PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE PUNCH, DAILY SUN AND THE GUARDIAN

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Abstract  
This study investigated the Nigerian Print media reportage of terrorism with a focus on Boko Haram activities under the current democratic dispensation. Three newspapers (The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian) with a total number of 88 news articles on Boko Haram activities consisting of both soft and hard news as well as visual items from 180 newspaper editions. The theoretical frame works for the study were: Agenda setting theory and framing theory of mass communication effect. They are agenda setting theory and framing theory of mass communication effect. It was observed that the print media Coverage of Boko Haram activities in January was lower with 29.5% of 88 news items and it increased in February with 70.45%. Considering the media frames under investigation 42.0% was in favour of rescue efforts, hopelessness was recorded low with 2.3% and conspiracy frame was 1.1%. The term Boko Harm was predominant to describe the sect with 75.8%. It was discovered that prominence was given to Boko Haram activities in all the newspapers examined and not as a matter of front page occupancy but in quantity and quality of appearance. Daily Sun gave high test prominence to Boko Haram activities in the study. It was discovered also that terror prevention and intelligent gathering were more reported as urgent actions that government needs to take.

Keywords: Print Media, Terrorism, Boko Haram, Frame and Nigeri

Introduction  
Boko Haram, as the focus of this paper, is an Islamic group in Northern Nigeria that opposes western education and uses violence, killing and bombing to implement their goals. This terrorist group was adjudged the world’s deadliest terror group in 2014 and 28750 died in nine years of the insurgent attacks and The Guardian January 2016, p. 20)
Boko Haram started in 1995 as ‘Sahaba’ and was initially led by Lawan Abubakar who left for the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia for further studies. Late Yusuf Mohammed who was killed in a controversial circumstance in 2009 by men of the Nigerian Police Force was said to have taken over the leadership after the departure of Abubakar and indoctrinated the sect with his own teachings which he claimed were based on purity and Sharia law. As a result of the violent activities of the group the late President Umaru Musa Yar’dua ordered the deployment of the military to contain the group which government described as dissident. Okoro and Odoemelam (2013, pp. 86 – 88) submit that several theories have been postulated to explain reason for the Boko Haram insurgency and how government has responded to the development. Conspiracy theory is one of these theories and it says that Boko Haram was masterminded for violence and killings in the North by the Northern Political elite to make President Goodluck Jonathan who is from the Southern region look bad in the election in 2015. Others have pointed to Boko Haram activities as grievances to economic inequality. Some also see it as resistance against misrule rather than purely Islamic. Moreover the escalating Boko Haram activities before the present democratic dispensation were seen as negligence, incompetence and slowness to action in some quarters. Others see Boko Haram insurgency as a means to frustrate the democratic government under President Goodluck Jonathan’s administration.

However, politics as a game of number arising from the ability of a political group to convince and command followership, the present democratic government saw that as an avenue to make the defeat of Boko Haram insurgency one of her campaign promises. It is almost a year into the present administration, Nigerians are eager to see the defeat of Boko Haram insurgency as a fulfillment of promises made during electioneering campaigns. To support this facts. Awala (2015) says;

President Muhammadu Buhari and his party, the All Progressive Congress (APC) made a lot of juicy campaign promises during electioneering. This prompted Nigerian, who were so desirous of Change, to vote the APC, whose mantra was anchored on ‘change’ in most area of Nigeria’s life … the listed promises are not all yet to fulfill, they are the ones he could have fulfilled already if he worked at them. One, to end Boko Haram insurgency in 3 months: This was PMB’s promise before the election, but on assuming office, he made it end of December, 2015. The end of December is upon us and there is still no end in sight to the terror attacks from Boko Haram”

An examination of the frequencies, the media frames, the representation of Boko Harms, the level of prominence and the agenda setting directions for Boko Haram insurgency under the new democratic dispensation are therefore necessary.

