voice or innovation to the media market place”. Koppl and Minniti (2003, p. 81) gave a short but useful definition of entrepreneurship. They stated: “Sometimes entrepreneurship means what the actor is like; sometimes it means what the actor does”

This study looks at “what the actor is like” as well as “what the actor does”, especially with regard to the theoretical framework on which the discussion is anchored.

A media entrepreneur, in the context of this paper, therefore, is not limited to “an individual”. Government as a new media owner is also categorized as an entrepreneur. In the case of community and educational media, the collaborating groups are also regarded as entrepreneurs in this paper. This implies that the concepts of profit and loss are not germane in some of the categories discussed. The term mass media encompasses newspapers, magazines, television, radio, Internet and cinema. All of these “have the technical capacity to reach millions of people” (Anderson, 2008). All of these media types, with the exception of cinema, are covered in this study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical direction for the discussion is derived from the “Individual-Opportunity Nexus” as expounded by Shane (2003). This theoretical perspective views entrepreneurship, in the words of

Hoag and Compaine (2006, p. 1) “as a discovery process where opportunity and the agency of the individual come together”. In other words, it assumes that barriers-to-entry (whether normative or not) are matters of perception which individuals with the entrepreneurial mindset can overcome. Among other things, it seeks to discern unique characteristics of media entrepreneurs, removal of barriers to entry as perceived by some people and media opportunities perceived by others. The basic tenets are:

- Entrepreneurial opportunities exist *ex ante*;
- Some individuals perceive the existing opportunities by a discovery process.
- Those individuals exploit the opportunities under certain conditions (Shane, 2000; Shane and Eckhardt, 2003).

Factors that determine whether an individual will perceive the opportunity or not include knowledge corridors, access to information, social ties, search and cognitive ability. Whether an individual will utilize or act on the opportunity may depend on access to capital, contracting solutions, and social capital.

While the study draws from the Individual-Opportunity Nexus to answer the questions that border on the identity of the entrepreneurs and their characteristics, the Chaos Theory provides a framework for the emerging entrepreneurship orientation or culture. Chaos theory

states that there is often an underlying pattern in seemingly random data; that these underlying patterns or structures exist in most complex systems; and that the behaviour of these systems range from totally predictable on one end of a continuum to totally random and unpredictable on the other (Mason, 2006). These extremes are classified as “order” and “chaos.” While the point of order refers to stability, the point of chaos refers to “explosive instability” a point of extreme complexity, turbulence and uncertainty. To move from order to chaos, a system must first get to the “edge-of-chaos” where entrepreneurs experience bounded stability within which it would be impossible to predict behaviour using traditional tools and methods. At such a point, it might only be possible to identify the patterns that exist at the transition phase. Entrepreneurship orientation characteristics assumed under this theory are: innovation, being proactive or taking initiative, risk bearing, competitive aggressiveness and autonomy.

This paper attempts to identify such patterns and behaviour in Nigeria’s unstable and turbulent media environment using these and other criteria grounded on the Individual-Opportunity Nexus and the Chaos Theory.

Media entrepreneurship is not one of those popular areas of media research. However, there are indications that interest in this aspect

of media is growing. Achtenhagen explained it thus: “Despite this increasing interest in media entrepreneurship, very few research articles have been published so far on this topic” (Achtenhagen, 2008, p. 125). In fact, the media entrepreneurship literature review reported by Hang and Van Weezel (2007) and cited by Achtenhagen (2008) indicates that only 78 articles were found to refer to entrepreneurship in connection with the mass media in a 34-year period, 1971 to 2005.

Hoag and Compaine (2006) argue that media entrepreneurship phenomena ought to be studied directly by surveying media enterprises rather than rely on census figures. As right as they may be, the approach should depend on the objective of the study and the reasons for studying the media. Kung’s four reasons for studying media entrepreneurship are summarized as follows:

All media of mass communication are expected to comply with public interest, creative and artistic imperatives; from inception, media houses are expected to balance different, sometimes conflicting interests and demands; the scope and velocity of technological changes that influence media entrepreneurship make outcomes unpredictable;

much of their success depends on the creative content they introduce into the market and success also depends on ability to satisfy both audience and advertisers (Kung, 2007, p. 24).

