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**A PEER-REVIEWED BI-ANNUAL INTERDISCIPLINARY PUBLICATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION, PLATEAU STATE UNIVERSITY, BOKKOS**

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**Prof. Nnanyelugo M. Okoro, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria**

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**Contact Information**

Address: Department of Mass Communication,

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Plateau State University, Bokkos.

Email: plasujcs@gmail.com

**CONTRIBUTORS**

**Yaknan Dashe**

**Akila, Mabas Amos**

**Taye C. Obateru**

**Nancy Nanchin Katu-Ogundimu**

**Onuh Matthew Udaya**

**Yakubu Mohamed, Salisu Ohieku Anthonia Omeneke**

**& Safina Sanusi Sab**

**Musa, Alhaji Sale and Ahmed, Abubakar**

**Oluwanifemi Bolatito Oteh**

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***PLASU Journal of Communication Studies*** is a bi-annual online and off-line journal of the Department of Mass Communication, Plateau State University, Bokkos, Plateau State, Nigeria. The journal is a peer-reviewed scholarly inclusive and interdisciplinary journal aimed at promoting the development of theory and practice of communications and media studies. Towards the realization of the objectives for its establishment, we invite submission of original and thoroughly researched articles for publication in our fast growing journal.

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**Plateau State University,**

**Bokkos.**

Email: nnanyelugo05@yahoo.com

Phone Number: 08039312707

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To be a global journal with critical, yet creative, problem solving approach to scholarship and professionalism in all aspects of communications and media studies. The Journal is aimed at promoting the development of theory and practice of communications and media studies in all spheres.

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**CONTENTS**

[CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF USES OF LITERATURE, LANGUAGE AND THE MASS MEDIA IN NIGERIA](#_Toc501002362)

**[Yaknan Dashe](#_Toc501002362)** [1](#_Toc501002362)

[‘MY CANDIDATE IS THE](#_Toc501002363) *[ONLY](#_Toc501002363)* [MAN FOR THE JOB’: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN SELECTED NEWSPAPERS ADS](#_Toc501002363)

**[Akila, Mabas Amos](#_Toc501002363)** [15](#_Toc501002363)

[HELP AT A HUGE COST: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF HOW DONOR GROUPS MANIPULATE THE WESTERN NEWS MEDIA TO RAISE FUNDS FOR AFRICA](#_Toc501002364)

**[Taye C. Obateru, Ph.D.](#_Toc501002364)** [33](#_Toc501002364)

[MEDIA VS. INDIVIDUAL FRAMES: COMPETING FRAMES IN CONFLICT ENVIRONMENTS](#_Toc501002366)

**[Nancy Nanchin Katu-Ogundimu, Ph.D.](#_Toc501002366)** [47](#_Toc501002366)

[PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA CAMPAIGNS OF CONSUMPTION OF MADE-IN-NIGERIA PRODUCTS](#_Toc501002375)

**[Onuh Matthew Udaya](#_Toc501002375)** [69](#_Toc501002375)

[WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER](#_Toc501002424)

**[Yakubu Mohammed Salisu, Ohieku Anthonia Omeneke](#_Toc501002424)** [and](#_Toc501002424) **[Safina Sanusi Sab](#_Toc501002424)**  [85](#_Toc501002424)

[PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS’ REPORTAGE OF STIGMATISATION OF ABDUCTEES OF BOKO HARAM](#_Toc501002426)

**[Musa, Alhaji Sale](#_Toc501002426)** [and](#_Toc501002426) **[Ahmad, Abubakar](#_Toc501002426)**  [107](#_Toc501002426)

[A DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING PROCESSES THROUGH EDUCATIONAL DRAMA](#_Toc501002427)

**[Oluwanifemi Bolatito Oteh](#_Toc501002427)** [125](#_Toc501002427)

[FUNERAL CULTURE IN PLATEAU STATE: THE ANAGUTA TRADITION IN THE STRIFE FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION PLATFORM](#_Toc501002432)

**[Fadam Lucky](#_Toc501002432)** [135](#_Toc501002432)

[THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN NIGERIAN BROADCAST MEDIA: EVIDENCE FROM NTA AIT, FRCN AND DREAM FM](#_Toc501002433)

**[Ekwueme, Anthony Chinedu](#_Toc501002433)** [and](#_Toc501002433) **[Agbo, Benedict Obinna](#_Toc501002433)**  [153](#_Toc501002433)

## CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF USES OF LITERATURE, LANGUAGE AND THE MASS MEDIA IN NIGERIA

by

**Yaknan Dashe**

Department of English, Plateau State University, Bokkos, Nigeria

**Abstract**

Social Development as a sector in governance has been the whipping boy, suffering neglect in comparison with the other two aspects, namely the political- cum- administrative and economic sectors. Yet it is the closest in building bridges of relationship and engendering vibrancy in the political and economic arms of the government and society as a whole. As catalysts in social engineering, literature and the mass media have been found to synergize more implicitly than explicitly in development communication processes in all fields of human endeavor. The balance needs to be deliberately tilted in favour of the mass media and literature as potent tools for social development. The way and manner literature and the mass media have been put in the service of African societies in governance and social development has left much to be desired. This researcher’s findings and particularly a study of some Nigerian mass media and novels, as cases in point, have shown that special intervention in favour of literature and the mass media has to be taken as priority review mechanism if African countries are to catch up speedily with the rest of the world, or develop faster than they are currently.

**Keywords:** Challenges, governance, intervention, relationship, development catalysts, priority review.

**Introduction**

From the simplest to the complex definition the bottom-line is that governance is all about managing public affairs through the utilization of human and non-human resources for the benefit of majority of the governed. Good governance is the act of doing this effectively. But the adjective ‘good’ is relative, as it is contingent upon the perimeters or requirements and boundaries set for those given the mandate to carry out such responsibility. They are, however, minimum benchmarks which can qualify a given government or leadership as ‘good’ and ‘effective’. Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs would probably elucidate this. The average citizen’s’ life hinges on the basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, health, and security, as far as his expectations from government are concerned. These are social development issues which are at the core of any meaningful start and progress but have regrettably been grossly inadequate, if not absent in Nigeria. This underlines the importance of governance vis-à-vis social development in so far as it is often claimed that every government of the day is out to serve the ordinary persons in society (Dahl, 1961 reported in Haralambos & Heald, 1980).

The nature and character of the government in power largely determine the extent of its effectiveness and goodness. Constitutional polity; that is government by many, supposedly guarantees faster and greater development and progress. This is largely a factor of the guarantee of fundamental human rights, particularly rights to freedom of speech, movement, association, and security. In developed, as against developing, countries these are virtually non-issues as they have been guaranteed and governments in such nations are more bothered about concrete or physical development and how to go to the other planets. They are concerned with “who to” and “how to” provide excellent services and projects that would ignite the greatest improvement in the lives of common people. In developing countries, under which most African nations fall, it is not the dearth of ideas, policies, plans and even resources, but the patriotic will and selfless mindset. The type and quality of a mindset determines the strength of the will power to ‘carry everybody along’, in order to translate visions, ideas, and information, into concrete realities (Schiffman and Kanuk, 1997). These are the battle cries of the literature artist and the mass media person.

Translating policies (and plans) into concrete realities require collective effort from both the governed and government. Collective effort can only take place when those involved are able to create rapport through effective communication, without which nothing much happens. As in Plato’s ideal society (where there is division of labour advocated in his The Republic) the lot has fallen on the mass media, literary artists, and other language experts to serve as public information communicators. They are held responsible and accountable to the people, whether or not the government of the day recognizes them as such. These purveyors of news, ideas and information meant to serve public interest are known, for one reason or another, to have gotten out of favour with certain governments. The backlash of such communication has often been more noticeable in the social sector which serves the common man more directly. The result is stagnation, and at times retrogression, instead of progress. This is the crux of the matter (Bamisaye and Awofeso, 2011).

Literature is a vehicle for communication through one of a number of media (literary work) such as prose, drama and poetry. Together with radio, television, magazines, among others, these various media of mass communication used by their audiences can enhance relationship and thus development.

But ambiguity and deliberate or intentional misuse of language, manipulation as well as language differences, by and through the media have created misunderstanding and misinterpretation, culminating in conflict and crisis, violence and destruction of lives and property, thereby retarting national development.

Literature and the mass media mirror life. They communicate, reflect and present life in its totality, in words, actions and even inactions. They ignite in us truth and beauty.

They are preservers of societal ideals and therefore important catalysts for development. Mass media practitioners and the literary artist use language as indispensable tools of conveying messages to mass audiences. New economic, political, social, cultural, and information orders have been formulated and propagated by and through the mass media of communication. The ways and manners these new orders are created and or dispersed with the support of the mass media, however, are crucial and critical to development communication goals at all strata of society (Beegle and Loomis, 1975). Thus, literature and the mass media have often, in both explicit and implicit connivance, exerted profound influence on members of society towards positive or negative ends.

**Theoretical Bases**

This study is anchored on the McLuhan’s theory of mass communication and of the sociological functionalist theory of literature and the mass media as instruments of development support communication. Specifically it rests on the premise that the use of literature and the mass media for communicative purposes have posed a lot of challenges. Their meeting point is language usage. Literary artists and mass media are at home in linguistic dynamics and often exploit them to positive or negative ends depending on the goals they intend to achieve. The study has also been within the framework of realism literary theory because Nigerian, and indeed African literature has proven to have utilitarian and social values in contradistinction to the pure aesthetic tradition of art for art’s sake.

Situations, circumstances and time influence the use of language. There lies the influence of mass media and literature deciding to a large extent the variation, quality and impact of language usage. The use of language is the specialty of the mass media and the literary artist. It is a very potent tool in the hands of both.

**Statement of the Problem**

The mass media and the literary artist sometimes play to the gallery in their use of language through artful manipulation and coining of words, phrases, and slogans, as well as signs and symbols such as cartoons. The various ways and manners in which language is misused through and by the mass media are portrayed in literary works in keeping with one of the functions of literature in expressing “ the hopes, fears, doubts, joys, love, problems, and conflicts that human beings experience in everyday life” (Azikiwe: 2007)

But no one writer has achieved a holistic picture of the ideal role of the media and the literary artist in national development within a single literary work; rather, various shades of the role are presented thereby necessitating a collection of such variants to get a clearer and more convincing portraiture.

**The Worlds of Fiction and the Media**

Bojuwade (1985) has described the media as “a portent instrument for social engineering, the watch dog, the public announcer, the fourth estate of the realm, and the oasis of hope in a political desert of despair” (iii). In the media world every responsible reporter or editor must, as a matter of sacred duty, determine what is of paramount importance and what is secondary, what must be given urgent priority and what must be deferred; of course, taking into account that no serious harm is caused the realm by such a decision. Essential journalistic skills include detailed observation, accurate description, intelligent analyses, and sensible commentary. All these must be “informed by ethical imperative” as the practitioner employs his/her intelligence and training towards the cause of social justice. The above mentioned also apply to the literary artist and his/her works. The media inform, entertain and educate. Literary works delight and instruct. In the performance of their duties, both the media practitioner and the writer encounter internal conflicts associated with control and or selection of material to use in relation to value judgment. This is no small task. The journalist and writer are further confronted by the reality of conflict with the powerful in society. Constituted authority is often afraid and suspicious of journalists as it is of the literary artist.

The extent to which the media and literature play their role depends on the political style of the players symbolized by the government in power. The media and literature are expected to consistently report and condemn the numerous ways in which corruption, maladministration and social vices besmear society and threaten its future; the former through news reports, programmes, and feature articles and the latter through literary works. Both have a responsibility for self-censorship to eschew what is considered obscene, negative and unpleasant, in the national interest. Unfortunately the overall picture of the media in Nigerian literature and real life to nation to national development issues is not admirable. They have been presented variously as: toothless bull dogs, half educated and or self-opinionated rabble rousers, drunkards, and womanizers. They are also regarded as compromisers, paranoid self-righteous individuals, who have constituted a spineless group that cannot influence societal development positively, but are rather concerned more with the pursuit of their personal endeavours.

**An Overview of Governance and Social Development**

The raison detre for government and governance is service to members of the society and creation of a “congenial environment for the full realization of human potential” (Gyong, 1998). All governments, be they legitimate or illegitimate, lay claim to this need and desire to improve the lives and environment of their citizens. Everybody who aspires to public office or leadership position claims he or she is going to seek equity, fairness and justice. The slogan “my people have called me” is the song of most public office seekers and has become commonplace, particularly in the political arena. This, ideally, is what should be.

When performance rating comes to the front burner, however, it is often a different story. In most developing societies, Nigeria inclusive, emphasis in governance has been on financial strength of the leader or candidate seeking the governmental position. Issues of development at stake receive secondary consideration although they are trumpeted during the search for the position(s).

Good governance is a function of leadership ability to manage prudently and productively the human and non-human resources entrusted to it. Unfortunately, because of the myopic, biased and egocentric understanding of politics and governance as well as ethnic or tribal, religious, and sectional considerations, most leaders and their governments in heterogeneous societies “play politics” with even the most basic needs which should be given to everybody as a matter of right of beneficiary or partner in the society. Little wonder, therefore, that Busia (1967; quoted in Imo 2007) could assert that

The view point and attitudes which people adopt towards their political, economic and social questions are influenced by their historical experiences and judgments, based ultimately on the world outlook, which consciously or unconsciously, derives from the cultural (religious) heritage (12).

Such tendency has always given rise to strident allegation, and even accusation, of marginalization and demand for “power-shift” or “zoning” in the sharing of political or governmental positions in many African countries, including Nigeria.

Politics and governance are supposed to be means to an end. But in majority of developing countries, especially in Africa, these have become matters of do-or-die for many office seekers and their supporters alike. Politics and governance have been monetized to the extent that money speaks always rather than leadership potentiality. Such warped sense of values has entrenched a culture of impunity in governance whereby political office holders and their cronies unabashedly rip off the public treasury in a bid to recoup the huge sums of money they had dolled out to ‘purchase’ their positions or seats in government. Consequently, social institutions suffer neglect and social development is retared.

As an aspect of polity debate in many African Nations, succession in leadership has, more often than not, been an area of friction and conflict. This results in bad leadership and governance. Many African societies tend to combine all the four succession practices of modern political systems, namely: hereditary, constitutional prescription, election, and force. The result is that great strains are imposed on the political order, “the continuity of rules is broken, established patterns of actions are interrupted, and the future suddenly becomes uncertain” (Encyclopaedia Britannica). This has engendered corruption and ineptitude on the part of the leadership and apprehension and helplessness from the followership. The polity is thus heated up, giving rise to confusion and a state of inertia. A vicious cycle of greed-corruption – bad leadership-bad governance – poverty-under development ensues.

**Language Elements Literature and the Mass Media Use and Misuse**

There is no substitute for words. The use of signs and signals such as screams, gestures, embrace, and physiological reflexes like sneezing, coughing and snoring, notwithstanding, only words can convey almost the whole range of human experience. The mass media and literary artists are very well aware of the power of words and put them to profound use, and sometimes misuse. The extent of influence they exert on society can therefore only be imagined. As one of the media of mass communication, literature employs language “at its most effective, subtle and suggestive form” (Azikwe, 2007). So also do the conventional mass media. At the core of language use, whether at the literary or mass media level, are message interpretation, understanding and meaning. The converse is also true, that misinterpretation and misunderstanding in the use of language and communication arise from the misuse of words, phrases and other elements. The writer or literary artist exploits the stylistic aspects of language to achieve his goal and or intention.

The essence of every communication process is to elicit meaningful understanding of the message from the audience or receiver(s). Understanding and response to a particular message revolves around the meaning a receiver of the message attaches to it. Meaning to an individual emanates from his or her experience, feelings and aspirations as he/she interprets communication processes in the light of these variables. Since no two persons are exactly the same, it implies that there must be commonality of experiences, feelings and aspirations between the message sender and message receiver before there can be shared meaning and therefore understanding of message(s) in any communication process. In the absence of such shared meaning a communication gap is created and misunderstanding of the goal of the communication process or act occurs.

Be that as it may, it is often said that “the medium is the message”. In other words, the channel through which a message gets to the reading, listening and or overview audience, to a large extent, determines the message’s efficacy. Each medium has its advantages and disadvantages and no one medium can meet all the criteria of permanence, reliability, accuracy, and timelines, among others. Media mix therefore becomes inevitable and critical in ensuring the desired or intended meaning and thus response. This is often an uphill task for the average single or group audience and it has been one of the greatest challenges in communicating governance and social development. Media choice or option(s) and mix have to do with a number of factors chief among which are literacy level of the audience, credibility, clarity, objectivity, accuracy or correctness, coherence and conciseness by the medium. But problems usually arise where a medium, for whatever reason, actually lacks or appears to lack clarity of purpose and objective of the communication, lacks sufficient knowledge of the subject matter and receiver, uses inappropriate tone, pitch, force and intensity of voice or words, or is bereft of self-confidence and conviction, courtesy and respect as well as relevance or currency. Other factors such as poverty and political manipulation complete the cycle of challenges which, if not tackled firmly and swiftly, ultimately reduce or obliterate entirely “the function of communication which include education and instruction, information, cultural promotion and general discussion” (Hasan:2010).

The functional use of language cannot be realized unless and until words are spoken or written correctly to give understanding and meaning as they should. But many are either illiterate in their language of communication or they suse evasive tactics, intentional ambiguity or are simply careless. This is a situation found in many media of mass communication, including literary works.

**Use of Propaganda Language**

It is an open secret that the media have often been used as channels of propaganda in varying degrees. So also has literature. Propagandist is intended to advance a cause and move people to action towards realizing that cause, at certain times in the history and development of a society, as for example during slavery, colonial, apartheid and postcolonial or post-independence authoritarian regimes. As both a concept and phenomenon, propaganda has been defined as:

an expression of opinion by an individuals or group deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individual or group with reference to predetermined ends. In the broadest sense, it is an honest and forthright communication intended to advance a cause through enlightenment, persuasion or dedicated sense of mission. In this case, it is legitimate persuasion. It becomes subversive when there is appeal to bigotry, intolerance, hate, fear, suppression of facts, half-truth, lies, stunts, all calculated to work on the emotion (Nzekwu, 1982).

In its current usage propaganda may be defined as “the advancement of belief of the creation of a state of mind to the exclusion of rival beliefs or state of mind”. In this context it appeal to the instinct or emotion and, therefore, contrasts with education which appeals to reason. In practice, however, it is very difficult to draw a line between propaganda that is intended to advance a good cause and that which is subversive or pernicious. In the latter, Machiavellian theory of ‘the end justifies the means’ applies. Here, the propagandist is not so much bothered about what methods are used as long as the end results are achieved. Interestingly, subversive propaganda sometimes wears the look of honest communication. The task is often how to distinguish one from the other. ‘Where do the literary writer and the mass media come into this?’ you may ask. The propagandist employs various strategies and tactics to achieve his or her goals and objectives, depending on whether it is legitimate or pernicious propaganda. He/she may use persuasive or coercive means or a hybrid of the two. In doing so he/she employs the services of the various media of mass communication and public enlightenment. Fortunately or unfortunately also the literary artist sometimes finds himself writing propagandist literature.

In performing their functions certain media find themselves playing the role of propaganda megaphone. Like normal or legitimate communication, the object of propaganda is always to elicit immediate or eventual intended reaction from the target audience. Due to their massive influence, the mass media’s language usage in passing on propaganda information and ideas usually produces spontaneous results. Heretical. Com (2014) in the opening to the article “Applied Propaganda Techniques: The Language of Politics” states that “the surest way of destroying a nation, culture and identity is to debase its language”. It refers to “subversive agencies” that try to corrupt English language as “semantic forgers who are found in publishing houses and throughout the media as in other places”.

The establishment of new media of information and persuasion, especially in democratic societies, has contributed immensely in giving propaganda increased prominence. The language of dishonesty, deception, half truth, outright lies, stunts and so on which, more often than not, becomes the stock-in-trade of the mass media is always counterproductive and has earned for certain media contempt and distrust. Such mass media practitioners often hide under the excuse of ‘he who pays the piper dictates the tunes’. As a result, facts and figures are exaggerated or even falsified and language assumes an extraordinary role different from the normal one. In such instance, it takes a discerning mind to read between the lines to get the real motive for such communication. It is not uncommon to see newspapers, magazines, and similar media carrying screaming leads or cover stories on issues that under normal circumstances and professional practices would appear in obscure corner or might not have been used at all. The principle of news prominence is circumvented. What would you say was the motive behind screamers such as “SUICIDE BOMBER WIPES OUT 25 WORSHIPPERS”, “INSURGENTS CAPTURE MUBI” or “TERRORISTS TAKE OVER MUBI”? Why not use the words “kills” instead of “wipe out” and “attack” in place of “capture”. Through techniques like telling a version of truth, misquotation, name-calling and or international delay, facts are distorted, figures are inflated, and issues confused to the detriment of the populace who are not schooled in the language of propaganda nor are conversant with the conventional responsibilities and functions of the mass media.

**Implications for Social Development**

What are the implications of all these for social development? The uses of language as a communication tool is the specialty of the mass media and literary artist. The medium or channel through which a message gets to a reading, listening or viewing public, to a large extent, determines the efficacy of the message. In choosing or selecting the medium to use, cognizance is given to effectiveness, permanence, reliability, accuracy, and timeliness, among other criteria. How the literary writers and the mass media practitioners bring these criteria to bear on the roles is at the social development.

When the literary artist and the mass media use lies, evasive tactics, intentional ambiguity and or carelessness, this results in misinformation, even disinformation, with attendant bad relationship ultimately leading to lack of cooperation, instability, stagnation, and sometimes even retrogression.

The mass media and literary writers are sometimes guilty of bad selection of words, because of the central role they play as opinion moulders, behaviour changers and watch- dogs and ‘seers’ in society. Consciously or unconsciously they sometimes misuse words in daily use of language. Here, one is not referring to the use of puns and double meaning jokes, purely to amuse as is the case sometimes in literary works.

Human being are vulnerable to misuse of words unintentionally, or from ulterior motives. This has far reaching ultimate consequences and implications for social cohesion and development. Obafemi (2012) asserts that the agenda-setting function of the mass media and literature “shows that the society relies on the media for most of its decision”. He explains that:

the media has a social duty to provide ample information and opinion to induce them to make the right decisions. The dependence of the society on the media is so strong that we cannot afford to real the agenda they set with levity.

In other words, a society without the media and writer or literary artist gropes in the dark because whatever goes on in all fields of human endeavour remain largely unknown without them conveying and dispersing, so to speak, the news, information, opinions and ideas on those fields, be they plans, programmes, activities, innovations or breakthroughs.

The use of language as a vehicle of communication entails that the literary artists and media convey message to a mass (large) number of people. It can be said without fear of contradiction therefore that the mass media and literature are indeed very potent instruments of control, influence and change positively and or negatively depending on how they are used. Literature the mass media use language to transmit or exchange thoughts, feelings, ideas, information and so on, through words, pictures, gesture and many other signs and symbols. Thus, through language, they explain, propagate, and preserve the culture of a people.

But language is dynamic; it grows and therefore is susceptible to changes. In other words, situations, circumstances and times influence the use of language for good or bad. The dynamism of language has had far-reading effects on its use by mass media practitioners and literary artists. It is unarguably true that communication is a required skill at every level of interactions and a person’s degree of effectiveness or accomplishments at whatever stage in life is largely determined by the person’s ability to communicate effectively. This underscores the need for mastering of language of communication and all its nuances, and the mass media use language in the overall performance of their roles in governance and social development, and nation building.

**Conclusion**

Since “media practitioners constitute a social and cultural influence in helping to form attitude, to establish values, and develop a climate of change”, the attitude they help to form, the values they help to establish, and the kind of climate of change they help to develop matter a lot. The truth is “men today learn almost everything they know through some medium of communication. Our environment for better or for worse is mass media- oriented”. (Bojuwade, 1985). This about emphasizes the enormity of the burden thrust upon the media and writers and gravity of the danger posed when they “speak” a language other than that which the common people know and understand. As a communication medium with the goal of inducing change and development, literature in Nigeria has played a significant role, but its reflection of the other media has left much to be desired. Effective communication is predicated upon open mindedness, avoidance of prejudices such as stereotyping and assumption, empathizing with the speaker or the writer as well as relating and evaluating the message to personal experience(s).

It is a fact that value difference constitutes a major cause of problems associated with communication and language use, especially in written or scripted means of communication which the print media and literature are.

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## ‘MY CANDIDATE IS THE *ONLY* MAN FOR THE JOB’: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN SELECTED NEWSPAPERS ADS

by

**Akila, Mabas Amos**

Department of Mass Communication, University of Jos, Nigeria.

**Abstract**

The 2015 Presidential election will go down as one of the fiercely and keenly contested in Nigeria's history owing to the margin of victory as pronounced by the INEC. Critical among issues that characterized the electioneering was the media campaigns embarked upon by the two leading parties/candidates, namely the All Peoples’ Congress (Muhammadu Buhari) and the Peoples’ Democratic Party (Goodluck Jonathan). During this period, the two campaign organizations of these political parties and candidates utilized the media, both print and electronic, as propaganda tool to attack the personalities of each other; where vile language was used. This study sought to assess the content of selected Nigerian newspapers in respect to advertisements made by the two key political parties. A quantitative research method was used to content analyse advertisements from three (3) Nigerian dailies where a sample size of 26 ads was purposively drawn within a period of three months (January – March). Findings revealed that newspaper adverts focused more on hate speech and personality destruction rather than issues. Dominant frames in the ads revolves around morality, responsibility and economic consequences. The paper concluded that newspaper advertisements were not neutral and the media became the fueling agent of war among the candidates. As recommendation, researcher, among others, avers the need for social responsibility on the side of the media to the extent that political campaigns that contain unnecessary content should not be published.

