



**CENTRE FOR DEFENCE STUDIES
AND DOCUMENTATION**



NIGERIAN DEFENCE ACADEMY, KADUNA

In Collaboration with

VICTIMS SUPPORT FUND (VSF)

**Programme of Events
for**

METHODOLOGY WORKSHOP

Theme:

**“INSURGENCY AND COUNTER -
INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA:
CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON
BOKO HARAM”**

Date:

13-16 August 2018

Venue:

JN Garba Hall,
NDA Ribadu Campus

Time:

0900hrs Daily

Maj Gen A Oyebade GSS psc(+) fdc(+) CCA FCMH TSM Msc MNIM

Commandant, NDA

Chief Host

Professor AS Nwankwo
Academy Provost, NDA

Keynote Speaker

Professor UA Tar
Chairman LOC

AVM MN Umar (Rtd)
Guest of Honour

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Theme Leader: Prof Haruna Dlakwa

Rapporteur: Samuel Baba Ayegba

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2.	Dr Hussaini Abdu	The Evolution of Boko Haram Insurgency
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7.	Jamilu Ibrahim Mukhtar	A Discourse on Terrorism and Insurgency as Convoluting Concepts: The Case of Boko Haram
8.	Dr C.Nna-Emeka Okereke	Rethinking the Boko Haram Insurgency: Some Informed Projections
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11.	Samuel Oyewole	Boko Haram's Internationalism and Strategic Dynamics
12.	Dr Tunde Agara	The Economics of Conflicts: Natural Resources and the Dynamics of Conflicts in Post-Colonial West African Sub-Region
13.	Dr Ghazali Bello Abubakar	Reconsidering Boko Haram Insurgency: The Prolonged Terror In Nigeria's Northeast
14.	Afamefune Patrick Ikem	From Territorial Caliphate to Virtual Caliphate: How to Counter Boko Haram Resurgence in Nigeria
15.	Dr Yakubu Haruna Jae	The Evolution and Dynamics of Boko Haram Ideology
16.	Majekodunmi Toyin Afolabi	Analysis of Religious Fundamentalism and Emergence of Violent Ideologies

17.	Dr Bala Muhammad Dalhatu	Nigerian Newspapers' Framing of Boko Haram and Their Role in Conflict Resolution
18.	Usman Isah Ya'u & Naziru Shehu Pantami	The Dynamics of Boko Haram Insurgency in North-Eastern Nigeria
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20.	Dr. David Oladimeji Alao	War Economy and Prolonged Boko Haram Violence in Nigeria
21.	Dr Yomi Akinyeye	Insurgency and Counter Insurgency: A Case Study of the Nigerian Experience with Boko Haram
22.	Dr Onyinyechukwu Onyido-Durueke	Analysing the Social, Political and Economic Value of Sexual Violence to Boko Haram
23.	Dr Abdullahi Musa	Conceptualizing Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria: Contextual and Environmental Matters.
24.	Patricia Agupusi	The rise of domestic terrorism in transitioning states: the case of Nigeria
25.	Dr Muslapha Bintube	Boko Haram's Strong Hold: it's Structures and Complexes a Periscopic View of the Lake Chad and Sambisa Axis

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Theme Leader: Prof Usman A. Tar

Rapporteur: Yusuf Manu

1.	Usman A Tar & Yusuf Abdullahi Manu	The Context of the Boko Haram insurgency
2.	Prof Gani Joseph Yoroms & Ms Julie Sanda	The challenges of local counter-insurgency strategy and response in Nigeria
3.	Prof Ladi Hamalai	National legislation against terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria
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PROFILING OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF BOKO HARAM AND THEIR
ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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PAPER FOR METHODOLOGY WORKSHOP

1.1 Background

Framing is a media effects theory that focuses on how issues are characterized as they are presented in the media, the contexts provided and the angles from which they are presented. It is the highlighting, or the emphasizing of aspects of an issue and the ignoring of other aspects; and the building of contexts to help in providing particular interpretations of an issue. Framing highlights some specific aspects of reality so as to advance a specific "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993:52).