Ownership has so much to do with the content and general performance of mass media enterprises as some scholars noted. Mboho (2005, p. 133) states that the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) in Nigeria was constituted in 1992 “to issue licenses to private broadcasting media and regulate the activities of broadcast media in the country”. Until that year, either the Federal or State governments owned all broadcast stations. Even with on-going deregulation, commercialization and liberalization in the broadcasting industry, it appears that government has only succeeded in saturating the nation with its radio and television stations. In other words, Mboho (2005) argues that deregulation only provided diversity in broadcast programming and in choice of channels. In agreement with Lovitt (2004), Mboho (2005) argues that many private broadcast stations in Nigeria are only private but not independent since either politicians or partisan businesspersons own them. In the newspaper industry, there are also cases of even strong national dailies belonging to partisan investors. Examples include *Daily Independent* owned by former governor of Delta

State, *The Nation*, owned by former governor of Lagos state and *Daily Sun* owned by former governor of Abia State.

In Ethiopia, many of the private newspapers had close links with opposition parties. Skjerdal and Lule (2009) describe them as the unofficial papers of opposition parties with no balance and high degree of sensationalism. They also explain that even vendors published their own papers in the wake of democratic government. This is close to the Nigerian experience where a vendor published a title, *Body and Soul*, between 1998 and 2000. In the account of Ifeduba (2011), the mushrooming of publications founded by “emergency journalists” is still the order of the day in Nigeria’s magazine industry.

Among the latest entrepreneurs are women. *The Sunday magazine (TSM)*, *Financial Standard*, *Classique*, *Genevieve* and a host of other publications were founded and in some instances, edited by women. Many of the new entrepreneurs are people with journalistic training and, in many instances, long years of experience in journalism (Obaigbena, 1999).

Though foreigners are not allowed to own and operate radio and television stations in Nigeria, they currently maintain a presence through satellite/cable transmission of programmes through *DSTV*, *MyTV* and others. Foreign presence in the print media exists only marginally

through partnerships and franchises such as the ones between some Nigerian and South African owners of *ThisDay* and *Sports Day* newspapers and the publication of Nigerian edition of *Superstrikas* magazine; a publication with South African Origin (Ifeduba, 2010, p. 119).

In all, the categorization of media entrepreneurs will borrow from Anderson’s (2008) work in which he classified them under public, community, commercial and religious entrepreneurs. Though studies conducted in Nigeria by Popoola (2011) claim that ownership identities of newspapers have “little or no” effect on newspaper readership, it is still appropriate to examine other aspects of the daily practices of newspaper owners and other media owners. The following paragraphs on related literature will guide the discussion.

Entrepreneurial Orientations and Culture:

Both Anderson (2008) and Olorunnisola (2009) stress that the general theory of public media is that they serve the public rather than commercial or partisan agendas. However, studies of media across Africa indicate that this is not the situation in many countries where media entrepreneurship received a boost in the last 20 years. The expectation has been that liberalization, commercialization and privatization would make media offering to be demand-driven. The

mentioned studies indicate that their news offering is rather largely supply-driven.

Mukhengo (2009) reports that newly established commercial and community-based broadcasters played an important role in the mid nineties, to fight state terror and give voice to Kenya's voiceless majority. He cited the example of *Inoro* owned by a Catholic community and *Kass FM*, a community station. It appears, however, that these are examples of successful, purely community controlled media enterprises representing the masses against political and commercial interests. In some other places, new media enterprises simply add new voices, voices that cannot be differentiated from those of politicians and captains of industry.

Generally, there have been complaints of newly licensed media using their media platforms to incite ethnic animosity (Tetty, 2006), bias (Olorunnisola, 2009), irresponsibility and unethical practices (Ifeduba, 2011; Skjerdal and Lule, 2009). In line with the foregoing argument, Afari (2008) argues that new media entrepreneurs in Ghana restricted their election coverage to giving airtime to serial callers and giving space to political opponents and suggested that voters' education should be part of the social responsibility of the new media entrepreneurs.