**Keywords:** *Political campaigns, newspapers, hate speech, issue-based campaigns, and social responsibility.*

**Introduction**

March 28-29 and April 11-12, 2015 were the four days Nigerians made history at the polls by voting, for the first time, a non-incumbent president. Several features characterized the electioneering process and worthy of mention is the manner at which candidates, political parties and other pressure groups presented their ‘products’ to the public. According to a survey by University of Lagos Postgraduate Students’ Group of Newspaper Coverage of the 2015 Presidential Election by Nigerian Newspapers and cited by Eteghe (2015), the 2015 presidential election is “the most closely and keenly contested election in Nigeria’s history”. Consequently, factors that shaped this new development are equally enormous, yet, crucial to this study is the role of the media through various political advertisements during the presidential campaigns. Ekwujuru (2015) provides, five days to the March 28 presidential election, a staggering but intriguing advertisement revenue expended by various political parties, friends and well-wishers which stood at N4.9 billion.

The aim of this massive engagement of revenue is an attempt to lure or sway voters to support the advertised candidate. This is a common tenet and goal of any form of advertising (Udeze & Akpan, 2013). Notwithstanding the purpose of advertising, media campaigns in both electronic and print media of the 2015 general elections, especially the presidential, were marred in character assassinations and hate speeches in manners that had never been witnessed before.

Political advertising is a growing phenomenon in Nigeria, especially in the last two decades. It can be argued that political advertising during the 2015 general elections has metamorphosed considerably as compared to the 2011 elections. This, in part is indirectly due to technological advancement, but is directly as a result of increased audience awareness which influences voters’ choice and by implication is indicative of the maturity in Nigeria’s growing democracy. A voter who is exposed and knowledgeable about political issues and sundry is likely to vote a candidate s/he has personal conviction on than an illiterate voter who could be swayed by little persuasion or remuneration (Olujide, Adeyemi & Gbadeyan, 2011; Oyenuga 2015; Ajayi & Adesote, 2015; Lane, 2010).

The battle for votes and relevance ignited a romance between politicians and the mass media to the extent that scholars observe that media role changed from surveillance and mobilization to being conspirators and collaborators with such politicians (Egbala, 2014). Stromberg (2002) explains this symbiosis further by x-raying how politicians influence mass media. “How mass media affects policy depends on how politicians compete to gain and remain in power, and how their actual and proposed policies are affected by media coverage” (p. 2). This implies that it is very likely that the more politicians strive to gain power, the more their tendency to use the media; and the more likely media organisations will be willing to consent because their survival depends on such as this. Closely tied to this in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria is the drive for revenue – profit. The media welcomed, with open arms, all sorts of advertorial regardless of the content as far as their economic ‘relevance’ is enhanced. Femi Adesina, President Buhari’s Special Adviser on Media and Publicity and former Editor-in-Chief of *The Sun* newspaper, in May 2015, gave reason why his former newspaper (*The Sun*) published the controversial advertorial sponsored by Ayo Fayose, Ekiti State Governor in January 2015. His emphasis was that although the publication was not unconnected to ownership influence, advertising revenue was a secondary consideration (Ezeamalu, 2015).

It is in view of these issues that this work is premised. It is an enquiry into the performance of the media as it relates to campaign advertorials in three newspapers to arrive at valid observations regarding the patterns of issues presented – what is presented and how it was presented.

**Statement of the Problem**

Over the years, the media has actively mobilized citizens for elections and campaigns. Pate (2011) observes that the media role in promoting credible election is not in doubt, however, Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Tejumaiye (2015) add that this media function does not vindicate the media in totality as they seem to compound and heighten tension during election periods. A first look at media performance during the just concluded 2015 general elections reveals that the media were dominated with hate campaign speeches and advertisements to the extent that contravened prescribed rules and regulations.

APCON provides vetting guidelines in 2012 that indicate political advertising as one of the materials to be vetted in words/language, visual representations, music and sound effects. However scholars, in a parley organized by the United States embassy in Lagos to mark the 2015 World Press Day and assess media coverage of the election, were unanimous towards the view that media “encouraged it because they profited from the hate political advertorials” (Okojie, 2015). The proliferation of these negative advertisements prompted the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) to issue a press release signed by the registrar, Alhaji Garba Kankarofi, calling the attention of politicians to how their use of words in the ad content portends danger for democracy and national security (Salau, 2015). The immediate instance that attracted this was the advertorial in *The* *Sun* and *The* *Punch* newspapers of January 19, which passed a death sentence on the then APC candidate Muhammadu Buhari and urged Nigerians not to repeat history by voting a death man (APCON to politicians: Stop irresponsible adverts, 2015).

This study therefore examines how the newspapers presented issues in the presidential political advertisements and how such issues were framed. The findings will help establish the patterns of frame in which newspaper ads were presented.

**Research Questions**

This research work is premised on the following questions:

1. How was language presented in advertisements of the 2015 presidential campaign in The *Nation*, *Daily* *Trust* and *The Guardian* newspapers?
2. What patterns of framing dominated political ads of *The* *Nation*, *Daily* *Trust* and *The* *Guardian* newspapers during the 2015 presidential campaign?
3. To what extent were the newspapers partisan during the 2015 presidential campaign based on the direction of advertising content?

**Theoretical Framework/Review of Literature**

The study is anchored on two mass media theories – propaganda model and framing theory. The propaganda model, as postulated by Chomsky and Herman (1988), asserts that the mass media are tools in the hands of the elites to distort or misrepresent facts for the purpose of shaping public opinion and gaining popularity. They added that the mass media do this not only because they are mere propaganda mechanisms but because influencing public opinion is “a very important aspect of their overall service” (p. xi). The arguments of the model are premised on five filter elements, namely: ownership, advertising, dependence on news sources linked to the centers of power, ‘flak’ and anti-communism. Klaehn (2009) further indicates that the five elements form the scale for measuring factors that affect the performance or nonperformance of the media. With particular emphasis on advertising and, perhaps subliminally ownership, this study takes a cursory look at how the mass media through newspapers (as is the case here) presented advertisements during the presidential election of 2015.

Framing theory has its grounding in agenda setting theory of the mass media. It was propounded by Goffman (1974, p. 21) who argues that individuals try to create one or more frameworks about any item presented by the media which he calls “primary frameworks”. Robert Entman cited in Griffin (2012) offers a clear and simple definition thus;

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

Scheufele (1999) and Gamson & Modigliani (1987) opine that there are two concepts to framing: media frames and individual frames. While the former suggests that mass media consciously present issues that suggest the controversy and essence in specific pattern that elicit predetermined responses, the latter views the individual as having the rational mind to internally generate structures that help them view specified messages; their frames could conform to those media frames (as the case always is) or otherwise. Since this study does not seek to understand effect of the campaign ads on the public, framing is viewed solely from the perspective of the media – how the ads, through the media (*The Nation, Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*) were presented – positively or negatively. Framing is largely associated to political discourse as observed by Chong and Druckman (2007) and Scheufele (1999) and are particularly very helpful in crafting campaign ads (Aghili, 2012). This implies that advertisers create ad copies with a specific perspective in mind, ads of the 2015 presidential election are therefore not an exception.

Furthermore, patterns to framing can vary depending on the issues, and the unlimited perceptions of human beings (Okoro & Odoemelam, 2013). This study, however, analyses framing existing in the 2015 presidential campaigns in newspapers using a deductive approach which involves enumerating predefined frames as presented in the work of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). They provide that media issues are generally framed based on five predominant themes to include conflict frames, human interest frames, economic consequences frame, morality frame and responsibility frame. The researchers therefore adopted this point of view and analysed all issues in line with these frames.

**Methodology**

This study adopted content analysis as research design. Campaign advertisements of presidential candidates of the two leading political parties (APC and PDP) during the presidential election in three national dailies (*The* *Nation*, *Daily* *Trust* and *The Guardian*) were analysed. A broad view to understanding content analysis is one presented by Stempel (2003) cited in Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2008, p. 23) which explains it as “a formal system for doing something we all do informally rather frequently – draw conclusions from observations of content”. Observations on campaign ads have been made and informed conclusions made using a prescribed system of coding and framing. The choice of these three newspapers is random and not based on any factors.

Consequently, editions for analysis were randomly selected from the month of January to March 2015. However, the content for analysis were carefully drawn using the purposive sampling technique. This implies that materials were uniquely chosen to avoid repetition of same ads from other newspapers analysed. This enabled the researchers to have a diverse set of advertisements that pertained to the 2015 presidential campaign.

The sample size of the study is 26 advertisements (*The* *Nation* – 11, *Daily* *Trust* – 7 and *The* *Guardian* – 8). This does not reflect the number of editions analysed (*The* *Nation* – 6, *Daily* *Trust* – 2 and *The* *Guardian* – 1). The observation of the researchers is that an edition of the paper can contain more than one advertisement and since the emphasis is not on frequency of ads but on content of each of the advertisement, individual ad materials were given special attention.

Data were presented and analysed using tables, charts, simple percentages and the quality of words used in the advertisements.

**Data Presentation/Discussion of Findings**

This study enquires into the way and manner three national dailies in Nigeria presented campaign advertisements of the two most popular candidates (APC and PDP) in the 2015 presidential election. This section handles the presentation of data and discussion of findings which are based on the research questions formulated as follows:

**RQ1:** How was language presented in advertisements of the 2015 presidential campaign in The *Nation*, *Daily* *Trust* and *The Guardian* newspapers?

**Table 1**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Units of Analysis** | ***The Nation*** | ***Daily Trust*** | ***The Guardian*** | **Total** | **%** |
| Hate Speech | 6 | 6 | 4 | 16 | 61.5 |
| Issue-Based | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 15.4 |
| Neutral | 5 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 23.1 |
| **Total** | 11 | 7 | 8 | 26 | 100 |

**Contextual definitions:**

***Hate Speech*:** These are campaign ads that contain words or language that are derogatory and defamatory aimed at the opponent or the party.

***Issue-Based:*** Campaign Ads that contain words that promote the candidate through objective overview of any recurring issues of national importance.

***Neutral:*** Advert campaigns that neither carry hate speech nor bother on any issues. They just present the candidate with a request to vote for them.

Table one represents a description of how language was used in the advertorials carried by the three newspapers under this study during the 2015 presidential campaign. The units for analyzing language are hate speech, issue-based and neutral. Results show that there was a total of 16 out of 26 ad copies that bothered on hate speech with 61.5%. Issue-based ads cumulated to 15.4% with a total of 4 while advertorials that were neutral has 23.1 as second to ads containing hate speech.

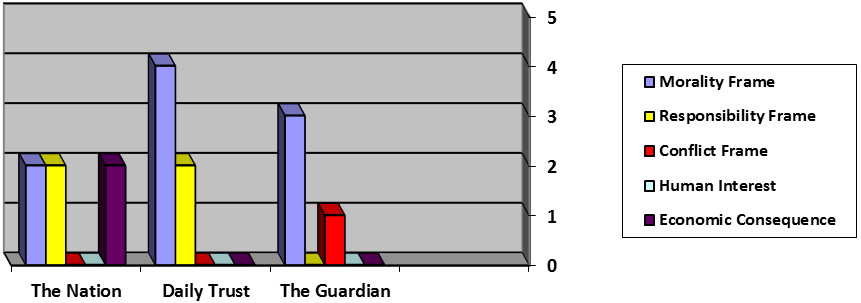
The implication of this finding is that newspaper advertisements on the 2015 presidential elections were characterized by hate speeches as posited by many scholars as pointed earlier. An operational definition for hate speech for this study comprises any advertorial that includes a word, words, phrase or phrases, that abuses the personality of the opponent. A closer look at the table reveals that two of the three newspapers published more of ads that used inciting words against the candidature of the other. *The Guardian* was however balanced in regards to presenting issues. Some of the languages used include; **“It is clear that President Jonathan is not fit to lead. Come March 28th, vote out bad and incompetent Jonathan’s administration”** (*The Nation*, p. 12, March 5, 2015). Another one in same newspaper says, **“Nigerians, Beware! When Jonathan vows to do more, he means to do more damage”** (*The Nation,* p. 62, March 10, 2015). In *The Guardian* of January 28, 2015, p. 58, an advertorial streams, **“Faces of Hypocrites… APC… the more you look, the less you see”.** This ad showed ten (10) faces of key APC members who defected from PDP. *Daily Trust* also had their share of advertorials containing hate speeches; on February 2, 2015 p. 63, Buhari was captured in cartoon advertorial giving several answers as to the whereabouts of his certificate (an issue that sparked controversy then). The sentence then read – **“Can Buhari be trusted to move our country forward?”** Another ad on page 50 however goes in favour of the opposing candidate: **“World’s verdict on Jonathan… It is obvious that Jonathan… have destroyed Nigeria’s international reputation….”** The use of names of opponents, inciting words and phrases such as ‘not fit to lead’, ‘incompetent’, ‘destroyed’ and ‘face of hypocrites’ convey hate and discord in the ad content during the period of campaign.

The researchers’ definition of issue-based campaigns, within the context of this discuss, is any advertorial that focuses on factual presentation on how a candidate can improve specified aspect(s) of the country without mention of the opponents name or party. Based on this meaning, result as presented in table one indicates that only *The Guardian* newspaper carried four (4) advertorials that thrive on issues. Two of these ads read: **“Under Godluck food production has grown by 70%”**, **“Dr. Jonathan: Winning the fight against disease… If the ebola scare has taught us anything, it’s that Goodluck Jonathan is a man Nigerians can depend on in a crisis”**. These examples relate to issues of economy and health which are critical for survival of any country.

The neutral advertorials represent campaigns that did not bother on any issue at all and did not carry any element if hate speech. They mostly centre on hospitality messages by well-wishers of the candidate for visiting their states. Although they are neutral and possess less persuasive power, results indicate that they were much more visible in these newspapers than issue-based campaigns. It further lends credence to the nature of politics which thrives to an extent on sycophancy.

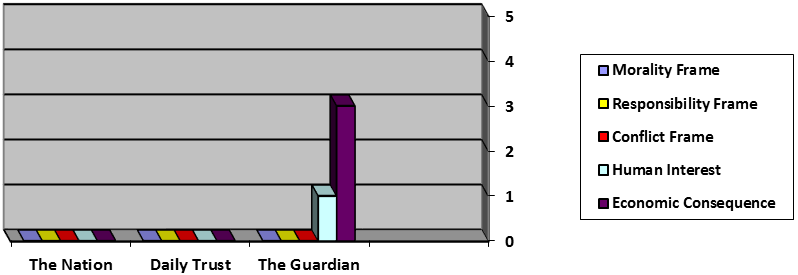
**RQ2:** What patterns of framing dominated political ads of *The* *Nation*, *Daily* *Trust* and *The* *Guardian* newspapers during the 2015 presidential campaign?

**Fig. 1:** Frames based on ‘Hate Speech’ ads

 Figure one is a bar chart that presents how hate speeches in the advertorials are framed. The essence is to have a knowledge regarding the dominant frame patterns based on the work of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The chart indicates that morality frames in the three newspapers sum up to 9, followed by responsibility frames which has 4, then the economic consequence with 2 items while conflict frame has 1 Human interest frame was not evident in the advertorials on hate speech.

Based on the presentation, hate speeches where basically framed around morality and responsibility frames. In the newspapers, there were incidences where advertorials accuse the integrity of the candidates. For instance, **“Can Buhari be trusted…”** and **“Fuel scarcity: A result of corruption… with the contradictory statements from ministry of finance, NNPC, PPPRA, President Jonathan’s henchmen on fuel scarcity…”** are examples of campaigns that were highly indicative of issues of morality. The second dominant category of ads centred on indicting solely the candidates of certain wrongs in the past. Two items also buttress this fact – **“Goodluck Jonathan has bankcrupt Nigeria”** and **“Gen. Buhari…… Mr no regrets… Don’t vote to regret….vote for true democrats….vote for GEJ”.** These frames basically dominated discuss even on electronic media where the morality of both candidates was questioned with each of them called to accept responsibility for mistakes done in the past. The findings also revealed that hate speeches down played issues of economy, conflict and human interest.

**Fig. 2:** Frames based on ‘Issue-Based’ ads



Frames than pertain to issue-based campaigns bother on only two patterns, namely economic consequences frame which has 3 advertorials while there was only one item that was framed based on human interest.

This is a sharp contrast from the patterns revealed based on hate speech. Advertorials that focused on issues tend to be more concerned with human interest and economic angles to drive home their point as opposed to advertorials on hate speech which emphasize morality, responsibility and conflict frames. Economic consequences as portrayed in the ads explained how voting the candidate in question will lead to greater food production and more returns on foreign investment. The only item that touched the human interest perspective projected how Goodluck Jonathan combatted the dreaded Ebola disease. The human angle of emotional security is emphasized while the language of first person plural makes the message more personal and close to the reader/audience/electorate.

The underlying observation in this study therefore is that the first three frames are more likely to be used as weapons against opponents in political advertising while the last two are used by candidates to create credibility around their candidature especially where issues are to be discussed.

**RQ3:** To what extent were the newspapers partisan during the 2015 presidential campaign based on the direction of advertising content?

**Table 2**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Direction of Ad Content** | ***The Nation*** | | ***Daily Trust*** | | ***The Guardian*** | | **Total** | **Total** | |
| **APC** | **PDP** | **APC** | **PDP** | **APC** | **PDP** | **APC** | **PDP** |
| **Positive Ad** | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 9 (34.6%) | 3 (33.3%) | 6 (66.7%) |
| **Negative Ad** | 4 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 14 (53.8%) | 9 (64.3%) | 5 (35.7%) |
| **Comparative Ad** | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 (11.5%) | 2 (66.7%) | 1 (33.3%) |
| **TOTAL** | 9 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 26 (100%) |  |  |

**Contextual definitions:**

***Positive Ad*** refer to advertorials that do not have direct or indirect mention of the opponent.

***Negative Ad*** refer to campaigns that present an opponent in completely negative light with brief or no mention of the opponent.

***Comparative Ad*** refer to campaigns that identify the opponent but tries to claim superiority.

Source: Geske, E. E. (2009).

Table two shows the frequency of how advertorials were published in the individual newspapers based on the kind of sympathy they have with the political parties. Although it is difficult to completely assert the partisanship of these newspapers using content analysis alone, the data presented here is reliable since the frequency of advertorial can go a long way in proving the position of the paper.

Given the period under review, *The Nation* has 3 positive ads for APC as against 2 for PDP, 4 negative ads from APC and zero from PDP while there were 2 comparative ads from APC with none coming from PDP. In *Daily Trust,* there was zero positive ad from APC with 1 from PDP, APC has 2 negative ads while PDP produced 4. *Daily* *Trust* did not record any comparative ad material. *The* *Guardian* newspaper recorded 3 positive ads for PDP and zero for APC, there were 3 negative ads in favour of APC and there was 1 for PDP; in comparative ads, PDP has 1 and APC has none. Overall, 26 ads were analysed: out of 9(34.6%) positive ads, 3 amounting to 33.3% were from the APC while 6(66.6%) were in favour of PDP. 14(53.8%) out of 26 were negative ads and APC has 9 of those, with PDP garnering 5 (64.3% and 35.7% respectively). Only 3 ads with 11.5% were comparative in nature; APC has 2(66.7%) while PDP has 1(33.3%).

Finding based on presented data provides that APC enjoyed good publicity from *The Nation* where there was no single negative ad from PDP. *Daily Trust* seem to have more sympathy for PDP but published two critical ads that sought to question the morality of the PDP presidential candidate*.* An APC sponsored ad on February 2 read: **“Jonathan’s desperation, PDP’s frustration… These people have no shame after 16 years of destroying Nigeria”***. The* *Guardian* seems to have balanced between the two. They carried these two ads: **“Faces of Hypocrites… APC… the more you look, the less you see”** and **“If stealing is not corruption, what is? Can President Goodluck Jonathan be trusted with all that he promised?”**

On a whole, juxtaposition of these two kinds of ads do not tell where the loyalty of the medium lays. It only goes further to prove that advertising revenue was a great determinant on whether newspapers published ads containing hate speeches or not. *The Nation* did not hide its sentiments and this is obvious due to the political idiosyncrasies of the owner but content cannot prove in this study whether the other two share similar ideologies with the former.

It is evident, based on the foregoing that newspaper advertorials of the presidential election by the two parties (APC and PDP) were driven by a deep desire to out play the opponent using the basic tool of propaganda. This is reflected in the words portrayed in the examples stated above. Propaganda, in whatever form it appears, has been a tool used by politicians to attract popularity to themselves and at the same time reducing their opponents’ dominance. Consequently, the newspaper advertisements were framed and patterned in specific forms to convey the desired messages and produce expected responses (which cumulated to voters’ choice of a candidate at the pole). As a matter of fact, the APC which according to the findings, meddled in more negative advertisement ended up being victorious. This portents that, after all, propaganda pays – it can be argued that it can lead to success of a candidate at the polls.

**Conclusion**

Newspaper campaigns during the presidential electioneering process were characterized by a lot of hate speeches that were majorly framed along morality issues. Few of those that were issue based centred on economic consequences. The basic trend observed provides that some of the ads where responses to earlier ads published and aired by the media. As the heat continued, the mass media were busy gaining from it and neglecting basic roles that guide sensible coverage of election as fourth estate of the realm. Invariably, the media became a catalyst in the competition; fueling the embers of war through the acceptance of advert placements that contravened ethics of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON).

**Recommendations**

The study therefore recommends the following:

1. The mass media should strive to provide self-regulatory mechanism and ensure that their framing of issues do not heat up the polity especially when those issues are sensitive such as electoral processes. Economic concerns most be balanced with social responsibility and what the law says. This can be done by firmly insisting on issue based ads.
2. APCON and other regulatory bodies most wake up to the responsibility of sanctioning any media station that does not abide by guidelines for vetting political advertisements.
3. Political parties must exercise restrain regarding the kind of ad copies they prepare. They should focus on issues rather than sentiments. More so, well-wishers and associates should refrain from placing inciting ads that can trigger tension and unnecessarily heat the polity.

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## HELP AT A HUGE COST: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF HOW DONOR GROUPS MANIPULATE THE WESTERN NEWS MEDIA TO RAISE FUNDS FOR AFRICA

by

**Taye C. Obateru, Ph.D.**

Department of Mass Communication, University of Jos

tbateru@yahoo.com

**Abstract**

Despite criticisms, over the years, of the negative manner in which the African continent is portrayed in the Western news media, evidence abound that the situation remains largely the same. The Western media have remained consistent in presenting the African continent as a ‘jungle’ synonymous with poverty, disaster, conflict and everything negative. Positive developments such as improvement in social and economic conditions, innovations, etc. are deliberately ignored or downplayed to sustain the negative narrative. Playing a key role in promoting and sustaining the negative depiction of Africa by the Western news media are some Western-based non-governmental humanitarian agencies who employ ‘compassion’ as a strategy for attracting donations to ‘assist’ Africa. They exaggerate disasters and other happenings in Africa using the Western media because, in their view, donors in their countries and elsewhere would not be moved unless a grave picture was painted. This paper analyses the situation which has resulted in continued portrayal of Africa in negative light by the Western news media and the sustained tendency to deliberately ignore or downplay positive developments. It employs the media framing model to explain how the Western news media continue to portray Africa to perpetuate the situation. The paper argues that unless the humanitarian organisations in the West desist from their strategy of employing empathy to attract donations for their activities in Africa and Africans seize the initiative by propagating positive achievements on the continent, objective and unbiased reportage of the continent by the Western news media might remain a mirage.

**Keywords:** *Manipulation, Donor Groups, Western Media, Compassion, Negative Image*

**Introduction**

Although there have been advancements in various quarters in Africa, the negative portrayal of the continent in the Western news media has not abated (Bintiff, 2017). Despite evidence that many Africans have been making their mark in various fields of endeavour locally and internationally, this has not moved the Western media to change the way they ‘frame’ Africa and her people. As a result, the perception of many Westerners about Africa has not changed. They have been made to believe that nothing good can come out of the continent, no thanks to the persistent negative picture of Africa on the Western news media. Therefore, if a Westerner sees an African discussing intelligently, or making a mark in a particular field, he or she must have been trained in Western institutions or might have been influenced by residing in a developed country. The continuous depiction of Africa as a ‘failed’ continent by the Western news media despite indications of positive developments illustrates one of the tensions surrounding the role of journalists in society which is, serving as gatekeepers for all voices in society, versus advocating a particular cause or interest (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng & White, 2009).

Bintiff (2017, para. 1) asserts that for many centuries “Africa is widely regarded reputationally as a foreign aid dependent continent, which in reality is far from the truth”. She argues that a growing body of evidence attests to the increasing number of high net worth Africans:

The 2014 Africa Wealth Report indicates that the high net worth individuals in Africa grew by over 150% between 2000 and 2013, more than double the global rate. This has resulted in the emergence of foundations and charities set up by Africans like Aliko Dangote, Mo Ibrahim, Tony Elumelu, Folorunsho Alakija, Steve and Tsitsi Masiyawa and Graca Machel to name a few (Bintiff, 2017, para. 1).

A major area where the negative portrayal of Africa is most common is in the reportage of crisis, disasters and other developments in Africa by the Western news media. In particular, the literature (e.g. Bintiff, 2017; Kareem, 2012; Mheta, 2015; Nyabila, 2014; Oscar, 2015; Rothmeyer, 2011) supports a deliberate effort by humanitarian organisations to paint an often exaggerated pathetic picture of Africa to ensure the flow of donor funds for their activities. They justify this on the need to generate enough empathy to move people to donate towards their programmes in Africa, caring less about the damage such distortions do to the continent’s image. Stories are ‘framed’ to sustain the image of Africa already created in the minds of the Western audience such that the picture of Africa they have is far from the reality. It thus appears that the Western news media would rather publish unverified information supplied by groups seeking donations from their audiences than uphold the journalism values of truthfulness and fairness. Kurtz (1998) in Hachten (2012) acknowledges the crisis of credibility facing the journalism profession, noting that journalists have become less concerned about the erosion of fundamental values of the profession. This paper examines this issue using the media framing lens to discuss how the Western news media continue to ‘frame’ Africa in negative garb while conveniently ignoring positive developments, resulting in a situation where the average Westerner habours a distorted opinion of the continent. It argues that unless the Western humanitarian organisations change their strategy of employing sustained empathy to attract donations for their activities in Africa, and unless Africans take steps to correct the negative portrayal of the continent by projecting positive happenings, objective and unbiased reportage of the continent might take some time to come. As Chong and Druckman (2007) argue, public interest is not served if opinions can be arbitrarily manipulated by how issues are framed.

