A Comparative Analysis *of Daily Trust* and *Vanguard* Newspapers' Framings of the of Boko Haram Terrorists Identity

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Abstract

This study analyses the reportage of the Boko Haram's identity in Daily Trust and Vanguard newspapers. The objectives are to identify the political and economic description of the insurgents, and the religions identity in the newspapers frames. The study adopts content analysis to obtain quantitative data, Findings from the study reveal that some religious tenets of Boko Haram are traced to Islam and some of their activities are politically driven. Furthermore, most of the members are economically handicapped. The study concludes that the disparity in tin framings of the identity by the sampled newspapers may be due to their locations and recommends that Nigerian journalists should prioritize the country's interest over the regional interest.

Key terms: Identity. Daily Trust, Vanguard, Framings, Boko Haram.

Introduction

Knowing the importance of peace for the citizens, insurgency has attracted a lot of experts' attention whose literature on Boko Haram has been of help to policy makers both governmental and nongovernmental to strategize plans against the sect. Ever since the inception of democracy in Nigeria, people hold divergent views of its benefit to their lives. To some, it is a threat to the security of their lives and property, while those that are the seat occupants recognize it as the suitable policy for the country.

In the words of a scholar on the Nigeria's security challenges in this democratic setting the greatest security challenge facing President Goodluck Jonathan's administration is the imposing impunity of terrorist activities of the Boko Haram, an Islamic fundamentalist based in Northern Nigeria. It is on record that between January 1, 2010 and June 30, 2011 alone Nigeria witnessed over fifty cases of bomb blasts across the country with a casualty figure of

over 800 people dead and many people injured, not to talk of millions of Naira jtnd worth of property destroyed. It was also revealed that there were foreign militias from Somalia,, Chad Sudan and other Islamic countries in Borno-state (Ojo, 2011).

According to President Good luck Jonathan, commenting on the security challenges he noted that the emerging dimension of threat to national security that is rearing its horrible head in our nation must be confronted headfirst and defeated. The spate of violent crimes in parts of the country including-kidnapping, armed robbery, assassinations etc. are contemporary security challenges-facing our nation (Soriwei & Fidelis, 2010).

The emergent challenges and threats posed by Boko Haram insurgents in the national and international scene and the interest of the vulnerable and the insurgents to read newspapers, listen to radio, watch television for their information calls for the need to have a clear identification of the people orchestrating the menace. In the words of Yusha'u (2010:1) commenting on the importance of the newspapers in resolving issues of public concern, he noted that "it is imperative to note that some of the key players in the first republic like Dr Nnamdi Azikwe and Chief Obefemi Awolowo were newspaper publishers. This according to Agbaje (1993:459) "meant that the press had become inextricably linked with the emerging pattern of political rivalries often couched in geo-ethnic terms". Cognizance of the above fact, studying newspapers in the context of rivalries of which Boko Haram movement is one, will help in knowing how to approach the menace.

To identify the identity of the Boko Haram insurgents, the study questions the press framing of their identity with a view to having a direction to the real identity thus:
To identify the religious affiliation of the insurgents framed by the newspapers, the study asks:

RQ.1 How do the newspapers frame the religious identity of the insurgents? To trace the political class of the insurgents as framed by the newspapers, the study asks:

RQ.2 Which of the political class does Boko Haram belong to as framed by the newspapers?

To mark out the economic set of the Boko Haram insurgents as framed by the newspapers, the study asks:

RQ.3 Which of the economic set does Boko Haram fit in as framed by the newspapers?

State of the Literature

Conceptualization of Terrorism

The coinage of the term 'terrorism' was derived from a Latin verb 'terrere that means 'to frighten.' Alao (2001), cited in Campbell (2011), observes that terror cimbricus was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the Cimri tribe in 105 BC. Even though, insurgency and terrorism are different words but they share commonalities in the destruction of lives and properties. There is a common divergence among scholars as to the concept of terrorism and this led Sick to observe in Alao (2012), that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'.

Though, the African Union does not own a list of terrorist organizations in Africa, its Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism article 1 (3) defines terrorism as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any

number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

(i) Intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or

(ii) Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or

(iii) Create general insurrection in a State (Oyeniyi, 2010).