The situation in Nigeria was presented by Ayedun-Aluma (2009)

from a different perspective, one that is not more enviable than other positions. He referred to their "non-confrontational response and self-aggrandized acceptance of neo-liberal reform agenda" and implied that they jettisoned their missionary objectives and embraced mercantile principles: Olorunnisola elaborated on it thus:

Rather than critique Nigerian Government's propagandistic offer of neo-liberal economic policy for possible inconsistencies with Nigeria's socio-political and economic antecedents, media managers focused on ways in which the businesses of their respective media houses will thrive in the evolving economic environment. In other words, and by implication, government and media corporations found commonality in proposed capitalist agenda; leaving Nigerian citizens unprotected by the calibre of surveillance... (Olorunnisola, 2009, p. 90).

This kind of abandonment of social responsibility and missionary responsibilities by entrepreneurs was described as new "Afghanistanism" by Ifeduba (2011, p. 334). He states that suggestions of a peculiar kind of 'Afghanistanism' might be worth investigating since the publishers have access to local leagues and other sporting events but choose to publicize European leagues, clubs

and stars for equally 'Afghanistic' Nigerian fans of those clubs.

Everyday orientation issues of concern raised in the literature may be summarized as follows: New media enterprises cut across public and private sectors. Entrepreneurs cut across gender, include professionals and amateur journalists and operate with both missionary and mercantile motives; and in many cases are unable to balance the two. Their practices are described in terms of giving more voices to the voiceless and challenging oppressive government policies. They are also accused of pursuing narrow commercial interests, engaging in unethical practices and partisan politics; news commercialization and exclusion of rural, uneducated majority in their programming. In spite of all these, the degree of turbulence is adjudged high.

METHODS

To verify the demographic (gender, public status, private status, nationality) status of media entrepreneurs, official documents were examined at the Corporate Affairs Commission between March 2011 and January 2012. Due to the secretive attitude of staff of the Commission and the paucity of data obtained from them, the researcher supported method with website observation/analysis. Names of media houses were used as key words to access their websites through Google and Yahoo search engines; and over 181 websites were

visited in search of corporate data, mission statements of entrepreneurs, current practices and ownership profiles. The shortfall in data gathered from these two methods was made up from editorial team lists displayed under the masthead of a few of the publications. The search yielded data with which tables were constructed for the contribution of newspaper, magazine, radio and television entrepreneurs and their demographic characteristics.

To understand the orientations and strategies of the entrepreneurs, especially the new ones, a focus group made up of eight journalists and communication scholars was set up. The discussion was guided with the following questions: Have they added more voices to the free market place of ideas? Have they added innovations? Are they faithful to the ethics of the profession? Are they partisan or independent? Are they more of missionaries or merchants? In what ways are they responding to turbulence in the industry?

ANALYSIS OF DATA

From Old to New Pattern: Before 1990, there were two national dailies owned by the Federal Government of Nigeria and four owned by private sector entrepreneurs. About 22 magazines were on the newsstands but government published only one. The Federal and States Governments owned all the 24 radio stations and all the 20 television stations. There was no private broadcast station of any kind then. Between 1990 and

1992, licenses were issued to private entrepreneurs. The new pattern that

emerged is presented in Tables 1- 4 below:

Table 1: Distribution of Newspaper Entrepreneurs

S/N	Ownership	Number of Newspapers	%
1	Federal Government	0	0
2	State Government	26	25
3	Local Government	NA	NA
4	Private/Commercial	74	71.2
5	Private/Community	2	1.9
6	Private/Foreign Enterprises	2	1.9
	Total	104	100

Source: Author’s Fieldwork

Data presented in Table 1 indicate that there are currently 104 newspapers published in Nigeria, either daily or weekly. None of the newspapers is owned by the Federal Government, 25% are owned and controlled by State governments, two or 1.9 percent are owned by

communities in the sense that they circulate among and serve only the interest of some Christian communities; another two (1.9%) are owned by Nigerian entrepreneurs in partnership with South African investors.

Table 2: Distribution of Magazine Entrepreneurs

S/N	Ownership	Number of Magazines	%
1	Federal Government	1	0.7
2	State Government	0	0
3	Local Government	NA	NA
4	Private/Commercial	149	96.1
5	Private/Community	5	3.2
6	Private/Foreign Enterprises	0	0
	Total	155	100

Source: Author’s Fieldwork

Almost all (99.3%) of all magazines published in the country are owned by private entrepreneurs for either commercial (96%) or community (3.2%) purposes. Even

the one title published by the Federal Government is not regular. It is not sold on the newsstand except within the Federal Secretariat.

