

**TITLE PAGE**

**ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE ABDUCTED  
CHIBOK SCHOOL GIRLS IN BORNO STATE OF NIGERIA IN 2014,  
USING THE GUARDIAN, DAILY SUN, DAILY TRUST AND  
LEADERSHIP NEWSPAPERS**

**BY**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
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NSUKKA.**

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**DECEMBER, 2014**

### CERTIFICATION

This research project is an original work of Nwankwuegu, Maxwell C. with registration number PG/MA/13/65087. It satisfies the requirements for presentation of research in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

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**DEDICATION**

To God Almighty who gave me life and health to prosecute this research work to its completion,

To my persistent parents and family,

To my would-be wife and wonderful children,

And to all the abducted Chibok school girls.

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## ABSTRACT

The issue of terrorism has attracted global attention. In Nigeria in particular, the terrorist abduction of over 276 Chibok school girls attracted the highest global attention. Hence, this study was set to examine newspaper coverage of the abducted Chibok school girls. It analyzed the content of four Nigerian newspapers: *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers in their coverage of abducted Chibok school girls in Borno state from April 2014 to September 2014. The researcher systematically selected a sample size of 224 editions of the four newspapers for six months to generate data for the study. 79 editions out of the sample do not have stories on Chibok girls while 145 editions of the total sample yielded 374 stories on Chibok girls which were analyzed. The major findings are that Nigerian newspapers down played the coverage of issues about Chibok girls' abduction. The Nigerian newspaper coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction suffered lack of in-depth and interpretative analysis. The findings showed that the volume of coverage was poor. The published materials were not given prominence by virtue of their placement or position in the newspapers as over 78.6% of them were placed in the inside pages of the newspaper. It was concluded that there was much of quantitative coverage than qualitative coverage because of the high disparity between the numbers of straight news items to interpretative news items. It was recommended that newspaper coverage of terrorism like Chibok girls' abduction should be investigative and interpretative journalism-driven instead of mere reportage of straight news stories which doesn't add much in the fight against terrorism and general information and education of the public.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Different parts of the world are today enmeshed in one form of violent crime or the other. These crimes take one or combine the following forms namely armed robbery, drug trafficking, kidnapping/abductions, assassinations, bank raiding, militancy and terrorism. However, among these violent crimes, terrorism is that which commonly employ the use of others to attain its objectives. Terrorism as a result generates more concern among the common people who are always at the receiving end of the deadly attacks perpetrated by the terrorist. It also generates so much concern because it is one crime that even the most powerful country/countries in the world are still struggling to contain in their own territories.

Eze, (2011) concurred that the greatest danger facing the world today is terrorism. Virtually no nation is safe from terrorist activities. Terrorism has come to represent the only option for individuals or groups to vent their anger or seek recognition. In fact, terrorism has been dubbed the 'poor man's warfare', and often times, terrorism often lack a 'return address'.

According to Dershowitz (2002), terrorism is often rationalized as a valid response to its 'root causes' - mainly repression and desperation. Global terrorism and precisely Nigerian terrorism is thus a phenomenon largely of our own making. In Nigeria, acts of terrorism have been on the increase thereby prompting the national assembly to pass the Anti-Terrorism Bill in 2011. The Independence Day bombing of 2010, the Police headquarter suicide bombing in Abuja, the United Nations building suicide bombing and lately, the monumental abduction of Chibok school girls marked the zenith of these acts of terrorism in Nigeria.

Evidently, terrorism as a concept seems to provide a brief prelude to this background because of the fact that the mainstay of this study which is the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls is essentially a fallout of the about five years of Boko Haram's terrorism onslaught on the Nigerian state. As a common phenomenon today across different part of the world in general, and Nigeria in particular, terrorism as perpetuated especially in the North eastern part of Nigeria since 2009 by the dreaded Islamic militant group originally known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatiWal-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad dubbed Boko Haram by natives), came to a climax on the fateful midnight hours of April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014 when over 276 female students of Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, were abducted by Boko Haram gunmen and taken to an unknown destination. Chibok, a local government area headquarters, is situated west of the dreaded Sambisa forest and 114 kilometres south of Maidugiri, the Bornu State capital. (*Daily Sun*, April 19, 2014, p.11).

Since 2010, Boko Haram has targeted schools, killing hundreds of students. They had always insisted that such attacks would continue as long as the Nigerian government continued to interfere with traditional Islamic education. Some thousands of students are already out of school as a result of the activities of the Boko Haram. Notable among these deadly school attacks was the July 2013 Yobe School shooting, Gujba college massacre and the climax which is the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping.

Apparently, this particular act of terror ó the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls by the Boko Haram insurgence, happened less than 24 hours after the gory Nyanya bomb explosion for which the group also claimed responsibility. The proximity in timing between the Nyanya bomb explosion which claimed dozens of innocent lives and the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls

like never before drew national and global attention to the fact that the Boko Haram Islamic militancy is another Al-Qaeda in Africa.

It is however important to note that within 48 hours of the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls, both local and international media started reporting the incident. Virtually, major Nigerian newspapers and electronic media outfits started churning out the news of the abducted schoolgirls. International media organizations like CNN, BBC, CCTV, AL JAZEERA, and other global news agencies like Reuters, AFP, AP etc were all with one news framing of the abduction of the Chibok school girls or the other.

The various reports at the onset were that there were 530 students registered from multiple villages for the senior school certificate examinations in the school. The children were said to be between the ages of 16 to 18. Initial reports said that 85 students were kidnapped in the attack. By 19-20<sup>th</sup> of April, the military released a statement that said more 100 of the 129 abducted girls had been released. However, the statement was retracted, and on 21 April, parents and the school authority said 234 girls were missing and that a number of the students escaped the kidnapers in two groups. The Police later confirmed that 276 children were taken in the attack of which 53 had escaped on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2014.

On May 4, 2014 President Goodluck Jonathan spoke publicly about the kidnapping for the first time, saying that the government is doing everything it could to find the missing girls. At the same time, he blamed parents for not supplying enough information about their missing children to the police.

On May 5, 2014 it was widely reported in local and international media, a video in which Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of the Chibok schoolgirls. Shekau claimed that "Allah instructed me to sell them" I will carry out his

instructions. He said the girls should not have been in school and instead they should be married since girls as young as nine are suitable for marriage.

On May 26, 2014, the media reported that the Nigerian Chief of Defence Staff, Air Chief Marshall Alex Badeh announced that the Nigerian security forces had located the kidnapped girls, but ruled out a forceful rescue attempt for fears of collateral damage. Several reports and counter reports have continued unabated.

According to Onuoha (2011), the threat posed by kidnapping to human or national security has become a source of growing security concern to states mostly affected by the scourge as well as the international community. He further noted that the efforts of the international community to seek international understanding and cooperation against kidnapping and other transnational organized crimes led to the adoption of *The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance* by the United Nations in 2006. The Chibok School girls kidnapping has shown the latest grave threat posed by the crime.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

Considering the wide attention attracted locally and internationally by the abduction of Chibok school girls in Borno State of Nigeria on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of April, 2014, the reaction and counter-reaction from different quarters has been adjudged newsworthy enough to warrant adequate coverage by the Nigerian press & newspapers. There are divergent views on the coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction by the Nigerian press. In various quarters, the Nigerian press has been criticized of biased and out of context coverage of crisis. Some criticize the Nigerian press for outlandish editorial focus (Afghanism).

The problem therefore is the loud complaints that the Nigerian journalists give conflicting information on issues concerning crisis situation. Some argue that the coverage differ from one

newspaper to the other. What is reported in the media about an individual, an organization, a government, a community, or the country is taken with a note of seriousness by the masses.

It is against this backdrop that this study sought to examine the content of six months coverage of the Chibok school girls' abduction by Nigerian newspapers' press. Therefore, the content analytical study of *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers from April 2014 to September 2014 constitute the mandate of this study.

### 1.3 Objectives of the Study

- **Primary objective**

This study is primarily aimed at analyzing the six months manifest content of the selected newspapers on their coverage of Chibok girls' abduction from April 2014 to September 2014.

- **Specific objective**

1. To find out the volume of coverage of the Chibok School girls abduction.
2. To ascertain the kinds of items the newspapers covered on the Chibok girls' abduction.
3. To find out the sources of the newspapers coverage of the Chibok girls abduction.
4. To determine whether prominence is given to the Chibok girls' abduction in the four newspapers under study.
5. To compare *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers in terms of volume of coverage, story genre and position of stories.

### 1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to guide the study:

1. What is the volume of coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction in *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers?

2. What kinds of items on the Chibok girls' abduction appeared in the newspapers?
3. What are the sources of the newspapers coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction?
4. Are the published materials given prominence in the four newspapers under study?
5. Comparatively, how does the coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction differ from *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers in terms of volume of coverage, story genre and position of stories?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The fundamental importance of this work will definitely not be underestimated. The study will surely be of salient relevance to the reader whom it would enable to know the role of the press in crisis situations. Hopefully, this study while developing the body of knowledge in this area which is still a contemporary one, will definitely help the reader to know the quality and quantity of coverage given to the Chibok school girls' abduction saga by the Nigerian press. To the practicing journalist too, this work will without doubt have enormous benefit on how to cover and report crisis, civil disturbances and wars of different dimension(s) like the latest guerrilla tactics adopted by the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria's North-East. More so, the study will provide a good reference material for people who shall be researching on the newspaper coverage of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls in the future.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study covered the Nigerian newspaper/press coverage of the abducted Chibok school girls by the Boko Haram terrorist group on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 2014. The study traced the quantitative and qualitative elements of news feature, editorials, letters and opinion articles, pictures and cartoons as reported in *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers from April 2014 to September 2014. Also done by the study is the measurement of the content of the

four daily newspapers and their extent of coverage, and equally presents the results in the tables and charts.

### 1.7 Definition of Terms

- **Abduction:** Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary of Current English (8<sup>th</sup> Ed.) defined abduction as *the act of taking somebody away illegally, especially using force*. The synonym given to it is *kidnapping*. Hence, both abduction and kidnapping were interchangeably used in the study to mean the same thing.
- **Chibok Schoolgirls:** The female schoolgirls abducted on the April 14, 2014, by Boko Haram gunmen from Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, Chibok local government area, 114 kilometres away south of Maidugiri, Borno State, Nigeria.
- **Newspapers:** Newspapers according to Encyclopedia Britanica (2008, p.16), are publications usually issued on a daily or weekly basis. In his definition, Agba (2001, p.37) emphasized that, when we talk of newspapers, we are referring to a broad range of publications from the huge metropolitan dailies to the small provincial papers.
- **Newspaper Coverage:** This is also referred to as **press coverage**. According to Okigbo (1987, p.23) in his work *'The news flow controversy: Professional Journalists' evaluation of news imbalance'*, press coverage is the art of gathering, collecting, processing, recording, and disseminating news and information through the process of mass communication which includes newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

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## CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Focus of Review

Apparently, several works has been done on terrorism. These works are certainly focused on the various activities of Boko Haram terrorist organization in Nigeria and the implication of their sustained attacks especially in the North Eastern part of the country. Evidently, one of these implications is the unfortunate abduction of more than 200 Chibok School girls on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 2014 in Borno State, Nigeria. This chapter therefore reviews basically some of the related research work(s) on the subject of terrorism in Nigeria as perpetuated by Boko Haram Islamic sect in relation to the abduction of the Chibok School girls with a view to ascertaining the depth of knowledge in the area and broadening the focus of this research.

### 2.2 Terrorism

Terrorism in recent times has gained much local and international attention so that many dimensions have come into play from individuals, scholars, and from conventions and international fora. For example, the United Nation provide us with the most commonly accepted academic definition of terrorism as "anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby in contrast to assassinations the direct targets of violence are not the main targets" (terrorism-research.com).

Hornby (2000 p.236) in Anyianuka (2011) defines terrorism as "the use of violent action in order to achieve political aim". To the United States Department of Defence, terrorism is "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or intimidate government or societies in pursuit of goals that are generally political,

religious, or ideological (terrorism-research.com). It is pertinent to note that terrorism when viewed from variegated perspective can be a tactic and a strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination. Thus, terrorism has remained a strategy of a weaker side in a conflict, which given its clandestine nature offers its opponent no organization to war against. This has therefore made it popular among people pursuing extreme goals world over.

Afowowe (2011) in his study titled *“Theoretical Foundation of Terrorism as Political Communication Strategy for State Power Acquisition: A Global Perspective”* added that terrorism has attracted scholarly attentions. For instance, Amy Zalman provided empirical, historical, definitional and multidimensional insights to the concept of terrorism. (Zalman, 2011).

The defunct League of Nations defined terrorism as:

All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public.

Council of Arab Ministers of Interior and Justice in 2008 conceived terrorism as

Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occur in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize a natural resources.