**Perspectives on Framing**

Although there is yet no consensus on the impact of the news media in influencing the audience, it is a widely accepted fact that they impact society in varying degrees. From the era of Mass Society Theory through the Era of the Scientific Perspective, the Era of Limited Effects up to the Era of Cultural Theory, several “paradigm shifts” continue to be witnessed in the study of media effects (Baran, 2002). Gauging the actual impact of the news media remains moot, eliciting continuous arguments and counter-arguments from scholars and media users. Ample literature (e.g. Baran, 2002; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 1993; Hachten, 2012; Rodman, 2006) exists on media effects and many of the theories remain germane in trying to understand the news media and their impact on society. As Rodman (2006, p. 440) argues, “Media effects are not as straightforward and clear-cut as some observers have made them out to be. This has led to arguments, disagreements and debates about the impact of media.” Baran (2002, p. 403) also asserts that, “the assumption behind all efforts at control of media use and content is that media have effects. But the presence, strength, and operation of those effects have been long controversial”. It has also been observed that several arguments on the extent of media effects or impact hinge on different research tools with different levels of objectivity. Mass Communication researchers, according to Baran (2002, p. 406) “have produced reasonable answers to many of the most important issues of media effects, and they have done so using a variety of quantitative and qualitative research methods […]” Equally instructive is the fact the ‘powerful effects’ concept of the news media still holds sway among many despite the minimal effects or mixed effect models (Rodman: 2006). Hatchen (2012) for instance, notes that American journalism has influenced how people receive news and view their world globally.

Framing explains the process by which people develop a perception of an issue while framing effect describes how frames in the communication of the elite influence citizens’ frame and attitudes (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This paper views it as the process through which the perception of Africa in the mind of the average Westerner is formed through a concentration on negative happenings and an almost deliberate avoidance of positive ones by the Western news media. To Entman (1993, p. 52) to frame is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context […]” de Vreese (2002a) views journalistic news frames as generic, involving the selection of topics that are subjects of news coverage. Chong and Druckman (2007) argue further that framing involves promoting particular definitions and interpretations while Tuchman (1978, p. 193) asserts that a frame in communication “organizes everyday reality”.

From the different perspectives, it is clear that strong frames can, as Chong and Druckman (2007, p. 111) contend, be built around “exaggerations and outright lies playing on the fears and prejudices of the public […] and may be effective in shaping opinions through heuristics rather than direct information about the substance of policy.” As argued earlier, the deliberate orchestration, and in some cases, distortion of negative news from Africa to attract donations (in aid of Africa) perpetuates a wrong view of Africa among Western news audiences. This tendency contradicts Elliots’s (2004) argument that journalists should provide their audience with global perspectives needed to understand events and the world. Clausen (2012) also contends that globalisation of news should involve an increased awareness of other cultures as a way of gaining a deeper understanding of one’s own culture. Therefore, by deliberately orchestrating negative developments in Africa and ignoring or downplaying positive ones, the Western news media present a distorted ‘global perspective’ for their audiences which cultivates and sustains a warped perception of the continent and her people. Or could the Western news media be giving their audiences what they want? According to Heider, McCombs and Poindexter (2005, p. 953) “by gaining greater insights into the public’s expectations of local news, it may be possible to identify key issues that could, in the long run, increase the public’s interest in news and civic life.” Going by the authors’ position, it seems that the Western news audiences have been so ‘primed’ to expect nothing good from Africa and are uninterested in any positive news from the continent, hence their media give them ‘what they want’. However, Mheta (2015) notes that the situation is changing as some Western news media have introduced programmes that focus on developments in Africa.

**The Depiction of Africa in Western News Media**

Journalism thrives on negative stories because conflict and controversy excite people (Spark & Harris, 2011). It is therefore usual for the news media to accord issues such as wars, conflict, disasters and similar incidents attention especially if the number of deaths, or the magnitude of the disaster is high. Africa as a developing continent has a lot of stories which fits the parameters of news. For several years, Africa presented ‘big’ stories for the news media in the West to a point where the picture of a continent of disasters has stuck in the minds of their audiences. Humanitarian and other donor agencies moved in to garner aid for victims of disasters in Africa and largely succeeded and continue to get donations. The African ‘bashing’ in the Western news media to sustain the picture of a people in need of help is, however, sometimes tempered by compassion fatigue (Moeller, 1999), According to Moeller, compassion fatigue is a situation where people become fed up with and are not moved to donate toward unending negative developments in Africa. To her, the prolonged exploitation of empathy and the negative has made media audiences in the West to become compassion fatigued because of the familiarity with the ‘usual’ unpleasant events in Africa. She argues that “compassion fatigue tempts journalists to find ever more sensational tidbits in stories to retain the attention of their audience” and “encouraged the media to move on to other stories once the range of possibilities of coverage have been exhausted so that boredom doesn’t set in” (Moeller, 1999, p. 2).

This suggests that the ‘abnormal’ events in Africa have become a kind of ‘what to expect’ such that people are no longer moved. What seems attractive to them, is anything different from the normal kind of negative stories. However, there appears to be a reluctance by those concerned to focus on positive developments in Africa.

Studies evidenced that for various reasons, there is a deliberate effort to sustain the negative picture of African in the Western news media (Chavis, 1998; Moeller, 1999; Kareem, 2012; Nyabilla, 2014; Oscar, 2015). For example, Rothmeyer (2011) argues that despite improvements in social and economic conditions in Africa, journalists in the United States continue to portray Africa as a continent of unending horrors. Citing the *Mckenesey Quarterly* which in June, 2010 described Africa as among the world’s most rapidly growing economic regions of the world, she regrets that such developments do not excite the news media in the West because they prefer to sustain the negative depiction of Africa. She observed that between May and September 2010, ‘the ten most-read US newspapers and magazines carried 245 stories mentioning poverty in Africa, but only five mentioned gross domestic product growth’ (Para. 2).

Kareem (2012) also makes similar observations noting that the Western mainstream media narrative of Africa is of an impoverished, corrupt and helpless continent. She contends that rather than show how Africans are making efforts to improve their situation, the Western news media perpetuate the idea that the continent is in need of help from outsiders by concentrating on what foreigners are doing to improve living conditions in Africa.

Kareem quotes Ethan Zuckerman, a co-founder of Global Voices which is an international community of citizen bloggers, as stating that there is a deliberate continuous portrayal of Africa as a place where nothing good happens. She also quoted TMS Ruge, co-founder of a Ugandan-based development organisation as saying that the negative sensational stories about Africa have skewed the public’s view such that “it is difficult for people to accept that there is another side of the story” (para. 10).

Similarly, Oscar (2015) notes that the international media has played a significant role in the negative portrayal of Africa. He accused them of cultivating a distorted image of Africa in the minds of many Americans. He observes, for instance, that the coverage of Africa by the New York Times in the past 100 years has been consistently negative. He asserts that Africa is largely neglected in its coverage and the few reports on Africa are characterised by pessimism and cynicism:

By any standards, Africa is the most ignored of the major regions of the world […] Similarly consistent is that the little African coverage that escapes the gatekeepers and makes it to the pages of this venerable paper has been characterised by pessimism and cynicism (Oscar, 2015, Para 1-2).

Arguing along the same line, Mheta (2015) submits that the Western news media have convinced media audiences in the United States, Europe and other parts of the world that Africa is a hopeless, poverty-stricken continent. According to him, beautiful skyscrapers, roads and other infrastructure are kept away from their audiences who are used to pictures of malnourished, naked and terrible looking children. He, nonetheless, observes that they occasionally publish positive stories about Africa.

Chavis (1998) equally accuses the Western news media of deliberately misrepresenting Africa to their audiences. He avers that they “treat the African continent as a malignant appendage rather than as an integral systematic part of the earth and all its natural functions in accordance with universal laws. Its indigenous populations are depicted as without value” (para. 2).

The above finding also corroborates Malaolu’s (2014) observation of a general lack of interest in the coverage of third world countries by the Western news media. Citing example of the BBC which prefers to rely on non-Nigerian sources on news about Nigeria:

[…] the preference for non-Nigerian sources ensures that the voices ringing out loud in the construction of Nigeria as news are those of foreigners whose perspectives are not only culturally at variance with Nigerians’, but mostly reflect the long-established precolonial and colonial construction of Nigeria. (Malaolu, 2014, p.35)

Viewing the matter from a different perspective, Gathara (2014) observes that African journalists are also guilty of perpetuating the negative portrayal of the continent. He argues that most news media in Africa take their cue on reportage on events in the continent from the same Western media they criticise by depending on international news agencies for stories of events in other African countries. He said that since most African news outlets do not have correspondents or bureaus outside their home countries, “they are part of the problem, perpetuating and disseminating as they do, western perspectives, biases and stereotypes” (para. 10). Jacobs (2015, p.73) blames his on the absence of a continental solidarity among African journalists and “lack of resources to travel between countries or to report from elsewhere in Africa.”

**The Role of Humanitarian Groups**

As observed earlier, the literature suggests that the Western-based international aid groups involved in humanitarian and similar activities in Africa play a significant role in the negative depiction of Africa to the Western audience (Moeller, 1999; Rothmeyer, 2011). For instance, Rothmeyer (2011) in a piece entitled ‘Hiding the Real Africa: Why NGOs Prefer Bad News’ alleges that the organisations doctor information and encourage the portrayal of Africa as a continually needy continent to attract funding. The author found that the NGOs feed news organisations with doctored statistics to paint a pathetic picture that would move donors. Rothmeyer cited an instance of Western news media stories on aid projects in Kiberia, Kenya which were based on information provided by NGOs which described Kiberia as the largest slum in Africa with a population of about one million. She said figures later released after the 2009 census in the country, showed that the area had a population of less than two hundred thousand.

Ironically, the NGOs do not see anything wrong in painting an inaccurate picture. Rothmeyer (2011) quoted an official of one NGOs as justifying the manipulation of facts on the need to prove that there is need. She quoted another as saying, “if you’re not negative enough, you won’t get funding” (para. 4) She concluded that the said organisations tend to focus less on what has been accomplished “but on convincing people what remains to be done” (para. 4).

What this suggests is that if the concocted or doctored facts by the NGOs on the situation in Africa suits the quest for more sensational stories, they continue to be published un-investigated over positive stories or developments which are not considered sensational enough to move the audience. It also suggests that the NGOs seek to continuously raise funds to ‘assist’ Africa through a continuous portrayal of a negative image of the continent in what could be described as ‘killing’ Africa’s image in a bid to help her.

**Conclusion**

It is obvious from the above that there is need for a shift from the negative portrayal of Africa to presenting Africa as it really is – a developing continent with problems but which has positive aspects and prospects. As Clausen (2012) notes, the international media environment is becoming far more complex than has been suggested. As she argued, “the depiction of a hegemonic media system leading to global media may have seemed appropriate in the 1970s but has become increasingly open to challenge” (p.128). This paper therefore views as timely, Jacob’s (2015, p.75) challenge to Africans to change the negative narrative about Africa in the Western media by countering “ahistorical and decontextualized images of the continent and its people”. He suggested ways in which the news media in Africa can change the negative narrative: “Report stories. Investigate malfeasance. Get out of the newsroom. Produce compelling media. Give readers proper historical context. No PR stories. Use local idioms which can be helpful for meaningful reporting” (Jacobs, 2015, p.75).

His call supports a similar one by Ogunyemi (2014) who notes that African diasporic press has a lot to do towards redefining the African narrative and correcting the dominant negative framing of Africa.

In light of this, the paper calls for greater publicity for the activities of African philanthropists, some of whom have established foundations which are demonstrating that Africans have the capacity to help themselves. In this regard, the paper commends Bintiff’s (2017) proposition that African philanthropy needs its own name and the adoption of the coinage – *Afrilanthropy* -to describe it. According to her, “Western philanthropy has been about helping people ‘over there’. Afrilanthropy is about helping the people ‘right here’” (para. 8). It is also cheering that a prominent personality such as the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres is leading in the projection of Africa in positive light. According to him, “far too often, the world views Africa through the prism of problems. When I look at Africa, I see a continent of hope, promise and vast potential” (Guterres, n.d., para. 1). With the interest being shown by countries like China in assisting Africa’s development, it is only a matter of time for the negative portrayal of Africa as completely hopeless, to become questionable among Western news audience. However, unless the Western humanitarian organisations change their strategy of employing empathy or compassion to attract donations for their activities in Africa, and until Africans seize the initiative and begin to correct the negative depiction of Africa, objective and unbiased reportage of the continent by the Western news media might take some time to come.

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## MEDIA VS. INDIVIDUAL FRAMES: COMPETING FRAMES IN CONFLICT ENVIRONMENTS

by

**Nancy Nanchin Katu-Ogundimu, Ph.D.[[1]](#footnote-1)**

Department of Mass Communication, University of Jos

nanchinwura@gmail.com, Phone: 08147502541

# Abstract

This theoretical paper examines the relationship between the media and audiences in conflict environments. Specifically, the paper explores how the media, through frames and representations, reinforce the dominant ideologies and views of the elite class in conflict environments. It also looks at how individual frames are produced in conflict environments and how these competing frames play in the way people interpret and interact with media messages during conflict. This paper posits, that contrary to dominant views that the audiences in conflict societies are passive and easily manipulated by the media through frames, individual schemas and other competing frames play critical roles in influencing how people respond to conflict in societies.

**Keywords**: *Media Frames, Individual Frames, Conflict, Audiences, Theory*

# Introduction

The rise in global armed conflicts raises fundamental questions about the causes; such as why and how individuals and groups engage in violence. As the number of wars and armed conflicts increase globally, so have human attempts to answer these questions. The search for answers led to the emergence of several theoretical and multidisciplinary frameworks that contribute to our understanding of conflict. One of such frameworks is the merging of conflict theory and mass communication research.

Conflict research presents “conflict as a clash of interests…which could lead to outcomes that are either constructive or destructive” (Reuben, 2010, p. 46). Mass communication research suggests that the media set the public agenda and shape the attitudes and behavior of the audience in conflict situations (Gilboa, 2009; Reuben, 2010). By merging these principles, contemporary media and conflict scholarship has shown that, while there might be different levels of explanation of the causes and dynamics of conflict, the media define the boundaries of conflict.

In conflict environments, access to information is crucial because it “makes the difference between life and death” for conflict audiences (Arsenault, Sheldon & Abbott, 2011, p.5). Apart from being a vital source of the much-needed information, the media also provide a platform for parties in a conflict to dialogue. As the important role that the media play during conflict increases, so does their ability to escalate or deescalate the level of violence (Besley & Burgess 2002; Chigozi, 2009; Dellavigna & Kaplan, 2007; Enikolopov, Petrova & Zhuravskaya, 2008; Gerber, Karlan & Bergan, 2008; Kaufmann, Elliot & Shumeli, 2003; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2010). Although the current debate on media and conflict has been helpful in explaining how the media shape audience attitudes and behaviors during conflict, virtually all the arguments are presented through the lens of media effects perspectives, thus, neglecting the role of conflict audiences as a significant part of this discourse.

The aim of this paper is, therefore, threefold:

1. To examine the interdisciplinary link between media and conflict theoretical traditions. This will provide a framework for understanding the relationship between the media and audiences in conflict environments.
2. To conceptualize conflict by examining the theoretical traditions into which the different categories of conflict could be situated.
3. To examine media and individual framing of conflict and explore how these frames shape audience response to media messages in conflict environments.

Theoretical arguments for this paper are divided into three sections: Section one of the paper explores the theoretical conceptualization of conflict. Section two examines the relationship between media and conflict, particularly, the role of the mass media in either escalating or deescalating conflict. The third section looks at the role that individual framing is playing in shaping public opinion.

## 

## Theoretical Conceptualization of Conflict

Conflict is defined as a “situation in which interdependent human actors engage in verbal or non-verbal disputes about perceived incompatibility of positions and issues that are relevant to them” (Hemelink, 2011, p. 13). Armed conflict has become a popular topic in academic discourse due to the number of active armed conflicts in the world and the attention they receive from the media, both locally and internationally. Since World War II, there has been large-scale armed conflicts within state; struggles against colonialism (Kenya, Angola, Cyprus, Vietnam, Algeria), violence for secession of regions (Angola, Nigeria, Mozambique, Congo, Uganda), and, most recently, ethnic, national, and religious conflicts (Chechnya, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Kashmir) (Oberschall, 2010).

Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2010, 2012; 2013, 2014). indicate an increase in the global number of political conflicts. A breakdown of the figures shows 365 cases of conflict were recorded in 2010, 396 in 2012, 414 in 2013, and 424 cases in 2014. Among this, 223 are violent conflicts, 201 are classified as non-violent, and 46 are highly violent conflicts. The increase in the rate of these violent and non-violent conflicts remains an issue of discourse among civil-war researchers, given the series of research aimed at examining the causes and impact of wars and armed conflicts. Different disciplines have offered varying definitions and theoretical approaches to understanding the phenomenon. While psychologists work on conflict in interpersonal relationships, economists understand the concept through game theory and decision making. Similarly, for political scientists, conflict is linked with intra-national and international disagreements or wars. Social science research, which provides the lens through, which this study is examined, views conflict from the perspective of status and class struggles (Axt, 2008; Oberschall, 2010).

The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2005) defined conflict as “the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least, two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their case” (p. 2). This perspective, which draws its theoretical roots from Karl Marx, describes the society as divided into the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ (Williams, 2003, p.36). This creates a situation where individuals subordinated to society and political systems, norms, values and beliefs, or ideologies of the society are controlled by the dominant group through coercion and oppression. Conflict is, therefore, influenced by basic economic determinism and perceived exploitation of dominant social groups in society. Proponents of this theory promote the idea that conflict is inevitable in any society where groups are in a continuous struggle over scarce resources, particularly when people see that their individual goal achievement is being threatened by others (Rogan, 2006). This paper is premised on this perspective.

### 

### The Conflict Perspective

The primary assumptions behind this perspective are that conflict is inevitable due to structural differences and power imbalances in societies that comprise groups, with different unequal power and different self-interests competing for scarce economic and political resources (Sears, 2008). The assumption is that competing groups have needs that run contrary to each other, leading to situations where dominant groups protect their interests and use their power to control the social structure of society. Similarly, institutions in society are believed to be structured in a way to ensure the continuous domination and subjugation of oppressed groups.

Conflict arguments proposed by theorists like Dahrendorf and Coser set the framework for the emergence of other contemporary conflict theories that are enriching the dialogic process with new arguments about how conflicts happen and why people, groups, and societies engage in one form of conflict or another (Coser, 1956; Powers, 2010; Williams, 2003). Conflict theories, such as greed/grievance theories and religion conflict models assume that structural arrangements in most societies are fundamentally exploitive. The theories are discussed in the next section of the paper.

#### **The Greed and Grievance Models**

Proponents of these models of conflict argue that greed and grievances are the underlying causes of wars and violence in societies. The greed model suggests that greed is the underlying cause of civil wars in conflict-prone societies (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). The greed argument suggests that wars and armed conflicts are driven by greed among rebel groups. Other scholars like Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Humphreys, 2005; Murshed & Tadjoeddin, 2007) argued that grievances, such as injustice, marginalization, oppression, and underlying ethnic and religious hatreds among groups are the major causes of wars. For example, the weak state’s mechanism argument presented by Humphreys (2005) suggest that grievances become problematic when: (i) a country’s dependence on natural resources leads to unequal development; (ii) this dependence makes the country vulnerable to trade shocks; (iii) the process of extracting the resource lead to grievances; (iv) wealth derived from the resource is viewed as unjustly distributed.

This argument could explain the conflict situations in Nigeria. The country’s dependence on oil has led to series of oil related conflicts since the early 1960s. Nigeria is the largest oil producing country in Sub-Saharan Africa, with about 32 percent of oil and 34.2 percent of gas reserves on the African continent. The country is also ranked the fifth largest oil exporting country in the world (Oyefusi, 2008). The Nigerian economy is heavily dependent on oil revenue. Like the grievance mechanism suggests, this dependence has led to unequal development, with the Niger-Delta area (the oil producing region) most affected. Although the region accounts for over 90 percent of the oil and gas reserves, it is the most backward in terms of infrastructural development (Oyefusi, 2008). Since the early 1990s, there have been on-going oil related conflicts for oil resource control between people in the region and the Nigerian government. The politics of oil resource control has also pitched the Niger-Delta region against other regions in the country. Corruption in the oil industry and unemployment in the Niger-Delta has created an enabling environment for militancy to thrive. Also, a cursory look at social media postings of current agitators for the creation of Biafra nation out of Nigeria shows the link to oil resource politics.

Another grievance can be linked to the indigene/settler question in Nigeria, which can be traced to the Constitution. In principle, the constitution stipulates that all Nigerians are equal, but in practice, one’s citizenship is determined only by his or her “state of origin.” This means that no matter how long a Nigerian resides in a state other than their state of origin; they will always be regarded as “settlers” who will not be accorded the same rights with “indigenes” of the state; the indigene certificates determine easy access to employment in the state civil-service, political representation at the State and Federal government levels, scholarships, admission into secondary schools and universities, as well as lower school fees (Ojukwu & Onifade, 2010). It means that without an indigene certificate, ‘non-indigenes’ will not enjoy these basic citizen rights. Krause (2011) explained that the arrangement, particularly in Jos North Local government of Plateau State, “opened the floodgates for the politics of labelling and the selective reciting of historical accounts that foster group boundaries to secure political control over local government areas” (p. 10). The implication is that both sides are using archival records to justify their claim to the ownership of Jos and by extension, indigene rights.

Although the greed/grievances debate continues, it is certain that this model does provide a context for understanding why armed violence or civil conflict occurs. It also allows for an understanding of the situation in Plateau State.

#### **Religion and Conflict Model**

The religion and conflict model, which focuses on the role of religion in contemporary conflict, can be categorized as reflecting environmental and religious arguments for armed conflict. The two perspectives are discussed below.

*Environmental arguments*. Proponents of this model suggest that changes in the international environmental structure are, to a large extent, responsible for the global rise of religious conflict (Fox, 1999). One of the most prominent proponents of this argument is Samuel Huntington. In his “clash of civilizations” thesis, Huntington (1993) predicted that the end of the Cold War would usher in a new form of conflict; that is, a clash between the ideologies of different civilizations, particularly between the Muslim East (Islamic civilization) and the Christian West (Western civilization).

At face value, one might say that recent global developments might be a validation of this hypothesis. The terror attacks by ISIL (Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant) in Syria and Iraq, the January 5, 2015, attack on Charlie Hebdo newspapers in France, the growing radicalization of young people from the West, seem to suggest that a growing anger and attack on the values of Western civilization. In Nigeria, tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims have resulted in several violent clashes, which have intensified in the last 15 years. The underlying cause of the latest violence in North East Nigeria has largely been the attempt by Boko Haram to establish Islamic rule in the country by attacking people and institutions they view as representing Western Civilization (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

The clash of civilizations theory is criticized by some scholars for being very simplistic in its approach, particularly the attempt to downplay other factors that might instigate post-cold war conflict (Fox, 2003; Kirth, 1994; Ajami, 1993). Sajjad (2013). For example, Huntington’s theory downplayed underlying classes and tensions existing in some societies. The experience in Nigeria shows that existing religious tensions are also influenced by economic and political factors, such as marginalization, poverty, injustice, as well as ethnic disagreements between the different groups in the country. Although there is no consensus on reasons for religious conflicts, the environmental model does certainly provide the context for understanding how existing political and economic structures in society allow contemporary religious conflicts to thrive. The arguments also highlight the broader role that religion plays in contemporary global armed conflicts.

*Religious arguments*. Perhaps one of the most fundamental arguments about armed conflict could be situated within the social-conflict approach that is rooted in Karl Marx’s critique of capitalism, where religion is viewed as an oppressive tool of the bourgeoisie. Religion helps to maintain the status quo and create a situation where the elite maintain control over fewer privileged groups, by promising those rewards in the after-life. Religion “is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the feeling of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the people…” (Boesche, 1996, p.241).

Hynes (2009) argued that religion is associated with several international and domestic conflicts and identified four reasons for this: (a). Religion requires absolute and unconditional beliefs, which produces totalitarian characteristics among adherents of different faiths such as Islam, Christianity, and Judaism; (b). This absoluteness leads to religious convictions that produce intolerance, fragmentation, and overzealousness, which are hostile to liberal democracy and pluralism; (c). Religion breeds aggressiveness and willingness to commit violence; (d) leaders of religious organizations legitimize human rights abuse or misuse of power in the name of religion (p.54).

Whether largely fueled by greed/grievance, or religion, the arguments embedded in these conflict theories assume that structural arrangements in most societies are fundamentally exploitive. These assumptions can be viewed in two ways: (I) The structured inequality axiom, which suggests that structures in society protect the interests of the more dominant in society to the detriment of the less powerful; (II) The intransigence axiom suggests that the powerful in society do not lose the grip of their exploitive control without being pressured to do so (Powers, 2010, p. 120). These arguments imply that conflict is inevitable because while the powerful, wealthy, and dominant class will always attempt to maintain the status quo, disadvantaged groups will continuously engage in a struggle to challenge and resist such domination.