Terrorism is value laden and subjectively defined in line with the ideological school of the individual defining it. Thus, terrorism both as practiced and justified by terrorists themselves, is a tool used to achieve a specific outcome by using force or violence on one segment of society with the primary goal of causing fear in the larger society to make change in that society (Garrison, 2004). This shows that the usage of the tool is mostly negative as it is a term used to depict violence or other destructive acts. Walter Laqueur in 1999 counted over 100 definitions of terrorism and concludes that the only characteristics generally agreed upon are that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence (Laqueur, 2003),

Terrorism is sometimes used when attempting to force socio-political change by convincing a government or population to agree to demands to avoid future harm or fear of harm, destabilization of existing government, motivating a discontented population to join a mutiny, escalating a conflict in the hope of upsetting the status quo, expressing an injustice, or drawing attention to a cause. For an instance, the crisis in the Niger Delta Zone of Nigeria, where the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) took up arms against the Federal Government in pursuit of their rights- resource control, marginal ization, and lack of infrastructural development in the Zone (Chinwokwu, 2013), This is similar to Boko Haram movement who think that the right constitution to govern people is not upheld by the government.

In a contemporary time, terrorism has been adopted to mean a wide range of deployment of force largely targeted at civilian population by disgruntled elements within the society to direct the attention of government to their plight or to force a change of government. The complexity associated with surfacing a satisfactory definition of terrorism leads Hoffman (1998:3) to observe that ‘‘If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism.If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism”. In spite of the difficulty associated with the definitions, terrorism is associated with bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, hostages and hijackings.

The view agrees with Cunningham (2003) that a wide variety of actors from individuals (Carlos Illych Ramirez –the Jackal; the Unabomber) to groups (Tamil Tigers, Provisional IRA. Hamas, Boko Haram) to institutions (Gestapo, KGB, SAVAK) and finally to governments and states (the Taliban.) practice what we define as terrorism. The involvement of America in Vietnam, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya and Egypt among others was seen as terrorist act by Ogunsola (2011:12) cited in Aloa. (2012).This goes further to justify that the definition is a function of individual perception. Hence, terrorism is not limited to non-state actors. It explains why there is no unified perspective of what terrorism is.

Terrorism becomes pronounced and important area of study especially after 9/11 attacks, the phase that witnesses increase of academic works from different disciplines of study. When does a certain act of violence qualify criteria for a terror activity? In response to this provocative question, Nacos (2000) suggests that there is a need to draw clear lines of demareation between a 'common1 criminal and a terrorist. There is an obvious contrast between the two,- common criminals do not in any way engage in making political statement. On the contrary, terrorists are keen to make political statement with intent upon attracting broad and cheap media coverage.

Accordingly, Schmid and De Graaf (1982:14) explain that violence which is perpetrated by terrorists can be regarded as a means of communication. The scholars further argue that "for terrorist, the massage matters not the victims", The concept of terrorism is fundamentally contested, value-laden and open to multiple interpretations based on a definer's predisposition which means, "Terrorism is in the eyes of the beholder" (Crehnsten, 1998).

Boko Haram Identity and the Maitatsme Movement in Nigeria

Boko Haram origin is shrouded in mystery as no one knows specifically the real identity of the sect. Some see it as political and to some is religious. The menace of Boko Haram has affected Nigerians, leaving them helpless. Therefore, it is pertinent to involve the press in studying insurgency to help come up with its identity in terms of religion, economy and their political group.

Commenting on the identity of Boko Haram, Scluilze, (2009) cited in Alao (2012) argues:

> Boko-Haram is ideologically isolated and lacks popular support from the population of Muslim leaders. Though this is contentious, she buttressed her position with the condemnation of the movement by Islamic bodies like the Nigerian umbrella body of Muslims. Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI) that categorically dissociated Islam from the activities of Boko-Haram. Such a conclusion needs to be approached with caution, while it is difficult to believe that Christians will be sponsoring the bombing of fellow believers, this study argues that highly placed and wealthy individuals not yet identified due to security lapses might be bankrolling the sect and provide channels for easy passage of ammunitions and explosives.

