

T. C.

YAŞAR UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

FACULTY OF COMMUNICATION

MASTER THESIS

NORTH/SOUTH PRESS:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMING OF BOKO HARAM

INSURGENCY IN THE NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

Almansur Ado SANI

Supervisor:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Huriye TOKER

İzmir – TURKEY

2014

Approval Page

Supervisor..... Sign.....

Dean..... Sign.....

Student..... Sign.....

Declaration

I do hereby declare and attest that this
work with the
title.....
..... is my
independent research work and is in accordance with the scientific laws and ethics.

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Huriye Toker for her support, expertise, patience and close scrutiny of this research work to ensure that she has put me on a scholastic track. For these and many more, my gratitude could not be expressed, most simple, thank you. I am also expressing my gratitude to the Dean, Faculty of Communication, Yasar University, Prof. Dr. Umit Atabek for his endless and prompted support to the international students. This kind treatment I enjoyed remained a passport I carried with me to my country.

Furthermore, I find it difficult to give profound thanks to my parents whose invaluable contribution would not be quantified. Most importantly, I remained good reflection of the family I came from during my stay in Turkey which made them felt contented of the values they inculcated in me. My sincere appreciation and gratitude go to my loving and caring wife Basariyya Hamisu Kankiya for her unshaken support, patience, and looking after my two kids Almustapha and Muhammad Annur while studying abroad.

My deepest gratitude goes to the Government of Kano State of Nigeria under the leadership of His Excellency, Engr. Dr. Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso for the opportunity given to me to further my studies abroad. I further express my thanks and appreciations to my siblings and friends at home and abroad for their prayers. Big thanks to Nasir Abubakar Sadiq, Qaribu Yahaya Nasidi, Farouk Isa Musa and Salisu Abdullahi to mention but a few.

Above all, to God be the glory for his blessings to me, Alhamdulillah.

Dedication

This empirical study is accomplished consequence of huge sacrifice and determination coupled with parental guidance and support I got from my wife, with their consent; I dedicated my humble effort to my friend **Nafi’u Abdullahi Kwajale** and **Nura Yusuf Abubakar** (Designer).

ÖZET

Yükseklisans Tezi

KUZEY/GÜNEY BASINI:

BOKO HARAM AYAKLANMASININ NİJERYA MEDYASINDA ÇERÇEVELENMESİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALİZİ

Almansur Ado Sani

Yaşar Üniversitesi
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
İletişim Yüksek Lisansı

Nijerya haber medyası etnisite, politika ve din ekseninde kuzey ve güney olarak bölünmüştür. Bu nedenle bir bölgeden diğerine haber içeriklerinde bu yanlılığı farkedebilmekteyiz. Bu çalışma Boko Haram adlı Kuzey’de faaliyet gösteren örgütün medyadaki haber temsilini karşılaştırmaktadır. Çalışma, ulusal ve uluslararası medyada ilgi çeken 7 örnek olayı ele almıştır. Araştırma kapsamında ülkenin önde gelen iki gazetesinden Kuzey’i temsilen *Daily Trust*, Güney’i temsilen *The Guardian* seçilmiştir. Bu kapsamda 194 haber ünitesi analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma bulgularına göre her iki bölgede haber içeriklerinde kullanılan çerçevelenmede belirgin bir fark bulgulanmamıştır. Ne var ki çalışma, Güney’de yayınlanan gazetenin Boko Haram örgütü faaliyetlerini ele alırken haber ropörtajlarında Kuzey’e göre daha olumsuz ton ve haber sitili kullandığını saptamıştır. Bunu yanısıra, Güney’deki gazete Boko Haram örgütünün şiddet faaliyetlerini İslam ile çerçeveselerken, Kuzey basını, örgütü dini emirlere (İslam) aykırı düşen grup olarak temsil etmektedir. Çalışmada gündem koyma ve çerçeveleme teorilerinden yararlanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Boko Haram, Kuzey Basını, Güney Basını, Gazeteler, İçerik Analizi, Çerçeveleme ve Gündem Koyma.

ABSTRACT

Master Thesis

NORTH/SOUTH PRESS:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMING OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN THE NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

Almansur Ado Sani

**Yasar University
Institute of Social Science
Master of Communication**

Nigerian news media is largely divided along ethnic, religious and political lines between the north and the south. Thus, quite often, bias is manifested while covering the issues related to one region by the other. This study, in comparative terms, examines how report on the activities of the insurgent group of Boko Haram in the north is framed. It sampled seven particular events that attracted national and international media attention. Two leading newspapers, *Daily Trust* from the north and *The Guardian* from the south, are selected. One hundred and ninety four (194) units of news stories are analysed. Our results revealed that there is no significant variation of the frames used in the coverage. The study however found that southern press used more negative tone and style than the northern press in the said reportage. Furthermore, the southern press overtly associated the violent actions of Boko Haram with Islam whereas northern press presented the group as cross-purposes with the religious (Islamic) injunctions. The research employed agenda setting and framing theories for its study.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Northern Press, Southern Press, Newspapers, Content Analysis, Framing and Agenda Setting.

Contents

Approval Page	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	iv
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research Issues and Approach.....	6
1.2. Objectives and Significance of the Study	8
1.3. Research Question and Hypotheses	9
1.4. Theory	10
1.5. Methodology and Data Collection	10
1.6. Thesis Outline and Constrains	12
CHAPTER ONE.....	14
2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: FRAMING TERRORISM.....	14
2.1. Introduction.....	14
2.2. Defining Terrorism	19
2.2.1. American Definition	19
2.2.2. European Definition.....	22
2.2.3. Asian and African Definitions	24
2.2.4. Comparison of the Definitions	27
2.2.5. Academic Definition.....	30

2.3. Western Media, Terrorism and Label Islam	33
2.4. Agenda setting and Framing Theories	40
2.4.1. Agenda Setting.....	40
2.4.2. Theory Revisited.....	43
2.4.3. Framing Theory	44
CHAPTER TWO.....	47
3. 1. NIGERIAN NEWS MEDIA AND THE ORIGIN OF BOKO HARAM	47
3.2. Nigeria at a Glance.....	47
3.3. The Advent of Islam	48
3.4. Overview of Nigerian News Media	49
3.5. Reporting Insurgency in the Nigerian Media.....	56
3.6. Maitatsine Movement	60
3.7. The Growth of the Boko Haram	62
3.8. Economic and Social Impact	65
CHAPTER THREE.....	67
4.1. Presentation of Research Findings.....	67
4.2. Introduction.....	67
4.3. Research Design.....	67
4.4. Method.....	70
4.5. Framing Measures.....	71

4.6. Research Results	72
4.7. Discussion of the Research Findings	77
4.8. Conclusion	83
4.9. Recommendation	85
References	87
Appendices	108

1. Introduction

Evidence proved that there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism among the academic communities and nations-states, perhaps, there may never be (Diaz-Barrado, 2009, p. 30; Williamson, 2009, p. 38). Thus, we can use specific characteristics that define and criminalize various types of terrorist activities in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994), which describes terrorism as:

“Any criminal act intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of person(s) or a particular persons for political purposes” it further said that in any circumstance be it political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature it may be invoked to justify them, are just unjustifiable and thus it is consider terrorism”
(Skaine, 2013; United Nations, 2012).

Accordingly, as there is no coherent definition that attracts international consensus, we can deduce four important characteristics of terrorism from its various definitions. These are:

Illegal use of force: this a common feature in several definitions which stresses use of illegal arms and explosives in perpetration of terror act against state or civilians. Thus, it refers to an individual or group which is a stark opposite to established authority and cannot be allowed to carry arms against status quo for whatever justification, such act is regarded as terrorism and the perpetrator deserved punishment.

Political crime: this emphasizes that terrorism activities is aimed at achieving mainly political goal because no matter how it conceals its intention, however, it opt for controlling the political class to have a say and command recognition as well. Hence, terrorism is motivated by political objective.

Target of opportunity: most of the victims of terrorist activities are non-combatants who are vulnerable to attacks. They are not main target and since the primary target cannot be reached, terrorists draw random sampling from the population in order to pass message to the major target.

Psychological effect: terrorism causes anxiety, fear and uncertainty which eventually result into psychological effects upon the mass public consequence of terrorist activity. Thus, terrorism is associated with creating panic among the non-combatants.

With this overview, we explore the relationship between terrorism and media which attracts several scholarly views on the role it plays regarding to terrorism. Denis McQuail observes that the complex interaction between terrorist and media stemmed out of the desire of terrorist motivated by political ends to indirectly use the media to achieve maximum publicity that create psychological effect on the non-combatants as means of sending message to the prime target as well (McQuail, 1995:486). Alexander, Carton, and Wilkinson (1972), argue that terrorist group has three aims to achieve for interaction with the media, and these include attention, recognition and legitimacy.

Curious enough, Azeez (2009, p. 11), suggests that the extensive press coverage of terrorism proved to provoke more undue attention to the terrorists and immeasurable fear (real or imaginary) in the minds of vulnerable innocent citizenry to the extent that the perpetrators may

develop more tactics and terror attacks further and further again. Livingstone (1982, p. 63), argues in the same line and supports that, news media is seen as motivator of terror acts, the more attention media gives to terrorism, and the more violence is repeated by other terrorists. It is therefore noted that extensive media coverage proliferate more criminal activities by the perpetrators to showcase their expertise and reduce their opponent to nothing. Furthermore, this relationship between media and terrorism is explained that “*without massive news coverage the terrorist act would resemble the proverbial tree falling in the forest: if no one learned of an incident, it would be as if it had not occurred.*” (Nacos, 2000, p. 13).

Evidence to the contrary, after reviewing several studies on the interaction between media and terrorism, it is concluded that there is no clear empirical support for the popular assertion which emphasizes that media help the spread of terrorism (Alali & Eke, 1991; Nelson & Scott, 1992; Ross, 2007). Ross (2007, p. 221), investigates the power and nuances of media’s interaction with terrorists, their organizations and their sources and reveals that, the media may not encourage the spread of terrorism; he goes further and indicates that most researches disagree that the media can ‘cause’ terrorism.

Notwithstanding the different opinions, some scholars are of the view that media do not publicize terrorism with intention of escalating the terrorist activities, but rather, cling to the idea of professionalism that permits selection of stories based on news values that make story worthy of report. According to Bilgen (2012) and Miller (1982), terrorism has a number of aspects that makes it more appealing and news worthier than other events, as it has the elements of “*drama, danger, blood, human tragedy, miracle stories, heroes, shocking footage, and action*”. News media contents are naturally “*drawn to stories that suggest conflict and the potential of what is shocking and sensational*” (Tuman, 2010, p. 196). In line with this, however, media

organizations prioritize reports on terrorism as it is clearly contains shocking and sensational. Azeez (2009), contends that mass media reports on terrorism is prompted from (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) seminal study that identifies twelve news criteria that determine what is worthy of reportage, what is not and why. Since terrorism qualifies such identified value system, news media cannot ignore the ideal ingredients of human interest stories. Although Azeez (2009), argues that press organizations give terror activities undue publicity that may help violence activities.

However, another reason for the excessive news media coverage on terrorism is rapid emergence of electronic media and mega media outlets that resulted in a free market aimed at attracting mass audience with shocking, sensational infotainment which is popularly believed to keep audiences captivated and maximize profit (Nacos, 2000). He further claims that news media efforts to secure large audience by concentrating on human interest angle is indirectly meant to generate economic benefits accruing from advertising revenue, in essence, both media and terrorists enjoy ‘symbiotic relationship’ – they feed off each other (Nacos, 2000, p. 1).

Therefore, it is pertinent to note that, emphasis should not be solely on why news media publicize terrorism, but also, how the media covers such issues is an important factor to analyse as well. To understand the media’s skilful portrayal of terrorists, one should explore the mediums that news media adopts in reporting terror. The news media generally uses *agenda setting* and *framing* to support or create enmity around an issue or a group by conferring status on certain issues and make them more salient than others to shift people’s attitude and influence interpretation (Bilgen, 2012). As a consequence, public see the world through the lens of media, most of their perceptions about the world issues are second-hand reality or even hyper-reality created by the media outlets in many unexampled ways. Hence, public’s pictures of the world are

shaped and refined in the way media organizations framed their stories. This function of news media is regarded as agenda setting theory (McCombs, 2002). The theory was developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw consequence of 1968 Chapel Hill Study that first published in 1972. The study stresses strong correlation between electorates and news media through comparison salience of issues highlighted by media with public perception about the most vital election issue.

Media framing is an easily susceptible way to subject mass public to media influence, Robert Entman, a communication scientist argues that “*journalist may follow the rules for ‘objective’ reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation*” (Entman, 1993, p. 57). The fundamental point here is not what you say, but rather how you say it; the content does not matter much, mode of presentation is an issue. Moreover, Entman (1993, p. 52), defines the act of framing as,

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”.

To sum up the above arguments on the relationship between media and terrorism, conclusive evidence insists that terrorism gets undue publicity by the media as both media and terrorism enjoyed symbiotic relationship. Others argue that extensive publicity generated by the terrorist do not in any way fuel the activities of insurgents, journalists only stand to professional news criteria. Economics of the media is also a cardinal factor that informs the preferential

choice of news that is magnet for mass audience for profit motive. Whatever the reasons may be, this study analysed how news on terror is displayed and presented in Nigerian print media. Second section explains justification for conducting the study, then following the objectives and significance of the research, and research question as well. After stating the methodology and data collection, then theory, and thesis outline concludes the chapter.

1.1. Research Issues and Approach

Due to the ethnic, religious and political differences among the Nigerian press, the purpose of this study is to compare and analyse whether or not biases are manifested in either or both northern and southern newspaper coverage of Boko Haram activities. This study has carefully monitored news pages of two newspapers published in Nigeria. The reason for choosing news reports as item of the research material is adopted from Toker (2004, p. 3), who says that “*news are generally seen as an aspect of everyday life in a specific culture*”, but mostly portion of the media consumers in the society do not seem aware of the media content particularly news from prism of framing and agenda setting. It is however expected that news stories were written and disseminated with considerable amount of bias and subjectivity that in subtlety infers the study.

Letters to the editor and columns are excluded in the research, for these are considered merely opinion of contributors and readers and therefore cannot be used as a yardstick to evaluate biases of the press organization. Newspaper editorial on the one hand that sees as a stand of newspaper is also excluded because of insignificant number of frequency in both the newspapers. Moreover, any news story on Boko Haram activity which fails to fall into the events sampled is excluded.

For the purpose of this content analytical study, two Nigerian daily publication newspapers were chosen for comparison. *The Guardian Newspaper* represents the southern Christian press because of its elitist and respectable status and wide readership as well, while *Daily Trust* newspaper represents the northern Muslim dominated press due to its position of wide circulation and reputable standing in the North.

In the case of *Daily Trust*, it is worthy to note that some days selected for analysis have fallen on the weekends, The Media Trust Publishing Company, owns and publishes *Daily Trust* from Mondays to Fridays, also prints *Weekly Trust* on Saturdays and *Sunday Trust* comes on Sundays. The news stories are reported by the same journalists, but each paper has a different editor.

The study selected seven events as cases that attracted wide coverage by both national and international media organizations. These attacks are as follow:

- i. August, 26 2011 Abuja United Nations House bombing
- ii. December, 25 2011 Madalla church bombing
- iii. January, 20 2012 Kano multiple bomb blasts
- iv. February, 7 2012 Kaduna Army Barrack suicide bombing
- v. April, 26 2012 Kaduna *Thisday* newspaper office bomb attack
- vi. March 18 2013 Kano motor park bomb blast
- vii. December, 2 2013 Maiduguri multiple Military Units bomb attacks

These events are selected due to their significance which resulted in extensive media reports. Such huge reportage gave more data for analysis than drawing data from particular time period where some selected dates may not have news reports published on the case study. To sum up the expectation of this study, the research assessed the Nigerian media milieu within a broad spectrum of religion and ethnicity and eventually provided invaluable input into the situation as the country attained centenary of amalgamation.

1.2. Objectives and Significance of the Study

Boko Haram is an insurgent group emerged from northern Nigeria that opposes western education and civilization and uses violence to achieve its goal of what they called establishing Islamic Caliphate based on Sharia law. The prevalence of violence perpetrated by the group and the magnitude of damage to lives as well as the psychological effects inflicted upon the public have captivated the attention of both national and international media. The main objective of this study is to compare from the prisms of ethnic and religious interests or more precisely the press cultural bias on the news reports on Boko Haram activities in the Nigerian press that is divided along line of ethnicity, sectionalism and religion. According to Oso (1991, p. 49), “*the separation of politics from journalism has remained incomplete in Nigeria; the ghost of the past still walks in the Nigerian newsroom*”. Consequently, we need support of substantive studies of scholarship to inform news reporters and editors on biased and subjective contents. We also need to bring such biases to the limelight and pose challenge particularly to the Nigerian media professionals with the fact and figures. The media influence public’s perceptions of particular interest especially concerning Boko Haram activities by selecting a dominant frame and making some news items more salient than others and the tone and style in which the content is written and presented. In view of this, the study seeks to find out whether or not the perceived

differences in the Nigerian print media influence, generally, the news media contents. Therefore, the intention of this research is to mainly answer the question of ‘how’.

How Northern and Southern Nigerian print media presented Boko Haram on the seven selected bomb blasts in the selected dailies of the country?

The findings of the study will inform us whether or not such cultural differences play pivotal in sectional reporting or the Nigerian press cements such differences as the country celebrated a centenary of amalgamation.

1.3. Research Question and Hypotheses

Prior to the commencement of the research, we formulated two research questions and two hypotheses to formally pave way for our analysis. Research question and hypothesis are identical. Hypothesis makes predictions of an outcome whereas research question does not. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), in many instances, researchers develop studies based on existing theory that enable them to make predictions about expected outcome of phenomenon under investigation. Moreover, it provides direction for a study, hoping to find significant outcome by concentrating on exact testable statements. Therefore, a hypothesis is a *“formal statement regarding the relationship between variables and is tested directly”* (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011 p. 25). On the one hand, research question is a *“formally stated question intended to provide indications about something; it is not limited to investigating relationships between variables”* (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011 p. 25). Research questions are suitable especially in a situation when a researcher is uncertain about the nature of the phenomenon. Following are the research questions and hypotheses:

RQ 1: Does the use of frames differ greatly among the Nigerian print media?

RQ 2: What are the categories (themes) in the Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers for the coverage of Boko Haram?

Hypotheses:

1. Both Southern and Northern press negatively framed the activities of Boko Haram on the seven selected events, but the southern press employed more damaging tone and style in which its content was written and presented.

2. Southern press associated the activities of Boko Haram with Islamic teaching whereas northern press presented the group as cross-purposes with the spiritual teaching of the Holy Prophet.

1.4. Theory

In every study, certainly, there must be a body of theories that provide an explanation to the observable phenomenon. At this juncture, theoretical basis for the analysis needs to be identified. There are two theories to guide the study, agenda setting and framing theories. Thus, the researcher intended to give clear explanations of the phenomenon in the broader context of aforementioned established media theories that considered appropriate for guide the study.

1.5. Methodology and Data Collection

Mass media research, like all research in different areas of study can be qualitative or quantitative. Quantitative analysis seeks “*a set of universal statements which will define and describe the characteristics, practices, causes and consequences of human communication*” (James, 1987, p. 89). In view of this, it is about generalization aims at predicting the results of situations in different contexts, and the reality is objective as it exists apart from researchers which can be seen by all. Therefore, quantitative approach starts through the lens of existing

theory where the researcher state the phenomenon as a workable hypothesis or more precise, a formal statement about the relationship between variables and is tested directly which eventually predict the relationship between the variable is either true or false. Findings can be measured or quantified.

Formally, content analysis as a specific research approach is frequently used in all areas of the media studies. The approach is popular with mass media researchers due to its significance and efficient nature to investigate media content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 156). Content analysis is defined as “*a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables*” (Kerlinger, 2000). In this light, Kerlinger’s definition accommodates three concepts. First, content analysis is *systematic*, that formally refers to as the media content to be analysed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules. Second, content analysis is *objective*, by this, subjectivity of a research that causes biases should not be allowed to manifest in the findings. Third, content analysis is *quantitative*, which means, it represents an accurate body of message obtained by quantification for the quest of precision of the result. Therefore, a significant limitation for the quantitative content analysis is that researcher is positivist, and he is not mandated to concentrate and dig out latent meaning of the media content.