1.2 Boko Haram

Boko Haram means "Western Education is forbidden" in the Hausa language and is the name that was given to the sect because of its rejection of aspects of Western education and western culture that are contrary to what the group perceived to be the true teachings of Islam. The name the group gave itself as it evolved is "Jama'atu Ahlus Sunnah wal Lidda'awati wal Jihad" which is an Arabic expression for "People Committed to the Removal of Innovation and to Jihad". According to Ibrahim (2015), Boko Haram's emergence as a sect can be traced to 2002 when they were known as the Taliban, and were based in Yobe State, Nigeria, on the border village of Kanama which the group renamed Kandahar after a city in Afghanistan. In 2002 members of the group had a violent clash with security forces. In 2004, they again clashed with security forces in Bama and Gwoza Local Government Areas of Borno State. In 2007, "they appeared in Kano around Panshekara, attacking police stations. Again, soldiers were deployed and they fled with some killed" (Ibrahim, 2015:43) Writing on the origins of Boko Haram, Cook (2011) agrees with this position on the time of emergence of Boko Haram. Also, Guitta and Simcox (2014:6) assert that Boko Haram "was created in 2002 by the now deceased Islamic cleric Muhammad Yusuf, though forms of it had existed under a variety of names since the late 1990s".

Boko Haram gradually evolved to the stage of having its principal aim and objective as the establishment of Islamic rule in all its ramifications. The central figure and original leader of Boko Haram, Muhammad Yusuf, not only condemned those elements of Western education and culture that he perceived to be anti-Islamic, but also particularly and vehemently opposed the idea of secularism, democracy and institutions of state that perpetuate these ideas. Consequently,

he opposed working for the government that he considered established *not according to Islamic norms*. His central thesis is that as Muslims, obedience is owed *only to Allah and government and laws cannot be established except they are in accordance with what is expressly decreed by Allah*. Otherwise, such government and laws stand rejected as a duty by Muslims. He adjudged democracy, secularism and the present system of government as *not according to the laws of Allah (Sharia)*. He was opposed, sometimes vehemently, by Islamic scholars and sects in his local environment, Borno State, especially by the Izala Islamic group. As noted by Muhammad (2014:15):

The main planks of Yusuf's narratives were framed, though not exclusively around the following issues or variants of them: (1) the concept of *taghut* (idolatry) including secularism, democracy, and partisan politics; (2) Western education and Westernisation; (3) working for unislamic governments; and (4) repudiation of the charge of Kharijism leveled against them by the local *Ulama* especially his former colleagues in the Wahhabi group in Borno. The fight with the local Borno Izala in the run-up to the 2009 crisis was extremely acrimonious...

Kharijism is a historic Islamic sect that was quick to declare other Muslims as unbelievers, justifying killing them. Yusuf describes any form of executive, legislative or judicial function derived from the constitution, and not from Sharia, as unbelief; and "anyone who superintends or abides by the laws and regulations within Nigeria's secular system is an unbeliever *simpliciter*. This was the cause of the protracted and often acrimonious debate with the Izala in the run-up to the 2009 violence" (Muhammad, 2014:16).

Between 2003 and 2005, the group engaged in clashes with security forces and was suppressed. From then till 2009, the group engaged in intense preaching, recruitment and indoctrination of its members. In July 2009, the group was crushed by security forces, its headquarters was destroyed and its leader Muhammad Yusuf was killed in police custody. By 2010, the group resurfaced with a vengeance, beginning with targeted killing of traditional ward and village heads, security officials, prominent politicians and Islamic scholars opposed to the sect (Muhammad, 2014).

According to an analysis done in a background report by an arm of the United States Department of Home Security, between 2009 and 2013, Boko Haram attacks on targets are:

private citizens and property - 25% of attacks; police - 22% of attacks; government targets - 11%; religious figures and institutions - 10% and the military - 9%. We also have businesses - 8%; education - 7% and others 8%. (START, 2014). A researcher provides this panoramic view of Boko Haram activities.

As the charred ruins of the June 16, 2011 Police Headquarters bombing and the August 26, 2011 bombing of the United Nations (UN House) in Nigeria, the bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church Madalla, Niger state and the emerging 'child' and female suicide bombers as well as multiple explosions in Adamawa, Borno, Kaduna and Yobe states claimed the life of many lingers... one cardinal but salient message is reiterated by these ruins—no individual, edifice nor (sic) nation is free from terrorist attack. (Neiji, 2015).

The Australia-based Institute for Economics and Peace (2015), in its global terrorism index report for 2014, ranked Boko Haram as the deadliest terrorist group on earth directly responsible for the death of 6,644 people in 2014. The sect is even more lethal than the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), otherwise known as the Islamic State. The activities of Boko Haram have negatively placed Nigeria on the world map as the same report lists Nigeria as the third most terrorized country on earth, after Iraq and Afghanistan.

What then is really responsible for the emergence and flourishing of the Boko Haram phenomenon? A number of reasons have been given as being responsible ranging from politics (Neiji, 2015) to corruption (Anaedozie, 2015). Class theory has also been used to explain the Boko Haram phenomenon (Ogunrotifa, 2013). While it can be argued that social, political, economic and other factors made the phenomenon possible and explain its nature and activities, it is perhaps not arguable that the sect's interpretation of Islamic teachings and their application in the contemporary world is the primary trigger of the Boko Haram phenomenon.

