

**Nigeria online Broadcast Media Framing of Boko  
Haram Insurgency: From Peace Journalism  
Perspective**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Conflicts and insurgencies have become a universal concern especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since 2009, Nigeria have struggled under the weight of sever attacks on the residents of Northeast region of the country as a result of the activities of an Islamic extremist sect called Boko Haram which translates to western education is sinful. The sects' activities have been credited with the death of about 17,000 persons and the displacement of more than 1.5 million women and children.

As expected, issues bordering on the sects' activities dominate the news bulletin daily as the news media who thrives in reportage of oddities and casualties feast on the increasing number of audacious and gory acts of the sect with screaming headlines that does more in igniting fear and apprehension in the polity than reassuring them of possibilities of restoring peace and normalcy in the region.

However, peace journalism- a brand of advocacy journalism is tasking the media who are indispensable and active actors in peace process to tow the conflict resolution path by adequately mapping the root causes of problems and offering salience on possible resolution approaches in order to checkmate the escalation and ultimately nip conflicts in the bud. Hence this study employed qualitative frames analysis in examining how Nigerian online broadcast media have framed the Boko Haram insurgency- whether it is peace or conflict oriented. A period of three months (February through April, 2014) which yielded 136 reports was examined using the Galtung peace journalism model as a guide. Findings are indicative that the Nigerian media are yet to wholesomely employ peace journalism ethics in reporting the Boko

Haram insurgency as they muddle up both peace and conflict frames, though more conflict frames were observed in reports. This study is contributory to knowledge as it serves as a form of a report card that helps media houses in Nigeria to re-evaluate in needful areas. The teaching of media and conflicts reporting in colleges and universities will also find this work beneficial as well as security agency who may wish to understand the functionality of the media better in order to partner with them more appropriately in conflict situations.

**Keywords:** Peace journalism, News framing, Boko Haram, Nigerian broadcasting media.

## ÖZ

Çatışmalar ve isyanlar özellikle 21. yüzyılda küresel olarak ilgi görmeye başlamıştır. 2009'dan beridir, Nijerya'nın kuzeydoğu bölgesi sakinleri Boko Haram (“batı eğitimi günahdır” şeklinde çeviriliyor) olarak isimlendirilen aşırı İslamcı grupların düzenlediği ataklar ve saldırılarla mücadele etmektedir. Söz konusu aktiviteler ve ataklar yaklaşık 17 bin kişinin ölmesine, 1.5 milyondan fazla insanın özellikle kadın ve çocuğun yerlerinden edilmesine yol açmıştır.

Beklendiği gibi, Boko Haram gruplarının yol açtığı olaylar günlük haber bültenlerinde ve haber medyasında önemli ölçüde yer bulmaktadır. Haber manşetlerinde öne çıkarılan gariplikler ve kayıplar bu saldırıları düzenleyenlerin cesur ve kanlı eylemlerini artırmasına yol açtığı iddia edilebilir. Manşetlere yansıyan söz konusu “çığlıklar”, korkuları daha fazla artırırken, bölgedeki barış ve normalleşme potansiyeline katkı koymak yerine; siyasi güven bunalımını ve endişeyi artırmaktadır.

Buna rağmen, barış gazeteciliği- hak savunuculuğu gazeteciliği medyaya görevler yüklemektedir. Bu görevler arasında, gazetecilerin barış sürecinde ve çatışmaların çözümünde kaçınılmaz olarak aktif rol oynamaları, sorunların temel nedenlerine odaklanmaları, potansiyel çözüm yaklaşımlarını ortaya çıkarmaları; çatışmaların azaltılmasına katkı sağlayacaktır. Bu çalışma nitel çerçeve analizini (qualitative frames analysis) kullanarak Nijerya çevrimiçi medya yayınlarının Boko Haram eylemlerini nasıl çerçevelediğini inceleyerek, çerçevelerin barış veya çatışma odaklı olup olmadığını araştırmıştır.

3 aylık bir dönem içerisinde (Şubat-Mart-Nisan, 2014) Johan Galtung'un barış gazeteciliği modeline göre, 136 haber incelendi. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, Nijerya medyası yaptığı haberlerde Boko Haram eylemlerinde barış gazeteciliği etik yaklaşımlarını kullanmakta güçlük çekmektedir. Buna ilaveten, söz konusu medya barış ve çatışma çerçevelerini kullanmakla birlikte daha fazla çatışma çerçevelerini haberlerde kullandığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu çalışma Nijerya medyasına önemli bilgiler sunarak, haber yaparken mevcut durumlarını yeniden değerlendirmek ve barış gazeteciliği alanında gelişmelerine yardımcı olmaktadır. Medya çalışanları ve üniversite öğrencileri çatışma/barış haberciliği konusunda bu çalışmadan faydalanabilecektir. Ayrıca, çatışma durumlarında güvenlik ajansları gibi medyanın görevlerini anlamaya çalışan birimler de bu çalışmayla birlikte medya ile uygun işbirlikleri geliştirebilir ve çatışmaların azaltılmasına katkı sağlayabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Barış gazeteciliği, haber çerçevesi, Boko Haram, Nijerya medyası.

# DEDICATION

...And Kings shall come to thy Rising

For his name shall be called...

EMMANUEL... God is with us.

The Prince of Peace...

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For a walk and work of this magnitude, the contributory factors cannot be personal. I hereby return every Glory, Praise and Thanksgiving to my all-sufficient God, the father of my saviour Jesus Christ who gave me the best gift of salvation.

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## **LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS**

AIT	African Independent Television
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
NBC	National Broadcasting Corporation
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
PDP	People's Democratic Party

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Scholars around the world have been committed in finding new and better ways the media can serve the society where they found themselves. Theories and models of communication have been propounded, enunciated, tested, adopted or discarded in developmental needs of societies, the onus lays on news media to identify and adopt the model that suits best in improve and facilitate nation building in their country. The introduction of peace journalism- an advocacy journalism model proposed by Professor Johan Galtung in the 1990s offers journalists reportorial styles that bring to fore peace options in conflict resolution as opposed to the conventional style of ‘if it bleed, it leads.’

### 1.1 Statement of Problem

Nations of the world at one time or the other have experienced internal insurgency. Some led to radical revolutions as exemplified by the French revolution which spanned for 10 years, 1789-1799<sup>1</sup> and the nascent pockets of revolutionary insurgency and unrest that coursed through some of the North African countries and the Arab League popularly referred to as the “Arab Spring”<sup>2</sup>. Recent years in Nigeria have been characterized by unprecedented insurgency and violent conflicts which has resulted in bloodletting and mass destruction of property and means of livelihood. An Islamic extremist sect called Boko Haram (which literally translates

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<sup>1</sup> [www.global.britannica.com/event/French-Revolution](http://www.global.britannica.com/event/French-Revolution)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>



as “western education is sinful”) has claimed responsibility for the numerous attacks. The sects’ activities have been credited with the death of about 17,000 persons<sup>3</sup> and the displacement of more than 1.5 million women and children<sup>4</sup>. The philosophical coloration of attacks of this sect have been anti-government and institutions that represent education and westernization of the Islamic beliefs and culture, including the bombing of the United Nations building in August 2011, bombing and razing down of schools, media houses and churches. The abduction of over 270 Chibok school girls in April 2014 drew international condemnation of the activities of the sect and further aggravates the worrisome violent trend they have towed.

There is a consensual agreement among scholars of varying background on the causative grievances of the sect (Aiyesimoju, 2015; Asogwa, Iyere & Attah, 2012; Mohammed, 2014 and McQuaid, J. & Asfura-Heim, P., 2015). Chief among them is the demand for complete implementation of sharia laws throughout the 36 states and the capital of the federation. The others are accumulated anger and dissatisfaction over the mismanagement of national resources by the people in power which are evident in the gross underdevelopment of the region; high level of unemployment, prevailing illiteracy, abject poverty and impoverishment of the populace.

Boko Haram insurgency was birthed as a reactionary response to exposure of indoctrination by the radical Islamic jihadist, Yusuf Mohammed who is touted to be the founder of the sect. Since their first launch of attack in 2009 till date, the group have enjoyed massive media patronage, locally and internationally.

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<sup>3</sup> [www.theunion.com.ng/boko-haram-and-the-media/](http://www.theunion.com.ng/boko-haram-and-the-media/)accessed 06/03/15

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-help-nigerians-displaced-by-boko-haram/2015/02/17/636f1e10-b5f4-11e4-a200-c008a01a6692\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-help-nigerians-displaced-by-boko-haram/2015/02/17/636f1e10-b5f4-11e4-a200-c008a01a6692_story.html)

Daily, news bulletins are flooded with reports on the activities of Boko Haram or related issues. This is because as observed by Asogwa, Iyere & Attah, (2012:176) “both peace lovers and perpetrators of evil activities are caught in (the) inevitable web of information packaging and dissemination.” The sect basking in the euphoria of such magnitude of media exposure, continue to grow more audacious in their attacks, after all, in the conventional news framing approach, if it bleeds, it leads; the bloodier the more newsy! Maybe such scenario informed why Midlarsky, Crenshaw and Yoshida, (1980) are concerned as to whether magnanimous coverage of conflicts especially violent ones as insurgency and terrorism by the media end up “lending them (insurgents) legitimacy and credibility, as well as unintentionally encouraging further incidents through a ‘contagion’ effect? (or if ) alternatively, ...journalistic conventions err instead on the side of governments, due to an over reliance upon the framework of interpretation offered by public officials, security experts, and military commentators, with news functioning ultimately to reinforce support for political leaders and the security policies they implement.

The study of structure and construction of communicated texts about Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian broadcast media especially in their online versions have become imperative to demystify such assertions. This is more so a truism for two obvious reasons: (i) busy citizens have embraced online media as their source of information owing to its many inherent conveniences. It could be accessed through mobile phones, PCs, iPads, Tablets and other such devices, (ii) it’s World Wide Web enabling makes for ease of access globally. Online medium is the news access channel for citizens in diaspora as well as the international community to gain access to information on events back home.

Because media texts are the building blocks that patterns public opinion and reaction, miscommunication and improper, biased framing of the Boko Haram insurgency in communicated text could be detrimental to curbing the menace. It could lead to total collapse of peace or peaceful resolution moves; including of course the consequences of an international image discredit.

## **1.2 Purpose and Justification of Study**

The place of the news media in nation building in all ramifications cannot be over emphasized. It will be likened to calling a mountain a molehill if the place of the media as the fourth estate of the realm is relegated to the background on issues of national development and peace. Sequel it will be foolhardy to question it's abilities to engender peace in conflict situation as some scholars like (Hanitzsch, 2004) have done. In outlining the enormous task the media play in nation building, Daramola, (cited in Tejumaiye 2011 p. 23) opines that the "news media shape culture, influence politics, play important role in business and affect the daily lives of millions of people, including people's attitudes, conducts and fundamental moral values." The media shifts through a long list of chequered events, construct meanings from them and 'frame' them within the context of cultural patterns, values and norms that the audience can easily relate with.

With the influx of alternative media, mainstream news media have braced the challenges purposed by technological advancement in establishing online version sequel to their mainstream medium. This situates them on a universal pedestal that affords access to anyone, location and time notwithstanding. These unique components informed the choice of evaluating online versions in this study. How the Nigerian online broadcast media have gone about framing the Boko Haram insurgency to adequately proffer a holistic understanding to Nigerian citizens, home

and abroad are the crux of this study. Covering three broadcast media with an online presence which were selected through a simple random sampling method, we seek to establish or refute, based on peace journalism tenets, that framing of news stories on the Boko Haram insurgency in both the government and privately owned media will achieve the desired goal of promoting peaceful culture among citizens. Efforts at peaceful resolution of the insurgency through adoption of peace journalism reportorial techniques will equally be examined to ascertain the media responsiveness to their duty of national integration as stipulated in the normative theories of the press (Irvan, 2006, p. 1).

### **1.3 Significance of Study**

Journalism in today's dynamic and cosmopolitan world is more tasking than ever. It is made more onerous in the light of the growing number of media and alternative media controlled by capitalists who champion organisational or personal interest in news coverage. Peaceful ethics could be easily traded for partisan or war journalism reportorial style. The findings of this study will help ascertain if the Nigerian online media are fanning the embers of peace or doing the reverse through dominant frame found in their reports of the Boko Haram insurgency. This study is significantly useful to media houses in Nigeria, serving as a form of a report card that helps them to re-evaluate in needful areas. The teaching of media and conflicts reporting in colleges and universities will also find this work beneficial as well as security agency who may wish to understand the functionality of the media better in order to partner with them more appropriately in conflict situations.

### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study will be hinges on a couple of media theories. First is the framing theory of the press. As observed by Okoro & Odoemenam, (2013, p.1) "news dealing with

unrest and crises, like the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria influence public perceptions and concerns... these events allow researchers to assess the degree to which media select news and shape its content.”

Framing involves the wording of ideas, events, questions or observations in a certain way to connote a definite meaning in the minds of the audience of such messages. It thrives on laying salience on issues in order to transfer same to public opinion. Media framing situates events interpretatively within the context of meaning afore assigned by the reporter, cajoling the audience into deducing meanings from the media’s perspective. An authoritative working definition for this study is that of Entman, (1993, p. 52) who says that framing is “to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicated text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation.” The notion of framing bestows on the media the constructionist role. As Gorp, (2010, p.84) aptly enthused, “journalists are in the middle of ... meaning construction in that they present additional layers of interpretation of issues and events in the form of news stories, (hence need to possess) preconceived notion about how to order story elements and about what meanings they could or should impose upon the story elements”.

The media uses framing as a communication tool to influence public opinion and reaction of any given issues or event. This is because the world generally leans on the media to gain access to information that will help them make meaning out of their daily chaotic environment; after all, information determines actions.

The second theory is the agenda setting theory of mass communication. The theory posits that because people get information about issues, events, government policies from the news media, people tend to understand, place importance or trivialize issues based on how the news media reported it. Hence, the news media is said to be successful in persuasively focusing public opinion on topical issues based on how much time or space is given to the issue and its position in the news bulletin. See Shaw, (1979, p.1). This will be fully discussed in chapter 2 of this study.

Finally, this study will lean on the development theory of the press which hinges on the use of communication to serve the developmental needs of the people.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

In determining if the Nigerian broadcast media appropriately provides information to its audience on the Boko Haram insurgency, especially in view to promote peace and peaceful resolution to the problem, this study has asked eleven questions that will guide our inquiry.

*RQ1: Does the Nigerian online broadcast media provide updated information on the Boko Haram insurgency?*

Since the primary roles of the media includes providing information, education and entertainment on topical issues that affects the political and cultural life of the people, to ascertain first hand, how frequent reports based on the insurgency and related matters were uploaded by the online broadcast media on their various websites is imperative. Consequently, schemas such as “daily”, “weekly” and “as occasioned” are designed to measure the frequency and extent of reports on the subject.

*RQ2: Does the reports of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media provide information from all parties involved- the government and the insurgents?*

The media all over the world prides itself on balance which implies getting both sides of the story told.

*RQ3: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media portray bias?*

Norris & Just, (2003) submits that “in evenly divided two-sided conflicts, strong emotional reactions to extreme acts of political violence mean each society may offer different interpretations of events and images, sharing almost nothing in common.” It is important hence to uncover bias through quoted source of report. The origin of a report is a clear indication in most cases of the seat of allegiance.

*RQ4: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media focus or emphasizes on US/THEM dichotomy?*

Norris & Just continued in their submission that “news media serving each community may reflect and thereby reinforce cultural divisions, especially in societies with strong linguistic cleavages.” It is important for this study that we find out if the media adopts or choose stance in their framing of the insurgency. The Galtung Peace/War Journalism Model (2002) tabulated in chapter two of this study will guide our inquiry to answer RQ4 to RQ11.

*RQ5: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media employ conventional or peace journalism reportorial style?*

If the Nigerian online broadcast media are framing Boko Haram insurgency news reports in a style that stimulates peaceful resolution of the conflict, this question will provide an answer using a scheme that evaluates the dominant frames found in studied samples.

*RQ6: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency news reports by the Nigerian online broadcast media depict a WIN/LOSE situation about the insurgency?*

Maybe what should be of utmost importance in reporting insurgency is how the move for peace is being communicated and understood by parties involved and the citizens. Here again, the media plays a pivotal role as Wolfsfeld (2004) argued that the media “devote almost all of their attention to confrontation and violence and mostly ignore areas of cooperation and reconciliation.” This scholar may not be alone in this school of thought as others have argued that the media is not only an actor in a peace talk process but also a mediator because their service in presentation of political events wields influence both on the political actors, the population at large and any aggrieved sect. See Sheaffer, & Dvir-Gvirsma (2010).

*RQ7: Is the framing of the Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media war or peace oriented?*



To bring about a fulfilment of the objectives of this study, it is expedient to know if Nigerian online broadcast media consciously or unconsciously framed reports on the Boko Haram in a style that have doused (peace) or escalated (war) the insurgency.

We this study also have five hypothetical statements which the answers to the research questions will help answer. They are:

*RQ8: Have the Nigerian online broadcast media been pro government and selectively provided information on the Boko Haram insurgency?*

Former British prime minister, Margret Thatcher was cited by Vieira, (1988) as having said that “publicity is the oxygen of terrorism” (insurgency in this case), nevertheless this study counters that ignoring or framing reports characterized with name tagging of bad/good against insurgents will only fuel their grievances and spur them to perpetrate more perilous harm to drive home their point. Again, in a two-side divide conflict, balance in quoted source is vital.

*RQ9: Does Nigerian online broadcast media focuses on casualties and oddities of the insurgency rather than the causative and remedial factors?*

The media is known to feast on oddities. In fact as a news value, human interest, oddity and impact are intertwined, producing nothing but reports that are stereotyped and in most cases, gory.

*RQ10: Was Nigerian online broadcast media reactive instead of proactive in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency?*

According to Ersoy (2003), peace journalism tenets posits that the media explores the complexities of a conflict by providing information in a processes format that does not only react to what happened but continuously raise agenda and lay salience on the issue to peace is established. The media does this by providing information about the conflict in the form of in-house documentaries, audience participatory programmes and magazine programmes that makes an expose` on the problem as against only report when there have been an attack.

*RQ11: Are government owned online broadcast media framing of Boko Haram insurgency more peace oriented in their reports than privately owned ones?*

Wolfsfeld (2004) maintained that the media defines the political climate for peace, highlight the nature of the peace debate process to the comprehension of parties involved, impact considerably on antagonists strategies and behaviours and finally moderate the public legitimacy or standing of the said antagonists through the framing in reports. However, owing to editorial and ownership idiosyncrasies, the news media could chicken out from this duty.

## **1.6 Limitations of Study**

This study is limited to reports from online versions of the sample. Being a content analysis qualitative study whose results are expressed in numbers, this work limits its scope to the examination of manifest frames and its sources in reports on Boko Haram insurgency for a period of 3 months. The choice of the period under study is informed by the increased and audacious activities of the insurgents including the abduction of over 270 girls in a secondary school at Chibok on 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 2014. This study is also limited to the scope of contents

## 1.7 Definitions of Key Terms

Some of the terms that would be reoccurring in this study and their working definition or explanation as pertains to this study are offered viz:

1. Insurgency: According to U.S Government Counterinsurgency guide (2009, p.11) insurgency can be defined as “the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region. Insurgents seek to subvert or displace the government and completely or partially control the resources and population of a given territory.” They do so through the use of force (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism and coercion/intimidation), propaganda, subversion and political mobilization. Insurgents fight government forces only to the extent needed to achieve their political aims: their main effort is not to kill counterinsurgents, but rather to establish a competitive system of control over the population, making it impossible for the government to administer its territory and people. Insurgent activity is therefore designed to weaken government control and legitimacy while increasing insurgent control and influence. See (U.S Government Counter Insurgency Guide, 2009).
2. News Media: The news media or news industry are those elements of the mass media that focus on delivering news either in written or spoken form to the general public or a target public. They include print media, (e.g. newspapers, newsmagazines), broadcast media (radio and television), and more recently the alternative (online newspapers, news blogs, and live satellite streaming of broadcast channels)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/News\\_media](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/News_media)

3. Broadcast Media: The media of communication which communicate or transmit a signal, a message, or content, such as audio or video programming to numerous recipients simultaneously over a communication network using electronic wave signals<sup>6</sup>.
4. Online/ Alternative /new media: The channels of production and distribution of news stories, photos, audios and videos to a mass heterogeneous audience through the use of internet<sup>7</sup>. Because of the sophistication of enhanced technology, online media can be accessed with smart phones, Ipads, Tablets and PCs.
5. Conflict: According to the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, (2005, p. 2) conflict is “the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between, at least, two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases.”
6. Government or state owned media: This is a news media whose editorial and financial activities are supervised and controlled by the government. See Webster, (1992)
7. Private owned media: This is an opposite of state owned media. They are owned and managed financially and in their editorial contents by capitalists who may or may not have political pedigree. See Webster, (1992).