Newspaper belong to the class of the print Media and it brings recent information to its audience and provides them with what is happening around them in their neighbourhood, town state or country and all over the world. Newspapers also interpret events for audience so that they can make informed and rational decisions. The basic functions of the newspaper in short are to educate, inform, entertain and interpret. The newspaper provides guide for established authorities in their policies and procedures (Anaeto et al, 2009, p. 1 and Ganiyu, 2012, p. 5).

As the Boko Haram insurgency continues to threaten the nation, there appears a need to assess how the press especially the print media have played their roles in setting agenda and their news frames for the public and policy makers on Boko Haram activities. It is also expedient to assess the frequency of Boko Haram activities as reported by The Punch, The Guardian and The Nation newspapers in a way to set agenda for the policy makers bearing in mind that the present democratic government promised at her rallies, and other political forums that insurgent would be

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a thing of the past at the soonest possible time if elected. And since the inception of the democratic government under President Mohammadu Buhari, government has often said that Boko Haram has been technically defeated. This may mean untimely celebration of Boko Haram defeat (The Punch 2016, p. 6). Effort must therefore be made to find out how the print media have played their roles and whether the present government has fulfilled her juicy promises of defeating Boko Haram in three month of assumption of office.

The broad objective of this study is to examine the newspaper reportage of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria in the new democratic dispensation through the content study of The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian. Specific objectives include: To examine the frequency of Boko Haram activities coverage in the Nigerian print media under the new democratic dispensation; To examine the kinds of news frames that the Nigerian print media used in coverage of Boko Haram activities under the new democratic dispensation; To examine how Boko Haram insurgency was represented in the print media coverage under the new democratic dispensation; To ascertain the level of prominence given to Boko Haram insurgency in the print media coverage under the new democratic dispensation; and To determine the agenda setting direction of the Nigerian print media in the coverage of Boko Haram insurgency under the new democratic dispensation.

The research will be guided by the following Research Questions: What is the frequency of the Boko Haram activities coverage in the print media under the new democratic dispensation? What kind of news frames did Nigerian print media used in coverage Boko Haram activities under the new democratic dispensation? In what terms was Boko Haram insurgency represented in the media coverage under the new democratic dispensation? What level of prominence was given to Boko Haram insurgency in print media coverage under the new democratic dispensation? And what agenda did the Nigerian print media set in the coverage of Boko Haram activities under the new democratic dispensation?

**Literature Review**

Millions of Citizens turn to the news media daily and “the media” is a cornerstone in our democracies (De Vreese 2005). The media has a very crucial role to play in disseminating information about events that shape a country. It is unarguably a fact that the print media exist majority to serve the public with up-to-date information on daily happenings. They do this by publishing daily developments on the pages of their papers (Orekyeh and Onuorah, 2012, p. 13). In an attempt to do this, news media use a journalistic tool known as framing. Media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media. It provides boundaries around a news story and determines what is and is not worthy or notable. Chioma and Ojomo (2015, pp 5-6) identify four major types of frame:

- **Gains Vs Loss Frame:** This type of frame is often used by the media while reporting issues of health concern (Such as: environmental hazards, where by media coverage are framed to capture risk and consequences. Here, the media present advantage (gain) and disadvantage (Loss)

- **Episodic Vs Thematic Frames:** Episodic frames reduce life to a series of disconnected episodes, random events or case studies, while thematic frame identify the short comings of the community or system level that have contributed to the problem. While episodic frame focus on individuals, a single event, thematic frame focus on issues, trends over time.

- **Strategy Vs Issue Frames:** This is mostly adopted in reporting political issues. Strategic frames refers to new stories that are centred around interpretation of candidates or parties motives for actions and positions.
Human Interest Vs Conflict Vs Consequence Frames: According to Seon-kyoung and Karla (2011) cited by Chioma and Ojoma (2015, p. 6), these frames are mostly utilized for media coverage of crisis within the society. This is best suited for this study of all the four types of frames. The human interest frame brings human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. Economic consequence frame examines the effect of crises on the economy. Conflict frame refers to the way that participant define conflict situation that is what they attend to or ignore in an ongoing stream of events, what counts as important, and what actions should they take. Conflict frames are presented in two forms of: discourse use (naming or labeling of events, use of words that imply blame, and explanation about the nature of a situation), and development issues.