From the foregoing, it become apparent that terrorism through the dastard activities of the dreaded Boko Haram particularly the atrocious abduction of Chibok school girls have come to be known in Nigeria while it is hoped that it would be contained.

### **2.3 Terrorism and the Mass Media**

In a study by Ndolo, Anorue and Onyebuchi (2011) titled *Media Terrorism in a Multicultural Environment: A Discursive Analysis*, they emphasized terrorism and mass media as pointed out in a study conducted by J. Brian Houston in 2010 titled *Viewing Media Coverage of Terrorism Related to Posttraumatic Stress Reactions; Youth Particularly Susceptible*. Evidence were found that exposure to media coverage of terrorism is related to posttraumatic stress reactions. These findings were arrived at through a meta-analysis of 23 existing terrorism studies. The meta-analysis also found that the relationship between exposure to media coverage of terrorism and posttraumatic stress was greater for studies involving youth and for studies including people who were farther away from the terrorist event. *Parents, teachers, counselors, and anyone else who works or lives with children should be aware of these effects,* Said Dr. J. Brian Houston, an Assistant Professor of Research in the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center who authored this study.

*The mental health needs of youth not directly affected by terrorism may not be obvious in the aftermath of a terrorist attack, but by analyzing the results of several terrorism studies together we can see that this group experiences the greatest amount of posttraumatic stress reactions related to exposure to media coverage of terrorism.* Dr. Houston says that future work should focus on developing public health interventions for youth that are aimed at ameliorating these potentially negative effects of media use. Posttraumatic stress reactions may include:

feeling hopeless, detached from others, and numb; having trouble concentrating; being started easily; feeling always on guard; experiencing nightmares and trouble sleeping; and having problems at work or school, while meta-analysis is the process of combining numerous existing research studies to answer research questions or hypotheses. Meta-analysis provides a more powerful estimate of how variables are related than is possible from a single research study (Brian, 2010).

Similarly, Susan Moeller in his work titled *Media Studies: Packaging Terrorism: Co-opting the News for Politics and Profit* written in 2009, established three major premises which argued that *terrorism has been the main event of the twenty-first century* (38), that such attacks are *likely to be framed so that [the news outlet's] audience feels vulnerable* (39)---both terrorists and the *war on Terror* exploit a politics of fear---that *news organizations chauvinistic [ally] focus on the news that is geographically and psychologically closest to their audience* (40), and that both terrorists and the Western media *want to keep their own message in the public view* (45).

The book's longest section--- *How is Terrorism Covered?*--- focuses principally on the language used in the media coverage of the US *War on Terror*, especially its engagement in Iraq. Its central arguments are that the Bush Administration's framing of this *war* as a fight for global *democracy* neutralized US media dissent---who, after all, will say they oppose democracy?---and that media coverage concentrated on the significance of this *war* for politicians and policy agendas rather than on death and destruction. Moeller supports these arguments with arguments that the dominant media voices were those of government and military, and that the media substantially confirmed the government agenda (Moeller, 2009).

Similarly, William E. Biernatzki in a research study titled "Terrorism and Mass Media" conducted in 2002 concludes that "Mass media are not all-powerful, but they are omnipresent in contemporary society and contribute to setting agendas. As someone has said: The media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling [them] what to think about" (Cohen 1963: 13). The responsibility of the media to tell the truth, and the whole truth, consequently remains great, while their difficulty in finding out the whole truth about particular "terrorist" acts---as about other events---becomes increasingly more difficult in an information world saturated by conflicting messages" (Biernatzki, 2002).

In the course of the last decade, revolutionary changes have occurred in the mass media, especially in the news media. These changes have been sketched by Ignacio Ramonet, editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, and Professor of communication theory at the University Denis-Diderot (Paris-VII) (Ramonet, 2002). Growing in parallel with increasingly fierce competition and commercial pressures, and complicated by the fact that "many top media executives today come from the corporate world and no longer from the ranks of journalists," has been the burgeoning dominance of the visual. Television has become the leading news medium, with newspapers only supplementary to TV's instant, live, emotional coverage. Ramonet feels that "we are at a turning point in the history of information" in which TV news shows "have set up a kind of new equation for news, which can be summed up like this: 'if the emotion you feel by looking at the pictures on TV news programmes is true, then the news is true'" (Biernatzki, 2002). This has given rise

to the idea that information--- any information--- can always be simplified, reduced, converted into mass pictures, and decomposed into a certain number of emotion-segments. All these being based on the very fashionable idea that there exists such a thing as 'emotional intelligence.' 'Emotional intelligence', if it exists, would be the justification for always allowing any news material to be condensed simplified, boiled down to a few pictures. To the real detriment of actual analysis, which allegedly bores the audience? (Ramonet, 2002)

In Ramonet's view, 'television imposes its own perversions on the other information media, beginning with its fascination with pictures. And the basic idea that only what is visible deserves to be news.' Television thus tends to set the agenda of all news media, focusing all other media on the spectacular events on which TV itself thrives (Biernatzki, 2002).

Events which produce strong pictures consequently go to the top of the news hierarchy even if, in the absolute, their importance is secondary. The emotional shocks that these pictures produce is altogether on a different scale from that which the other media can bring about' (Ramonet, 2002).

The media can continue to spread false understandings among the public by their own careless use of a term. One result of such carelessness can be incitement of inter-ethnic fears, as recently seen in the United States in regard to popular profiling of 'Middle Eastern appearing persons.' Throughout history and into the present, ethnic insurgents and militant nationalists, both terrorist and non-terrorist, often have claimed religious authority for their actions (Biernatzki, 2002).

## **2.4 The symbiosis between Terrorism and Mass Media**

John Martin L. in 2011 conducted a study titled 'The Media's Role in international Terrorism' as cited in Ndolo, Anorue and Onyebuchi (2011), where he opined that 'terrorism like propaganda is a form of persuasive communication and a pejorative term and that

terrorist use mass media for both tactical and strategic purpose. While the mass media do, generally, cover terrorism at a rate of at least nine incidents per day worldwide, according to a pilot study undertaken for this paper, the press uses the term "terrorist" sparingly, preferring such neutral terms as guerrilla, rebel, and paramilitary, or using no value-laden adjectives at all. (Each country in the study except Egypt, did, however, have its pet terrorists). This raises the question of the effectiveness of terrorism. The press gives terrorists publicity but often omits the propaganda message that terrorists would like to see accompanying reports of their exploits, thus reducing terrorism to mere crime or sabotage.

A pilot study was conducted of how terrorism is handled by four foreign and one American newspaper. The newspapers in the sample are *the Washington Post*, *The Times of London*, *the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *the Jerusalem Post*, and *the Egyptian Gazette*. The sample comprised five alternate days in late June and early July 1983-admittedly small, but large enough to give a full flavor of the handling of terrorism by these newspapers. All items involving violence or the threat of violence by a politically oriented group were read, as were items dealing with bombings, kidnappings, gunfire, etc., in which the individual or group responsible was unknown. Kidnappings and hijackings for personal reasons or gain or involving an isolated, non-recurring incident were not included. Overall, 45 different news stories involving terrorists, or incidents that by our definition were probably attributable to terrorism, were reported during the five days-an average of nine per day. Altogether there were 70 reports by the five newspapers, meaning that 25 items covered the same incidents-a relatively small number when one considers that if all 5 stories had been carried by all five newspapers, there would have been 225 rather than 70 items. Of the 70 items, only 16 actually used the term "terrorism," "terrorist," or "terror."



The remaining 54 items referred to them as guerrillas, rebels, violence, or some other term that Suggested terrorist action (Martin, 2011).

Wardlaw says that the use of terror does not in itself constitute terrorism. Terror must be used as "a symbolic act designed to influence political behaviour by extra normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence." Wardlaw adds his own definition: "Political terrorism is the use, or threat of use, of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to established authority, where such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear-inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. Wardlaw uses as one of his criteria of analysis Kenneth Burke's concept of identification. Identification, according to Burke, is the key to rhetorical success. If people identify with the victim, the terrorist has failed. While if they identify with the perpetrator, or at least are neutral or ambivalent about the act, the terrorist has succeeded. Although this definition permits an act to be terrorism for some yet not for others, it is amenable to testing for research purposes. It does not conflict with the often cited aphorism that "one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter" (Martin, 2011).

In general, terrorism is a form of nonverbal communication that the terrorist resorts to when verbal communication fails. The terrorist feel a strong need to discredit a government in power, to right or to average a wrong. Since trying to do this singlehandedly would brand him or her as a criminal, the terrorist organizes a group of likeminded individuals and declares a "cause." Once the group has been formed, it needs to be maintained, and it turns to tactical terrorism to keep itself in arms, money, and fresh recruits. The visibility thus achieved also has long range or strategic value. The PLO, for example, soon became a group to be reckoned with

after a few terrorist incidents. Saudi Arabia and other Arab, as well as non-Arab countries began to provide the group with lavish support so that it was able to use more traditional, less violent methods of propaganda, such as advertising, participation in international discussion, and attendance at world forums, as well as broadcasting, newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, and a wire service (Martin, 1011).

Tactical terrorism does not have to succeed to have strategic value. And even negative publicity is better than no publicity at all. PLO intelligence Chief Abu Ayyad, gave three goals for the 1972 Munich Olympic Games incident: "Strengthening of the existence of the Palestinian people; echo with the international press assembled there; and liberation of Fedayeen imprisoned in Israel." Schmid and de Graaf comment that the placement of the military objective as the last item implicitly admits the propagandistic nature of the action. "The 200 detained Palestinians were not released by Israel, nor did the PLO ever expect them to be. In fact, had their demands been met, it is highly probable that they would have been Rafalko, "that they are rarely met. When officials can and do meet the demands of a terrorist group, they usually respond with demands that are even more unlikely to be accommodated (Martin, 2011).

All that terrorists want is a large audience, and they have learned to exploit the media's own modus operandi to maximize their reach. The Red Brigades, according to Schmid and de Graaf, pick Wednesdays and Saturdays as "their preferred communication days" to get into the thicker Thursday and Sunday newspapers. "We recognize," said a PLO member, "that sport is the modern religion of the Western World. We knew that the people of England and America would switch their television sets from any program about the plight of the Palestinians if there was a sporting event on another channel. So we decided to use their Olympics to make the world pay attention to us. We offered up human sacrifices to your gods of sport and television."

Terrorists prefer to operate in Western Europe because the publicity they can receive there is greater than anywhere else except in the United States (Martin, 2011).

What should be the role of the media? There is no doubt that people have the right to know not only about the "crazies" in their midst and the threats to life, limb, and property, but also about the causes people espouse and are willing to lay down their lives for. For all one knows, people may wish to support such causes, if not physically then with money and through moral persuasion. On the other hand, one must distinguish between the need to know and the desire to be entertained. Entertainment should not be at the expense of law and order, life, limb, and property. Yet, terrorism has become a form of mass entertainment, according to psychiatrist Frederick J. Hacker. Richard Salant, president of CBS News, argues that, "We present facts from which people draw their own conclusions, whether it's politics or anything. If we start playing God and say that fact or this viewpoint might give people ideas, we would have to stop covering politics" (Martin, 2011).

In a related development, William E. Biernatzki in a research study titled "Terrorism and Mass Media" conducted in 2002 argues that government officials have tended to link the media with terrorists' success or failure, as then-British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed her views, "democracies must find ways to starve the terrorists and hijackers of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend" (Picard 1991:50, quoting a *New York Times* article, dated 1985). More recently, Peter C. Kratoski has wryly commended that, "if one of the elements of terrorism is the wish to obtain publicity for a cause and create propaganda, the media has obviously overreacted in responding to this desire" (Kratoski 2001: 468). The French sociologist Michel Wieviorka (1988) denied that terrorism and the media are in a "symbiotic relationship," arguing that terrorists relate to the media in any of four different ways, from "pure

indifference to media, through relative indifference, then to a media-oriented strategy, and finally to coercion of the media (Wieviorka 1988:43-45, as cited by Wilkinson 1997). Paul Wilkinson directed challenged Wieviorka's four grades of the relationship, saying that channels of communication always are used by any terrorist. In the first case, pure indifference to any desire to terrorize a population beyond the immediate victim of violence, Wilkinson says that if there is no aim to instill terror then the violence is not of a terroristic nature. The instrumental relationship between the terrorist and the media, which Wieviorka places only in his third category, is said by Wilkinson to be intrinsic to the very activity of terrorization (Wilkinson 1997). Nacos equally opines that;

the media's reporting of terrorist spectacles helps to facilitate two of the universal goals of terrorism. Terrorists gain attention when the volume and placement of news coverage affects the public agenda. There is also evidence that thematically framed stories that refer to specific grievances influence public attitudes about the roots of politically motivated violence. (Nacos, 1994 p. 74-75).