1.3 Media and Boko Haram

The activities of Boko Haram have been extensively covered by the Nigerian media and the sect, like all organizations engaged in terror, has tried to use the media, among many means it has employed, to publicize its activities. Muazu (2015:109) researched into "the various media that Boko Haram uses to send messages to the Nigerian public" and suggested how the media can be used to mount intensive campaigns against violence and all sorts of terrorism. He

examined how the sect, largely through its leader Muhammad Yusuf, used open air preaching, audio and video tapes, YouTube, and Twitter to recruit members and publicize its activities. The sect also used telephone calls to media and journalists, interviews with international broadcast media, and letters and pamphlets addressed directly to the public.

In providing coverage on Boko Haram sect and its activities, the Nigerian press has suggested different contexts and interpretations, reporting from various angles. It has been averred that the press has interpreted the sect's activities as politically motivated, being part of an agenda of a section of the country; that the activities of the sect reflect the general position of (northern) Nigerian adherents of the Islamic faith; that social and economic factors, especially widespread youth unemployment and poverty, are responsible for the emergence and actions of the sect, or that a combination of some or all of these are responsible.

This paper's focus is how Nigerian newspapers have actually framed Boko Haram sect by examining the interpretations and contexts provided in their coverage. The paper will look at the angles from which the newspapers covered the stories on Boko Haram. Did they look at it largely from the human interest angle emphasizing the impact on individuals and families or mostly in terms of the economic consequences of the conflict? Did the newspapers focus on political or the religious antecedents and consequences of the conflict in their coverage, giving religious and political contexts and interpretations? It is this framing of Boko Haram that this paper will examine.

2.0 Statement of the problem

Since 2009 when the Nigerian security forces crushed Boko Haram by destroying its headquarters in Maiduguri, arrested many of its members and killed some, including its leader Muhammad Yusuf, the Nigerian media have provided a fairly comprehensive coverage of the sect and its activities. Boko Haram has forced itself on the consciousness of the Nigerian nation and the international community with the way it has visited devastation and desolation on communities in the north eastern Nigeria and beyond. It has killed people indiscriminately; it has kidnapped and raped women and girls, and conscripted male children into its ranks; it has burnt whole communities and has generally left widespread destruction in its wake.

The Nigerian society is diverse with many and often contending divisions often along ethnic, regional and religious lines. Since framing by its nature involves the highlighting and

selection of particular aspects of reality in the presentation of news, and the provision of contexts to aid interpretation, how newspapers have framed their reports on Boko Haram is of particular interest in order to establish if this framing may have exacerbated the situation or helped to solve an existential threat to the society.

Studies have been done on the news framing of wars (Dimitrova, 2006; Esser, 2009; Luther and Miller 2005); natural disasters (Borah, 2009; Houston, Pfefferbaum and Rosenholtz, 2012) and terrorism (Conway and McInerney, 2002; Lewis and Reese 2009; Rill and Davis, 2008). On the Boko Haram insurgency, studies on Nigerian newspapers' framing of the coverage of the sect and its activities have been carried out examining the different perspectives from which the papers have reported the sect. (Okoro and Odoemelam, 2013; Ngwu, Ekwe and Chiaha, 2015; Odoemelam, Ebeze and Okwudiogor, 2015; and Amenaghawon, 2015).

Most of the studies on news framing of Boko Haram by the Nigerian print media have examined coverage for one month (Amenaghawon, 2015; Ngwu, Ekwe and Chiata, 2015 and Suleiman and Salau, 2012); a few have examined framing of Boko Haram for upward to one year (Ita and Ita, 2016 and Okoro and Odoemelam, 2013). The study by Okoro and Odoemelam (2013) has as its study population four national newspapers all southern based and owned. The study population of this paper will be four national newspapers, two each based and owned in the north and south. This will be more representative. The time frame covered by this study will also be two years thus providing a more comprehensive perspective.

3.0 Objectives

- a. To study the frames that was used by Nigerian newspapers in their reporting of Boko Haram and its activities
- b. To compare the types and determine the dominant frames used by each of the newspapers studied
- c. To assess whether newspaper framing of Boko Haram may have helped exacerbated or helped in resolution of the crisis.

4.0 Methodology

This paper will employ content analysis to examine news framing of Boko Haram in four Nigerian national newspapers covering a period of two years.