Meanwhile, the data collected for this research was gathered through quantitative content analysis of news stories on seven selected events covered by the chosen newspapers, namely, *The Guardian* and *Daily Trust*. Each event, three days newspapers copies were analysed in comparison starting from a day after the incidence since newspapers in Nigeria publish stories the next day. Thus, the samples of 42 newspaper copies were used for the analysis. Furthermore, secondary data were obtained from books, journals and other unpublished scholarly researches

conducted in the relevant areas. The media theories of Maxwell McCombs agenda setting theory and Goffman framing theory have helped our effort for data analysis and interpretation of the research results.

1.6. Thesis Outline and Constrains

The thesis is categorized into three chapters. The introduction explored symbiotic relationship between terrorism and news media and purpose of the study. Under the introduction, subsequent headings explain the approach adopted and accentuates various issues including theories and methodology being used in the research as well the justification for the study. First chapter encompassed theoretical perspective upon which the thesis is built. Here, we extensively examined the conceptual definition of terrorism, discussed the agenda setting and framing theories and went further and provide an overview of where the theories converged i.e. ‘second-level agenda setting’. The chapter concluded with media framing of terrorism. Second chapter gave brief history of Nigeria, the advent of Islam, overview of Nigerian media structure and how Nigerian press report insurgency in the country. The precursor of Boko Haram and its origin and the impact of the Boko Haram on Nigerian economy concluded the chapter. The last chapter accommodated findings of the comparative study from content analysis; discussion of the results and recommendations follows the conclusion.

The limitation of the study is that it is confined in newspaper only, excluding magazine which is also a form of print media. Moreover, broadcast media is ruled out which is worth analysing because of its potentiality of influencing media audience particularly television to believe with what presented to them. This is due to the fact that newspaper has a long history in Nigeria of playing pivotal role in politics and by extension in enlarging the gap of ethnicity and religion among the regions. At consociation of Nigeria for over a century, we seem compelled to

study whether newspaper maintained such status quo of provoking hatred along religious, ethnic and linguistic lines among the regions or else. We consider the worthy of newspaper to be studied also because it may represent other forms of mass communication for being the source of their news, thus, it perhaps, set agenda for them.

CHAPTER ONE

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: FRAMING TERRORISM

2.1. Introduction

Modern news media represent a powerful instrument during a conflict through agenda setting, priming and framing, using metaphors, language, subjects, and sources. Gitlin (1980), argues that mass media are the creators and distributors of ideology primarily through framing. Ryan (1991, p. 53), sees framing as *“how news stories are made, i.e. how piece of information are selected and organized to produce stories that make sense to their audience”*. It is argued that most of the time, news media content, the theme or topic is not what regarded as dangerous or inciting, but rather, a selection, emphasis, and tone of presentation (Gitlin, 1980). He states that *“media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse whether verbal or visual”*. It is quite agreed that news content may appear innocent or neutral, the distortions or the media influence usually comes from the structure of news and frames used which suggest how content should be presented to advance a particular interest or ideology. Same or similar news events can be written to define similar situations differently so as to influence the passive recipients of such media messages.

A notable example was given by Entman (1991), on the differential framing in the US media of 2 comparable air disasters caused by the Soviet and US action respectively. He describes US media framing of the similar incidences consequence of military actions that resulted in the death of large numbers of civilians. Both the events were reported pretty different. The way these events were reported, in words, tone and problematizing, have constituted

different frames to shape and influence public's interpretations of the events. This means that one event can be framed in several ways with a profound impact on events meaning where every version may represent different frame or in other words, each frame has a unique definition of the issue.

From general to the specific, Weimann and Brosius (1991), suggest that media framing can generate support for terrorism if the press framed terrorist organizations as 'brave,' 'just,' 'good,' or 'kind'. In a violence situation, news media is expected to disseminate information and facilitate greater understanding of the violence, providing audience with valuable contextual information and analysis (Pande, 2010). When particular news frames used to dominate news coverage of terrorism, mass audience begin to shape their thinking and interpretations of event around these frames that may possibly limit and alter perceptions (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003). The signification impact that news framing can have on a media consumer is largely depends on the amount of prior knowledge, direct personal experience and relative salience of the issue at stake (Moore, 2002; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

Moreover, Stocchetti (2007, p. 224), observes the dominant news frames used in framing terrorism in American news media included 'international order' and 'clash of civilizations'. He states that both the news frames "*reflect political ideologies and serves as interpretive and prescriptive conceptual frameworks*". The former news frame sees 'terrorists' activity as premeditated against international community with secondary emphasis on religion, political or ethnic motivations. Prescribe legal response to combat such extremism is state legitimate violence. The later news frame (clash of civilizations) views terrorism as the act of open hostility to western civilizations and values of individual liberty and democracy that depict terrorists as

intolerants of other civilizations and cultures. The response to this category is to wage a war against the state enemy (Stocchetti, 2007, p. 225).

Moreover, Powell (2011, p. 105), investigates the U. S. news media framing of Islam since September 11 attacks, he suggests that news media in the United States feed and contribute to orientalism. The study further reveals that the media content he investigated created unfounded hostility towards Muslims and on the one hand depicted the US as a good Christian nation. Considering the framing terrorism in the American news media after 9/11 attack, American mass media framed the attacks as ‘war’ against United States. The choice of language or the metaphorical expressions such as ‘war on terror’ or ‘war against terrorism’ represent the attacks as ‘act of war’ which legitimates military response against the perpetrators (Simon, 1987; Shimko, 1995; Sarbin, 2003). Such media framing on terrorism have substantial impact on public opinion and influence subjects responses to support and approve military action, spending on foreign policy and counter-terrorism as appropriate measures to tackle the menace (Gadarian, 2010).

Notwithstanding, Berrebi and Klor (2008), reveal that framing terrorism has significant influence on political attitudes among the voters in Israel and tend to increase political polarization in the Israel because of fear and anxiety framed in the media coverage of terrorism.

Eti (2012), examines news media framing of insurgency in the Niger Delta area by the three Nigerian newspapers (The Punch and Daily Champion – south; New Nigeria - north), she reveals that the coverage of crisis in Nigerian press is ‘episodic’ and gives prominence to ‘conflict behavior’ such as “*bombing of drilling platforms and oil pipelines, killing and maiming oil workers and state security operatives, and kidnapping and hostage taking*”. The study also

suggests that such framing of the ‘conflict behavior’ in Nigerian news media is motivated by ethno-political factors, foreign policy implications and the height of drama of the situation.

In light of the above, one may conclude that the whole media’s framing on terrorist activity is around the concept of ‘war’. Spencer (2012), argues that conflict incorporates ‘battles’, ‘sieges’, and ‘warzones’ demarcated by ‘frontlines’. Powell (2011, p. 95), claims that three frequently used naming are common themes in media coverage of terrorism included, *Muslim*, *al Qaeda* and *terrorist* which work hand-in-hand to link terrorism with Islam and further substantiate and contribute to orientalism, while instilling fear of the ‘other’. These names were coined by the media indirectly, although, media depend on the selected resource personalities to tag such naming to groups so as to perhaps create Islamophobia in the minds of western societies.

In support of point just mentioned above, the National Strategic for Combating Terrorism describes 9/11 attacks as “*act of war against the United States of America and its allies and against the very idea of civilized society*” (White House, 2003). This is a clear official identification of the enemy as terrorist and evil who poses threats to sustenance of the Americans’ freedom and lifestyle. In order not miss the point here, American news media were adapted to this official perspective. Evidence proves that news broadcast of the major networks in the United States called ‘the war on terror’ the top story of 2002 (Reese & Lewis, 2009). This means that news framers in the U.S often follow official naming with considerable carefulness in describing the administration’s war on terrorism, but publicize how things are going in America’s war on terror (Reese S. D., 2007).

For this reason, Osama bin Laden is framed and regarded as a 'terror warlord' who led a hierarchically organized terrorist group named Al-Qaeda. The group declares war, and launch 9/11 attack on U.S carried out by suicide squads. Framing the terrorism, media presented Al-Qaeda as specialized terror group who received military training, and its military arsenal are ready to carry further operation and mission on instruction (Spencer, 2012, p. 17).

To further indoctrinate the news audience, American news media depicts Arabs and Muslims in a negative light and create images that Arabs are enemies and naturally violent in the minds of western audience. The American media were accused for collaboration with the government to censor stories that may have potential threats to the starting and continuation of the war in Iraq (Schwelbe, 2008). She also suggests that most of the news media reporters on the battlefield of Gulf War have chosen to omit footage of casualties of war. Schwelbe (2008), concludes by supporting similar researches proving that television journalists are more likely to report war in a positive light. In addition, she claims that Associate Press and U.S newspapers resort to bias reporting by framing anti-war demonstrators in a negative manner contrary to the way they frame pro-war demonstrators with harmony (Schwelbe, 2008).

To conclude this section on framing terrorism, it is definitely worth considering the impact that news framing has on the audience, although the framers frequently choose to remain bias, basically, to influence perceptions of the passive recipients of the media texts. This philosophy is in stark disagreement with the expectation of news audience. A completed, uncensored and unbiased news stories are expected by the audience to decide whether to believe or not believe what they read or hear. The reviewed literature achieved scholastic consensus that framing terrorism is not in the interest of media consumers but rather for the corporate and political elites who monopolize international news agencies, mass media and politics as well.

2.2. Defining Terrorism

Terrorism attracts concerted effort and collective commitment of international community to be contained and struggled against. The phenomenon becomes pronounce and significant area of study especially after 9/11 attacks, the period that witnesses proliferation of scholastic works from different disciplines of study. When does a certain act of violence qualify criteria for a terror activity? In response to this provocative question, Nacos (2000), suggests that there is a need to draw clear lines of demarcation between a ‘common’ criminal and a terrorist. There is an obvious contrast between the two, common criminals do not in any way engage in making political statement. On the contrary, terrorists are keen to make political statement with intent upon attracting extensive and cheap media coverage (Nacos, 2000).

Accordingly, Schmid and De Graaf (1982), explain that violence which is perpetrated by terrorists can be regarded as a means of communicating. The scholars go further and argue that *“for terrorist, the message matters not the victims”* (Schmid & Graaf, 1982, p. 14). The concept of terrorism is fundamentally contested, value-laden and open to multiple interpretations based on a definer’s predisposition which to some extent, *“terrorism is in the eyes of the beholder”* (Crelinsten, 1998). In this light, since terrorism is defined with different dispositions in mind, let’s divide the definitions based on geography and examine similarities and differences in the definitions starting with America then Europe, Asia and Africa, then concludes with academic views.

2.2.1. American Definition

First let’s begin with an official definition given by the government of the United States of America on Terrorism. The government sees terrorism as,

“Act of terrorism, means any activity that (A) involves a violent act or an act dangerous to human life that is a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State; and (B) appears to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping” (United States Code Congressional and Administrative News, 19th Congress, Second Session, 1984; Selden, 2003).

It is of utmost importance to note that, this definition does not include the order of magnitude of violence involved in the attack, neither to be a catastrophic event of physical damage and loss of human life.

In the 1983, the United States Department of State (DOS) formulated one of the most popularly used definitions of terrorism in the world (Sinai, 2008). According to this popular acclaimed definition, terrorism is viewed as,

“Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience” (Henderson, 2004, p. 5; Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, 2006; Mailafiya, 2012; United States Department of State, 2004, p. 2).

This definition succinctly identifies terrorism with political struggle targeting civilians while the perpetrators are outside the government circle.

The Defense Department of the United States succinctly defines terrorism as,

“The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological” (Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, 2006, p. 31; Tucker, 1997; Mailafiya, 2012).

Moreover, the Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as,

“The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006; Hoffman, 1998; Steven & Gunaratna, 2004).

This definition outlines social and political goals that motivate terrorism, although it does not elucidate the differences between them.

As stated earlier, definitions on terrorism varied as there is no consensus even among institutions and agencies of the same government of the US, each agency defines according to the mandate and interest it pursues. In his words while addressing the Congress nine days after September 11 attacks, U.S President, George W. Bush stated that ‘terror, terrorism and terrorist’ become inseparable concepts and coherent entities deserve to be eliminated to ensure vibrant

democratic institutions and stability of regions as well (State Department, 2001). The concern here is on the conceptual definition of terrorism that eludes definition yet.

2.2.2. European Definition

The European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism that was adopted in the 1977 with an official authority of the Council of Europe was obliged to clearly separate political offences (that are regarded as acts of terror) from other acts motivated by the political motives. However, the European Convention had not come up with single coherent definition of the terrorism, instead, it brought up with a large number of terrorist acts so as the member States would implement the content approved by them in order to work together in containing the menace. (Dumitriu, 2004).

Similarly, the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism was adopted in 2005 saddled with responsibility to

“Enhance the efforts of the parties terrorism and its negative effects on the full enjoyment of human right, in particular the right to life, both by the measures to be taken at nation and through international cooperation with due regard to the existing applicable multilateral and bilateral treaties or agreements between the parties”.

During the convention, there is no general definition of terrorism offered due to the fact that, the objective of the convention was not to draft a consensus definition of the phenomenon, but rather to develop measure of the prevention of terrorism among the member countries. Instead, the convention uses the term ‘terrorist offences’ contained in the existing international

counter-terrorism in its efforts at defining the offences of public provocation (House of Lords; House of Common Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2007, p. 11).

Therefore, as a result of apparent variation of interests of the individual State that formed the European Union, it is difficult if not impossible to come up with a consensus definition of terrorism, knowing fully aware that political interest is usually uncompromising. In this light, we explored definition of terrorism by the British Government 1974 that legally defines terrorism as,

“The use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public, or any section of the public, in fear” (Schmid & Jongman, 2005, p. 34; Horgan & Braaddock, 2012, p. 34; Schmid & Crelinsten, 1998).

Meanwhile, as the author of *Inside Terrorism* Bruce Hoffman suggests that not only difficulty of defining terrorism, however, how the meaning changed over time as well as how meaning varies among the multiple viewpoints and contexts (Hoffman, 1998). Accordingly, after period of twenty years, the Government of United Kingdom in the (Act of Terrorism) Act 2000 that introduces a series of anti-terrorism measures; section 1 of the act outlines offences it considers as acts of terror. It defines terrorism as,

“(a) involves serious violence against a person, or (b) serious damage to property, that (c) endangers a person’s life (other than that of the person committing the action), *(d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or section of the public, or is designed (e) seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system,* where the use or threat of violence or damage is designed to *influence*

the government or to intimidate the public or section of the public, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause” (Jackson, LeeJarvis, Gunning, & Symth, 2011, p. 102; Merkin, 2007, p. 271; Thomas, 2012, p. 224).

The former definition offered by the UK Government has proved changed over quite a period of time as the later included what was not reflected in the 1974 definition.

2.2.3. Asian and African Definitions

Terrorism has been in existence as a problem to humanity since the time immemorial, unfortunately until now there is has been no precise definition of the concept (Gus, 2003, pp. 1-10). Asian region with a particular reference to Southeast Asia is not free from the problem of defining the concept as in the case of America and Europe. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) which comprised Brunei Darussalam, the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Republic of Indonesia, the Union of Myanmar, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of the Singapore, the Kingdom of Thailand, and Socialist Republic of Viet on 5 November 2011 (about two months following the September 11attacks) signed the Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism (DJACTION). Nonetheless, the Declaration was unable to formulate any clear definition of terrorism, other than maintaining that terrorism is a “*direct challenge to attainment of peace, progress and prosperity to ASEAN*” (Banlaoi, 2009).

This was deliberate attempt on the part of ASEAN not to define the concept due to the involvement of the Muslim communities in the region which perhaps could perceive any definition as anti-Islamic at the height of emergence of the so-called Jihadists in the Southeast Asia (Geest, 2002). However, Indonesia and Malaysia reached an agreement on the Information

Exchange and Establishment of Communication Procedures on 7 May, 2002. The Trilateral Agreement attempts to define terrorism as,

“Any act of violence or threat thereof perpetrated to carry out within the respective territories of the parties or in the border area of any of the parties an individual or collective criminal plan with the aim of terrorizing people or threatening to harm them or imperiling their lives, honor, freedoms, security or rights or exposing environment or any facility or public or private property to hazards or occupying or seizing them, or endangering a national resources, or international facilities, or threatening the stability, territorial integrity, political unity or sovereignty of independent States” (Fukuda, 2004; Banlaoi, 2009).

However, the agreement stated above inspired counter-terrorism based on the UN Convention that criminalized the act of terrorism. Failure of the agreement resulted in the lack of necessary agency established to shoulder the responsibility of enforcing the agreement.

Nevertheless, in stark contrast to ASEAN, the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the League of Arab States through the Councils of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Ministers of Justice in Cairo, in 1998. The Councils attained consensus definition of terrorism. The Convention defines terrorism as,

“Any act or threat of violence whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to saw 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 national resources” (Martin & Phelan, 2010, p. 8 (Duffy, 2005, p. 27).

It is however deduced from the above definition that the act of terrorism refers to any act that instills panic into non-combatant and deploys threat and damage to the environment for whatever motives. Nonetheless, experts have criticized the definition for its breadth, vagueness and consequent vulnerable to abuse. Helen Duffy (2005), argues that,

“The unqualified reference to the ‘violence’ or the ‘threat’ of violence – irrespective of whether it achieves any actual result, or of the gravity, of the violence caused or threatened allows for a potentially very broad range of conduct to be brought under the rubric of this convention” (Duffy, 2005, p. 27).

Meanwhile, similar attempt has been achieved by the African Union (AU) Convention on Prevention and Combating Terrorism for offering its version on how the continent sees the act of terrorism. The Convention’s regional consensus defines terrorism as,

“Any act which is a violation of the criminal ... which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

(a) intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or (b) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or (c) create general insurrection in a State”
(African Union, 1994).

2.2.4. Comparison of the Definitions

As we pointed earlier, obviously, the problem about accomplishing an all-inclusive definition is not yet actualized. In the line of this contention, the above definitions to some extent shared common characteristics and varied in others. Even the definitions formulated by different agencies of the same government have failed to come up with a consensus definition of terrorism.

The United States Department of State offers clear elucidation of the term ‘noncombatant’ that refers to civilians and unarmed military personnel who are not on the cause of duty. Moreover, the definition considers as the act of terrorism attacks capable of posing danger to human life or potential wreck of vital infrastructure, resources, military installations or armed military personnel when ‘a state of military hostilities does not exist at the site’. It also included bombings on U.S bases around the globe. Not surprising, the Department of State emphasizes and prioritizes the ‘premeditated’ and ‘calculated’ nature of terrorism. The uniqueness of this definition is its focus beyond the civilians that mostly suffered the catastrophic attacks to include ‘combatant targets’. This broad category involves not only assassination and kidnapping of military attaches but also attacks cafes and several facilities attended by off-duty

service personnel as well as military installations and armed military personnel at a period of peace. Even though the definition given by the Department of the State fails to consider psychological dimension of terrorism, as it aims at having far reaching psychological consequences capable of instilling fear among the large watching audience (Hoffman, 1998).

In the same vein, the Defense Department of the United States succinctly defines the phenomenon which emphasizes on three essentials of violence act to be considered as terrorism. The key elements included violence, fear and intimidation, and each inculcates terror in its victims. Nevertheless, the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) whose given task of investigating and solving crimes encompasses political (e.g. terrorism) and others, defines terrorism and focuses on different essentials in the broadest sense of the phenomenon. It accentuates 'noncombatant' as not only government and its citizens but also involves inanimate object like private and public property, and clearly identifies 'politically-motivated' act such as vandalism and sabotage as well.

Meanwhile, the definition given by the Government of the United Kingdom outlines any action that includes the usage of firearms or explosives or both is regarded as the act of terror whether it is predetermined to influence the government or to intimidate the public or section of the public aimed at achieving political, religious or any ideological motive.

In the case of Southeast Asia, no definition was able provide at the Joint Declaration to counter-terrorism due to apparent differences in spiritual beliefs among the member countries. However, Indonesia and Malaysia reached an agreement on the Information Exchange and Establishment of Communication Procedures. Both of the countries have agreed to conceptualized terrorism based on UN convention that criminalized the act of terrorism.

Notwithstanding, the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the League of Arab States through the Councils of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Ministers of Justice in Cairo, in 1998 came up with a consensus definition that improved on the previous ones. This definition adds that any act capable of ‘damaging environment’ or any act that can inflict harm on natural ‘resources’ are considered as act of terror. This further substantiates that interest or ideology guides the definition of terrorism.