In a sampling of social science publications of the 1970s and 80s, as annotated by Signorielli and Gerbner (1988, p.201-219), the following opinions were indicated: Yonah Alexander says that the media provide terrorist groups with useful tools that serve their propaganda and war end (1978). Cherif Bassinouni (1981) says that the psychological effect of a particular violent act may be considerably more significant than the act itself, and that the effect may be largely a creation of the media. Bowyer Bell saw the media-terrorist relationship as symbiotic, with the media coverage spreading the effect of a spatially limited act to a wide public (1978).

## 2.5 Boko Haram and Terrorism in Nigeria

The emergence of Boko Haram is without doubt not unconnected with earlier religious insurrection from Islamic zealots that have become endemic in northern Nigeria. From the 1980 when Mohammed Marwa led Maitasine unleashed mayhem in the ancient city of Kano and other parts of the north till date, various groups with terrorist colouration in their activities have operated in Nigeria at one time or the other. Some of these groups include the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC) based in the west, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the east and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in the south.

In their study *Mass Media and Boko Haram Insurrection: A Call for Reportorial Paradigm Shift*, Anthony Chinedu Ekwueme and Church Akpan (2011) pointed out that according to informed sources, Boko Haram takes its roots from Hausa word BOOK meaning western education. Book is derived from the word BOKA meaning sorcerer. Sani (2011) contends that:

The Boko School taught Islam more effectively than the local Islamiya School (Makarantar Allo) and many Yan Boko have a deeper knowledge of Islam than most peasants. The local Islamiya schools production of Almajiri was also a minus for them and the armies of Boko Haram sect must have been recruited from the Almajiri. Besides, the Muslim community's initial fear that Boko could lead to wholesale proselytization did not happen. Even though Boko improved the community's material lot and did not lead to wholesale conversion as the Muslims feared, it led to wholesale westernization and secularization, to the chagrin of traditionalist. It brought great dependence on the income and the lifestyle, opulence, ego and vanity of the Yan Boko alarmed traditionalists. Governance become ineffectual in Yan Boko's hand and their white collar crime tarnished the

country's image. On collapse of societal values, thus triggering a call for a change.

Ekwueme and Akpan (2011) mentioned that the Boko Haram we have today is totally different or better still, diametrically opposite the one above. If anything their beliefs and teachings resembles closely that of Afghanistan Taliban. For like the Taliban, they believe that any teaching or education that does not conform to the tenets of Islam is sinful and should not be taught at all. For another, they believed it was the influence of western education that is watering down the Islamic teaching and weakening Islam itself. Because of this belief, many Islamic scholars shunned the group as lacking in knowledge of Islamic teaching. But this was a mistake.

The group with time cashed into the poor school enrolment in the north east of Nigeria and the concomitant high level of illiteracy in the area to start recruiting followers among whom were poverty stricken uneducated jobless youths into its rank and file as foot soldiers. They were able to win many converts. Even the highly educated and well-connected members of the society joined the sect with massive sponsorship, and because their teachings addressed the frustration of the employed youths with other material gifts, those who were in school dropped out of school, left their homes and joined the group fully. By the time the more liberal Islamic scholars woke up to the challenge, their number has increased tremendously and fully entrenched. The government too and security agencies underestimated their threat to the peace and security of the region let alone the country. Guardian editorial (11/02/2011) posits that:

Boko Haram has a special root. It is largely populated by young and often educated but unemployed believers who are, in the circumstance, restless and disenchanted with life of idleness and hopelessness. They are therefore, a ready and willing audience to a preacher, who pooh-poohing western education as

valueless in this life and in the life to come, calls on his followers to reject it. This is the meaning and import of Boko Haram. But in election time such as this and in a political system in which so much material benefits are at stake, the explosive mixture of religion with do-or-die politics makes the threat to the polity even more real and worrisome.

Boko Haram and its deadly attacks escalated after its foremost leader, Mohammed Yusuf was arrested and killed in 2009 during a confrontation with security agencies. They intensified attacks on police installations and churches. These attacks obviously took a dramatic turn with the ascension of the blood-penchant Abubakar Shekau as the leader of the sect. The Nigerian military claimed to have killed Shekau repeatedly. The emergence of Abubakar Shekau as the commander-general of the sect saw the rise in deadly attacks, including suicide attacks on strategic government agencies and security installations in 2011. The first among these attacks which Boko Haram claimed responsibility for was the June 16<sup>th</sup> 2011 suicide bomb explosion at the Louis Edet House, Police Force Headquarters Abuja, believed to be the first suicide bomb attack in Nigeria. This particular attack claimed two lives including the suspected suicide bomber and a Civil Defence officer with the loss of about 70 cars to the inferno that followed.

On August 26 the same year, the United Nations building was attacked by a suicide bomber with 21 deaths and 73 seriously injured. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, 2011 being Christmas day, another bomb explosion rocked St. Mary's Catholic Church, Madalla at the outskirts of Abuja in Suleja, Niger State with 41 deaths and over 73 injured. Boko Haram claimed responsibility for both attacks. The Baga massacre of April 19 & 20, 2013 cannot be forgotten where over 228 people were of the town in Borno State were brutally killed during what appears to be a confrontation between the military and the sect members who attacked the town.

Here are some of the deadly raids, kidnappings and bombings that have been linked to Boko Haram this year 2014. **February 15, 2014:** An attack blamed on the extremist sect leaved more than 100 people dead in the mostly Christian village of Izghe in the north-eastern state of Borno. **April 14, 2014:** A suicide bomb explosion at Nyanya bus station popularly called El Rufai Park at the southern outskirts of Abuja which was jam-packed with commuters that fateful morning kills at least 75 people, the most deadly attack to date on Nigeria's capital. Boko Haram claimed responsibility.

On May 1, a car bomb at the same spot kills 19, and leaves 80 injured. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, at least 300 people were killed in an attack in Gamboru Ngala, in Borno state near Nigeria's border with Cameroon, which totally destroys the town.

**May 20, 2014:** At least 118 were reportedly killed and 56 injured in two car bomb attacks on a market in Jos, central Nigeria, which went off within 20 minutes of each other. Plateau state governor, David Jonah Jang blamed Boko Haram for the attacks. **June, 2014:** At least 40 were killed when a bomb exploded at a football stadium in Mubi Adamawa state in the north-east of the country shortly after a match. The attack is blamed on Boko Haram. **June 3, 2014:** Hundreds were feared dead in a suspected Boko Haram attack on four villages in Borno state, with local leaders putting the death toll as high as 500.

**June 17, 2014:** 21 football fans were killed when a bomb rips through the viewing centre where they were watching the World Cup in Damaturu, the Yobe state capital.

**June 24, 2014:** Local officials reported 30 killed and more than 60 women kidnapped in a series of attacks over several days in Borno state, although the Nigerian government denies the abductions. **June 25, 2014:** At least 21 people were killed and 17 injured in a bombing at a crowded shopping centre in the centre of Abuja. The attack is the third on the city in three



months ô is blamed on Boko Haram. **June 29, 2014:** Suspected Boko Haram gunmen riding on motorcycles targeted a number of churches during Sunday mass in Southern Bornu State, opening fire on worshippers and chasing them into the bush. Witnesses fear dozens were killed. These among many other attacks were widely reported in the media.

## **2.6 Boko Haram Attacks on Educational Institutions in Nigeria**

Boko Haram over the years have made known their belief that western education is evil and should be abolished at all cost through sustained attacks on educational institution in the northern part of Nigeria. Their campaign against western education has seen them continue to attack schools including the unfortunate and most condemnable attack of Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, abducting over 276 school girls on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 2014. Other such attacks include:

1. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 2012, Boko Haram in bombing and shooting spree attacked a Bayero University Church service in Kano, leaving at least 20 people including Professors and students dead and injured.
2. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 2013, Government Secondary School, Mamudo, Yobe State, Boko Haram in another shooting attack at night left about 41 students and a teacher in the dormitory dead.
3. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, 2013, College of Agriculture, Gujba, Yobe State was also attacked by gunmen confirmed to be members of Boko Haram killing at least 40 students and a teacher.
4. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of February, 2014, a boarding school, Federal Government College, BuniYadi, Yobe State was also attacked by Boko Haram shooting to death 59 students.

5. 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, 2014 saw dozens of people, especially students killed in a Boko Haram bomb blast at the Kano State School of Health.
6. And lately, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September, 2014, Federal College of Education (FCE), Kano witnessed a bomb blast in the school which left 15 persons dead and 34 injured.

With all these and other Boko Haram attacks not mentioned here, it is reported that over 11,100 people have died on both sides of the insurgency. This is monumental compared to the activities of other terror groups around the world. All stakeholders in the fight against terrorism must brace up to the challenge to stem the tide.

### **The Mass Media and Terrorism in Nigeria**

The mass media and the press in particular have been in the forefront of reporting terrorist activities in Nigeria. This is usually characterized by the use of bold banner headlines on the cover page of their newspapers to attract the attention of readers. Without doubt whatsoever, the media in the course of performing their constitutional responsibility of informing the people, educating them and upholding the responsibility and accountability of government to the people as contained in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended has continued to show how effective they can be in protecting the Nigeria's democracy. In this era of sustained threat to the country's territorial integrity by acts of terrorism, the media can perform better in the campaign against the menace Boko Haram terrorist elements in Nigeria.

Alex Umerri and Dandalidi John Galadima in their study conducted in 2011 entitled "Mass Media, Development of National Security and Strategic Communication against Terrorism", revealed that the mass media can effectively be used for strategic communication against terrorism. This is established on the foundation that strategic communication is the structure upon which media content strives (Umerri & Galadima, 2011).

The researchers posit that the nature of human existence is such that we all depend on one another to communicate. Individuals, groups, organizations and institutions all explore the means of communication. Social scientists have generally accepted the communication process and have concerned themselves primarily its success or failure, its effects and its improvement (Gambo, 2008, p. 11). This improvement in the communication process is evident in all sphere of human endeavour today. From the primitive era when communication was basically primordial, to the era of the advent of newspaper, radio and television, urbanization and modernization made it possible for new input in the development of mass communication. These processes of evolving changes they maintained have, over the years made the society complex and so, rely heavily on mass communications.

The mass media of communication, especially the press, are those organs charged with the responsibility of disseminating information, ideas and attitudes to heterogeneous population simultaneously. As potent tools for creating awareness the media are capable of setting the agenda on issues, thus raising them to a plain of national discourse. It is infact this power of the media that can attract public attention. The media is expected to demonstrate a fare and articulated coverage on national security and terrorism (Umerri & Galadima, 2011).

The media in another phase has been seen to aid the terrorism by projecting or conducting robust reportage of terrorist and their activities. This is perhaps the rationale why Cosmos Ikechukwus sEze in his study conducted in 2011 entitled "Terrorism, National Security and the Challenge for National Development: Role of the Nigerian Press" stated that the central issue of the study is that by and large, media has aided the activities of terrorist all over the world, and pursuant to this, the media and all the technologies involved in it can be used to advocate for peaceful co-existence in any society.

Of course, everybody knows that anything unusual makes the news hence however acts of terrorism occur, it always make news. Terrorist have exploited this avenue to promote their image, savagery and brutality. Often, some of this terrorist demand that journalist be present before he strikes a deal with negotiators or a suicide bomber records his statement before he blows up himself. This no doubt will ginger other disciples to emulate, eulogize or even regard such people as martyrs. Not enough attention has been paid to media manipulations and it is long overdue that this be exposed and confronted, held accountable and used as change agent. The media most explore other ways of their coverage and reportage of terrorist activities to check the eventual conferment of cheap popularity to terrorist.

The media must not allow terrorist organizations to directly or indirectly use it to promote their agenda. The media must understand the fact that terrorist can commit any crime no matter how gory or dastardly to gain popularity through wide media reportage. According to Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis (2008), a terrorist organization needs the media in order to spread fear and thus advance its political goals. Because terrorist attacks are often localized, and affects a few people, their goal is to spread the message to more people than just those who were directly hit in the attack. According to them, the media play an important role in this by spreading the news of the attacks or even by directly organizing the message of terrorist organizations.

Apparently, the primary reason why the Boko Haram Islamic terrorist organization tinkered with the idea of kidnapping Chibok school girls and finally went ahead to perpetuate the unspeakable crime was to attract the highest global media attention with subsequent international popularity. This ordinarily encourages the terrorist to carry out more attacks to maintain their

acclaimed popularity while the people are caused to suffer more fear and gradually lose confidence in the ability of government to protect them.

According to Adam Lockyer (2003), the language with which the media reports and discusses insurgent terrorist organizations and their actions, is extremely important as the language which it adopts often will set the parameters for public discourse. The phraseology and terminology of the insurgent terrorist and government officials are generally at odds, thus the media is forced to adopt one or the other's word or phrase, which in turn will generally become the accepted way to express that idea in the public forum.