De Vreese (2005, p. 54) advises on the kind of conflict frames to use in conflict reports. Seven of them were identified by Ngwu, Ekwe, and Chiaha (2015, p. 88) in their studies on use of frames by Nigerian Newspapers. They are:

- **Rescue Effort Frame**: Reports that give a account on what the government, foreign governments and other individuals are making to rescue the situation – Boko Haram insurgency.
- **Hopelessness Frame**: Words or phrases suggesting that the government and its partners cannot rescue the situation
- **Political Frame**: Word of phrases that emphasize that Boko Haram attacks are meant to destabilize the government of the present democratic dispensation.
- **Religious Frame**: This has to do with words or phrases that Boko Haram is a militant group raised by Northerners to wipe out Christianity from the country.
- **Ethnic Frame**: This has to do with words or phrase that suggest ethnic sentiments and motivating the activities of Boko Haram.
- **Conspiracy Frame**: This has to so with a belief that Boko Haram activities is a conspiracy to force the president out to show that his government is incompetent.
- **Economic**: This talks about the economic implication on the economy.

Framing: It is important to communicate effectively with varied public. Messages should be carefully framed because people in the society see things selectively. It is useful to remember that: What people see shapes what they know; what they know shapes what they believe and what they believe shapes how they act (Ihebuzor, 2014:65).

This is the reason why media professional use frames in their reports to set the direction for communication. Evidences from previous work by Ngwu et al (2015), Okoro and Odoemelam (2013 pp. 87-88) on pattern of frames used by the print media in the reportage of Boko Haram activities include: Rescue effort, Political, Religious, Hopelessness, Ethnic and Conspiracy. Others include powerlessness frame, attribution of responsibility frame, labeling frame, human interest frame and conspiracy frame. These measures were developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and De Vreese (2005) for analyzing frames in media coverage of various phenomena (Okoro and Odoemelam, 2013:87-88).

In media discourse, frequently reactions to perceived public desires and concerns sometimes set an agenda that interacts with those of the wider society. Media analysts have favoured the concept of representation which is a term that reminds journalist the demand of objectivity and balance in
the process of news reporting and presentation of opinion to the public. The media has a duty to construct versions of reality in the social-political discourse. That is, representation of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding how and why the world is and why it works as it is said or shown to work. Media scholars note that the Boko Haram and its members were frequently described in Nigerian national newspaper with labels that include Jihadists, Militants, Islamic groups, Islamic insurgents and Muslim sects. According to them, the term Jihadist is often used in Nigeria media discourse to connote an Islamic extremist that is mentally conditioned to kill or be killed in the cause he believes. Ganiyu (2012:49) discovers in his study that a general non-existence of “religious fighters” as a representation for Boko Haram. However the swing of representation was in the use of “Boko Haram”, fundamentalist and “terrorists”. There was also a general trend along the continuum formed by these three variants (i.e. Boko Haram, fundamentalist and terrorists) with Boko Haram and terrorists standing at either end of it. Beyond this in his study, he also discovered that “terrorist” representation was increasingly adopted during the first quarter of the year 2012. This may be due to the upsurge in Boko Haram violent activities that time.

According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010:1162) prominence is a state of being important, well known or noticeable. Media Miser (2016) posits that prominence refers to the attention a story on an organization; brands, issues, messages etc get in the media. Prominence can also be measured by a number of factors that measure the quantity and quality of media coverage, including type of media, extent of coverage, share of voice, story size or length, placement, media circulations, story treatment, use of visuals, types of coverage. Given the foregoing, prominence of any news story is not a function of the placement only i.e. front page occupancy but it could be determined by a lot of factors as given above. This contrasts the findings of Akinwunmi (2014:180-184) on coverage of child related stories in the Punch and Guardian. She says that prominence was not given to Child related stories for the fact that only one story was reported in the front page of the two papers under review. In support, prominence of Boko Haram Insurgency coverage by the media, Ganiyu (2012:50) affirms that there was a very constant occurrence of Boko Haram as an issue of prominence in the news of the content of dailies analyzed.