On the genesis of the Boko Haram, Alysergie & Johnson, (2014) traced its first appearance to 2002 in Maiduguri where Kanuri and Hausa claim the dominance of the settlement, Maiduguri is the capital of the northeastern state of Borno, and Boko Haram sect was created by Islamist cleric Mohammed Yusuf, who led a group of radical Islamist youths in the 1990s. The group aims at establishing a fully Islamic state in Nigeria, including the implementation of criminal sharia courts across the country.

A professor in University of California studying Muslim societies in Africa, Paul Lubeck cited in Alysergie & Johnson (2014) stated that Yusuf was a trained Salafist (a school of thought often associated with jihad), and was strongly influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah, a fourteenth-century legal scholar who preached Islamic fundamentalism and is an important figure for radical groups in the Middle East. The sect calls itself Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, or "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and jihad." It's widely known as Boko Haram, which colloquially translates into "Western

education is sin," for its rejection of Western concepts such as evolution and the big bang theories.

Before 2009, the group did not mean to violently drive out the government. Yusuf criticized northern Muslims for participating in what he saw as an unlawful, non-Islamic state, and preached a doctrine of abandonment. But violent clashes between Christians and Muslims and insensitive government treatment, including pervasive police brutality, encouraged the group's radicalization. Boko Haram's hundreds of followers, also called Yusuffiya, consist largely of poor northern Islamic students and clerics, as well as professionals, many of whom are unemployed (Alysergie & Johnson 2014).

There is a growing suspicion among Nigerians about the real identity of Boko Haram sect, most Muslims see it as an extension of Maitatsine sect which was established in 1945 to tarnish the image of Islam as was confirmed that Maitatsine was not a Muslim until his death. A reasonable number of Christians see Boko Haram as an attempt to isiamize Nigerians while some are indifferent (Shehu. 2014: Ojobi, 2013).

Muhammed Marwa (maitatsine) appeared to be an Islamic scholar only by name who migrated from the town of Marwa in northern Camcroun to the city of Kano in 1945. While in Kano he became an Islamic fanatic concerned with the purification of Islam in disguise with ulterior motive of painting Islam black. He believed that Islam had been corrupted by modem ization and westernization. (Shehu, 2014).

According to Danjibo (2007) Marwa's regular preaching became very revolting and confrontational, especially against established institutions like the emirate and the political category to the extent that the then Emir of Kano, Khalifa Sanusi Lamido, forced him to exile from Kano. Marwa found his means back to Kano in 1966, most probably after the demise of Sanusi. Between 1972 and 1979 Marwa was detained in jail several times for his insults and acts of mayhem against the state. As Falola (1990: 143) notes:

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

It was observed that Marwa exploited the declining economic situation as well as the Almajiri system and was able to attract followers amongst the commoners, who lacked the basic necessities of life. These commoners became die-hard patriots of the sect and Marwa himself. His people prayed while counting their beads, live times a day, facing the East, but think Prophet Muhammad was not a messenger of Allah. They read the Qur'an but don't see the need to visit Mecca. The Maitatsines preach a strong compulsion to kill. They believe that

if they are able to kill 'Arnas' (infidels) who don't believe in Allah, they will go to heaven (Danjibo, 2007).

The leader of the Boko Haram movement, Yusuf, was a secondary school drop-out who went to Chad and Niger Republic to study the Qur'an, while in the two countries he developed radical views that were abhorrent to westernization and modernization. Like the late Maitatsine, Yusuf got back to Nigeria and settied in Maiduguri and established a sectarian group in 2001 known as the Yusufiyya, named after him. The sect was able to attract more than 280,000 members across Northern Nigeria as well as in Chad and Niger Republic (Danjibo,2007).

Newspapers' Framing of Insurgents and Their Sources

The content of any newspaper is formed by getting information from those orchestrating the insurgency and the innocents or the vulnerable group. The place of news sources in the process of news production is worth- considering. This emphasizes the strength of source credibility theory of Mass communication propounded by Hovland and Weiss cited in Anaeto, (2008) with its basic assumption on the credibility of source. However, as long as reporters need to write beyond their opinions alone and see themselves as conveyers of information rather than interpreters of issues and occurrences, they will need to rely on sources. These sources must be people considered reliable, speak for their organizations (Berkowitz, 2009). These sources include victims and the insurgents.