## The Relationship between Media and Conflict

Both mass communication and conflict theories identify the media as a platform for the ideological struggle between the wealthy, powerful groups and the subordinate disadvantaged groups in society (Reuben, 2009). While the role of the media in challenging, supporting and expanding democracy is acknowledged, different scholars (Chigozi, 2009; Kaufmann, Elliot & Shumeli, 2003; Ross & Alankus, 2010; Maoz, 2010; Ross & Alankus, 2010;Vraneski & Richte, 2002; Zvagulius, 2010) identify media framing of conflict as having an impact on conflict escalation.

While some studies (Reuben, 2009; Sheafer & Dvir-Gvirsman, 2010; Zvagulius, 2010; Ross & Alankus, 2010) explored the relationship between conflict and the mass media, particularly, how media coverage contributes to the escalation or de-escalation of conflict, others (Euwema & Verbeke, 2009; Reuben, 2009; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2010), examined the negative and sometimes, positive persuasive power the media have on its audiences. For example, Williams (2003) identified the media are agents that maintain the status quo by providing a platform for dominant groups in society to increase their control, subjugate disadvantaged groups and reinforce dominant norms and ideologies. According to him: “the images, representations and report, we read in the newspapers, see on our screens, or hear on our radios, encourage us to see the established social order as natural, desirable and something we should support (p. 38).

Williams also argued that the media take sides in conflict because they are owned and controlled by the established power structures in society, who offer ‘false representation’ of events with the goal of reinforcing the existing power structures (p.38). This is even truer in some countries in Africa, where the media is either owned and controlled by government or strictly regulated. The media’s dependence on government for funding in such scenarios, provide opportunity for especially, the ruling parties to monopolize news content. This is very critical in conflict situations because media audiences are often denied a voice or platform to challenge dominant views and ideologies (Megwa, 2009). In some instances, violent conflict in the media is affecting news judgment and “objective” reporting because the media tends to “take the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates” (Chigozie, 2009, p.98). The media present through different frames, topics, images and words in a way that follow a “structural paradigm” called “issue dualism” a process where complex issues are divided into two competing sides with frames that marginalize minority voices and promote destructive reactions to the issues, polarize media audiences as well as discourage possibilities and options for conflict resolution (Reuben, 2009, p.61).

Understanding how conflict is framed both within the media and by individuals is therefore critical for getting deeper insights into how disputants interpret and react to issues during conflict (Coleman, 2004) and for identifying how news media coverage of conflict impacts on early intervention, conflict transformation and peace building (Musa, 2009).

## Media vs. Individual Framing in Conflict

Framing is defined by Vraneski & Richard (2012) as “a psychological trait and a cognitive process that enables us to receive and organize information in patterns, which resemble cognitive maps" (p.5). As second level of agenda-setting, framing influences how people think and talk about issues (Scheele, 1999). Frames provide the framework through which journalists classify and present information. Media framing is defined as a “psychological trait and cognitive process” (Vraneski & Richte, 2002, p.5) as well as “the central organizing principle that holds together and give coherence and meaning to a diverse array of symbols” (Gamson et al, 1992, p.384). It is also a process through, which “people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104). The media select “some aspects of 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” (Entman, 1993, p.52). How the media present events do not only influence the way they the audience understand the issues, it also impacts how they interpret the message. In other words, frames also play an important role in the decoding process of audience members (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

In conflict environments, frames provide the lens through which individuals gather and analyze information. It helps to define their attitudes and behavior in a conflict situation by highlighting disagreements, tensions and incompatibilities between parties (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007). Depending on the situation or the agendas, framing can be applied systematically, to manipulate people to commit violence or mobilize them for peacebuilding. For example, Ambe-Uva (2010) argued that identity frames produced through group identification by Muslims and non-Muslims in Plateau State, Nigeria, contributed to an escalation of the decade long ethno-religious conflict in the state. According to him:

As grievances built over time, both sides, to manipulate popular emotions and eventually to inflame the situation to a level where it could no longer be controlled, appealed to religious sentiments. Christians and Muslims, indigenes and non- indigenes both became perpetrators and victims (p.44).

Apart from the news media frames, individual framing also affects how people process and interpret information. In making this distinction, Entman (1991) describes media frames as “attributes of the news itself” and individual frames as “information-processing schemata of individuals” (p.7). Entman’s classification of the two concepts of framing shows that audience understanding and interpretation of issues are shaped by a multi-layered level of interaction of both media frames and preexisting schemas of individuals. These personal schemas for example, have the potential of shaping how conflict audiences perceive the media, their position in a conflict and those of other parties (Elliott, Kaufman, Gardner & Burgess, 2002; Cheldin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003; Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2013).

### Individual Framing of Conflict

Literature on media effects notwithstanding, research has shown the audience is actively involved during the formation or production of frames. Their attitudes, beliefs, values and experiences of influence how they make sense of world or new information they get from the media (Borah, 2011; Cheldin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003). Individual frames or schemas influence their perceptions and reactions to news presented by the media (Elliott, Kaufman, Gardner & Burgess, 2002; Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2013). These frames, which are also shaped by factors such as individual perceptions about the causes of a conflict, allow audiences to make sense of the diverse and, sometimes, complex information they are confronted with during conflict. Since frames could emerge from underlying beliefs, experiences, and values of individuals, it could affect the intractability of conflict because it influences individual perception of events and other conflict disputants (Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2013).

Apart from the dominant arguments on the impact of media conflict framing on violence escalation, some scholars identify pre-existing schemas as playing a critical role on the way the audience understands and responds to media messages about conflict (Cheldin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003; Elliot, Gray & Lewicki, 2003; Entman, 1993; Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2013; Lewicki, Gray & Elliot, 2003; Scheufele, 1999).

Previous research has demonstrated that news frames influence the attitudes and beliefs of audiences, individual frames or schemas, which are shaped by personal experiences of the audience can also affect how they perceive the news media. In a study, DellaVigna, Enikolopov, Mironova, Petrova & Zhuravskaya, 2011) measured the role of the media in inciting ethnic tensions in the Serbo-Croatian conflict through surveys and textual analyses of ethnically-offensive graffiti displayed on public walls in Croatian villages. Findings of the study indicated that exposure to both the Serbian RTS radio and the graffiti affected the attitudes of Croats towards Serbs and increased significantly, anti-Serbian sentiments. Apart from the media, frames are also influenced by both global political views of or and short-term, related frames of individuals (Scheufele, 1999).

At different stages of conflict, individual schemas influence the way people view their personal or group identities, as well as personal experiences and history with a conflict (Tajfel, 1981).

The schemas of people can be activated when they feel that their identities are threatened in any way. For instance, self-schemas of individuals or groups in a ‘religious’ conflict can be triggered if they feel their religious identities are being threatened. The schemas therefore become the lens through which these people view the media, other parties, or even their position in the conflict. The schemas also influence how audiences select and expose themselves to media content that reinforce their position in a conflict. The selective exposure theory proposed by Klapper (1960) provides a framework for understanding this argument. The theory proposes that audiences are active participants in the communication process as they selectively choose and consume content that is aligned with their preexisting schemas.

Individual frames shape how people interpret events, rationalize their interests in the conflict, build coalitions, strategically choose outcomes and attempt to convince broader audiences about their positions on the conflict (Elliott, M., Gray, B., & Lewicki, R., 2003; Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2013). They influence audience perception, particularly individual judgments and bias against the media (Brussell & Greenberg, 2000). This means that media frames can influence the opinions of conflict audiences, particularly if the information presented supports their views or opinions about an issue. The audience is also likely to develop a biased perception of the media if the information does not agree with their views (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Vallone et al., 1995). In other words, “individual issue schemas could enhance or limit media framing effects as news frames become consistent or inconsistent with the schemas” (Shen, 2004, p. 411).

People perceive, understand, and interpret issues through frames, which evolve from their personal beliefs, experiences and those produced by the media. They use these frames to decide how best they fit into the conflict, and why and how they can respond (Gardner, 2003). Some of these frames, identify and characterization, are important not only for conceptualizing and interpreting conflict, but also for understanding how people are manipulated or convinced to take sides on issues (Kaufman, Elliot & Shumeli, 2003).

Identity frames describe how groups or stakeholders view themselves and their roles in a conflict. This involves language, phrases, and statements that describe who they are and their vested interest in the conflict (Campbell & Docherty, 2004; Gilboa, 2002). Individuals in conflict environments have several identities, which shape how they view themselves and their roles in the conflict. Individuals also frame a conflict through the lens of these identities. These frames influence how they behave, particularly when they perceive that these identities are being threatened in any way. Violence can erupt when people perceive the identities are challenged or threatened (Ambe-Uva, 2010; Gardner, 2003, Kaufman, Elliott & Shumeli, 2003).

When people resort to violence, they also ignore information and perspectives that contradict their identity, while negatively characterizing people outside their group. In doing so, they increase their affiliations with people or groups who think like them and have the same belief system (Kaufman, Elliott & Shumeli, 2003). This conceptualization is critical for understanding among other things, how frames are formed, how and audiences interpret and respond to frames that are produced during conflict.

Characterization, another crucial frame, describes how conflict audiences view other stakeholders in the conflict. These frames are in some instances promoted by the media through blaming stories, coverage and propagation of hate speeches. Characterization frames emphasize group differences that increase the incidence of violence (Reuben, 2009). Negative characterization frames especially undermine group legitimacy and justify violent actions of conflict audiences (Campbell & Doherty, 2004). Audiences participate in the framing of conflict informal discussions; they proactively seek information, even though underlying experiences and beliefs interact with and often affect their response to news media information and, by extension, their attitudes to conflict (Borah, 2011). Identity and characterization thus provides a framework for understanding the way conflict audiences portray and interact with each other. A study by Ross and Alankus (2010) examined the role of the news media in shaping the national identity discourse in Cyprus through a content analysis of newspaper articles from two major newspapers in the country. The findings reveal that the stories, structures and language of the elite perspective in the country reinforce and maintain the status quo of the Turkish Cypriot dominance over the Greek Cypriot. Findings of the study reinforce Marx Media theory postulation that that the elite in a society perpetuate and dominate ideology and the power structure through ownership and control of the media (Ross & Alankus, 2010).

Although several studies (Klien, Byerly, & McEachern, Musa, 2009; 2009; Moaz, & Blondheim, 2010; Moaz, 2010; Ross & Alankus, 2010; Sasson, Tabory & Selinger, 2010; Sheafer & Dvir-Gvirsman, 2010; Zvagulius, 2010) examined the impact of media frames on audiences, very few have looked at the processes through which these frames are produced (Borah, 2011). Borah (2011) argued that citizens, like the media, take part in the framing process through their participation in public discussions over disputing issues. He argued that individuals take active roles in the production process by the way they interpret messages distributed by the media as well as their perception of issues in dispute. The argument, though pointing to limitations in studies also agrees with some studies that argue that ideological biases and personal experiences of audiences interact with and often affect their responses to media frames on conflict.

For example, Moaz (2010) and Moaz & Blondheim (2010) contended that ideologies and experiences of audiences, rather than media frames, influence the way they respond to and interpret media texts during conflict situations. The study by Moaz (2010) particularly gauged audience perceptions to a public television interview with a female Palestinian suicide bomber in Israel by examining how their ideological biases affected their responses to the interview. It is instructive that the findings show that individual frames of study participants, which are shaped by their pre-existing personal schemas and political perception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, rather than competing frames of both the media and terrorists during the interview, influenced their interpretation and reaction to the media content. This finding is critical for understanding how media audiences negotiate and respond to competing frames in a media environment. It also brings into perspective, the argument that the ability of media audiences to interpret and respond to media messages is determined to a large extent, by a wide range of individual, social, political and cultural factors.

Apart from frames created by the traditional media, it is also important to understand how new media and media convergence is raising questions about the ability of the dominant groups not only to maintain control of ideologies, but also to maintain the status quo in conflict situations. Recent protests by youth in different parts of the world reveal that new media, especially, social networking sites are providing a platform for young people to reframe conflict issues and shape new public discourse. New media technology is, no doubt, changing the dynamics of conflict, and challenging the dominant roles of traditional media outlets in monopolizing and controlling information. These new developments in the media provide yet another perspective, for not only understanding framing but also, for the building of a more comprehensive theory to respond to new developments in the mass media.

**Recommendation**

Since framing effects cannot be generalized as universal due to the peculiarities of conflict environments as conceptualized by the different conflict theories (Axt, 2006), further studies are needed to examine the relationships between framing in the media and the development of conflict, particularly, the interplay between the different agendas in a conflict environment which includes, media, political, and public agendas. Understanding the frame production processes impacts of these multiple frames on people in violent conflict environments, new media and reframing of conflict by media audiences is very fundamental to the development of interdisciplinary theories that will more extensively explain the relationship between media and conflict.

In conclusion, this paper raises critical questions about media and individual framing in conflict and suggests that further research be conducted to identify the extent to which audiences use media frames in their information process, how the individual makes meaning out of competing frames, whether these frames cancel or reinforce existing frames and how the frames influence how individuals or groups to respond to a conflict. Finally, it is important to note that although the role the media play during conflict is more complex, compared to other actors, media audiences in conflict zones have the capacity to influence new critical public discourse on war and conflict, thus influencing the reframing of such issues in the media.

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## PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA CAMPAIGNS OF CONSUMPTION OF MADE-IN-NIGERIA PRODUCTS

by

**Onuh Matthew Udaya**

Department of Mass Communication, Western Delta University, Oghara

onomatudaya2@gmail.com

**Abstract**

This study investigated public perceptions of media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products. A sample of 385 respondents from Enugu selected through a multi-stage technique took part in the study. The questionnaire was used as the instrument for data collection while mean and standard deviation were used in the analysis. Result showed, among others, that sources in media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products were perceived as mostly government officials, public figures, not credible and did not include economicexperts**.** Based on the result of this study, the researcher concludes that most of the respondents had negative perceptions of media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products. Further studies are recommended to adopt content analysis to examine media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products for better understanding.

**Keywords:** *Campaigns, consumption, perception, products, and media*

**Introduction**

Media campaigns have received attention in literature from different scholars and on different issues (e.g, Wakefield, Loken, & Hornik, 2010; Schwinn, Schinke, Di Noia, 2010; Lee, Neighbors, Kilmer, & Larimer, 2010; Hornik, 2006). The burgeoning literature on media campaigns cannot be separated from the perceived role of the media as agenda setters, opinion moulders and as the fourth estate of the realm. As agenda setters, the media have the responsibility to scan happenings in the society and provide the required information that will shape the direction of activities in the society. As far back as 1972, (see McComb, 2004).Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw studied voters at Chapel Hill Community North Carolina, United States of America and reported that the editors, in choosing and displaying news, pictures, etc., play an important role in shaping public reality. Since this ground breaking study, commonly referred to as the Chapel Hill Study, the role of the media in attitude change through campaigns have been confirmed by studies (e.g. Akinbi, 2015; Ngige, Badekale, & HammanJoda, 2016). The social responsibility function of the media also suggests that they examine the society and come up with reports that could help in making the society a better place. The Hutchins Commission of Inquiry (1947) gave birth to the notion of social responsibility and pointed out the key journalistic standards that the press should seek to maintain. According to the tenets of the theory, freedom carries with it a corresponding responsibility which the media must not compromise. Such a responsibility include suggesting ways of addressing societal problems.

One of the problems facing the Nigerian society today is how to promote the consumption of products made-in-Nigeria. Over time, it has been observed that many Nigerians do not like consuming products produced in Nigeria. Many Nigerians prefer to consume products that are produced outside the country. This has been confirmed by studies (e.g. Nyitor, 2010; Omotayo, 2009) that investigated products preference among Nigerians. This reality is very inimical to the economic development of Nigeria because it discourages local manufacturers and, thus, slowing down economic activities. Figures from the Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria say that annually, Nigeria imports rice worth N356 billion; wheat, N635 billion; sugar, N217 billion and fish, N95 billion. Nigeria also spent N3.3 billion on the importation of building materials in 2013 alone (*Punch*, 2016).Nandi (2010, p.3) argues that consumption of local products is very essential for economic development of any nation. Nandi sums this thus:

When dollars are spent locally, they can in turn be re-spent locally, raising the overall level of economic activity, paying more salaries, and building the local tax base. This re-circulating of money leads to an increase of economic activity, with the degree of expanse entirely dependent on the percentage of money spent locally.

The submission above provides evidence on the importance of consumption of product made locally. For a country like Nigeria where unemployment is on the increase with corresponding rising poverty rates, promoting the consumption of local products is very essential. The media in Nigeria have responded with corresponding campaigns, encouraging people to consume local products but this appear not be making significant progress.

The media in Nigeria, have over the years, carried out campaigns, promoting the consumption of made in Nigeria products. Different messages that create awareness on the consumption of products produced in Nigeria have been made available to the Nigerian public. For example, The *Punch* newspaper of March, 11 2016 carried a story with the headline: ‘Saraki canvases support for made in Nigeria products.’ In the story, the newspaper promoted messages on consumption of local products. Also, The *Punch* Editorial of October 18, 2016 entitled embracing made in Nigeria goods threw it weights behind the patronage of products produced in Nigeria. The editorial argues that the consumption of products produced within the country is very essential for Nigeria’s economic development. Part of the editorial reads: ‘Public procurement should likewise be restructured to accommodate local products as against foreign goods and services.’ The *Guardian* newspaper of December, 2 2016 also had a similar story. Part of the story reads:

It is high time Nigerians embraced buying of made-in-Nigeria products and services with a national pride that “this is our own.” The craze for foreign goods and the manner majority of Nigerians go about indulging themselves with foreign-made cum imported goods had been at the expense of the economy and has left local industries completely prostrate.

The broadcast media is not left out either. For example, the Nigerian Television Authority usually carries an advocacy message in which case made-in-Nigerian shoes are presented as of very high quality. This message is normally aired during news and other popular programmes. The few instances on media campaigns on made -in –Nigeria provides insights into the efforts Nigerian media have made in promoting the local economy through local consumption. However, public perceptions on these messages has not been significantly investigated.

Perception is the interpretation attached to cognitions. Perception describes the, identification, arrangement and interpretation of sensory information in order to represent and understand the environment (Schacter, 2011).For perception to take place, there must be exposure to signal. In the nervous system, that will eventually ignite the sense organs. For instance, vision involves exposure to light to retina of the eye, smell is mediated by odour molecules, and hearing involves pressure waves while perception on media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products entails exposure to such media messages. Public perceptions of media campaigns can be studied along the line of the sources cited in such messages, the policy directions in such messages and the message content itself. This study, thus, interrogated public perceptions of media campaigns on consumption of products produced in Nigeria within the framework of the sources cited, the policy direction and the message contents.

**Statement of the Problem**

Although over the years, scholars (Wakefield, Loken, & Hornik, 2010; Schwinn, Schinke, Di Noia, 2010; Lee, Neighbors, Kilmer, & Larimer, 2010; Hornik, 2006) have investigated different aspects of media campaigns, not much is known about perceptions on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products. Studies (e.g Nyitor, 2010; Omotayo, 2009) focusing on products produced in Nigeria have paid more attention to products preference. This gap in literature has denied scholars knowledge on the public perceptions of media campaigns. Understanding public perceptions of media campaigns on made-in-Nigeria products along the line of sources cited, policy direction and message content will open a new chapter in the study of media campaigns in terms of subject. Also problematic is the uncertainty regarding public perception of media campaigns on made-in-Nigeria products, despite the fact that the campaigns have been going on for some time. The problem this study poses as a question is, what is public perceptions of media campaigns on made-in Nigeria products?

**Objectives of the Study**

This study sough to achieve the following objectives:

1. To determine public perceptions of sources cited in media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products.
2. To determine public perceptions of policy direction of media campaigns on made in Nigeria products.
3. To examine public perceptions of message contents of media campaigns on made in Nigeria products.

**Research Questions**

This study sought answers to the following questions:

1. What is public perceptions of sources cited in media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products?
2. What is public perception of policy direction of media campaigns on made- in Nigeria products?
3. What is public perceptions of message contents of media campaigns on made in Nigeria products?

**Overview of Media Campaigns**

Media campaigns are carefully planned and coordinated messages aimed at achieving a defined goal. The University of Twente (2006) describes a media campaign as the universe of measures in order to fulfil a specific objective. Bragt (2004) holds that media campaigns should focus on the following: How to use the types of media available, how to use existing media in such a way that will give the campaign the maximum effect and how to make best message best suitable. Coffman (2002) provides a classification of media campaigns thus:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Campaign Type/Goal** | **Individual change Behaviour** | **Public will** |
| Objectives | " Influence beliefs and knowledge about a behaviour and its consequences " Affect attitudes in support of behaviour and persuade "  Affect perceived social norms about the acceptability of a behaviour among one’s peers "  Affect intentions to perform the behaviour "  Produce behaviour change (if accompanied by supportive programme components) | Increase visibility of an issue and its importance " Affect perceptions of social issues and who is seen as responsible "  Increase knowledge about solutions based on who is seen as responsible " Affect criteria used to judge policies and policymakers "  Help determine what is possible for service introduction and public funding "  Engage and mobilize constituencies to action |
| Target Audience | Segments of the population whose behaviour needs to change | Segments of the general public to be mobilized and policymakers |
| Strategies | Social marketing | Media advocacy, community organizing, and mobilization |
| Media vehicles | Public service/affairs programming: print, television, radio, electronic advertising | News media: print, television, radio, electronic advertising |
| Examples | Anti-smoking, condom usage, drunk driving, seat belt usage, parenting | Support for quality child care, after school programming, health care policy |

The above submission reveals the types of media campaigns and how to go about it. One of the elements of media campaigns is sources of messages. The credibility of the source has been argued to be a critical components in behavioural change communication. A study conducted by Lafferty, Goldsmith and Newell (2002) reported that the credibility of the source is an important component in media campaigns. Goldsmith and Newell in an experimental study reported that the credibility of the source is very essential in behavioural change communication. Similar result was reported by Lemansk and Lee (2012). In addition to the source of messages, the policy implication is a very critical component of media campaigns. Yanovitzky (2002) argues that the policy direction of the media significantly influence policy formulation. What this means is that the type of attention the media pay in her campaigns suggest the direction of policy. Yanovitzky in a study to the case of drunk driving between 1978 and 1995 found that heightened media attention to the drunk-driving problem at the beginning of the issue-attention cycle (the early 1980s) attracted greater policy attention to this issue and pressured policy makers to generate immediate, short-term solutions to the problem. Yet, once the volume of media attention to this issue started to wane (from the late 1980s onward), policy preferences gradually shifted to long-term solutions. Another critical component is the message itself. The message is a very important aspect of media campaigns because it is the main thing. Media messages can be persuasive, information, educative or entertaining. The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation (nd) sums the central role of message in media campaigns thus:

Your advocacy message is what you choose to say about your issue, its solution and who you are. To develop a message, you will need information to back up the arguments you use. Analysis help you identify key stakeholders in relation to your issue. Your “audiences” are these same stakeholders, as well as potential sympathizers. When you develop your messages, you can refer back to this analysis, but you may also need to sharpen your profile of each audience (p.232).

**Theoretical Framework**

The theory of perception was used to anchor this study. The theory was propounded by Krishnananda in 1992. According to Krishnananda, perception is a process of the consciousness of an object. Perception is one of the ways of valid knowledge in the world and consists in an inseparable relation of the perceptive consciousness with its content. The objects that are seen in the world are considered by the common man to be existing outside his body and the senses, and he feels that the objects are reflected, as it were, in his mind in perception. The object itself does not enter the eye, for example, in the act of seeing, but there is a transmission of vibration from the object, with which his consciousness comes in contact, which becomes a content of his consciousness, and on account of which he is said to know the existence of the external object. The researchers found this theory useful because it provides the theoretical background for the study of public perceptions of media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products.

**Methodology**

Design and area of the study: The descriptive survey was used in this study. This approach offers the researchers the avenue to understand public perceptions of media campaigns on made- in -Nigeria products. The researchers conducted this study in Enugu State. The state is among the five states in South East Nigeria with 17 Local Government Areas and three senatorial zones and shares borders with Abia State and Imo State to the south, Ebonyi State to the east, Benue State to the northeast, Kogi State to the northwest and Anambra State to the west.

Population of the study: The target population of this study was all the residents of Enugu State. The projected total number of residents of Enugu for 2016 according to figures from the National Bureau of Statistics (2012) is 4,411,119.

Sample and Sampling Technique: The sample size for this study was made up of 385 respondents. The Cochran formula (1963, p.75) was used to arrive at the sample size. With 95 percent level of confidence (confidence interval - + 5%), population estimate of 50% (.5) and a permitted margin of error at .05 (5 percentage points), the Cochran Equation ‘1’ which yielded a representative sample for population that are large was used. Multi-Stage sampling technique was used for this study. As a first step, all the three senatorial zones in Enugu State were selected. At the second stage, the researchers selected one Local Government Areas through a purposive means from each of the three senatorial zones. They are Awgu from Enugu West; Nsukka from Enugu North and Isi Uzo from Enugu East. The third stage involved the selection of the Headquarters of the local government. To sample for the individual respondents, the researchers visited households within the study area from the hours of 4-6pm to ensure that those on official engagements also took part in the study. Only persons who admitted that they had been exposed to media message on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products were selected. Media messages on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products were defined as those messages that inform people the need to buy products produced in Nigeria.

The researchers used a self-developed questionnaire to collect data for the study. The response format was a four point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A) Disagree (D) and strongly Disagree (SD). The bench mark for accepting or rejecting a statement was 2.5. In the analysis of data for the study, the researcher used mean and standard deviation. SPSS version 22 was used to analyze data for this study.

**Results**

A total of 385 copies of the questionnaire were administered to the respondents but only 362 copies were filled and returned. This represents a returned rate of 94%.