When an issue is repeated over time, importance is attached to it and one of the principle of agenda setting theory in the frequency of reportage (Folarin 2002:8). Orekyeh and Onuorah (2012:18) found out in their study that under the former President Goodluck Jonathan’s administration, the coverage of Boko Haram activities in the Nigerian print media made good use of news stories and pictures to report the activities of the sect. The print media did give the Boko Haram wide frequency by the number of stories they carried. It was also find out that the direction of the reportage was mostly negative. The finding was upheld by the findings of Ganiyu (2012:50) on the frequency of Boko Haram reportage in print media. He discovered that an appreciable rate of occurrence which indicates the topicality of Boko Haram as news-worthy phenomenon in the society were available. He also found out that in most of the report by the print media political agenda was the major focus of newspapers. That is Boko Haram was raised to destabilize the government of Goodluck Jonathan.
Theoretical Framework

Agenda Setting Theory: The theoretical underpinning for this paper is based on the Agenda setting theory and Framing theory of mass communication effect. Folarin (2002, p. 8) opines that Agenda setting implies that the Mass Media predetermine what issues are regarded as important at a given society. He further says that while the media may not successfully determine what people think, the press can determine what people think about. Folarin (2002:8) states the elements of Agenda setting to include:

a) The quantity or frequency of reporting; b) Prominence given to the reports through headline display pictures and layout in the newspapers, magazines, graphics or timing on the radio and television; c) The degree of conflict generated in the reports, and d) Cumulative media specific effects over time.

The importance of this theory to this research is that when an issue is covered by the news media, it will set agenda for how the public react as measured in public opinion polls and how policy makers will respond. This is also applicable in handling Boko Haram Insurgency.

Framing Theory: The framing theory was propounded by Erving Goffman in 1974. The concept of framing is related to agenda setting theory but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis for framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (MCT, 2016). Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience is called the frame, influences the choices people make about how to process information. The agenda setting theory ascribes to the media power to determine what people think about. In framing theory, the media not only tell audience what to think about, but also how to think about that issue – this is the second level of agenda setting theory.

Both the agenda setting theory and framing theory focus on how media draw the public’s eyes to specific topics by setting agenda. But framing takes a step further in the way the news is presented and create a frame for that information. In short, frame refers to the way media as gatekeepers organize and present the ideas, events, and topics they cover (MCT, 2016).

Implication for this study is that the more the media carry news about Boko Haram activities and the prominence given to it will determine importance attached to their activities by the public and policy makers. The more they are driven to find solution and give effective legislation.

Methodology

The research design used for this study was content analysis. It is an objective, systematic and quantitative analysis of manifest content of communication. The population of this research was the editions of The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian for January and February, 2016. Issues relating to Boko Haram activities in the three newspapers under review were accessed for investigation. A total number of 180 editions of The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian covering the months of January and February 2016, including Saturday and Sunday editions were investigated. All data collected were analyzed within the context of the research questions with the use of frequency counts and simple percentage.

Data Presentation and Discussions

A total number of 180 editions of 3 newspapers i.e. The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian which covered January and February (Sunday to Saturday) were used for this research.

1: What is the frequency of the Boko Haram activities reportage in the print media under the new democratic dispensation?
Table I: Frequency of Boko Haram activities coverage in print media in January and February, 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>January</th>
<th>February</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>11 (12.5%)</td>
<td>23 (26.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>9 (10.2%)</td>
<td>27 (30.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>6 (6.8%)</td>
<td>12 (13.16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 (29.5%)</td>
<td>62 (70.45%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the frequency of Boko Haram reportage covering both hard and soft news for the months of January and February 2016. It was observed that Guardian Newspaper has the lower coverage (20.5%) for Boko Haram activities in both month and Daily Sun has the highest coverage (40.9%). The table also shows that Nigerian Print Media recorded lower coverage of Boko Haram activities in January and it increased in February. 