4.1 Content analysis

Content analysis is the research methodology that dominates mass media research perhaps because of its focus on manifest content. It will be used to examine four national newspapers in order to assess the kind of frames they used, out of the six designed for this study, in covering Boko Haram. This is in line with the major characteristic of the research methodology- the examination of communication content looking at its different characteristics as they are contained within the text or record of the communication.

4.2 Population

The population of this study is made up of Nigerian daily national newspapers and the period covered by the study is 1 January 2014 to 31 December, 2015. Newspapers falling within this period will be content analyzed for their framing of Boko Haram; the population is thus all newspapers published in Nigeria, particularly those with any semblance of national outlook.

4.3 Sampling techniques

Purposive sampling is used to select the newspapers that will be content analyzed in the study. Matthes (2009) and Wimmer and Dominick (2011) attest to the effectiveness of purposive sampling as a social scientific method in media studies. Accordingly, four national newspapers were selected for this study for their geographical spread which is a fair representation of the geopolitical structure of Nigeria. Also considering the subject of this study, Boko Haram, which purports to be a religious group, the papers chosen also fairly represent Nigeria's ethnic and religious realities. The *Vanguard* and *The Nation* were chosen because they are located in the south of Nigeria. *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* newspapers were chosen because of their location in the north of the country. Another reason for the choice of the newspapers is the religious affiliation of their publishers/proprietors. While *The Nation* and *Daily Trust* are owned by Muslims (Chief Bola Tinubu and Mallam Kabiru Yusuf respectively), *Leadership* and *Vanguard* are owned by Christians (Chief Sam Amuka and Sam Nda Isaiah respectively). An additional purpose for their selection is the ethnic affiliation of the owners. While the proprietor of *Daily Trust* is Hausa and that of *The Nation* is Yoruba, two of the three major ethnic groups, one in

the North and one in the South of Nigeria, the proprietor of *Leadership* is Nupe and that of *Vanguard* is Itsekiri, minority ethnic groups in the North and South of Nigeria. These are crucial factors when assessing representativeness in Nigeria and considered very important because the subject of the research, Boko Haram, is rooted in religion. All four newspapers are also privately-owned and therefore presumed to be more objective and independent than any government-owned medium.

4.4 Sample size

As stated earlier, four Nigerian newspapers purposively selected, namely *Daily Trust*, *Leadership*, *The Nation* and *Vanguard*, represent the sample size of the newspapers studied. Period covered by this study is 1 January 2014 to 31 December, 2015. The newspaper issues examined are those for this period. This study used the constructed composite week for each month. This means that since there are four or five Mondays (and other days of the week) in each month, newspaper issues for the four or five Mondays in the month were grouped together making four or five issues. One of the issues was then chosen at random to represent Monday. Other days of the week were similarly treated. Seven newspaper issues, representing each day of the week, were finally chosen and these seven issues then represented the month. One ended up examining seven issues instead of thirty issues. Riffe, Aust and Levy (1993) demonstrated that composite week sampling technique is better than simple random and consecutive day sampling when dealing with newspaper content as it is more efficient without sacrificing representativeness. This was affirmed by Wimmer and Dominick (2011). The study would therefore use composite week sampling for each month and would examine 84 issues of each newspaper for each year making a total of 672 issues for the four newspapers for two years.

4.5 Research instruments

The paper will use content analysis and the research instruments of coding sheet containing clear and precise categories that are equivalent to news frames. Each category will represent a type of frame that is clearly defined and explained. The coding sheet also contains details such as date of issue of the newspaper, name of the newspaper, the coder, page on which the unit of analysis appear and the prominence of display of the unit of analysis.

4.6 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis of this study is the newspaper article. Each news article, including news features, reporting Boko Haram and/or its activities will constitute the unit of analysis and will be coded into the relevant category. Editorials, being an important framing instrument of newspapers, will be also counted. The study will not count interviews, letters to the editor, advertisements and opinion pieces. Visuals will be counted if they are pictures of activities carried out by the sect. Matthes (2009) found that 63% of the one hundred and thirty one articles dealing with framing research that he studied used the whole article (thematic unit) as its unit of analysis. The news article will therefore be the unit of analysis. In other words, the news article was studied to see the kind of contexts provided in the stories and from which angle these stories have been reported. This was then coded into the appropriate category.

In choosing the unit of analysis, great care will be exercised to ensure that only stories on the activities of Boko Haram are chosen. This is necessary because the sect is referred to by such terms as 'insurgents', 'gunmen' among others. There are also bloody civil disturbances going on such as the herdsmen/farmers clashes, the religious/ethnic, and indigene/settler clashes. All these are sometimes referred to, and reported by the media under the general term 'insecurity'. When a report combines activities adjudged as that of Boko Haram sect with those of farmers/herdsmen clash for example, the dominant report was counted and, if possible, only the part of the report on Boko Haram is measured.