Meanwhile, the African Union (AU) Convention on Prevention and Combating Terrorism formulated a consensus definition of terrorism in 1994. The definition incorporates additional element that previous definitions did not regard as acts of terrorism, this included threats to cultural heritage.

In light of the above definitions, it is the general consensus that the act of violence against non-combatants and governments in the pursuit of ideological goals is regarded as terrorism. In an attempt to explore the stated definitions, it shows that the definitions formulated by the western capitalist world (North America and Europe) are much similar and the emphasis was mainly political. Meanwhile, the Middle Eastern and African definitions look similar as well as they unanimously incorporated additional elements that previous definitions do not regard as acts of terror, included posing threats and violence to environments and natural resources, and also cultural heritage added by the African Union definition. It is therefore proves that every definition is shaped and influenced by the kind of interest or ideology that the definer wants to accomplish.

2.2.5. Academic Definition

There is no concurrence within the scholarly field of terrorism and political discourse on factual interpretation of terrorist activity, but rather, there is a general consensus as to what constitutes terrorism by exhibiting some elements of casual coherence and common proportions (Chomsky, 1991; Tilly, 2004). A comprehensive academic definition of terrorism is propounded by two researchers in the field of terrorism (Schmid and Jogman 1988, p. 28), after analyzing 109 competing definitions (Jackson, LeeJarvis, Gunning, & Symth, 2011, p. 104). They define terrorism as,

“Terrorism is an 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 assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperilled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought” (Schimid & Jogman, 1988; Jackson, LeeJarvis, Gunning, & Symth, 2011).

According to this definition, terrorism is a method of communication between the perpetrators and main targets through random sampling of the victims of circumstance drawn from the non-combatants. The victimization of civilians creates large audience and mobilizes the target of terror so as to produce disorientation or compliance. It is deduced from the definition that terror activity depends so much on the media publicity since victims serve as message. The media are very well suited for the purposes of terrorists (Nacos, 2006). Terrorism however becomes the theatre, and the news media, on the one hand, are seen as unable to resist the chance of a good story since bad news is good news for them, therefore, mass media feel obliged to extensively cover such news of bombings, hijackings, kidnapping and assassinations (Schlesinger, 1983).

Noam Chomsky, a linguist and activist proposes *literal* and *propagandist* as two distinct ways to approach the study of terrorism. Literal approach refers to a way of scientific understanding of terrorism as social phenomenon, determining what constitute terrorism as social phenomenon by analyzing major examples of terrorist activities and emphasizing on causes and remedies. Pursuing propagandist approach sees the concept of terrorism as a “*weapon to be exploited in the service of some system power*” (Chomsky, 1991).

To dichotomize between the two approaches, the former adopts a serious study that determines causes and remedies through empirical study, whereas the latter is more concerned for labeling and diminishing a perceived political enemy by deploying hegemonic military power in the pretext of legitimate coercive diplomacy. This approach is generally adopted by governments in totalitarian states (Chomsky, 1991).

Charles Tilly, a social scientist, argues that terrorism as a social phenomenon is defined by strategy not by creed as oppose to American neo-conservatives. He further explains succinctly that terrorism exists in a wide variety of cultures, institutions and political struggles not confine to a particular group, belief, creed or nation (Tilly, 2004). This point is obviously in contrast with American neo-conservatives that restricted terrorism to Muslims and make the world to believe. He maintains that “*terrorists range across a wide spectrum of organizations, circumstances and belief. Terrorism is not a single coherent phenomenon. No social scientist can speak responsibly as though it were*” (Tilly, 2004, pp. 9-10).

Going by the above conceptual definitions of terrorism, some level of accurateness are achieved but the lacuna associated with them was failure to relate other forms of violence to the act of terrorism, included ‘state terrorism’ which considers by governments as legitimate and coercive diplomacy. Many scholars bridge this gap by identifying specialize military action as another form of terrorism.

Noam Chomsky describes military action on political oppositions by the dictatorial regimes in Latin America as terror activity. The term terrorism has come to be applied mainly on individuals and groups as ‘retail terrorism’. Whereas the term was once applied to emperors who molest their own subjects and the world, now it is restricted to thieves who molest the powerful. Extricating ourselves from the system of indoctrination, we will use the term ‘terrorism’ to refer to the threats or use of violence to intimidate or coerce (generally for political ends), whether it is the ‘wholesale terrorism’ of the emperor or the ‘retail terrorism’ of the theft (Chomsky, 2003). However, governments through specialized armed forces, nongovernmental and antigovernment organizations exercise some form of terrorism or the other included kidnapping, murder, torture and mutilation (Tilly, 2004, p. 7; Henderson, 2004, p. 7; Chomsky, 1991).

In light of the above, terrorism is terrorism despite who does it, as long as it qualifies the criteria, and it does not belong to any particular set of ideology, creed or group. It is therefore duly understood that terrorism refers to all forms of violent action perpetrated by clandestine, semi-clandestine and government as well as capable of posing threats and violence aimed at achieving political, religious or ideological ends.

2.3. Western Media, Terrorism and Label Islam

Media labeling on any belief, issue or interest has significant impact on the media consumers which may in subtlety create social bias, misperception and misrepresentation surrounding belief and loyalty. Moreover, the media in some cases portray a positive spin to a particular cause, or even make comparison of the violence perpetrated by a terrorist group that is strikingly similar to the action of others who are regarded as legitimate, thus, lending some recognition and sympathy to the terrorist group (Nacos, Bloch-Elicon, & Shapiro, 2007). Previous studies reveal that mass media content affects how the public learns, understands or thinks about an issue (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003), and such message has considerable influence on public policy (Domke, Watts, Shah, & Fan, 1999). Therefore, news media are a potent weapon of skillful manipulation of information and can be used in favor of or against any cause or ideology.

Media coverage of Muslims and Islam in the west remains an area of an utmost importance to explore so as to analyze the portrayal and representation of Islam. Powell (2011), argues that Islam and Muslims are featured in the U.S. news media because of connection to oil, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and terrorism. This means the western media coverage of Islam is confined to stories regarding to oil, war and terrorism. As a result, all of the major news items and what audiences in the west, particularly in the U.S. know about Arabs tend to be limited to

these three areas which limit their knowledge of Muslims due to the repeatedly biased and sketchy information presented to them simultaneously (Powell, 2011, p. 4).

However, Drucker an American noble scholar argues in his book that explores “*Postmodern*” prophesizes that the next threat after the downfall of the Soviet is the attack activities of some somehow Muslims who carry-out organized suicide bomb as a revenge of perceive discrimination and injustice mated out on Islam by the western world to maintain the development of a popular capitalism as global economic order in perpetuity (Laqueur, 2002). It is also argues in this direction that international media considered Islam as the next threat to capitalism after the downfall of Soviet, he quoted a Muslim journalist who maintains that,

“Now that the Soviet Union, which former President Ronald Reagan described as ‘evil empire’, is no more, they pick on the Muslims and initially stated a sinister media campaign projecting Muslims as violent people before openly branding them as terrorists and subsequently, the West triggered off military conflicts in different parts of the Muslim World” Latheef (2006).

Wright and Beliaev (1991), found that there has been a long established relationship between the religion and terrorism labeled in the media. Some media organizations especially in the west label religion and terrorist with ‘holy wars’ and ‘inquisitions’. The metaphorical expressions in construction and framing the relationship between terrorism and religion and the use of words such as ‘assassins’, ‘zealot’ and ‘thugs’ to mention but a few are being used to portray some fanatic groups within Islam, Judaism and Hinduism respectively. Later, western media label Muslim insurgents as fanatic who launches series of bombings and assassinations

especially in the Middle East in the 1980s (Wright & Beliaev, 1991). Instance of the Palestinians commitment towards struggle for independence of their nation is labeled as terrorist's movement.

The labeling image of the Muslims in the contents of western media are described as 'unenlightened' outsiders, and even those who are emigrants in the west are represented as owing allegiance to values different from those recognized in the western society (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p. 1). Such repeated image of Muslims in the western media as argued by the authors is stereotypical and representative of an orientalist perspective. This characterization of Muslims as 'unenlightened' is unfair and inaccurate. Further investigations suggest that,

“Muslims in general do adhere to values that are different from those of western countries. The values combined with certain norms, beliefs and world view, are central to the Muslim identity” (Rane, Ewart, & Martinkus, 2014, p. 9).

In the Said's (1997) work about orientalism in the media reporting *Covering Islam*, the author argues that the dominant perspective used in the western media reportage on Islam and the Muslim world is orientalism. This perspective guides western media to libel Muslim as fanatic, violent, strange and endangered 'other' that is entirely distinct from westerners (Said, 1997). He further claims that the proliferation of the unfair negative and irresponsible portrayal of Islam happens due to the apparent usage of label 'Islam' by the western media organizations while making description and explanation of issues and events concerning which Islam is a peripheral factor at best. He also maintains that 'Islam' label is used as a sort of attack and provocation. Said (1997), posit that *“my concern ... is that the mere use of label Islam actually*

ends up becoming a form of attack against all Muslims” (Kabir’ 2010). The author of *Young British Muslim: Identity, Culture, Politics and the Media* argues that “*some media does not overtly attack or label Islam as the ‘other’, but through its headlines, reporting and images, it tends to condemn Islam”* (Kabir, 2010, p. 183). In this regard, Powell (2011), reveals that western media contents on the events of September 11 and afterwards are orientalist.

Notable example in a program titled ‘Trauma or Terror’ on CNN, it connects Islam with terrorism as the struck activities of Palestinians on Israelis were translated to the teaching of Islam (Latheef, 2006). Beside such organizations or movements, even political movements in countries seemed to be Islamic nations like Afghanistan, Chechnya, Palestine and Iraq which are insurgence in nature have caused all Muslims and Arabs in the world to be labeled by western media as terrorists (Yusof, Hassan, Hassan, & Osman, 2013, p. 110). Notwithstanding, Muslim countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan and Libya are being portrayed as supporters of terror activities on western local and international media organizations (Yusof, Hassan, Hassan, & Osman, 2013, p. 110). Furthermore, western media label Islam as barbaric practice, “*terrorism is associated with barbarism, evil, and lack of freedom”* (Bhatia, 2008, p. 218). To some extent, these are racially and biased messages that reduce diversity of Muslims identities and practices into a few reactionary cultural practices capable of meting out general attitude of hostility against them.

In the recent past, issues of international terrorism and security concerns pose threat and challenge to Islam and Muslims were at times being labeled as ‘extremists’ and ‘fundamentalists’ (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005, p. 2). According to Orbe & Harris (2008), after the September 11 incident, western media identified and labeled Muslims as ‘fundamentalists’ and ‘Islamists’, such labeling has increasingly facilitated prejudices, discriminations against and

attacks on Muslims or Middle Easterners in the western societies. The September 11 terror attack, the subsequent 'war on terror,' the refugee crisis and the 2002 Bali bombings put the Muslim communities in the west at disadvantage and under the spotlight, and negative portrayal of the media in the west reinforce threats and discrimination of Muslims as minority group and push them to the very margin of the society, making them irrelevant (Richardson, 2004). It is also argued that "*western programs about Muslims are often slanted to suggest negative images of Muslims. Many carry messages of political instability and the poor treatment of women*". (Ahmed, 1993).

In Australia, images and adulterated information presented to the audiences through the means of mass communication such as television, newspapers and magazines seemed to be very fearful where men with long white gown and huge beard carry ammunition and women portrayed as illiterates in hijabs and burkas; the media is reluctant to produce information that Islam condemns terrorism and ill-treatment of women (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005, p. 5). Awass (1996), observes that news articles on Islam are derogatory and connected Islam with Middle Eastern people and culture.

The concept of jihad is presented in a negative way and *socially constructed*¹ with bias by western media as a result of negative framing of Islam as threat to western security and civilization. It is further argued that western media reproduces negative images of Islam and Muslims by depicting them as 'fundamentalist', 'terrorist', 'sexist', 'militant', 'undemocratic',

¹ Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1991). *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguins Books.
Stevenson, N. (2004, p. 26). *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. London: Sage.

‘violent’, ‘suicide bombers’, hijackers’, ‘orthodox’ and fanatic which deliberately stereotyped and linked to the concept of ‘war’, ‘conflict’, ‘violence’ ‘disunity’ and ‘sexism’ (Dunn, 2001).

It is however worthy to note that, there is mix media coverage by some western media organizations while making reports on Islam and Muslim. Some media contents portray positive image and depict Islam and Muslims in a positive light such as ‘peaceful’, ‘moderate’, ‘liberal’, ‘feminism’, ‘family oriented’, ‘anti-terrorist’ and ‘community oriented’ (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). It therefore, becomes obvious that Islam and Muslim were largely misrepresented by media particularly news media in the western world, and most of the media analysis by journalists were carried with bias and interpretation of Islam by the west to perpetuate orientalism.

According to Kabir (2010), some British news media have been playing pivotal proactive role in ‘Othering’ the Islam, an excellent example of this is carried in a tabloid newspaper, *The Sun*, questioning ‘how can the Muslims prevent the effect of stereotypes?’ Aliza (aged 27), Pakistani Briton, acknowledged the media label Islam in the British Press, but she emphasized the need for Muslim integrations in the media.

“For me the solution [to counter media bias] is that we encourage our children, not just to be doctors and lawyers, but also to be journalists. Encourage them to be broadcasters because when are within something you can really create change, whereas if you’re always on the outside it’s difficult. So encourage our children get into these areas, but it also takes corporations and institutions that to be honest with you can be highly racist, to open up their doors as well. That’s

the solution. We can't always be complaining we can't be victims"

(Kabir, 2010, p. 200).

She emphasizes the need for the Muslim community living in the west particularly Great Britain to integrate with media, get their representatives into the system so as to bring change for the label Islam in the western media. However, Alizah fails to appreciate the ownership influence of the media system as every media organization has underpinning ideology of guiding values and operations. Media in the west have a long history of orientalism 'self' and 'other'. Orientalism is basically institutionalized cultural prejudice and racism on Middle East and Asia. It is observed that,

"Perhaps, the consistent flow of international news has tremendous impact on the passive receivers' perception, understanding and interpretation of the world. Since the NWICO heated debate on the dominance of international news, western media have been under attack over imbalance and negative representation of the third world"

Sani (2014, p. 1).

It is further claims that the southern countries attempted to use UNESCO as a means towards a new world information and communication order (NWICO) to set out guidelines for international reporting (Hemelink, 1994). Against this request on the basis of equity, sovereign and fairness, it was vehemently rejected by the defenders of 'free press' principle. This shows how serious western media are on the orientalist perspective. Consequently, the integration of Muslims with the media cannot bring significant change of depicting Islam and Muslims as the 'other'.

2.4. Agenda setting and Framing Theories

2.4.1. Agenda Setting

The news media have an indirect, yet powerful and pervasive effect on public opinion by limiting and prioritizing public perceptions on perceived realities of important issues. The 1922 Walter Lipmann's book *Public Opinion* is considered as the precursor of the theory of agenda setting by asserting that "*the news media construct our view of the world*" (Wahl-Jorgan & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 147). In the article entitled *Maxwell McCombs: Agenda-setting explorer* describes Agenda-Setting as one of the most significant, influential and powerful theories in the field of media studies (Davie & Maher, 2006). In Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's original work on Agenda Setting, *The agenda setting function of mass media* – the news media is the most outstanding (and arguably, the only) institution binds government and people together (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

This groundbreaking and prominent study attempted to explain how and why news media consumers think about and rank different social issues as well. The scholars conceptualized and tested the agenda setting process in the Chapel Hill study, measured the effect of the news media had on voters' attitude during the 1968 United States presidential election. The study observes "*a very strong relationship between the emphases placed on different campaign issues by the media and the judgments of voters as to the salience and importance of the various campaigns topics*" (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 181). The study further adds on the placement of news stories that "*front-page stories in the newspaper have about twice readership of stories that appear inside the newspaper*" (McCombs, 2004, p. 52). It concludes that issue salience is greatly influence by the mass media. Meanwhile, at its core, the agenda setting can be seen as "*the successful transfer*

of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda” (McCombs, 2004, pp. 36-37). In a stark contrast with the previous research on media effects that fundamentally suggested mass media had a little influence on the topics about which voters’ thoughts, the conclusion drawn by this subsequent research proves opposite. The keyword ‘salience’ is defined by Van-Gorp (2007, p. 67), as *“the process of emphasizing certain information and making it more significant so that the audience will notice it more easily”*.

In light of the above findings, it is established that the idea behind agenda setting is dissemination of news stories which shape public perceptions on issues that seemed important to news media. Consumers of media products particularly news items are being simultaneously exposed to information determined by the media outlets in shaping the manner in which the public understands situations. It is argued that not always that news media intention is to shape attitude or influence opinion while delivering news stories (Moynan, 2013; McCombs, 2004). McCombs (2004, pp. 36-37), succinctly states that the permanent intention of agenda setting occurs *“whenever if there is a reasonably open political system and a reasonably open media system”*.

However, it is argued that news media in its entirety *“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”* (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 177). This argument succinctly means that mass media manipulate the salience of agenda items by prioritize news stories through placement and emphasis, thus cuing mass media consumers to their importance in a process meditated by every single individual’s needs for orientation. This power of the mass media gives it tremendous opportunity to set agenda for public discourse which in essence shapes public perceptions on salience issues covered. Notwithstanding, Cohen (1993, p. 13), contends that the journalist *“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” – has been turned inside out. He proposes that contemporary research examining the consequences of agenda setting and media framing found that the mass media not only tell us what to think about, but also how to think about it, and consequently what to think.

A similar survey analyses voters’ response to Watergate, Weber, McCombs & Spellman suggest that,

“For persons with a high need for orientation about politics, mass communication does more than merely reinforce preexisting beliefs; in fact, the media may teach these members of the audience not just during political campaigns, but also in the longer periods between campaigns” (Weber, McCombs, & Spellman, 1975, p. 471).

Focusing on the above argument, the consequences of audience behavior and response depend largely on the issues or topics presented in the news agenda.

In an attempt to review McCombs and Shaw (1972) research, Rogers and Dearing (1988, pp. 579-580), suggest (a) *“the media influence the public agenda”*; (b) *“the media agenda seems to have direct, sometimes strong, influence upon the policy agenda”*; and the mass media indirectly influence policy as well due to the (c) *“the public agenda, once set by, or reflected by, the media agenda, influences the policy agenda”*. As regards these media influences, the agenda setting theory subtly employs the pluralistic value of democratic theory, bringing public opinion into the limelight. If it rightly assumes that public opinion has direct effect on public policy, then, setting public agenda becomes a significant role of media effect.

2.4.2. Theory Revisited

The evolution of the internet has significantly changed the ways in which some individuals receive news and information. It goes further to provide open forums that stimulate discourse on a number of topics through discussion lists, bulletin boards, and chat rooms as well. The former media consumers are now being transferred from analogue and passive to digital and active. As the result of these technological advancement in news delivery system, that perhaps, generate challenges surrounding Agenda Setting; recently, Maxwell McCombs reviewed and updated their initial work in the 1970s to the year 2005 in a piece entitled “*A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present, and future*”.

The increasing confident prediction of coming to an end of agenda setting theory is due to the fragmentation of online audiences in the digital arena (McCombs, 2005). As a consequence, McCombs (2005), tested two hypotheses and established a scientific conclusion that evidence of the two hypotheses suggests that the theory of agenda setting will retains its influence even with the attainment of the digital age.

Another challenge facing traditional news media as a result of the advent of online media is blogs. Traditionally, the question of “who sets the media agenda” is being threatened by the online blogs. McCombs maintains that the idea states that blogs inform the media agenda are based on the conclusions that portion of the public do not know what blog is, and who the bloggers are. He emphasizes that members of the press dominate news blogs, hence, news media set the media agenda (McCombs, 2005).

2.4.3. Framing Theory

There has been growing concern about how the news information is presented or 'framed' in news media. In this context Tuchman (1978), traced the origin of the concept of framing back to (Goffman, 1974). Framing is increasingly regarded as a crucial theoretical approach in analyzing communication text (Brantner, Geise, & Lobinger, 2012). This new paradigm of communication science summarizes its main aspect which involves 'selection' and 'salience'. According to Entman (1993, p. 52),

“To frame is select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salience in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”.