2: What kind of news frames did Nigerian print media used in reporting Boko Haram activities in the new democratic dispensation?

Table II: Media Frames for Boko Haram activities in the new democratic dispensation by The Punch, Daily Sun and the Guardian in January and February, 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Rescue Effort</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Hopelessness</th>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Conspiracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Ja n</td>
<td>Fe b</td>
<td>Ja n</td>
<td>Fe b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis in Table II on framing of Boko Haram in January and February 2016 reveal that 15.9% favoured rescue effort in Punch, 11.4% in Daily Sun and 14.8% in The Guardian. However analysis on Hopelessness records low with 2.3% in The Punch, 6.8% in Daily Sun and 2.3% in The Guardian. Only the Punch records 1.1% on conspiracy frame and all others like political, religious, ethnic and economic frames are with 0%

3: In what terms was Boko Haram Insurgency represented in the print media coverage under the new democratic dispensation.
Table III: Terms used to represent Boko Haram insurgency in the print media in January and February, 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Punch</th>
<th>Daily Sun</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Fundamentalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boko Haram Terrorist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Fighter</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood Thirsty Group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihadist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurgents</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Insurrection</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table, Boko Haram insurgency was represented by some terms as found in the papers under review. The terms that featured were Boko Haram, Terrorist, Islamic Fundamentalist, Boko Haram Terrorist, Blood Thirsty Group, Extremist, Jihadist, Insurgents and Islamic Insurrectionist. The term Boko Haram was used more to describe the sect in the three papers examined. Daily Sun used the term Boko Haram more than other papers investigated with 30.0%. Punch 26.6% and the Guardian 19.2%. The term Boko Haram was used more in February due to more coverage of the sect activities with the frequency of 93 (45.8%). This was followed by “insurgents” with a frequency of 23 (10.9%) and “terrorists” with a frequency of 17 (8.2%). All others terms were sparingly used.

4: What level of prominence was given to Boko Haram insurgency in Print media coverage under the new democratic dispensation.

Table IV: Level of Prominence given to Boko Haram Coverage from January and February 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Front Page</th>
<th>Front Inside Page</th>
<th>Middle Page</th>
<th>Back Page</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the preceding table, the prominence given to Boko Haram activities was high in February by the three news papers under investigation. Guardian gave the lowest level of Prominence with a
frequency of 18 (20.5%) Daily Sun gave the highest with a frequency of 36 (40.9) in both months. In short, all the newspapers made their readers and the general public aware of Boko Haram activities in January and February, 2016.

5: In what direction did the print media in Nigeria set agenda for Boko Haram activities coverage under the new democratic dispensation?

Table V: Agenda setting direction for Boko Haram coverage by the print media in January and February, 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Paper</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Terror Prevention</th>
<th>Intelligence Gathering</th>
<th>Ethnic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Feb</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the preceding table, analysis of agenda slant for Boko Haram activities in the Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian between January and February, 2016 was presented. Six item slants were explored which include; Religious slant, Political Slant, Economic Slant, Terror Prevention slant, intelligence gathering slant and Ethnic slant. Terror prevention and intelligence gathering slant appeared to be the agenda setting focus. This means that print media reportage put more emphasis on the need for government to work more in the area of intelligent gathering. Political agenda setting was also focused but with low emphasis (1.1%), which means that Boko Haram is not raised to destabilize the current democratic government.

Discussion of Findings

This study was focused on the content analysis of Nigerian Print Media (The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian) analysis of the reportage of Boko Haram activities under the new democratic dispensation.