**Table I:** Public perceptions of sources cited in media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S/N | Item | Mean | SD |
| 1 | Sources on media campaigns on consumption of made in Nigeria products are mostly government  Officials | 2.5\* | .71 |
| 2 | Sources in media campaigns on consumption of made- in- Nigeria products are mostly public figures. | 2.9\* | .68 |
| 3 | Sources in media campaigns on made- in –Nigeria products are not credible | 2.9\* | .86 |
| 4 | Sources in media campaigns on consumption of made- in –Nigeria products do not include Nigerians who are not public figures | 2.9\* | .96 |
| 5 | Sources in media campaigns on made-in-Nigeria products do not include economic experts | 2.6\* | .93 |

The result from the table above showed that most of the respondents agreed with all the five items presented as their perception about sources in media campaigns on consumption of made –in-Nigeria products. This is because all the items had means scores above 2.5 which is within the acceptable benchmark.

**Table II:** Public perceptions of policy direction of media campaigns on made in Nigeria products

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Item | Mean | SD |
| Media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products condemn existing policies | 2.5\* | .90 |
| Media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products suggest replacement of existing policies | 2.4\*\* | .69 |
| Media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products suggest amendment of existing policies | 2.8\* | .76 |
| Media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products make no policy adjustments | 2.1\*\* | .74 |
| Media campaigns on consumption of made- in -Nigeria products suggest improvements in policy implementation | 2.6\* | .83 |

Note: \* Accepted \*\* Rejected

Out of the five items presented in the table above, three were accepted while two were rejected. The two items were rejected because they Zcould not have a mean score of 2.5 and above, which is the bench mark for accepting items.

**Table III:** Public perceptions of message contents of media campaigns on made in Nigeria products

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Item | Mean | SD |
| Media messages contents on consumption of made-in Nigeria products are persuasive | 2.2\*\* | .77 |
| Media message contents on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products are informative | 2.1\*\* | .89 |
| Media message contents on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products are educative | 2.5\* | .83 |
| Media message contents on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products are entertaining | 2.9\* | .91 |
| Media message contents on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products are inspiring | 2.3\* | .67 |

The results from the table above suggests that the respondents accepted three out of the five items presented. The implication of this result is that the respondents perceive the campaign messages as largely not persuasive nor inspiring.

**Discussion of Findings**

The results of this study showed that sources in media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products were mostly government officials, public figures, not credible and did not include economic experts. This outcome is not cheering because it suggest that the ordinary Nigerian people were not featured as sources in media campaigns. The perceived lack of credibility in the sources could be the reason media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products have not changed the penchant for foreign products. This is because a study by Goldsmith and Newell (2002) reported that source credibility significantly influences behavioural change.

The result of this study also suggests that most of the respondents perceived media campaigns on consumption of made-in Nigeria products as condemning existing policies, suggesting amendment to existing policies and suggesting improvements in policy implementation. This result suggest that the media in Nigeria have advocated for changed in policies related to patronage of made in Nigeria. This result is contrary to that of Yanovitzky (2002) who reported that media campaigns led to policy formulation in the United States. On the contrary, it is difficult to say the same thing in Nigeria vis-à-vis consumption of made-in-Nigeria products.

The result finally showed that the messages contents were largely lacking in persuasive capability. The respondents also perceived the message as not inspiring. The implication of this result is that the respondents perceived the message as not powerful enough to command action. This result has implication on the perception theory. It suggests that people’s perception is based on their understanding of media contents. That is, perception of objects (Krishnananda, 1992). The basic contribution of this study is that it has provided evidence-based understanding on public perceptions of media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products. This understanding will shape future campaigns in this regards.

**Conclusion/Recommendations**

Based on the result of this study, the researcher concludes that most of the respondents had negative perception of media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products. The study makes the following recommendations:

Media houses should make campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products as persuasive as possible.

Media houses in Nigeria should ensure that their campaigns on consumption of made in Nigeria products are inspiring.

Media houses in Nigeria should cite sources that are credible in their campaigns on consumption of made in Nigeria products.

Media houses should also cite ordinary Nigerians in their sources.

Finally, further studies should adopt content analysis to examine media campaigns on consumption of made-in-Nigeria products.

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## WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER

by

**Yakubu Mohammed Salisu**

yakubumohsal@gmail.com

**Ohieku Anthonia Omeneke**

toniaaudu100@gmail.com

**Safina Sanusi Sabo**

safsabo@yahoo.com

Department of Mass Communication, Federal Polytechnic, Nasarawa

**Abstract**

This study investigates women participation in Nigerian newspaper. The focus of the study was on participation in content generation with emphasis on news writing, feature writing, news sources, editorial membership and column writing. The study equally focuses on the achievements of women newspaper journalists as well as participation in content consumption very well expressed as readership. Using a combined method of survey and content analysis, two newspapers - Daily Trust and Daily Sun, and 100 women were purposively selected while twelve women journalists were interviewed. Result showed that newspaper consumption among women is low as 53% of them reported reading newspapers occasionally with only 19% reported reading newspaper daily. The result of the study equally shows that women participation in newspaper content generation is below average – news writer 34% feature write 24%, editorial member 32% news sources 38% columnist 22%. Result further showed women have recorded achievement in the newspaper industry in areas like politics, education, health, economy and agriculture. The study recommends the enactment of an act of parliament mandating newspapers in Nigeria to reverse the trend of low women participation in newspaper content generation.

**Keywords**: women, participation, newspaper

**Introduction**

One of the global arguments today is the equitable representation of women in different spheres of life. From polities, to sport, the story is the same. Women participation in the media is of even more interest because of the power of the media in shaping opinion and directing actions. It is a general notion that the media are whistle blowers, setting agenda in the process and engendering development, at least, they (the media) are supposed to. The Nigerian print media, especially newspapers, are renowned for their roles in the fight against colonial rule which led to the eventual independence of the country. The print media are also credited for successfully fighting the dark age of military misrule in the country. Even with the killings, maiming indiscriminate imprisonment, e.t.c, the print media remained dogged. The relevant message for this study here is that the print media fight for justice, freedom and fair play. But can this be said of the print media with regard to women? What is the level of women participation in Nigerian print media? Newspapers are inevitable channels of information dissemination. According to Onwubiko (2005) newspapers have been accorded a great deal of importance in the transmission of government policy, provision of regular source of current information for artisans, students & staff, while Waal (2005) observed that print newspapers is indeed better at expanding awareness of issues than their online counterparts for some groups in society; especially those with average or below average interest in news, whereas the online editions only seem to broaden the horizon of the highly educated in the society. According to Ugah (2009) and Onu (2005) one of the fastest means of transmitting current information is through the print media especially the newspapers, most students read newspapers to broaden their knowledge and keep abreast of the recent developments, and to enhance their academic performance. Isaachson (2009) and Manish (2011) observed that newspaper have more readers than ever in terms of content especially among the youth of today. Martin (2003) noted that the demise of newspaper has long been predicted, yet they continue to survive globally despite competition from radio, television and the internet because they serve core social functions in successful cultures, however Veronis (2006) in Igbeka and Ola (2010) advised that newspapers, like network television, hold a major advantage over Internet sites because they still reach the large audiences that the Internet is having a hard time reaching, as the Internet is about fragmentation. Igbeka and Ola (2010) corroboratively opine that newspapers provide up-to-date information on local, state/provincial, national, and world issues. They are among the most widely-read periodicals that are available and accessible to the vast majority of people of all ages and walks of life in any community. The simple fact is that newspaper remains a vibrant channel of information dissemination.

Women participation in Nigerian newspaper can be examined from two broad categories. Viz; women participation in newspaper contents and women participation in consuming newspaper content, summarily explained as newspaper readership. Women participation of either of the categories has its implications. For instance, women involvement in the sourcing, process and distribution of newspaper messages is likely to have a corresponding improvement on the way they (women) are portrayed. Their representation in the news as sources will be higher. Their participation as consumers will educate and inform them to become active members of the society and even aspire for grater and challenging responsibilities in the society. Another level of women participation in the print media is ownership. The print media in Nigeria is dominated by individuals. How many women owe newspaper houses? How many of them operate magazine houses? Ownership is very essential because women participation at that level has the proclivity of determining women presentation in the newspaper. This study attempts examination of women participation in newspaper.

**Statement of the Problem**

For some time now, the argument on women participation in critical areas has been on. In the media, much attention is paid on their Portugal with only a handful of studies focusing on their participation. The print media in Nigeria is particularly renowned for its doggedness even in the face of military dictatorship. But what role do women play in the print media? What is women participation in the Nigeria newspaper? It is not clear the level of women participation in newspaper production as news writer, as feature writers, as news sources, as columnists and as editorial board members. This uncertainty on women participation in newspaper, thus presents a broad problem for examination. However, this study will examine the problem from the perspective of women participation in newspaper consumption and production.

**Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of the study is to examine women participation in Nigerian newspaper. Specifically, this study will address the following:

1. To determine the frequency of newspaper readership among selected Nigerian women.
2. To determine the achievements of women journalists in Nigerian newspaper.
3. To determine the level of women participation in selected newspaper segments?

**Research Questions**

This study raised the following research questions:

1. What is the frequency of newspaper readership among selected Nigerian women?
2. What are the achievements of women journalists in Nigerian newspaper?
3. What is the level of women participation in selected newspaper segments?

**Evolution of Newspaper in Nigeria**

The history of the Nigerian press dates back to 1859, when Rev. Henry Townsend released *Iwe Iroyin fun Awon Ara Egba ati Yoruba* (*The Newspaper for the Egbas and Yorubas)* in Abeokuta. It was bilingual (published in both English and Yoruba). This was followed in 1863 by *The Anglo African,* edited by Robert Campbell. It carried both local and international news. With the increase in political and social activities in Nigeria, came a bimonthly newspaper used toaggregate public opinion on topical issues, the *Lagos Times,* which emerged on November 10, 1880. The *Lagos Observer* hit the newsstands fifteen months later, followed by *The Eagle* on March 31, 1887. Adolphus March started *The Mirror* at this time. Other newspapers began to emerge afterwards: *The* *Nigerian Chronicle* in 1908, and *The Nigerian Pioneer,* founded by Kukoyi Ajasa.In 1926, the Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company started the *Nigerian Daily Times.* The *West African Pilot* of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe was established in 1936. This brought an increase in national consciousness. Chief Obafemi Awolowo started the *Nigerian Tribune* in 1946 among several others. The list below reveals some of the newspapers and their publishers.

* [Iwe Irohin](http://nigerianwiki.com/wiki/Iwe_Irohin), started publication in December, 1859 by C.M.S. Press under the direction of Rev. Henry Townsend
* The Anglo-African started publication in 1863, it was published by [Robert Campbell](http://nigerianwiki.com/wiki/Robert_Campbell).
* Lagos Times, November 10, 1880. Editor, Andrew Thomas, Publisher [Richard Beale Blaize](http://nigerianwiki.com/index.php?title=Richard_Beale_Blaize&action=edit&redlink=1).
* Lagos Observer, February 15, 1882. Edited and published by J. Bagan Benjamin, assisted by Robert Campbell.
* The Eagle and Lagos Critic, March 31, 1883. Edited and published by [Owen Macaulay](http://nigerianwiki.com/wiki/Owen_Macaulay).
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It should be noted Iwe Irohin has been resuscitated. Adedeji (2012 para 2) captures this thus

The first Nigerian Newspaper, known as Iwe Irohin, was on Friday resuscitated after 140 years of its demise in Abeokuta, the Ogun State Capital.The re-launch took place at the Press Centre, with dignitaries in attendance expressing their joy over the resuscitation. The 32-page tabloid, which is an initiative of the Nigeria Union of Journalists, NUJ Ogun State Council, was reviewed by Adegoke Raufu, the Head of the Department of Mass Communication at the Moshood Abiola Polytechnic, Abeokuta.The newspaper is printed on pure white bond of 60 gram thickness. Eight pages of the paper are presented in full-processed colours, while the remaining 24 pages are in black and white. The news pages run in six columns, while interviews and features pages are run in four columns. The reviewer noted that Iwe Irohin is a good attempt and a commendable effort at re-living the past, adding that it shows the dedication of journalists in Ogun State to upholding the past for the purpose of consolidating the present.

**Newspaper and Women Participation**

Newspapers are vital instruments of information passage in the society. Newspaper, just like other media, carries local, regional, national and international news to the readers. Newspaper serves us the latest happenings in different parts of the world through a network of correspondents and news agencies. The national dailies employ their correspondents and reporters in all the major cities of the world. (Pandey 2010) The major newspapers in modern Nigeria like *the Punch, the Guardian*, the *Vanguard, Daily Sun* etc would, shape and influence the views, opinions and attitudes of many Nigerian readers. Commenting on the role of newspaper, Pandey (2010) notes that in this modern age, newspapers play a very important role in promoting commerce, trade and business as according to Pandey, big corporate and industrial houses promote their products by giving spacious advertisements in newspapers. Classified advertisements, important public announcements and public notices also constitute the important content and material of newspapers. Sports, educational and campus news, dance drama, cultural activities and fine arts are some of the necessary features of all newspapers. Shanon (2003) and Dhanushka (2010) observed that newspaper must be timely, and well organized, they motivate, inspire, excite users and possess the capacity to retain information for many years. Anaeto (2009) and Waal (2005) opined that newspapers carry information on current events that are attractive to readers. Ola and Ojo (2007) reiterate that, “newspapers are important because they carry current information and they keep the readers informed of events and happenings within and outside their immediate environments. They are useful for education, recreation, entertainment and relaxation.” News is written as a way of disseminating information to a large group of people. Reporters and editors are usually conscious of the language they use in news reportage to attract popular readership. In positioning newspapers within the news environment and establishing their academic and research viability, Cheney, Knapp, Alan, and Czapla (2006) insist that despite the growing presence of news on the Internet, radio, television, etc., a library's current newspaper collection can continue to play a vital role in the academic community. In fact, they advocate that, in order to improve newspaper readership among college-age students, libraries should provide free and unhindered access to newspapers.

Women participation in newspaper entails their involvement in newspapering. It is expected that women will fully participate in newspaper at different levels. Such levels include as readers, news sources, news writers, columnists, cartoonists among others. Newspapers have roles to play in the realization of the outcome of Beijing conference of 1995. It was an international conference on women held between 4-15th September 1995 in Beijing, China with the sole aim of enhancing the welfare of women. Item 44 of the declaration states ‘‘To this end, Governments, the international community and civil society, including nongovernmental organizations and the private sector, are called upon to take strategic action in the following critical areas of concern’:

1. The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training.

2. Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services

**Violence against women**

3. The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation.

4. Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources.

6. Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision making at all levels.

7. Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of Women

8. Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women.

8. Stereotyping of women and inequality in women’s access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media.

9. Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment.

10. Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl child.

The Beijing conference, is a follow-up to the convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of the United Nations which was adopted on 18 December 1979 and entered into force as an international treaty on 3 September, 1981. Article 2 of the convention writes “States parties condemn discrimination against women in all forms agree to pursue by appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination.” The important point for note here is that the level of women participation in newspapering in Nigeria has a close link with the Beijing declaration. A documentation of the achievements of women in Nigerian newspaper gives an insight into the understanding of the vital role women can play in various spheres if given the opportunity.

**Theoretical Framework**

This study was anchored on the democratic participant theory. The theory was propounded by McQuail in 1987 (Asemah, 2011). This theory holds that the media should be democratized for the purpose of accessibility and ownership. McQuail (1987) cited in Asemah (2011, p. 155) lists the following as the basic assumption of the theory:

1. Individual citizens and minority groups have right of access to media and rights to be served by the media based on their determination of needs.
2. The organization and content of the media should not be subjected to centralized, political or state bureaucratic controls.
3. The media should exist primarily for the audience and not for the media organization, professionals or client of the media.
4. Groups, organization and local communities should have their own media.
5. Small scale, interactive and participation media forms are better than large scale one-way and
6. Certain social needs relating to mass media are not adequately expressed through individual consumer demands, not through the state and its major institutions.

This theory is relevant to this study because it gives an insight to the idea of women participation in the Nigerian print media either as owners or consumers or even as producers. This is because, the theory charges the media to reflect all spheres of the society. The print media should be participatory and women are not left out, but whether this is the reality on ground is what this study seeks to investigate

**Methods**

This study adopted a twin design of content analysis and survey. Content analysis was used to analysis the selected newspapers while survey was used to elicit primary data from selected respondents so as to make the result more in dept. Two newspapers were purposively sampled for this study. They are the *Daily Trust* and the *Daily Sun*. These papers were selected because of their national coverage, perceived popularity and accessibility. This study covered a period of 48 weeks beginning from 1st January 2014 to 31s December, 2014. Through a statistical calculation, 1(one) edition was selected each week for each of the two papers. To arrive at the editions, the researcher adopted constructed week. Consequently, the days of the week were assigned numbers as Sunday-1, Monday-2, Tuesday-3, Wednesday-4 Thursday-5, Friday-6 and Saturday-7 and folded and put in a container labeled as the day-container. The 48 weeks were also numbered as 1-48 and put in another container, labelled as the weeks’ container, and both were reshuffled. For each week that was picked from the container week, a day was also picked from the day container and this continued until 48 editions were arrived at from the two newspapers leading to a total of 96 editions put together. These editions were examined and stories written by women or with women as sources were identified and analysed. Also, to determine women participation in the editorial team of newspapers, editorial names of the two newspapers were examined. It should be noted that the emphasis was on the frequency of appearance of women in newspapers and not on location.

**Coding**

The content categories coded in this study were editorial team – women coded as 1 and men 2 newspaper content sub categories considered were news item 2 news writer 2 news source 3 feature writer 4 and column writer 5.

Two coders used for this study were told to first, visit the editorial page were all the names of editors (editorial team) are written count and determine the number of women and second, they were told to peruse the newspaper and determine the number of news writers who were women, news sources who were women, feature writers who were women and column writers who were women and assign tallies based on the code. The Inter-coder reliability was determined using Hosti’s Inter coder reliability formula thus:



Where:

M = The number of coding decisions which two coders agree.

N1 & N2 – The number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively. The inter coder reliability was



Therefore, inter-coder reliability = 0.92 was considered as high .

**Results**

The response rate for the 100 copies of the questionnaire administered was 88%. This was considered adequate for analysis. The table below reveal newspaper readership among selected women.

|  | Frequency | Percent |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Yes | 64 | 72.7 |
| No | 24 | 27.3 |
| Total | 88 | 100.0 |

Source: **Field Survey, 2015**

From the table above 64 (73%) admitted that they read newspapers while 24 (27%) said they do not. To determine the frequency with which they read newspapers, a simple pie chart was plotted as shown below



A chart showing the frequency of newspaper readership among selected women.

The chart above shows that 19%(12) of the women respondents reported that they read newspapers daily, 17% (11) reported that they read newspapers weekly while 11%(7) noted that they read newspapers monthly with 53% (34) reporting that they read newspapers occasionally.

On the achievements of women in newspaper in Nigeria, an open ended question was mailed to twelve women newspaper journalists and most of them reported that they had written life changing stories in the area of agriculture, health, education and economy. Some of them noted that they had equally recorded achievements in the area of political reportage, security and child rights. The respondents noted that their stories were capable, of, and actually attracted government attention and influence policies. One of the respondents puts:

I have achieved many things as a women newspaper journalist. This cut across health, education, politics, security, human rights, agriculture and health. There are instances where my stories influenced the conduct of public office holders and government policies……The battle is on-going and am prepared to prove my passion for newspaper journalism.

The above respondents even went as far as renewing her commitment in her pursuit for information dissemination. To determine women participation in newspaper content development, the following graph was plotted.



The result from the chart above shows that women participation as news writers is 34% (21 women news writers) out of the 62 identified. The figure for news feature stands at 24% (12 women feature writers) out 51 identified. Their participation as news sources stance at 38 % (35 women news sources) out of 91 identified. The figure for columnist who were women stands at 29% (6 women columnists) out of 21 identified while as editorial member, 32% (32) out of 64 identified were part of editorial board member.

**Discussion of Findings**

That result of this study showed that the newspaper readership among women is low. This is because, of the 88 respondents, 64 (73%) reported reading newspaper but only 19% reported reading newspapers daily while as many as 53% reported that they read newspapers occasionally. This result is not cheering news bearing in mind the role newspapers play in information dissemination. However, this provides answer to the first research question which sought to determine newspaper consumption among selected women. The result of this study is consistent with that of Njeze (2013) who in a study involving 215 respondents revealed that only 46 % of the women respondents admitted reading newspapers as against 54%. This simply means men read newspapers more than women Also, the results of this study show that newspaper women journalists have recorded achievement in the area of politics, education, agriculture, health among others. This provides answer to the second research question which sought to determine the self-reported achievement of women newspaper journalists. This result further shows that democratization of the media will provide opportunities to women contribute their quota in the task of nation building. The result of this study showed that women participation in newspaper content production is still below average. This is because, women only contributes 34% as news writers, 24% as feature writers, 32% sources and board members, 38% as news sources and 22% as columnists. This therefore provides answer to the third research question which sought to determine women participation in the production of newspaper content. The result of this study is consistent with a global study conducted by the Global Monitoring Project (2010) which revealed that only 24% of the people heard or read about in print, radio and television news were found to be female. In contrast, 76% - more than 3 out of 4 – of the people in the news were found to be male. This indicates a significant improvement from 1995 when a study by the same Global Monitoring Project revealed that only 17% of the people in the news were women. The result of this study clearly shows that women participation in Nigerian newspaper has still not fully met the tenets of democratic participant media theory which seeks achieve equal access to media and equitable representation of minority group. Nigerian newspapers cannot be said to be in line with this basic tenets of the theory if women are less represented on the editorial board, less represented as reporters, as news sources etc. Democratization of the about media of the people and for the people irrespective of sex, tribe, social class, etc.

**Conclusion**

Based on the result of this study, this chapter concludes that women participation in the production of newspaper content is low. However, they (women journalists) have been able to record achievements in different areas – politics, health, economy, agriculture et al. The Chapter equally concludes that newspaper readership among women in Nigeria is still low. This calls for worry given the significant role newspapers play in information dissemination. This study recommends as follows:

* Newspapers in Nigeria should ensure equitable representation of both men and in all its activities.
* Women on their part should demonstrate competence in all assignments so as to attract more challenging tasks.
* Nigerian women should improve on their newspaper readership habit with a view to becoming more active members of the society.
* Where necessary, civil society groups, feminine movement groups should campaign for women participation in Nigerian newspaper.

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## PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS’ REPORTAGE OF STIGMATISATION OF ABDUCTEES OF BOKO HARAM

by

**Musa, Alhaji Sale**

Abubakar Tatari Ali Polytechnic, Bauchi

musaalhajisale@gmail.com

and

**Ahmad, Abubakar**

Mass Communication Department, Abubakar Tatari Ali Polytechnic, Bauchi

ahmadabubakartsohoningi@gmail.com

**Abstract**

The study examined public perception of community radio’s reportage of female abductees of Boko Haram in North-East Nigeria. A survey design was adopted to achieve the study aim. A total of 400 respondents were selected via a multi-stage sampling technique with the questionnaire and interview guide as the instruments for data collection. Findings indicated that most (60%) of the respondents reported that community radios do not report issues on the stigmatization of abductees of Boko Haram frequently. The result also showed that community radio embark on campaigns by airing programmes that discourage the populace from discriminating against abductees of Boko Haram after their release from captivity. The communication strategies journalists use to integrate former abductees into the larger society were found to include: straight news, discussion programmes among others. The implication of these findings on policy advocacy was also discussed. The researchers recommend, among others, that further studies should be expanded to include the influence of community radio on the attitude of residents towards girls abducted by Boko Haram.

**Keywords:** *Boko Haram, abductees, community radio and stigmatization*

**Introduction**

Since 2009, Nigeria’s home grown insurgent movement named, Jama’atul Ah-lussunna Lidda’awati wal-Jihad, popularly known as Boko Haram (Western Education is Forbidden), has, in its bid to establish what they called Islamic State in Nigeria, staged a violent campaign against the Nigerian government and its people. Initially, their targets were police and military officers but later, the Sect included another strategy of the kidnapping of women and children. Leader of the group, Imam Abubakar Shekau, who took over the mantle of leadership of the sect after the founder Mohammed Yusuf died, declared in a video recording that the kidnapping would serve as a reprisal for the imprisonment of wives and children of Boko Haram by the security forces, 12 children believed to have been kidnapped were seen in the video footage (Noboh, 2013) cited in Ajibola (2015).

Boko Haram primarily launched assaults against those it considered part of an unjust and corrupt systems such as members of the security services, politicians, civil servants, and other symbols of authority. By early 2012 schools and students became increasingly targeted for attacks, worsening already dire education indices in the Northeast, which has the lowest primary and secondary school net attendance ratio in the country (HRW, 2014). Their major ideology is total condemnation of Nigeria secular government and campaign for Islamic state.

The abduction of 276 schoolgirls by Boko Haram from government Girls Secondary School Chibok on 14th April, 2014 (58 of whom have since escaped, 21 were released after government intervention, 82 more have been released while 115 are still in captivity) has shocked the world. This is the biggest single incident of abduction by Boko Haram that attracted the attention of the world. The relative ease with which it carried out the Chibok abductions appears to have emboldened Boko Haram to carry out more abductions elsewhere.

The women and girls who escaped from the Boko Haram told Human Rights Watch that they and many others, they saw in the camps, were subjected to physical and psychological abuse; forced labour; forced participation in military operations, including carrying ammunition or luring men into ambush; forced marriage to their captors; and sexual abuse, including rape, among others (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Even after release from the Boko Haram captivity, victims still suffer stigmatization. According to Goffman (1963, p. 3), stigma is an attribute that extensively discredits an individual, reducing him or her “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Abdul’Aziz (2015 paras 1&2) paints a picture of the stigmatization thus:

For hundreds of women and girls kidnapped by Boko Haram militants, their ordeal did not end when they escaped or when Nigerian soldiers rescued them and reunited them with their families. Instead of being admired for their bravery, many have become outcasts in their communities, stigmatised due to their perceived association with Boko Haram. Others, who became pregnant after being raped by their captors, have been shamed and are now accused of spawning or seeking to spawn future Boko Haram fighters.