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<sup>6</sup> [www.thefreedictionary.com/broadcast+media](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/broadcast+media)

<sup>7</sup> [www.yourdictionary.com/new-media](http://www.yourdictionary.com/new-media)

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

No knowledge occurs in a vacuum. This study shall build upon existing literature on literatures from scholars on the components and issues raised by this study shall be shall be discussed in depth hereafter.

#### **2.1 Historical Background of Conflicts in Nigeria**

Nigeria as a country was the brain-child of the British colonial administrators. Prior to the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914, the three regions of the country functioned independently with monarchical democratic rules that were well established in the various provinces. There were distinguished but ignored linguistics, religious, ethnic and cultural diversities among the geographical components of the areas that were fused together to form Nigeria. According to Ebegbulem (2011, p.1)

“British colonial administrators created the three regional territories that explain ‘ethno-genesis’ and later ‘ethno-tensions’... this divisive colonial structure, (brought) ethnic tensions (which) emerged between these unequally developed groups primarily in the 1950s. The colonial tripartite division of Nigeria prevented a Nigerian nationalistic movement, manipulating geographical boundaries to reinforce separation between ethnic groups and transforming ethnicity into an identity by which to gain political power.”

It was also obvious that the allegiances of the people are geared towards their ethnic and religious ties than the unified centre which made the influence of external authority more improbable in the face of national disunity. Consequently, most conflicts and crises in Nigeria as agreed by many scholars have always and regrettably so, tow the ancient lines of ethnic-religious-regional paths. See

(Anugwom, 2000; Paki and Edoumiekumo, 2011; Osaghae & Suberu 2005; Nnoli, 2007; Ebegbulem, 2011).

The Nigerian State is not new to violent insurgencies within its borders. In fact it has been a state characterized with communal clashes, ethnic unrest, religious conflicts and inter-tribal fights. Some of the reasons for the pandemonium in many occasions have been linked to something as trivial as inter-communal land border disagreement or as critical as environmental pollution from oil mining activities, and government policies. Other issues that have been fingered as causative factors of unrest hinges on the control of power, uneven development, unfavourable election or population census outcomes and most predominantly, religious fanaticism.

The earliest form of conflicts in Nigeria was in 1945 at the mining city of Jos. As a result of the general strike action and a consequent food shortage which the British colonial administrators accused the Igbos of being responsible for after a two day clash ensued between the Igbo and Hausa migrants, leaving in its wake, 2 dead persons and many injured. Again in 1953 when the southern parties of the Igbos made to hold an anti-colonial rule rally at the northern city of Kano, the Hausas and Igbos clashed again, resulting to the death of about 36 persons and more than 200 injured. The observations of two university dons, Osaghae & Suberu (2005) aptly captured the reasons for those conflicts when they wrote that:

“The violence reflected the bitter opposition to the independence campaign by northern politicians, who feared that an end to British rule would mean domination of the north by the more developed south. The riot also reflected the resentment of Ibo domination of socioeconomic opportunities in Kano by the city’s indigenous

Muslim Hausa population. Most important, the 1953 Kano riot presaged subsequent large-scale ethnic violence in Nigeria, including the 1966 anti-Igbo massacre in Kano and other northern cities that would accelerate the country's descent into catastrophic civil war. In essence, colonialism effectively set the stage for the explosion of violent identity conflicts in post-independence Nigeria and for the huge challenge of national restructuring that would be required to hold the country's multiple identity constituencies together in a single political community.

Nigeria gained independence from the Britain on October 1, 1960. Nevertheless, the exit of the colonial masters did not bring an end to violent conflicts within its borders as the seed of distrust and ethnic-religious sentiments were already sown. It was not much of a surprise to political analysts when on July 26 1967 –January 15 1970 the Nigerian civil war also known as the Nigeria/Biafra war which claimed over a million lives ensued. Subsequently, the nation have had its fair share of internal conflicts, the recent and most fatal being the Boko Haram insurgency that has threatened the erosion of the Nigerian nationhood to the core.

## **2.2 Background of Boko Haram Insurgencies in Nigeria**

Various scholars have written on the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In fact, owing to the all-encompassing effects of the activities of the sect, a wealth of literature exist on them. The group is believed to be a mutant of the 1980 Maitatsine sect however chronology of their history and evolution has been as elusive as the rationale for their attacks. Yet an attempt will be made to give defining outline to the sect.

The original name of the sect is believed to be Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, meaning "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's

Teachings and Jihad.” The commencement of their activities is traced back to 2002 when a group of radical Islamist youth who worshipped at the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri became unruly. An offshoot of these youths yet to be identified with a given name proclaimed both the city and Islamic establishments to be unacceptably corrupt and volunteered to right the wrong by embarking on Hijra which is likened to the withdrawal of the Prophet Muhammad’s withdrawal from Mecca to Medina.

That decision precipitated a mass exodus of the group from their abode in Maiduguri to a little village Kanama, in Yobe state close to the borders of Niger. There, their leader, Mohammed Ali, instilled anti-state ideologies in them and taught them to see anyone outside their core religious group as an enemy of Allah and must be destroyed. He also called on other Muslims to partake in their evangelism to return all under “true” Islamic law for a better, incorruptible society.

The first combatant mode of the group was experienced in December 2003, when the group went into conflict with the police following a fishing rights dispute over a local pond which saw the group overpowering and disarming the squad of police officers. The army reacted by besieging their camp and the consequent shootout that followed resulted to the death of many of the sects’ members including their leader, Mohammad Ali. The battle earned the sect a new name from the locals who called them the ‘Nigerian Taliban’. The remnants of the sect returned to Maiduguri and was shepherded by a new leader, Mohammed Yusuf who just like his predecessor, built a separate mosque for them and started inducting new members. It was during this new era that the sect gained the name Boko Haram and also spread to other states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Yobe, and Niger state. Scholars observed that:



“Late Yusuf Mohammed who was killed in a controversial circumstance in 2009 by men of the Nigeria Police Force was said to have taken over the leadership ... and indoctrinated the sect with his own teachings which he claimed were based on purity and Sharia law. Shortly after his take-over, he commenced what many described as intensive membership mobilization after his first release from police custody in November 2008 in Maiduguri. This intensive mobilization recorded huge followership of over 500,000 members. Before his demise, he usually taxed them one naira, which approximated to N500, 000 daily. It is believed that the Almajiri system in the north made this mobilization easy” (Okoro & Odoemelam, 2013).

Confirming the Almajiri origin and recruitment process of the sect, Onuoha, (2012) affirmed that “members are mainly disaffected youths, unemployed graduates, and former Almajiris.” The phenomenon of Almajiri (or Street Children) is a popular old practice whereby children are sent to live and study under renowned Islamic teachers in some cities in northern Nigeria. These Almajiris live and study in very appalling conditions, thereby making them vulnerable to recruitment into extremist sects like the Boko Haram and Kala Kato<sup>8</sup>, largely through indoctrination. Beside Almajiris that form the bulk of its foot soldiers, the sect also has as members some well-educated, wealthy and influential people such as university lecturers, business contractors and politicians who are the major financiers.

Boko Haram actually means 'Western Civilisation' is forbidden. The difference is that while the first gives the impression that we are opposed to formal education coming from the West...which is not true, the second affirms our belief in the supremacy of Islamic culture (not Education), for culture is broader, it includes education but not determined by Western Education. The sect frowns at Media's description of it as the Boko Haram. Instead it prefers to be addressed as the "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad.” The above

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<sup>8</sup> [www.washingtonpost.com/opinion/how-to-help-nigerians-displaced-by-boko-haram/2015/02/17/63](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinion/how-to-help-nigerians-displaced-by-boko-haram/2015/02/17/63)

underscores the reason for the attacks on some media houses. According to Walker, (2012) the “sect believes (that) northern politics has been seized by a group of corrupt, false Muslims. It wants to wage a war against them, and the Federal Republic of Nigeria generally, to create a “pure” Islamic state ruled by sharia law. From 2009 till date, the sect has been vengeful mission against politicians, law enforcement agencies and Islamic authorities. Some have described the sect as being on a quest for some religious and political freedom. See (Agbiboa, 2015; Marchal, June, 2012; Olaniyan & Asuelime 2014).

The sect started engaging in bloodier activities in 2009. A timeline of their activities include

Table 1: Timeline of Boko Haram activities

23 September 2004	A Boko Haram group launches an attack on police stations in the towns of Gwoza and Bama in Borno state, killing four policemen and two civilians in the attack. The sect fled through the Mandra mountains along the Nigeria–Cameroon border. The army deployed soldiers and two gunships in hot pursuit. Two days of gun battle ensued which left 27 of the insurgents dead while others escaped.
10 October 2004	Boko Haram splinter group attacked a police convoy of 60 men, taking about 12 policemen hostage.
2005-2008	The sect seemed to be inactive these years but rather was secretly engaged in mass recruitment of foot soldiers and trainings.
26 July 2009	Boko Haram stirred an uprising in some major parts of northern Nigeria which were stifled out by military intervention resulting to about 800 deaths, mainly members of the sect including the leader Mohammed Yusuf who was apprehended by the army, handed over to the police and died in police custody.
7 December 2010	Sect members stormed a prison in Bauchi, broke down the walls and set free over 700 inmates including about 100 sect members while killing a soldier, a police man and two residents
16 June 2011	An audacious suicide bombing attack on the police headquarters in Abuja.

26 August 2011	Another audacious suicide bombing attack at the United Nation's building in Abuja, killing 23 UN staff and many others injured
4 <sup>th</sup> , 9 <sup>th</sup> and 26 <sup>th</sup> November 2011	Attack in the governor of Borno state envoy, coordinated bomb and gun attacks on police facilities in Damaturu and Potiskum in Yobe state and a botched suicide bombing attack at the Joint Task Force headquarters in Maiduguri all resulted to the death of about 150 persons.
22 December 2011	About 100 persons died in bomb attacks and shoot out battle between the Boko Haram Sect and military troops in the Pompomari outskirts of Damaturu
25 December 2011	Christmas day bombing at St. Theresa Catholic Church Madala, near the capital city of Abuja killed 42 worshippers and scores wounded.
8 March 2012	Italian and British engineers Franco Lamolinara and Christopher McManus who were abducted by the Boko Haram sect were both killed in a military attempt to rescue them
17 June 2012	Suicide bombers strike three churches in Kaduna state, killing 50 persons in the separate attacks.
14 <sup>th</sup> April 2014	A total of 276 girls were abducted from their school in chibok.

Source: Compiled with the help of data retrieved from IRIN, "Nigeria: Timeline of Boko Haram Attacks and Related Violence," available at <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/94691/NIGERIA->

Below also is a map of Nigeria indicating the affected states with corresponding number of casualties as indicated by the right side boxes.

## Boko Haram-attributed Attacks in Nigeria Since July 2009

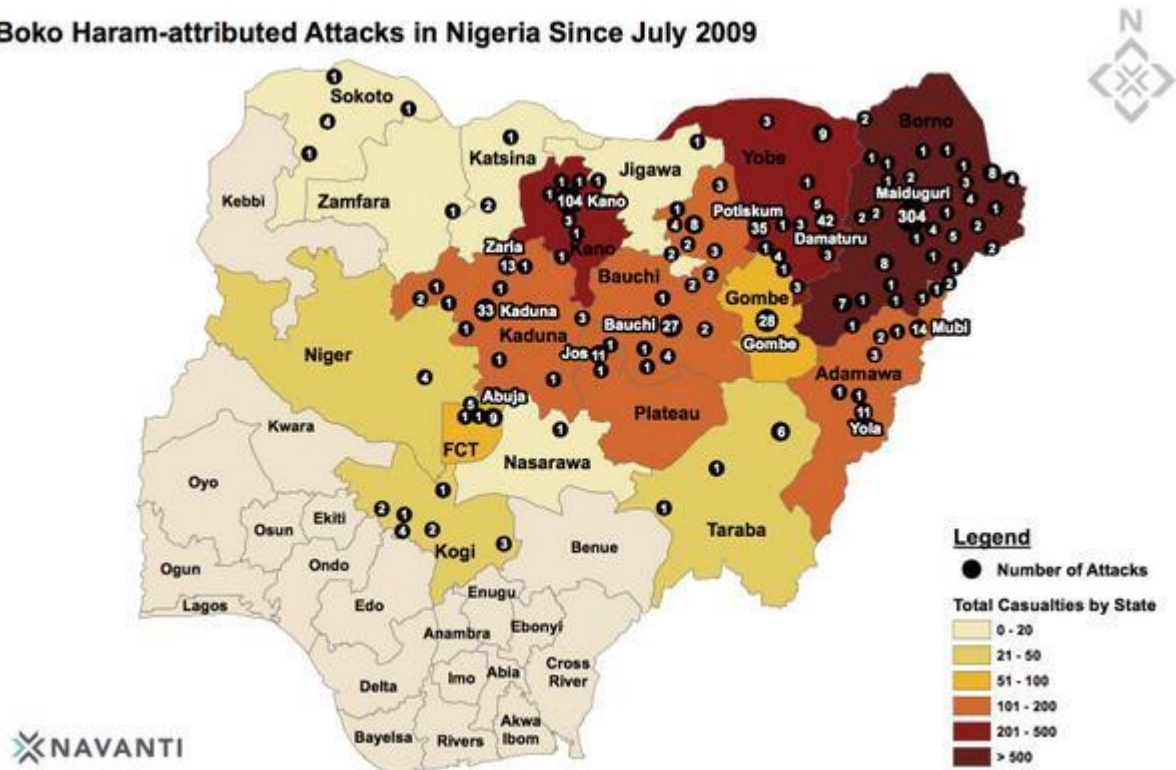


Figure 2: Map of Nigeria Showing Areas affected by Boko Haram Insurgency  
Sourced from [www.hart-uk.org](http://www.hart-uk.org)

### 2.3 Insights on the Evolution and Background of the Nigerian Media

Scholars are of varied opinion on the evolution of the Nigerian media. Some generally believed it developed from the activities of nationalists who utilized the media in the pursuit of independent Nigeria. See (Owolabi, & O'neil, 2013; Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). Others are of the opinion that missionary activities which have underscoring goals of encouraging education and literacy as well as religions and economic motives set the ball rolling for media development in Nigeria, (Omu, 1978). Reverend Henry Townsend of the Anglican Church on 5th December 1859 established the first newspaper, “Iwe Irohin fun awon Egba ati Yoruba” which literarily translates to mean “newspaper of the Egbas and Yorubas.” He sought to improve reading culture and increase literacy among the Egba people of Yoruba. The newspaper was published fortnightly at Abeokuta, the capital of the present day Ogun State. It is believed that the contents of Iwe Irohin were majorly religious

announcements, obituaries and of course political propaganda of the colonial administrators. The print media sub-sector became the first sort of mass media to develop in Nigeria and has experienced some tremendous growth. Over 100 newspapers and magazines, mostly privately owned by capitalists flock the Nigerian news stand daily. The most popular and widely read ones include Thisday Newspaper, The Nation Newspaper, The Guardian, Vanguard, The Sun and The Punch Newspapers. There are also some state owned papers and those in local languages with circulation restricted within the state.

Ogunsiji, (1989) believed that the Nigerian media developed in eras, classifying them viz:

- (i) Missionary Journalism Era (1846---1863)
- (ii) Alien Dominated Press (1863----1914)
- (iii) Indigenous Press Era (1914----1960)
- (iv) The new press Era (1960 till date)

These eras captured the early press, the nationalist era when the media were instrumental to conscientizing the people and to facilitate the course of nationalists calling for a sovereign Nigeria. It also captured the contemporary media where the media is positioned as a catalyst for national development.

Early broadcasting in Nigeria was also initiated by the British colonial rulers in 1932. The electronic media in Nigeria was fully born as a political offspring. They introduced the redistribution of contents of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio programmes in Nigeria. Britain used this means to spread their political propaganda among the people using a re-diffusion or wired wireless method to send

political messages to people in the major cities of Nigeria. By 1952 the Nigerian Broadcasting Services (NBS) was established which metamorphosed into Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in 1956. The corporation was charged with the mandate of overseeing all forms of communication in the nation. Riding on the back of constitutional reviews by the colonial administrators which empowered the federal and state governments to establish independent broadcasting stations, the western region government established the first radio and television station in 1959. It was also the first in Africa. This set the ball rolling for advancement of the broadcast industry in Nigeria. With the soft pedalling of government monopoly on the industry in 1990s, private operating licenses have been issued to private capitalists, opening the door for competition between the public and private sector.

The sector has experienced tremendous changes within the last fifteen years of democratic governance. Stations owned by the federal government have embarked on fresh expansion programmes: the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) has established new stations each in the 35 states of the federation while the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) is building 95 new stations. These are to be operational with complete internally generated contents especially in educating and informing the polity on topical national issues (Akingbulu, 2010: 11). All the state governments operate radio stations, and most run television stations as well. Since 1993, the regulatory body, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), has issued more than 120 private radio, television and cable TV licences. Geographical coverage of broadcast stations varies according to ownership and mandate. Stations owned by the federal government (e.g. FRCN, NTA) have mandates for nationwide coverage. Those which belong to state governments cover their respective states. The coverage of private stations is not uniform. Some cover just one state, others a group of states.

In recent years, a few have moved to establish a network of stations while others have started to service international audiences via digital satellite television (DSTV) arrangements.

However, at independence, most of them became government owned and remained so till 1990 when the restriction on broadcast licencing was soft pedalled and some private licences were given to individuals who begun the operation of radio and television stations that were a sharp contrast to the pro government stations that had been the order of the day. This introduced not only competition into the system but afforded a contrary voice to the hitherto government praise singing entity that the broadcast media was. Yet the majority of broadcast stations both for radio and television are still controlled by the government either at state or the federal levels.

The growth and development of the Nigerian media was precipitated by calls for an end to the colonial rule and an independent sovereign state hence their adoption of combative and advocacy style of reporting. This has not changed as the Nigerian media has remained aggressive in reporting government actions, especially on matters bordering on national well-being. The major key players in the hay days of the Nigerian media were politicians who advanced their political ambitions and ideologies using the media platforms they have established. This trend made reports and slants accorded to them to be representations of personal political thoughts rather than factual and objective accounts of news worthy events.

A major character of the Nigerian press is its adversarial slant adopted in the wake of national consciousness and maintained after attaining independence on 1st October, 1960. Its confrontational approach in reporting made political stories the main concentrations of major media houses, causing other issues such as education, social

and economic events and of course development issues to be relegated to the back burner.

Again, most if not all of the media houses in Nigeria blows the trumpet of objectivity, fairness and national representation. However the genesis of their establishments and a thorough perusal of their contents reveal that they still champion the courses of the political and ethnic sentiments, voicing the opinions that best represent obvious biases and slants in terms of what issues they cover, which angles issues are taken and what space is allotted to national issues. Some media see themselves as being the mouthpiece of certain regions. Conspicuously, the geographical location, ownership and political ideologies or leanings of the capitalist influence the slant, depth of coverage and editorial standing on topical issues. The bulk of Nigerian media houses are located in Lagos, except a few state owned ones located in the states and some annex offices located in Abuja the country's capital. Newspapers are located in Lagos. However, there have been unsuccessful efforts to build a parallel counter media force in the Northern parts of the county.

### **2.3.1 Milestones of the Electronic Media in Nigeria**

The electronic media in Nigeria have accomplished some significant mile stones. Perhaps the most outstanding milestone achieved is the deregulation of the sector in 1992 by the Ibrahim Babangida administration. Ab initio, the sector was strictly under government control with only government owned stations transmitting both in the federal and state levels. However, with deregulation came the licencing of over 400 private radio and television stations which have introduced both competition and alternative voice in the dissemination of information. Prior to the deregulation, existing media houses served dual purposes: first as an economic venture meant to



take in revenue and second but most importantly, a ready medium for self-aggrandizement for the government of the day.

The introduction of private participation brought vibrancy in the report the activities of political gladiators in every given political dispensation, irrespective of the hovering hammer of sanctions and restrictive laws. The media is the reservoir of first-hand information on topical issues. They scout for newsworthy events and investigate to uncover hidden truths especially in governance in order to maintain checks and balance of power and accountability of public office holders. The broadcast media in Nigeria were very instrumental to the ousting of the colonial rulers and have not rested on their oars to bring about meaningful development in the nation. The pivotal position occupied by the Nigerian broadcast industry is enunciated in the foundational objectives that established the governing body: the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) as established by Decree 38 of 1992 and subsequently amended as Act 55 of the National Assembly in 1999 owing to the deregulation of the industry. Currently the Act 55 is known as the National Broadcasting Commission Laws of the Federation 2004. The commission is:

- i. To disseminate information to enhance the welfare of Nigerians in all aspects of life - health, economy, culture and promotion of other values of national excellence;
- ii. To provide professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture, in support of cultural development and growth through constructive result oriented research:
- iii. To provide efficient broadcasting service to the entire people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria based on national objectives and aspirations;

- iv. To ensure that its programmes shall be a vehicle for mobilizing the rural population for national development and improving the generality of their lives;
- v. And to ensure positive contribution of the electronic media to the promotion of national unity and national integration by making sure that there is balanced presentation of views from all parts of the country.