In accordance with this definition, frames are formed by four essentials included; define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. It is obvious that portion of the communication text carry out these functions, using certain words and phrases, pictures and/or films and so on (McQuail, 2005, p. 378). Entman (1993, p. 52), asserts that not every sentence performs all the four functions but single sentence may accommodate one or more function, though; many sentence may carry none of them.

However, frames are being used in the communication text to highlight certain elements in order to influence the reception of the message. Entman (1993, p. 53), stresses that *“frames highlights some bit of information about an item that is the subject of communication, thereby elevating them in salience”*. This might be a deliberate action while coding media content to influence audiences' perception of a perceived reality. Highlighting certain aspects of the text

pave the way for audience to consider the items of crucial importance. Thus, proves the potentiality of frames to “*predispose the understanding, interpretation and evaluation of the framed information*” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Entman R. , 1993; Scheufele B. , 2005; Scheufele B. , 2006; Tverskey & Kahneman, 1986).

Despite the groundwork for much of framing and framing effects research laid by Entman (1993), that mainly examined the phenomenon in a verbal-textual contexts, some scholars accentuate and criticize his ambition to construct a ‘single paradigm’ of the framing process (McQuail, 2005). D’ Angelo (2002), emphasizes that literature highlight the presence of at least three different paradigm of framing which include cognitivist, structionist and critical paradigms. First, cognitive model indicates that communication text gives an exact account based on the words and thoughts of those affected. Second, structionist has a slight difference from cognitive; it refers to ‘interpretive packages’ of the source by the journalists which guide audiences’ reception of the communication text. Third, critical model suggests that frames are as a result of ‘news gathering routine and the values of elite’.

As we noted earlier, framing refers to selecting and highlighting of some aspects in the communication text to accord them salience by ignoring other aspects in order to guide audience perception of perceive reality. Hence, framing refers as to a “*second-level agenda setting*” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001), although, Takeshinta (1997), argues that framing “*attribute agenda setting*”. Therefore, in the process “*certain attributes of a particular issue or items are highlighted, analogously to the setting of issue on an agenda in (first level) agenda setting*”. (Brantner, Geise, & Lobinger, 2012).

More recently, some scholars dichotomized framing from agenda setting and priming, Price and Tewksbury (1997), observe that “*framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented*”. Furthermore, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), distinguish framing from agenda setting posit that, “*the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audience*”. Therefore, it is now clear that agenda setting and framing work similar but in different direction as framing is mainly set to influence public opinion and perceptions of issues and political figure. On the other hand, agenda setting assigns importance to news topics including issues, groups or individual.

The next chapter covers an overview of Nigeria, and follows by the advent of Islam in Nigeria. The section also gives a historical overview of Nigerian news media, and then further discusses news coverage of insurgency in the Nigerian media. The chapter explores Maitatsine movement which sees by some scholars as precursor to the Boko Haram, and then follows by the origin of Boko Haram group and later concludes with economic and social consequence of Boko Haram insurgency.

CHAPTER TWO

3. 1. NIGERIAN NEWS MEDIA AND THE ORIGIN OF BOKO HARAM

3.2. Nigeria at a Glance

The territory of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is formed by the British colonialists, before their advent, there was no territorial boundary called Nigeria. Nigeria got independence on 1 October, 1960 from Britain. The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic comprising 36 states and Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, located in the Gulf of Guinea on the Africa's Western Coast. Nigeria covers an area of almost 924 thousand square kilometers. The country shares territorial borders with the Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroun in the east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean (Sani, 2014, p. 3). Nigeria is the second biggest economy after South Africa and the largest oil producer in Africa and ranked the six in OPEC. With a GDP of US\$414 billion, the country is also blessed with both human and natural resources (Adebayo, 2014).

According to Central Intelligence Agency (2014), Nigeria has an estimated population of more than 177 million and the dominant religious groups are Islam and Christianity. Eghosa and Rotimi (2005), noted the dearth of numerical representation of these major religions neither their exact geographical locations within the heterogynous Nigeria. Although, evidence against this claim, Central Intelligence Agency (2014), reveals that Islam represents 50% follows by Christianity with 40% then indigenous belief 10%. It is also quite agreed that northern part is dominated by Islam whereas south by Christianity (Mailafiya, 2012). Meanwhile, it is worthy to appreciate that traditional religion has a fair degree of followership that often not represented in

the national polity (Eghosa & Seberu, 2005). English is an official language, but the major native languages included Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. There are about 250 ethnic groups that speak almost 400 dialects.

In the era of British colonization, the British adopted direct and indirect rule system. In the north, there had been a centralized authority with Emir as both political as well as spiritual leader. The traditional government had established a system of direct taxation on almost everything including farm products and livestock before the advent of colonialists. This system made easy for British colonialists to rule people and collected taxes with ease through the traditional rulers in the north. Therefore, north was ruled indirectly through the traditional authorities and was quite successful. In the south, particularly the egalitarian society of Igbo, indirect rule had failed. Instead, direct rule had been imposed on southern part by colonial administration which became relatively successful.

After the amalgamation of north and south protectorates in January, 1914, and the nation's independence in October, 1960, Nigeria had witnessed both civilian and military administrations. With the return to democracy in 1999, the political and socioeconomic developments have been undermined by rampant official corruption and maladministration. The effect of the corruption and maladministration increased the quick spread of ethnic and religious conflicts.

3.3. The Advent of Islam

However, Islam traced its first contact with natives of north west and north east around 8th and 9th centuries through the coming of caravans from North Africa for commercial purposes (Hock, 1996). The history of Islam in Nigeria remains incomprehensible to understand without

the mention of the Jihad movement of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio (1754-1817) who established Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century, one of the most significant and influential kingdom in the west African region. This kingdom has extended its territory from the contemporary political boundary of Nigeria to the North Cameroun from east, Illo in the west, Adrar in the north and Yarubaland in the south (Hock, 1996; Murry, 1967).

However, the motive of the Kingdom was purification of Islamic Practices that stand accused of adulteration and lasted for about one hundred years following its declining during the coming of British colonialists that declared northern Nigeria as a British protectorate in 1900. There was a strong resistance of Muslims into submission to the British control that resulted into the war between the north and British colonialists which the natives perceived as war against Islam. This pioneered the hatred of western education and values among the citizen of the north.

3.4. Overview of Nigerian News Media

The Evolution of the press in Africa, notably Nigeria is centered on the coming of the colonialists. The British missionaries contributed enormously to the establishment of printing press in Nigeria that the precursor the establishment of the first Nigerian newspaper on 3 December, 1859. *Iwe Irohin*, a Yoruba Africa's first vernacular newspaper was established in 1859 by an Anglican priest of the Church Missionary Society, (Reverend Henry Townsend). To figure out the year difference between first established newspaper and Nigeria at independence 1960, the press is one hundred and one years older than the Nigerian-State. Thus, it can be said that, journalism in Nigeria predates amalgamation of the Northern and the Southern protectorates of 1914 (Agbaje, 1992, p. 28). Consequently, Nigerian journalism traced its origin from assiduous work of European missionaries.

The *Iwe Irohin* which its full name was *Iwe Iron Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yaruba* meaning ‘Newspaper in Yoruba for the Egba and Yoruba People’ was established with underlined motive to achieve atonement for the European sins committed during slavery period and Christianization of the indigenous notably Yoruba people of southern Nigeria. Idowu Sobuwale posits that,

“In what amount to an attempt to atone for the sins of Europe during the darks days of slave trade, missionaries set out to Christianize the freed slaves. They also educated them so that they would not only be helpful in spreading the gospel among their kinsmen but also useful to the Europeans in their business” (Sabowale, 1985, p. 28).

The European missionaries found schools and printing press in order to westernize indigenes to inspire extraordinary loyalty among literate citizens. At the passage of time, Townsend deviated from the sole objective that inspired the establishment of the newspaper to Christianize the Yoruba to political motive and use the media as a *“chief weapon in his ambitious political propaganda and shrewd maneuvering for power in England”* (Omu, 1978, p. 28). This political conflict led to the *Ire Irohin* closure in 1867.

However, historians are of the view that, Reverend Townsend usage of mass media as a political instrument to attain political power served as precursor of the high political profile that indigenous journalists later presumed especially at a peak of nationalist struggle and subsequently became more radical oriented in the hands proprietors (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2007). Omu (1978), argues that, *“their example gave inspiration to African people who inherited*

the idea of the newspaper and came to employ it as the chief weapon by which they were to exercise their power of participation in the government of their land”.

The transfer of newspaper publishing from Europeans to the hands of native Nigerians generated unbearable tensions on the colonialists as all the publishers were nationalists. This paved the way for their struggle for independence and increasingly expressed their grievances and frustrations of the colonial rule and also mobilized public and public opinion through publications against the established colonial authority (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2007). As a result, the then governor requested permission from London authorities to curtail and contain what he labeled as “*dangerous instruments in the hand of semi-civilized Negros*” (Omu, 1978, p. 173). Though, this attempt was unsuccessful as the approval was refused.

In 1863, Robert Campbell found the second newspapers in Lagos, a weekly publication titled *Anglo African*. Campbell, born in Kingston, Jamaica and he suffered a racial tension and victimization in the United States and later subscribed to the Afro-American Human Rights ideology of ‘Back to Africa’ and eventually settled in Lagos - Nigeria. His publication was inspired by the political atmosphere in and around Lagos colony at the time. *Anglo African* publication was ceased to publish in 1865, thus, it stayed alive for only two years (Dare & Uyo, 1991; Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2007).

Furthermore, on 10 November, 1880, a business tycoon of dual origin (Nigeria and Serr Leone) Richard Blaize set out *Lagos Times/Gold Colony Advertiser*, two times a month publication. The paper had four page journal and three columns contained on each page. The success of the immediate aforementioned publication marked an era of proliferation of indigenous newspaper movements (Sani, 2014, p. 3). Some of the subsequent newspapers

included: “*Lagos Observer* (1882), *The Eagle and Lagos Critics* (1883), *The Mirror* (1887), *Lagos Echo* (1890), *Lagos Weekly Record*, (1890), *The Chronicles*, (1908), *Pioneer*, (1914), *Lagos Daily News*, (1925) and *The Nigerian Daily Times*, (1926)” (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2007, p. 5).

Meanwhile, the aforementioned newspapers varied according to their structure and ideology from the missionary publication. The proprietors of these publications were motivated to cling around the liberal philosophy of freedom as their ancestors were freed slaves. The commitment of these freed slaves towards political participation encouraged them to set up privately own newspapers to advance their interests. On the one hand, however, the economic interest played significant role especially at post-independence period of the newspaper proliferation. Omu (1978, p. 28), observes that portion of the pioneer proprietors were either “*anxious to recover from the financial ruin arising from bankruptcy or those in want of employment*”.

Notwithstanding, print media in Nigeria predates broadcasting by almost eight decades. It began in 1936 with the creation of British Broadcasting Corporations outpost to disseminate BBC programs. This outpost was primarily set up by the colonialists to accomplish imperial interest notably at the period of Second World War II. The first former Managing Director (1922-1927) and also the first Director-General of the BBC (1927-1938), Lord Reith stated the motive behind the formation of the BBC Distributory Service in Lagos. He maintained that,

“If we succeeded in dispelling some of isolators and loneliness which is the lot of so many of our kindred overseas; if we bring to them and to others some share of the amenities of the home country and of

metropolitan interest and culture, which for one reason or another, may not be fully available; if we can induce among the constituent parts of the empire a greater understanding and a greater sympathy; if we can broadcast at home, some programmes from overseas; if in general, as in our hope, the several far-scatters units of the Empire may be drawn closer together, then our effort will be amply rewarded' (Lalede, 1994, pp. 5-6).

Afterwards, the British Government decided to introduce radio broadcasting in its political colonies to further accelerate the imperial interest. The Government appointed a committee to study possibilities of establishing broadcasting services all over its colony. The Plymouth committee was tasked to,

"Consider and recommend what steps could be taken to accelerate the provision of broadcasting services in the Empire, to coordinate such services with the work of the BBC and to make more effective instrument for prompting both local and imperial interests" (Lalede, 1994, pp. 12-13).

In this light, the British quest for communication with her political colonies world over particularly West Africa was politically motivated in order to inculcate sense of loyalty and retain superiority over the entire colonies. Ikimi (1979), posits that the BBC *"was expected to serve the dual purpose of providing a source of information about Britain and the wider world"*. He adds that the Plymouth committee was fully aware that contents of the programs must not be objectionable and subversive.

The indigenous broadcasting started with the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC) that operated twin services – the Western Nigeria Television (WNB) in 1959 (the first television signal in the African continent) and the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in 1960 respectively. The motive informed the creation of the broadcasting was formal or informal education. Moreover, the establishment of the broadcast was to improve school system by addressing shortage of competent manpower in certain subjects to substitute teachers in the understaffed schools as well as enhancing adult education in the former western region. Accordingly, the eastern region began its broadcasting services in 1960 with Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Service (ENBC) and Eastern Nigeria Television on the same day. In the northern region, broadcasting commenced in 1962 with Radio Television Kaduna under supervision of Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) (Uche, 1989, p. 61).

However, broadcasting services by the Federal Government of Nigeria came into operation in April 1962 with Nigerian Television Service (NTS) in a partnership with American network owned company of NBC. The NBC was contracted to establish the television and would sell its shares to Federal Government after five years of operation, a period deemed appropriate for the training of indigenous personnel who would take over the management at expiration of the agreement (Uche, 1989). On the April 1, 1977, NBS became Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), Africa's largest TV network.

It is quite regrettable that this development in news media services further accelerated the disunity among the regions, each region used its news media as a tool of political, economic, cultural and social propaganda and also instrumental in widening the existing gap between the regions based on regional interest. Mackay (1964), states that,

“The sole responsibility of regional broadcasting is to radiate the regional image that cannot encourage the artistic endeavors of Nigeria as a nation” Whatever the benefits – and there are benefits – the cost is too high and the danger exists that devise control in a developing society may promote regional feeling instead of encourage the desire to live together and act together”.

The political diversity between the Federal Government under the auspice of Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Regional or later the States owned media had manifested in the early state of the operations. Subsequently, the situation however, relaxed following the rapid emergence of private broadcasting services mainly for profit-making business than public service like in Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Port Harcourt and Warri (Uche, 1989).

The National Broadcasting Commission is mandated to by the Act 38 of 1992 and Act 55 of 1999 to carry out number of duties included *“licensing, monitoring, regulating and conducting research in broadcasting in Nigeria Ensure the development, in a dynamic manner, through the accreditation of the mass communications curricula in all the tertiaries and other institutions related to broadcasting”* (National Broadcasting Commission, 2011). The commission is a regulatory agency used by the Federal Government to control broadcasting contents notably private services.

However, there is a combination of both public (Federal and State) and private ownership in Nigeria. There are 47 television stations owned by the Federal Government under the auspices of NTA, states government have 38 and 13 are owned by private businesses (Nigeria Galleria,

2014). Moreover, there are total number of 222 public and private radio stations ranging from AM and FM. In the case of print media, there are more than 90 titles of print publications excluding over 40 magazines. Sani, (2014, p. 3) posits that, *“the accurate figure cannot be easy to get because of political and economic reasons that publications are closing down and new ones are coming up rapidly”*.

3.5. Reporting Insurgency in the Nigerian Media

Nigeria has been witnessing several forms of terror activities in both the northern and the southern parts of the country, most of which have claimed lives and properties of noncombatant citizens. The most current bloody and catastrophic insurgencies in Nigeria are perpetrated by Boko Haram in the north and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in the south. News media reports on crime and violence attract large space and time as such stories are ridiculously easy to cover (Sandman, Rubin, & Sachsman, 1976). While reporting terrorism, sufficient coverage is needed by the audience, and news media organizations owed the public not just to report insurgencies as human interest angle but also to adequately cover such accounts with objectivity, free from bias (Moylan, 2013; Okoro & Okechukwu, 2012, p. 6; Soola, 2011, p. 4).

All over the world, journalism code of ethics emphasizes the objectivity in news reporting. In Nigeria, Code 3.3.3. of the Broadcasting Code as stipulated by the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission states that, *“all sides to any issue of public interest shall be equitably presented to ensure fairness”* (NBC, 2006). Also Code 2 (1) of the Nigerian Journalist Code of Ethics supported the aforementioned code, stating that, *“the public has a right to know, factual, accurate, balance, and fair reporting is the ultimate objective of the good journalism and the*

basis of earning public trust and confidence”. Several scholars concluded that Nigerian mass media have repeatedly biased and abused objectivity in their reportage of insurgencies (Lawrence, 2011; Rasaq & Mahmud, 2012).

Furthermore, it is found that, news media in Nigeria fail to observe objectivity in the coverage of violence. Studies confirmed biases in mass media reports on violence in Nigeria (Ademola & Okeke, 2011, p. 14; Oputa, 2011, p. 67). Lawrence (2011), adds to the above findings contending that Nigerian media especially electronic media have been biased against Boko Haram insurgency. Scholarly works suggest that stories on conflict and violence in Nigeria generate maximum coverage in the Nigerian news media (Bola, 2010, p. 83; Timiebi, 2010, p. 45; Remi, 2010, p. 31).

Moreover, Rasaq and Mahmud (2012), explore biases on the news coverage of crises; they outlined some reactions and opinions held by the inter-group about newspaper reportage. In the first instance, they cited a news story published by Daily Independent titled ‘*The Media and Reporting of Conflicts*’ 22 February, 2010. Contending that “*it is obvious that certain sections of the media have taken sides in reporting of events in the recurring crises on the plateau, and this has the capacity to cause more harm than good*”. Second, *Jos Crises: GOC Explodes!* A story published by The Vanguard Newspaper of 27 March, 2010. In this news report, Major General Sale Maina, General Officer Commandant of 3 Division expressed his disappointment openly about the irresponsibility of the section of Nigerian press in the course of carrying out their duty. He was quoted reacting to the coverage of Jos, Plateau State of Northern Nigeria crisis saying that,

“I was very disappointed that some part of the print media misconstrued, misunderstood, misrepresented and misinformed the public and was apportioning blame on the military I don't know why journalists keep either lying or misrepresenting or misquoting individuals Sometimes, I wonder if you guys are Nigerians. If only you know the level of damage you are doing to your country in an apparent attempt to discredit your armed forces. You do not see American Journalists criticizing their military. Perhaps they criticize government policies but not military” (Rasaq & Mahmud, 2012, p. 17).

However, on the issue of timely coverage of insurgency notably the Niger-Delta crisis, Mass media in Nigeria has not being timely reacted to the events (Yusuf, 2010, p. 92; Ikenna, 2008, p. 101). On the other hand, the issue of perceive differences that dotted around the Nigerian media have manifested itself at coverage of insurgency. Alao (2012), argues that there is an obvious difference in the analysis of media reports on Boko Haram in the Nigerian media milieu. The study reveals that southern based newspapers over publicize Boko Haram terror attacks, using overblown headlines and pictures on the front page and erroneously link Boko Haram activities with Islam whereas the northern based counterpart give adequate coverage to the insurgent group but use few pictures and barely bold headlines. Yet again, it is confirmed bias among the Nigerian press who are divided by politics, religion and ethnicity that,

“The heap of complaints from some observers that journalists are biased, sensational, pre-occupied with commercial gains, unpatriotic among other allegations when reporting conflicts, one cannot but ask

these questions: how should the media cover conflicts?, what is and what determines news?, does the press monitor itself?, and what should be the roles of media stake holders in a situation of conflict?”
(Rasaq & Mahmud, 2012, p. 2).

Golding and Elliot (1979, P. 31), argued that *“the dual allegiance of (Nigerian) journalists to the attainment of professional and political goal has created conflicts whose resolutions in the daily practice underpins much contemporary Nigerian journalism”*.

Nonetheless, Eti (2012), suggests that the apparent ethno-political bias in Nigeria between the North and the South have infested the press practice. The study concluded that northern press exercises ‘unrestricted’ biases for the news coverage on the southern insurgent group, whereas southern based newspapers seemed balanced on the coverage of southern militants (Eti, 2012). Scholars argued that in most cases, news media coverage on terrorism is incapable of conducting investigative reporting, in-depth analysis tracing the genesis and motives of criminal acts (Sandman, Rubin, & Sachsman, 1976).

Taking into consideration of the role played by the Nigerian media in reporting violence with a specific reference to the coverage of Boko Haram as a result of the apparent polarization and ethnicization contrary to the ideals of professionalism, the journalistic ethics have been violated and eventually could endanger the fragility of the Nigerian social fabric. As a consequence, there is a strong need for journalist to play pivotal role in defusing the tension and enhance professional reputation by appreciating the perceived differences.