Table 3: Distribution of Radio Entrepreneurs

S/N	Ownership	Number of Stations	%
1	Federal Government	42	29.1
2	State Government	52	36.1
3	Local Government	0	0
4	Private/Commercial	24	16.7
5	Private/Community	26	18.1
Total		144	100

Source: Author’s Fieldwork

State governments own 52 (36.1%) of the 144 radio stations in the country. The Federal Government owns 42 or 29.1% of the radio stations. In other words, government is the entrepreneur behind 65.2% of the radio stations

while private commercial entrepreneurs control 24 or 16.7% of the stations. Other communities, especially university communities, control 26 or 18.1% of the stations, bringing the total number of private owners to 50 (34.8%).

Table 4: Distribution of Television Entrepreneurs

S/N	Ownership	Number of papers	%
1	Federal Government	46	52.9
2	State Government	30	34.5
3	Local Government	0	0
4	Private/Commercial	11	12.6
5	Private/Community	0	0
Total		87	100

Source: Author’s Fieldwork

The Federal Government owns and controls 46 or 52.9% of the television stations in Nigeria followed by State government with 30 or 34.5%. Private commercial entrepreneurs control 11 or 12.6% of the stations.

With the results presented, the paper will now sought to provide answers to the guiding questions.

What is the Demographic Composition of Entrepreneurial Elite Driving Innovation?

The analysis in this section is limited to entrepreneurs’ demographic characteristics. Out of 154 magazines owned by private sector entrepreneurs, 68 (44%) are either wholly owned by female entrepreneurs or are jointly owned by female and male investors. This is the sub-sector with the highest

number of female entrepreneurs. The names of females feature on the board of seventeen (17) of the 104 newspapers published in the country but there is clear evidence that only one of them (*Financial Standard*) is actually owned and controlled by a female, non-professional investor. In the same vein, several names of female journalists or supposed fronts appeared on the board of the private broadcast stations but there was no clear evidence that those names are not those of wives and daughters of male investors who simply listed them to fulfil incorporation requirements.

Some of the new entrants are female entrepreneurs. Defunct magazines like *Classique* and *TSM* were established and edited by female journalists. Now, *Financial Standard*, *Genevieve*, *Teenspirit* and several others are founded and edited by female journalists. This is a new phenomenon, which is yet to spread to the broadcast sub-sector. All the private broadcast stations were established between 1990 and 2011.

Are They Foreign or Local Investors?

In the print sub-sector, almost all investors are local with a few exceptions, including *Business Day* and *MetroSport*, which are jointly owned by Nigerian and South African Investors. In the broadcast sub-sector, the presence of foreign investors is more visible. The Federal Government, through the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), has been a leading change agent in the campaign to switch from analogue to digital broadcasting. Of the five direct-to-home satellite platforms, three are foreign. South African investors and Indians promote *Multichoice DSTV*, *Mytv* and *HITV* while *Daarsat* and *Star Times* are promoted by Nigerians (one private and one public). *Multichoice DSTV* is particularly owned by a conglomeration media firms in South Africa. The primary aim if setting up is to have a control over that genre within the African market.

Satellite distribution of TV programmes ushered in many Faith-Based Nigerian Organizations into broadcasting. For instance, about 20 FBOs in Nigeria reach their local and global audience by owning channels on *Mytv* (See Table 5 below):

Table 5: Satellite Channels on MyTv

S/N	Entrepreneur Channel	S/N	Entrepreneur Channel
1	Hasanna	11	RTM
2	MFm	12	Emmanuel TV
3	DCLM	13	Cove world
4	Chosen	14	CTL Africa
5	MBN	15	Dove Vision

6	ABN	16	Hollywood Plus
7	KICC	17	All Tongue TV
8	Champion of Fire	18	Dunamis
9	ACBN	19	NTA Plus
10	AIT International		

Source: Author’s Fieldwork

Telecommunication companies like *MTN* and *Starcom* have also provided platforms for online radio and television. Twenty (58.8%) of the 34 wireless cable (MMDS) entrepreneurs licensed by the NBC are either completely owned by foreign investors or owned jointly with Nigerian entrepreneurs.