The study of reporters and their news sources draws its roots from questions about bias, power, and influence. A key question in the early literature concerned whether reporters or sources exert greater influence in shaping the news. One extension of this question asks how journalists' use of news sources lead toward particular news agenda that either favors or excludes some issues over others (Berkowitz, 2009). This is one of the powers of the media to influence their audience.

Over the years, extensive literatures have documented the importance of news sources in shaping the news (Manning, 2001). Journalists' ability to choose who speaks (or does not speak) in news coverage enables them to frame news unintentionally.

Schneider (2011) also advanced that the use of sources and quotations enables journalists to call on the voices of their assorted sources to structure stories in particular ways. As Van Dijk (1991:152) notes: "quotations allow the insertion of subjective interpretation, explanations, or opinions about current news events, without breaking the ideological rule that requires the separation of facts from opinions". As such, journalists need to be careful not to tamper with objectivity in their reportage.

Berkowitz (1987) also argues that sources play large part in shaping information from which people unconsciously build their image of the world. The relationship between reporters and their sources has been portrayed as a battle for power over public opinion and public consent (Anderson, 2005) Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981). Sigal, (1986) notes: mapping out the dominant sources in news might shed light on whose agenda the news reflect. This is debatable on the tenability of agenda setting by the media.

Using empirical studies, researehers have found preponderance of government officials and institutional sources (such as corporate bodies, public bodies, professional associations, NGOs) in use among reporters (Zelizer & Allan, 2002). These voices enjoy extensive access

to the chamber of public debating which the press provides; they often shape the news discourse and its agenda. While this may resemble calculated bias, a number of scholars don't view Journalists' reliance on government officials as willful or consciously biased actions. According to this argument, journalists are merely striving to meet deadlines and thereby rely on those news sources that are available for comment (Tuchman, 1978; Gans 1979).

Essentially, journalism's paradigm follows a science-like model, where reporters gather authoritative data and then present it without explicitly taking a side in the discourse. Within this model, experts and officials as sources become the providers of this data, so that reporters become beholden to them for the raw materials of news (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

The dependence on official government and other institutional sources is even more pronounced in reportage and framing terrorism (Zellizer and Allan, 2002; Canter, 2009; Norris, Kern & Just, 2003 Azeez, 2010). This then fits perfectly into Bennett (1990:106) indexing hypothesis which posit that "mass media professionals ... tend to 'index' the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate about a given topic". The highly influential role of news sources in the process of news production cannot be over-emphasized.

It is however pertinent to note that sources, although usually deemed authoritative, speak from vested positions in their organizations and from ideological positions in their cultural worlds (Berkowitz, 2009). Sources provide the raw material for news, and thus news media maintain close relationship with established sources (the term "source" as used here refers to human subjects who reporters turn to for their information). Williams (2003:7) noted. "Sources are central to the news production" and it is important to establish contacts with sources "for a reliable flow of newsworthy information. Thus, without sources, there would be no story; the better the source, the better the story (Willis, 1990). Yet, the relationship of journalists to their sources comprises one of the most critical – yet perplexing – areas of reporting. The use of apparently independent and authoritative sources enables journalists to produce a sense that they are merely conveying the opinions of others while in fact shaping the story through their choices of both sources and specific quotations (Ross, 2007).

Schudson (1978) also shares this view by asserting that news making begins with the news sources and that if journalism indeed provides the first rough draft of history, news sources are the first draft people. To Soloski (1989), news sources take the position of society's voices of 'fact' turning what is essentially a product of human creation into perception of facts. In essence, the relationship between reporters and their sources has been depicted as a battle for power over public opinion and public consent (Anderson, Peterson, & David, 2005; Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981; McQuail, 2000).

Boko Haram Coverage, Media Ownership and Location

Nigeria newspapers are located in different parts of the country and the ownership could be private or public. This has a role to play on what should be considered as news-worthy events to win the heart of the immediate community. Nigerian newspapers have come a long way. From their humble beginning in 1859 (Omu, 1978; Coker, 1968; Duyile, 1987; Akinfeleye, 1985), they have metamorphosed into one of the most vibrant subsets of Nigerian media scene. According to Kperoogi (2011), the Nigerian Newspapers have historically functioned as a veritable arena for the robust articulation, ventilation, and

circulation of transformative and politically consequential national discourse, and for the instigation of momentous social changes.