To gain an upper hand in this regard, terrorist organizations will always use their own very strong phraseology and terminology whenever they want to issue a statement. Terrorist groups like the Boko Haram Islamic sect are known to always use Arabic in their voice and video clips when making a statement or claiming responsibility for a terror attack. This is to ensure that they assert control over the media who are compelled to adopt and interpret the direct meaning of the phraseology they used in their statement. Therefore, if terrorist organization or counter terrorist group can induce the media to accept their nomenclature, it has already won an important psychological victory.

According to Narwirth (2011), when the media all sing a similar tune, the general public assumes it is being honestly informed but it is not so. Not everyone has the time or the interest to become well informed on the many issues and sought things out especially when the alternative media also present conflicting views of reality. The major media can spin or colour stories to suit their agenda. They can rile up the public over certain issues or hide vital information. This can pressure government to yield to terrorist demands or take some actions.

Terrorism in the last few decades has changed with the world. Globalization with its myriads of new possibilities has equally expanded the possibilities and opportunities of terrorist organizations across the world to instantly hit their targets. Nigeria in recent times has been placed on terror watch-list following the unprecedented terror attacks that the country has witnessed. In Nigeria, the front pages of newspapers are daily full of stories of bombings and terrorist confrontation with security forces in Abuja, Yobe towns, Maiduguri towns, Adamawa towns etc.

Therefore, the possibility of gaining media attention can trigger terrorism more than ever (Frey & Rohner, 2007, p. 140). An important part of the globalization of the media and terrorism, as noted by Frey and Rohner can be dedicated to the internet. Indeed, the internet with other forms of direct media such as terrorist satellite television has become an integral part of terrorist activity. Internet can teach people bomb making process. (Eze, 2011).

At this juncture, it appears that what the press or the mass media has done and is doing with the coverage of terrorist activities cannot be clearly reconciled with their primary social and constitutional responsibility to the state and the people. The mass media while performing their function(s) in the society obviously in a bid to protect their corporate interest and ensure their relevance in the world of media competition would often adopt sensationalism in their reportage of terrorism which inadvertently overstates and popularizes terrorism. This is why it becomes necessary to examine and re-examine the whole gamut of approach adopted by the press and the media at large in their conduct of terrorism coverage to see if it has done more service or disservice to the campaign against terrorism all over the world.

## 2.7 Mass Media and Strategic Communication against Terrorism

Many media scholars have argued that conventional reporting is not enough to effectively communicate terrorism and fight its menace to the society. As a result, a more proactive form of communication is required to address the issue of terrorism in the country. They noted that terrorism reporting is seen as part of the media's routine schedule or reporting. This calls for serious re-examination if the media are to make any appreciable impact in the fight against terrorism. There is therefore the need to have closely-knit, well established English and vernacular newspaper which would be privately owned and government owned in all the states of the federation so that their effect will be felt in the reportage of terrorism. This is necessary because some of the terrorists have been identified as locals of the different communities. Also, community radio stations should be used. (Umerri & Galadima, 2011, p.16).

Similarly, Sunny Mbazie and Florence Nnah (2012) conducted a study entitled "Media Responsibilities in the Era of Bomb Blast Terrorism", where they noted some of the challenges of reporting terrorism. In their words, Mbazie and Nnah (2012, p. 28) noted that reporting bomb blast is not easy, particularly when it just happened. For instance, the victims are in pains and shock and, therefore unwilling to talk. Health officials may not help matters. Witnesses are scared to the marrow to grant interviews. Security agents and public officials do not want to see a journalist around and therefore, unwilling to reveal, confirm or debunk any piece of information until a later time of their pleasure. This is not good for media deadlines.

Mbazie and Nnah (2012) concluded that "the media should respect the journalism canon of truth, objectivity, balance. Fairness as well as the verification of information should be ensured and avoid dead pan journalism in the coverage of bomb blast. They should respect their ethics and apply the freedom of information act more than ever. Other tools of engagement such

as surveillance interpretation and investigation should be properly employed and harnessed to generate strong public opinion capable of helping the government to resolve the issue.

In another study entitled "Global Terrorism: Fighting the Media Way" conducted by Ofomegbe Daniel Ekhareafu and Orissesan Wilfred Olly, the researchers concluded that "the media have a pivotal role to play in eradicating or curbing the growing tide of terrorism in Africa and the world. The mass media should discharge their social responsibility role as they are morally obligated to work alongside the government and law enforcement agencies to provide lasting and working solutions that would best counter acts of terrorism. This the media can do by providing platforms to various individuals and groups who can air their views about their beliefs and requirements in a production environment. Issues can therefore be sorted out among various parties and groups naturally on a conducive platform.

Aniefiok Udoudo and Nuwa Diriyai in 2012 titled "Reportage of Terrorism in Nigeria", it was revealed that "terrorism pose a challenge to media". The researchers therefore recommended as follows:

- Media collaboration with security agencies on exchange of intelligence is necessary.
- Media workers need adequate insurance cover.
- Security/safety training for media workers deserves serious consideration.
- There is need for better remuneration for journalist in the country to motivate them to take safe risks
- The mass media should be more involved and proactive in the investigation and reportage of terrorism in the country. This involvement would lead to adopting a workable editorial policy aimed at reporting terrorism in the country. It would also make the mass media specific space and airtime to issues relating to terrorism.



- The mass media should examine the activities of their clients so as to check against supporting sponsors of terrorism in the country.
- Government and its agencies should be sincere enough to eschew all manners of direct or indirect sponsorship of terrorism in order not to provide excuses for mischief makers.
- Nigerian people should be provided with incentives to volunteer information on the acts to journalist/government.
- Proper management of information by both security agents and journalist is vital.

## **2.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on two theories of mass communication that are best suited to the study namely; agenda setting theory and framing theory.

### **Agenda Setting Theory**

The theory as proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw in 1972/1973 says that the media (especially the news media) are not always successful in telling us what to think, but are quite successful at telling us what to think about (Asemah, 201).

Izuogu (2009, p.1) cited in Anorue, Onyebuchi, Odemelam, Ekwe (2012, p. 149) noted that 'agenda-setting theory refers to the media's capacity to cause an issue to be elevated to importance in the minds of the public through repeated focus or coverage'. This statement was supported by Anyadike (2009, p.37), who opined that 'the basic principle in the agenda-setting theory is the ability of the mass media to restructure the audience thinking and perception of events'. Izuogu (2009, p.3) observed that;

Considerable evidence have accumulated that editors and broadcasters play an important role in shaping our reality as they go about their day-to-day task of choosing and displaying news. In short, the mass media may not be successful in

telling us what to think but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.

From a close consideration of the above statement, it is apparent that the media through its news selection establish not only issues of public importance, but also determine how much importance to attach to a given issue. The media do this through the reports they present for public consumption. Walter Lippman, an American columnist for the *New York Times* and a strong supporter of Harold Lasswell, writing about agenda-setting function in his famous article *Public Opinion*(1922) argued that the people do not deal directly with their environment as well as they respond to pictures in their heads. Lippman (1922, p.16) as cited in Baran and Davis (2006, p.316) notes that:

For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. Although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it. But average people just cannot be trusted to make important political decisions based on these simplified pictures. Average people have to be protected, and the important decisions have to be made by technocrats who use better models to guide their actions.

The concept of agenda-setting was further reinforced by Lang and Lang (1996) with the notion that the mass media pay attention to certain issues, they are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals should think and have feeling about. Folarin (2002) notes that the agenda-setting theory implies that the mass media predetermine what issues are regarded as important at any given time in a given society. The agenda-setting theory does not ascribe to the media the power to determine what we actually think, but does ascribe to them the power to

determine what we are thinking about. The elements involved in agenda-setting according to Folarin (1998) include:

- The quantity or frequency of reporting;
- Prominence given to the reports through headline displays, pictures and layout in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics or timing on radio and television;
- The degree of conflicts generated in the reports; and
- Cumulative media specific effects over time.

Baran and Davis (2006) also provides a historical perspective on the agenda setting theory when they posited that with or without the label, the idea of agenda-setting has been with us since the days of the penny press. Walter Lippmann, in *Public Opinion* (1992), argued that the people do not deal directly with their environments as much as they respond to "pictures" in their heads. "For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 16). "Average people have to be protected, and the important decisions have to be made by technocrats who use better models to guide their actions. Thus modern agenda-setting notions derive more or less directly from a mass society perspective. Critics have noted this connection.

Although he did not specifically use the term itself, Bernard Cohen is generally credited with refining Lippmann's ideas into the theory of agenda-setting. "The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think

*about*. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors, and publishers of the papers they read (Cohen, 1963, P. 13). Parenthetically, it's hard to ignore the limited-effects bias in Cohen's thinking. He first argued that the press is rarely successful in telling people what to think, but then said that the world looks different to different people depending on what the press offers them. Another way of interpreting this is that Cohen took a mass society perspective and revised it to make it compatible with the limited-effects paradigm.

Cohen's writing became the basis for what we now call the agenda-setting function of the mass media. This perspective might have lingered in obscurity had it not been empirically confirmed by research conducted by Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald Shaw. They articulated their interpretation of agenda-setting: "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. The mass media may well determine the important issues---that is, the media may set the agenda of the campaign" (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, p. 176). Apparently, this theory has an impactful bearing on this study.

The relevance of this theory to this study is that the media of communication help the formation of perception in the minds of the people. The media may cover or play low on issues that bother on terrorism in the society like the kidnap of the Chibok school girls. But the way the people will see the event or their knowledge of the event, especially those who are not at the scene will depend entirely on the media presentation of the event. This means that the media play crucial role in shaping ideas in people's mind.

### **Social Responsibility Media Theory**

The social responsibility Media Theory is an offshoot of the libertarian theory. The theory sprang up to the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century. This theory actually originated from the work of the American-initiated Hutchins Commission (headed by Robert M. Hutchins) of 1947 which was a "Commission on freedom of the Press". It emphasizes phrases like "the public's right to know" and "the public responsibility of the press" (Okunna, 1999, p.10).

According to McQuail (1987), the social responsibility theory owes its origin to an initiative "ó commission of freedom of the press. Its main impetus was a growing awareness that in some important respects the free market of information had failed to fulfill the promise of the press and to deliver expected benefits to the society. The press under the social responsibility theory should enjoy freedom with concomitant obligation. In it, the press is to be responsible to society by carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication.

To further accentuate the responsibility of the press to the society using judiciously their freedom, Peterson, Siebert and Schramm (1956) in Asemah (2011, p. 147) pointed out that:

Freedom carries commitment obligations and the press which enjoys a privilege position under a government (democratic government) is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential tasks of mass communication in contemporary society. To the extent that the press recognizes its responsibilities and makes them the basis of their operational policies, the Libertarian system will satisfy the need of society. To the extent that the press does not assume its responsibilities, some other forces must see that the essential functions of mass communication are carried out.

To this end, the social responsibility theory rests on the notion of free press acting responsibly. The press, which enjoys a privileged position under government like the Nigerian press is obliged to be responsible to the communication, information and education of the

contemporary society. In the case of reporting a sensitive issue like the Chibok schools girls abduction, the theory implores the media or press and practitioners to ensure objectivity, balance and the representation of all facets of the society.

This theory is however relevant to this study because it x-rays the fact that it is the primary responsibility of the free press like the Nigerian press to objectively perform its functions of mass communication to the society by effectively and efficiently covering or reporting societal issues like the Boko Haram abductions of the Chibok school girls in Borno state of Nigeria, 2014.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

This study is a content analysis of four Nigerian newspapers. To achieve the objective of comparing these four distinct papers and presenting a detailed outline of what they covered during the period under study, content analysis was utilized as a research methodology. Content analysis is considered the most appropriate method of study since it involves the analysis of the manifest content of the four selected newspapers under study.

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p.157), the goal of content analysis is an accurate representation of a body of messages. Supporting this statement, Ohaja (2003, p. 14) writes that content analysis refers to the examination of the manifest content of communication to discover the pattern existing therein. The data generated from the four newspapers were subjected to qualitative and quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis is a highly systematic activity which involves subjecting data to varying levels of mathematical and statistical calculations so as to bring out the underlying features, characteristics, trends and relationships. On the other hand, quantitative analysis is concerned with data interpretations, and description of results and findings. Such manifest content could be advertisements, news stories, opinion articles, features, editorials, cartoons, letter-to-the-editor, photographs and other illustrations in a newspaper or magazine. This informed the use of content analysis in determining the nature of newspaper coverage of the kidnapping of Chibok School girls using selected newspapers.

### 3.2 Population of the Study

The population of this study comprises of all the registered newspapers in Nigeria within the stipulated period under investigation. By these newspapers in Nigeria, the study looks at the national dailies that are in the business of informing, educating, entertaining etc the people. However, for the purpose of this study, the population is limited to four national dailies which were purposively selected to represent the universe of study. They include: *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership newspaper*. These newspapers were studied for a period of six months (April 2014 to September, 2014).