A cursory appraisal of the broadcasting media in Nigeria over the past years reveals that they have lived up to the stipulations of the objectives. Various indigenous contents that promote, enhance and project the diverse cultural heritage of the components of Nigeria are being heralded in the form of drama, magazine programmes, children shows and musicals. Talk shows that thrive on topical but diplomatic issues which are catalysts for developmental strides of governments and a veritable avenue of garnering public opinion are also not lacking in the content line-up of stations. Such programmes as “Focus Nigeria, Matters Arising and Democratic License” on African Independent Television, (AIT) and Channels Television’s “Politics Today, Face-Off, Nationhood and Diplomatic Channel” are very intrepid, succinct talk shows from the stations that have had discussants that made meaningful contributions and helped shaped governance processes.

### **2.3.2 Ownership Landscape of Nigerian Broadcast Media**

The broadcast media consist of radio, television and recently online channels of mass communication. For specification purposes, this study focuses only on television channels with functional online presence. Chronicling the Nigerian media profile, British Broadcasting Corporation, placed the number of terrestrial television stations

broadcasting in Nigeria at 5- one government owned and 4 privately owned.<sup>9</sup> There may be other less recognized ones operating in low key capacity, however, Galaxy TV, Silverbird TV, African Independent Television (AIT), and Channels TV are the privately owned television news media with national presence while the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) is state owned.

Ownership affiliations of the media are loudly expressed in the contents of the media. For the Nigerian Television Authority, (NTA) which is State owned, anti-government reports which does not reinforce government efforts are taboos. Issues that borders on government inadequacies and inefficiencies are not reported as lacuna in governance rather emphasis is laid on what the government intends to do to remedy the situation. Both the editorial and financial activities of the NTA are subject to control of the Federal government including their various out stations across major cities and state capitals. The Director General (DG), Regional Managers (RMs) and station accountants are all appointed by the government and supervised under the federal ministry of information.

The African Independent Television, (AIT) is one of the foremost private television stations in Nigeria broadcasting under satellite streaming of Daar Communications- a media conglomerate. It has also enjoyed wide viewership and helped bring about vibrancy in the industry. Owned by capitalist cum politician, Chief Raymond Dokpesi, reports of the station conspicuously thrives on ideologies that represent the political interest of the proprietor<sup>10</sup>. Though they strive to balance reports by taking on both sides of a story, however the biases generally observable in the Nigerian media are fully discussed with visual examples in chapter four of this work.

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13949549>

<sup>10</sup> [www.aitonline.tv/page-about-ait](http://www.aitonline.tv/page-about-ait)

The AIT in 2013 commenced online broadcasting as an adjunct to its mainstream channel and boasts of good traffic on their channel.

For the Channels Television, they are purported to be the most objective television channel in Nigeria, having neither political pedigree nor ethnic prejudices. Yet their incessant attack on immediate past government of Goodluck Jonathan says more about their political leanings. The depth of coverage the station gives anti-government movements, protests or groups leaves little to be imagined of their objectivity in the true sense of the word. Fuel subsidy removal protest of January, 2013 and the Bring Back Our Girls campaign coverage readily comes to mind.

The Ownership affiliation of Channels TV is traced to veteran broadcaster cum politician, John Momoh and his wife Sola Momoh. It was established in 1995 and prides itself as one of the most innovative and technologically compliant news media in the country. It boasts of up to 2 million visitors to their online version and other social media handles.<sup>11</sup>

### **2.3.3 Online Broadcasting in Nigeria**

The Nigerian news media just like their counterparts across the world have embraced the new media. The intrusion it poses to the mainstream media was actually a disguised blessing as it has made it possible for Nigerian news contents to compete favourably with the counterparts across the world. Though many broadcast stations especially radio are yet to overcome the barriers of digitalization, most privately owned and of the State owned NTA have launched into digitalized broadcasting since 2012. This was in compliance to the International Telecommunication Union, (ITU) directives at the 2006 Regional Radio-communication Conference instructing

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<sup>11</sup> [www.channeltv.com](http://www.channeltv.com)

countries to fully digitalize their broadcasting media by June 2015. See Ihechu and Uche (2012).

Both state owned and privately owned media have all fulfilled this obligation and today, Nigerian broadcast media enjoys boisterous presence in online news coverage and contents. Nevertheless, Chioma, (2014) decried the poor quality of online news contents from Nigerian broadcast media in comparison to their counterparts from developed countries. According to [www.internetlivestat.com](http://www.internetlivestat.com),<sup>12</sup> Nigeria had about 67,101,452 of its population as internet users; a number which have increased to 85 million. They also showed that most Nigerians accessed the internet using mobile devices.

#### **2.3.4 Nigerian broadcast media and conflict reporting: Objectivity vs. Ownership affiliations**

Objectivity in journalistic practice draws on varied meanings depending on the social ethics and perspectival orientation one is disposed to. This has been problematic regarding sociological issues as discourses are often based on prejudiced orientations. Some school of thought will aver for reporting that is socially responsible in support of the tenets of social responsibility theory of the media while others advocates for social responsive style of reporting where news are framed in the context of what the social needs of the people are. Whichever school of thought one is aligned to, it is obvious that news reporting is influenced by a number of factors that questions how objective the objective reporter is.

News gathering and reporting are often premised on certain values which are universally accepted as guiding principles. Objectivity is one of these principles.

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<sup>12</sup> [www.internetlivestats.com](http://www.internetlivestats.com)

However, the process of gatekeeping as one of the processes of news production casts shadows on the principles of objectivity. Reporting conflicts can be emotionally tasking for the journalist especially when conflicts turn bloody; putting to test the principle of objectivity as a news value (Kate Adie in Allan, & Zelizer, 2004, p. 3). A renowned media scholar McQuail (2005) points out three basics of objective journalism as being: “a position of detachment and neutrality towards the object of reporting.” Secondly, it demands “not taking sides in matters of dispute or showing bias”. Thirdly, objectivity “requires strict attachment to accuracy and truth” (p. 200).

It is becoming increasingly challenging to achieve total detachment and lack of sentiments on the part of journalists who report conflicts, more so when reporter is part of the society in conflict. Indisputably, conflicts are part and parcel of every society and have over time been the premise upon which the evolution and development of nations are hinged. Yet with the outbreak of insecurity and various acts of insurgency in Nigeria, one is forced to raise an eyebrow as regards objective reporting by various media in the country. The situation is more upsetting especially with the commercialization of the news media which has grossly affected news contents. Oso, (2012) aptly observed that “the sale of news is killing professionalism in Nigerian broadcast journalism, (and the) commercialization of broadcasting has contributed to the death of serious journalism in Nigerian broadcasting”.

Objectivity is challenging to attain by the Nigerian media for various obvious reasons. The politics of he who pays the piper dictates the tune is prevalent. Secondly, the Nigerian media is dominated by profit seeking capitalists who are also not standing too far from the political field of play; hence media produces reports

that are shrouded in political vested interest. Yet another limitation is the prevailing poverty and unemployment in the country. A national newspaper reports that data released by the Federal Bureau of statistics reveals that about 20.3 million Nigerian youths are unemployed. One would rather play by the rules or die of starvation.

Finally, sectarian patriotism is well imbedded in the sub consciousness of Nigerians. Paying tribute to issues with sectional coloration such as the Boko Haram insurgency happens naturally. As Cohen, (2010) has argued that journalism lacks the ability to be systematically objective as in scientific studies because “it relies on value judgements especially in long format TV current affairs” such as Boko Haram reporting, hence lacks complete objectivity.

#### **2.4 The Nigerian Media and Framing of Conflicts**

The media globally are no strangers to the coverage and reporting of crises situations including terrorism. Of course their surveillance role in the society bestow on them the obligation to watch events as they unfold and aptly report back to the society to enable the process of informed formulation of opinions and decisions, sequel the name “watch dog of the society.” Media audience in fact sees the world through the eye of the media (Lipmann, 1922). This is why many have studied how the media have carried out this all-important duty with keen interest and have reported a vibrant symbiotic interaction between both.

News thrives in oddity. Happenstances in the society including the erosion of peace and tranquillity are the most sort after by newsmen because of the overt inherent reward for the media organisation which include higher ratings and viewership, higher advertising patronage as result of increase in audience and of course every media organization will want to be the daring one who brings in the scoops.

In examining the role of the media in reporting conflicts, (Thusu and Freedman, 2003) observed that the media played more of the role of sectional follow dog than a watch dog, citing the role of the media in the US-Vietnam war where the media was indicted of ‘excluding’ important information that would have steered the war towards peace a long time before the war ended. According to them, the exclusion include “the voice of the anti-war movement in the US, the motives of the Vietnamese people and the ‘inexpressible’ notion that the US and not the North Vietnam are the offenders,” further noting that news that runs counter official during crises are deemed unfit for publication because the media is seen as always throwing their weight behind the government troops by framing the opposition in the worst light possible and muffling their voices, thereby distorting the public cognition.

#### **2.4.1 The Nigerian/Biafra War**

Nigeria just as other African countries has had its fair share of conflicts including a full blown war between the 6th of July 1967 and 12th of January 1970. The conflict which claimed over 3 million civilian lives was precipitated by the announcement of a unilateral independent government called Biafra by the then military governor of Eastern Nigeria, Lieutenant –Colonel Odimegwu Ojukwu. The announcement on its turn was occasioned by the killing of the Igbos (easterners) living in the North which prompted a mass exodus of the people back to their homeland. Studies that examined the role of both international and local media coverage of the war revealed distinct bias and outright lack of objectivity by the media. This was chiefly blamed on lack of reliable source of information as media outlets depended on government agencies or missionaries working in the war torn zones for update on the war.

Due to the dual polarization of the media vis-a-vis the warring divides, both faction employed its media with the Nigerian media headquartered in Lagos being the



propaganda mouthpiece for the Nigerian people and the international media while the Radio Biafra, the Biafran Nationalist, the Biafran Sun and the Sunday Champion disseminates information for the Biafran side. Chequered and contradictory information were being disseminated by various media both international and local.

Reasons for this being the swiftly changing conditions that both factions lacks the wherewithal to transmit immediately, hence an occurrence may have been overtaken by events before it could be relayed. This misinformed many about the true humanitarian situation about the war. However, with change of events in late 1968-9 which allowed international media into the Biafra, the media was able to shed more light on the prevailing situation which attracted relief assistances and eliminated the bias and negative propaganda which had hitherto characterized media reports on the war.

#### **2.4.2 The Niger Delta Insurgencies**

Nigeria is blessed with a number of natural resources which serve as a means of national income for the country. Chief among them is the crude oil. The discovery of crude oil on January 15th 1956 at Oloibiri, in the current Bayelsa state by Shell Darcy now Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria put to an end fifty years of fruitless exploration by various companies who rode on the back of the colonial masters-Britain to search for natural resources to exploit in the then British colony.

The new discovery led to intense exploration and exportation of crude oil which in turn catapulted Nigeria to international limelight for the capitalists but to the detriment of the host communities. The activities of the oil explorers brought about environmental pollution and degradation of high magnitude, destruction of farmlands

and means of livelihood of the people of the Niger Delta. The saying that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere holds sway in this instance as several agitations by the Niger Delta people which climaxed in the formation of Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Ethnic Militants.

These groups comprising of aggrieved youths of the region took up arms and commenced attacking, kidnapping, maiming and killing of oil workers, foreign expatriates, government officials, vandalism of oil pipelines and outright theft of crude oil popularly called oil bunkering. The demands of the groups was simple: government should provide basic infrastructural amenities, clean up oil spills that have constitute environmental danger for the people of the area and make conscious effort to plunge back some of the revenue gotten from the sales of the oil gotten from the region in its development so as to rehabilitate the people whose means of livelihood have been swept away by oil exploration activities. Scholars believe that the conflicts that arose in the region were as a result of the governments' inability to make these rudimentary provisions for the citizens (Akpan, Ering, & Olufu-Adeoye, 2013; Afinotan, & Ojakorotu, 2009; Smock, 2009). Few scholars believed otherwise as exemplified by Collier (2000).

Howbeit, the media have been proved to be partisan in their reports of the Niger Delta conflict; exhibiting selective reporting that are both supportive and reflective of the hegemonic dispositions of their proprietors who coincidentally are politicians. Failure to play the surveillance and investigative roles expected of it characterized media reports on the Niger Delta and bare-faced coverage of the conflict as it unfolds without a hint on the options for resolution summarizes the findings of studies on the

role of the media in the coverage of the Niger Delta conflict. See (Obi, 2012; Ciboh, 2014; Akpan, Ering & Olufu-Adeoye, 2013).

### **2.4.3 The Boko Haram Insurgencies**

The Nigerian media both print and electronic have been awash with tons of reports on the activities of the insurgents' unending unleash of terror on the Nigerian society. The media being the conduit conveying pieces of information in the public sphere have played a vibrant role in making ample information about the conflict available. The question begging for an answer is how well they have gone about the duty of this information dissemination.

Perhaps the most disturbing point to note about the Boko Haram insurgents is not their threat to overrun the legitimacy of the Nigerian state, but having played up the religious sensitivity of the state. The Boko Haram as agreed by Adesoji, (2010, p. 3) have shown resilience in the fight for their course as Islamic fundamentalists. Their growing audacity is blamed on the ambivalence of some vocal Islamic leaders who in the bid to promote Islamic revivalism ended up fomenting conflict for the state. Because one of their major beliefs centres on the many ills of western education and its ability to imperialize existing culture, their basic targets have remained institutions promoting education of any kind.

Chuks Ilobgenam, a veteran journalist in assessing how well the Nigerian media coverage of the insurgency wrote in the daily independent newspaper<sup>13</sup>: 'Any content analysis of local media reports on Boko Haram (insurgency) will inevitably throw the conclusion that our media outfits are propagating the ideal of the criminal sect'.

Another study reinforcing Iloegbunam's claims on the impact of communicated information on the perceptions of the Nigerian people on the current insurgency uprising is Aiyesimoju, (2015) who found that media tend to report for the benefit of the elites or on the issues that will improve upon their viewership rating. Either way, the basic information gathered on daily basis from the media on Boko Haram insurgency constitutes both the knowledge and opinion the larger population have about it, hence Aiyesimoju's (2015) submission that the media ought not to go about the duty of reporting insurgency in such manners that portrays governments' efforts at resolution as inferior while headlining the dreadful activities of the insurgents. This will only breed fear and unrest in the polity.

Furthermore, Okoro, & Odomelam (2013) found that media frames of the Boko Haram insurgency are predominantly those of religion, response, powerlessness and politics; giving little room for development communication frames which have been established as the causative thrust of the Boko Haram insurgency.

#### **2.4.4 Causes of Conflicts**

Currently, there seem to be a rash of conflicts and small wars pervading the universe. From Syria to Yemen to Nigeria, armed conflicts have become a universal leprosy seemingly defying diplomatic solutions. Perhaps the most suitable approach to proffering solution to it will be to address the root cause of conflicts. Perhaps again the apt words of experts will grant insight to the issue. Metz & Millen, (2004) ascribed the reasons for conflicts to discontents of people stemming from the effects of globalization which have led to erosion and fusion of cultures and collapse of traditional norms. Also accused is the failure of governments to implement feasible economic development policies that could translate into better standard of living for their citizens. Discontent towards environmental decadence, growth of transnational

organizations and the trampling of social order have all been noted to stir discontent in the citizens. For Smith, (2004) relative deprivation of various basics may lead to conflict.

Economic disparities in distribution of scarce resources and the desire to attain, obtain and maintain political dominance are all touted to brew conflicts. These conflicts are aided and abated by the unrestrained infiltrations of small arms which find itself in the hands of aggrieved members of the society. Of course they will not hesitate to use them if and when the need arises because a hungry man is an angry man.

For developing countries as Nigeria where all the conflict inducing factors are prevalent, it is very vital for governments to step up efforts to address these issues that subtly cajole the youths to pick up arms against the State.

## **2.5 Framing as an Opinion Moulding Tool in Political Communication**

Research on framing of news events has long become a lucrative area of study for many communication scholars. Studies have established the effects of framing on public opinion formulation and attitudinal disposition especially in political communication which also encapsulates conflict reporting. Framing according to Entman (2004) entails “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution.” The media undertake a number of processes in assembling what is transmitted as news to the public. The processes are in turn influenced by certain pertinent decisions and choices, positioning the news person as

a gatekeeper who lets out information he deemed fit to the public after sifting through.

The media is known to set agenda through framing of news events. The question here is, how do the Nigerian media as represented by the three stations under study frame the Boko Haram insurgency? Is the news frames peace oriented or otherwise? Do the frames provide adequate information about the issues of conflict or vis-à-vis?

In a war or conflict situation, there seem to be an unvoiced marriage between the media and the military (government official) which impinges on the reporters' ability to independently report facts without doctoring it using the framing tool. Norris, Kern & Just (2003) explained that "in evenly divided two-sided conflicts, strong emotional reactions to extreme acts of political violence mean each society may offer different interpretations of events and images, sharing almost nothing in common... news media serving each community may reflect and thereby reinforce these cultural divisions, especially in societies with strong linguistic cleavages." The obvious tool for this is that of framing. Lending credence to Entman's (2004) view of connecting issues, (Reese, 2010) described the framing of news as emanating from a web of culture which highlights the existing cultural context and the thread that connects them, alerting us to how certain frames are connected to an underlying structure which are usually historically rooted but dynamic. Furthermore, Gorp (2010) submits that journalists are at the centre of the process of constructing meaning from daily events and issues and ascribes interpretation to them through the framing kit.

In further conceptualization of framing, Grop (2010) highlights the notion borrowed from Swindler (1986) that culture remains indispensable in devising communication

strategies by newsmen just as societies are dependent on stories from the media to form informed opinions about their social and political environment and to interpret them.

Juxtaposing this with the Nigerian context, religion, ethnicity and tribal dispositions comprises the cultural web that defines power tussle and have remained visibly significant in the framing of political communication especially in conflict situations in the country. In this regard, frames therefore deals more with words or pictures and how they are structured to convey intended meanings and elicit aspired actions or reactions. Elites and those at the corridors of power invest enormous resources to promote their interests by imposing patterned and mediated communications through framing of news events. This infers that framing as a media theoretical approach is most pertinent in establishing the presence of bias in political communication. See (Entman, 2007; Chong, & Druckman, 2007).

In their study, Sniderman & Theriault (2004) established that the measuring of framing effects may be more obtainable and practicable when hinged on “traditional” issues which is associated with pre-existing values and competing positions. They contend that individuals often adopt the position that reinforces their values. Bringing these home to the Nigerian context, it could be asserted that prevalent frames of communication tows the lines that are associated with the pre-existing values of religious domination, ethnic preferences and the least, political affiliations. The last being the weakest link that can precipitate a change of opinion.

### **2.5.1 Pitfalls of Framing in Conflicts**

As communication scholars continue to delve into the research of how the framing tool kit have been used to restructure political communication and steered public

opinion towards desired direction, certain limitations have been noted on the efficacy of the framing effect. For example, Entman (1993) avers that frame tool is used in influencing public opinion. He also noted that selective exposure to elite frames is concomitant to whether frames mislead or misinform audience as the latter had ab initio delegated credibility to elitist views and consequently are dependent on them to make informed opinion. This presents framing as being subjective rather than objective. This could be detrimental in a conflict situation because information about causes and resolution of the conflict maybe permuted in disjointed form, distorting both the understanding of the conflict and a possible move for peace.

Again, frames are operationalized with the exposure to news stories. However, framing effects could be either minimized or totally submerged by other exposures to alternative sources such as local opinion leaders or two-step-flow of information which stipulates that mass media content first reaches “opinion leaders,” people who are active media users and who collect, interpret, and diffuse the meaning of media messages to less-active media consumers.”<sup>13</sup> In this case, the determination of framing effect is limited as it cannot be credited with being unbiased in opinion formation.

The multi paradigmatic nature of framing and its association with other media persuasive tools as agenda setting and priming led Entman, (1993) to argue that the framing process is limited as a result of its ‘scattered conceptualization’ which had impinged on it being developed into a paradigm. However, this assertion had been debunked by D’Angelo, (2002) who argued that the understanding and application of the framing process ought not to be a one way traffic rather the abundant

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<sup>13</sup> [www.global.britannica.com/topic/two-step-flow-model-of-communication](http://www.global.britannica.com/topic/two-step-flow-model-of-communication)



accumulated knowledge that have been gathered by communication researchers over the years has led to a holistic understanding of frames and the framing process and eliminated fragmented findings (D'Angelo, 2002).