Despite their dwindling circulation figures, Oso (2011) has noted that newspapers in the country are "still the most iconic outlet from news and other types of written communication" (Ugah. 2009). And that is why studies of political developments in Nigeria from the colonial to post-colonial period have always highlighted the role of the Nigerian press and of Nigerian journalists in energizing and galvanizing popular support for major, defining issues of the times (Kperoogi, 2011).

However, since the press always takes the form and coloration of the milieu in which it operates (Siebert, 1955), the Nigerian newspapers reflect the political and socio-economic reality of the country to its full details. In terms of the ownership pattern, majority of the national newspapers in the country are privately owned and thereby expected to be independent and objective in their reportage. However, this is not the situation especially when such reportage is about controversial national issues (Olukotun. 2004; Media Right agenda, 2000; Iredia, 2005).

An explanation for this lack of objectivity and detachment of Nigerian newspapers in covering national issues can be sought in Altcluill's (1995) first law of journalism which states that: In all press systems, the news media are agents of those who exercise political and economic power. Newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting outlet thus are not independent actors, though they have the potential to exercise independent power (Campbell, 2004).

In most cases, the Nigerian newspapers often adopt the state as the primary definer of issues and events and by so doing; they reflect the ideology of the state rather than providing diverse views from which the citizen can make informed decision (Olukotun, 2004; Ahmad, 2009). For example, in covering militancy in Niger delta from 2006 to 2010, majority of the newspapers in the country adopt government's, frame of the crisis and the militants were hardly labeled as terrorists even when it was glaring that some of their attacks qualify tobe labeled as terrorism and that some of the militant groups have "not limited their violence to that which can be rationalized by a political ideology of defending ethnic communities and the environment" (Forest, 2012:11).

In other situations, it is the ideology or the politics of the proprietor that decides media-bias, or slant (Agbaje, 1992). In the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attack on America, a major meeting was held between journalists, editors and media experts on 'Media and Terrorism – Lessons of the American Attack', organized by the International Press Center (IPC), Lagos, on September 25, 2001 (Warren, 2003).The meeting, supported by the International Federation of Journalists, analyzed Nigerian media coverage of the September 11 terrorists attack in the United States, and concluded that media had been fair, balanced and objective in its post-attack report, though there were some incidents of media reports tainted with religious and race bias thus violating the principles of ethics and professionalism. Therefore, at the end of the exhaustive presentations and discussions, it was agreed that the media in its further reports must be sensitive to the diversity – social, religious, political, cultural, language – of different peoples in different parts of the world. The media should condemn terrorism but must refrain from portraying or illfull any particular religion as terrorist.

Were newspapers in the country able to input all these salient agreements in their reportage of Boko haram's terrorism? While to a researcher, this is a question that can only be answered through empirical investigation, Boko haram group seems to have reviewed the question and concluded that newspapers in the country were not objective and that they are supporting the government in the reportage of its ongoing jihad in Nigeria.

Hence, the sect has not hidden its disdain and distrust of the Nigerian media (Ekwueme & Obayi, 2012).

In living up to its September 28, 2011 threat to deal with the media reporters, the sect, in a display of fury against its representation in Newspapers, bombed the offices of Thisday, The. Moment and Daily Sun newspapers in Abuja and Kaduna on April 26, 2012. The sect cited reasons ranging from lack of objectivity to blasphemy on the side of the media for the attacks. Its spokesman, Abu Qaqa, explains this position thus:

> We have repeatedly cautioned reporters and media houses to be professional and objective in their reports. This is a war between us and the government of Nigeria; unfortunately the media have not been objective and fair in their report of the ongoing war, they chose to take side. It is not only Thisday that has engaged in negative media campaign... but the sins of Thisday are more. They once insulted the Prophet Mohammed in 2001 and we have not forgotten. Nigerian media would not be a problem if they do their job professionally without taking sides (Ekwueme & Obayi, 2012).

Also in an 18-minutes Video post on Youtube on 9 May 2012, Boko haram sect also threatened similar attack on southern newspapers which include The Punch, Daily Sun, Vanguard, Guardian, Nation, Tribune & National Accord. In the same video, the sect's spokesman also sends strong warning to DailyTrust, Leadership and Peoples-Daily, all which are Northern Nigeria based Newspapers, to stop their inaccurate reportage of its attacks or face its fury (Punch, May 20, 2012).