*The Guardian* newspaper was founded by late Mr. Felix Ibru in 1983 with headquarters in Lagos. *The Guardian* is considered a newspaper with national reputation in interpretative and investigative journalism. It is an elitist newspaper with national, analytical, fearless and focus character, catering for the news, information, education and entertainment of the well-educated Nigerian populace. Its penchant for in-depth reporting of issues of national interest has endeared it to the literate segment of the Nigerians. Its pattern and spectrum of coverage made it a vital medium to be included to the population of this study.

*Daily Sun* newspaper which prides itself as "Voice of the Nation" is reputed as the king of Nigerian tabloid. It was incorporated on 29 March 2001, and started production as a daily in June 2003. It is published by The Sun Publishing Limited under the chairmanship of Dr Orji Uzor Kalu, a former governor of Abia State. With its catchy banner headlines and straight news stories; it is patronized by readers across the country. It is considered because of believability in its measure of objectivity in the coverage of this particular event. It was unavoidably included in the population of this study because of its wide circulation and large readership across the country. Its headquarters is at Lagos.

*Daily Trust* is a national and general interest newspaper with headquarter at Abuja. It was founded in 2001 by its privately held publisher company, Media Trust Limited. Its circulation is the largest in the northern part of the country and is widely read by Nigerians who enjoy reading the socio-political affairs of the country. Most intelligentsia in the Nigerian Federal Capital Territory (FCT) embraced the *Daily Trust* newspaper.

*Leadership* newspaper is published by Sam Nda-Isaiah who is the General Manager of *Leadership* newspaper group. *Leadership* newspaper is a national newspaper symbolically located in the nation's capital, Abuja. Its circulation is more pronounced in the northern part of the country and is embraced by northern elite. The newspaper is read by those who are interested in the political, cultural and religious affairs of Nigeria. Its headlines and pictures are neither screamers nor banners by tabloid standard.

The features of these four newspapers placed them as the right choice for proper sampling in this study. This is so as *The Guardian* and *Daily Sun* newspapers are based in the southern part of the country while *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers are based in the northern part of the country. These newspapers are a true representation of the Nigerian press and were purposively selected to generate a balanced data for the research.

### **3.3 Sample Size**

A total of 224 editions of *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers were selected through a systematic random sampling to constitute a representative sample of the issues published during the period of the study. This was done systematically that is 56 editions of the *Guardian*, 56 editions of the *Daily Sun*, 56 editions of the *Daily Trust* and 56 editions of the *Leadership* newspapers. Four of these papers were studied in each of the day randomly selected for the study. This accounted to a total of 224 editions which were selected

from the Enugu state library, Daily Trust & Leadership newspapers library both in Abuja and UNN Mass Communication library respectively. Ohaja (2003, p. 74) agrees that "selecting a sample size is very important considering the impracticability of studying the entire population..." In determining the sample size for the study, the multistage sampling technique was employed. The procedure for arriving at a sample size is stipulated in the sampling techniques below.

The 224 editions of the four newspapers purposively selected fall within April 16, 2014 when newspapers generally began the reportage of the Chibok School girls kidnapping to September 28, 2014 which marked the end of the period randomly selected for the study. The systematic random sampling started from the 16<sup>th</sup> of April following the date of the incident. The next day selected was 19<sup>th</sup> April given a two day interval and it ran continuously till September 28<sup>th</sup> 2014. For a comparative analysis, the four newspapers were studied simultaneously each day. The details of the systematic random sampling of the period are represented in the table below.

**Table 1: Systematic Random Sampling of the Period under Investigation**

| MONTHS    | EDITION         |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|           | April           | 16 <sup>th</sup> | 19 <sup>th</sup> | 22 <sup>nd</sup> | 25 <sup>th</sup> | 28 <sup>th</sup> |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| May       | 1 <sup>st</sup> | 4 <sup>th</sup>  | 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 10 <sup>th</sup> | 13 <sup>th</sup> | 16 <sup>th</sup> | 19 <sup>nd</sup> | 22 <sup>th</sup> | 25 <sup>th</sup> | 28 <sup>th</sup> | 31 <sup>th</sup> |
| June      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup>  | 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 12 <sup>th</sup> | 15 <sup>th</sup> | 18 <sup>th</sup> | 21 <sup>st</sup> | 24 <sup>th</sup> | 27 <sup>th</sup> | 30 <sup>th</sup> |                  |
| July      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> | 6 <sup>th</sup>  | 9 <sup>th</sup>  | 12 <sup>th</sup> | 15 <sup>th</sup> | 18 <sup>th</sup> | 21 <sup>st</sup> | 24 <sup>th</sup> | 27 <sup>th</sup> | 30 <sup>th</sup> |                  |
| August    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup>  | 8 <sup>th</sup>  | 11 <sup>th</sup> | 14 <sup>th</sup> | 17 <sup>th</sup> | 20 <sup>th</sup> | 23 <sup>rd</sup> | 26 <sup>th</sup> | 29 <sup>th</sup> |                  |
| September | 1 <sup>st</sup> | 4 <sup>th</sup>  | 7 <sup>th</sup>  | 10 <sup>th</sup> | 13 <sup>th</sup> | 16 <sup>th</sup> | 19 <sup>th</sup> | 22 <sup>nd</sup> | 25 <sup>th</sup> | 28 <sup>th</sup> |                  |

### **3.4 Sampling Technique**

The item for analysis was drawn from *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers using the systematic random sampling method. The goal was to provide each item in the population an equal chance of being included in the sample. According to Osuala (2001, p. 144), "systematic random sampling is that method of drawing a portion or sample of a population so that each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected".

Ohaja (2003, p. 80) defines systematic random sampling as one of the types of random sampling technique in which we work by the proportion of the population we need. She gave an instance that, if we need to interview 50 employees of a company and we find that the staff is 300, we can get a list of all the staff and decide to interview every 6<sup>th</sup> person on the list. This gives everyone a fair chance of being selected. Thus, the selection of issues in the chosen newspapers was so done without replacement to ensure that no issue was selected more than once.

### **3.5 Instruments for Data Collection**

The study as a content analysis adopts the use of coding guide and coding sheet. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1978, p. 19), coding is the placement of a unit of analysis into a content category. Nwodo (2004, p. 34) states that coding remains an essential ingredient of processing the collected newspaper for content analytical study. Nwogu (1998, p. 15) agrees with the above scholars as he maintained that after breaking unit of analysis into subsections or content categories as can be seen below, the researcher will tabulate units of analysis in frequency and percentage to arrive at a dependable conclusion. The instrument used to generate data is the code sheet. It is an instrument used to categorize the data generated for content

analysis as it lends variable to qualitative and quantitative analyses. Stories examined cuts across news stories, features, editorials, opinion articles, letter to the editor and columns.

### **3.6 Unit of Analysis**

The data collected were coded and analyzed under the following subject category, source, story genre, direction, position of news and news play. Details of such classification are provided as follows:

**1. Newspapers:** This represents the selected newspapers used for the study. They include *The Guardian, Daily Sun, Daily Trust and Leadership*.

#### **2. Selected categories and topics covered**

**1) Government response:** This is news on various government responses and reaction on issues.

**2) Parents response:** This encompasses all news on the response/reaction of parents of the abducted girls.

**3) Military/security agencies:** This deals with all items on the involvement of the military and other security agencies in the crisis.

**4) International community:** This refers to items dealing on the reactions of the international community on the abduction saga.

**5) Civil societies/NGO's/groups:** This embraces news items on the activities of local and international groups in reaction to the Chibok girls abduction saga.

**6) Political play:** This involves items on reaction and counter-reaction from political groups.

**7) Escaped Chibok girls:** These covers story items on the school girls who escaped from the terrorist.

**8) BBOG group/protest marches:** This comprises all the items on protest (peaceful) activities in response to the Chibok abductions.



9) **Human Interest:** This is news about human activities of general interest. It could pertain to life, death, success, failures, accidents, crimes, etc, all of which has direct human impact.

**3. Story Genre:** This is the type of stories published in the newspapers such as;

- |                      |   |         |   |          |
|----------------------|---|---------|---|----------|
| (i) News Story       | - | (SG 01) | - | 1 point  |
| (ii) Editorials      | - | (SG 02) | - | 2 points |
| (iii) Features       | - | (SG 03) | - | 3 points |
| (iv) Columns         | - | (SG 04) | - | 4points  |
| (v) Opinion articles | - | (SG 05) | - | 5points  |
- (vi) Illustrations, such as photographs and cartoons. They are classified together as photonews  
(SG 06) - 6points.

**4. Position of stories:** This is the page placement, degree of importance and prominence given to stories as they are placed in the newspaper. The following three categories are constructed.

- |                  |   |         |   |          |
|------------------|---|---------|---|----------|
| (i) Front Page   | - | (PS 01) | - | 1 point  |
| (ii) Inside Page | - | (PS 02) | - | 2 points |
| (iii) Back Page  | - | (PS 03) | - | 3 points |

**5. News play:** This is the treatment of news items by the editors in such a way that one item is given prominence over another. The research adopted attention score index using a scale of headline column and length of stories to measure space allotment of stories.

**i. Headline:** This measures the headline of a story.

- |                       |         |   |         |
|-----------------------|---------|---|---------|
| Banner headline.      | (NP 01) | - | 1point  |
| Four-Column headline  | (NP 02) | - | 2points |
| Three-Column headline | (NP 03) | - | 3points |
| Two-Column headline   | (NP 04) | - | 4points |

One-Column headline (NP 05) - 5points

**ii. Length of stories:** This indicates the space allotment of the stories in the newspaper. It measured the number of words in a story such as:

0 to 200 words (LS 01) - 1 point

201 to 400 words (LS 02) - 2 points

401 and above (LS 03) - 3 points

**6. Source:** This classification is used to show the origin of the story. Four sources were used.

They are:

- **Correspondents:** These are reporters working for the newspaper houses that are credited for by-lines for writing stories.
- **News agencies:** These include UPI, AP, AFP, TASS, Reuters, BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, PANA, MENA, and News Agency of Nigeria (NAN).
- **Unidentified:** News without any specific mention of a source.

The data generated were computed using frequency distribution numbers and percentage scores, and equally presented in tables and pie charts. The subject categories were grouped and computed. This helps to calculate the volume of coverage, to ascertain the aspect of news that receive more prominence or are more emphasized, and also ascertain the sources of the published stories and the subject areas covered by the Nigerian press. So, it was possible to determine the nature of the news coverage of the Chibok schools girls kidnapping in *The Guardian, Daily sun, Daily Trust and Leadership newspapers*.

### 3.7 Validity of the Instrument

The study employed face validity. This validation technique assumes that an instrument adequately measures what it intends to measure if the categories are rigidly and categorically defined and if the procedure of the analysis has been adequately conducted. (Wimmer & Dominic, 2003, p. 160). So the researcher ensured that the instruments adequately measure what it claims to measure and the raw information (manifest content) coded is the right thing required.

### 3.8 Reliability of the Instrument

In checking for the reliability of the study instrument, the researcher conducted an intercoder reliability of the whole sampled editions of the news stories using the Holsti method. Holsti (1969) in Wimmer and Dominick (2014) reports this formula for determining the intercoder reliability of nominal data in terms of percentage of agreement:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where  $M$  is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree and  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively.

This was informed by the fact that the researcher and the trained coder engaged in series of pre-training sections for one week and two hours per day, where copies of the editions were constantly reviewed in line with the content categories stipulated. Supporting this approach, Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p. 175) noted that it is important to state "whether the reliability sample is the same as the full sample or a subset of the full sample". In this case, the researcher conducted a reliability sample of the full sample. The calculation is presented below. It is a calculation done on the full sample, which is analyzed in chapter four.

### Intercoder Reliability

- Number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree  $M$  is 368.
- Total number of coding decisions by first coder  $N_1$  is 374
- Total number of coding decisions by second coder  $N_2$  is 368

$$\text{Reliability} \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

$$\text{Reliability} \frac{2(368)}{374 + 368}$$

$$\text{Reliability} \frac{736}{742}$$

$$= 0.99$$

Based on the outcome of this intercoder reliability test conducted on the full sample for this study, it means that the intercoder reliability between the two coders is very high and suitable.

### 3.9 Limitations of the Methodology

In carrying out this study, time constraint and inadequate finance influenced its scope. The number of newspapers operating in Nigeria today is estimated at over sixty. In view of the time available for this study, it was a difficult task to adequately analyze the content of all the Nigerian newspapers. Consequently, all other newspapers published in Nigeria, but not selected were not content analyzed in the study. The rationale for selection was based on their availability to the researcher.