What is the Level of Collaboration Affiliation or Partisanship?

All the new radio and television stations owned by the Federal and State governments demonstrate in practice that they have affiliation to political parties in power. Probably because of this, only politicians establish a few broadcast stations. Examples include *Radio Continental* and *TV Continental* established by a former governor of Lagos State. The newspaper sub-sector has, in the past 150 years, had too many entrepreneurs with both political affiliations and political ambitions. The current study indicates that the situation remains the same. Many national newspapers (*Daily Champion, The Nation, Daily Independent, The Guardian, Daily Sun* and the *Nigerian Tribune etc*) are owned by entrepreneurs whose political affiliations are clearly known.

The magazine sub-sector seems to have lost the attraction it held for politicians in the past. There are however, a few magazines with partisan owners. An example is *The Westerner* owned by a former governor of Ogun State, a man who incidentally is also the publisher of *Compass* newspaper.

As to whether the entrepreneurs are professionals or not, it was found that about 86 (82.6%) newspapers have trained journalists on their boards. Journalists without evidence of non-professional investors own 40 or (34.4%) while 26 are owned by entrepreneurs who could not be categorized as professionals either by way of training or by experience and performance.

The study also found evidence of innovativeness in the media. The following is a list of innovations discernible in the print media: Online editions of existing newspapers and magazines, Online-Only newspapers and magazines (Born Digital), Introduction of Feed forward pages and more opinion pages. In the radio and television sub-sector, the following innovations are discernible: Webcasting/Streaming, Online-Only Radio Stations, Digital Broadcasting (Government), Wireless Cable (MMDS), D.T.H

Satellite TV Platforms, Camps Radio Stations, Digital Video Broadcast Hand-Held (DVB-H), F.B.O Channels on DTH platforms.

DISCUSSION OF ORIENTATIONS AND PRACTICES OF NEW MEDIA ENTREPRENEURS

This analysis is based on a discussion guide designed to investigate if the new media entrepreneurs, in line with the theoretical framework, have added more voices in the free market place of ideas. It is also meant to find out if they are faithful to the ethics of the profession, if they are partisan, if they are missionaries or merchants in practice and if they are elitist, populist, or escapist in their content. The degree of turbulence in the system was also examined.

The new entrepreneurs have actually added more voices to the public arena for the clash of ideas. In the print sub-sector, the coming on board of *ThisDay* newspaper in 1995, at a time when a military dictator banned all the national dailies (privately owned) was a clear case of entrepreneurial opportunity as stated in the Individual-Opportunity Theory. A young journalist moved in to fill the vacuum with *ThisDay*. The paper has since been a very strong voice especially in business and politics. The same goes for *Tell Magazine*, which has become a strong voice in the public arena. In the same vein, *The News* magazine has become such a strong voice that

in 2003 it published a certificate forgery scandal, which forced the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives out of office.

The smaller publications, at their levels, have also added voices to media discourse and contributed to public opinion formation. Among them is *Daily Trust*, the first privately owned paper to survive for long in the North. The new, or revamped, state government newspapers are becoming more prudent by limiting their circulation to their localities thereby saving cost. By so doing, they have vacated the national arena for only privately owned national dailies like *The Guardian*, *the Punch* and the *Daily Sun*.

Not all the fifteen sport newspapers examined conform to ethical standards in terms of sourcing of news and attribution of stories to the right sources. There is also evidence of plagiarism.

Across all media, commercialization of news is growing. It began with government owned stations and has become a standard practice even in reputable stations like *channels* and *AIT*. It is gradually but unofficially creeping into the larger print newsrooms. Among all the private broadcast stations, there is too much emphasis on commerce; a situation that causes even non-partisan stations to bend to the whims of politicians against the interest of the public.

In accord with concerns raised in the literature, the new magazines and some of the newspapers are mercantile in practice, caring very little about missions stated at the beginning. With the exception of the big national dailies and the national magazines, the rest are more mercenary than missionary, frequently partisan, if that makes economic sense, and care very little about ethics in their bid to survive. For instance, it is now a common practice to charge money for news coverage. Except the bill is paid up-front, public interest notwithstanding, reporters will not be sent to the event.