The second theory supporting this study is the agenda setting theory of the press. Though it has been addressed as the mother of framing theory, their distinction was aptly mapped by Weaver, (2007, p.2) who offered that “agenda setting is focused on the relative salience of issues or subjects, (while) the “second level” examines the relative salience of attributes of issues.” This simply means that agenda setting concerns itself in placing importance of events by talking about them more and how events are talked about which is framing does. Shaw, (1979) assents to this as he wrote that “the media, by describing and detailing what is out there present people with a list of what to think about and talk about.” This holds true when we consider the role of the media in conflict situation. Usually, what is understood of a conflict; what is considered important and what is left out in public opinion discussions about a conflict are all dependent on what the media have portrayed in their bulletins.

This theory is relevant to this study because of its opinion moulding success. As discussed later in this chapter, Nigerian media have applied agenda setting to effect attitude change in the face epidemic health challenge and in political communication. The position of peace journalism in effecting attitude change inclining toward peaceful resolutions could be attained with anchorage on agenda setting.

### **2.5.2 The Development Communication Theory**

Between the 1950s through 1970s, communication scholars commenced studies on ways communication could be used to facilitate development in developing countries by introducing the concepts of modernization with the instrumentality of the media,

Butner, (2003). The crux of development communication theory is according to Paolo, (2008) to engage stakeholders and policy makers, establishes conducive environments, assesses risks and opportunities and promotes information exchanges to bring about positive social change via sustainable development. The media being a stakeholder in the society plays the role of providing information that are useful to the peculiar needs of their people.

Given the prevailing conflict situation in Nigeria, the media proposes to be a vital tool for the communication of developmental needs of the people that will help curb insurgency when tackled. Sequel to the stipulates of this theory, the media can also encourage attitude change through the reporting of peace promoting culture and making inroads by investigations and analysis of news items in documentaries that would offer not just face-value notice of issues but proffer solutions. This is a peace journalism process.

## **2.6 Peace journalism: An Option for Framing Conflicts**

It has long been established that communicated information and exposure to media mediated information shapes society's perception of reality and helps in opinion formation. The classic and popular assertion by Bernard Cohen (1963) that the press is stunningly successful in providing what to think about for societies is not too far from the truth. For instance, the media mediates between political gladiators (political bourgeoisies) and the governed; analysing, interpreting, informing and educating societies using conventional language, signs and symbols. The media steers public opinion and in extension public actions towards peaceful resolutions in times of conflicts.

### **2.6.1 What is Peace Journalism?**

Shinar, (2007) describes peace journalism as giving “normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflicts, that aims at contributing to peace-making, peacekeeping and change of attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals and audience towards war and peace.” One of the foremost crusaders of peace journalism, Lynch, & McGoldrick, (2005) in the introductory vignette of their book asserts that “the theatre of war now includes the pages of newspapers, military headquarters television stations as well as the trenches.” What this insinuates is that governments utilizes the media to propagate arguments that are to its favour about the war while painting the opposition in the worst possible colour. They further argue that it is not out of tune to ask journalists to be conscious of peace while they report the nefarious act of violent conflicts maintaining that if the media can be the central locus of war-mongering; it will also thrive as a peace-mongering tool.

Still conceptualizing peace journalism, Lynch, & McGoldrick, (2000) posits that “peace journalism opens up literacy of non-violence and creativity as applied to the practical job of everyday reporting.” This is achieved through the educational functions of the media: when the media is used to enlighten the society on issues.

Writing on the role of the media in utilizing frames as a tool for peace journalism Olerede and Olerede (2015) opined that the “media in their expressions, intonations and captions (can) create communication bypass while framing (issues) and topics which have the power to generate conflict or escalate existing crises.” Given the foregoing, it can then be inferred that framing of events, issues and topics especially during conflicts dictate acceptable and prevalent interpretation and conceptions; if

news frames harps on win-lose or us against them, then that will be the manifest picture the society will act upon. Peace journalism is a clarion call on journalists to build awareness about possible non-violent means of resolving conflicts by making conscious choice of what stories to report and most importantly, how to report them in order to engender peace, (see Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p.5).

However, journalism as a field of practice is influenced by certain factors. Bourdieu, (1998) as (cited in Marliere, 1998) suggests that factors such as commercial and economic values are constraining in journalistic practices, hence impinge on framing of reports. This suggests that media and journalists are not completely autonomous in constructing public realities rather commercial interests of advertisers, government policies and of course ownership idiosyncrasies all find expression in framing of news reports in conflict.

Peace journalism does not claim to override the existing news values and traditional ethical codes for journalism practices. Shinar, (2007) outlined and explained four promises of peace journalism and how they could be contributory to enhancing media coverage of conflicts. They include:

- i. Professional Improvement: ...principles and techniques suggests that it might lead to better reporting and interpreting (which is a step) away from the (crave for higher) rating culture, towards human and social awareness; ...that it might (hopefully) change the seemingly inherent contradiction between the nature of peace stories and professional demands of journalists.
- ii. Strengthening Human, Moral and Ethical Values in the Media:

- iii. Contributing to the Public Sphere: peace journalism can improve media images and recognized socially important causes (such as the advocacy and mobilization for peaceful resolutions to conflicts)
- iv. Widening Scholarly and Professional Media Horizons: deviating from leading traditional theories and ideologies such as ...functionalism, hard core Marxism and technological determinism to recent writings (including peace research) open new frontiers for research, thoughts and knowledge on media and society. (To read the up the full submissions see [www.cco.regener-online.de](http://www.cco.regener-online.de))<sup>14</sup>

Conclusively, peace journalism as an alternative guide for framing news reports in conflicts indicates the viability of a tool kit suitable for certain functions of the media such as agenda setting, advocacy and education functions of the press.

### **2.6.2 Peace Journalism in Nigeria**

Just as in other parts of the world, the theories and practices of peace journalism is a novelty in Nigeria. Nevertheless, Nigerian scholars and journalists are already gravitating towards it both in dissecting to decipher its functionality and in practicability, albeit in minimum measures. For example, Ukwueze, (2015) employed peace journalism model in examining counter hate speech frames employed by the media in the 2015 general election. Again, two scholars, Olerede and Olerede, (2015) used peace journalism model to study how Nigerian media utilize language in mapping conflicts and suggest the complete embrace of peace journalism in conflict management and prevention in a culturally diversified location as Nigeria. Furthermore, organisations have in recent times taken the bold step of

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<sup>14</sup> [www.cco.regener.online.de](http://www.cco.regener.online.de)

educating journalists on the tools for the trade of peace journalism. One of such was when American University of Nigeria (AUN) organized a one day symposium entitled 'Redefining the Role of Journalists in Peacebuilding' on January 5, 2015.

Obviously, peace journalism is making a slow but steady inroad into the Nigerian media parlance. With scholars beginning to address issues of reporting conflicts through the eye of peace journalism and reporters being equipped with needful tools, it is only but a matter of time before a paradigm shift necessitated by a growing need to be both responsible and objective towards peacebuilding will take place. After, all a renowned Nigerian poet, Niyi Osundare asserts that the nation is "ours to plough and not to plunder.

### **2.6.3 Peace Journalism and Agenda Setting**

Peace journalism rides on the back of agenda setting theory of the press and its offspring, the framing theory. The agenda setting theory of the press is of the position that media through the instrumentality of gatekeeping, could slice out the part of reality which they do not wish the public to know; then present what they wish them to know, and lays prominence on it; as such that the public's opinion is as constructed by the media.

McCombs & Shaw, (1972) after studying the roles of the media in the 1968 presidential election in the US concludes that editors and newsmen play an imperative role in shaping political reality because "readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in the news story and its position." Similarly, writing on the agenda setting role of the media in shaping public opinion, McCombs highlighted the works of Lippmann, (1922) who asserts that the picture in our heads about the world outside are those tinkered by the media, sequel the priorities of the media strongly

influences and dominate discourses in the public parlance. The media can be quite successful if it adopts to raise salience on the principles of peace journalism and gate keep against the escalation of violent conflicts by going the extra mile of making peace talks and possible resolutions the salience of public discourse and the picture in our heads.

Agenda setting in the Nigerian media is quite conspicuous as scholars have delved into researching how the Nigerian media lays prominence on certain aspects of reality. The reason for that was not far-fetched as the previous election in 2003 was characterized by corrupt practices by the umpire. The need to reinforce public trust in them was needful.

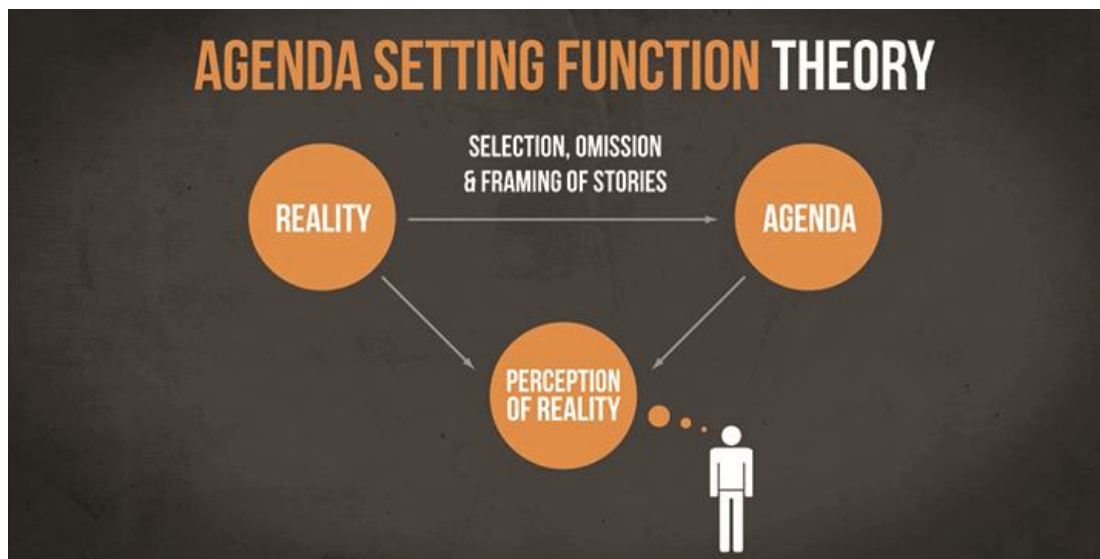


Figure 2: Agenda Setting Function Illustration Retrieved from [www.datamediahub.it](http://www.datamediahub.it)

For instance, in a review of the 2007 general election in Nigeria, Oboh, (2015) found that the media laid salience on the credibility of the electoral umpire-Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and provided less information on the political parties, their manifestoes or the candidates they were fielding.

In another interesting work, Oyero, (2010) examined the agenda setting role of the Nigerian media on children related issues. The study found low agenda being set on children based issues; hence less prominence was accorded child-health issues. In a similar vein, Nwanne, (2014) examined agenda setting role played by the Nigerian media in curbing the spread of Ebola Virus Disease that sneaked into the country in the second half of 2014. The study found that the media agenda setting role resulted in quick public knowledge of the virus which led to the successful nipping in the bud of its spread. The study also extoled vibrant public opinion on the matter as prompted by the role played by the media.

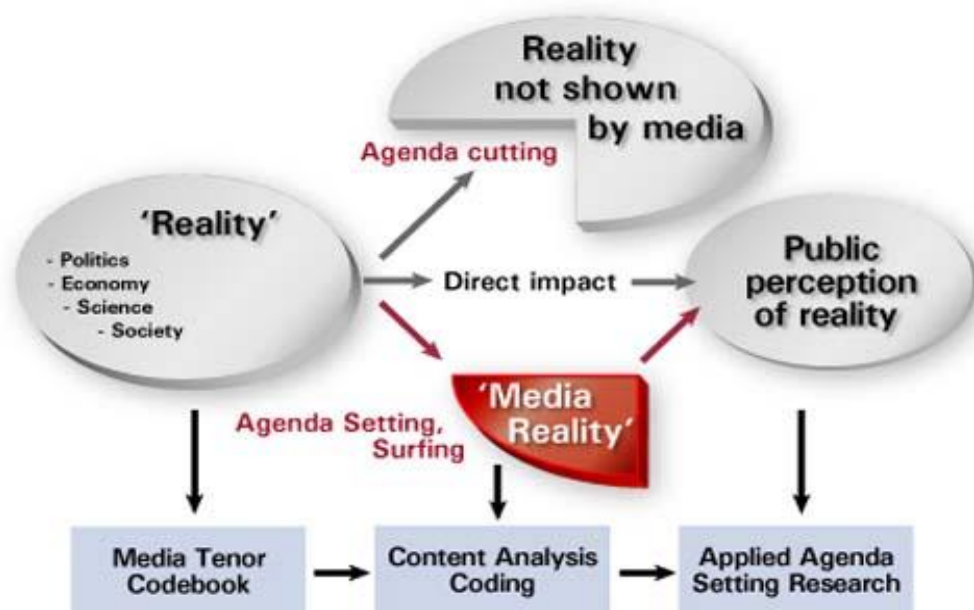


Figure 3: Agenda Setting Creation of Reality and Perception. Retrieved from [www.lessonbucket.com](http://www.lessonbucket.com)

#### 2.6.4 Peace Journalism and Education

One of the key functions of the media is to educate societies through interpretations of issues and events. According to Ohaja, (2004) the purpose of communication includes educating the populace by providing information and interpreting same so as to make it meaningful to media audience. This lies in the purview of media. The



effectiveness of the media as an educational tool is visible in the many programmes whose contents seek to enlighten the listener/viewer/reader. For example, our study sample (AIT, Channels TV and NTA) televise such programmes as Diplomatic Channel, Peoples' Parliament and Democracy Today. All are magazine format programmes which enlightens the people on current issues of national interest. They also enjoy the sponsorship and partnership of the National Orientation Agency- a government parastatal that focuses on educating the citizenry on vital issues such as voter education, etc. invariably, education about peace journalism should be at the front burner of such educational programmes; not just for the audience but to encourage practising journalists to imbibe the principles of peace journalism. The success recorded in educating Nigerians on the cause, prevention and cure of Ebola Virus Disease was tremendous and same is attainable for peace mediated journalism.

#### **2.6.5 Conventional Frames vs. Peace Journalism Frames**

Contrary to some misconceptions about peace journalism frames, it is not an effort to call a shovel a spoon but as aptly outlines by Professor Johan Galtung it is a bid to sensitize journalists on the inadequacies of the current news values that determines what is published and to make a paradigm shift from the conventional news frames that focuses on conflict arena, emphasizes 'us' against 'them'; reactive in nature, uses propaganda, is elite oriented and also victory based. An insightful submission is made by Gans, (2004:73) when he outlined values that decides what makes news. According to him "ethnocentrism, unselfish democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, social order, and national leadership" are the values that decides what is published and what is left out. A study of the Gans' elucidation on these values proves them to be an encapsulation of the Galtung's conventional frames as shown in the table below. For example, in

explaining the ethnocentric style of reporting by American news media over the Vietnamese war, Gans (2004) observed that:

...the news media described the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front as "the enemy," as if they were the enemy of the news media. Similarly, weekly casualty stories reported the number of Americans killed, wounded, or missing, and the number of South Vietnamese killed; but the casualties on the other side were impersonally described as "the Communist death toll" or the "body count."

The 'Us' versus 'them' is conspicuously visible while efforts for peaceful resolution is muffled. The media in the bid to get the scoop tend to magnify the cliché if it bleeds it leads. A country prone to violent conflict as the case has been with Nigeria is expected to be at the core of adopting the principles of peace journalism approaches. However, Adekunle (2014) found that the media audience do not perceive peace journalism in the style of reportage by the media neither were the reports studied showed efforts towards conflict resolution by the Nigerian media. According to him, "the mass media are lost in the understanding of the concept as they glamorize crises with banner headlines accompanied with gory pictures or scenes.

Many of the indicators of Peace Journalism assessed by the media audience proved that the pattern of media reports of crises in Nigeria cannot be regarded as Peace Journalism." Journalists are enjoined to consider the alternative approach while framing conflicts and insurgencies with this table in view.

Table 2: Galtung's Peace Journalism Model (1998)

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
<p><b>I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues general “win, win” orientation</p> <p>open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture making conflicts transparent giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</p>	<p><b>I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation</p> <p>Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone making wars opaque/secret “us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us” see “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</p> <p>dehumanisation of “them”; more so the worse the weapon reactive: waiting for violence before reporting focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</p>
<p><b>II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups</p>	<p><b>II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Expose “their” untruths / help “our” cover-ups/lies</p>
<p><b>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless</p> <p>Give name to all evil-doers</p> <p>Focus on people peace-makers</p>	<p><b>III. ELITE ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Focus on “our” suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</p> <p>give name to their evil-doers</p> <p>focus on elite peace-makers</p>
<p><b>IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Peace = non-violence + creativity</p> <p>Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war. Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society.</p> <p>Aftermath: resolution,</p> <p>Reconstruction, reconciliation.</p>	<p><b>IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED</b></p> <p>Peace = victory + ceasefire</p> <p>Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand. Focus on treaty, institution, and the controlled society. Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up.</p>

Some studies carried out to test the tenets of peace journalism found that the media is yet to divorce the unwholesome union it has with war reporting as finding showed the continuous hype of war frames and a down playing of peaceful resolution efforts (Nicole, 2009; Vladimir Ross, & Kang-Graham, 2014).

## **2.7 Limitations of Peace Framing Effects in Conflict**

The inability of proponents and supporters of peace journalism to articulate a theoretical basis that it could be anchored on have remained its Achilles heels. Hanitzsch, (2007) argues that manifold nuances are ignored and would rather see peace journalism as an “old wine in a new bottle.” For Hanitzsch (2007) peace journalism is “overly individualistic... ignores the many structural constraints that shapes and limits the works of journalists.” Peace journalism is not an all-encompassing approach to conflict resolutions. As observed earlier, factors that influences what goes as news abounds, hence the journalist cannot make unilateral decision to frame reports in desired slant. However, as aforementioned, communication frames are rooted in the socio-cultural makeup of the society. Based on these limitations (Hackett, 2006) advised that “to succeed, PJ must translate its normative concerns, rooted in the discipline of peace research, into a strategy based on a theoretically-informed analysis of the governing logics of news production. PJ supporters need to conduct a purposeful review of what media scholarship tells us about the determinants of news production”.

## **2.8 New Media and News Dissemination**

Technological inventions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have wrought changes in the modes and methods of communication and message dissemination universally. The times of traditional media are not yet over but their functionality is no more their sole franchise as the new media have waded in to further bridge the gap of time and space

with the assistance of the internet. Howbeit, most traditional media outlets are riding on the back of this evolution to expand their horizon by establishing online version of their medium. The effect of this is that news is no longer a local commodity but a universal one that could be accessed by anyone anywhere and at any time. The new media is primarily the internet assisted.

The above primarily informed the choice of the online versions of three Nigerian broadcast media. This study focused on the contents of online versions of Nigerian broadcast media. The coming of the new media have not only hastened the speed at which internet streaming of live news reports are received worldwide, it also offered citizens in diaspora the opportunity to stay attuned with happenings at home through indigenous media reports that are devoid of the idiosyncrasies of foreign media.

It also provides a window through which the global audience can accesses information on issues and events in Nigeria, lending credence to the global village concept of Professor McLuhan (1964) while explaining how technology has and will influence communication process and reception. Envisioning how the internet will influence communication, McLuhan (1964) asserts that our central nervous system have “itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.” This highlights the aptness of online version of the broadcast stations in this study which does not only parade heterogeneity of audience but an all-important spontaneity in feedback, especially in the present era of information overload.

The interactive media news dissemination process co-opts the audience into the news making process by weighing in on their comments, opinions and reactions on

published news items, strengthening the free marketplace of ideas expounded by Mill, (1859) who metaphorically by implication asserts that free expression and flow of ideas (as offered by the interactive media) will lead to the enthronement of the truth and stifling of weaker and unfounded ideas.

The buzz about the new media centres on the many ways it is affecting the exchange of information. Journalism is undergoing its most fundamental transformation. This is because the new media has provided ubiquitous news, granted access to information on global scale, and made instantaneous reporting possible. The new media also created interactivity between the sender and receiver of media message, ensured the availability of multimedia content, and provided extreme customization of news channels.

Notwithstanding the laudable potentials heralded by the new media, there are still inherent few disadvantages. Just as news has become ubiquitous, so have the trending of unverifiable accounts of events. The eye witness or citizenship or viewer-turned-reporter enabled by the new media and which are employed by online versions of many traditional media does not create room for proper editorial gatekeeping to be enforced. It has opened the floodgate for sensationalism in reporting and further aggravated the spread of hate speech, tagging, mudslinging and transmission of fear in the polity. These are all detrimental to the just cause of peace journalism.