On the frequency of Boko Haram reportage sought by the first research question, the study discovered an appreciable rate of occurrence which indicates the topicality of Boko Haram activities. But the reportage of the insurgent group was low in January, 2016 in all the dailies examined. This may indicate that the present administration is doing everything possible to see the end of the insurgents in contrast to what we had under Goodluck Jonathan administration. Media frames that were used by the print media in the period under review showed that rescue efforts top the list as reported by all the newspaper that were reviewed. This is in contrast with the findings of Ngwu et al (2015, p. 91) that says hopelessness frame was used more by the print media under President Goodluck Jonathan administration. However in this research work, hopelessness as a frame was sparingly used. Hence, the dominant frame was rescue efforts. Both the Nigerian government and international communities are making good effort to contain the insurgents i.e.

On Boko Haram representation, the term Boko Haram was used more to describe the sect in the three papers examined during the period under review. On prominence, it was discovered that the newspapers under review gave prominence to Boko Haram activities. The general public and readers were made aware of Boko Haram and its activities. It was also discovered that prominence of an issue is not a matter of placement in the front page but the quantity and quality of coverage of that particular issues.

In the area of agenda setting, it was discovered that terror prevention and intelligent gathering were more reported as urgent actions that government need to take. This is supported by Alao and Atere (2012, p. 7) that security measure must be intensified so that chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction will not be introduced by the terrorists.

The findings of this research is validated by the two theoretical postulations used for the research. Firstly, the research discovered an appreciable rate of frequency of the Sect which indicates the topicality of Boko Haram activities. Secondly, it was discovered that prominence was given to Boko Haram activities not as a matter of placement in the front page but the quantity and quality of coverage of the activities of the sect. Thirdly, it was discovered that terror prevention and intelligence gathering were more reported as urgent needs to finally defeat Boko Haram.

In view of the above, the agenda setting theory describes the phenomenon. This research and the agenda setting theory are interwoven. In explaining agenda setting theory, Folarin (2008, p. 8) states that agenda setting theory include: a) The quantity of frequency of reporting; b) Prominence given to reports through headline display, pictures in the newspapers, magazines, graphics or timing on radio and television; and c) The press determines what people think about.

The implication for this study is that the frequency of Boko Haram activities reportage and the prominence given to it would determine how the public and the policy makers see the sect and what they do with them.

The framing theory equally validates the findings of this research paper. The dominant frame was rescue efforts made by the present government. To the effect that the media painted the picture of rescue effort to contain Boko Haram. The situation is hopefulness and Boko Haram was not seen as a conspiracy against the present government. The sect was mostly described as Boko Haram group. Implications for this study is that the media as gate keepers organize, package and present ideas, events and topics surrounding Boko Haram activities to tell what people think and how they think.

**Conclusion**

This study has provides evidence of the Nigerian print media reportage of Boko Haram activities in the new democratic dispensation. The study shows the frequency, the different frames used in the new papers, and it was found out that prominence was given to Boko Haram activities by the print media under review. Moreover Boko Haram was the term that was used mostly to describe the insurgents in the reports. A significant contribution of this study not found in previous study is the agenda setting for the present administration in the area of intelligence gathering and terror prevention as provided in the soft and hard news of the newspapers examined. This could be viewed by the comment of the Air Officer Commanding (AOC) Tactical Air Command, Air Vice Marshal Adeniyi Ojuawo who made a remark during the Base Socio-cultural Activity (BASA)
that the air force had deflated the insurgents. He notes that all the terrorists could do at the moment was suicide bombing (Daily Trust, 2016). This is to say that Boko Haram is still very much around and the present democratic dispensation has not fulfilled her promises to totally defeat Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria in three months of assumption of office.

**Recommendations**

As a result of these findings, it is recommended that the press should continue to set agenda and bring government to notice of the need for terror prevention and intelligence gathering. Also, further studies could be carried out to explore other framing categories and other forms of media to provide more understanding on the issue. The media should as well try to give quality coverage to issues of National importance. Finally, government should embark on massive rehabilitation of the devastated region in Nigeria and the Internally Displaced People (IDP) to properly integrate them to the society.

**References**