There is also a new kind of afghanistanism, among some. They also seem not to care about issues of public interest beyond passing mention. There is a new genre of sport newspapers that devote their pages to European football leagues only. They are growing in number, coming out weekly with eight-page titles that seem to promote cultural imperialism.

Achtenhagen's (2008) observation that the motive of an entrepreneur is essential in understanding his or her orientation or practices is relevant in this context in the sense that it seems to explain the hyper-commercial tendencies of some of the new entrepreneurs. Of the five motives outlined by Achtenhagen, "need for achievement" seems to explain more clearly the continued involvement of rich politicians and businesspersons

in media enterprises. The achievements in question border more on their political ambitions and business interests in other sectors than media development. This may partly explain why they all seem to be more mercenary than missionary in their practices. They either want to advance their political careers or wish to extend their business empires with media enterprises. In other words, when the motive is commercial, the orientation cannot be missionary.

This does not explain the orientation of the journalists among the new entrepreneurs. Though they are generally competitive, aggressive, and innovative; they seem to share the mercenary spirit of the politicians and businesspersons and show little respect for their social responsibilities. A good number of the music stations and the sport newspapers are in this category. Campus newspapers, especially in the Lagos area, now compete with commercial stations in programming thereby overlooking the development gaps they are established to fill. Students in such campuses feel alienated from participatory communication.

Another explanation for the desperate practices observed in the media environment is turbulence, the rate of change in the composition of customers and their preferences. The rapidity with which technological changes affect product quality and diversity has, in turn, given rise to instability in audience demand and

brand loyalty, thereby making competition keen leading to a high mortality rate for new publications.

The degree of turbulence is higher in the print sub-sector than in the broadcast largely because government is the leading entrepreneur in the broadcast sub-sector. The easy-entry, easy-exit principle also appears to be in operation, especially in the magazine market where some magazines hardly make it to their first anniversary. It is probable that some magazine and newspaper titles covered in this study would be out of the newsstands and that some new ones would have entered the market by the time this report is published. According to Mason (2006), many scholars feel that in such turbulent and complex environments traditional management approaches are often inappropriate, giving rise to innovative behaviour and new methods. It is also argued that entrepreneurial activities increase when environmental uncertainty is high (as is the case in Nigeria). This may be true of the Nigerian situation but offers no help in terms of possible answers to the question of unethical practices.

The entrepreneurial orientations recommended by Mason (2006) and other scholars also appear to inadequately explain the unprofessional and unethical practices that go with entrepreneurial behaviour in Nigerian media.

CONCLUSION

Having attempted to provide answer to the question: who are the new entrepreneurial elite driving the diffusion of innovation in Nigeria's mass media sector, we conclude that, in the print sub-sector, Nigerian journalists and their non-professional partners are the predominant entrepreneurs. In the broadcast sub-sector, government is still the major entrepreneur followed by foreign entrepreneurs who seem to drive the satellite distribution and the telecommunication enterprises.

There is a high degree of professionalism tainted with unethical conducts and hyper-commercialism pursued at the expense of noble missions written down at inception. In other words, patterns of media ownership have changed significantly but the everyday culture is affected adversely by political affiliations of the entrepreneurs and remains close to the *status quo*, though with little modifications.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is appropriate to consider Achtenhagen's (2006, p. 127) recommendation of "social entrepreneurship" for adoption in turbulent and complex markets such as the one under investigation. This is a process involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities aimed at catalyzing social change and addressing social needs (Mair and Marti, 2006). In essence, they should

make their social mission explicit and central in running their enterprises. Only by so doing, they may consciously seek out mission-related opportunities and take advantage of them for the good of the society at a modest profit.

This paper recommends that detailed studies should be carried out to examine the causes and effects of foreign ownership of news media enterprises, unethical conduct,

partisan orientation and commercialization of news on journalistic output in Nigeria. It is time to focus on audience satisfaction, audience feedback and feed forward. Issues of social responsibility have become more important in light of raging hyper-commercialism and growing global engagements, mergers and acquisitions.

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