The submission above provides evidence on the existing stigmatization that Boko Haram victims suffer. Community radio has a role to play to avoid this stigma that is associated with being victim of the sect’s activities.

Community radio is a radio station established and owned by the community. Community radio is not-for profit and provides a mechanism for facilitating individuals, groups, and communities to tell their own diverse stories, to share experiences, and in a media rich world to become active creators and contributors of media (Al-hassan, Andani & Abdul-Malik 2011). Kumar (2004) identified radio as an avenue for participatory communication and as a tool relevant in both economic and social development.

Perception is the interpretation attached to cognitions. Perception describes the, id-entification, arrangement and interpretation of sensory information in order to represent and understand the environment (Schacter 2011). Before people will form perception on messages from community radio, they must have been exposed to such messages. This study thus, investigated public perception of community radio coverage of released abductees of Boko Haram.

**Statement of the Problem**

Boko Haram’s bombings and abducting of girls increases tensions in Nigeria and have been a matter of concern to all Nigerians. It was virtually a decade, the sect has been killing innocent people, looting properties, destroying houses, and other public buildings, bombing palaces of gathering and other atrocities. One of the strategies of the sect is the abduction of women and children. Human Right watch, (2014) reported that, Boko Haram hostages were subjected to physical and psychological abuse such as forced labour, forced participation in military operations, including carrying ammunition or luring men into ambush, forced marriage to their captors, and sexual abuse, including rape. In addition, they were made to cook, clean, and perform other household chores. In most cases, even when the abductees are released, they face the challenges of stigmatization. Community radio stations located within the troubled areas have made efforts to combat this stigmatization. However, public perception this coverage remains problematic. This is to

Problem this study resolves.

**Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study was to determine public perception community radio coverage released abductees of Boko Haram. The specific objectives include:

i. To determine public perception of the frequency of community radio reportage of cases of abduction and rape of girls by Boko Haram

ii. To ascertain public perception of the ways community radio encourage the integration of abductees of Boko Haram.

iii. To determine the specific communication strategies used by Community radio in disseminating information on atrocities of Boko Haram?

**Research Questions**

The following questions were drawn from the above objectives:

i. What is public perception of the frequency of community radio reportage of cases of abduction and rape of girls by Boko Haram?

ii. What is public perception of the ways community radio encourage the integration of abductees of Boko Haram?

iii. What are the specific communication strategies used by Community radio in disseminating information on atrocities of Boko Haram?

**The role of mass media in resolving conflict**

The mass media have been adjudicated by conflict resolution experts as indispensable tools for the management of crisis. Nwosu, (2004, p.15) affirms that; the mass media are considered to be very important in conflict management because they are information merchants, conduits or carriers of various shades and colours of information. And in times of conflicts, or even wars, adequate or inadequate management of information is considered to be a critical factor in the emergence, escalation or reduction of tension points at various levels, tensions which depending on how they are managed, can determine the end or continuation of conflicts. In supporting the above view, Obot (2004, p.103) opines that; conflict, being a communicative behaviour, can only be resolved through a communication process, often made easier or more effective through the utilization of the mass media. When used with a high sense of social responsibility, the mass media can be indispensable in conflict resolution. Furthermore, Obot (2004, p.107) asserts that; in resolving conflict in modern societies, the mass media, to a great extent, provide a platform for all the interest groups or aggrieved parties to ‘sit’ and express their minds on issues in contention. This will be possible by providing and guaranteeing every citizens easy access to media facilities. All the groups in a conflict have to be represented in news and other programmes in which issues in conflict are discussed.

In democratic society, the mass media are indispensable in conflict management and resolution. Anyanwu, (2004, p.113) noted that “there is no conflict so great that it dominates the freedom of a nation and its people which cannot be settled by the media”. McBride et al (1981, p.188) as cited in Anyanwu (2004, p.113) opined that “the media have the power to promote awareness of the culture, the social habits and traditions, the attitudes and hopes and also the grievances of each diverse group in the population”. In furtherance to this, Nwosu, (2004, p.15) states that “the overwhelming influence of the mass media is felt most in those conflicts that get to the level of wars, ethnic, sectional or communal and religious conflicts or crises that result in blood-letting.” In reporting conflicts, the media do not only report attacks but also the welfare of those affected by the conflict. This is where the reporting of the welfare of abductees of Boko Haram becomes relevant. This is what this study sought to determine.

**Review of Empirical Studies**

The prevalence of violence acts across the world in recent times has raised discussion on terrorism both at local and international levels. Terrorism as an act has been in existing right from the inception of society. Even in primitive societies, terrorism had long been in existence, (Ende & Dzukogi, 2012). However, the current wave of terrorists’ activities taking place across the length and breadth of the country is giving most Nigerians a source of concern. This paved the way for investigation of the area by numerous scholars across the globe as thus:

Patrick and Samson, (2013) carried out a study to know television news perspective of conflict reporting. in Nigerian and discovered that the Nigerian mass media enjoy reporting conflict because it sells, and it does attract the public; and they are capable of provoking public minds in the manner they report conflict especially when offensive and provocative comments or language are used. Gever and Nwabuzor, (2014) did an analysis of the influence of broadcast media security awareness campaigns on security alertness among Enugu state residents and found that media literacy level enhances attitude change. They also found that factors enhancing audience understanding of broadcast media campaigns are; frequency of such campaigns, simplicity of language, time aired, richness of content and persuasiveness.

Oyeyinka, Kenneth, and Olakunle (2014) investigated mass media and the Boko Haram domestic terror attacks in Northern Nigeria Oyeyinka et al found that in combating stigmatization of women abducted by Boko Haram, the media are inevitable and so media censorship should not be the best option on the side of the government as campaigned by some scholars.

In an effort to document the contribution of media in combating crisis in Nigeria, Boluwatife, (2015) conducted a focus group discussion and found that 70.8% of the discussants perceived the media’s style of dissemination of insurgency information as positive while the remainder of 29.2% perceive it as negative. From the discussion, it was gathered that the media is in the habit of reporting either for higher ranking or higher profit, hence the news stories are politicised or exaggerated to curry some favour from the ruling or opposition party. When asked whether the various media forms should develop a unified policy on insurgency reportage, 50% of the discussants were in full support while 16.7% felt otherwise and the remainder of 33.3% were indecisive about the issue.

**Theoretical Framework**

This study finds expression on the social responsibility theory. Social responsibility Theory grew out of the libertarian theory, but it has advanced to the level of a new integrated theory. The American Commission report on Freedom cited in Wogu, (2015 p. 71), highlighted some ingredients of Social Responsibility theory as thus:

* Provision of accurate and comprehensive reports. The press should provide a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context, which gives them meaning. This means a number of things- accuracy of reporting, truthful accounts and headlines that should not be misleading. It also means the separation of facts from opinion and identification of each as such. It implies interpretative reporting. Merely reporting the news is no longer sufficient. It is now necessary to report the unrevealed truth of revealed stories.
* Forum for exchange of comments and criticisms. The press should serve as a forum for the exchange of comments and criticisms. It should operate as a carrier of common discussions. This does not mean that the press should print everybody’s ideas but it is necessary that opinions, which by reason of either their importance or their general interest have become news, ought to be reported whether or not the media agrees with them. This is a matter of objective reporting which does not destroy the medium’s right of advocacy.
* The media should project the representative picture of the constituent groups in the society (i.e the various groups in the society should be well represented in the media). The images created about a social group ought to be clear otherwise people misjudge them.
* The mass media should be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society. The media whether it wishes to do so or not can clarify the ideas of society as it reports the failing and achievements of everyday.

The mass media should engage in realistic reporting of both the events and forces that militate against society’s goals and values, as well as work for it; that is, that the journalist should know the values and goals of society and be able to project them. He/she should not over stress the ills and the crimes of society always, so as not to appear to be propagating the ills.

* The mass media must not place greater emphasis on profit at the expense of public service. The insistence on the citizen’s need is constantly growing. The press should see itself as performing a significant public service.

This theory is related to the current study because it provides the theoretical background for understanding the role of community radio in educating the general public to accept abductees of Boko Haram. Community radio has a role to play to their immediate communities and Nigeria as a whole. Promoting unity of purpose devoid of discrimination is part of that role. It is on the basis of this that a study which sought to determine the role of the community radio in educating general public on the need to fully accept released abductees of Boko Haram will find expression in this theory.

**Methods**

The study adopted survey method to achieve its aim. The Population of the study was divided into two parts. The first part covered the entire residents of North- East geo-political zone of Nigeria. According to 2006 census figures as obtained from the National Population Commission (NPC) showed that, the six states in the zone have the total figure of 18,984,299. But due to the long period of the census the researchers did a projection using an annual growth rate of 3.2 percent as projected by UNDP. The projection formula is Pp= Gp×Pi×T, then the population is as thus:

Pp= 18,984,299 x Gp= 3.2 % or 0.032, then 2015 – 2006= 9 years

Pp= Pp= 18,984,299 x 0.032 x 9 = 5,467,478

Going by this projection, Nigerian population has being increased by 5,467,478 within nine years (2006-2015). When added to the population it will be 18,984,299 + 5,467,478 = 24,451,777. Therefore the population of this study is 24,451,777.

The interview segment involved 15 journalists purposively selected from Fombina FM (101.5), Adamawa state, Game FM (90.7), Borno State, and Sunshine FM (104.5), Yobe State. Data from the interview were intended to address the fourth research question. Here, the researchers decided to use five journalists from each station, because audience response in this regard may be based on mere assumptions**.**

**Sample Size**

The sample size for this study was 400. To arrive at the sample size, the Creative Research Systems online sample size calculator by Wimmer and Dominick, using confidence level of 95% and the confidence interval of 4.9 was used. The sample also included 15 purposively selected journalists. To select the sample, multi-stage sampling technique.

**Stage 1:** The population was divided using cluster sampling technique into six clusters, that is, the six states, namely: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. From these six clusters, the researchers used purposive sampling technique and selected three states (clusters). The selected states are Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States being the states highly affected by the Boko Haram insurgency.

**Stage 2:** In this stage, local government areas domiciled within the headquarters of each state were purposely selected due to security challenges. The selected LGAs are Yola North LGA of Adamawa state, Maiduguri Municipal LGA of Borno State and Damaturu LGA of Yobe State.

**Stage 4:** Unit sample size were drawn from the nine selected wards after adopting proportional representation as indicated in the below table:

**Table Two: 3.4.2 Proportional Representation**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **States Understudy** | **Selected LGAs** | **Population of the LGAs** | **Proportional Rep.** |
| Adamawa | Yola North | 257,180 | 97 |
| Borno | Maiduguri M.C | 695,540 | 261 |
| Yobe | Damaturu | 112,965 | 42 |
| **Total** | | **1,065,685** | **400** |

Source: NPC (www.npc.org.ng)

Also, purposive sampling was used to sample 15 journalists from the study area. The questionnaire was used as the instrument of data collection. The data generated via the questionnaire were collated, presented and analysed using tables, and simple percentages, while the data generated from the interview were qualitatively presented. The researchers, however, presented only the main points made in the interview. Therefore, the researchers used descriptive data analysis.

**Demographic Data**

Out of 400 copies of the questionnaire administered, 384 copies of the questionnaire were returned and were also fund usable, yielding 96 percent response rate. The gender distribution of the respondents showed that male respondents recorded the sample majority of the respondents by 215 or 55.99 percent. While female respondents were 169 or 44.01 % of the respondents. With regards to age, many of the respondents were aged 25-29 years old, they accounted for 27.60 % of the total respondents. Then followed by 15-24 years, which recorded 25.26 percent of the respondents. The age brackets of 35-39 accounted for 18.75 percent of the respondents, those at the age of 30 -34 were accounted for 17.45 percent of the respondents. The remaining 10.94 percent of the respondents aged 40 years and above. The data obtained on marital status showed that majority of the respondents were married as accounted for 55.47 percent of the respondents while 33.85 % were single. The remaining options are devoiced 2.87 percent of the respondents, widowed/widower accounted for 7.81 percent of the respondents. The respondents had varying educational backgrounds as 22 respondents representing 5.73 % obtained only primary school certificate, 25.52 % respondents have secondary school certificate, and then 53.65 % respondents are holders of Ordinary or National Diploma or Nigeria Certificate in education, likewise 11.72 percent of the respondents are having first or second Degree or Higher National Diploma; while the remaining 3.38 % are holders of other Certificates.

**Research Question One:** What is frequency of community radio reportage of cases of abduction and rape of girls by Boko Haram?

**Table II: frequency of Community radio reportage of abductees of Boko Haram**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | Frequency | Percent |
|  | Daily | 65 | 17 |
| two-three times a week | 39 | 10 |
| four -five times a week | 31 | 8 |
| Weekly | 18 | 5 |
| Occasionally | 231 | 60 |
| Total | 384 | 100.0 |

The results from the table above suggests that most of the respondents reported that community radio frequency of reportage of abductees of Boko Haram is occasionally. This finding suggests low frequency of reportage of issue relating to the stigmatization of the abducted girls.

**Research Question Two:** How does community radio sensitize audience against stigmatization of girls abducted by Boko Haram?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **S/N** | **Item/Scale** | **Mean** | **SD** | **Decision** |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Programmes on community radios encourage husband to re-unit with the their wives who were abducted by Boko Haram | 2.6 | 0.99 | Accepted |
| 11 | Community radio warn audience on the dangers of denouncing women and girls abducted by Boko Haram | 3.1 | 0.66 | Accepted |
| 12 | Programmes on community radios encourage people to marry girls abducted by Boko Haram | 2.8 | 0.96 | Accepted |
| 13 | Community radio educate people on the need not to stigmatize against Boko Haram abductees | 2.9 | 0.77 | Accepted |
| 14 | Community radio encourages Boko haram abductees not to feel ashamed of themselves | 3.1 | 0.63 | Accepted |

The result from thetable above showed that all the items presented were accepted as ways through which community radio encourages people not to stigmatize against abductees of Boko Haram who have been released from captivity. The implication of this result is that community radio stations within the study area are actually playing their roles of educating the public on the need to accept girls released from Boko Haram captivity.

**Research Question three:** What are the specific communication strategies used by Community radio in disseminating information on atrocities of Boko Haram?

**Presentation of Qualitative Data Generated from Oral Interview Sessions with Media** **Practitioners**

**The strategies broadcast stations employ in reporting the cases of abduction of Women and girls by Boko Haram**

During the interview session, most of the respondents reported that their stations use different strategies like straight news format and discussion programmes to inform audience about the kidnapping of women and girls by Boko Haram. Also, in some instances commercials, documentaries and other phone-in programmes are also used. But straight news has the highest number of airing such ugly incidences. One of the respondents said: “We hold discussion programmes to educate the general public on the nee not discriminate against victims of Boko Haram.” Another respondent said: “We often cover stories on the wellbeing of victims of Boko Haram to attract public sympathy and government support.” Another respondent said: Through straight news, we report current event on Boko Haram victims and use in-depth report to provide analysis of such issues.” The result also showed that the respondents reported that they accord enough time to stories on victims of Boko Haram. In this regard, a respond said: “We accord enough time to issues relating to abductees of Boko Haram.” Concerning the time of the day when stories on Boko Haram victims are scheduled, another respondents said: “They are either early in the morning or early in evening when people listen to the radio most.” Generally, the result of this study showed that the strategies were deeply rooted in the stories genres and the air accorded as well as the time of the day aired.

**Discussion of Findings**

The result of this study showed that the audience perceive media coverage issues relating to abduction of the girls by Boko Haram as lacking in frequency. This result is disturbing because frequency of reportage is one of the ways through which the media change attitude. A study conducted by Gever and Nwabozor (2014) found that frequency of reportage. What this means is that the more community radio report issues on the stigmatization of abductees of Boko Haram, the more likely it is that such messages will lead to attitude change. The result of this study suggests that community radio failed the social responsibility test theory regarding the reportage of the abductees of Boko Haram. The result of this study also showed that community radio come up with different programmes that encourage people to accept abductees of Boko Haram. This is in line with the submission of Al-hassan, Andani and Abdul-Malik (2011) who note that the content of broadcasting is largely popular and relevant to a local/ specific audience but which may often be overlooked by commercial or mass-media broadcasters. Therefore, community radio messages against stigmatization will specifically target communities where released abductees of Boko Haram are resident. It has been discovered that community radio is using various communication strategies in the dissemination of information about Boko Haram hostages. These communication styles include; use of straight news, documentaries, commercials, discussion and phone-in programmes. This is in lined with what Boluwatife, (2015) found which stated that media programmes are yielding quite good results but not adequately spread through the nation’s media as representatives of some geographical zones do not agree that information dissemination on the subject matter is adequate. He further found that various communication styles are being used by radio in the curtailing insurgency in Nigeria.

**Conclusion**

This study presents the result of public perception of community radio coverage of issues relating to the abductees of Boko Haram in North East Nigeria. Based on the result of this study, the researchers concludes that community radio do not frequently report issues on the stigmatization of girls abducted by Boko Haram. The basic contribution of this study is that it has provided empirical evidence for understanding the contribution of community radio in ensuring the integration Boko Haram abductees after gaining freedom. This underst5anding can be helpful for the purpose of policy direction on the role of the media in fighting against stigmatization of Boko Haram abductees.

**Recommendations**

In line with the above findings, the following recommendations are suggested as ways forward in fighting stigmatization of women and girls abducted by Boko Haram.

Community radio should improve in their frequency of reportage of issues relating to the stigmatization of girls abducted by Boko Haram. This is because 60% of the respondents reported that such issues are only featured occasionally.

There is the need for further studies to be conducted using content analysis for better insight. Further researchers should also examine the influence of community radio on the attitude of the public towards Boko Haram abductees.

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## A DESCRIPTION OF LEARNING PROCESSES THROUGH EDUCATIONAL DRAMA

by

**Oluwanifemi Bolatito Oteh**

Faculty of Arts, Department of Theatre Arts, Plateau State University, Bokkos

[pjoteh@yahoo.com](mailto:pjoteh@yahoo.com)

**Abstract**

Playing is a natural instinct in the child and through this he/she learns by playing or re-enacting what he has seen others do. It is assumed that play and drama are synonymous, therefore children will learn better when their natural instincts are aroused and this is what drama in education tends to do. In this manner a lot of inherent abilities in the child are developed. His creativity, tolerance, relationships which enables him to relate with and accommodate others thus enabling him to learn about the world around him, how others fit into this world as well as his tolerance of views contrary to his own. Drama in education can be used as a tool to teach other subjects but drama can be a stand-alone subject on its own in the school curriculum. One effective technique of drama is improvisation and this technique helps to provide an enabling environment that gives the student or the pupil the ability to try things on his or his own and with others. The paper argues that drama in education provides young people with a safe environment in which they tackle major issues, provides opportunities for meaningful communication and helps students in self-actualization as well as personal and emotional development.

**Key Words:** *Drama, Playing, Education, Development*

**Introduction**

The essential characteristic of man is his creative imagination. It is this which enables him to master his environment in such a way that he overcomes the limitations of his brain, his body and the material universe. It is this that distinguishes him from the upper primates.

The developing human child has a year of life which is essentially motor and suddenly with some children the changes come. He plays, develops humour and pretends to be himself or someone else. Though other changes had occurred and some extremely important before this, this is the specific development that makes the difference between man and other living creatures. This is the ability to see another point of view, to see possibilities in a situation which can create fun, to see inherent qualities in two ideas and the possible action between them. (Courtney, 1974:7).

This is the basis for learning, and the foundation needed for “a proper man”. The needful use of drama to shape the thought life of the child. It follows therefore that the dramatic process is one of the most vital of mankind. Without it, it would be merely a mass of motor reflexes with scarcely any human qualities (Courtney, 1974).

Pretending to be someone else that is, to act, is part of the process of living. We may actually pretend physically when we are young children but as adults we do it internally. We act everyday with our friends, family and even strangers. This can be referred to as “the mask and the face” for according to Courtney, “our real self is hidden by many masks” which we assume during the course of each day.

Acting can be seen as a method by which we live in our environment. The young child coming upon something with the external world which he does not comprehend will play with it dramatically until he comprehends the situation. As we get older, the process becomes more and more internal but as adults, it is automatic and we play dramatically in our imagination, to the extent that we may not even know that we do it (Courtney, 1974).

**The Concept of Learning through Drama**

A great deal of education is concerned basically with putting something into the child’s mind, by storing facts, making it memorise and retain, thus gradually training it to perform the mental gymnastics evidenced by passing of their examination.

This is necessary to some degree with all children of average speculative intelligence. But surely this putting “in” side of education is only a part of the matter and should be subsidiary to the outward development of the child’s personality and character from within the child himself. Otherwise education ceases to be true education and becomes to the teacher merely a matter of I teach, you learn thing.

The drama teacher is not primarily concerned with impacting factual knowledge but developing and bringing out the child’s personality and qualities of character. The traditional classroom practice often takes the form of drilling which demonstrates the ability to ask and answer, in contrast, the purpose of real communication is to accomplish a task such as obtaining information or expressing an opinion – hence an excellent and effective tool called or named Drama which centred on the cognitive and emotional aspect of individuals.

Each age and society evolves its own form of education. The attitude of education process has evolved slowly over the Centuries. From the history of human thoughts, the educational nature of dramatic play has been comprehended by various thinkers at different times based on their beliefs.

Athenian education in the 5th Century BC was based on Literature, Music and Physical play.

Literature included reading, writing, arithmetic and recitations from poetry. Music included the study of rhythm and harmony and the playing of the lyre and flute and physical play received great emphasis from races to ball games, from wrestling and boxing to riding and dancing. Dancing in particular was stressed as it was central to every religious and dramatic ceremony. Therefore, the form it took was intensely dramatic and this involved great skill.

Plato considered that “education must be based upon play and not on compulsion”. He goes further to add that:

Children from the earliest years must take part in all the more lawful forms of play, for if they are not surrounded with such atmosphere, they can never grow up to be well educated and virtuous citizens.

The concern of Plato here is that education must begin early in life but in a playful manner and without any air of constraint, this is primarily so that they can develop the natural bent of their characters.

Piaget (1962), Vygotsky (1978) and Lewin (1936), all proposed drama or play as an adaptive organized means by which children learn to make sense of their physical and social environment.

Gathering from her wealth of experience at the Institute of Education at Newcastle-Upon-Tyme and at the Bradford Civic Playhouse and School, Heathcote (1977) says:

“Drama is a means of learning, a means of widening experience”.

She also emphasised that children learn to grow through dramatization and this learning helps the child to decipher things specifically about himself and others. He learns about the world at large. She explains that dramatization is an effective avenue of developing creativity in the child, for as a child participates in creating a production, it widens his scope of organizing, thinking, feeling and perception.

Heathcote (1977) adds that it is generally acknowledged by teachers in most of our educational establishments that the arts offer children certain experiences which other subjects cannot give.

Drama challenges the child to learn, shapes the child’s social attitudes, his selflessness, his physical energies and his imagination as he lives through the situation of interest to him. Heathcote (1977) also emphasized on the naturalness of acting and maintained that drama is concerned with topics which draw upon feelings and the importance of living through and sharing experiences.

Barnfield (1974:8) is of the opinion that drama is one of the arts and therefore fundamentally a means of personal or group expression. According to Henry (2000), “it is a process of learning where participants can be taught through carefully structured experiences which include plays, re-organised plays and dramatic context”.

However, with drama we come to that form of creative expression which deals with the person directly and entails only himself as the instrument of expression. This is his outward appearance and vocal impressions under the guidance of mind and imagination. Hence, educational drama focuses on meaning and oral expression. Through drama techniques, children become empowered with knowledge, skills and positive attitudes about themselves and the world around them.

Lang (2003:23) opines that educational drama gives young children “the opportunity to gain understanding and appreciation of differences and to develop values that promote tolerance”.

Educational drama therefore is purely concerned with helping children to gain mastery over their intellectual and linguistic powers. It helps them to develop the ability of effective words usage in ordinary conversations and at the same time allowing them to express and affirm their perception of reality and surrounding. From the perspective of meaning, let us take the initiative by asserting that since educational dramatics implies activity which present a situation involving people in active role playing and which emphasizes attitude, then the sole purpose of drama is too develop student’s thinking so that a common understanding of one self and others can be reached.

**Drama in Education**

Drama in education is the use of drama as a means of teaching across the curriculum. It is used to expand learner’s awareness and to enable them to look at reality through fantasy and to look below the surface of actions for meaning Athiemoolom (2004). Drama in education, also known as creative drama is an improvisational, non-exhibitional process centered form of drama in which participants are guided by a leader to imagine, enact and reflect upon human experiences Athiemoolom (2004).

According to Mccaslin (1990, p.10), the objective is understanding rather than play making. Although a play may be made in the process but attitudes rather than characters are the chief concerns as the focus is on process rather than product. Katz (2000: p.2) contends that drama can aid in understanding personal and human experiences allowing students to enter into the reality of imaginary situations and characters. This will enable them to explore emotions, attitudes, opinions and relationships and accommodate these abstract concepts more readily through representing them in a dramatic activity. Furthermore, Katz (2000) a learner involved in a drama activity will be called upon to practice several thinking scales such as inventing, generating, speculating assimilating, clarifying, inducing, analyzing, accommodating, selecting, refining, sequencing and judging. It is thus apparent from the list of skills identified that drama in education has a significant contribution to make to the development of higher order thinking scales.