3.6. Maitatsine Movement

Notwithstanding, some analysts regarded Maitatsine Movement of 1970s - 80s as a group which tremendously influenced the formation of Boko Haram in Nigeria (Okoro & Odoemelam, 2013). Generally known as a Cameroonian national, Muhammad Marwa Maitatsine migrated to Nigeria and settled in Kano city of northern Nigeria as Islamic cleric and eventually attracted substantial number of followers who not only submitted to his radical teachings and ideology but also regarded him as true prophet. He was popularly known as 'Maitatsine' means '*May God damn you*' and directed the curse at whom he referred as infidels.

Marwa proclaimed himself as a 'true' prophet sent upon them to 'cleanse' and 'purify' Islam. They were against compulsory prayer hours, facing Mecca while praying as well as western materialism and its aspects like private ownership of property including wrist watch, radio, and houses and even travelling by car, bus or train to mention but a few (Ojo, 1985, p. 229). This new teaching was in a sharp contrast with the existing practice of Islam in Nigeria before he came and to date. The leader of the Maitatsine movement was shot to death by the Nigerian Army in the 1980s in Kano during one of the revolt riots. The members of Maitatsine not only comprised Nigerians but also neighboring nationals who committed to his teaching like Republic of Niger. The movement was involved in several face-off with the Police attempted to arrest the leader, although the followers were resisted to such attempt. Afterwards, became a time of heighten tension between Maitatsine and Nigerian armed forces which caused over four thousands victims and the fatal death of the leader (Amara, 2011, p. 142).

However, his preaching of religious fanaticism, intolerance and bigotry against the established authorities both traditional and western system of administration was the driving

force behind his deportation by the then Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammad Sunusi. I. Falola (1990), noted the Maitatsine several incarcerations in Nigeria between 1972-1979 following the offensive and act of mayhem against the state. He posits that,

“He (Marwa) was a Qur’anic teacher and preacher. Forceful, persuasive and charismatic, he rebelled against many popular opinions among Kano Islamic circles, denouncing certain parts of the Holy Qur’an and even criticizing Prophet Muhammad. At one stage in his career, Marwa granted himself his most prestigious credential when he revealed himself to be an Annabi; a prophet with divine power and a mission to save the world...He was alleged to have replaced the name of the Prophet Muhammad with his own in personal copies of the Qur’an...He was opposed to most aspects of modernization and to all Western influence. He decried such technological commonplace as radios, wrist watches, automobiles, motorcycles, and even bicycles. Those who use these things or who read books other than the Qur’an were viewed as hell-bound ‘pagans’” (Falola, 1098, p. 143).

It was observed that Maitatsine recruited portion of his followers from underprivileged who were mostly almajirs. Dabo (1982), blames on the Almajiri system of acquiring Qur’anic knowledge Ojo (1985). He adds that the *“Gardi system – the traditional way of acquiring religious education must be held responsible ... because of the relative freedom and honor, respect and tolerance of people considered to be the scholars, quacks could emerge”* (Ojo, 1985, p. 301). Dabo (1982), laments that Marwa was successful in attracting large fellowship due to the

system of tutelage that accorded great respect to the scholar, where parents send their children to distanced towns in quest for knowledge. This system makes pupils vulnerable to submit to the recruitment because they live mostly by begging at teenage and experience their rejection by the society (Ojo, 1985, p. 301). Therefore, with this close resemblance, some scholars are of the view that Boko Haram is just a break up republic from the Maitatsine Movement. Shehu (2014), asserts that Muhammad Marwa was confirmed not a Muslim until his death, but he was used by some sealed unguided identities to bring conflict and disunity among the Muslim community in the north (Shehu, 2014). There was heavy conspiracy surrounding the Maitatsine Movement.

3.7. The Growth of the Boko Haram

The famous name '*Boko Haram*' was originally derived from Hausa and Arabic words. In Hausa, *Boko* means illusion, at the time when colonialists introduced new system of education, the word was deliberately used to describe western education as something that seems to be education although it really not. At the passage of time, the word *Boko* mainly refers to 'western education'. *Haram* on the one hand means 'forbidden'. Thus, Boko Haram means '*western education is forbidden*', although, this name was given to the group by Maiduguri residents as a fair reflection of the group's ideology. The formal name which the group approves to be called with is *Jama'atu Ahlisunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad*, translates as *The Group committed to the propagation of the Prophet Muhammad's teaching and Jihad*. The group is often referred as the Taliban of Nigeria (Ekwueme & Akpan, 2011), and widely speculated its link with the Al-Qaida network (Onuoha, 2010).

Boko Haram was formed in 2001 by the Late Muhammad Yusuf in Maiduguri, a major city in the Northeastern Nigeria. Accordingly, Ekwueme (2001), argues that,

“The group came into existence in the 1960s but only started to draw attention in 2002. Mohammed Yusuf became its leader in the same year. In 2004, it moved to Kanamma, Yobe state where it set up a base called 'Afghanistan' from where it attacked nearby police stations, killing police officers” (Ekwueme & Akpan, 2011, p. 41).

Yusuf was a secondary school dropout and he travelled to Chad and Niger Republics in quest for Islamic knowledge where he was said to have developed radical views against westernization and modernization (Dajinbo & Abubakar, 2007). The movement ideology constitute denying western culture and lifestyle and establishing norms and values exact as they were in the prophet’s lifetime. It also objects secularism and attempts to resist it. By contrast, Muhammad Yusuf himself made use of latest technology such as cars and cellphones and the best medical services (Adesoji, 2010). In the year 2004, some tertiary students who have roots in Borno and Yobe States abandoned their studies and joined the group wishing to be martyred for their faith (Onuoha, 2010, p. 55). The members significantly vary according to the social background. The overwhelming majority are apparently underprivileged which is quite similar to Maitatsine followers who were struck by poverty (Adesoji, 2010, p. 100).G. The former Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria at Pan African Conference, Oxford University, stressed that, *“A lot of time when talking about problem of Africa whether it is ethnic issue or religious issue ... bottom line is economics, is our people not having a way-out of poverty and not having a hope in the system”* (Sunusi, 2012). Ekwueme (2001), further observes that,

“Taking advantage of these economic frustrations and corrupt leadership of the country, they were able to win many converts. Even highly educated and well-connected members of the society joined the

sect, and because their teaching addressed the frustrations of the unemployed youths, some of them dropped out of school, left their homes and joined the group fully”.

The group attacks and kills people whom it considers detrimental to their ideology and anyone sounds highly critical of their teaching and activities including political class and religious clerics and even their families. In the year 2009, the tension heightened that resulted in a brutal killing of the group leader Muhammad Yusuf on 30 July, 2009 by the Nigerian Police force after he was captured and handed over to them alive by the Nigerian army. Hundreds of others were killed during the massive crackdown (Sahara Reporters, 2014). His execution by the police was viewed “*by many Nigerians among which lawyers, human rights activists and some Muslim scholars as extrajudicial execution*” (Ibrahim, 2009).

Notwithstanding, the killing of Muhammad Yusuf intensified the Boko Haram bloodsheds. Abubakar Shekau who was described as “*fearless, loner, a complex, paradoxical man, part intellectual, part gangster, quietest and perhaps the most radical among the group members including the late Yusuf*” (Sahara Reporters, 2014; BBC Africa, 2014), and became Yusuf’s predecessor. Since he took over the affairs of Boko Haram, the group became more radical and launched more deadly attacks including the worst attack so far, the killing of at least 180 people in Kano, northern Nigeria’s largest city. Shekau is the Nigerian most wanted person and on 21 June, 2012, Shekau was specially designated by the US Department of State as a global terrorist under Executive Order 13224 (Reward for Justice, 2013), and declared him wanted and also placed \$7 million bounty on his head or any vital information that may lead to his capture (The News, 2014).

Meanwhile, the most recent operation by the group that sparked the world wave of revulsion against Boko Haram was the abduction of over 200 school girls from Government Secondary School, Chibok in Borno State. Shekau was captured on a YouTube video clip threatening to sell the girls into slavery (The News, 2014). World leaders, religious organizations, clerics, OIC, human right activists including Malala Yousafzai among others condemned the act and called upon the Federal Government of Nigeria to counterattack and free Chibok Girls with a slogan *Bring Back Our Girls*.

However, it is worthy to note the growing suspicions among Nigerians notably Muslims about the real identity and underpinning goals of the insurgence become discussable in every nook and cranny in the north. Most Muslims see it as predetermined plot to tarnish the image of Islam, transport turmoil to the religion and scuttle the peaceful atmosphere of the North (Ojibo, 2013; Shehu, 2014).

3.8. Economic and Social Impact

Despite apparent differences between developed and developing nations, terrorism exerts similar pressure on national economy. It is incontrovertible evidence that insurgency scares foreign investors and escalate the cost of business within and between countries (Mailafiya, 2012). Consequences of the current insurgency in northern region have a significant negative impact on the regional economy and undermined development due to the killings, bombings, thefts, and destruction of schools, homes and business (Crises Group Africa, 2014, p. 40). Some foreign investors who had investments in Kano some decades ago have relocated to Lagos-Ibadan axis of southern part, some left the country altogether. In Kano alone, a State that officially defined as the center of commerce, most populous in the country and largest city of the north, an estimated of 126 industries have disengaged their employees and closed down

production (Sunaday Trust, 2012). Insurgency cannot be a reason for the closure of industries in Kano, although, lack of adequate electricity which seems deliberate effort to scuttle northern economy by some mindless politicians in the country. The impact does not only scares northern economy and development but also negatively affects national economy due to the sharp reduction in per capita income. Thus, the risk of doing business notably in northern Nigeria has increased which may affect the whole country and results in low inflow of Foreign Direct Flow (FID) (Adebayo, 2014).

Furthermore, the huge resources that government spending on containing terrorism could plunge the country into poverty and political instability. The vast amount of finance spent on defense and security could have been utilized to provide amenities that can keep national economy prospering. In 2012 fiscal year, the fund appropriated to combat terrorism was N921.91 billion. Moreover, in 2013 budget, the fund allocated to security and defense services was almost equal to the finance appropriated to critical sectors like education, health, power, transport among others (Adebayo, 2014). Consequence of this, Nigeria witnesses a significant drain of material and human resources that inflict hardship on its citizens. Apart from economic consequences, there are also social and psychological impacts that erode inter-communal trust among the regions and weaken community commitment for national development.

The following chapter answers the research questions and hypotheses, and also discusses the findings and makes recommendations as well.

CHAPTER THREE

4.1. Presentation of Research Findings

4.2. Introduction

In every society, mass media provide news and information to the teeming populace to strictly observe its basic function. The mass media audience need news for wide range of purposes, some use information to socialize, make decision, formulate opinion and to mention but a few. Mass media also educate public about their rights and obligations. In the contemporary era of globalization, people are increasingly depending on mass media to know what happen around them and the world at large due to the advancement in communication technology that makes world ‘global village’ as Marshall McLuhan (1964) popularized the concept. Our study was in comparative term to content that analyzed two Nigerian newspapers seeking answer about press cultural bias for framing of Boko Haram.

4.3. Research Design

In a democratic setting, access to free information plays a significant role in creating and maintaining a system of checks and balances as well as equal distribution of power. Access to reliable information sourced by news media and guided by journalistic standard is a great service to ordinary citizens by enhancing their engagement in the political process. This function of surveillance accords journalism special recognition and protection. Newspaper is regarded as an exceptional reputable form of mass media and it predated all forms of mass communications including magazine, radio and television as they were models of it. According to Tunstall (1997, p. 23), the newspaper is “*the archetype as well as the prototype of all modern mass media*”, and McQuail (2000, p. 337), adds that ‘news’ is considered as the “*central ingredient of the*

newspaper". Therefore, in recognition of the reputable standing of newspaper, the study chooses newspaper as the research medium.

Having regular access to news, most people would be made aware of events that take place within and outside their environments that have considerable impact on their lives. The Press organizations generally do not tailor their content for specific individual interest or expectation but categorize their pages in conformity with range of different interests of the media consumers. Among the categorization, news deserves unique attention and extolls virtue of wider audience. McQuail (2000), asserts that news story deserves particular consideration in a discussion of media content because it is among only a very few sheer original contribution of the news media of different cultural forms of expression, and according to Marxist tradition, because of "*its capacity to define the social work and world of events*" (McQuail, 2005, p. 342). Therefore, this study confined in news stories to analyze some form of biases by newspapers reporting of events that supposed to be objective genre of the media.

The most easy and approachable evidence of how mass media work is provided by its content and equating message with meaning is regarded as grossly misleading. Thus, differentiation between media 'message' and 'meaning' is most acceptable. The communication text whether it appears in print, sound or pictorial image is what communication research can directly observe as a phenomenon. Mass media researchers cannot just 'read-off' the meaning that is 'embedded' in the content. McQuail (2005), point out that "*these meanings are not self-evident and certainly not fixed. They are also multiple and often ambiguous*". Thus, theories and evidences have consistently indicated stark dichotomy between media 'message' from one hand and 'meaning' on the other. For this reason, the primary objective of this study is to investigate bias in the news media content and provide some empirical conclusion to the question of media

framing of terrorism notably the Boko Haram in the Nigerian print media. A quantitative measure of media content is employed for the investigation as it becomes the most used in communication research.

This content analysis adopted deductive approach, working on a particular predefining variable to investigate the extent to which the frames occur in the news items. The type of frames that every research develops is determined by the phenomenon under study. In our situation of measuring both north and south newspapers' framing for the coverage of Boko Haram activities, we built a grid containing five different types of frames and made assessment by comparison the media framing on this particular insurgency. Specifically, the five types of frames investigated in this study were conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame and responsibility frame. These measures we applied were developed by (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Iyanger, 1991). Although, economic consequences frame was not used even once by the both Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers, thus, this frame have found not suitable to be used in the study, therefore we removed it.

Conflict Frame: this frame stresses conflict of interest between individuals, groups or institutions largely of the quest for political power. This frame generally facilitates the urgent need for media to carry events as they happen to provoke public cynicism and mistrust of political leaders (Capella & Jamieson, 1997).

Human Interest: in the quest for large audience, press organizations adopt a human face or emotional side to the presentation of events, issues or problems (Neuman, Juss, & Crigler, 1992), to captivate and retain media consumers' attention in a competitive market of news (Bennett, 1995). This frame is described as human impact.

Morality Frame: the frame presents event, issue or problem within a context of spiritual beliefs or on the ground of moral justifications. By using this frame, news media attribute indirectly through quotations or inferences and rise questions that may attract moral response about a specific social phenomenon (Neuman, Juss, & Crigler, 1992).

Responsibility Frame: this frame depicts who should be responsible for a cause or solution to a particular event, issue or problem whether the government, group or individual (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

In the light of this back drop, these four independent variables were meant to observe and explain whether there is significant variation of the frames used by the Nigerian print media in framing of the Boko Haram activities.

4.4. Method

Scholarly communication research has been contributing immensely to the substantial body of information and knowledge, in the process, a set of research techniques and approaches are developed. Denis McQuail (2000, p. 306), identifies problem faces communication research as,

“There is no coherent theory of media content and no consensus on the best method of analysis, since alternative methods are needed for different purposes and for different kinds of content and different media genres. The concept of genre is an essential tool in the study of media content”.

Therefore, the study began with quantitative content analysis of four frames used in the selected newspapers for the coverage of Boko Haram insurgency. However, as stated earlier,

newspaper is being chosen from the universe of communication, two national daily newspapers, one from each region is selected. As the intention of the research is the investigation in comparative terms, the selection is not based on random but rather on specific characteristics of national circulation and wide readership. Both newspapers are categorized under general interest. The study does not use time period to cover coverage, instead, seven events were drawn from the series of Boko Haram attacks that we consider as the most attractive to media attention. This helps the research to have rich data for analysis.

We analyzed news stories related to terrorism confined in selected events and dates. We coded (a) all news stories on the front page and inside, and we also coded (b) all descriptive words and adjectives about the activities of Boko Haram, we furthermore coded (c) all words and adjectives capable of linking Boko Haram activities with spiritual teachings of Islam. This research considered a unit of news genre as a unit of analysis for the study. A total of 194 samples were met the selection criteria for the framing analysis ($n = 118$) of the Daily Trust Newspaper and ($n = 76$) of The Guardian Newspaper.

4.5. Framing Measures

To eliminate unwanted influences while measuring to which extent each of the four frames comes into view in the news, we used a series of four out of twenty questions developed by (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) of which the coding system has to answer Yes (1) and No (0). Each question was aimed at measuring each of the four frames. These questions were control variables employed to ensure that the results of the research are based on independent variables not to another source. As we stated earlier, this framing analysis which comprised the coded items (a), (b) and (c) was to guide us through the selection process so as to investigate in comparative terms how the both north and south newspapers presented the activities of the Boko

Haram. While analyzing results, the study employed the SPSS Chi-square test to give a clear measurement.

4.6. Research Results

This section displays the details of the research findings. We have analyzed 194 news reports on Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers. This section answered the two research questions and tested two hypotheses accordingly. Notwithstanding, the results have been discussed below.

RQ 1: Does the use of frames differ greatly among the Nigerian print media?

The research question investigated whether there was significant variation in the use of frames among the southern and northern print media.

Frames	Daily Trust		The Guardian		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Conflict	34	28.8	29	38.2	63	32.5
Att. of Responsibility	27	22.9	20	26.3	47	24.2
Human Interest	32	27.1	21	27.6	53	27.3
Morality	25	21.2	6	7.9	31	16.0
Total	118	60.8	76	39.2	194	100

Table 1: Distribution of frames in the newspapers

Comparatively, the chi-square test suggests that there is no significant variation of the used of frames for the news coverage of Boko Haram among the Nigerian print media with ($X^2 = 6.583 P < 0.08$).

The result shows that Daily Trust used 118 frames whereas The Guardian used 76 frames; totaling 194 frames were employed by the both newspapers for the coverage of Boko Haram on the seven selected events. The most common frame in the news coverage by both Daily Trust and The Guardian was conflict frame with (28.8%) and (38.2%) respectively. Then followed by Human Interest frame with (27.1%) of Daily Trust and (27.6%) of The Guardian. It further reveals that Attribution of Responsibility frame appeared third in order of prevalence in both Daily Trust and The Guardian with (22.9%) and (26.3%) respectively. Morality frame was the least used frame by Daily Trust (21.2%) and The Guardian (7.9%).

RQ 2: What are the categories (themes) in the Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers for the coverage of Boko Haram?

Categories	Daily Trust		The Guardian		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Bomb Blast	40	33.9	21	27.6	61	31.4
Militants	17	14.4	7	9.2	24	12.4
Terrorism	20	16.9	9	11.8	29	14.9
Insurgents	10	8.5	4	5.3	14	7.2
Suicide Bomber	11	9.3	4	5.3	15	7.7
Deadlier Group	4	3.4	2	2.6	6	3.1
Barbaric	2	1.7	2	2.6	4	2.1
Senseless Attack	1	0.8	2	2.6	3	1.5
Vicious Terrorists	3	2.5	3	3.9	6	3.1
Brutal Attack	2	1.7	2	2.6	4	2.1

Criminal Attack	4	3.4	3	3.9	7	3.6
Horrible	3	2.5	2	2.6	5	2.6
Cowardly Attack	1	0.8	2	2.6	3	1.5
Murderous	0	0.0	4	5.3	4	2.1
Mindless Killing	0	0.0	4	5.3	4	2.1
Terror Gangs	0	0.0	2	2.6	2	1.0
Cruelty	0	0.0	3	3.9	3	1.5
Total	118	60.8	76	39.2	194	100

Table 2: Distribution of categories (themes) used in the newspapers

From the data above, the most frequent category was bomb blast both in the Daily Trust and The Guardian with (33.9%) and (27.7%) respectively. In the order of prevalence, ‘Terrorism’ (16.9%) in the Daily Trust and The Guardian (11.8%); ‘Militant’ represented (14.4%) – Daily Trust and (9.2%) – The Guardian; ‘Suicide bomber’ theme (9.3%) in the Daily Trust whereas ‘Suicide bomber’ ‘Insurgents’, ‘Murderous’ and ‘Mindless killing’ categories each represented (5.3%) in The Guardian. In Daily Trust, ‘Insurgents has (8.5%). ‘Deadlier group’ and ‘Criminal attack’ represented (3.4%) each in Daily Trust whereas ‘Vicious’ has (3.9%) in The Guardian. Moreover, the categories ‘Deadlier group’, ‘Terror gangs’ and ‘Barbaric’ each represented (2.6%) in The Guardian. In Daily Trust, ‘Vicious’ and ‘Horrible’ have equal frequency with (2.5%). ‘Deadlier group’, ‘Barbaric’, ‘Brutal attack’, ‘Horrible’ each of these categories represented (2.6%). ‘Barbaric’ and ‘Brutal attack’ have equal frequency with (1.7%) in Daily Trust. ‘Cruelty’ theme is the least used in the news reports by The Guardian with (1.5%). However, ‘Murderous’, ‘Mindless killing’, ‘Terror gangs’ and ‘Cruelty categories were not appeared in the Daily Trust news stories.