The ease with which pictures depicting killings, maiming, suffering and devastations are readily available online without any form of censorship has left a dint on ethical standards that should protect minors. Furthermore, the unavailability of a

checkmating process on who uses online media leaves young minds seeking for news defenceless to such gory picture attacks. Psychologically, this should impinge on their perspectival disposition towards the society they live in. It could also further predispose them to the vulnerability of radicalization and extremism.

## Chapter 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

The procedures of how data were collated, with which instrument, methods of analysis and much more on the methodology will be fully discussed.

#### 3.2 Research Design

This study explores Nigerian online broadcasting media framing of the Boko Haram insurgency in relation to the principles of peace journalism. It is a framing analysis study of online contents of one government and two privately owned broadcast media in Nigeria. The study utilizes qualitative text analysis to examine the news texts of sample; seeking to establish or refute biases in framing of news stories on the Boko Haram insurgency from peace journalism perspective. The biases could manifest in the form of half-truth information that is unable to address wholesomely the classical 5Ws and a H of news reporting, reliance on government officials as the often cited source and other and anti-peace practices often engaged in by the news media.

Researchers who examine the structuring of media messages, especially those which are in unison to propagations of peace and stability or otherwise in the society often apply content analytical methodology in their study, (Lee, 2010; Maslog, Lee, and Kim, 2006; Dimitrova, and Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Ersoy, 2010; and Nuemann, and Fahmy, 2012).



Content analysis is a data collection technique that pride itself as being objective, systematic and replicable. One of the foremost researcher who published on the use of content analysis as a research tool for social science and communication research, Berelson, (1954) defined it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication.” However, a more direct applicable meaning is from Prasad, (2008) who sees it as “the scientific...study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions.” Krippendorff (1980) adds that it is a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.” Content analysis seeks to classify, reduce and sort communication texts into relevant but concise summative schemes that make data analyses and presentation all-inclusive. The systematic, objective and replicability traits of content analysis as reflected in the definitions are to make for triangulation of findings.

In extension, framing slants given to news reports on the Boko Haram insurgency- if they be peace/conflict oriented or just neutral are examined. Framing analysis is employed to ascertain, by examples, how Nigerian online broadcast media placed salience on reports of the Boko Haram insurgency and the representation of the ‘other side’ vis-a-vis stipulates of peace journalism. Frames are defined by Entman, (1993) as “selecting some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or recommendation.” Framing is employed by communicators to wrap up an event in a particular mediated meaning such that could only be understood as such by the audience. It is an important theory of communication because when employed, it generates a sort of desired effect on

the media audience that is why Reese, (2010) summed it up as “working symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.”

Daily, news media make decisions on what to field as news stories based on common practices and familiar news frames upon which the interpretations of events are based. This includes the way headlines are patterned, dominant meanings conveyed by stories, structuring of the storylines, focusing of the story slants and of course the cited sources of stories. While doing these, journalists employ news frames that are structured to represent persistent patterns while emphasizing, including or excluding interpretations, (Norris., Kern, and Just, 2003).

### **3.3 Sample of Study**

Many mainstream broadcasting news media in Nigeria have online presence. Some blogs pass themselves off as being news media especially those in the entertainment industry such as IROKOTV, HIT TV and SAHARA REPORTERS. As previously noted, there are 5 fully functional broadcasting media with online presence and enjoys national coverage in their mainstream coverage. The Nigerian Television Authority News24, Channels Television, Silverbird Television, Galaxy Television and African Independent Television (AIT) are the six media. For the purpose of this study, a purposive sampling was employed by this researcher to select, two privately owned media and the government owned media. The two private media are [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv), [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) while the government media is [www.ntanews24.com](http://www.ntanews24.com) were selected as study sample through a process of probability sampling process was applied in the selection of sample. According Tongco, (2007, p.1) “purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a non-random technique... the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to

find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience.”

### **3.4 Instrument of Data Gathering**

The archives of the sample were the domain of data. The period under study is 3 months of (February, March and April 2014). The choice of the period is informed by the heightened and audacious attacks by the insurgents, coupled with the continued collapse of various peace efforts by government established committees, local and international civil and human rights organizations to bring the leaders of the sect to a round table peace talk. Collected data were primarily saved in <https://getpocket.com/a/queue/> and [www.ant.com](http://www.ant.com).

### **3.5 Data Gathering Procedure**

Studies concerned with peace oriented journalism are usually done with the guide of the Galtung’s principles of peace journalism. Based on it 14 coding schemes covering the 11 research questions were formulated to enable us answer the questions adequately. Additionally, while that is expedient to be used as a compass in formulating coding schemes, a more nascent coding typology enunciated by Lee & Maslog, (2005) was also inculcated in the structuring of the coding schemas. This study borrowed 10 out of the 13 coding typologies to code 136 news stories reported by the sample for a period of the 3 months. The typologies are:

#### **Peace:**

- Less marked visibility of war effects
- Emphasis on people source
- Focuses on negotiations and agreements as conflict outcomes
- Emphasis on long term processes and wider aspects or effects on people
- Absence of good/bad tagging

- Multi-party framing preference
- No partisanship
- Win-win orientation
- Absence of victimizing language
- Absence of military vocabulary

**War:**

- Marked visibility of war effects
- Emphasis on elite and official sources
- Conflict outcomes focused on war options
- Emphasis on ‘her’ and ‘now’ events
- Frequent good/bad tagging
- Framing preferences for one or two parties
- Partisanship
- Zero-sum victory/defeat orientation
- Victimizing language and
- Military vocabulary.

Additionally, a coding scheme that examines frames from a reactionary perspective- to examine if the media were proactive or reactionary in their coverage within the period under study is also made to code media response to the Boko Haram insurgency. Findings are presented in tables, percentages, charts and graphs to make for legibility and ease of comprehension.

Saved data was retrieved from <https://getpocket.com/a/queue/> and [www.ant.com](http://www.ant.com) and saved in Word document for easy access. The word document was further printed out and contents coded into Statistical Package for Social Sciences, SPSS with the guide

of the developed coding schema. They were further analysed and results used to answer the research questions.

### **3.6 Merits and Demerits of Data Collection Technique**

Communication scholars, researchers and academics have always found content and framing analysis quite useful in examining media structuring of patterned messages, construction of ideas and lying of salience which shapes not just opinions but behaviours and acculturation. The array of research works and heated academic discourses focusing therein is indicative of its importance in the ever dynamic media and communication studies. The works of Reese, (2007); Mayer, (1995); Dimitrova, et.al., (2005); Matthes, (2007); McCombs, et.al., (2000) and Scheufele, (1999) all employed content and or framing analyses. As it's the case in every field of endeavour and in particular field of knowledge, content and framing analyses brandishes their merits and demerits. According to Prasad, (2008) the following are some of them:

#### **Merits:**

- ❖ Makes for quantitative and qualitative expression of phenomenon
- ❖ It has room to accommodate large quantum of data
- ❖ It is an unobtrusive research technique for sensitive topics
- ❖ It is content-sensitive because it offers symbolic meanings to data
- ❖ It is a safe method of research because of its ability to often refer back to text for verifications, unlike experimental or survey research.
- ❖ It is also less capital intensive.

#### **Demerits:**

- ❖ Inferences are limited to the content of text only

- ❖ Symbols are processed and coded in synchrony to the impressionistic observation of the researcher or coder which may be in variance to the intended meaning of texts by the sender/reader
- ❖ There are still unresolved issues of reliability and validity in content analysis methods.
- ❖ Study of semantic differences often tend to yield less valid findings and unreliable results
- ❖ The methods are lacking in their ability to test casual relationships between variables.

## Chapter 4

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES

Having collated and analysed our data from [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv), [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com), we shall proceed to present and interpret it appropriately using tables and charts that represents percentages of findings to enhance legibility and ease of understanding.

#### 4.1 Presentation of Data, Findings and Interpretation

Prior to disclosing the result of the findings of this work, it is pertinent to offer clarifications on some coding schema applied and how they are applied with regards to this work. The clarification will come at the beginning of each table representing a content analysis coding schema. This will guide our understanding of the results as they are being interpreted.

In all, this study analysed 136 news stories focused on Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and published in the online versions of the sample population between February 2014 to April of 2014. This period was characterized by heightened activities by the insurgents including the bombing of a popular and busy motor park in Nyanya that claimed scores of lives and the abduction of over 270 school girls in Chibok which drew public national and international condemnation. There were also pockets of acts of arson and destruction of schools and government property including places of worship in Yobe, Maidugri and villages in Adamawa State, hence the choice to study media framing of the insurgency at this period.

Table 3: Distribution of News stories

	AIT ONLINE	NTA NEWS24	CHANNELS TV	TOTAL
STORIES	71	31	35	136
PERCENTAGES (%)	52.2	22.8	25	100

From the table above, we can observe that [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) published more reports on the Boko Haram insurgency and security related issues, having taken up 71 out of the 136 news reports representing 52.2% of all reports. They are followed by [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) which had 34 reports representing 25% of total reports while [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) published 31 boko haram related reports within the study period which was 22.8% of total reports. Both privately owned media seem to provide more volume of information than the later which is state owned. [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) especially provided flow of information on the insurgency through ample reports on the issue. However, [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) performed abysmally. Being a state owned medium that enjoys financial and moral backing of the state; expectations are high that they will be at the fore of championing the efforts of government in curbing the situation through the quantum of reports made available for the audience.

#### 4.1.1 Evaluations of Headlines

First, the Headlines are evaluated under three subunits: Quotation which is a direct word-to-word sentence or phrase citation of someone's expression without infusion of judgement, editing or interpretation by the editor. Descriptive on the other hand gives summative detail of a report without attributing or crediting it to anyone nor passing judgement, while Comments are expression of an opinion or belief of either the reporter or the respondent not necessarily accompanied with attribution of source. For example, the following represent each schema as drawn from the samples:

“BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IS TEMPORAL”- PRESIDENT JONATHAN-  
Quotation headline from AIT news online of 8th April, 2014



BOKO HARAM KILLS 51, ADOPTS 20 GIRLS IN BORNO- Descriptive headline from Channelstv.com on 13th February, 2014

ISLAMIC SCHOLARS ON SOLUTION TO INSURGENCY- Comment headline from ntanews24 on 7th February

Before we delve proper into results of individual medium performance and their interpretation, let us examine the manifest headlines and interpret their relevance to this study. The table below is indicative of a lop-sided style of headlining by all media. From the table, the headlining structure is predominantly descriptive as 101 (74.3%) reports out of the 136 were descriptively structured. While this is not unusual or unprofessional per se, however it deprived us of access to picture the editorial stand point or leanings of the media because descriptive headlines are more often neutral than assertive. Furthermore, 16.9% (23 news reports) were comments representing peoples' expressed opinions and ideas that were not credited to them while Quotations has 8.8% (12 news stories).

The table further revealed that [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) were more flexible in structuring their headline but just like their [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) are more disposed in using descriptive headlines as 15 out of 34 news reports were descriptively headlined while 10 news reports had quotation headline and 9 news reports had comments as headlines.

The [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) had no quotation headlines, 28 of its news reports (90.3%) were descriptive headlines while 3 reports (9.7%) of its total 31 reports were comments. The apparent lack of variety in the headline structure of the NTANews24

also failed to reveal the editorial viewpoint of the medium just as their counterparts' are equally shrouded in secrecy.

#### 4.1.2 Evaluation of Source of Reports

Table 4: Evaluation of Headlines

Story comes from which TV channels?	Evaluation of Headlines			Total
	Quotation	Description	Comment	
Count within q2	2	58	11	71
<u>AIT ONLINE</u> % of Total	1.5%	42.6%	8.1%	52.2%
<u>NTANEWS24</u>	0	28	3	31
<u>CHANNELS</u>	.0%	20.6%	2.2%	22.8%
<u>TV</u>	10	15	9	34
Count	7.4%	11.0%	6.6%	25.0%
<b>Total</b>	12	101	23	136
% of Total	8.8%	74.3%	16.9%	100.0%

This segment takes a look at the revealed sources of news reports by the media studied. Firstly, the content analysis coding schema will be explained to grant insight on how each was applied. There are five units in this coding schema. Their names and how they are interpretatively applied in this work are:

1. Eyewitness by an in-house reporter: A reporter from the media was on ground to cover and write a report on an event.
2. Local news agency: Nigeria has only one news agency-News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) which on many occasion distribute news articles to media houses for publication; especially state sensitive issues that borders on security.
3. Government Public Relations Person: Most state owned establishments operate a function public relations department that packages press briefs, press release, documentaries etc. for onward transmission to media houses for publication. The

Nigerian Police, Defence Headquarters, Nigerian Army all operate such departments and stands as a news source for journalists.

4. Audience participatory source: This includes men and women on the streets who are interviewed by the media to feel their pulse on topical issues. Also in house programmes could host participants whose expressions of ideas are reported in the news bulletin.
5. Foreign News Media: This includes reports that are culled from other foreign media and cited as such.

Table 5: Source of News Report

Sources of News Reports	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLI NE	NTA NEWS2 4	CHAN NELS TV	
eye witness by in house reporter	28 20.6%	15 11.0%	20 14.7%	63 46.3%
local news agency	9 6.6%	3 2.2%	1 .7%	13 9.6%
government public relations personnel	16 11.8%	10 7.4%	3 2.2%	29 21.3%
audience participatory source	16 11.8%	3 2.2%	8 5.9%	27 19.9%
foreign news media	2 1.5%	0 .0%	2 1.5%	4 2.9%
Total	71	31	34	136
% of Total	52.2%	22.8%	25.0%	100.0%

From the table above we can decipher that bulk of the news reports studied were reported by in-house eyewitness reporters. The content analysis coding schema revealed that 46.3% (63 news reports) of the total reports came from in-house

reporters; Government Public Relations Personnel and Audience Participatory sources had 21.3% and 19.9% respectively, while local news agency and foreign news media were at the bottom of the rung with 9.6% and 2.9% respectively. The table revealed that the predominant news sources for Nigerian online broadcast media in the descending order are: in-house eyewitness, government PR personnel, audience participatory sources, local news agency and foreign news media.

An important point to note on this segment is the low and almost none existent reliance on foreign media reports as only a meagre 2.9% of all reported news stories was credited it. This is an indication of a robust indigenous media practice which is devoid of imperialism by external sources.

#### **4.1.3 Evaluation of Frequency of Reports**

A content analysis coding schema containing three sub units: Daily, Weekly and As Occasioned was designed to evaluate how frequently Nigerian broadcast media updated their online versions with stories on Boko Haram insurgency. If daily uploads are made, it will be indicated by the sequence of dates on the report; same goes for the subunit 'weekly'. Nevertheless, when there is an event (e.g an attack by the insurgents or counter attacks by the military repelling them) the media is usually awash with reports. This captures the 'As Occasioned' frequency subunit. A look at the table reveals a tilt towards daily and as occasioned. Because no media reported weekly on the insurgency, the subunit 'weekly' did not reflect in the table of analysis.

Table 6: Frequency of Stories on Boko Haram

	Frequency of Stories on Boko Haram		Total
	Daily	As occasioned	
AIT ONLINE Count	71 52.2%	0 .0%	71 52.2%
NTANEWS24	0 .0%	31 22.8%	31 22.8%
CHANNELS TV	0 .0%	34 25.0%	34 25.0%
Total	71 52.2%	65 47.8%	136 100.0%

The [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) set the pace in the frequency of reports as everyday news bulletin had a report on the Boko Haram insurgency updated. As the table above shows, there was no media whose frequency of reports were weekly based but the other media- [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) only offered reports on the insurgency as occasioned. As seen from the table, each of the media had below half of their counterpart, [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv).

#### 4.1.4 Evaluation of Length of Reports and Videos

This content analysis coding schema evaluates the length of time and space allocated to Boko Haram insurgency reports by the online broadcast media. There are four subunits in this schema. The least is fifty words to a hundred words which may be accompanied with video of between 0-2 minutes while the longest is two hundred words which may be accompanied with video of 9-11 minutes. It is imperative to note that most reports have very little lines of words which are usually the lead/anchor of the report followed by a narration voice-over laced with video by a

reporter which is not usually in correspondence with our measuring schema. In this situation length of reports are measured based on the length of video and not word count.

In peace journalism parlance, it is expected that reporters will make available in reports, more background information about a conflict in order to provide readers with adequate information that guides unbiased opinion formation. As Hough, (1995) cited in (Ersoy, 2006) observed, "...longer stories, [are] often more important stories" (p. 303). Borrowing a leaf from this assertion, the writer of this study therefore evaluates importance attached to the Boko Haram insurgency based on the length of reports. Also individual medium performances are assessed on this score card.

Table 7: Length of Reports and Videos

Story comes from which TV channels	Length of Reports and Videos				Total
	0-60 secs./50-100 words	1-1.30 mins/100-150 words	1.31-2mins/151-200 words	Above 2 mins/above 200 words	
AIT ONLINE	5	5	11	50	71
Count					
% of Total	3.7%	3.7%	8.1%	36.8%	52.2%
NTANEWS24	3	23	5	0	31
Count					
% of Total	2.2%	16.9%	3.7%	0%	22.8%
CHANNELS TV	1	3	6	24	34
Count					
% of Total	.7%	2.2%	4.4%	17.6%	25.0%
Total	9	31	22	74	136
% of Total	6.6%	22.8%	16.2%	54.4%	100.0%

The above table shows us that majority of the reports were more than two hundred words with videos. 54.4% of total sample were more than 200 words/9-11 minutes while only 6.6% had between 50-100 words. This indicates that ample information

was being offered by the Nigerian online broadcast media on Boko Haram insurgency. The result also showed that the 101-150 words/3-5 minutes reports had huge feature as a significant 22.8% reports were this length. It also revealed that [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) had the bulk of its reports (23 out of 31) under this subunit. This was due to the reportorial style earlier explained where anchors/lead are the only used then a longer video containing a voice-over of the entire report laced with visuals and interviews.

#### **4.1.5 Evaluation of Official Quoted Source**

According to peace journalism tenets, the quoted source in a conflict related report exposes to a large extent if or not the media employs the tenets of peace or conflict journalism. In this study, quoted sources are examined under two content analysis coding schema- official quoted sources and Unofficial Quoted sources.

First we will examine the table for Official quoted sources. It contains seven subunits comprising of persons that are in position of authority from the two divides of the conflict-the government and the insurgents. Subunit 1 is for the President/first lady; 2 is the Vice president or the wife, 3 includes members of the parliament and presidential cabinet including senators, ministers, state governors and house of assembly members. The subunit 4 is for the government official sources like the military or presidential spokes persons including personal assistants (PA) to the president and military public relations person. Subunit 5 is for Boko Haram spokesperson while 6 is the state owned news agency, (NAN) and finally the subunit 7 is for no source to capture reports that has no official source.

The table below showed us that the preferred and most referred official quoted source by all media being studied is government official (subunit 4). It showed that

30.1% of the studied reports had various government officials as official quoted source. However, a greater percentage (33.8%) of the reports had no official quoted source. In view of peace journalism stipulates, this is a good sign because it means that more people oriented sources were quoted by the Nigerian broadcast media. Nevertheless, we will not make hasty conclusions in this regard nor pass judgement of the significance of this finding for two reasons: we are yet to ascertain the percentages of unofficial quoted source and who took the lead as most patronized. Secondly, we need to measure the significance of the difference between both official and unofficial sources to enable us be emphatic when we finally conclude which is preferred source in Nigerian media landscape in conflict situation.

Table 8: Official Quoted Source of Stories

Story comes from which tv channels	Official Quoted Source of Stories						Total
	President	Ministers/Governors	Government Officials (Military/PR)	B/H Spokes Person	News Agency	No source	
AIT ONLINE Count	9 6.6%	12 8.8%	22 16.2%	1 .7%	3 2.2%	24 17.6%	71 52.2%
NTA NEWS24	3 2.2%	7 5.1%	12 8.8%	1 .7%	4 2.9%	4 2.9%	31 22.8%
CHANNELS TV	2 1.5%	6 4.4%	7 5.1%	1 .7%	0 .0%	18 13.2%	34 25.0%
Total	14 10.3%	25 18.4%	41 30.1%	3 2.2%	7 5.1%	46 33.8%	136 100.0%



#### **4.1.6 Evaluation of Unofficial Sources**

This coding schema was designed with six subunits that encompasses NGOs, experts/analysts which includes non-government bodies both local and international, other local news media, wo/men on the street, in-house reporter/journalist and of course no source to cover reports that have no unofficial are quoted source. A look at the Table 9 below shows that only 27.9% of the entire reports studied quoted the wo/man on the street. This is revealing as it was not able to balance the gap noticed in official quoted source. However, NGOs, Experts/Analysts and In-house reporters constitute the citizenry and wield no state political authority or power except that of free expression of ideas made possible by the media. Hence, their quotes may still count as the voice of the people.