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1987, p. 70), "content analysis alone cannot serve as a basis for making statement about the effects of content on the audience". Based on this, the methodology used in this research is limited to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the

manifest contents of communication used by the Nigerian press in the coverage of Chibok school girls kidnapping between the periods of April 2014 to September 2014. It does not delve into the effects of the message content on the readers.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Description of the sample

The study generally examined the Nigerian newspaper coverage of the abduction of Chibok School girls in Borno State, Nigeria from April 2014 to September, 2014. As stated earlier, a total of 224 editions of the four newspapers were the sample size. 79 editions could not be analyzed because they have no stories on the abduction of Chibok school girls. The editions were 34 editions of *The Guardian*, 22 editions of *Daily Sun*, 19 editions of *Daily Trust* and 4 editions of *Leadership* newspapers.

However, 145 editions were analyzed as they contain stories on the abduction of Chibok school girls. The editions were 22 editions of *The Guardian*, 34 editions of *Daily Sun*, 37 editions of *Daily Trust* and 52 editions of *Leadership* newspaper. 374 is the total number of stories on Chibok girls' abduction on the four newspapers. 32 stories were found in *The Guardian*, 87 stories in *Daily Sun*, 107 stories in *Daily Trust* and 148 stories in *Leadership* newspapers.

| S/N | Newspaper    | Editions | Not of editions with stories on Chibok girls abductions | No of edition with no stories on Chibok girls | No of Chibok girls stories on each newspaper |
|-----|--------------|----------|---|---|--|
| 1   | The Guardian | 56       | 22  | 34  | 32   |
| 2   | Daily sun    | 56       | 34  | 22  | 87   |
| 3   | Daily Trust  | 56       | 37  | 19  | 107  |
| 4   | Leadership   | 56       | 52  | 4   | 148  |
|     | Total        | 224      | 145   | 79  | 374  |

The sample size analyzed was 145 editions and it yielded 374 stories. The data are presented in tables using frequency scores and percentages. In the tables below,  $f_0$  represents frequency

while, % represents percentage. It was further presented in pie charts for more comprehensive analysis. The data presented are answers to the research questions raised in chapter one.

## 4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

For a lucid presentation and analysis of data, it is imperative to look at the research questions raised in chapter one.

1. What is the volume of coverage of Chibok girls abduction in *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *leadership* newspapers?
2. What kind of items on the Chibok girls abduction appeared in the Newspapers?
3. What are the sources of the newspapers coverage of the Chibok girls abduction?
4. What is the direction of news coverage of the Chibok girls abduction by the newspapers?
5. Are the published materials given prominence in the four newspapers under study?
6. Comparatively, how does the coverage of the Chibok girls abduction differ from *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* Newspapers in terms of volume of coverage, story genre, and position of stories?

### **Research question one: What is the volume of coverage of Chibok girl's abduction in the Guardian, Daily Sun, Daily Trust, and leadership newspapers.**

The volume of coverage of each newspaper was used to answer research question one.

The result showed that the Nigerian press covered the Chibok girls abduction Saga since 145 editions of the four newspapers studied yield 374 stories. This volume of coverage justify that the Nigerian press carried out their watchdog journalism on the Chibok girls abduction crisis creditably in 2014. There was a remarkable difference between the total items in *Leadership* newspaper as compared to *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun* and *Daily Trust*. It is however understandable that *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* newspapers are 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> in position with the



total of 148 (39.6%) and 107 (28.6%) published items respectively. This is certainly because they both are northern based newspapers with better coverage of the region where the incident happened (North-east Nigeria).

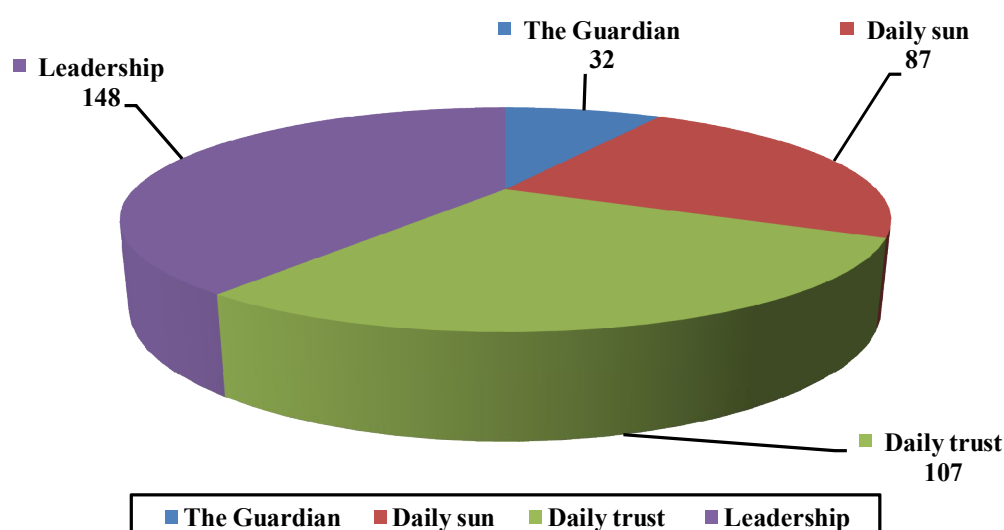
*Daily Sun* and *The Guardian* were in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> (last) position with 87 and 32 published items representing 23.2% and 8.6% respectively.

Table 2 and figure 1 below offer details.

**Table 2: The volume of coverage of the Chibok girl's abduction in the four under study**

| News paper   | Frequency (f) | Percentage (%) | Position        |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| The Guardian | 32            | 8.6            | 4 <sup>th</sup> |
| Daily sun    | 87            | 23.2           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
| Daily trust  | 107           | 28.6           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| Leadership   | 148           | 39.6           | 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| Total        | 374           | 100            |                 |

**Figure 1: Chart showing the volume of coverage of the Chibok girl's abduction in the four newspapers under study.**



Comprehensively, table 2 and figure 1 respectively have shown the positions of the four newspapers under study according the volume of items they covered on the Chibok girls abduction within the period of study.

### **Research Question Two: What Kinds of Items on the Chibok girls Abduction Appear in the Newspaper?**

Each topic was coded in relation to its frequency of occurrence in the four newspapers under study. Table 3 and figure 2 below displayed all the topics covered by the four newspapers.

**Table 3: Topic Covered by the Four Newspapers under Study**

| <b>Subjects/topics Covered</b> | <b>Frequency (f)</b> | <b>Percentage (%)</b> | <b>Position</b> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Government response            | 56                   | 15                    | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
| Parents response               | 27                   | 7.2                   | 7 <sup>th</sup> |
| Military/security agencies     | 29                   | 7.8                   | 6 <sup>th</sup> |
| International Community        | 32                   | 8.6                   | 5 <sup>th</sup> |
| Civil societies/NGO's/groups   | 79                   | 21.1                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| Political play                 | 27                   | 7.2                   | 7 <sup>th</sup> |
| Escaped Chibok girls           | 17                   | 4.5                   | 8 <sup>th</sup> |
| BBOGgroup/protest marches      | 41                   | 11                    | 4 <sup>th</sup> |
| Human Interest                 | 66                   | 17.6                  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| Total                          | 374                  | 100                   |                 |

**Figure 2: Chart showing the topics covered by the four newspapers under study**

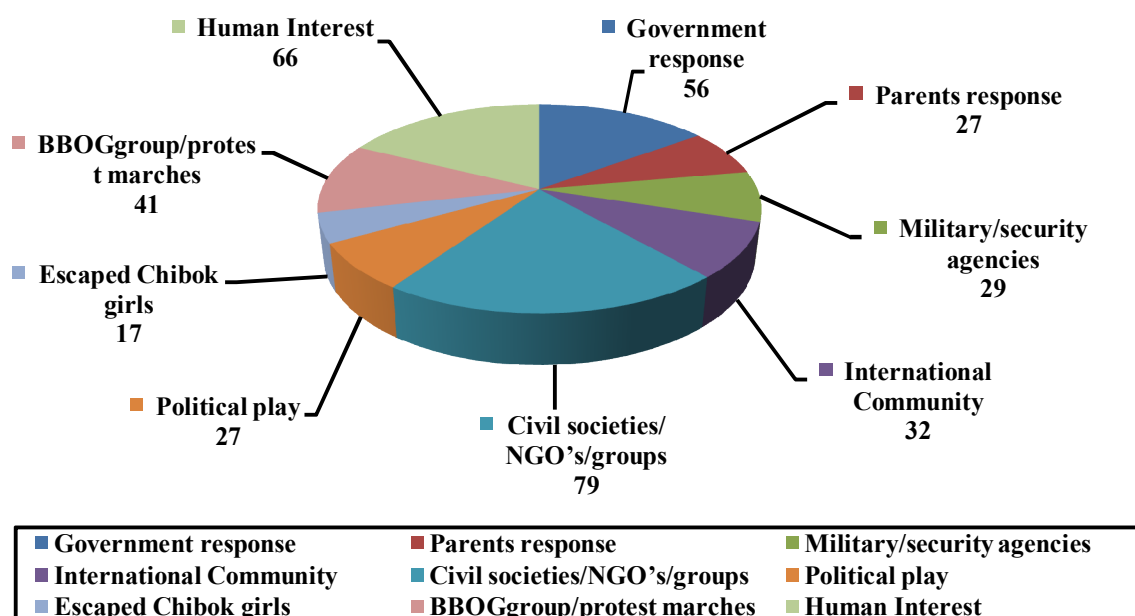


Table 3 and figure 2 above displayed the topics covered on the Chibok girls' abductions by *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers. The result showed that published items on civil societies/NGO's/Groups were 79(21%) of the total coverage area. Items on human interest followed with 66(17.6%). 56(15%) government response/reactions stories were published in the four newspapers. Activities of Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) group and other protest groups story materials followed with total of 41(11%). Materials on the reactions from the international community on the incident accounted for 32 (8.6%) items, military/security agencies accounted for 29(7.8%), parents response/reactions and political play each were 27(7.2%) respectively. A total of 17 (4.5%) stories were published on escape Chibok girls.

The data emanating from table 3 and figure 2 above is quite instructive in many ways; the topic that attracted the highest coverage was civil society/NGOs activities, human interest and government response. The findings of the study did not indicate the contrary; these showed that the reactions, responses and activities of civil societies, NGOs and other groups were prominent and mostly covered by the newspapers under study. The presses as the fourth estate of the realm usually were fully on-ground to provide a platform for segment of the society to voice their opinion and demand answers to their questions on national issues.

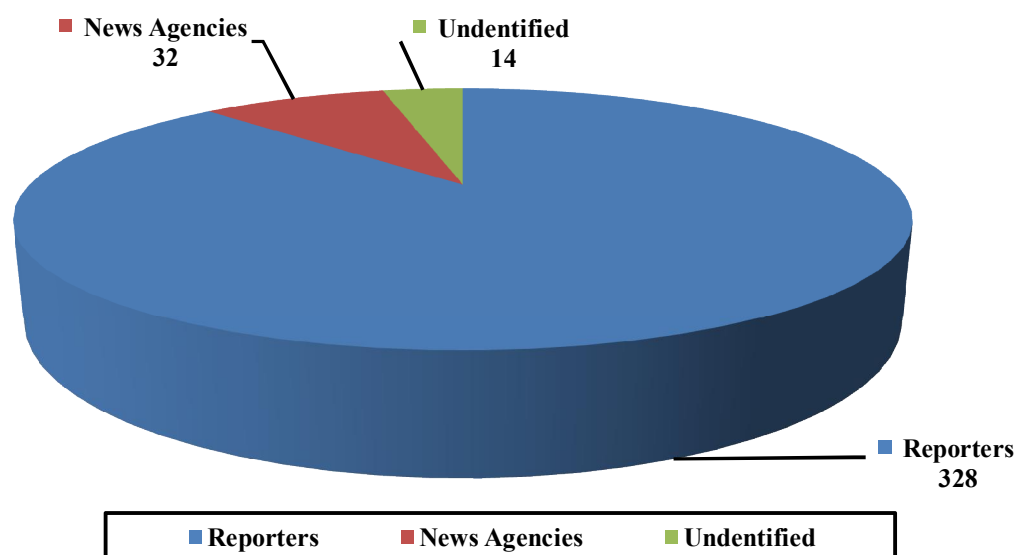
### **Research Question Three: What are the Sources of Newspapers Coverage of Abducted Chibok girls?**

The news sources of the published items in the four newspapers were used to answer research question three. Table 4 and figure 3 below displayed the data that answered this research questions.

**Table 4: The news Sources of Published items in the Four Newspapers**

| S/NO | Sources       | Frequency (f) | Percentage (%) | Position        |
|------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1    | Reporters     | 328           | 87.7           | 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| 2    | News Agencies | 32            | 8.6            | 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| 3    | Unidentified  | 14            | 3.7            | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
|      | Total         | 374           | 100            |                 |

**Figure 3: Chart showing the news sources of the published items**



The result showed that the bulk of stories analyzed in the four newspapers were covered by reporters working in the field for the newspapers since 328 out of 374 of the total 32 published items representing 8.6% were from news agencies were not attributed to any source, hence unidentified.