These coded categories influence the thinking and perception of audience about the activities perpetrated by the Boko Haram. The skillful usage language through manipulation of words, adjectives and phrases is the indispensable trait of media framing. Thus, the excessive usage of these categories (themes) became essential to predict the phenomenon under investigation.

Hypothesis 1: Both southern and northern press negatively framed Boko Haram activities on the seven selected events, but the southern press employed more damaging tone and style in which media content was written and presented to the audience.

Tone	Daily Trust		The Guardian		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Negative	88	74.6	70	92.1	158	81
Neutral	30	25.4	6	7.9	36	18.6
Total	118	60.8	76	39.2	194	100

Table 3: Distribution of tone used in the newspapers

The difference between negative and neutral positions of the news coverage of Boko Haram by Daily Trust and The Guardian is statistically significant ($X^2 = 9.398$ $P < 0.01$), thus, we cannot reject the hypothesis. (74.6%) represented negative tone in which Daily Trust framed Boko Haram activities whereas The Guardian is represented with (91.1%) negative tone. Therefore, the result reveals that the southern press negatively framed Boko Haram activities more than the northern press. However, in the coverage of Boko Haram by the both newspapers, not even single unit of analysis is recorded as positive.

Hypothesis 2: Southern press associated the activities of Boko Haram with Islamic teachings whereas northern press presented the group as cross-purposes with the spiritual teachings of the Holy Prophet.

Islam	Daily Trust		The Guardian		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Not Mention	116	98.3	59	77.6	175	90.2
Islamists	2	1.7	13	17.1	15	7.7
Extremists	0	0.0	4	5.3	4	2.1
Total	118	60.8	76	39.2	194	100

Table 4: Distribution of framing Boko Haram with Islam in the newspapers

The statistical analysis used to test this second hypothesis suggested an agreement with the hypothesis. The chi-square test shows significant difference between Daily Trust and The Guardian in the news coverage of Boko Haram as frame of reference for the Islam ($X^2 = 22.599$ $P < 0.10$). The usage of the terms ‘Islamists’ and ‘Extremists’ in the coverage of Boko Haram by The Daily Trust represented (1.7%) and (0.0%) respectively whereas for The Guardian, (17.1%) and (5.3%) respectively. These terms are mostly used in the international media content framing Al-Qaeda and other fanatic groups which Muslim Community regarded as unfair to the Islam. Therefore, based on the seven selected events for the study, the presentation of Boko Haram as Islamist group and religious fanatic by southern press framed the activities of Boko Haram with Islam which Boko Haram claimed representing.

4.7. Discussion of the Research Findings

Having completely analyzed the two selected newspapers (Daily Trust from the North and The Guardian from the South) on the coverage of seven selected events perpetrated by Boko Haram, the findings need to be discussed in detail along empirical and theoretical framework lines so as to critically answer the two research questions and two tested hypotheses as well meant for the study. The first research question on the prevalence of the frame became cardinal due to the fact that, media professionals used media frames as vehicle on which they convey a kind of message deemed appropriate for an event, issue or problem in order to influence perception of the passive recipients. This has a profound effect on the audience because they viewed media content as authentic source of information (O'keeff, 2006, p. 1). Situations determine which types of frame a journalists use to achieve underpinning objective of the message. Therefore, the study investigated the frames so as help in the assessment of biases if existed

With clarity of purpose to find whether biases existed in the reportage of Boko Haram activities among the Nigerian print media especially in the southern press who happen happened to be a Christian dominated press while covering violence in the north, we investigated 194 units of news for the research. First, the study assessed whether there is significant variation of usage of frames by Daily Trust and The Guardian, and found that there was no significant variation in the use of frames for the coverage of Boko Haram among the newspapers. Conflict frame has a highest score with (28.8%) and (38.2%) by Daily Trust and The guardian respectively, and then followed by Human Interest frame with (27.1%) in Daily Trust and (27.6%) in The Guardian. Attribution of Responsibility was used in Daily Trust (22.9%) and (22.9%) in The Guardian. It was revealed that Morality frame plays a relative insignificant role in the reportage of the Boko

Haram by The Guardian with a score of (7.9%) whereas Daily Trust used (21.2%) in its reportage.

However, both the press used the conflict frame for interpretation of the disagreement between governments particularly the Federal Government and the Boko Haram that caused excessive mayhem among the vulnerable citizens through attacks and counterattacks which seemed to be a game of winner and loser. Therefore, the Nigerian print media attached much importance to conflict frame, explaining disagreements between the two.

Notwithstanding, Human Interest frame became the second most predominant frame employed by both sections of the press. They adopted a human face to the news of Boko Haram to catch audiences' attention in a competitive market of news. The study found that portion of the front-cover lead stories were human interest, and they were skillfully and deliberately appeared so catchy. Typical examples of these overblown headlines included

- Terror in Abuja, UN Building bombed
- 200 killed in Kano
- Men in Police, Army Uniforms killed dozens'
- 5 Aircraft destroyed in Maiduguri attack
- Nigerian press comes under bombers' attacks

The usage of Human Interest frame receives wide argument among the academics about the symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism which largely viewed from the standpoint of commercial interest. Accordingly, a scholar puts it well clearly that "*a cynical aphorism in the newspaper business holds, 'if it bleeds, it leads.' This is an obvious, if it doesn't bleed, it certainly shouldn't lead, and indeed, may not be fit to print at all*" (Hetcten, 2004). This suggests that media look forward to 'bleeding' stories (Mueller, 2007). Thus, it can be concluded

by pointing out that news media are generally hybrid or blended in with character. McQuail (2005, p. 223-233), stated that “*often they operate in a dual market selling a product to consumers and a service to advertisers*”. Hence, this frame was the second most frequented in the coverage of the activities of the group.

However, Attribution of Responsibility frame which occurred first in order of predominance in the (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) became the third in this respect. The newspapers under investigation used the frame largely blaming the governments for inability to end the situation. Daily Trust Newspaper generally accused federal government for causing the social problem and poor handling of the situation bedeviling the northern part by failing to maintain stable economy and provide armed forces with sophisticated weapons. On the one hand, The Guardian rested the blamed on the federal and state governments and northern elite as well. Whatever the case may be, certainly both the press struggled for whom to hold responsible for the incessant attacks and bombings perpetrated by the Boko Haram group in the north that eventually may result in the state of anarchy.

Notwithstanding, Morality frame scored very least in reporting Boko Haram in the Guardian but relatively high in the Daily Trust. This frame supposed to be used much by the both press to help in containing the situation instead of exaggeration.

The second research question about the categories (themes) used in the Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers, analysis revealed the most common categories in the reportage for the negative framing of the Boko Haram were ‘Bomb Blast’ and ‘Terrorism’ respectively. Other categories were also varied in the order of prevalence. The other categories with high prevalence in the both newspapers range from (14.4% - 5.3%) included ‘Militants’, ‘Suicide bombers’,

‘insurgents’, ‘Murderous, and ‘Mindless killing’. The less frequented categories between (3.9% - 1.5%) were ‘Vicious’, ‘Deadlier group’, ‘Terror gangs’, ‘Barbaric’, ‘Brutal attack’, ‘Horrible’ and ‘Cruelty’. On the on hand, the categories included ‘Murderous, ‘Mindless killing’, ‘Terror gangs’ and ‘Cruelty’ were not used by the Daily Trust in the said coverage.

Comparatively, the choice of keywords by newspaper is inspired by the intention of framing and both the press condemned the activities of the Boko Haram through manipulation of language. Empirical conclusion revealed that the choice of words in the Nigerian print media is characterized with intentional manipulations of linguistics choices by the journalists in the attainment of ideological motives (Olowe, 1993).

However, in order to carefully examine our predicted outcome that southern press used more damaging tone and style in the coverage of Boko Haram than northern press, the hypothesis was statistically tested positive with (74.6%) and (92.1%) attributed to negative tone by Daily Trust and The Guardian respectively. Moreover, Daily Trust represented (24.4%) of the neutral tone whereas (7.9%) of The Guardian, totaling (81.4%) represented the negative and (18.6%) neutral. It is worthy to that both newspapers have no positive position on the Boko Haram, of all the units of analysis, not even single unit scored positive tone. Therefore, the chi-square test suggested the significant difference between Daily Trust and The Guardian position in negative framing of Boko Haram activities where the southern press employed more negative tone than its northern counterpart. The result corroborated previous findings that state, geographical location, ethnic and religious affiliations affect the patterns of news coverage in Nigeria.

Accordingly, Euwema and Verbeke (1993), argues that dysfunction becomes obvious when journalists report events from each other's region because they could not free themselves from their ethnic biases (Suraj, 2012, p. 8). Lawal (2008) content analyzed three Nigerian newspapers in comparative terms (Daily Times, New Nigeria and Daily Sketchy), he reveals that ethnic loyalty plays pivotal role rather than national interest and ethnicity determines the position taken by any section of the Nigerian print media in times of crises. Notwithstanding, biases in media reportage with the respect of the Nigerian heterogeneity becomes inevitable to be blurred. Suberu (2001), stresses that Nigerians are more likely to see themselves in terms of ethnic and religious affiliations than any other identity. Thus, this identity manifests in the news media content conscious or subconscious, intended or unintended. Evidence on the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis in the Nigerian newspapers shows that "*several news items were deliberately omitted, under-reported, or over-reported by media organizations*" (Ayoola, 2008).

Meanwhile, the last hypothesis for the study was also tested positive. This hypothesis predicted that 'southern press associated the activities of Boko Haram with Islam whereas northern press presented the group run at cross-purposes with Islamic teachings'. The statistical analysis proves significant difference between Daily Trust and The Guardian in the news coverage of Boko Haram as frame of reference for the Islam ($X^2 = 22.599$ $P < 0.10$). There were two independent variables we used for this hypothesis, 'Islamists' and 'Extremists' that are mostly used in the international media content framing Al-Qaeda and other fanatic groups which Muslim Community regarded as manifestly injustice to Islam. The Guardian presented the Boko Haram as 'Islamists' and 'Extremists' (17.1%) and (5.3%) respectively. On the one hand, Daily Trust presented the group as 'Islamists' and 'Extremists' (1.7%) and (0.0%). It was clearly showed that southern press used far more 'Islamists' than Daily Trust in the coverage of Boko

Haram activities on the seven selected event meant for the study whereas ‘Extremists’ was not used by the Daily Trust.

In support of the finding above, a study conducted on three southern Nigerian newspapers (The Guardian, The Nation and The Punch) for the coverage of Boko Haram reveals obvious bias on the basis of ownership and political affiliation that southern press framed Boko Haram crisis as being political and religious (Suraj, 2012, p. 21). Furthermore, Alao (2012), notes an apparent difference in the analysis of media reports on Boko Haram in the Nigerian media milieu. He reveals that southern based newspapers over publicize Boko Haram terror attacks, using overblown headlines and pictures on the front page and erroneously link Boko Haram activities with Islam whereas the northern press give adequate coverage to the insurgent group but uses few pictures and barely bold headlines.

Therefore, the research findings corroborated the previous empirical studies, asserted that biases manifested in the content of the Nigerian print media milieu with regard to conflict coverage along ethnicity, religion and political ideology lines. It came to light that southern press exaggerates on the happening in the north while northern press tries to report events as the way they happen. These differences will not auger well to the professionalism of journalism since the public largely depended on the news media as credible source of information based on which they form opinions and make choices. It is unfortunate that Nigerian print media became a “*vehicle for spreading half-truth and even propaganda*” (Chiluwa, 2011), at the expense of professional conduct.

4.8. Conclusion

The relationship between news media and society is extensively explained by the theories of mass media. Media sets agenda that paves way for public to have topics of discussions through prioritization of few events among the millions occurring by the minute. Journalists make some elements in the news appear more salient than others by highlighting and framing them to suit a particular purpose. Nigerian print media is no exception of the manipulation of media messages presented to the audience. In essence, this research observed the intentional or unintentional biases in the coverage of Boko Haram by the southern and northern press who are polarized by ethnicity, religion and political ideology as well. As stated earlier, the study applied content analysis on Daily Trust from north and The Guardian from the south because of its systematic procedure on the recorded information. The total of 194 units of analysis were analyzed and provided answers to the research questions and hypotheses on the seven selected events perpetrated by the Boko Haram. We employed two relevant theories of this kind of research as used in large number of similar researches, agenda setting and framing theories that guided the study.

In summary, our general findings revealed that obvious biases manifested in the Nigerian print media content while covering crisis in other region because of ethno-political and religious differences. The southern press appeared more biased in their content through linguistic manipulation capable of adulteration of information for the service of underpinning aims and objectives. Our results showed that (74.6%) represented negative tone in Daily Trust whereas (91.1%) in The Guardian. It was also found that print media in the south associated the violence perpetrated by the Boko Haram with Islam. The terms 'Islamists' and 'Extremists' represented

(1.7%) and (0.0%) in the Daily Trust whereas (17.1%) and (5.3%) in The Guardian respectively. The findings of this research were corroborated by preceded empirical studies.

On the other hand, northern press gave a negative reportage on the activities of Boko Haram, using adjectives such as ‘militants’, ‘insurgents’, ‘deadlier group’, ‘senseless attacks’ among others, although, it raised questions of alleged conspiracy for tarnishing the Islamic image and northern reputation. Moreover, the northern press in its coverage of Boko Haram disassociated Islam with the terrorism. It is of utmost importance to note that, similar studies reveal that northern press equally reported crisis in the southern part with relative bias whereas southern press reports vivid account of the events (Eti, 2012).

Moreover, the press in Nigeria used selective frames for the coverage of insurgency in the country on which they framed events, issues or problems the way they want them to be perceived by the audience. This happened due to the fact that both the press rejected the usage of economic consequences for the coverage of Boko Haram. Reporting news particularly on violence, economic consequences frame could have been useful so as to quickly fashion out modalities of ending the situation due to heavy economic effect it has on the citizens. Instead, the Nigerian press used frames that either framed winner or loser, or report insurgency as human interest frame with perhaps, commercial motives, or who is supposed to hold responsible for the cause or solution notably of Boko Haram activities. The Morality frame was also not patronized much by the Guardian newspaper as in the case of Daily Trust which might play pivotal role in bringing the violence to peace talking since it emphasizes on the religious tenants and moral prescriptions that the Nigerian society respected. The frames that found to be prevalent in the reportage of Boko Haram were Conflict frame, then Human Interest frame, Attribution of Responsibility frame and lastly, Morality frame.

Therefore, framing terrorism in the Nigerian print media is associated with relative biases as it is all over the world. Islam receives unfair framing and labeling which caused Islamophobia especially in the western societies. The terms ‘insurgent, terrorist, fundamentalist, extremist, religious bigot’ among others are stereotypes of the Islam, despite the fact that every religion or ideology could be labeled with such descriptive terms. The terms were coined by the western media which were transported to other continents for further label them upon whom mass media wishes.

4.9. Recommendation

Ideally, news media is expected to operate within a circle of objectivity and accuracy. Thus, the expectation cannot be completely attained as the media professionals are humans, shaped with different presuppositions, but at least, greater level of objectivity is expected since mass public generally depend on the information emanated from media to define their realities and form opinions.

Consequence of the research findings, it is recommended that the Nigerian print media should be firm discipline and hold to the social responsibility for carrying out its professional mandate despite ethno-political or religious differences. Professional interest should not be mortgage for whatever interest at any time particularly at critical times when the country’s unity and social fabric are endangered. Ethnic, religious and political ties must not be given a chance to supersede competence and expertise.

Moreover, the bomb attacks perpetrated by the Boko Haram group in north might spill over into the south as it now extended to neighboring countries like Cameroun and Niger Republics. Therefore, the issue of Boko Haram is beyond regional issue but rather an

international challenge that needs consensus response to contain the menace. It is further recommended that the southern press should be alive to its basic responsibility and try not erroneously or intently at all framed its content on Boko Haram in the light of religion especially in a secular and hegemonic nation-state like Nigeria.

On the one hand, instead of giving adequate account of the group's activities and accusation of conspiracy, the northern press should be more concerned about economic consequences of the situation. The Nigerian print media should endeavor to become more ideally national in terms of objective reporting and coverage of any issue, event or problem. By so doing, the unity in diversity could be achieved since mass public largely depend on mass media to form their opinions and interpretations of the world around them. We further recommended that Nigerian press should employ the use of more media frames to address problems facing the country in particular and the continent in general especially on the issues of politics and economy since the root of uprising insurgencies is largely economic depression.

Last, we further recommended that subsequent research should investigate the effect of the extensive media coverage of Boko Haram on the Nigerian Government for the counter-attacks of Boko Haram operations. This study is important because of the conflicting empirical conclusions that massive media coverage of terrorism increases terror attacks and becomes challenging and demotivating government's hyperactive response.

References

Books

Agbaje, A. (1992). *The Nigerian Press, Hegemony and the Social Construction of Legitimacy: 1660-1983*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Ahmed, A. S. (1993). *Living Islam, From Samarkand to Stornoway*. London: BBC Books Limited.

Alali, A. O., & Eke, K. K. (1991). *Media Coverage of Terrorism: Methods and Diffusion*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Alexander, Y., Carton, D., & Wilkinson, P. (1972). *Introduction to Terrorism*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Banlaoi, R. C. (2009). *Counter Terrorism Measures in the Southeast Asia: How Effective Are They?* Philippines: Yuncengco Center.

Bennett, W. L. (1995). *News: The Politics of Illusion*. New York: Longman.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1991). *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguins.

Capella, J., & Jamieson, K. (1997). *Spiral of Cynicism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chiluwa, I. (2011). *Lebelling and Ideology in the Press: A Corpus-based Critical Discourse of the Niger Delta Crisis*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Chomsky, N. (1991). *International Terrorism: Image and Reality*. London: Routledge.

- Chomsky, N. (2003). *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: Internal Terrorism in the Real World*. Boston: South End Press.
- Christopher, P. K. (2007). *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Journalism*. England: Pengium.
- Cohen, C. B. (1993). *The Press and Foriegn Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dare, O., & Uyo, A. (1991). *Journalism in Nigeria: Issues and Perspectives* . Lagos: Nigerian Union of Journalist.
- Diaz-Barrado, C. M. (2009). The Definition of Terrorism and International Law. In P. A. Fernandez-Sanches, *International Legal Dimension of Terrorism* (pp. 27-42). Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Duffy, H. (2005). *The 'War on Terror' and the Framework of International Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Durmaz, H., Sevinc, B., Yayla, A. S., & Ekici, S. (2006). *Understanding and Responding to Terrorism*. Washington: IOS Press.
- Falola, T. (1098). *Violence in Nigeria: The Crises of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies*. New York: New York University of Rochester.
- Fty, s. (2010). *we re gud*. Kano: heas.
- Fukuda, T. (2004). *Regional Cooperation Against Terrorism in the East Asia*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left* . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Golding, P., & Elliot, P. (1979). *Making the News*. London: Longman.
- Gus, M. (2003). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenge, Perspectives and Issues*. London and California: Sage.
- Hemelink, C. (1994). *The Politics of Global Communication*. London: Sage.
- Henderson, H. (2004). *Global Terrorism*. New York: Facts On File, Inc.
- Hetcten, W. (2004). *The Trouble of Journalism: A Critical Look at What is Right and Wrong with the Press*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.
- Hock, K. (1996). *Der Islam Komplex*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Horgan, J., & Braaddock, K. (2012). *Terrorism Studies*. Canada: Routledge.
- House of Lords; House of Common Joint Commitee on Human Rights. (2007). *The Council Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism*. London: House of Commons.
- Isaak, A. (1981). *Scope and Methods of Political Science: An Introduction to the Methodology to the Political Inquiry*. Illinios: The Dorsey Press.
- Iyanger, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jackson, R., LeeJarvis, Gunning, J., & Symth, M. B. (2011). *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction*.
England: Palgrave Macmillian.