For peace journalism approach, it is important that more unofficial sources are quoted in reports because otherwise will imply that journalists serve the purpose of the elites while denying the people whose interests ought to be paramount. Again, the higher official quoted source are the more the media appear as passive fourth estate of the realm who have not served its watch dog duties diligently but rather creates news for the pleasure and service of the political class and further denying the people a voice.

The content analysis coding schema also showed that [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) had more stories (23 news reports) quoting wo/man on the streets than the other two media. This could be because the medium had more people friendly type of reports. This will be revealed as we progress.

Table 9: Unofficial Quoted Source of reports

Unofficial Quoted Source of Stories	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLINE	NTANE WS24	CHANN ELS TV	
NGO's Count	3	2	5	10
% of Total	2.2%	1.5%	3.7%	7.4%
Experts/analysts	11	5	11	27
	8.1%	3.7%	8.1%	19.9%
wo/men on the street	23	7	8	38
	16.9%	5.1%	5.9%	27.9%
no source	29	14	5	48
	21.3%	10.3%	3.7%	35.3%
In-house reporter/journalist	5	3	5	13
	3.7%	2.2%	3.7%	9.6%
Total	71	31	34	136
	52.2%	22.8%	25.0%	100.0%

#### 4.1.7 Report Uses Pictures or Videos

This segment examines the communication elements that were featured in the reports as they appear on the online page. Some reports utilized static pictures which selected few will be included in this report later, however some reports come with videos that captures the essence of the report in a narration as explained earlier. A content analysis coding schema that affirms or refutes the use of picture or video was designed and the result showed in the table below. Because all reports had either a video or photo, the option 'NO' in the subunit was not reflective in the guiding chart

Table 10: Report Uses Photos or Video

Report Uses Photos or Video	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLINE	NTA NEWS24	CHANN ELS TV	
Yes Count	71	31	34	136
% of Total	52.2%	22.8%	25.0%	100.0%
Total	71	31	34	136
	52.2%	22.8%	25.0%	100.0%

#### 4.1.8 Evaluation of what Photo/Video Promotes

This content analysis coding schema examines what the observable picture or video used in the reports promotes. The schema is designed with three subunits. A brief explanation and what they stand for is offered viz:

- (i) Peace Pictures/Videos promotes solution and trust, encourages dialogues and friendliness. Does not create fear or depict the resemblance of war, strife and defeat. Below is an example of school children going to school at ease without fear. Also business activities could be seen at the background with the black market petrol vendor at the background and the cyclist going about their normal business.



Figure 4: Peace Picture of School Children going to School peacefully. Normal activities could also be seen at the background

- (ii) Conflict pictures/videos highlights war and war effects; promotes distrust and encourages combat. It depicts destruction and creates fear and despair in the citizens. Example is shown below of one used by [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) while reporting an insurgent incident at Yobe. It shows arson, destruction and pandemonium.



Figure 5: Conflict Depicting Picture of Aftermath of Boko Haram activities showing helplessness.

- (iii) Neutral pictures/videos are descriptive and do not tilt either towards peace or conflict. An example is shown by the picture below.



Figure 6: Boko Haram Neutral Picture of Citizens in Open Market

The above picture does not show any form of violence but a scanty open market as described by the descriptive headline. We shall proceed to look at the cross tabulation table to see how each media used pictures/videos in their reports. Table 11 below is revealing.

Table 11: Picture/video promotes

Photo/Video Promotes		Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
		AIT ONLINE	NTANEWS24	CHANNELS TV	
Peace Oriented	Count within % of Total	8 5.9%	5 3.7%	3 2.2%	16 11.8%
Conflict Oriented		28 20.6%	12 8.8%	13 9.6%	53 39.0%
Neutrals		35 25.7%	14 10.3%	18 13.2%	67 49.3%
Total	% of Total	71 52.2%	31 22.8%	34 25.0%	136 100.0%

The coding result showed that more conflict promoting pictures were used by the Nigerian online broadcast media in published stories on Boko Haram insurgency than peace promoting ones. In all, 39% of the reports had conflict promoting images as against 11.8% for peace promoting image. A total of 16 stories used peace promoting images while 53 had conflict promoted pictures/video. It is also instructive to note the number of reports (49.3%) which were descriptive and neutral. A burgeoning question could be, “are the Nigerian broadcast media none committed either to peace or conflict cause?” Or are they just indecisive on which cause to advocate? The findings of the content analysis coding schema which studied dominant frames will be able shed light on the reporting perspective of the Nigerian online broadcast media.

#### 4.1.9 Evaluation of Peace Framing

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, this researcher designed a content analysis coding schema that evaluated manifest contents of both peace and conflict in communicated text. Using peace build and conflict stirring blocks enunciated in the

Galtung (2002) peace journalism model and expanded upon by other peace journalism scholars, this segment and the next one tried to find how the media framed the Boko Haram insurgency. Some of the indicators of peace framing blocks include using words such as ‘our friend’ ‘good/good’ tagging, offering ‘forgiveness/amnesty’, ‘searching for mistakes within’ which is hinged on recognizing the inability to put adequate security infrastructure on ground and so on. Table 12 below reveals how the Nigerian online broadcast media fared.

The table disclosed that out of 136 news reports studied, 43 representing 31.6% had no peace frames at all. For [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) the percentage of their reports which had no peace frames (48.8% and 32.6% respectively) is an indictment on their lack of commitment in the promotion of peace and peaceful processes about the insurgency. Some other highlights are the number of reports that promotes trust, friendship, offered forgiveness and or amnesty and tagged the other in a good/good.

Some other interesting highlights this coding schema revealed include efforts towards using some peace frames in packaging news reports. Peace frames such as promotion of culture, searching for mistakes within and opening up for friendly discourse all has got quite some number of reports using them.

Table 12: Evaluation of Peace Frames

Peace Frames: Reports That are in Line With	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLINE	NTANE WS24	CHANNELS TV	
Our Friend	0	1	0	1
count				
% of Total	.0%	.7%	.0%	.7%
Trust	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	.7%	.7%
Unprejudiced	8	1	2	11
	5.9%	.7%	1.5%	8.1%
Good/Good	0	1	0	1
	.0%	.7%	.0%	.7%
Forgiveness/amenesty	3	1	1	5
	2.2%	.7%	.7%	3.7%
Search For Mistakes Within	17	6	1	24
	12.5%	4.4%	.7%	17.6%
Friendly Discourse	7	6	4	17
	5.1%	4.4%	2.9%	12.5%
Promotes Culture	11	6	6	23
	8.1%	4.4%	4.4%	16.9%
Attempt to Understand the Other	4	1	5	10
	2.9%	.7%	3.7%	7.4%
No Frame	21	8	14	43
	15.4%	5.9%	10.3%	31.6%
Total	71	31	34	136
	52.2%	22.8%	25.0%	100.0%

It was observed that 24 (17.6%) stories discussed searching for mistakes from within especially on the part of the government, 23 (16.9%) news stories promoted the culture of peace, brotherly love and peaceful coexistence while 17 (12.5) news stories encouraged a palliative measure through friendly discussion by involved parties.



#### **4.1.10 Evaluation of Conflict Frames**

This segment evaluates the manifest conflict frames in communicated texts using content analysis coding schema 11. Subunits ranging from ‘Hate Speeches to the use of militarized vocabulary’ are used to assess how many reports are in conformity with conflict framing of news reporting. To aid our comprehension of how the reports are evaluated under this schema, a quick explanation is offered about the subunits. The ten subunits used and their working explanation is offered below:

- Hate Speech- expression of hatred, resentment and or disdain for the other side of the conflict.
- Our enemy/threat to us- expressions presenting the other as a threat and enemy to the interest of the other and hence must be dealt with
- Prejudiced- An expression of bias preventing objective considerations to an issue or event; usually with opinion being one-sided.
- Bad/good tagging- referring to the either side of the conflict as bad/good which equals name calling
- War oriented- reporting events thriving on oddities depicting war and violence
- Accused the other- reporting events with expressions that points accusing finger on a particular side of the conflict as being the bad spot
- Who threw the stone first- reports that thrives on blame game on a party of the conflict while exonerating the other of guilt
- Us/Them- reports conflicts from a dichotomized stance of Us (for) or Them (against)

- Uses Militarized vocabulary- employs military words in describing violence and situations which could douse the true meaning of situation or heightens fears and apprehension in the polity.
- No frame- None of the above indicators of conflict frames was found in the report.

The results of findings are presented in the table below.

Table 13: Evaluation of conflict frames

Conflict Framing: Reports That are in Line With	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLIN E	NTANE WS24	CHANN ELS TV	
Hate Speeches	0 .0%	2 1.5%	1 .7%	3 2.2%
Our Enemy/Threat to Us	7 5.1%	2 1.5%	5 3.7%	14 10.3%
Prejudice	0 .0%	1 .7%	1 .7%	2 1.5%
Bad/Good Tagging	16 11.8%	5 3.7%	2 1.5%	23 16.9%
War Oriented	11 8.1%	5 3.7%	11 8.1%	27 19.9%
Accused the Other	12 8.8%	2 1.5%	4 2.9%	18 13.2%
Us/Them	13 9.6%	3 2.2%	1 .7%	17 12.5%
Uses Militarized Vocabulary	5 3.7%	6 4.4%	4 2.9%	15 11.0%
No frame	7 5.1%	5 3.7%	5 3.7%	17 12.5%
Total	71 52.2%	31 22.8%	34 25.0%	136 100.0%

From the manifest result from table 13 above, the Nigerian broadcast media are awash with conflict frames in their report of the Boko Haram insurgency. The indices for determining conflict frames was applied in the content coding schema 11 and the result is seen as above. Various degrees of conflict reporting were evident as all but one of the conflict subunits had news stories reported. Only 12.5% of total sample studied had no conflict frame. The most used frame was ‘War Oriented’ framing reports which had 19.9% of the total report. Bad/good tagging frames was also prevalent in the coverage of the insurgency with 23 news reports (16.9%) while ‘Accusing the other’ represents 13.2% of the samples studied. Other conflict reporting frames found in the studied samples were the use of militarized language which had 11%, ‘our enemy’ tagging which was 10.3% and ‘Us/Them’ dichotomy which represent the other as a threat has 12.5% as well.

#### **4.1.11 Evaluation of Report Types**

This segment is an evaluation of the types of report found in the studied population. Some types of media content have been listed in a coding schema to help sort our reports into a typified report. Some of the types and how they are applied in this report are:

- News reports- strictly news content relayed by an in-house reporter who served as an eyewitness that covered the beat.
- In-house programme- produced by the media on which some news worthy discoveries were made, maybe by the ideas of interviewees or experts on the programme
- In-house documentary- an in depth investigative special report packaged by a media house that provides background information on a topical issue. It is characterized by various contributions from wo/man on the street
- Sponsored reports- this include all paid reports on a given issue.

- Features reports- similar to documentary reports lack the seriousness of documentary. It softens the news with various anecdotes.
- Magazine programmes- this sort of programme combines various forms of reports and presentation style. News reports can be culled from proceeds of such programmes.

The table below shows us which type of report thrived in the online reports of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

The result of the table is firstly commendable for the Nigerian broadcast media in the sense that it showcases them as a viable news industry. With 65.4% (89 news stories) of all studied sample being news reports covered by journalists as eyewitness, it is an indication that the media in Nigeria is not a muffled drum but rather the political playground is an enabling environment for the online media to thrive. Furthermore, In-house documentaries that provided background information on the insurgency were significantly visible as 14.7% (20 news stories) the sample were in house documentaries.

Table 14: Evaluation of Types of Reports

Report Type: Examines if Reports are	Story comes from which tv channels?			Total
	AIT ONLINE	NTAN EWS24	CHANN ELS TV	
News Report	41 30.1%	29 21.3%	19 14.0%	89 65.4%
In-house programme	1 .7%	0 .0%	5 3.7%	6 4.4%
In-house documentary	16 11.8%	2 1.5%	2 1.5%	20 14.7%
Sponsored Report	2 1.5%	0 .0%	2 1.5%	4 2.9%
Features Report	11 8.1%	0 .0%	6 4.4%	17 12.5%
Total	71 52.2%	31 22.8%	34 25.0%	136 100.0%

There were also 17 feature reports which represent 12.4% of the sample. Sponsored reports are 2.9% and in-house programmes 4.4%.

#### 4.1.12 Evaluation of Dominant Frame

The focus of this study is to scrutinize report by the Nigerian online broadcast media and determine how they framed reports on the Boko Haram insurgency in the country through the study of the manifest contents of published reports. Content analysis coding schemas were designed to help us achieve this aim. The last of the

schema is projected at finding what the dominant frames observable in the report contents are. Four subunits will guide this inquiry. They are:

**Peace frames:** majority of reports in population of study applied the principles of peace journalism as stipulated by the Galtung, (2002) Peace Model. This means that reports tends to promote solution and trust, encourages dialogues and friendliness. Does not create fear or depict the resemblance of war, strife and defeat.

**Neutral frames:** pursues more descriptive approach to reporting the insurgency and as such withhold the expression of their stand on the issues by do not tilting either towards peace or conflict. This implies that they do not contribute either to peaceful resolution of the problem or to its escalation. The deployment of this sort of frames in reporting a matter of matters of high national importance such as the Boko Haram insurgency depicts none commitment to national development and peace. Conflict frames: enforces the reportorial style that encourages and escalates a conflict situation. This is done by employing the conflict frames examined above, (see table 14 above).

**Mixed frames:** Predominant frames found are a combination of both peace and conflict frames in a single report. This indicates that the media have no specific anchor when they sail through the murky waters of conflict reporting.

Using the table below, we will analyse how the Nigerian online broadcast media faired.

Table 15: Evaluation of Dominant News Frames Found in Reports are

	Story comes from which TV channels?			Total
	AIT ONLINE	NTA NEWS2 4	CHANNELS TV	
Peace Frames	7 5.1%	5 3.7%	4 2.9%	16 11.8%
Neutral Frames	3 2.2%	3 2.2%	3 2.2%	9 6.6%
Conflict Frames	27 19.9%	9 6.6%	16 11.8%	52 38.2%
Mix (Peace and Conflict) Frames	34 25.0%	14 10.3%	11 8.1%	59 43.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b> <b>52.2%</b>	<b>31</b> <b>22.8%</b>	<b>34</b> <b>25.0%</b>	<b>136</b> <b>100.0%</b>

From the result of the table above, it could be observed that all sample had more conflict framed reports than peace framed. Peace frames were found more in 16 reports which is 11.8%, neutral frames existed more in 9 reports which represents 6.6% while conflict frames were more legible in 52 reports making it 38.2%. Nevertheless, it was mixed frames which had the highest percentage with 59 reports representing 43.4% of all studied reports.

## 4.2 Answering the Research Questions

Having examined the coding schemas and tabulated the findings thereof, we will now engage the results of the tables in proffering answers to the questions that this research seeks.

### 4.2.1 Answering and Discussing Research Question 1

We live in a time the world is described as a global village as proposed by McLuhan (1964) who offered that the media would bridge the gap of time and space through the enabling technologies that will aid communication. Indeed, needless for one to be

at the scene of event physical to be adequately informed on happenstances. There is increased speed in how communication is disseminated cum the ability of people to read about, spread, and react to news quickly. The internet occasioned the above.

Many traditional media who ab initio were sceptical have added online versions to their mainstream status, helping them to reach a global audience at a pace that can only be imagined. However what is uncertain is how often these online versions are updated with information on topical issues, hence precipitating our first research question thus:

*RQ1: Does the Nigerian online broadcast media provide updated information on the Boko Haram insurgency?*

To answer this question we will refer back to table 3 which gave us an insight on how many stories were carried out by the media. Additionally, a pie chart and a table which highlights the distribution of frequency of reports are provided.

The table indicates that there was not much margin between occasioned reporting and daily reporting of Boko Haram insurgency related issues. While news reports on Boko Haram insurgency that were published on daily basis were 52.2%, those that were reported as the occasion arises was 47.8%. However, further analysis of the distribution showed that only one out of the three population sample published daily news on the Boko Haram insurgency- [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv). The pie chart below shows us the contribution of each sample in percentage.



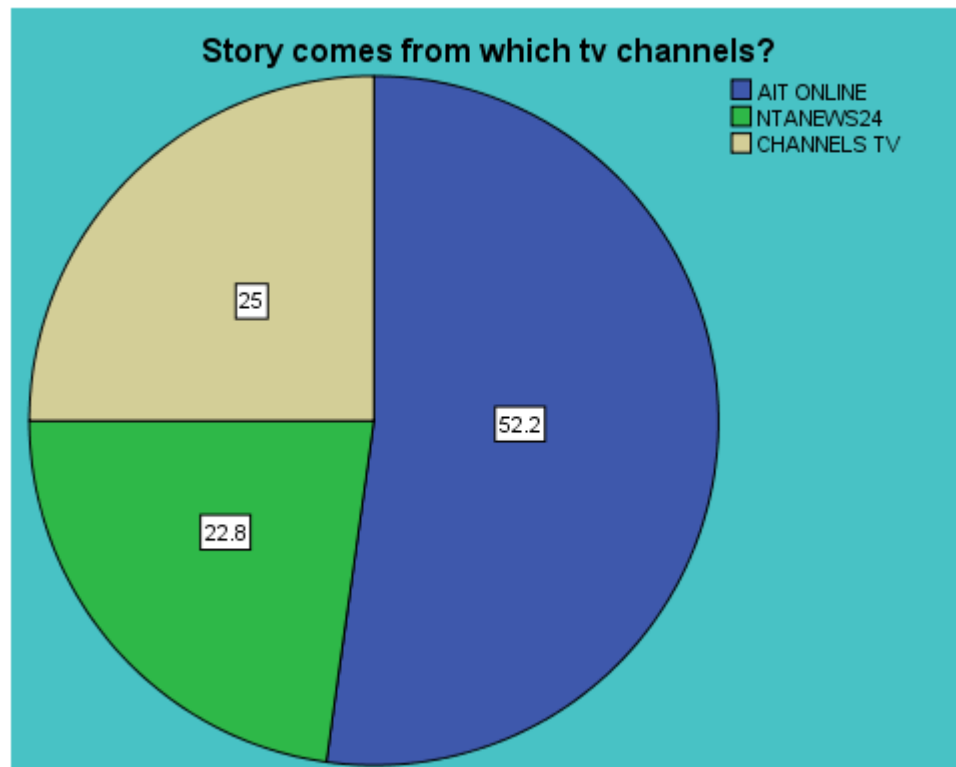


Figure 7: Distribution percentages of news reports by selected online TV channels

Being a topical issue which disrupts peaceful coexistence of citizens and causes economic activities of the affected areas to nosedive, it is expected of the broadcast media to provide up-to-date information on their online channel for unbridled access for the teaming information hungry citizens.

In a bid to further understand the information gap created by the media, we can divide the number of total reports being studied with the total number of days news is being updated online and then multiply by the number of sample. (NOTE: fresh news bulletins are not packaged on weekends. It is used for a recap of news events of the ending week. News flash is used to report breaking news if the need arises).

In the 3 months under study, news reports are published on week days only, while weekends are used to review the weeks' activities. There are 65 working "news days" while 136 published reports on the insurgency. When divided it shows that

about 2 reports are updated by the 3 population samples each day. This means that there were insufficient reports updated by the media on insurgency, hence the answer to the RQ1 is no.

The onus of providing education on issues of national importance squarely rests on the media. As a matter of fact, it is the elementary role of communication to establish understanding of any given phenomenon, that of security inclusive. Imperatively, the Nigerian online broadcast media should step up and furnish the audience with more reports, taking divers news angles to provide the desired education on the Boko Haram insurgency.

#### **4.2.2 Answering and Discussing Research Question 2**

A better understanding of framing of reports as are observable in media reports would be achieved if the sources of the reports have been well articulated. This is why the second question this study seeks to answer is:

*RQ2: Does the reports of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media provide information from all parties involved-the government and the insurgents?*

To answer the above research question, we will refer back to table 8 which evaluates official quoted source. The table exposes the perils of political dependency of the media as the government and its other established authorities were the chief officially quoted sources.