Cusworth and Simons (1997:32) asserts that taking a role in drama is a mental attitude of holding two worlds in mind simultaneously i.e the real world and the world of dramatic fiction. Hence the meaning and value of drama lies in the dialogue between these two worlds and the human subject behind its representations translating to drama being an act of self-creation.

**The Use of Drama in the Classroom**

Teachers have increased interactions between students with and without disabilities and have stimulated friendships between these two groups. Drama teachers reports and studies indicate that the pretense world of theatre functions as a kind of neutral territory in which the two groups can converge in creative, artistic and meaningful ways (Miller, Rynders & Schleien, 1993). The process of dramatic exploration and artistic creation encourages an environment in which both groups remain active and challenge free from some of the risks connected with some other programs – for dramatic play provides a unique paradox in which participants can experience risk without penalties. Drama therefore is a ground for social interaction consequently, it is an excellent choice when working with individuals who possess limited social skills (Gardner, 1985).

Regarding this most contemporary drama practitioners prefer to use dramatic contexts to challenge student perceptions about their world and about themselves. Ethical issues, values, education and topics like discrimination, alienation, prejudice and marginal groups can be productive and memorable contents for students to explore through drama. According to Draper, Cargill and Cutts (2002), learning is a product of on-going and adaptive dialogue between the teacher and students as well as the classroom tasks that expose students to the appropriate application of ideas and skills.

Successful learning then involves interaction between students and contents as well as the skills and attitudes to be learned. Interactivity contributes immensely to the success in classroom instruction because interaction occurs when the teacher encourages contribution in the class as opposed to the teacher talk which dominates the traditional classroom (Havill: 2007). Hence, (Bolton and Heathcote: 1994) see drama as a powerful tool for teaching and learning through supplying and enjoyable, creative learning environment which fosters discovery and provides long lasting knowledge.

**Educational Drama Techniques**

Drama techniques are defined as strategies to communicate or convey the intended meaning which involves a wide range of activities. Heathcote (1989), Wagner (1998:22) affirm that they are the everyday tools for drama teachers. They help to develop enquiry skills, to encourage negotiation, understanding and creativity. They can enhance performance skills such as character development and story-telling and further be used across the curriculum to actively involve students in their own learning.

One of educational drama techniques is improvisation which is a primary mode of dramatic activity as well as main technique used in drama (Brown & Playdell:1999), as ethnologically implied, improvisation is a thing which cannot be foreseen or anticipated. And in drama, improvisation is defined as exploring unanticipated issues and events spontaneously. It is a process of spontaneous creation (Calisar, 1995). In improvisation none of the risks of communication and behaviour in the real world are present. The activity is enjoyable and meaningful and also does not threaten the participating students personality. The role playing in improvisation will “build up self-confidence rather than damage it” (Ladouse, 1992: 5). This techniques is used across the continuum of dramatic activity to develop text and action including highly structured dramatic episodes to explore issues and to solve problems.

Drama, being frequently acknowledged as means to teach different curriculum subjects as well as being a curriculum subject on its own through this technique can facilitate and enhance children’s learning and also have a positive effect in developing children’s vocabulary and language comprehension usually due to the use of dialogue.

**Conclusion**

One of the most important benefits of using drama techniques in education is that it prepares the participants for real life situations through experience, experimentation and joyful activities. This study supports the argument that there is a connection between learning in drama and personal development, self-confidence and self-esteem as well as interpersonal qualities such as empathy, tolerance and adaptability.

The theorists discussed in this study also support the essential advantages that drama activities offer a safe environment where participants can speak and act free of constraints, inhibitions and discover their needs, skills and talents. Participants also have the possibility to create their own ideas and images of the world and develop their senses and reflectiveness. Drama techniques are regarded as an effective alternative tool in developing the learner’s communicative competence in the targets language and their ability to perform certain roles in the possible “scenes” of everyday life and their future professions.

Drama has a powerful tool in the social responsibility of shaping humanity, young persons who would not only grow into environmentally responsible citizens but also agents of change from a tainted to a sustainable environment.

In respect to the above therefore, the merit of drama as an educational tool for learning process are valuable and immeasurable. It is no doubt that it provides an effective approach in contemporary education.

**Recommendations**

Having considered the profound use and significance of drama in teaching and learning process in the development of students the following will be of great importance:

* Teachers should include educational drama in teaching, give enough space for practice and acting as well as improvisational techniques by the students and wards under their care.
* Universities, particularly faculties of education and ministries of education should organize seminars, workshops and conferences to focus on the importance of educational drama as an effective teaching method in their curriculum.

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## FUNERAL CULTURE IN PLATEAU STATE: THE ANAGUTA TRADITION IN THE STRIFE FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION PLATFORM

by

**Fadam Lucky**

Department of Theatre and Film Arts, University of Jos

luckymagama@yahoo.com

**Abstract**

It is no longer news that the local media platforms which portrays originality has now been greatly substituted with a culture of media technology. This then tends to undermine, not only the peoples’ interaction and communication opportunities, but also determined to kill it. Like the cultural preoccupation of the Anaguta funeral activity, except more emphasis and relevance is accrued to Indigenous Communication System (ICS), the Information Communication Technology (ICT) may not serve in the wholesome provision of effective communication. Nevertheless, this paper supports the view that if the zest on globalization is to yield the result it claim to proffer, it has to depend largely on its localization to be realizable. The paper however concludes that, the sophisticated technological advancement on communication must be seen to derive its reportage from the micro locality, else it will only provide a mirage of information, though dominating, still out of context.

**Introduction**

Over the generations of scholarly search and research on ways to explore wider and deeper, more opportunity to further the course of communication, it has become imperative yet, for the theatre and other media practitioners not to be carried away by the macro, as against the micro composition of communication models. In tandem with the discourse on effective models of communication, this paper x-rays the Anaguta funeral in context and content, and the stage it avails for a rather more effective communication. African cultural activity have for long been proven to showcase an avenue and justifications for a rather more pragmatic lifestyle which is indeed the basis for a progressive and cohesive society. A society that seeks to live not merely a passive life, but a life preoccupied with active indigenous traditions, and so, continuously yearn and crave for a much desired cultural originality. If at all there has been the need for an assessment of the efficiency and cohesion arising from the numerous communication models, then it can be seen to be wholly embedded in the peoples’ own culture (Bratton and Gold, 2007, p. 7). This indigenous traditions spread through the oral traditions, ritual, myth and legends of the people; an activity consequently juxtaposed with local arts, and carrying with it a community based idea of cultural consciousness and enlightenment. This idea of cultural consciousness can be seen to find justification still, in the Anaguta funeral ceremony. The planning and performances (consequently theatre) and of course, the motif and objective of the entire funeral activity may be considered crude, it is much more than just an ordinary activity within a space. More so, it is not enough to bear the canal thought about the function of theatre. This is because;

…theatre can also be a weapon for liberation. For that it is necessary to create appropriate theatrical forms. ‘Theatre was the people singing freely in the open air; the theatrical performance was created by and for the people. It was a celebration in which all could participate freely (p. 119).

African theatre by this, expresses wholly, the place of space and human activity- a theatre of a social activity that transcends actor-spectator relationship, but a total social interaction between man and his natural environment. Theatre in Africa then is basically the life of the people in its totality, and has over the years swallowed a whole lot of active and artistic events. Yet, even when we mention the word ‘theatre’, it goes beyond the notion of the conventional stage, curtains, dark auditorium and the shallow lights (Brook, 1969, p. 11). Here, we desire to explore the wholesome encompassment of a people’s way of life through this all purposed word; (theatre). This is because the theatre of Africa has been proven to be a virile avenue for communicating identity awareness, which in turn creates social cohesion. All cultures go through the same evolutionary stages, “consequently those primitive societies still in existence supply reliable evidence about the origin of thousands of years ago” (Olutoba 3).

The African theatre today has its origin in the cultural phenomenon of the past and influenced by the present. Even though it is seen to feature some form of entertainment, it is regarded as an informal way by which the quality of life of the people can be communicated, inculcated and enriched. The essence to this therefore would not be far from the reason for laying the accorded emphasis on cultural platform for communal interaction through their day to day activities; ranging from hunting, marriage, initiation and consequently funeral. Hence, funeral tradition can be seen to be more pragmatic in quest for a rather more effective communication for Africa.

**The World in Search of Effective Communication Platform**

Communication have continued to form the bed rock of existence. To explore better ways to exist is to explore better communication models. This continuous exploration of an effective communication can be typified of Lasswell’s principles (Baran, p. 3-5). Although not the only model for communication, yet, it is considered to be a more pragmatic approach to effective communication. To date, this, and more models have been continually studied and analyzed for the development of relevant and workable communication modality, especially in the search resourceful global information dissemination.

It is no news that the advent of modernism has plunged civilizations into a more dogged yet, reflective communication modality. African theatre over the trends and generations of existences can be seen to be conceptually rooted in the unique diversity of the indigenous lifestyle. Having recorded a lot in terms of peculiarity and efficacy, traditional theatre is universally ascribed to be all-encompassing to life as it ensues in most local communities. There is a justification that “Theatre is a complex art at least twenty five hundred years old. Over such a long-span, it has undergone many changes and followed diverse part…” (Brockett and Ball, 2004, p. 1).This periodic placement of the art typifies theatre to an age long phenomenon that is hardly pinned down to a specific generation, trend or function. Dugga (1999) posits that “African theatre represents the most original of all present residual theatre practices by humanity around the world” (p. 79). This applies to the phenomenon of a funeral ceremony which is a clear expression of the peoples’ life. This uniqueness is seen visible in the nature of conversations, and the instructional yet, creative space and time. This in turn, heightens the appeal of the activity. This is because, “There are occasional new movements, new writers and so on, but as a whole, the theatre not only fails to elevate or instruct, it hardly even entertains” (Brockett and Ball, 2004, p. 11). Yet, this subject remains relevant, and still finds its basis for functionality in the fact that it stems from the drive to explore better platforms for effective social function. Notable still, is the trace of communication arts from traditional activities. Theatre’s continuous spread in form, content and function has never been of exception to Africa. The nature of African performances in real time, space and action, makes it prominent for African theatre to come to the lime light. Like funerals in Africa, theatre cannot be devoid of its communal ideology.

Within the perspective of the simplest form of communication, it is the transmission of a message from a source to a receiver (Baran, p. 4). More succinct and practical is Harold Lasswell’s (1948) convenient description of communication model;

1. Who?
2. Who says what?
3. In which channel?
4. To whom?
5. With what effect?

However crude or sophisticated, the basic elements of communication is achieved when attainable within the context of the above modelled questions.

**The Anaguta Community in Search of an Effective Communication platform**

The Anaguta people located in Jos North, Plateau state, share boundaries with Jos East and South local communities. It is an ethnic community made up of the; Anabor, Anagoshom, Andirigiza, An’Doho and Andigong as the five (5) major clans. These clans spread across six (6) settlements which include Maza, Kunga, Babale, Russau, Gongnabor and Larantosharing a chiefdom, tribe and dialect. Ravaged by the wave of modern capitalism, affected by the advent of modernism, and having travelled a lot in recent times, the search for greener pastures and white collar jobs have made the people to device more on the need to mobilize for the continuous reunification of the Anaguta community. Members who now live far away from their native lands and those at home continuously strife to identify and relate with each other so as to sustain the communality that binds them as a people. It should be noted then that even though they may have established dynasties away from home, and that the people still, consciously maintain an instituted centralization of traditional authority back home, it is not enough to ensure unification of cultural norms and values. Hence, the continuous search for a more effective modality for unification, cohesion and communal development (Pozo Gwemu).

**Funeral, a Concept of Living for Africa**

The African culture is a utilitarian concept. This explains the reason of such peculiarity that even when death amounts to a long term grief elsewhere around the world, mourning periods avail African communities the avenue for not only to commiserate, but also to communalize.

A funeral is a ceremony for celebrating, sanctifying, or remembering the life of a person who has died. Funerary customs comprise the complex art of beliefs and practices used by a culture to remember the dead, from internment itself, to various monuments, prayers and rituals undertaken in their honor (Funeraldirector.africanhowzit.msn.com/Africa par 1).

Funeral customs are as old as civilization itself. Every culture and civilization attend to the proper care of their dead. This is some type of funeral rites/ceremonies. In order to discuss funeral ceremony in Africa, there is need to first discuss or describe what leads to these ceremonies of death. So long as death remains an inevitable phenomenon in human existence where a person’s soul separates from the body and moves into another realm, most African customs and traditions still do not view death as an end to life, but a yardstick for the living (Asuquo, 2014).It is traditional to believe that when a loved one dies, there are ceremonial rites done to ‘escort’ the spirit of the ‘now lifeless body’ to another world. These practices may vary depending on the peculiarities of cultural/ethnic differences; it brings people together and helping in sharing of ideas and culture, and availing them of the chance to commune.

The African funeral ceremony is an indigenous activity that is deeply rooted in the culture and traditions of the people. Like the numerous local/ indigenous performances, it is;

… a form of art nurtured in the African soil over the centuries and which has, therefore developed distinctive features whose techniques are sometimes totally different from the borrowed forms now practiced by many of our contemporary artists (Ogunba, 1978, p. 4).

For the *Tehl* in Mikang local community of Plateau State, a funeral activity is unique in itself because its principles and practice is devoid of any Western theoretical prescription.

In most African communities too, funeral ceremonies are celebrated. And these avenues are fertile grounds for information gathering and dissemination. These ceremonies are woven not only around diverse personalities, but social phenomena. “There are several types of death that are considered shameful and are not given any burial ceremony at all” (Hauser, 1990, p. 32). In the case of an infant or a young adult, such death is considered inappropriate and so, the remains be done with.

Funeral ceremonies do not only utilize the event of death to caution community members on the significance of living communal life, the moral principles and celebration stimulates the drive among citizens to live a life worthy of celebration. This then becomes a platform for reflections and re-examinations, Funerals have for long (in African culture) served as a vehicle for cultural preservation and regeneration. Umaru Tsaku (2011) posits that “the younger generation born around 1970s upwards hardly can understand and decipher indigenous performances when in transit” (p. 319). Nigerian indigenous culture expressed through ceremonies is confirmed to have been adversely affected by colonial pressures, Christian evangelization, European musical techniques and of course, the modern media technology. Prior to this complications however, Islam and Christianity have so affected the peoples’ traditional lifestyles.

And yet, one reason why contact with European civilization has had little effect on traditional ceremonial dance and music is that there are definite rules and regulations guiding the conduct of these ceremonies and unless children are taught the rules and regulations, the ceremonial institutions are bound to die inevitable death (Olaosebikan, 1982, p. 39).

**The Anaguta Funeral Culture**

A funeral to the Anaguta is a special ceremony observed to accompany the burial rites of a special personality in the community. The person to be celebrated could either be a great hunter whose hunting expeditions have proven him to be an achiever. Besides one’s successes among his guild, the deceased could be a reputable member of the community whose life is considered to be an accomplishment. Such death one would agree with the Anaguta that it does not require deep mourning, instead warrants a reflective ceremony. The idea is simply a communal celebration of the norms and values of the survivors, in relation to the deceased. Diving deeper into inquiring on the tradition that characterize the funeral ceremony, it reveals that it has been a ceremony earmarked to be an activity for the service of the peoples’ own culture. The events unleash a sequence of functional processes which ordinarily is termed as performances, garnished with activities that perform still, a whole lot of communal resuscitation. A whole day is usually set aside as may be announced earlier so as to enable every member of the Community, (far and near) to get prepared for the event. On this day, according to Chief Gwemu Gaiwa (Pozo), the Anaguta people wherever and however, travel from far and near to grace this event. Farms are abandoned, markets and drinking places disserted. Even the daughters who marry outside the Community have to come back home. Every one struggles to witness and partake in this ceremony not because there is a penalty for absconding, but because it is a major event that avails citizens the chance to visibly and actively partake in these processes of communal identification and social responsibility.

From the day of one’s birth to the day of departure from mother earth, a person’s life is characterized by celebration; *Tuwanzu, Ushakpu, Tikang, Tukunku, Opuri, Rihbaru, Ushuga, UkisaIku,* and to crown it all, *Rangsin and Sururukwe.* (Circumcision/initiation, Folk tales, Wrestling Competitions, Community Cleansing, Farming Prowess, Hunting expedition, Harvest, and of all, Funeral rites and Memorial, respectively). Pozo Gaiwa stressed that in life, one should ensure to have a death more honourable to his or her birth, and only then will the Anaguta believe that one is undoubtedly resting in peace. Meek stressed this idea as concordant with the Anaguta and virtually most African belief system. So, for Meek (1971), “Every dead person is entitled to a ceremonial burial in order that his soul may be finally dismissed to join the company of his fore-fathers and that his living relatives may be cleansed from the pollution of death” (p. 111). So, whatever ceremony that has been done in one’s honour, the *Rangsin* and *Sururukwe* is the all- important. This is because of the fact that an honourable death creates an avenue not for ones’ celebration, but for everyone’s reflection. The dead for the Anaguta is entitled to one form of burial in order that the soul may be finally dismissed to join the company of his/her forefathers. Yet;

There are exceptions however. The Afo and the Gana-Gana have no burial for a commoner, nor have the Chamba and the Dakakari for a child; the Bolewa, Igbira, Nupe and Jukun for suicides; the Idoma for consumptives; the Kugama and Munshi for those suspected of witchcraft. In the Aliyaru, burial was not accorded to a hunchback (Meek, 1971, p. 111).

In the same vein, the Baushi like the Anaguta “have no ceremonies except for the old people of rank”. Traditionally, Jo Sa’ah (2012) agrees that “here, death is not seen as the end but the beginning of a new and perhaps sweeter life in the world beyond” (p. 56). Yet, for Wole Soyinka in his presentation of ‘The Fourth Stage’, in *Myth, Literature and the African World View*, morality is the only yardstick for such a successful transition. This for most traditional African societies, is enough belief for a moral based lifestyle. It is worthy of note too, that before moving to the land of the ancestors, a fitting funeral must be held. This is because of the belief that dead spirits can hover around until this is performed. According to Jo Sa’ah (2012);

Such rituals may include juju dancers or people masquerading to delight a crowd of excited mourners. During the funeral, individuals or groups of people may dance around mimicking the dead man in his heyday. They may even wear his clothes. (p. 56)

Funerals among the Plateau people is of a great significance as it is believed to be a shared culture that serve a lot in unifying the over twenty five ethnic groups existing therein. Thus, funeral culture from some viewpoints may appear retrogressive both socially and economically; taking days off work to travel and mourn, preparing a large amount of expenses to the detriment of a deceased’s survivors. There are still communities who see it as entirely communal where the loss and the event are wholly shared by every community member and family. For them, funeral customs are symbolic of the expressions of the values that prevail in that particular community.

Worthy of note ultimately is the chain of activity therein in the line of events; - *Peer Dance* (Zoto) is a feature of a series of songs and dance which graces and keeps the environment lively to the delight of visiting sympathizers. It is a participatory age grade dance with a sole essence of facilitating the communal process of social healing and integration of new members. Regarding this subject, Riley () suggests that songs are usually very important as they are geared often, towards wrong doing and the need to be aware. According to him, “careful observation must be paid to songs and their adaptability; songs to reform and songs to educate” (p. 301). Bad behaviours are publicly acknowledged, and addressed to young people. Songs are topically sung as regards to acceptable lifestyle and regrets. Such tradition has for long served as a vehicle for communicating the need for cultural preservation and regeneration. Nigerian indigenous culture expressed through ceremonies is confirmed to have been adversely affected by colonial pressures, particularly, European musical techniques.

And yet, one reason why contact with European civilization has had little effect on traditional ceremonial dance and music is that there are definite rules and regulations guiding the conduct of these ceremonies and unless children are taught the rules and regulations, the ceremonial institutions are bound to die inevitable death (Olaosebikan, 1982, p. 39).

-*Funeral play (Rishama)* intercedes the dance, serving as interludes where the kids and kin of the deceased engage in an oral based re-enactment of the lived life of the deceased. Like the numerous traditional activities in Africa and other parts of the world, the oral nature of the performance has made it possible for the said transfer of knowledge in its crude and undistorted form. More so;

This performance is circulated by oral means rather than written. Its composition, distribution and performance are by words of mouth and not through reliance on written or printed interpretation or translation. Oral transmission is, however, often taken to imply the oral handing on of some piece over fairly long period of time in a relatively unchanged form (Finnegan, 1972, p. 16).

This occasion of performance takes place through the night and day and it allows for the kin and peers to act out vividly, the lived life of the deceased. It is worthy of note still that this art does not only seek to entertain, it avails its audience with genuine information on the deceased and the community at large. These chain of indigenous activity is deeply rooted in the culture and traditions of the people. It is;

… a form of art nurtured in the African soil over the centuries and which has, therefore developed distinctive features whose techniques are sometimes totally different from the borrowed forms now practiced by many of our contemporary artists. (Ogunba, 1978, p. 4).

Thanks then to these local traditions that tend to function in the creation and provision of the platforms for inculcating into the young ones, the arts and forms of indigenous arts. Could there be any more an encompassing and functional traditional model in respect to communication? More so, it serves as an indigenous communication mechanism and channel through which according to Jussawala and Hughes (), are;

Those systems of communication which have relied historically on informal channels to convey information and which obtain their authority from the cultural mores, traditions and customs of the (people) they serve. (p. 23)

Moreover;

The tendency to employ languages other than that which are locally known and understood is often closely associated with reliance on technological media. Thus, in situations where the host culture is such that the use of local languages predominates, one would expect greater application of the indigenous communication system (Ansu-Kyeremeh, p. 204).

This Ghanaian author in his contribution towards examining the culture of communication patterns/ forms advocates strongly, the relevance of traditional ceremonies in communication institutions and human relationship patterns. He insists that “the definition of ‘communication media’ ought to extend beyond the western mass media types to inculcate the indigenous communication systems” (p. 204). He puts it on record that there is every need to pay attention to indigenous communication systems which finds platform in communal ceremonies. This then illustrates strongly, traditional ceremonies as a viable system for effective communication and human relations. The potentials therein are enormous because undoubtedly, oral/ traditional communication is significant for ‘Social Dialogue’ and also for the preservation, reforming and transmitting of history from generations to generations.

*The Lying in State* now takes centre stage providing the deceased the platform to perform the last social function while the survivors become the spectators. The performance of the dead on the African stage can never be over-emphasized as the body is finally laid to rest. Importantly too is the idea of *Family deliberations which* precedes the final internment. At this stage of the funeral activity, family members gets the chance to in their micro space to deliberate issues relating to their well- being. Usually, it is at this point that community members come to a practical term with the cause of death by reviewing where things go wrong and how to ensure a more secure future. The welfare of immediate survivors too, is ascertained for social efficiency and in turn, the development of the entire family and the community as a whole.

**Culture and Indigenous Communication in Africa**

Cultural Consciousness in Africa has been faced with so many global complexities due to the influx of foreign culture. The people’s own lifestyle is constantly threatened, yet theatrically re-traced through the arts of local traditions. This then attempts to relent more on cultural events which has now become more affordable and result-orienting in managing a people. This is usually done by influencing the people’s cultural orientations towards reaffirming what is right or wrong. This is because; “The challenges of managing a people is as well the difficulties encountered by manning and administering cultural inhibitions for the sake of maintaining and preserving a people’s identity” (Olaosebikan, 1982, pp. iv). Since one man cannot live before and after everyone else, it is easier and affordable to institute among community members, a tradition which influences rather than impose beliefs through culture which is consequential for the transfer of such consciousness and identity through generations. This idea of cultural consciousness which finds a platform in the communal ceremonies initiates fresher relationships among members. In this process, the communal obligation takes the sub-activity, and entire mourning period serve as a deterrent for the living. This consciousness is equally enhanced through the funeral theatre because; “…the production also educate and enlighten people by examining and exploring various social, political, personal and artistic issues that are relevant within our lives and community”, (Leslie, p. 22) this funeral functions as captured by Leslie Du Read reflects on the totality of the funeral relevance to the African society. The efficacy of the theatricality, Leslie further explains as regards to the cosmic belief of African communities. This cosmic idea explains the reason for being and the relationship there in for man and his environment. The knowledge of this belief is in itself rooted in the traditional practices of the people. Notable is the fact that the event is of spatial representation and is paramount in the evaluation and safeguarding of traditional belief systems. Leslie still presents that it;

…establishes the spatial medium not as merely a physical area for simulated events, but as a manageable contraction of the cosmic envelope within which man fearfully exists. And this attempt to manage the immensity of this spatial awareness makes every manifestation in ritual theatre, a paradigm for cosmic human condition. (p. 23)

**Conclusion**

Modernization has so far tend to gain high grounds against local culture. Still, African media have continued to thrive in offering stiff global competition through the persistent activity of indigenous arts. Ngugi James (1993, p. 110) says that “whereas you see today people identify themselves with that which is removed from them and that which is near them they don’t want to identify with”. The degeneration of indigenous communication system due to the rising regard for western ideals has made the indigenous performances face the threat of been relegated to the background. Pierre Alexandre notes that, “after the second half of the 19th century, colonial intervention upset the sociology of Africa in linguistic and performative spheres as in all others” (112). It is obvious that some oral performances especially in the present generation are no longer appreciated by the young people whose living in the Post- colonial societies have seemingly been faced with cultural uncertainties. Identity is therefore constantly defined and redefined along the changing circumstances. These encounters and impacts led to several mutations in Anaguta cultural performances. The Anaguta funeral tradition has however provided a yardstick for other cultures alike to raise local consciousness as it is not only indigenous but original in enhancing communality among populations. From the point of a member’s demise to the stage of laying the corpse to final rest, the Anaguta like the numerous other traditions on the plateau avails for its survival, the fora for continuous identification, unification, assessment and indeed to foster harmonious coexistence among a population; a dire drive for the world today. Ultimately, communication through this fora is usually attainable in a rather local yet, original form. This is against the possible communication barriers created by sophisticated media, language and even access. However, if technology is to made very relevant in terms of communication, it must be seen to base its sources from genuine sources, this can only turn to be the indigenous/local for a.