4.7 Content categories

The content categories into which the units of analysis will be counted are six. These content categories are equivalent to the frames in this study. Accordingly, the content categories are itemized as follows.

- a. Human interest frame category
- b. Conflict frame category
- c. Responsibility frame category
- d. Political frame category
- e. Religious frame category
- f. Economic consequences frame category

In coding the frame of a story, as this determines its category, the dominant frame of a story will be the deciding factor as a story may contain more than one frame.

4.8 Frames

Frames are the contexts and angles from which stories are reported as has been earlier discussed. They can be issue-specific/unique or generic/consistent (Borah, 2011; Matthes, 2009). Issue-specific frames are generated from each study and are usually arrived at from a prior exploratory analysis. They are thus specific to the issue under study. Generic frames on the other hand are frames that can be generalised across studies and are clearly defined before the issue under study is content-analysed. As Matthes, (2009:350) points out, "generic frames transcends thematic limitations as they can be identified across different issues". This study will mostly use generic frames and some issue-specific frames as a method of data analysis adapting from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) who proposed five generic frames. These generic frames are conflict, morality, human interests, responsibility and economic consequences. The frames to be used for this study are conflict, human interest, economic consequences, responsibility, religion and political. It is these frames that represent the categories into which the unit of analysis will be coded.

4.8.1 Human interest frame

Human interest frame focuses on articles and visuals that portray personal stories of individuals and their experiences at the hand of Boko Haram. Stories on losses suffered by individuals, of lives, limbs and properties, and their heroic survival are regarded as human interest frame. Also coded under this frame are stories on experiences of refugees or internal displaced people (IDPs) in or out of IDP camps.

4.8.2 Conflict frame

Articles under the conflict frame include stories and pictures on battles between Boko Haram insurgents and the Nigerian military; stories of Boko Haram attacking cities, towns and villages; Boko Haram killing people and setting ablaze whole communities. Also under this frame are stories reporting bombings by Boko Haram with attendant loss of lives and property. Stories on Boko Haram seizing towns and local government areas and the government recovering them are also under the conflict frame.

4.8.3 Responsibility frame

Under this frame are stories that provide contexts as to the reason that the Boko Haram crisis occurred and is persisting as regards to who is responsible, whether it is the government, traditional or religious leaders etc, through acts of commission or omission. Also under this

frame are stories suggesting solutions to the crisis, including the various demonstrations staged to sensitize and mobilize the nation on the one hand, and pressurize the government to act to solve the crisis on the other. Condemnation of Boko Haram and its activities by individual and groups was coded into this category. However, when the crisis is presented as having been caused by political/religious/ethnic causes, it is coded elsewhere.

4.8.4 Political frame

Units of analysis that fall under political frame include articles and pictures that attribute the cause of the crisis and its persistence to the political machinations of the opponents of the federal government. Stories that present the crisis as being sponsored by the opponents of the ruling party and its federal government fall into this frame. The argument is that because these opponents lost power, they were determined to make the government ungovernable for the president. Stories framed along these lines are categorized here as are stories that deal with extension of emergency rule in the northeast, and whether 2015 elections should be held in the region or not.

4.8.5 Religious frame

News articles that present Boko Haram as an attempt by Muslims to Islamize Nigeria are coded into this category. Stories presenting Christians as the only targets and victims of Boko Haram atrocities, with Muslims being only incidental victims, belong to this frame. Coded into this frame are also stories that view the Boko Haram crisis as being caused by the sect's perversion of Islam as well as stories that give the crisis an ethnic coloration. The arrest of Muslim northerners in the south of the country on suspicion of being members of the sect is coded into this frame.

4.8.6 Economic consequences frame

Stories that are told within the context of the impact of the activities of the Boko Haram sect on the livelihood of the people affected are categorized under this frame. Articles and visuals that portray the devastating impact of Boko Haram on farming, trade and other businesses, big or small; on travels and education all belong to this frame.

4.9 Methods of data collection

All newspapers included in the study sample, using the constructed composite week, was collected and coded into the different framing categories. The frames which are the categories for coding are conflict, human interest, economic consequences, responsibility, religion and

political frames. Two coders will be employed and trained on the use of the coding sheet. A random sample of 5% of the original sample will be used to test for intercoder reliability.

4.10 Methods of data analysis

Descriptive statistics will be used to analyze the coding of the framing categories in the newspapers studied and explained using percentages, frequencies and tables. An analysis of variance (Anova) will be applied to compare usage of frames by each newspaper.

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