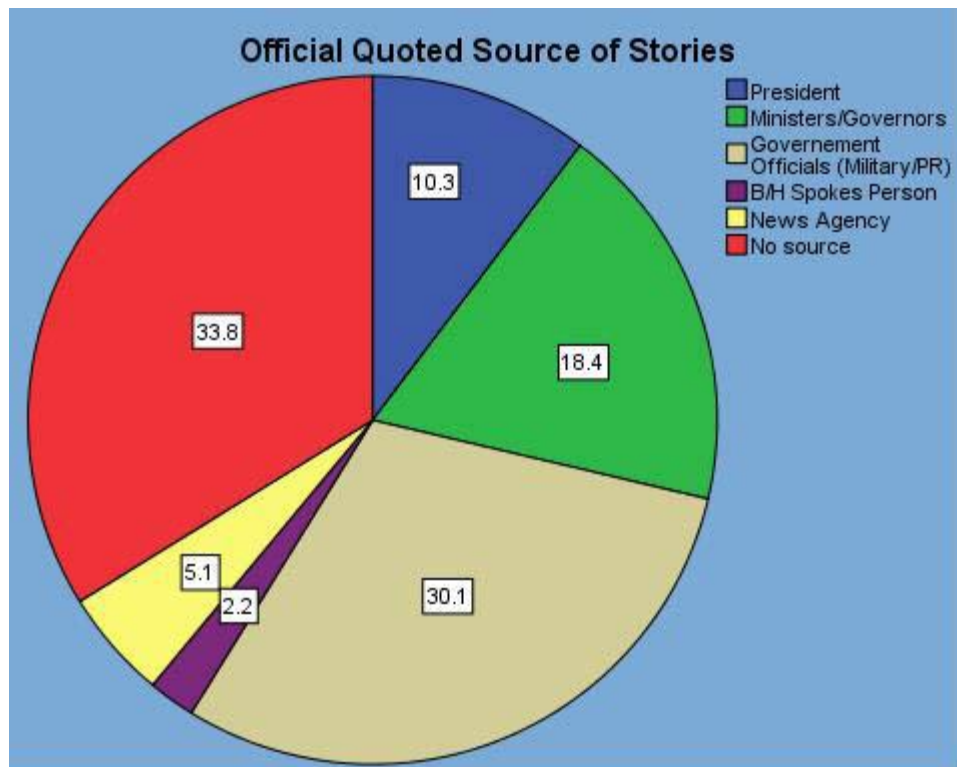


Figure 8: Distribution of Official Quoted source of stories

The insurgents had less than 2.5% of 136 reports studied, only 3 (2.2%) was credited to the insurgents as source. A look at the pie chart below provides more graphic distribution of quoted sources in gathering news about the insurgents.

Conclusively, we could aver that the Nigerian online broadcast media yet again failed to give balance to news gathering by offering the voiceless insurgents a medium of expression. Therefore, the answer to RQ2 is no. The consequences of such neglect may not be unconnected series to series of attacks suffered by some media houses in the 2011.

#### 4.2.3 Answering and Discussing Research Question 3

The third research question of this study seeks to know:

*RQ3: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media portray bias?*

Inequality in the society has various observable indicators. One of such indicators is the determination of whose voice is heard in a conflict situation. While the media are saddled with the responsibility of ensuring parties involved in a conflict situation are given free expression of ideas (including grievances), none fulfilment of this role could have some heinous repercussions. Writing on the media and insurgency, Metz of the US Army College of Strategic Studies Institute (2012, p.4) wrote “In the broadest sense, the initial costs associated with being an information creator—whether it involves education, research, or physical equipment—are significantly lower than in the past, permitting more people, some with nefarious intention, to assume the role.” That is the situation currently pervading the Nigerian communication atmosphere.

As seen in chart1 above, the media is biased toward the insurgents as it failed to seek and publish opinions from them. The number of government and government related sources quoted in stories studied showed the bias. Consequently we can say that the answer to research RQ3 is no.

For lack of available medium of communication, insurgents give vent to their ideas using the media available to them which is the alternative media. As two peace journalism scholars succinctly opined, “...respect to one party, (even if you don’t like them and think they’re to blame) leads to bad and biased journalism. There are countless examples. Acknowledging the suffering of all sides is not a substitute for analysing the conflict - it is essential to establishing the real formation or map of the conflict” (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000, p. 24). Because lack of professionalism and focus on peaceful resolution of conflict is not the aim of insurgents, they spread fear,

false indoctrination and distrust in the polity using the available media-the social media. However, that is an angle to the situation not covered in this study.

#### **4.2.4 Answering and Discussing Research Question 4**

The media is known for laying salience on given stories in a manner that influences audience interpretations of the story. Consequently, this study seeks to know:

*RQ4: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by online Broadcast media focus on US/THEM dichotomy?*

The polarization of news while reporting conflicts is the bane of peaceful resolution. The media engages in the act of reporting events from two poles in a conflict situation, leading to the engagement of some anti-peace journalism practices such as tagging of good/bad, Us/Them, pointing accusing fingers at the ‘other’ and labelling the other as the ‘enemy and the problem,’ Galtung, (1998). Another candid warning stipulated in two out of the ten point commandment offered by Majid Tehranian (2002) in a conference paper presentation enjoined newsmen to

- Never reduce the parties to human conflict to two. And to know that;
- Your representation of conflict problems can become part of the problem if it exacerbates dualism and hatred.

In the light of the above, we will proceed to use content analysis schema 11 as represented in table 13 to answer this research question while using a graph to represent the result. From the table, it is observed that frames using ‘US/THEM’ dichotomy had 17 reports which represent 12.5%, but our conclusion cannot be drawn from that alone. Other observable indices that are the hallmark of a dual polarization and conflict oriented reporting are also put into consideration here.

Indices such as ‘GOOD/BAD’ tagging had 16.9%; ‘OUR ENEMY/THREAT’ had 10.3% while ‘ACCUSING THE OTHER’ had 13.2%.

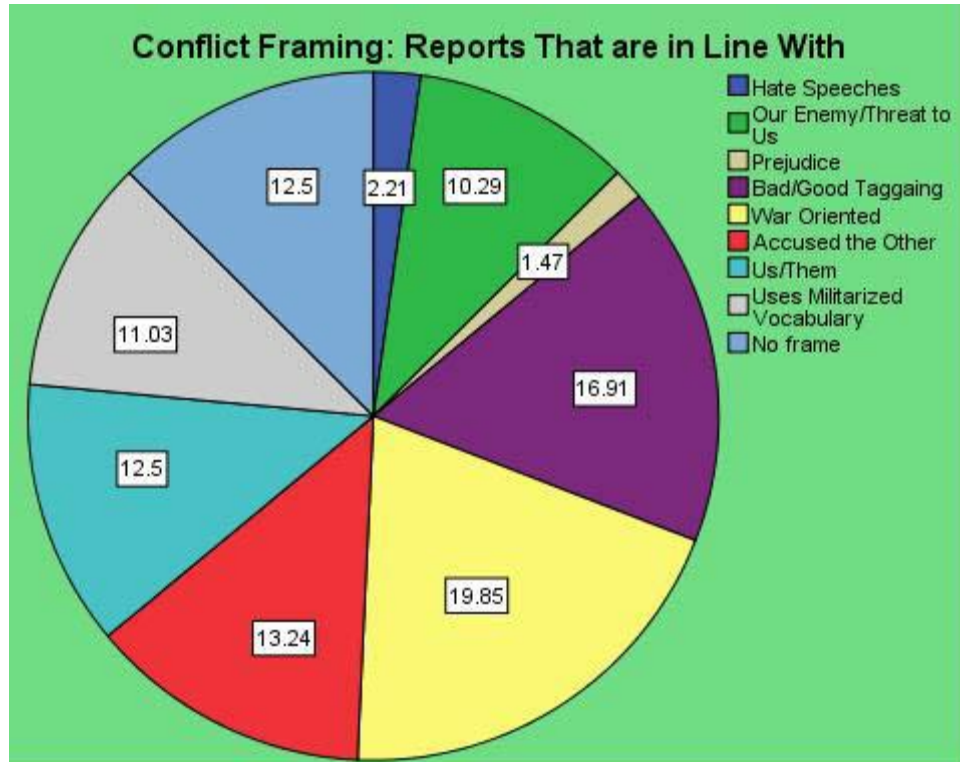


Figure 9: Distribution of Percentages of Conflict frames

Since the additional indices are indicative of a dichotomized polarization in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media, it is in line to submit that 52.9% of studied sample represents an ‘US/THEM’ dichotomy. This did affirm that the Nigerian online broadcast media dichotomized the framing of Boko Haram insurgency. Though the percentage is not a significant landslide majority, it however does bear substantial impact on how the populace views the unfolding insurgency and forms opinion about them. It was such influence of public opinion that stems from representation that could lead to the escalation of conflict that Tehranian (2002) above warned about.

#### **4.2.5 Answering and Discussing Research Question 5**

Another question this study seeks to unravel answers to is:

*RQ5: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media employ conventional or peace journalism reportorial styles?*

The guide to answer this question will be the Galtung (1998) peace and conflict reporting model while results of table 15 above which evaluates the dominant frames will help answer and discussion it. Revelations from the results of the table shows marginal interest in peace journalism reporting style by the Nigerian media.

Only 11.8% of reports had peace frames orientations completely. However, its opposite- conflict frames had an ahead shave of 38.2% and a total of 52 reports. Obviously, the Nigerian media employed more of conflict framing style while packaging reports on the Boko Haram insurgency. However, a hasty conclusion on this may becloud the other revelations of table 13 which is the employment of mixed frames (using both conflict and peace indices) in reporting an event on the insurgency. About 59 reports (43.4%) used both peace and conflict oriented frames in published reports.

Conclusively, it could be averred that the Nigerian media are not knowledgeable on the principles of peace journalism hence the muddled up reportorial approach. Therefore the answer to research question 5 is not stereotyped. The Nigerian media are observed to use more of conflict oriented reportorial style and a mixture of both peace and conflict news writing style. A chart illustrating how the performed is given below.

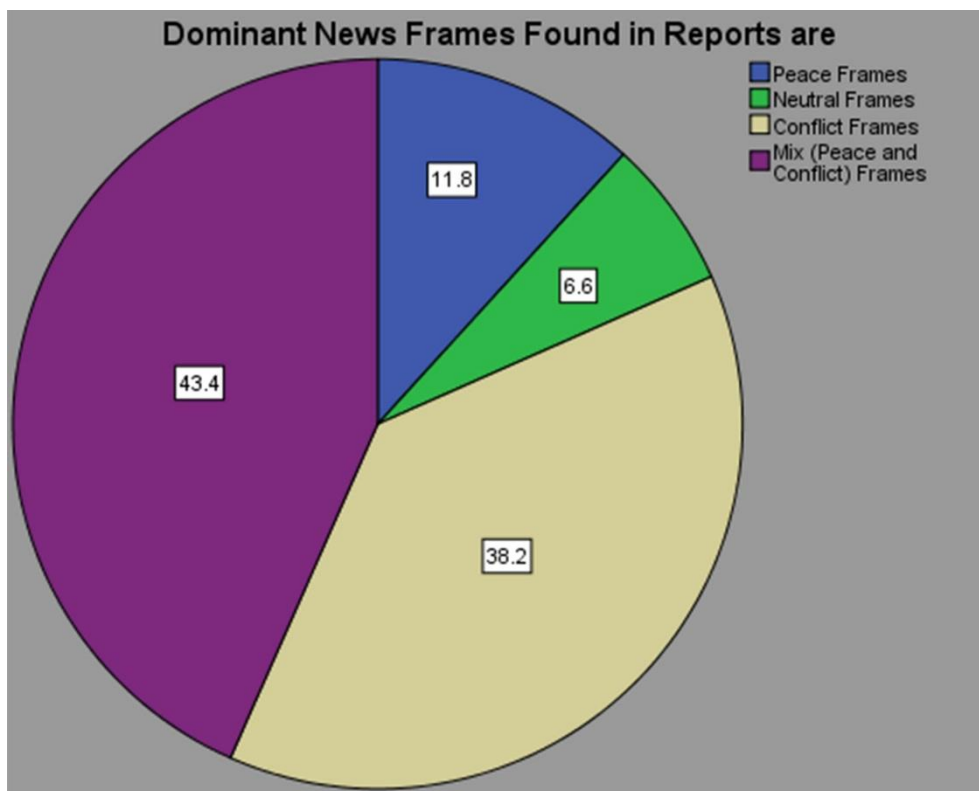


Figure 10: Distribution of Percentages of Dominant Frame

How knowledgeable Nigerian media are disposed towards peace and conflict journalism is a study highly recommended by this researcher. For a country that have tasted the brunt of internal conflicts and insurgencies time and again, it would be expected that the Nigerian media will be at the fore in the campaign for the adoption of peace journalism stipulates

#### 4.2.6 Answering and Discussing Research Question 6

The principles of peace journalism abhors the WIN/LOSE approach to reporting conflicts. This is because as stipulated in Galtung's (1998) peace journalism model, the approach "Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation." The adoption of a WIN/LOSE approach in reporting does not accommodate efforts at peaceful resolutions and hides peace or reconciliatory efforts from the other, fanning the embers of distrust. The sixth question of this study therefore craves answers to is:



*RQ6: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian broadcast media depict a win/lose situation about the insurgency?*

To gain answer to this question we will yet again turn to content analysis coding schema 11 as represented by table 13. A chart will also be used to graphically illustrate the answers.

Indices contained in table 13 include subunits that evaluates if reports are war oriented, uses militarized language and or give hate speech against the other. The chart and table below tells us the needful.

Table 16: Reports are in line with:

	Frequency	Percent
Hate Speeches	3	2.2
Our Enemy/Threat to Us	14	10.3
Prejudice	2	1.5
Bad/Good Tagging	23	16.9
War Oriented	27	19.9
Accused the Other	18	13.2
Us/Them	17	12.5
Uses Militarized Vocabulary	15	11.0
No frame	17	12.5
Total	136	100.0

The Language of communication and framing of reports are strong indicators of war and in a war situation, a winner is expected to emerge. The flagrant use of militarized language and the framing of Boko Haram insurgency in a war depicting orientations answered the RQ6 in an emphatic affirmative. Some headlines depicting this finding will be shared below to buttress the aforementioned.

Nigerian Army Can't Defeat Boko Haram- Governor Shettima

[www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com)

February 17th, 2014

Jonathan Calls On Boko Haram To Surrender

[www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com)

February 24th, 2014

Boko Haram Strikes Again; Over 40 Children Slaughtered

[www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv)

Boko Haram Unleashes Terror on Students in Boarding House

<http://www.aitonline.tv>

#### **4.2.7 Answering and Discussing Research Question 7**

The last question of this study asks:

*RQ7: Is the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian broadcast media war or peace oriented?*

The finding of coding schema 13 that evaluates the manifest dominant frames again provides the answer to this question. The finding exposes heavy reliance of the Nigerian media on conflict reporting. There was expedient salience laid on war. As Lynch (2001, p.6) wrote on the intricacies of war journalism “privileged perspectives are camouflaged as facts, using phrases, which have become classics of journalists: ‘said to be’; ‘thought to be’; ‘it’s being seen as’.” Findings showed that Nigerian media mixes up and uses interchangeably, peace and conflict framing while reporting insurgency.

Howbeit, conflict frames far outweighs peace frames hence we say that the Nigerian media uses conflict frames. The import of this infers that the Nigerian broadcast

media in particular and Nigerian media as a whole lack full understanding of peace journalism practice. Their inability to adopt either peace or conflict journalism reportorial style is problematic in achieving the goals of the media in nation development and integration.

As argued by McQuail, (2010) a functional media thriving towards the development of the nation avoids publicizing information that are detrimental to the peace, unity, tranquillity, cultural and religious wellbeing of the nation. In a nut shell, going by the results of the manifest contents analysed in table 14 above, the Nigerian media have revealed a lacuna between it and their expected duties in nation building as enjoined by one of the normative theories of the press-development communication theory. We shall discuss more of the implications of the dominant frames found in this study in the next segment when the research questions are answered.

#### **4.2.8 Answering and Discussing Research Question 8**

Peace scholars unanimously agreed that journalists reporting conflicts find themselves vulnerably at the divide of government favouritism in their coverages of conflicts. This is reflective in whose voice and opinion is sought after and consequently laid salience on. Goretti, (2007) points out alignment of the media, especially state owned media with the government divide of the conflict, which according to her births “hate rhetoric, distorted facts and floods of propaganda, fanning the flames of fear and hatred.” Based on this study asks

*RQ8: Have the Nigerian online broadcast media been pro government and selectively provided information on Boko Haram insurgency?*

We shall yet use the information on table 8 to answer this question. From table 8, a very insignificant 2.2% of studied data made reference to the Boko Haram insurgents

as an official quoted source while a cumulative of 58.8% were from government and its agencies. This preference to government side of story is a succinct yet unvoiced declaration of whose side the media are pitched. Because Boko Haram insurgents were first members of the society with families and relations before being indoctrinated to radical extremism, their worldviews and grievances would have been revealed to people who are close to them. The point here is that the more Wo/man on the street quoted source reports that the media focus on, the more likelihood of capturing the pulse of the insurgents and discerning avenues to exploit peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Table 17: Distribution of official quoted source

Official quoted source	Frequency	Percent
Valid President	14	10.3%
Ministers/Governors	25	18.4%
Government Officials (Military/PR)	41	30.1%
B/H Spokes Person	3	2.2%
News Agency	7	5.1%
No source	46	33.8%
Total	136	100.0%

However, in agreement to the stipulations of peace journalism, the Nigerian media engaged the people on the streets, analyst, NGOs and experts as source in unofficial quoted source. Their contributions shows that 53.8% of reports had input of none government officials. Despite contributions from non-governmental officials, there was yet to be a balance between stories emanating from government officials and Boko Haram or people sources. From manifest contents examined, 14 reports were what the president or the first lady said, 25 reports was the views of governors, ministers and members of the parliament while 41 reports expressed the views of

military or government public relations officers. When calculated, it reveals 80 out of 136 reports had their source from the government while NGOs, experts, analysts and wo/man on the street contributed to 56 reports only.

Evidently, the Nigerian media are pro government and did selectively provided information on the Boko Haram insurgency. Writing on the perils of reporting conflicts from this sort of conventional style of reporting, Sreedharan (2013, p. 458) advocates for “complete understanding of conflict situations by presenting overlooked, non-elite discourses, bringing to light untruths on all sides, and focussing on people caught in the conflict rather than the policymakers.” Focusing on State and State representatives as sources of scoop on the Boko Haram insurgency deprives the media adequate knowledge of how to broker peace in the situation. It also hides inroads towards peace from them.

#### **4.2.9 Answering and Discussing Research Question 9**

The media are notoriously known to thrive in casualties and oddities hence the popular cliché “if it bleeds, it leads.” We shall use the headline evaluation schema contained in table 4 to answer this research question which asks:

*RQ9: Does Nigerian online broadcast media focuses on casualties and oddities of the insurgency rather than causative and remedial factors?*

Table 4 shows clearly that there were predominantly descriptive headlines (74.3%) than comments (16.9%) and quotation headlines (8.8%). But beyond the numbers, what does such structuring reveal about the reportage of Nigerian media on the Boko Haram insurgency? The media stance only offers descriptions of what happened or what someone said. There was lack of explanation of the root cause or remedial factors that could ameliorate the situation. Some of the headlines truly bleed as the

harp on casualties and oddities are conspicuous in the screaming banner headlines such as:

BOKO HARAM KILLS 51, ABDUCTS 20 GIRLS IN BORNO-  
[www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

SUSPECTED BOKO HARAM MEMBERS STRIKEIN ADAMAWA-  
[www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) on February 27<sup>th</sup>. 2014.

NYANYA BOMB BLAST: AFFECTED SEVEN YEAR OLD VICTIM MAY  
LOSE LEG- [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) on April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014

BOKO HARAM MEMBERS ABDUCT 200 SCHOOL GIRLS IN CHIBOK-  
[www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) on 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2014

BOKO HARAM UNLEASHES TERROR ON STUDENTS IN BOARDING  
HOUSE- [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) on 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2014.

These few selected headlines shows the salience placed on casualties and oddities.

To take it further, we shall use table 13 which is the result of the coding schema which evaluates conflict frames to elaborate on answer to research question 9. Table 13 exposes the unbridled uses of militarized language to describe events and tagging of the insurgents. This conveys war messages to media audience, and portrays the media as focusing on casualties and oddities. On the other hand, revelations of table 12 which evaluates the peace frames found in study showed that the Nigerian media did not altogether ignore remedial factors in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency. Such remedial indices as ‘searching for mistakes within’ had 17.6% representation in the reports. Others are ‘friendly discussions’ which has 12.5% while ‘promotion of culture’ has 16.9%. Given the above, this hypothesis is partially true and partially false.

Foremost peace scholar, Johan Galtung cautioned about the media running after the ‘low roads’ of war with

#### **4.2.10 Answering and Discussing Research Question 10**

RQ10: Was *Nigerian online broadcast media reactive instead of proactive in providing information about Boko Haram insurgency.*

How frequent the media are able to provide up to date information as well as the space or time devoted in reporting the information is important in determining how proactively or actively the media responds to an issue. In conflict situations as is the case in Nigeria, citizens rely on the media to get an understanding of not just how many people died but what the insurgency portend for them and the future of the nation. Table presenting evaluation of frequency of reports reveals to us that daily reportage of the insurgency had more percentage than as occasioned.