James, A. A. (1987). *Communication Research: Issues and Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Jamieson, K. H., & Waldman, P. (2003). *The Press Effect: Politicians, journalists and the stories that shape the political world*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, B. (1975). *International Terrorism*. Los Angeles: Crescent Publication.

Kabir, N. A. (2010). *Young British Muslim: Identity, Culture, Politics and the Media*. Edinburgh:
Edinburgh University Press.

Kerlinger, F. N. (2000). *Foundation of Behavioral Research* (4th ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart
& Winston.

Lalede, O. (1994). *Television Broacasting: The Nigerian Experience* . Ibadan : Caltop
Publications.

Laqueur, W. (2002). *A History of Terrorism*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Latheef, F. (2006). *War on Terror: The Untold Truth*. Pealing Jaya: SIRD.

Livingstone, N. (1982). *The War Against Terrorism*. Lexington MA: Lexington Books.

Mackay, I. a. (1964). *Broadcasting in Nigeria*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press.

McCombs, M. (2002). *News Influence on our picture of the World, in Media Effects*. (J. Bryant,
& D. Zillman, Eds.) UK: Lawerence Erlbaum Publishers.

- McCombs, M., & Ghanem, S. (2001). *The Convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing*, In S. Reese, O. Grant (Ed) *Framing Public Life* (pp. 67-81). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and public Opinion*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London : SAGE.
- McQuail, D. (1995). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2000). *The Mass Communication Theory* (Fourth ed.). London: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *Mass Communication Theory* (Fifth Edition ed.). London: Sage.
- Merkin, R. (2007). *Insurance Law: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Miller, A. H. (1982). *Terrorism, the Media and the Law*. New York: Transitional Publication.
- Morey, P., & Yaqin, A. (2011). *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping the Representation After 9/11*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Moylan, K. (2013). *Broadcasting Diversity: Migrant Representation in Irish Radio*. UK: Bristol Press.
- Murry. (1967). *The Sokoto Caliphate*. London: Longman.
- Nacos, B. L. (2000). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (2nd Edition ed.). Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- NBC. (2006). *Nigerian Broadcasting Code*. Abuja: The Regeant.

- Neuman, W. R., Juss, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Norris, P., Kern, M., & Just, M. (2003). *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the government and the public*. London: Routledge.
- O'keeff, A. (2006). *Investigating Media Discourse*. New York: Routledge.
- Omu, F. (1978). *Press and Politics*. London : Longman.
- Oso, L., Odunlami, D., & Adaja, t. (2007). Socio-Historical Context of the Development of Nigerian Media. In L. Oso, & U. Pate (Eds.), *Mass Media and Society in Nigeria* (pp. 1-24). Lagos, Nigeria: Malthouse Press.
- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). *The Elaboration likelihood model of persuasion*. In Berkowitz, L (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (vol. 19, PP. 123-205). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Price, V., & Tewksbury, D. (1997). *News Values and Public Opinion: A Theoretical Account of Media Priming and Framing*. In B. G. A. & F. J. Boster (ed.), *Progress in Communication Sciences: Advances in Pursuations*. Greenwich: Ablex.
- Rane, H., Ewart, J., & Martinkus, J. (2014). *Media Framing of the Muslim World: Conflict, Crises and Context*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rogers, E., & Dearing, J. (1988). *Agenda Setting Resaerch: Where it Has Been, Where it is Going?* In Anderson (Eds.), *Communication Year Book*. Newburry Park, CA: Sage.

- Ryan, C. (1991). *Prime time activism: Media strategies for grassroots organizing*. Boston, MA: South End.
- Sabowale, I. (1985). *The Historical Development of Nigerian Press "in F.O. Ugboajah (ed.) Mass Communication, Culture and Society in West Africa*. London: Hans Zell Publishers.
- Said, E. W. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Expert Determine How to See the Rest of the World*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sandman, P. M., Rubin, D. M., & Sachsman, D. B. (1976). *Media: An Introductory Analysis of Media of Mass Communications* (2nd ed. ed.). Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Schimid, A. P., & Jogman, A. J. (1988). *Political Terrorism: a new guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data bases, Theories, and Literature*. Amsterdam: Transactions Book.
- Schlesinger, P. (1983). *Televising Terrorism: Political Violence in Popular Culture*. London: Comedia Publishing Company.
- Schmid, A. P., & Crelinsten, R. D. (1998). *Western Responses to Terrorism*. New York: FRANK CLASS PUBLISHERS.
- Schmid, A. P., & Graaf, J. (1982). *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western Media*. London: Sage.
- Schmid, A. P., & Jongman, A. J. (2005). *Political Terrorism: A new Guide To Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data bases, Theories & Literature*. New Brunswinck, N. J.: Transaction Publishers.

- Selden, M. (2003). *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia in the Long Twentieth Century (War and Peace Library)*. (A. Y. So, & U. Aiko, Eds.) New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Shimko, K. L. (1995). *Foreign Policy Metaphors: Falling Dominoes and Drug Wars*. In Hey, L. J. & Haney, P. (Eds.) *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in its Second Generation (pp. 71-84)*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Skaine, R. (2013). *Suicide Warfare: Culture, the Military and the Individual as a Weapon*. California: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Soola, E. O. (2011). *Coverage of Crime and Violence in Nigerian Media: Matters Arising*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan.
- Steven, G. C., & Gunaratna, R. (2004). *Counterterrorism: A Reference Hand Book*. California: ABC-CLIO, Inc.
- Stevenson, N. (2004). *Understanding Media Culture: Social Theory and Mass Communication (Second ed.)*. London: Sage.
- Stocchetti, M. (2007). *The Politics of fear: A critical inquiry into the role of violence in 21st century politics*. In Hodges, A. and Nipel, C. (Eds.), *Discourse, war and Terrorism (pp. 223-241)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stovall, J. G. (2000). *JOURNALISM: Who, What, When, Where, Why and How*. Canada: Pearson.
- Suberu, R. T. (2001). *Federalism and Ethnicity Conflict in Nigeria*. Washington: United States Institute for Peace.

- Takeshinta, T. (1997). *Media's Role in Defining Reality: From Issue-agenda Setting to Attribute-agenda Setting*, In M. McCombs, D. L. Shaw & D. Weaver (Ed), *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda Seeting Theory* . Mahawah, NJ, London: Erlbaum.
- Thomas, D. (2012). *Sentencing Referencer*. London: Sweet & Maxwell.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Contruction of Reality*. New York: Free.
- Tucker, D. (1997). *Skirmishes at the Edge Empire: The United States and International Terrorism*. USA: Praeger Publishers.
- Tuman, J. S. (2010). *Communicating terror: The rhetoric dimensions of terrorism*. New York: Sage.
- Tunstall, J. (1997). *The Media Are American*. London: Constable.
- Uche, L. U. (1989). *Mass Media People and Politics in Nigeria*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- United Nations. (2012). *United Nations Juridical Yearbook*. USA: United Nations .
- United States Department of State. (2004). *Patterns of Global Terrorism*. Washington DC: Office of the Secreatry of the State & Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism.
- Wahl-Jorgan, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (2009). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Williamson, M. (2009). *Terrorism, War and International Law*. England: Asgate Publishing Company.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (9th ed.). Canada: Wadsworth.

Wright, R., & Beliaev, I. (1991). *Religious extremism, links to terrorism. In Beliaev, I. & Marks, J. (1991) (Eds.) Common Ground on Terrorism; Soviet-American Cooperation Against the Politics of Terror.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Research Articles and Thesis

Adebayo, A. A. (2014). Implications of 'Boko Hara' Terrorism on National Development in Nigeria: A critical Review. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(1), 480-489.

Ademola, D. H., & Okeke, F. J. (2011). Media Coverage of Crisis in Nigeria: An empirical analysis . *Journal of Scientific Research*, 5-16.

Adesoji, A. (2010). The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Rievivslism in Nigeria. *Afraca Spectrum*, 45(2), 95-108.

Alao, D. O. (2012). Boko-Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: The Challenges and Lessons. *Singaporean Journal of Bussiness Economics, and Management Studies*, 6(2).

Amara, R. B. (2011, July). The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis and Perception of Sharia Re-Implementation. *Phd. Dessertation.* Germany: Universitat Bayrevth.

Ayoola, K. A. (2008). A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Reporting of Niger Delta Issues in Selected Nigerian Newspapers, 1999 - 2007. (*Unpublished Dectoral Dissertation*) *Departmnet of English, Obafemi Awolowo University.* Ile-Ife, Nigeria: Unpublished.

- Azeez, A. L. (2009). The Role of Media in Reporting Terrorism: A Personal Viewpoint. *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, 231-245.
- Berrebi, C., & Klor, E. (2008). Are voters sensitive to terrorism? Direct evidence from the Israeli electorate. *American Political Science Review*, 102, 279-301.
- Bhatia, A. (2008). Discursive illusions in the American national strategy for combating terrorism. *Journal of Language & Politics*, 7(2), 201-227.
- Biernatzki, W. E. (2002). Terrorism and Mass Media. *Communication Research Journal*, 21, 21-38.
- Bola, C. K. (2010). Broadcast Media Coverage of Crisis in Nigeria. *Journal of Media and Conflict Research*, 71-85.
- Cooper, H. h. (1976). Terrorism and the Media. *Chitty's Law Journal*, 24, 226.
- Crelinsten, R. D. (1998). The discourse and practice of counterterrorism in liberal democracies. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 44, 389-413.
- Dajinbo, N. D., & Abubakar, O. (2007). Vote Buying in Nigeria: Assessment of the 2007 General Elections. *Journal of African Elections*.
- Davie, W., & Maher, T. (2006). Maxwell McCombs: Agenda-Setting Explorer. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 50(2), 358-364.
- Domke, D., Watts, M. D., Shah, D. V., & Fan, D. P. (1999). The politics of conservative elites and the "liberal media" argument. *Journal of Communication*, 49, 35-38.

- Dumitriu, E. (2004). The E. U.'s Definitions of Terrorism: The Council Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism. *GermanLaw Journal*, 5(5), 585-620.
- Dunn, K. (2001). Representation of Islam in the Politics of Mosque Development in Sydney. *TijdschriftvoorEconomische en SocialeGeografie*, 291-308.
- Eghosa, E., & Seberu, R. T. (2005). A History of Identites, Violence and Stability. *Nigeria Center for Resaerch on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity*.
- Ekwuema, A. C., & Obayi, P. M. (2012). Boko Haram Assult on Nigeria:Towards Effective Mass Media Response. *New Media nad Mass Communication*, 5, 1-7.
- Entman, R. (1993). Faming: Towards clarification of a Fractured paradigm . *Journal of Communication*, 51-58.
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing US Coverage of the International News: Contrast in narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication*, 41, 6-27.
- Eti, I. (2012). Deconstructing the Reportingof Hostage Taking in the NigerDelta. *Global Media Journal*, 6 (1).
- Gadarian, S. K. (2010). The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foriegn Policy Attitude. *Journal of Politics*, 72, 469-483.
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The Stucture of Foriegn New: The Representation of Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian Newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, 64-90.
- Geest, W. V. (2002). *Mapping Muslim Politics in the Southeast Asia After September 11* (Vol. 2). The European Institute for Asian Studies.

- Ikenna, O. K. (2008). Print Media Coverage of Crisis in Nigeria. *Journal of Conflict Management, 70-78.*
- Lawrence, O. D. (2011). Nigerian Media Coverage of the Boko Haram Crisis . *Journal of Journalism and Crisis Studies, 90-100.*
- McCombs, M. (2005). A Look at Agenda-Setting: Past, Present and Future. *Journal of Journalism Studies, 6, 543-554.*
- McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1972). Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 176-187.*
- Moore, K. M. (2002). 'United We Stand': American attitudes towards (Muslim) immigration post-September 11. *The Muslim World, 92, 39-57.*
- Mueller, J. (2007). Fear Not: Notes From a Naysayer. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, 30-37.*
- Nacos, B. L., Bloch-Elicon, Y., & Shapiro, R. y. (2007). Terrorism Threat: News Coverage and Public Perceptions in the United States. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence, 1, 106-126.*
- Nelson, P. S., & Scott, J. L. (1992). Terrorism and the Media: An empirical analysis. *Defense Economics, 329.*
- Ojibo, D. (2013). Maitatsine, Boko Haram, and CAN: The Bitter Truth. Benue, Nigeria: Author.
- Ojo, M. A. (1985). The Maitatsine Revolution in Nigeria. *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, 2(2), 297-306.*

- Okoro, N., & Odoemelam, C. C. (2013). Print Media Framing of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Content Analytical Study of the Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard and Thisday Newspapers. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(11), 86-97.
- Okoro, N., & Okechukwu, C. (2012). Reporting Violent Insurgencies in the Postcolonial Nigeria: An Analysis of the Audience Assessment of Nigerian Broadcast Media Reportage of the Boko Haram Insurgency. *Global Media Journal*, 6(1).
- Olowe, J. H. (1993). Language and Ideology in Nigerian Newspapers in the English Medium. *Doctoral Dissertation. Olufemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife . Nigeria: Unpublished.*
- Onuoha, F. C. (2010). Islamist Challenge: Nigeria Boko Haram Crisis Explain. *African Security Review*, 19(2), 56-57.
- Oputa, I. L. (2011). The factor of objectivity in media coverage of the Niger-Delta crisis. *Journal of Media and Conflict Research*, 58-69.
- Oso, L. (1991). The Commercialization of the Nigerian Press: Development and Implication. *Africa Media Review*, 41-51.
- Pande, K. (2010). Domestic Conflict or Global Terror? Framing Mumbai Terror Attacks in the U. S. Print Press. MSc. Dissertation. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. F. (2008). News Frames Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in U.S. and U.K. Newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13.

- Powell, K. A. (2011). Framing Islam: An Analysis of U.S. Media Coverage of Terrorism Since 9/11. *Journal of Communication Studies*, 62, 90-112.
- Rasaq, A. M., & Mahmud, A. (2012). Mass Media and Conflict in Nigeria: A Call for Peace Oriented Journalism. *General Studies in the Social Science*, 14-36.
- Reese, S. D. (2007). The Framing Project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 148-154.
- Reese, S. D., & Lewis, S. C. (2009). Framing the War on Terror: The Internalization of Policy in the US Press. *Journal Article*, 777-797.
- Remi, O. S. (2010). Media Coverage of Jos Crisis. *Journal of Media and Conflict Research*, 23-33.
- Ross, J. (2007). Deconstructing the Terrorism: News Media Relationship. *Journal of Crime*, 221.
- Sarbin, T. R. (2003). The Metaphor-to Myth Transformation With Special Reference to the War on Terrorism. *Journal of Peace Psychology*, 149-157.
- Scheufele, B. (2005). Framing-Effect Approach: A Theoretical and Methodological Critique. *The European Journal of Communication Research*, 29(4), 401-428.
- Scheufele, B. (2006). Frames, Schemata and News Reporting. *The European Journal of Communication Research*, 31(1), 65-83.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.

- Schwelbe. (2008). Visual Framing in the Early Weeks of the U.S.- Led Invasion of Iraq: Applying the Master War Narrative to Electronic and Print Images. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*.
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 52(2), 93-109.
- Shehu, A. (2014). The Menace of Boko Haram and Newspaper Perspective. Saminaka, Nigeria: Author.
- Spencer, A. (2012). Terrorism and the Media. *Art and Humanities Research Council*, 231-254.
- Tilly, C. (2004). Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. *Journal of Sociological Theory*, 22, 7-10.
- Timiebi, M. N. (2010). Mass Media Coverage Of Niger-Delta Militancy Crisis. *Journal of Crisis Studies*, 35-49.
- Toker, H. (2004). Two Countries: One Pattern: A Comparative Study of Gender Representation in the News of Norwegian and Turkish Newspapers. A Dissertation Submitted to the Degree of Cand. Philol. Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo.
- Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1986). Rational Choice and the Framing of Decision. *The Journal of Bussiness*, 59(4), 251-278.
- Van-Gorp, B. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back. *Journal of Communication*, 60-78.
- Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thought on Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming. *Journal of Communication*, 142-147.

Weber, D., McCombs, M., & Spellman, C. (1975). Watergate and the Media: A Case Study of Agenda-Setting . *American Politics Quarterly*, pp. 458-472.

Weimann, G., & Brosius, H. B. (1991). The News Worthiness of International Terrorism. *Journal of Communication Research*, 18, 333-354.

Yusuf, S. H., Hassan, F., Hassan, M. S., & Osman, M. N. (2013). The Framing of International Media on Islam and Terrorism. *European Scientific Journal*, 9, 104-121.

Yusuf, U. M. (2010). Media Coverage of Jos Pleatue Crisis. *Journal of Media, Crisis and Research*, 82-94.

Conference papers

Brantner, C., Geise, S., & Lobinger, K. (2012). Fractured Paradigm: Theories, Concepts, Methodology of Visual Research: A Systematic Review. *Annual Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA) - Visual Communication Division*. London, UK.

Ekwueme, C., & Akpan, C. (2011). Mass Media and Boko Haram Insurgency: A Call for Reportorial Paradigm Shifts, In Oladokun Omojola et al (ed), *Media Terrorism and Political Communication in a Multi-Cultural Environment. ACCE Conference Proceedings*, (pp. 40-49). Ota.

Sunusi, S. L. (2012). Sufficiently Uncontroversial is Beyond Political Rhetoric: Investing in Youth as Economic Strategy. *Pan Africa Conference*. Oxford: Oxford University Africa Society.

Newspapers Articles

- Adebayo, A. (2006, March 15). *Robbers Shot One Another While Sharing Loot*. Retrieved April 22, 2014), from The Punch Newspapers, <http://www.punchontheweb.com>
- Akbarzadeh, S., & Smith, B. (2005). *The Representation of Islam and the Muslim in the Media. Reperesentation*. Lagos, Nigeria: The Age & Herald Sun Newspapers.
- Azuatulam, C. (2007, September 28). *Gunmen Kill Seven-Month Old Baby in Rivers*. Retrieved from The Nation Newspapers: <http://www.thenationonlineeng.com>
- Daily Trust Newspapers . (2011, December 27). *Islamic Scholars Condemn Xmas Bombings*. Abuja , Nigeria: Media Trust Newspapers.
- Daily Trust Newspapers. (2011, December 27). *Muslim Leaders Disown Boko Haram. Chrismax Day Bombings*. Abuja, Nigeria: Media Trust Limited.
- Olaniyi, J. (2006, December 8). *Militants Kidnapped Four Expatriates in Bayelsa*. Retrieved April 22, 2014, from The Punch Newspapers: <http://www.punchontheweb.com>
- Rasaq, T. (2006, July 28). *How Funso Williams Was Murdered. Riot in Lagos, 1-2*. Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria: The Punch.
- Sunday Trust. (2012, September). *Sunday Trust Newspapers*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/sunday/>
- The News. (2014, May 19). *Shekau: World Most Wanted Man*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from <http://thenewsnigeria.com.ng/2014/05/19/shekau-worlds-most-wanted-man/>

The News Magazine. (2014, May 19). *Shekau: World Most Wanted Man*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from <http://thenewsnigeria.com.ng/2014/05/19/shekau-worlds-most-wanted-man/>

Online Sources

African Union. (1994). *Convention and Converting Terrorism*. Retrieved February 19, 2014, from African Union: <http://www.humanrights.is/the-human-rights-project/humanrightsinstruments/africanunion/nr/1740>

BBC Africa. (2014, May 9). *Nigerian Boko Haram Abubakar Shekau in Profile*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from BBC News Africa: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-18020349>

Bilgen, A. (2012, July 22). *Terrorism and Media: A Dangerous Symbiosis* . Retrieved February 24, 2014, from Terrorism: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/22terrorism-and-the-media-a-dangerous-symbiosis/>

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2014, July). *World FactBook*. Retrieved October 6, 2014, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>

Crises Group Africa. (2014, April 3). *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from Report No. 261: [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf)

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2006). *Terrorism 2002-2005*, pdf. Retrieved September 26, 2014, from The FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation: http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02_05.pdf

- Ibrahim, J. (2009). *Etrajudicial Execution of Muhammad Yusuf and Legality of Boko Haram*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from <http://www.gamji.com/article8000/NEWS8754.htm>
- Mailafiya, O. (2012, September 26). *Conflict and Insurgency in Nigeria*. Retrieved February 18, 2014, from 247 Reports: <http://www.247ureports.com/2012/09/26/conflict-and-insurgency-in-nigeria-by-obadiya-mailafiya-d-phil/>
- National Broadcasting Commission. (2011). *NBC*. Retrieved October 2, 2014, from <http://www.nbc.gov.ng/ourmandate.php>
- Nigeria Galleria. (2014). *List of Television Stations in Nigeria*. Retrieved October 2, 2010, from <http://www.nigeriagalleria.com/list-of-television-stations-in-nigeria>
- Reward for Justice. (2013). *Stop a Terrorist, Save Lives*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from http://www.rewardsforjustice.net/english/abubakar_shekau.html
- Sahara Reporters. (2014). *Profiles of Nigeria's Boko Haram Leader Abubakar Shekau*. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from <http://saharareporters.tumblr.com/post/23669727971/profile-of-nigerias-boko-haram-leader-abubakar>
- Sani, A. A. (2014). *BBC Hausa: A Selective Representation of Nigeria*. Retrieved September 30, 2014, from https://www.academia.edu/8508413/BBC_Hausa_A_Selective_Representation_of_Nigeria
- Simon, J. (1987, June). *Misperceiving the Terrorist Threat*. Retrieved April 8, 2014, from Rand Publication Series: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reoprts/2008/R3423.pdf>

Sinai, J. (2008). *How to Define Terrorism*. Retrieved September 26, 2014, from Perspectives on Terrorism: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/33/html>

State Department. (2001). *Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "Patterns of Global Terrorism*. Retrieved March 9, 2014, from State Department: <http://www.usis.usemb.se~terror;rpt2001/index.html>

Suraj, O. A. (2012). Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria: April To June, 2012. Retrieved October 8, 2014, from [http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:q7_8AAVzG6oJ:scholar.google.com/+Boko+hARAM+\(Euwema,+1993\)&hl=tr&as_sdt=0,5](http://scholar.googleusercontent.com/scholar?q=cache:q7_8AAVzG6oJ:scholar.google.com/+Boko+hARAM+(Euwema,+1993)&hl=tr&as_sdt=0,5)

Others Sources

Ikimi, O. (1979). *Through Changing Scenes: Nigerian History, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. *University of Ibadan Inaugural Lecture*. Ibadan, Oyo, Nigeria.