**Recommendations**

Indigenous Communication System has obviously become an indispensable model of communication for any developing nation. The traditional activities have equally complemented a great deal towards the reflections of nationhood. Local traditional performances provide a wide range of information dissemination opportunities for Nigeria as a nation. The Ministry of Culture, Tourism and National Orientation, in 1988 formulated ‘the cultural policy for Nigeria, as an ideological framework for the overall development of cultural orientation in the country. This has led to the consequent establishment, administering and implementing the present day cultural centres. Traditional festivals and ceremonies have always been utilized as a breeding ground for the desired man power and resource persons whose performances at the local space is harnessed into the national theatres and cultural centres. It is worthy of note too that the nation’s media, especially television and the movies, could not have relied more on local subjects for global peculiarities. This indeed has proven to boost the indispensability of local and indigenous art in the promotion of global relevance. Except this idea is further explored, the platform harnessed and the media utilized, the country will only serve a major consumer of alien information. It is time the nation explores original media for the dissemination of genuine information. This then will not only upturn Africa from the dumping ground of alien information it tends to become in the global market, but to turn it into a viable actor and source for the global phenomenon.

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## THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN NIGERIAN BROADCAST MEDIA: EVIDENCE FROM NTA AIT, FRCN AND DREAM FM

by

**Ekwueme, Anthony Chinedu**

Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Email: ejinnachinedu@yahoo.com

and

**Agbo, Benedict Obinna**

Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria

Email: benagbo67@gmail.com

**Abstract**

This study investigates the status of women in Nigerian broadcast media with specific emphasis to managerial positions, portrayal, perception arising from portrayal as well as their experiences as broadcasters. Using a combined design of survey and content analysis, findings revealed that only 23.9% of managerial position are being occupied by women, as against 76.1% occupied by men. They (women) are portrayed as home workers, sex objects and gullible. There was no evidence to suggest that such portrayals influence public perception. Result also showed that the experiences of women broadcasters are that of struggle to be on the same footing with their male counterparts. The researchers recommends among others, the enactment of act of parliament against bias on the bases of sex*.*

**Key Words**: *women, status, broadcast media and portrayal*

**Introduction**

A holistic evaluation of women participation in the media, their achievements and challenges, will certainly incorporate how they (women) are portrayed by the media. Their portrayal by the media is often an issue of global concern to human rights activists, feminist advocates, legal icons et al. To broadcast media, radio and television, it is even more essential on the radar because of the peculiar attributes of the broadcast media. Such attributes include combination of audio and, or video features, immediacy, portability (radio) and cost effectiveness (Gever, 2015a). The issue of media portrayal of women has become so pronounced such that Nwabuzor and Gever (2015) have argued that discussions on gender equality are often tilted towards women. The researchers observe “It is common that each time the issue of gender balance is raised, people are quick to swing the pendulum towards women” (p.20). The observation by the researchers is apt as evidenced in the popularity gained by the Beijing Declaration of 1995. The declaration entitled, “Beijing Declaration and plat form for action” was a product of an eleven day conference (4-15 September 1995) which recommendation was made to the Generally Assembly of the United Nations at its fiftieth session.

The main thrust of the declaration was to eliminate all forms of discriminations against women on account of their sex. The media were equally called to join in the campaign which objectives were/are to correct perceived injustices against women. Item 236 of the declaration captures:

The continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in media communications - electronic, print, visual and audio - must be changed. Print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women’s diverse lives and contributions to society in a changing world. In addition, violent and degrading or pornographic media products are also negatively affecting women and their participation in society. Programming that reinforces women’s traditional roles can be equally limiting The world-wide trend towards consumerism has created a climate in which advertisements and commercial messages often portray women primarily as consumers and target girls and women of all ages inappropriately.

The media were perceived by the declaration as promoting discrimination against women, thus going contrary to article 2 of the United Nations convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which states “States parties condemn discrimination against women in all forms, agree to pursue by appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination.” This now raises an important poser for this study – what is the status of women in Nigerian broadcast media?

Broadcasting is an influential media that exerts it powerful effects on it audience. Broadcast media portrayal of women is often a subject of interest because that greatly determines the state of women. This could include the way women are presented in relation to men, the language used when referring to them, the amount of air time allotted to them among several others. Williams (2003) corroboratively quips that liberal feminists are advocating equal representation in terms of the air time that women relieve from broadcast media as well as in changing the way women are portrayed.

Nigerian women, just like their men counterpart, deserve respect, and need dignity by broadcast media. Nigeria women, unarguable possess both the technical and will to perform optimally in broadcast stations as managers, principal reporters, editors, directors, et al. Nigerian women deserve to be portrayed as giants and heroines and the broadcast media in Nigeria cannot but treat them as such, but whether this is the reality on ground is subject to empirical proof.

**Statement of the Problem**

For some time now, Nigerian media have been heavily excoriated for alleged bias against women in their reportage. Proponents of this position have argued that such media bias influence public perceptions about women. The case of the broadcast media is particularly enmeshed because of its sound and visual impact among several other unique features. Continuous investigation on the status of women in Nigerian broadcast with particular attention on portrayal is also necessary. It is also not clear if the status of women as portray by the broadcast media actually influence public perception about them. There is also the need to provide empirical evidence on the experiences of women broadcasters as to whether they are discriminated against in their job on the basis of gender. This study seeks to resolve this scholarly puzzle.

**Research Objectives**

This study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To determine if there is even allocation of managerial positions between women and men in Nigerian broadcast media
2. To determine broadcast media portrayal of women in Nigeria.
3. To determine if there is any relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and public perception about them.
4. To state the extent broadcast portrayal of women influence public perception about them.
5. To determine the experiences of women broadcasters as to whether they are being discriminated against in their work place on account of their gender.

**Research Questions**

1. Is there even allocation of managerial positions between women and men in Nigerian broadcast media?
2. How do broadcast media portray women?
3. What is the relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and public perception about them?
4. To what extent do broadcast media portrayal of women influence public perception about them?
5. What is the experience of women broadcast in Nigeria?

**Hypotheses**

This study formulated the following hypotheses:

**HO**1 There is no even allocation of managerial positions between women and men in Nigerian broadcast media.

**HO2**: There is no significant relationship between gender and broadcast media portrayals.

**HO3**: There is no significant relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and public perception about them.

**HO4**: The extent broadcast media portrayal of women influence public perception about them will not be large if calculated to contingency coefficient is less than 70%.

**Literature Review**

Literature is the academic network work that brings scholars from different countries together. It is an academic venture through which scholars whose countries do not have a good diplomatic relationship meet and sworn enemies unite with the view to chatting common academic course. The review for this study is hereby done under the below sub-headings:

**Broadcasting and women**

Broadcasting, radio and television, are powerful tools for information dissemination, opinion moulding, public education and entertainment. They carter for the information need of all classes of people - highly educated, lowly educated and illiterate. Broadcasting can best be described as the media for the masses. Farmers use it, it is a companion for market women, herdsmen (radio especially) commercial drivers among others. Broadcasting can be defined as the sending of broadcast messages known as programmes to a variety of people to different places who receive it (the messages) at their various destinations through appropriate receiving devices. The messages could be audio (radio) only or a combination of audio and video (television). The receivers of such messages are anonymous, scattered, and of different psychographic and demographic attributes. The messages are basically non-personal. Scholars (Kombol, 2013; Owuamalam, 2007; Udeajah, 2004, Ukonu, 2006 & Yaroson & Asemah, 2010) are in agreement that broadcasting entails sending messages (either radio or television to a set of people through the air waves and that the same messages reach the receiver at the same time. Nwabuzor and Gever (2015) note that broadcasting, radio and television, provides varieties of information to people in the society. Such information covers areas like sports, entertainment, agriculture, advertisement, education, e.t.c. Uyo (1987) corroboratively notes that broadcasting is the only medium that can reproduce all the five dimensions of mass media.

**Review of Related Studies**

Available literature on the status of women in the media generally appears to be consistent on the bias they suffer from the fourth estate of the realm. A global study conducted by the Global Monitoring Project (2010) revealed that only 24% of the people heard or read about in print, radio and television news were found to be female. In contrast, 76% - more than 3 out of 4 – of the people in the news were found to be male. This indicates a significant improvement from 1995 when a study by the same Global Monitoring Project revealed that only 17% of the people in the news were women. However, despite a slow but overall steady increase in women’s presence in the news over the years, the world depicted in the news remains predominantly male. The result further showed that the proportion of female news subjects identified, as workers or professionals over time have risen in some occupational categories. The gap however remains high especially in the professions as depicted in the news. Further, out of 25 occupational categories, women outnumbered men in only 2: news subjects presented as homemakers (72%) and those presented as students (54%). The picture seen through the news becomes one of a world where women are virtually invisible as active participants in work outside the home. As persons interviewed or heard in the news, the study reveals that women remain lodged in the ‘ordinary’ people categories, as against men who continue to predominate in the ‘expert’ categories. Women are inching closer to parity as people providing popular opinion in the news, at 44% of persons interviewed in the news in this capacity compared to 34% in 2005 revealed by the Global Monitoring project study. The improvement notwithstanding, only 19% of spokespersons and 20% of experts were found to be women. As against, 81% of spokespersons and 80% of experts in the news who were found to be male. 18% of female news subjects were found to be portrayed as victims in comparison to 8% of male subjects. In contrast, women are now twice as likely to be portrayed as survivors than men. While the gap between the percentage of women and the percentage of men depicted as victims remains large, it has been narrowing gradually since 1995. Remarkably, in 2010, 6% of females in contrast to 3% of males were reported to have been portrayed as survivors. This is a reversal of the situation in 2005 (by the same GMP) when 4% of females compared to 8% of males were portrayed as survivors. For stories reported on television, radio and newspapers, the percentage of those by female reporters was found to be exactly similar to that documented by the same GMP in 2005, which is 37%. The percentage of stories by female reporters across all three mediums combined rose until 2005. The statistics for radio are noteworthy for the sharp rise between 2000 and 2005 (from 27% to 45% of stories reported by women), followed by a dramatic 8 percentage point drop 5 years later. The negative change on radio between 2005 and 2010 accounts for the stagnation in the overall average statistic found in 2010 (GMP 2010). The result of the Global Monitoring Project further showed that 52% of stories on television and 45% of those on radio were presented by women. The average total number of stories on television and radio presented by women was found to be 49%, less than half of the total number of stories on both mediums combined, a 4 percentage point drop since 2005 and lower than in 1995 when the statistic was 51%.Since the year 2000 the percentage of stories reported by women compared to those reported by men was found in the 2010 study to have increased in all major topics except ‘science/health.’ Nonetheless, stories by male reporters were found to continue to exceed those by female reporters in all topics. The changes range from 3 to 11 percentage points, the highest increase being in stories on ‘celebrity/arts’. Men report 67% of stories on politics/government, 65% of stories on crime/violence and 60% of stories on the economy. The percentage of stories on science/health reported by women was found to have declined sharply between 2000 and 2005 from 46% to 38%, a decline that was followed by an increase to 44% in 2010 that nevertheless has not been sufficient to bring the proportion back up to the level noted over a decade ago. Stories by female reporters were reported to contain more female news subjects than stories by male reporters. This trend has persisted over the past 10 years. In 2000, 24% of news subjects in stories by female reporters were found by GMP to be female, in contrast to only 18% in stories by male reporters. As at 2010 study the statistics was reported at 28% and 22% respectively.

Back in Nigeria, researches have also been conducted on the issue of women and the media. A study conducted by Anorue, Obayi and Oyerinde (2012) on ‘‘The media, gender, balance and polities in Nigeria: An Assessment,’’ the researchers adopted survey research design and 446 respondents were sampled with questionnaire serving as the instrument of data collection. The result of the study showed that 50% of the sampled population reported that they were exposed to messages on gender inequality from the mass media with 43.1% reporting that issues on gender inequality were not really reflected in the media messages while 6.9% respondents were of no comment. The result further showed that 36.2% of the sample agrees that little coverage was given the issue of gender inequality in the media. On the other hand, 17.4% respondents propose that the coverage was insignificant, while 46.4% were indifferent to the actual state of events. The researchers argued that the media have a long way to go as far as gender equality is concerned and subsequently recommended that the media should devote more time in the campaign for gender balance and women should change their mind set and fully participate in politics.

Even the way the media cover and report male and female sporting event has been reported by researchers as not being fair and balance in terms of ratio of frequency and prominent. With regards to this, we looked at the study conducted by Ajibua Oladitan, Oyerinde and Beweji (2013).The aim of their study was to establish the status of print media coverage of male and female athletes in Nigeria. Their study monitored the frequency of occurrence of print media reporting on male and female athletes. Articles and photographs of athletes in print media with a period of a year were analyzed. The results of the study indicated that the minimum percentage coverage for male athletes was 71.6% and the maximum coverage was 92.6% whereas the minimum coverage for female athletes was 7.6% and the maximum percentage coverage was 28.4%. According to the researchers, such gives more visibility to the male athletes than female athletes.

A study conducted by Nwabuzor and Gever (2015) in which the researchers content analysed contents of four purposively selected broadcast media - Nigeria Television (NTA), African Independent Television (AIT), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and Dream FM, Enugu- were studied over a period of 30 days. The result showed that only 40% of NTA personnel were female as against 60% of male, AIT had 54% male and 46% female, FRCN 62% male and 38% male with dream FM having 52% and 48% of male and female personnel respectively. The result further revealed that NTA and both AIT had 69% of its news sources from male as against 31% female. The researchers document further that FRCN had 72% of its news sources from male as against 28% female. Dream FM had 78% news sources from male with only 22% of news sources from female. In the area portrayal, the researchers document that all the broadcast media stations portrayed women as home workers (NTA 94%, AIT 91%, FRCN 84% & Dream FM 74%).

Two basic things that are missing from all the studied reviewed here- Existing studies failed to determine if there is any relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and public perception about them and also, determine the experiences of women broadcasters such as discrimination at work place on the basis of gender. The current study will look into this.

**Theoretical Basis**

Two different but complementary theories were used for this study – gate keeping and framing. The gate keeping theory was propounded by Kurt Lewin in 1947 (Asemah, 2011) Lewin used the concept to describe the process in food purchases in a household. Lewin used it to describe the food chain. Scholars in communication parlance have sense adopted the theory in describing the processes through which information passes before getting to the receivers. In communication studies, gate keeping entails the decision or assessment of what to give the audience or not. In simple terms, gate keeping theory holds that media messages pass through many filters before getting to the receivers. At each point, what is to be made public is filtered.

This theory gives an insight to a situation where broadcast media personnel decide who to include in the news, what to include and even how to put it. Broadcast personnel can decide to be gender sensitive or insensitive in their gate keeping function (Nwabuzor & Gever, 2014b). They can decide to source for news only from a particular sex and the audience have no choice but to be exposed to the message. The question of how the news or other broadcast programmes are presented is where the framing theory becomes relevant. The framing theory states that the volume of coverage devoted to a particular issue is not as important as the frame the media adopt (Druckman, 2001). According to the theory, people make sense of their experiences using interpretational packages called frames. To frame means to slant a story towards a particular direction. Entman (1993, p. 52) observes that to frame is to “Promote a particular problem definition and/or treatment recommendation.” Based on the framing theory, audience members who are exposed to framed broadcast messages in favour or against women are likely to develop a perception about that gender based on the broadcast media frames.

**Method**

This study adopted a twin design of content analysis and survey. Content analysis was used to analysis broadcast programmes while survey was used to elicit primary data from selected respondents so as to make the result more in dept. The units of analysis include; broadcast news, features, discussions, and panel programmes.

Multi-stage sampling was applied for this study. First, four broadcast stations were purposively selected. They are the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), The African Independent Television (AIT), The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and The Dream FM, Enugu. The Choice of these stations was to reflect the ownership pattern. While NTA and FRCN are public owned, AIT and Dream FM are private stations. The duration covers three month beginning from 1st March to 30 May, 2017.

The researcher then took the second step by adopting a systematic sampling using the following steps as noted by Zuo (2006) cited in Gever (2013, p.17)

* The population frame was numbered i.e the days from 1-90
* The sample size, n, was decided to be 30 i. e. n = 30. This gives a sampling interval, k = 3.That is 3 χ 30=90 and 90/30=3



* The third respondent was randomly selected as the random start. I.e every third day, broadcast messages of the selected broadcast stations were recorded for analysis.

3 6 9 12 15 18 21

24 27 30 33 36 39 42

45 48 51 54 57 63 66

69……...............................................90

The process of adding 3 to the sample frame continued from 69 until the researcher reached 90 days and then we arrived at the sample size of 30 days..

**Survey**

The second phase of the sampling was the audience. Here, judgmental sampling approach was applied; consequently, 100 copies of the questionnaire copies were purposively administered to residents in Makurdi metropolis. In doing so, attention was paid to media literacy, hence, only those who exhibited media literacy abilities were sample. The questionnaire copies were close ended of ‘Yes’ or ‘No’

**Focus Group**

A focus group was organized with ten female broadcaster of the Nigeria Television Authority, Enugu which information and significant statements were gathered from participants for qualitative data. The participants were chosen based on two criteria: those who indicated interest and those who had a practice as female broadcasters for a minimum of two years. It was decided it would be beneficial to conduct a small focus group because a comfortable and intimate setting would allow for a free-flowing discussion. The ten participants were assured that their names would not be mentioned in the study and they would be described as ‘respondents’ or participants.

It should be noted that both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were used for this study. Data from focus group discussion were analyzed using qualitative method while data from questionnaire and broadcast content were analyzed using quantitative method in which case statistical tools like the chi-square, frequency distribution, and coefficient of contingency were found useful.

**Results**

The analyses of this study were done with SPSS 16.0. It should be noted that out of the 100 copies of the questionnaire administered to respondents which data was used for table III, 96 (96%) were returned and found useful.

| **Table I:Management positions allocation\* gender Cross tabulation** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | **No. of people in mgt positions** | | **Total** |
|  |  |  | **Men** | **Women** |  |
| **Management positions allocation** | **NTA** | Count | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| % of Total | 9.0% | 3.0% | 11.9% |
| **FRCN** | Count | 26 | 5 | 31 |
| % of Total | 38.8% | 7.5% | 46.3% |
| **AIT** | Count | 14 | 6 | 20 |
| % of Total | 20.9% | 9.0% | 29.9% |
| **DREAM FM** | Count | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| % of Total | 7.5% | 4.5% | 11.9% |
| **Total** | | Count | 51 | 16 | 67 |
| % of Total | 76.1% | 23.9% | 100.0% |

The above cross tabulation yielded chi-square statistic, χ2 = 2.259 (p-value of 0. 521) indicating that there is no even allocation of managerial positions between women and men in Nigerian broadcast media at 0.05 level of significance. Hence p value>0.05, the null hypothesis (There is no even allocation of managerial positions between women and men broadcasters in Nigeria) was accepted. It should be noted that the data from the above table were obtained on the websites of the various broadcast stations on December 9th 2014.The websites are: NTA www.nta.ng, FRCN www.radionigeria.net, AIT www.daargroup.com and Dream fm www.dream95fm.net. It is equally important to add here that Dream Fm, unlike others, did not clearly use the word management in listing the staff but ‘Dream Team’ with categories like presenters, DJs, news anchors and producers. The researcher decided to make use of news anchor and producers. However, one producer whose name was simply written as T-Money was excluded as it was difficult determining the actual sex. To determine the portrayal of women in broadcast media, table II was computed.

| **Table II: portrayals \* gender Cross tabulation** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | Gender | | Total |
|  |  |  | Men | Women |  |
| Portrayal | home workers | Count | 6 | 76 | 82 |
| % of Total | 1.0% | 12.3% | 13.2% |
| professional | Count | 91 | 20 | 111 |
| % of Total | 14.7% | 3.2% | 17.9% |
| Politician | Count | 76 | 31 | 107 |
| % of Total | 12.3% | 5.0% | 17.3% |
| sex object | Count | 2 | 61 | 63 |
| % of Total | .3% | 9.9% | 10.2% |
| Athletes | Count | 51 | 26 | 77 |
| % of Total | 8.2% | 4.2% | 12.4% |
| Business | Count | 40 | 39 | 79 |
| % of Total | 6.5% | 6.3% | 12.8% |
| Leaders | Count | 71 | 29 | 100 |
| % of Total | 11.5% | 4.7% | 16.2% |
| Total | | Count | 337 | 282 | 619 |
| % of Total | 54.4% | 45.6% | 100.0% |

***Source***: Content Analysis, 2014

The above cross tabulation yielded chi-square statistic, χ2 = 2.018 (p-value of 0. 001) an indication of significant relationship between gender and broadcast media portrayal of women in Nigeria at 0.05 level of significance. To determine the relationship between broadcast media portrayal and audience perception about women, the following was computed.

| **Table III: perception \* broadcast portrayal Cross tabulation** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | Broadcast portrayal of women | | Total |
|  |  |  | yes | No |  |
| Perception about women | Yes | Count | 31 | 25 | 56 |
| % of Total | 32.3% | 26.0% | 58.3% |
| No | Count | 25 | 15 | 40 |
| % of Total | 26.0% | 15.6% | 41.7% |
| Total | | Count | 56 | 40 | 96 |
|  | | % of Total | 58.3% | 41.7% | 100.0% |

***Source***: Field survey 2014

The above cross tabulation yielded chi-square statistic, χ2 = 0.490 (p-value of 0. 0.484) indicating lack of significant relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and audience perception about them Thus, the null hypothesis was accepted. It should be noted that the statistic does not indicate total absence of relationship but absence of significant relationship at 0.05 level of significant. This relationship was further explored with the use of coefficient of contingency which yielded, C=0.071 interpreted as 7.1%

**Focus Group**

Result of the focus group discussion showed that most of the participants reported that there exist forms of discrimination in the area of role assignments. They submitted that programmes like sports, political discussion, health and other serious minded programmes are normally given to men while women are allowed to anchor soft hearted programmes bothering on issues like fashion, relationship, home management among others. There was no evidence during the discussion to suggest that women broadcasters are less favoured as the participant observed that such cases were rare. They however admitted that there were “few” cases of sexual harassment.

Result from the discussion also showed that women broadcasters are perceived as less intelligent in handling technical responsibilities like Camera operation, script writing, directing as well as other technical requirements from the engineering department. They (women) are perceived as perfect candidate for presentation and marketing. The participants reported further that broadcast expertise does not depend on gender but individual abilities of the broadcaster. The participants reported further that if men and women broadcasters were to make the same mistake, who to chastise most depend on the programme, if in the opinion of the management, t (e.g sport) is for men and a woman presented and makes a mistake, she should be chastised and vice versa.

**Discussion of Findings**

The result of this study showed that there is no even allocation of managerial positions between men and women in Nigerian broadcast media as out of the 67 managerial positions from the four selected broadcast media, 51(76.1%) were occupied by men while only 16(23.9%) were occupied by women. The implication of this result is that, hence very few women occupy positions, they may not be well equip to ensure that women are represented and portrayed in good light in broadcast programmes content. For example, in a broadcast station, beats, and other duties like presenters are assigned the Junior staff by the senior ones, the gate keeping process is greatly influenced by top managers who have the final say, consequently, until there is improvement in the allocation of managerial responsibility, the status of women in Nigerian broadcast media will remain below men the ladder.

Findings further revealed significant relationship between gender and broadcast media portrayals. Based on the result, women are portrayed as home workers, sex objects, while men are portrayed as leaders, politicians and athletes as well as business people (see table 111). The result of this study is consistent with that of Nwabuzor and Gever (2015), Global media monitoring project (2010) culture. Finding also revealed that there is no significant relationship between broadcast media portrayal and audience perception of women (see table 111). The result of this study runs contrary to Edibo (2011) who document that the creation of female section in print media creates subordinate awareness against them. Although the researcher did not use the word perception, subordinate awareness can be interpreted as such.

Result from the focus group discussion showed that the experiences of women broadcaster are that of struggle to be on the same footing with their men counterpart. Women broadcasters from the selected broadcasters’ stations in Nigeria are not allowed to handle some programmes (e.g. sports, politics, environment, economy, etc.) but confined to selected programmes (fashion, home management, entertainment, etc.). The result of this runs similar to the one obtained by Amanda Gunther, Kautz and Roth (n.d) who document that there exist gender bias towards female (women) sports broadcasters with females being seen as less credible.

**Conclusion/Recommendations**

Based on the result of this study, the researcher concludes that the status of women in Nigerian broadcast media is still low; only few of them are given managerial positions, this perhaps; limit their fighting strength for fair portrayal. Consequently, they are portrayed as home workers, sex objects, they are objectified with a correspondence consequence on self-perception, attitude, eating habit, dressing, actions and in actions, etc. One fundamental aspect of the findings of this study is that there is no significant relationship between broadcast media portrayal of women and public perception about them. This calls for further research to determine other factors that influence people’s perception about women

The researcher recommends as follows:

* The government of Nigeria should consider enacting an act of parliament mandating broadcast media to avoid hinging it portrayal on gender.
* Employers should be gender sensitive in recruiting broadcasters.
* There is need for 45% affirmative action in the constitution of management team of broadcast stations so that at least, women will have 45% managerial position will be reserved for women.
* Further studies should be carried out to determine other facors that influence public perception about women.
* Women should on their part prove that they are not sex objects but persons capable of contributing to the development of their society. This, they should do by demonstrating competence at the slightest opportunity
* Broadcasters should join in the campaign against negative perception about women by portraying them (women) as equal as men.
* There is also the need to find out how women portray them through the social media.

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1. Dr. Nancy Katu-Ogundimu is an Arts Fellow in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Jos, Nigeria and an Adjunct Professor at Ohio University, Athens, United States of America. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)