However when dissected further, we see that while [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) had reports for each day (updated 71 stories) [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) had 31 reports and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) 35 news reports on the issue as occasioned respectively for 65 news days. We can hence aver that some Nigerian media are proactive while others are reactive. Here [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) showed to be more committed in provision of information on Boko Haram than the others.

#### **4.2.11 Answering and Discussing Research Question 11**

The media in Nigeria serve the need of promotion of national unity, cultural promotion and integration. The media propels the democratic sustenance of the Nigerian state by providing unifying contents that build trust, solidarity and sense of belonging. All these are enshrined in the Nigerian Broadcasting Code (2010) popularly referred to as NBC code. Section 3.3 subsection 3 of the code enjoined

reporters to desist from unbalanced reporting that depicts violence and insurgency as glamorous or divides the nation especially while reporting crime, crises or unrest. The code further stipulates in section 3.9.4 that all reports in conflict situation must enthrone the unity and corporate existence of the sovereign state of Nigeria.

In the light of the above, this study asked

*RQ11: Are government owned online broadcast media framing of Boko Haram insurgency more peace oriented than privately owned?*

There is one state owned media and two privately owned media among the population sample. The state owned media, [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) had 8 out of 31 stories showing no peace frames while [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) which are privately owned had 21 and 14 respectively. Both privately owned media had a total of 71 and 35 respectively. It could be said that the state owned media held the ace in applying peace journalism reportorial style. But that will be a hasty illogical conclusion because we are yet to examine the contribution of each medium towards conflict oriented reporting.

To be balanced in testing this hypothesis, it is expedient we peruse the result contained in table 14 above. The state owned [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) had only 5 stories that do not reflect conflict frames while privately owned [www.aitonline](http://www.aitonline) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) had 7 and 5 respectively. There exist no significant difference in the contribution of the state owned media towards conflict and that of the privately owned ones. This answered the question

Having analysed the results and answered the research questions, we shall proceed to the next chapter for discussion of findings and its implication for peace journalism



practice in Nigeria. Thereafter, we shall conclusively and constructively offer recommendations as needful.

## **Chapter 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

This is the concluding chapter of this study. It wraps up by discussing findings and interpreting the import of the data analysed in chapter 4. It also outlines findings, gave recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

#### **5.1 Results, Discussions and Recommendation**

This study evaluates the performance of the Nigerian online broadcast media in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency that have pervaded the nation and caused millions to be displaced from their homes and thousands dead. The media was evaluated from peace journalism perspectives first to weigh in on the practice and or adoption of peace journalism conflict resolution tenets by the Nigerian media; second to understand the landscape of media practice in Nigeria, weather its be peace or conflict oriented and then finally, to proffer and propagate the solution oriented approaches inherent in the practice of peace journalism as a social responsibility panacea to the Nigerian peace issues.

We shall proceed to discuss briefly the findings of the study because much explanation and discussions had been offered in chapter 4.

#### **5.2 Discussions of Research Findings**

The media in Nigeria prides itself as the anchorage of democratic development in the country. In fact Nigerian media scholars have written extensively in the roles the media have played and are expected to play in ensuring national unity, democratic

advancement and national capacity building. For instance, Uwakwe (2003, p.58) sees the integration of the media in the modernization process. For him, the media creates a better society where the people are integrated, accepted and benefited. Olukoyun, (2004, p.7-8) wrote comprehensively on the resilience of the Nigerian media in efforts geared towards achieving accountability, unity of the state and strengthening of democracy in various political dispensations in the country. The Nigerian media do not only boast of vibrancy and bravery in reporting but brandishes an array of media scholars who work tirelessly to put the Nigerian media ahead of their other African counterparts, (Olukoyun, 2004, p. 6).

Such effervescent media as that obtainable in Nigeria cannot operate functionally without adequate and comprehensible integration of tenets of peace journalism in its reportorial stash. The results of the quantitative content analysis carried out in this study produce a score card that did not grade Nigerian media so well in the employment of peace journalism.

Interestingly, this study made five important findings. They are listed and discussed viz:

1. Nigerian online broadcast media are heavily reliant on official sources as quoted source.

This is problematic in inculcating peace culture in the people. Ersoy, (2006) explained that “journalists should have a multi-perspective (source) while they are writing news stories; if a journalist writes the news from only one perspective, such as giving voice only to elites and official resources, the news framing will be biased.” This was reiterated by (Goretti, 2007) who counters that though the media

are dependent on the military or government officials for protection while covering conflict situations, the need for diversified sources, especially the people source is indispensable in achieving peace. Goretti, (2007) offered the acquisition of functional public relations skills by reporters to enable them break even with all sides of a conflict. Such skills as good interpersonal skills, feeling of empathy towards the plight and suffering of others and bearing good attitude of friendliness and trust all comes handy.

An apt capture of the above scenario is painted by Tehranian, (2002) who blamed a currently mediated world governed by government media monopolies or commercial media oligopolies that continuously construct images of “the other and not Us” dividing the society further. The media landscape in Nigeria situates itself at the nucleus of Tehranian’s (2002) description with the government and capitalists sitting at the helm of affairs in media ownership. Hence the lack of pluralized quoted source of news is not surprising. However, as Tehranian (2002) suggests, “to obtain a pluralism of content to reflect the diversity and complexity of the world, a pluralism of media structures at the local, national, and global levels (are imperative) including the promotion of peace journalism through greater freedom, balance, and diversity in media representations.”

It is important here to understand the editorial and ownership structuring of the sample.

2. Nigerian online broadcast media are pathetically reactive in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency.

Findings of the content analysis result showed almost a nonexistence of investigative reporting and documentaries written on the insurgency especially by [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) and [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com). Such kinds of reporting do not wait for insurgent attacks to stir up to be published. Reactive reports does not afford the reporter the opportunity to address the root cause of misunderstandings that had led to a crisis nor allow for depth of knowledge on the issues. Reactive reporting stress oddities, harps on grossness, enthrone war and stifles peace. However proactive which is one of the cardinal tenets of peace journalism encourages investigation into the causal grievances, how to address them and who should address them. It is often solution oriented.

While trying to attack the propagation of peace journalism, Liz Fawcett (2002) unknowingly painted a most succinct and alluring picture of the place of peace journalism in investigative reporting and conflict resolution when she wrote:

“By contrast, the model of peace journalism, which he (Johan Galtung) proposed, was proactive; “win–win” oriented and saw peace as being realized through non-violence and creativity. While the traditional mode of conflict journalism focused on the visible effects of violence and on tangible outcomes and institutions, peace journalism adopted a more analytical approach, examining the role of social structures and cultures.”

The reactive media only follow the trend and train of events but the proactive media spots issues through their eagle eyed surveillance on the society and are able to raise issues in the public domain of discussions and solution finding before it degenerates into a crisis.

3. The Nigerian online broadcast media ignored the insurgents in their reportage.

From the 136 news reports analysed in the period under review, only 3 reports, one from each population sample quoted the insurgents as their source. To make matters worse, the quote was culled from a foreign media who the insurgents feel more at ease speaking with than the indigenous media. This leaves much to be desired from the roles the Nigerian media have played in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency. It exemplifies bias in the framing of the Boko Haram insurgency on the part of the media because of its selective quoted source disposition.

Situations like this was why Lynch, (2000) stressed that “peace journalism... maps a conflict as a roundtable, consisting of many parties, many issues. A complex, interlocking pattern of fears, inequities and resentments which can only be overcome by seeking, devising, and implementing complex, interlocking solutions” hence must be preferred while talking about unrest (Cited in Ersoy 2003, p.39)

To ameliorate the precarious situation that the Nigerian media has found itself in, Siebert (1998) cited in Melone, Terzis and Ozsel (2002, p. 4) suggests that journalists “...can further build confidence and mediate between conflicting parties by fostering communication, need for peace, communicating the process of negotiations to the constituencies involved and providing a forum for on-going dialogue.” This serves as a food for thought for the Nigerian media.

4. The Nigerian online broadcast media highlighted violence and its escalation, injecting fear into the polity and arousing apprehension via militarized language and war oriented reporting.

Findings of Table 14 were an expression of the prevailing frames in conflict reporting. It was the British-Indian anti-war activist, Mahatma Gandhi who aptly cooed, “I object to violence cos when it appears to do good, the good only is only temporary. The evil it does is permanent.” This wise assertion should guide every journalist reporting conflict especially in a segregated nation as Nigeria where religious sentiments, ethnic and sectional partisanship have eaten deep into the fabrics of national unity. Peace journalism scholars have argued that the effects of conflicts cannot be measured by reeling out breath-taking statics of dead, maimed or displaced people. That can only prompt a boomerang effect because it excites the polity into fear, anger and mistrust. McGodrick and Lynch, (2000, pp. 10) summed up why reporting conflicts in this manner is detrimental to peace process. They said, “In war, people are killed, wounded, raped or displaced. For each one of these VISIBLE effects there are INVISIBLE effects which may be even more important in the long run.” They went further to provide the marked invisible effects as being:

- The hatred that comes from bereavement or mistreatment (for every person killed an average of 10 are bereaved)
- Addiction to revenge and victory
- Myths of trauma and glory to add to violent culture
- Damage to social structure
- Society loses capacity and will to approach conflicts co-operatively

Coincidentally, the Nigerian Broadcasting code also has stipulations enshrined in the code that prohibits violent reporting and enjoined the media to use their channels of communication to promote unity and national development. Coincidentally again, Nigerian media functions with the mandates of development theory of the press

which offers that journalist ought to report responsibly with the view to promote peace and development in the society.

5. The Nigerian online broadcast media employs mixed frames of both peace and conflict journalism reportorial style in publishing about the Boko Haram insurgency.

As observed earlier, this is problematic because it reveals that the Nigerian media are not schooled in the tenets of peace journalism. The use of mixed frames could only yield confusing fruits. It is impracticable to blow hot and cold simultaneously, underscoring the imperativeness of adopting a particular approach- preferably peace journalism approach in conveying conflict messages.

Maybe what will be at the heart of the recommendations of this study will be that the relevant bodies make hay in tutoring journalists in the precepts of peace journalism.

### **5.3 Presentations of Answers to Research Questions**

To realise the objectives of this study, 7 research questions and 5 hypothetical statements were set to guide our inquiry. They have been answered in chapter four with relevant tables and charts. Presented here forthwith, is a summarization of the answers.

*RQ1: Does the Nigerian online broadcast media provide updated information on the Boko Haram insurgency?*

Using the frequency of table report, it was established that there was insufficient report update on the insurgency by the online broadcast media. Hence the need to step up on the number and quality of reports published on the issue.



*RQ2: Does the reports of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media provide information from all parties involved-the government and the insurgents?*

As stated earlier, there was no pluralism in quoted source of news. Concentration of news stemmed from the camp of the government and their representatives. Some factors such as editorial leanings of the media could be blamed for this. For [www.aitonline.tv](http://www.aitonline.tv) and [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv), their political leanings are well known. Chief Raymond Dokpesi the chairman of Daar Communications and owner of African Independent Television (AIT) is a known card carrying member of the then ruling Peoples' Democratic Party, (PDP) hence there is no questioning where the loyalty of the media lies while reporting the insurgency. However, the medium did relatively well in pluralizing their contents as they had the most in house documentary which afforded wo/man on the street the opportunity to be heard.

The editorial composition of [www.channelstv.com](http://www.channelstv.com) is strictly capitalist. Though the chairman was a media personality and to a fair standard has maintained professionalism, how critical the channel was of the immediate past administration in failed in comparison with how reportage on the Boko Haram insurgency was carried out by them. Because they also brandish young seasoned and zealous reporter, the lacuna in reportage of the Boko Haram insurgency from peace journalism perspective could be attributed to in adequate knowledge and skills of the peace journalist. In the case of [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv), the popular parlance 'he that pays the piper dictates the tune' readily comes to mind.

*RQ3: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media portray bias?*

The answer to this question is no because the media were biased toward the insurgents and tactically left them out of the quoted sources. In peace journalism, there is no room for respect for one party as it is the hallmark of bias in news reporting.

*RQ4: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by online broadcast media focus on US/Them dichotomy?*

This question also was answered in the affirmative using results from table 12. Polarization of news reporting is a cog on the wheels of peace journalism practice and must be shun by all well-meaning journalists. There was visible tagging and name calling.

*RQ5: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian online broadcast media employ conventional or peace journalism reportorial styles?*

It was earlier established that the Nigerian broadcast media used mixed approaches in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency. However, advocacy remains that peace journalism which offers antidote for conflict oriented reporting remains the best style of conveying messages in conflict times.

*RQ6: Does the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian broadcast media depict a win/lose situation about the insurgency?*

Again, the findings of the studied contents showed that the Nigerian broadcast media did frame the insurgency in a win/lose clothing. This was expressed in operational language used; prevailing frames bordering conflict indices were all freely used.

*RQ7: Is the framing of Boko Haram insurgency by the Nigerian broadcast media war or peace oriented?*

There was heavy reliance of the Nigerian media on conflict frames to convey messages. There was also substantial presence of peace frames. Therefore the answer to this question is not a yes or no, but that mixed frames were used. It is a situation that needs to be changed as soon as possible.

*RQ8: Have Nigerian online broadcast media have been pro government and selectively provided information on Boko Haram insurgency?*

The media's pro government stance is reflective in their total neglect of the insurgents in sourcing for news. This is a situation detrimental to peace moves. The antidote for this is to make efforts.

*RQ9: Does Nigerian online broadcast media focuses on casualties and oddities of the insurgency rather than causative and remedial factors?*

In chapter 4, we saw how headlines were used to portray casualties and oddities of the insurgencies. Hence the answer to this question is an emphatic yes.

*RQ10: Was Nigerian online broadcast media reactive instead of proactive in providing information about Boko Haram insurgency?*

The prevailing frequency of report helped us answer this question in the affirmative.

*RQ11 Are government owned online broadcast media framing of Boko Haram insurgency more peace oriented than privately owned?*

One of the characteristics of the reports examined is their restriction to descriptive style of reporting just the event. There was lack of in depth investigative reporting that uncovers the untold truth about the Boko Haram insurgency. The [www.ntanews24.tv](http://www.ntanews24.tv) which was the State owned media maintained very strict

descriptive style in reporting that leans more on what the government said, tagging the insurgents and only applied one indices of peace regularly- promotion of culture. However, the two privately owned media did out-performed it in promotion of peace hence the answer to the last question of this study is no.

#### **5.4 Conclusion of Study**

A perfunctory glance at the overall disposition of the Nigerian media in reporting the Boko Haram insurgency tells you that they are avoiding taking a definitive editorial stand point. The usage of descriptive headlines that talks about the event, quotation and comment headlines that report what others said all blanketed the true position of the media. This situates the media outside the happenstances occurring in their environment. How objective a journalist can be in reporting loss of lives that could as well be family or friends is yet to be established. But in the interim, it is important for the media to situate themselves as responsible tools of either construction or destruction- there is no room for standing on the fence.

The body of evidence found in this study is very instructive to teachers of communication, security operatives; to peace research scholars and to the individual journalist in particular. It has exposed the lacuna that exists in the Nigerian media and the roles expected of them to play in reinforcing the message of peace and unity chimed in the last line of the Nigerian national anthem.

While expectations are high on how the media can assist the governments in less developed countries to obtain and retain democratic rule and keep public servants from embezzling public fund, all these may not be achievable if the polity is constantly being heated up as a result of framing conflict issues wrongly. Analogically, when there is a fire outbreak, the fire service comes to put it off with a

tank of water not petrol! To apply conflict frames in an already volatile situation would be an attempt by the media to escalate the problems. The media is the hope of the common person to be heard so have to fill in the gap adequately.

Conspicuously, there is a need for the Nigerian media to retrace their steps and align completely with the principles of peace journalism. Boko Haram insurgency is still on going with trends turning more dangerous than when it first started. Therefore it is not too late to apply the right tool in combating the insurgency. It will be of benefit to remember always that journalists are also soldiers fighting in every battle our society is faced with. However we only differ a little in that while others fight with guns, we fight with pens. How constructively the media wields the pen determines if the invisible effects of war far outweighs the visible effects.

### **5.5 Recommendations for Further Studies**

Nigeria is yet struggling to contain the Boko Haram insurgency, therefore the need to reassess the tactics of engagement having seen that the conflict tactics failed to produce desired result. Consequent upon that, this study has a number of recommendations to offer. They are as follows:

- A study on this subject matter that focuses on Nigerian journalists' awareness and viewpoints on peace journalism should be done to know how knowledgeable the Nigerian reporter is on what peace journalism demands of him/her.
- Another study of this nature should be carried out on the print media to establish their commitment to the course of peaceful resolutions of the Boko Haram insurgency.
- Media organizations should organize training to properly educate reporters on peace journalism tenets and principles.

- There should be a review of the NBC Code to accommodate stipulates of peace journalism.
- The Nigerian Union of Journalists, (NUJ) of which this researcher is a member should brace the responsibility of reassessing their commitment to national peace by routinely training members on dividends of adopting peace journalism tenets wholesomely. It should also restructure the NUJ guide to include the basics of peace journalism in conflict reporting.

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## **APPENDIX**

## Appendix A: Nigerian Online Broadcast Media Framing of Boko

### Haram Insurgency: Peace Journalism Perspective

#### CODING SHEET 1: EVALUATION OF HEADLINES

	QUOTATION	DESCRIPTIVE	COMMENT	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE				
NTA NEWS24				
CHANNELS TV				
TOTAL				

#### CODING SHEET2: SOURCES OF REPORTS

	EYE WITNESSES BY IN HOUSE REPORTER	LOCAL NEWS AGENCY	GOVERNMENT PUBLIC RELATIONS PERSONEL	AUDIENCE PARTICIPATORY SOURCE	FOREIGN NEWS MEDIA	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE						
NTA NEWS24						
CHANNELS TV						
TOTAL						

#### CODING SHEET 3: FREQUENCY OF STORIES ON BOKO HARAM

	DAILY	WEEKLY	AS OCCASIONED	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE				
NTA NEWS24				
CHANNELS TV				
TOTAL				

#### CODING SHEET 4: LENGTH OF REPORTS AND VIDEOS

	0-2MINS/50-100 WORDS	3-5MINS/101-150 WORDS	6-8MINS/151-200 WORDS	9-11MINS/201 AND ABOVE	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE					
NTA NEWS24					
CHANNELS TV					
TOTAL					

CODING SHEET 5: OFFICIAL QUOTED SOURCE OF STORIES

	president	V/p	Ministers/ governors	government officials (military/ PR)	B/H spokes person	news agency	Total
AIT ONLINE							
NTA NEWS24							
CHANNELS TV							
TOTAL							

CODING SHEET 5B. UNOFFICIAL QUOTED SOURCES

	NGO's	experts/ analysts	other news media	wo/man on the street	no source	in-house reporter/ journalist	total
AIT ONLINE							
NTA NEWS 24							
CHANNELS TV							

CODING SHEET 6: REPORT USES PICTURES/ VIDEO

	YES	NO	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE			
NTA NEWS24			
CHANNELS TV			
TOTAL			

CODING SHEET 7: PHOTO/VIDOE PROMOTES:

	PEACE	CONFLICT	NUETRAL	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE				
NTA NEWS24				
CHANNELS TV				
TOTAL				

- (i. Peace Pictures/videos promotes solution, encourages dialogue and friendliness
- (ii. Conflict pictures/videos highlights war, promotes distrust and encourages combat
- (iii. Neutral pictures/videos are descriptive of events and do not tilt either towards peace or conflict.

CODING SHEET 8: PEACE FRAMING: REPORTS THAT ARE IN LINE WITH:

	our friend	trust	unprejudiced	good/good	forgiveness/amnesty	search for mistakes within	Friendly discourse	Promotes culture	Attempt to understand the other	total
AIT ONLINE										
NTA NEWS24										
CHANNEL STV										
TOTAL										

CODING SHEET 9: CONFLICT FRAMING: REPORTS ARE IN LINE WITH:

	Hate speeches	Our enemy/threat to us	Prejudice	Ba/good tagging	War oriented	Accused the other	Who threw the stone first	Us/ them	uses militarized vocabulary	Total
AIT ONLINE										
NTA NEWS 24										
CHANNELS TV										
TOTAL										

CODING SHEET 10: REPORT TYPE: EXAMINES IF REPORTS ARE:

	NEWS REPORT	IN-HOUSE PROGRAMME	IN-HOUSE DOCUMENTARY	SPONSORED REPORT	FEATURES REPORT	MAGAZINE PROGRAMME	TOTAL
AIT ONLINE							
NTA NEWS24							
CHANNELS TV							
TOTAL							



CODING SHEET 11: DOMINANT NEWS FRAMES FOUND IN REPORTS ARE:

	Peace frames	Neutral frames	Conflict frames	Mixed frames	Total
AIT ONLINE					
NTA NEWS24					
CHANNELS TV					
TOTAL					