United States Code Congressional and Administrative News, 19th Congress, Second Session. (1984). *Official United States Government Definition of Terrorism*.

White House. (2003). *Nati*

Appendices

Appendix 1

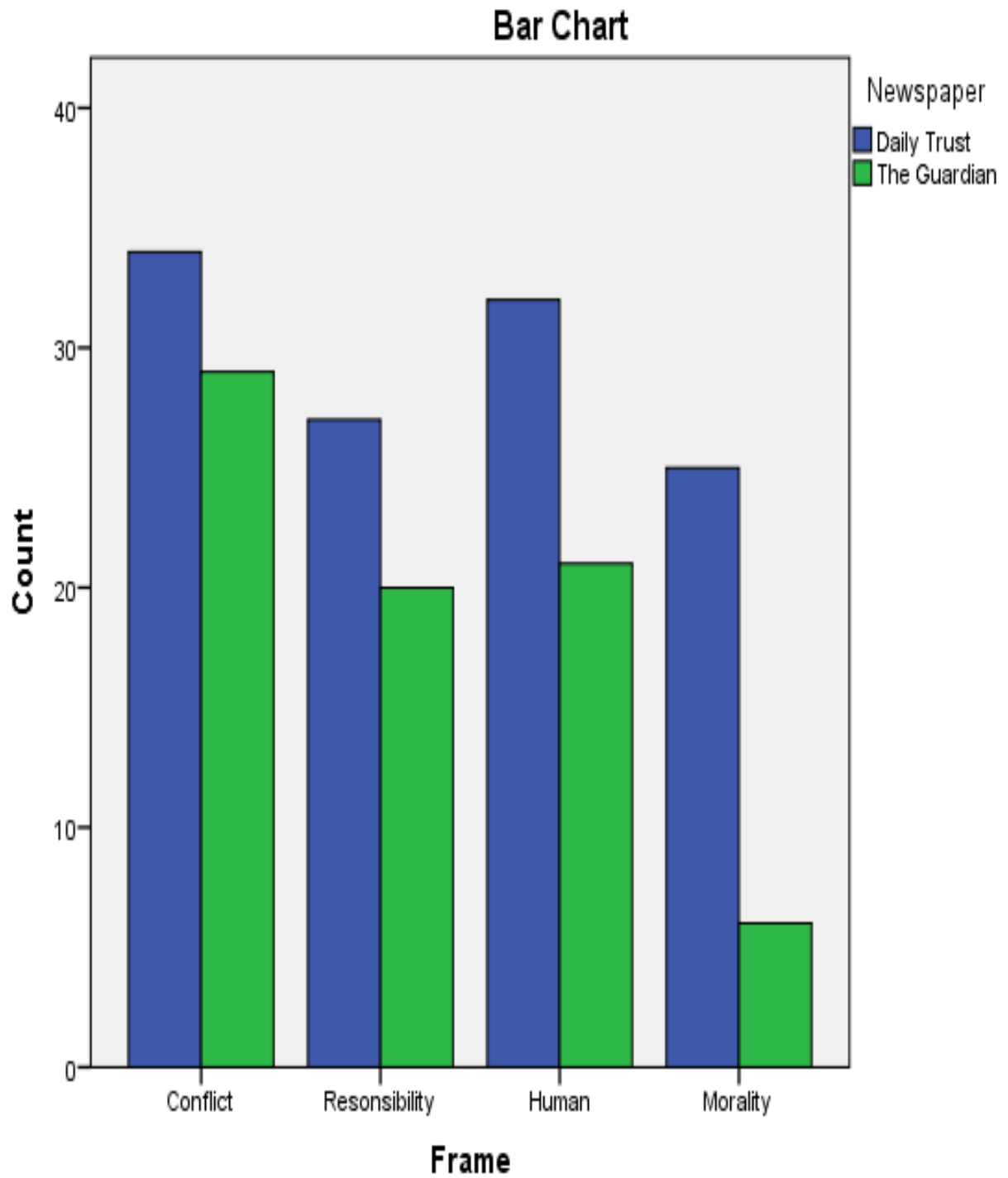


Figure 1: Variation of the frames used

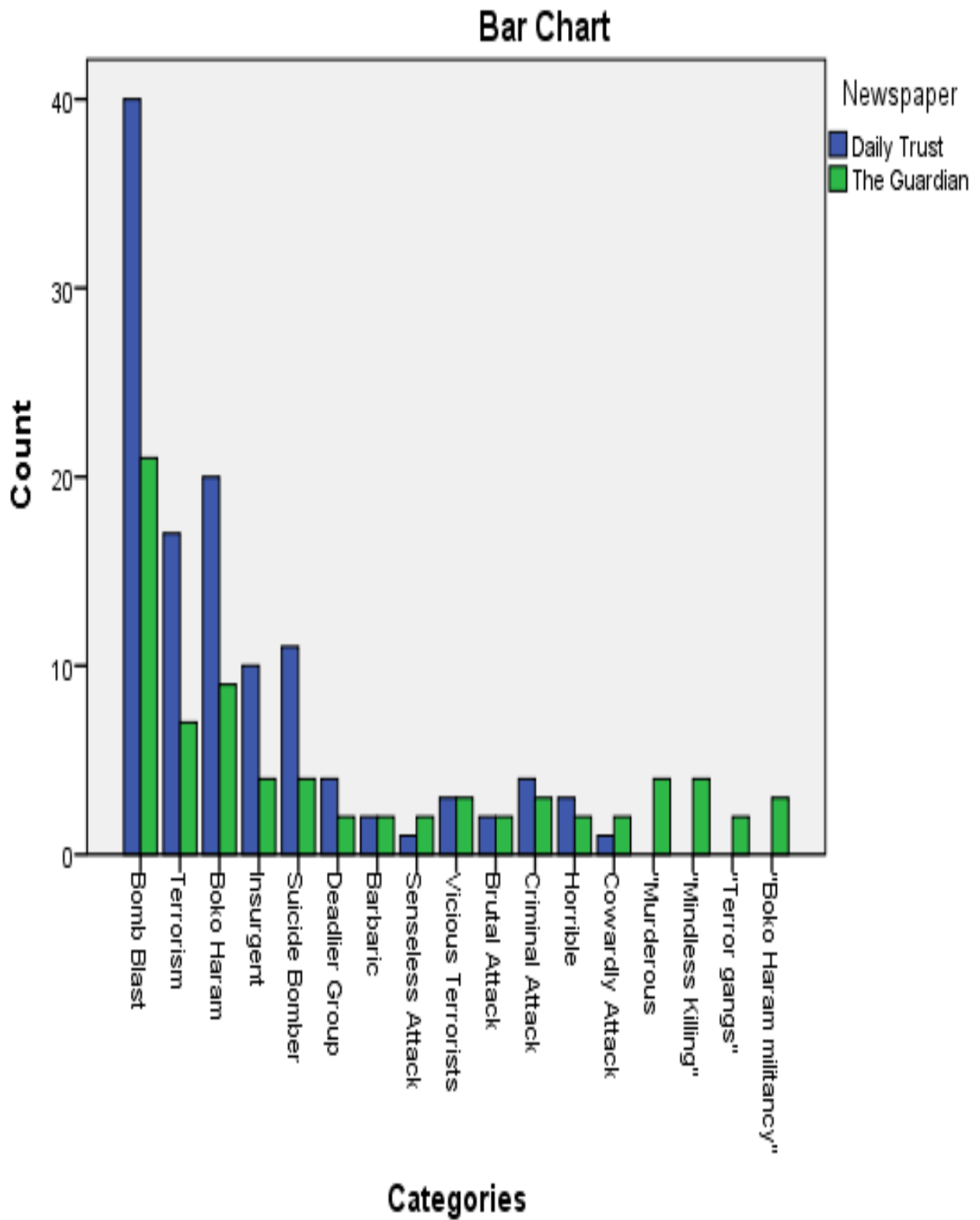


Figure 2: Categories (themes) for the news coverage

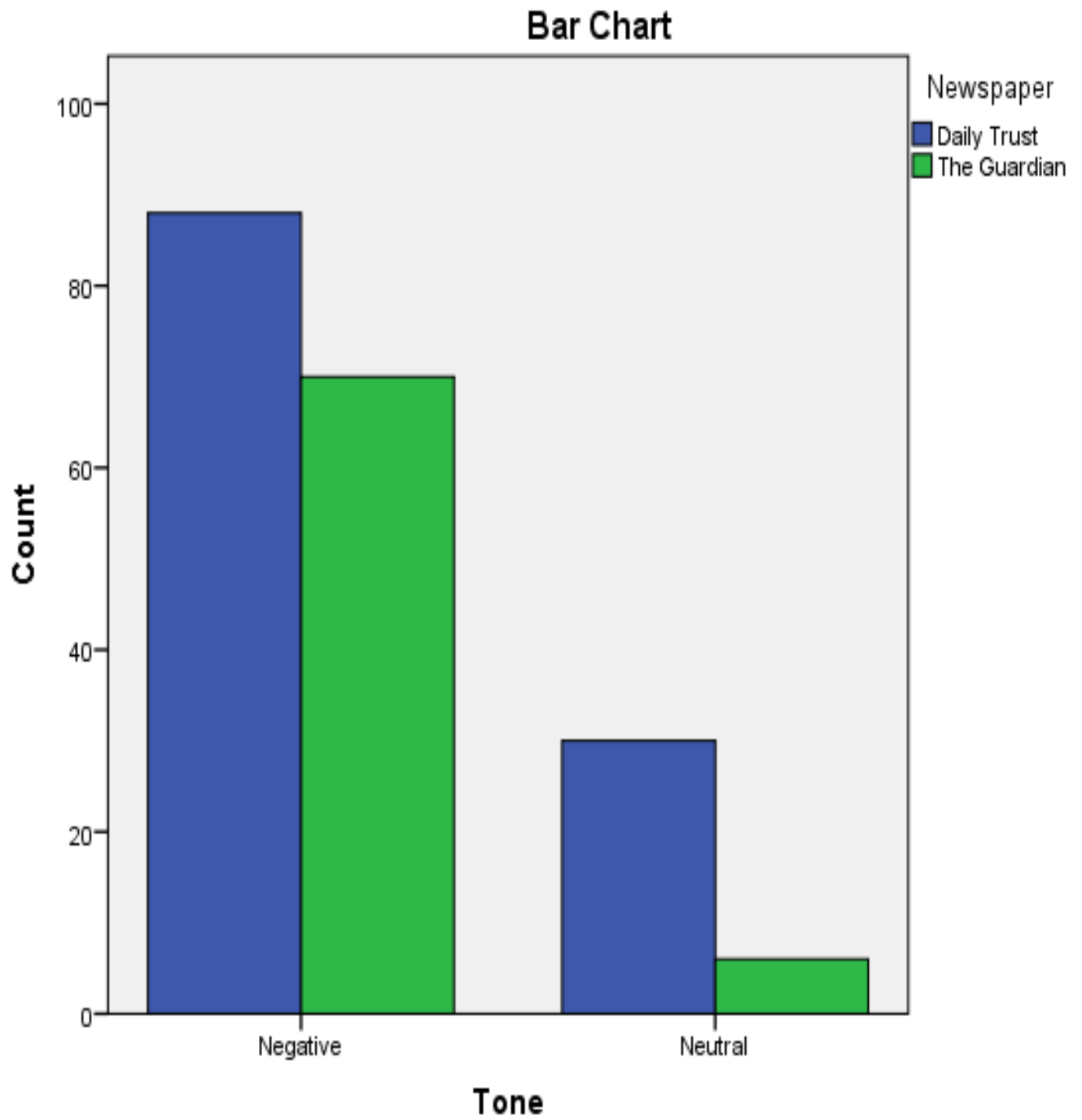


Figure 3: Negative framing of Boko Haram

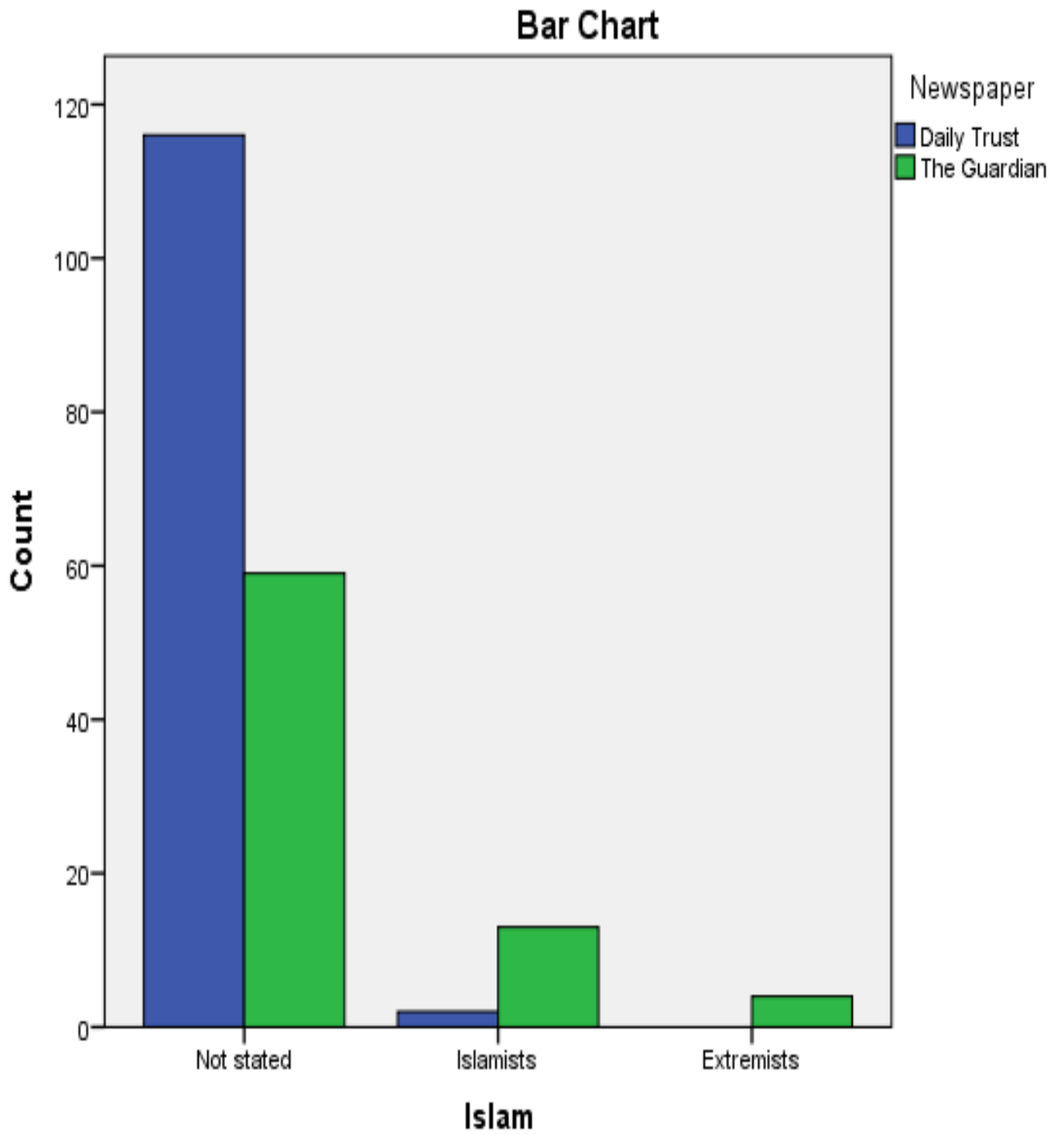


Figure 4: Framing Boko Haram with Islam

Appendix 2

Question of frames measurement

Conflict Frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals or groups?• Does one group reproach another?• Does the story refer to two sides or more than two sides of the problem or issue?• Does the story refer to winners and losers?
Attribution of Responsibility Frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?• Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem/issue?• Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?• Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?
Human Interest Frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Does the story adopt human face to the problem?• Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?• Does the story contain visual information that may that might feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or

	<p>compassion?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the story into personal lives of the actors or victims?
<p>Morality Frame</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the story contain any moral message? • Does the story make reference to morality, God or any other religious tenets? • Does the story offers specific social prescription about behave? • Does the story refer the solution of the problem to God?

Appendix 3

The samples of the newspapers





The Guardian

Conscience, Nurtured by Truth

Vol. 30, No. 12,844

Wednesday, February 26, 2014

www.guardiannews.com

N150

Gunmen invade school, kill 29 students, others in Yobe

From **Muhammad Musa (Damaturu)**

IN yet another brazen act of bestiality, gunmen suspected to be **Boko Haram** members, yesterday morning invaded Federal Government College, Buni Yadi, Yobe State and shot dead 29 students and teachers of the co-educational institution. Buni Yadi is the headquarters of Gujba Local Council and is situated south of

Atiku, APC fault govt over **Boko Haram**

ital. Meanwhile, former Vice President Atiku Abubakar yesterday in Abuja faulted Federal Government's measures in tackling the security situation in the North-East region of the country. In a related development, the All Progressives Congress

dent Goodluck Jonathan's vituperation against Borno State Governor Kashim Shettima during his media chat on Monday night, calling it unwarranted, un-presidential and petty. According to a member of staff of the school, Isa Buba, the gunmen came through the gate from the Gujba

forests in 27 Hilux pickup vehicles and motorcycles laden with Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) before attacking the students' hostels around 1:45 a.m. "We were caught unawares, shocked and terrified, when an armed gang of terrorists attacked us here yesterday about 1:45 a.m. Some of the

students cried for help, while others fled into the hostel ceilings, but the gunmen set the hostel on fire, like they did at the College of Agriculture last year at Gujba, killing several students and some members of staff of the college," Buba said. Also, a resident of Buni Yadi, Malam Adam Yirwa, said yesterday on telephone: "They shot dead two security guards at the gate before proceeding

to the staff quarters and killed three of our teachers before soldiers and the policemen rushed to the school." He added that the council's secretariat complex and a high court were among the public buildings torched by the suspected insurgents. The spokesman of Joint Task Force (JTF) in Yobe State,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2