Since the result showed that most of the stories on Chibok girls' abductions during the period under study were from local reporters, the findings of this study have proved that the Nigerian press is to a large extent independent of external sources in the coverage of a national issue as the Chibok school girls kidnapping.

**Research Question four: Are the Published Materials given Prominence in the Four Newspapers under Study?**

The position of stories, the headline column and length of stories answer this research questions. Tables 5 and 6, and figure 4 offered the quantitative analysis.

**Table 5: The position of stories in each of the four newspapers under study**

| S/NO | Newspaper    | Front page |      | Inside page |      | Back page |     |
|------|--------------|------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|-----|
|      |              | F          | %    | F           | %    | F         | %   |
| 1    | The Guardian | 8          | 2.1  | 24          | 6.4  | 0         | 0   |
| 2    | Daily Sun    | 10         | 2.7  | 76          | 20.3 | 1         | 0.3 |
| 3    | Daily Trust  | 18         | 4.9  | 83          | 22.2 | 6         | 1.6 |
| 4    | Leadership   | 28         | 7.5  | 111         | 29.7 | 9         | 2.4 |
|      | Total        | 64         | 17.2 | 294         | 78.6 | 1.6       | 4.2 |

**Table 6: The Overall Position of Stories in the Four Newspapers**

| S/NO | Placement   | Frequency (f) | Percentage (%) | Position        |
|------|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1    | Front Page  | 64            | 17.2           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| 2    | Inside Page | 294           | 78.6           | 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| 3    | Back Page   | 16            | 4.2            | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
|      | Total       | 374           | 100            |                 |

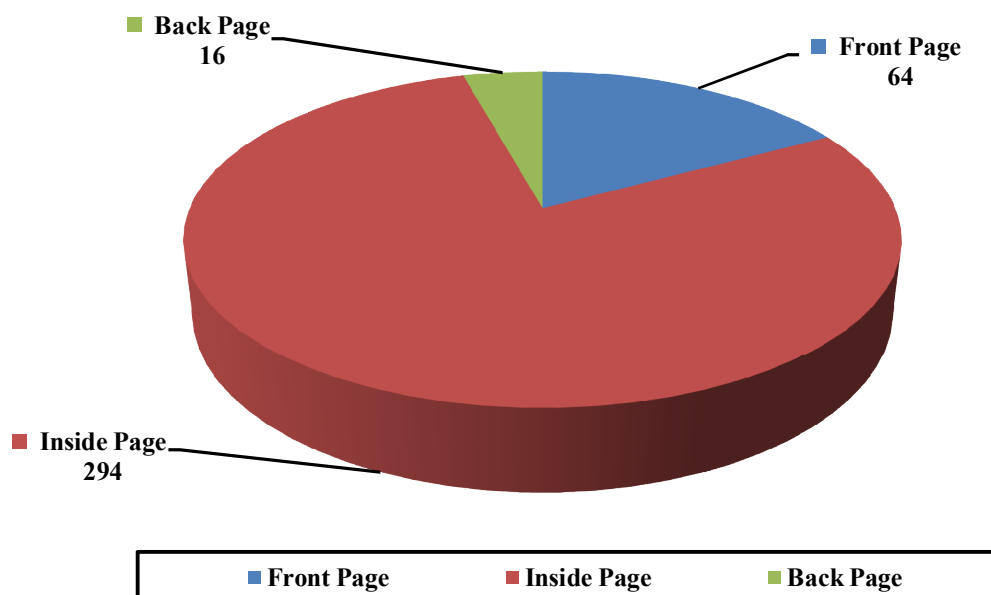
**Figure 4: Chart Showing the Positions of Stories in the Four Newspapers under Study.**

Table 5 and 6 and figure 4 above were glaring evidences of the short shift attention Nigerian newspapers or the press gave to the abduction of Chibok school girls. As the positioning analysis revealed, most of the published items about the abduction of Chibok school girls were tucked away inside the pages of the newspapers. The result showed that inside page took the lead in position of stories with the total of 294 representing 78.6% out of the 374 published items.

However, the published items that attracted the front page position were 64 (17.2%). The back page received only 16(4.2%). The results showed that prominence was not given to the Chibok girls abductions by the Nigerian press. The stories in the front page and back page add together were not up to half of the stories in inside pages. It was glaring evidence that prominence was not achieved through positioning of stories in the four newspapers studied. This is buttressed to the fact that most of the stories that attracted the front position (64 out of 374) were the major protests, demonstrations by BBOG group and video clips/statements by Boko Haram about the girls.

The treatment of news in such a way that it gets prominence can also be achieve through the use of headline. The researcher therefore, used the score index for headline column to determine whether prominence was given to the Chibok school girls abduction in the Nigerian press during the period of study.

**Table 7 and Figure 5 Offered Details**

| Type of Headline        | Frequency (f) | Percentage (%) | Position        |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| One ó Column headline   | 22            | 5.8            | 5 <sup>th</sup> |
| Two ó Column headline   | 72            | 19.2           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
| Three ó Column headline | 149           | 39.8           | 1 <sup>st</sup> |
| Four ó Column headline  | 86            | 22.9           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> |
| Banner headline         | 45            | 12.3           | 4 <sup>th</sup> |
| Total                   | 374           | 100            |                 |

**Figure 5: Chart showing the score index for headline columns**

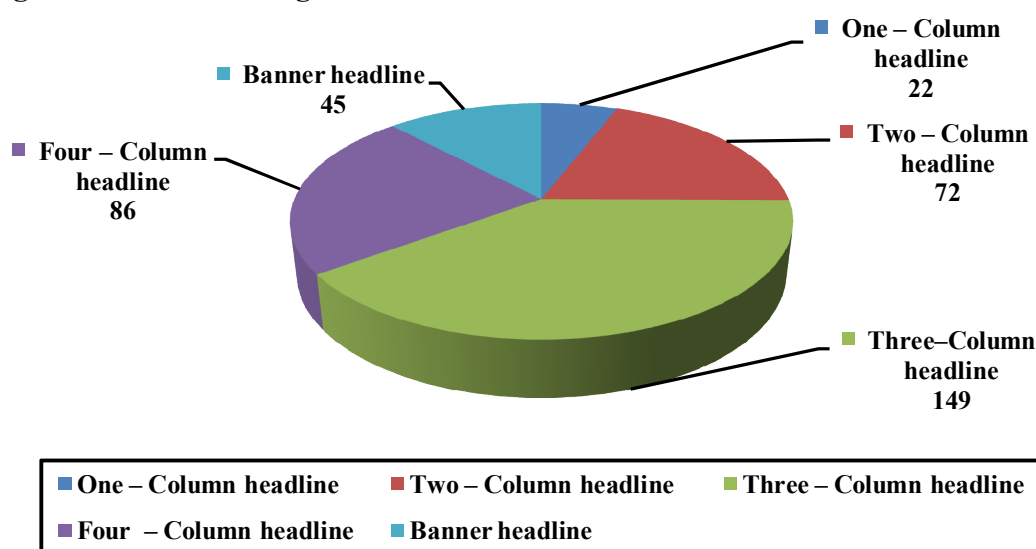


Table 7 and figure 5 showed that three-column headline took the lead with the total frequency score of 149 representing 39.8%. Four-column headline was 86 (22.9%), two-column headline was 72 (19.2%), and banner headline was 43 (12.3%) while one-column headline was 22 (5.8%). The result showed that these stories were positioned in such a way that they will not catch attention of the reader obviously. Stories with banner headline attract the attention of the reader much more than stories with shorter headlines. It was discovered that in the headline column, *The Guadiana*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers did not give prominence to the abduction of Chibok school girls.

Since prominence was not achieved through positioning of stories and headline column, the score index for length of stories was used to determine whether prominence was given to the abduction of Chibok girls by Nigerian newspaper. The result also proved that prominence was not achieved in the four newspapers studied.

The length of the published items was another area which reflected the tuck away disposition of Nigerian press in relation to the Chibok girls abduction.

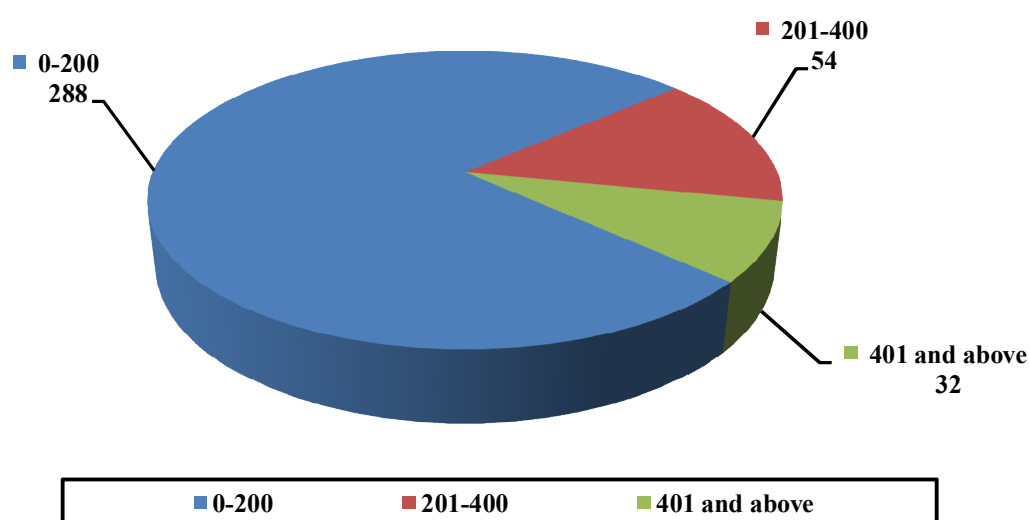


Table 10 and figure 6 below showed that stories within the range of zero to 200 to 400 words were 288 (77%), stories that fall between 200 to 400 words were 54 (14.4%) while stories within the range of 401 and above were 32(8.6%). Therefore, the results showed that analytical features were largely short. Most of the stories on the Chibok girls abduction were mainly straight news. The findings revealed that interpretative reporting on the Chibok girls abduction was not carried out by the Nigerian press. This substantiates the short shift nature of media attention on the Chibok girls abduction by Nigerian newspapers. They were concerned on spot news and straight news. That is why the four newspapers studied had more stories within the range of zero to 200 words in length.

**Table 8: The Score Index for Length of Stories**

| S/N | Length (No. of Words) | F   | %    |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|------|
| 1.  | 0-200                 | 288 | 77   |
| 2.  | 201-400               | 54  | 14.4 |
| 3   | 401 and above         | 32  | 8.6  |
|     | Total                 | 374 | 100  |

**Figure 6: Chart Showing the Score Index for Length of Stories**



**Research Question Five: Comparatively, how does the coverage of the Chibok girl's abduction differ from the guardian, daily sun, daily trust and leadership newspapers in terms of volume of coverage, story genre and position of stories**

For a comparative analysis of the four newspapers studied in terms of volume of coverage, the result displayed in table 2 and figure 1 showed a remarkable different between the total published items in *Leadership* newspaper as compared to *Daily Trust*, *Daily Sun* and the *Guardian Newspaper*. *Leadership* topped the highest with the total of 148 published stories representing 39.6%. *Daily Trust Newspaper* followed with 107 (28.6%) published items. *Daily Trust* took the third position with the total of 87 (23.2%) published items. *The Guardian* followed as the last with the total of 32 published items representing 8.6%.

To compare the four newspapers in terms of story genre, table 9 below played the analysis.

**Table 9: The Score Index for story genre**

| S/N | Newspaper                               | <i>The Guardian</i> |      | <i>Daily Sun</i> |      | <i>Daily Trust</i> |      | <i>Leadership</i> |      |
|-----|---|---------------------|------|------------------|------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|
|     |   | F                   | %    | F                | %    | F                  | %    | F                 | %    |
| 1.  | News stories                            | 30                  | 8.0  | 62               | 16.5 | 69                 | 18.4 | 123               | 32.9 |
| 2.  | Features                                | 0                   | 0    | 4                | 1.0  | 3                  | 0.8  | 7                 | 1.8  |
| 3.  | Editorials                              | 0                   | 0    | 2                | 0.5  | 3                  | 0.8  | 1                 | 0.3  |
| 4.  | Letters to the editor, Opinion articles | 2                   | 0.53 | 11               | 2.9  | 13                 | 3.5  | 10                | 2.7  |
| 5.  | Photonews                               | 0                   | 0    | 8                | 2.1  | 19                 | 5.1  | 7                 | 1.8  |
|     | Total                                   | 32                  | 8.6  | 87               | 23.2 | 107                | 28.6 | 148               | 39.5 |

For a lucid comparison of the four newspapers, it becomes necessary to determine the type of story in each medium. A total of 30 news stories representing 8.0% were published in the guardian, it had no feature and no editorials. It had 2 letters to the editor and opinion articles representing 0.53% photonews is also nil in *the Guardian*.

*Daily Sun Newspaper* had 62 news stories representing 16.5% 4 features representing 1.0%, 2 editorials representing 0.5%, 11 letters to the editor and opinion articles representing 2.9% and 3 photonews representing 2.1%.

*Daily Trust newspaper* had 69(18.4%) news stories, 3 (0.8%) features, 3(0.8%) editorials, 13(3.5%) letters to the editor and opinion articles, and 19(5.1%) photonews.

*Leadership newspaper* had 123 (32.9%) news stories, 7(1.8%) features, 1 (0.3%) editorials, 10(2.7%) letters to the editor and opinion articles, and 7 (1.8%) photonews.

For a comparative analysis in story genres, *Leadership Newspaper* leads in news stories with 123 (32.9%). *Leadership newspaper* also leads in features with 7(1.8%) published items. *Daily Trust Newspaper* leads in editorials with 3(0.8%), *Daily Sun* leads in letters to the editor and opinion articles with 11 (2.9%) while *Daily Trust* leads in photonews with 19(5.1%).

To compare the four news papers in terms of position of stories, table 10 below displayed a comparative analysis of the four newspapers in terms of position on stories. The results showed that there were no differences in their position of stories. The four newspapers placed most of their stories inside pages, than the front and back pages.

**Table 10: The Comparison of Portion of Stories in the Four Newspapers**

| S/N | Newspaper    | Front Page |      | Inside Page |      | Back Page |     |
|-----|--------------|------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|-----|
|     |              | F          | %    | F           | %    | F         | %   |
| 1.  | The Guardian | 8          | 2.1  | 24          | 6.4  | 0         | 0   |
| 2.  | Daily Sun    | 10         | 2.7  | 76          | 20.3 | 1         | 0.3 |
| 3.  | Daily Trust  | 18         | 4.9  | 83          | 22.2 | 6         | 1.6 |
| 4.  | Leadership   | 28         | 7.5  | 111         | 21.7 | 9         | 2.4 |
|     | Total        | 64         | 17.2 | 294         | 78.6 | 16        | 4.2 |

### 4.3 Discussion of Findings

**In Research Question One** displayed in table 2 and figure 1, which is the volume of coverage of the Chibok girls abduction in the four newspapers under study. Out of the 374 issues analyzed, *Leadership* newspaper topped highest with the total of 148 published stories representing 39.6%. *Daily Trust* followed with 107 (28.6%) published items, *Daily Sun* took the third position with the total of 87 (23.2%) published items, while *The Guardian* Newspaper came last with the total 32 published items representing 8.6%. It is clear that *Leadership* Newspaper, a more or less northern based newspaper topped highest for publishing stories on the Chikob school girls abduction than *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun* and *Daily Trust* Newspaper during the period of study. The frequency was high in *Leadership* Newspaper because of its style of daily monitoring of certain national issues and concern on human interest stories. It is however not too surprising that *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* Newspapers both of which are

northern based published more stories on the Chibok girls abduction which happened in the north-eastern state of Borno.

**Research Question Two:** What kinds of items on the Chibok girls abduction appeared in the news papers? Research questions two ascertains the performance of each topic within the spectrum of press coverage. The result showed that the Nigeria press focused on the abduction of Chibok girls but did not beam its search investigatively on the incident. Items that basically appeared were more of straight news. These materials encompass the various topics commonly reported by the newspapers. The highest appearance made by any topic was those on reaction, responses and activities of civil society organizations and other non-governmental organizations/groups. This constitutes 79 published materials representing 21.1 percent. This is followed by materials on human interest with 66 materials representing 17.6%, government response with 56 materials representing 15%, #BringBackOurGirls (BBOG) group/protest Marches with 41 (11%), 32(8.6%) on international community among others. All these are displayed in table 3 and further analyzed by figure 2. These materials which are especially straight news items focused on key areas and plays that continued to play-out issues around from the Chibok school girls abduction.

**Research Question Three:** What are the sources of Nigerian newspaper coverage of the Chibok girls abduction? This seeks to find out those that reported news on the abduction of Chibok girls. The bulk of the stories studied were reported by the report of these newspapers across the country. They were few reports from news agencies. The data displayed in table 4 and figure 3 above showed that 328 stories representing 87.7% were from local reporters

working for these newspapers across the country, 32 published items representing 20.3% were from news agencies while 14 items were from unidentified sources. This goes to say that most of these stories on the Chibok girls' abduction during the period under study were gotten from the newspaper reporters across the country. The result showed that the Nigerian press is very much dependent on her local reporters on an issue like the Chibok girls incident. It is of interest to note that while there were so many international reports on the incident from different international news agencies, the Nigerian press on this global crime of kidnapping relied on her arsenal of local reporters across the country as her primary source for published items.

**Research Question Four:** Are the published materials given prominence in the four newspapers under study? This is another crucial aspect of this study. It terms to determine the prominence given to the Chibok girls' abduction by Nigerian newspapers. Based on the data collected, Nigerian newspapers, looking at the magnitude of the crime internationally and locally, never place high level of importance on the Boko Haram abduction Chibok school girls since the percentage of inside page stories were high as 294 (78.6%) compared with 04 (17.2%) and 16 (4.2%) of front page and back page respectively. This showed that materials on Chibok girls kidnapping, even though it was a monumental incident condemned all over the world was played down on by the Nigerian press. With the infinitesimal amount of materials on both the front and back pages of these four newspapers under study, it could be said that prominence was not placed on this issue by the Nigerian press. More so, the items were mostly on straight news without on interpretative news items in form of features, opinion articles, editorials etc.

Other ways to determine prominence is through headline column and length of stories. Majority of the stories and headlines ran through three columns. This implies that these stories

were positioned in such a way that they will not catch the attention of the reader. Therefore, prominence was achieved through headline column.

The length of stories was also used to measure the level of importance given to the Chibok girls' abduction. It was discovered that 288 (77%) stories were within the range of zero to 200 words in length. 54 (14.4%) stories fall between 201 to 400 while 32 (8.6%) stories were within the range of 400 and above. This did not go down well for prominence.

However, the three indicators such as positioning of stories, headline column and length of stories have been used to determine whether prominence was to the Chibok school girls' abduction in the Nigerian press, the findings showed that the Nigerian press did not give so much prominence to the Chibok school girls' abduction saga.

**Research Question Five:** Comparatively, how does the coverage of the Chibok girls' abduction differ from *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers in terms of volume of coverage, story genre, and position of stories? In terms of volume of coverage, the result showed a remarkable difference between the total published items in *Leadership* newspapers compared to *Daily Trust*, *Daily Sun* and the *Guardian* Newspapers. *Leadership* newspaper topped highest with the total of 148 (39.6%) published stories. *Daily Trust* followed with 107 (28.6%) published items, *Daily Sun* also followed with position with 87 items, *Daily Sun* also followed in third position with 87 items representation 23.2% while *The Guardian* newspaper came last with the 23.2% while *The Guardian* newspaper came last with the total of 32 (8.6%) published items.

To compare the four newspapers in terms of story genre, a total of 30 (8.0%) news stories were published in *The Guardian* newspaper; it also had no features, no editorials, 2(0.53%)

letters to the editor and opinion articles, and photonews. *Daily Sun* newspaper had 62 (165%) news stories, 4 feature stories representing 1.0%, 2 (0.5%) editorials, 11 (2.9%) letters to the editor and opinion articles and 8 (2.1%) photonews.

*Daily Trust* had 69 (18.4%) news stories, 3 (0.8%) features, 3 (0.8%) editorials, the highest of letters to the editor and Opinion articles representing 13 (3.5%) and also the highest of photonews representing 19 (5.1%).

*Leadership* newspapers took the lead in news stories with 123 (32.9%) news items, took the lead in features with 7 (1.8%) of feature stories, 1 (0.3%) of editorials, 10 (2.7%) letters to the editor and opinion articles as 7 (1.8%) of photonews. It was however discovered that it was only *leadership* that gave an in-depth analytical features and comprehensive information that straight news on the Chibok school girls abduction as observed in other newspapers studied.

In terms of position of stories, there were no differences since majority of the stories in the four newspapers were placed inside pages, they also have more stories with three-column headline and within the range of zero to 200 words in length. It was only *Leadership* that had 28 and 9 stories placed in front and back pages respectively.



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## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary and Findings

The research was an in-depth study of the Nigeria newspapers coverage of the Chibok school girls abduction between April 2014 to September 2014. A systematic random sampling of the *Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers was used to collect the sample. A sample size of 224 generated 374 items to enable to researcher to answer the research questions posed in the study. Each research question was answered in relation to the unit of analysis. The data generated from the four newspapers were able to proffer answers to the research questions.

However, it was found that the Nigerian newspaper coverage of the abducted Chibok school girls, apart from being placed inside pages, suffered in-depth and interpretative analysis. Most of the stories published were straight news which centred on government response, civil societies/NGOs activities or protest, military effects to rescue the girls, BBOG group protests, international community reactions, parents reaction, political play etc. findings showed that the Chibok school girls abduction did not receive prominence and fair coverage from the Nigerian press. This may be because stories on such violent crime were not development in nature.

It was discovered that almost all the news sources were local reporters of the newspapers from different parts of the country. The newspapers did not depend on news agencies a lot for their reports and that only a hand full of unidentified sources were recorded.

#### 5.2 Conclusion

Based on the 224 editions of the four newspapers analyzed that yield 374 items, the following conclusions were arrived at. There is obvious disparity between quantitative and

qualitative coverage. There was much of quantitative coverage of the incident than qualitative coverage. The number of straight news stories recorded without a commiserate number of interpretative news analysis like features, editorials, opinion articles, columns etc. explains this disparity. This concurs with the criticism against the media for failing to always conduct investigative reporting of incidents such as this to feed their audience with factual information and education. Thus, they did not give in-depth analysis and interpretative reporting on the Chibok school girls abduction.

The study also discovered that some newspapers barely covered the Chibok school girls kidnapping. A good example is *The Guardian* newspapers with barely 32 published items on Chibok school girls abduction for six months. This shows the inconsistent nature of some newspapers who are only out to make profit through advertorials while their primary function of informing and educating the people on critical national issues as the Chibok school girls crisis continue to suffer. With all these knowledge, what could be done to alter the trend?

### **5.3 Recommendation**

Based on the findings of this research, the researcher recommends as follows:

1. The Nigerian press and journalist should engage in more affirmative reporting. They should give journalism a proper perspective, focusing on interpreting issues for effective information and co-relation function. They should be consistent with reports to avoid confusing the public.
2. The press should give an interpretative reporting more often on any issue such as civil disorders and wars like terrorism and its associated crimes like the Chibok girls abduction. This should be done more than straight news for people to be better informed to make right decisions.

3. The media should have a well planned style for reporting stories on terrorist acts like Chibok abduction in order not to glorify the situation. This well thought out plan would help the reporter fashion out better ways to tackle terrorism stories. This style might be an in-house style for the medium.
4. It would be good for government to adopt a pre-emptive approach to the issue of terrorism. That is the major way government can be on top of the situation in the country. A situation where the government relies on responding quickly to terrorist attack is not enough. Government should strengthen its agencies and armed forces through further training and financial benefits, to keep them a step ahead of every terrorist attack in the country.

Let it be mentioned categorically that the scope of this research may not be able to offer answers to all the questions that such a work should answer. Therefore, this point provides a ready subject for further research.

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## APPENDIX 1

**CODING GUIDE FOR NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE ABDUCTED CHIBOK SCHOOL GIRLS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF FOUR NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS.**

| Objectives of the Study   | Data item (Unit of analysis) | Unit of observation          | Code |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|------|
| At the end of this research, the study would be able :  | 1. Newspaper                 | The Guardian                 | 1    |
| (i) To find out the volume of coverage of the Chibok schools girls abduction in Nigerian newspapers.    |                              | Daily Sun                    | 2    |
| (ii) To ascertain the topics areas covered on the Chibok schools girls abduction by Nigerian newspapers |                              | Daily Trust                  | 3    |
| (iii) To ascertain the sources of the stories in Nigerian newspapers                                    |                              | Leadership                   | 4    |
| (iv) To ascertain whether prominence is given to the Abducted Chibok Schools girls.                     |                              |                              |      |
| (v) To compare the four newspapers in term of volume of coverage, story genre and position of stories   |                              |                              |      |
|   | Source                       | Reporters,                   | 9    |
|   |                              | News agencies                | 10   |
|   |                              | Unidentified                 | 12   |
|   | Story genre                  | Straight news                | 13   |
|   |                              | Features                     | 14   |
|   |                              | Editorials                   | 15   |
|   |                              | Letters to editor and        | 16   |
|   |                              | Opinion articles             |      |
|   |                              | Photonews                    | 17   |
|   | News play                    | Front page                   | 18   |
|   |                              | Inside page                  | 19   |
|   |                              | Back page                    | 20   |
|   |                              | Headline and length of story | 21   |