One possible supposition from this threat is that these newspaper houses may not be able to frame the sect outside the dominant frame which sees them "as a faceless, conscienceless and bloody bunch of mass-murdering terrorists bent on ruining the country with their nihilistic demands" (Ekwueme & Obayi, 2012). The threat is likely to instill fear in the minds of the journalists.

Theoretical Approach

Since the study's main thesis is on the framing of identity of the Boko Haram insurgents, a framing theory is adopted which can explain the differences in framing between Daily Trust and Vanguard newspapers.

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. Framing is often traced back to roots in both psychology and sociology (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). The psychological origin of framing lies in experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), for which Kahneman received the 2002 Nobel Prize in economics (Kahneman, 20C3).

To frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993).

However, problem definitions are the core objectives of this study. According to Norris, Kern & Just (2003) the idea of 'news frames' refers to interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. They explain further "News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is selection, to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events".

Method

The study adopts content analysis becauseit is through the content analysis that the frequencies of the religious, political and economic identity of the Boko Haram can be coded. Furthermore, all the editions of the years 2013-2014 by the DailyTrust, Vanguard newspapers formed the population of the study. The choice of the Newspapers is based on their locations and data. The researcheher set out to examine which has to do with the newspapers' portrayal of the identity of the Boko Haram insurgents.

The newspapers to be analyzed were purposively sampled based on the criterion of their wide readership in the country. While the choice of the editions were systematically sampled where the nth element is the seventh editions after skipping six editions, excluding weekend editions. The sample size chosen was therefore 164, 82 from each. A coding sheet was designed by the researcheher to collect the data for analysis. The coding sheet contained all the variables relevant to the researeh questions.

The categories are the religious, political and economic identity of Boko Haram, each with sub-categories and articles constitute the units of analysis. Simple descriptive statistics is adopted where frequencies and percentages are used in displaying issues in tables.

Results

The data is presented, analysed and interpreted using frequency and simple percentage of each of the identities framed by the sampled newspapers on Boko Haram insurgents. A table is used to group the variables set to examine the study.

Table : Portrayal ol'the Identity of Boko Haram

		Daily Trust		**Vanguard %**	
Religious Background	Muslim	46	43.8	72	71.3
	Christian	8	7.6	J	3.0
	Others	51	48.6	26	25.7
	Total	105	100.0	101	100.0
Economic Status	Rich	42	42.9	37	38.9
	Poor	56	57.1	58	61.1
	Total	98	100.0	95	100.0
Political status	Ruling party	43	35.2	58	41.1
	Opposition Party	47	38.5	52	36.9
	Others	32	26.2	31	22.0
	Total	122	100.0	141	100.0

From the table above, in identifying Boko Haram members as Muslim, Vanguard has 71.3%, followed by Daily Trust with 43.8%. In identifying Boko Haram as Christian, Daily Trust

has 7.6%, followed by Vanguard with 3.0%. In identifying Boko Haram as others such as Jews, and Bhuddists, Daily Trust has 48.6%, followed by Vanguard with 25.7%.

However, from the analysis, most of the dominating religions i.e Islam and Christianity are disassociating themselves from Boko Haram. Though, insurgents portray themselves as Muslims. However, most Muslims deny Boko Haram members to Islam as most of their tenets go contrary to Quran, thereby putting their struggle in either political landscape or a fresh doctrine which is independent of the existing religions of Nigeria. Some have accusations on foreign religions especially Jews on the pretext that they do it to tarnish the image of Islam. In identifying Boko Haram by their economic status, in portraying them as rich, Daily Trust has 42.9%, followed by Vanguard with 38.9%. In portraying them as poor, Vanguard has 61.1%, followed by Daily Trust with 57.1%. However, the analysis shows that the insurgents are poor but sponsored by some political elites.

In identifying Boko Haram by political status, in portraying them as the ruling party, Vanguard has 41.1%, followed by Daily Trust with 35.2%. In portraying them as opposition party, Daily Trust has 38.5%, followed by Vanguard with 36.9%. In portraying them as others i.e foreign nationals, Daily Trust have 26.2%, followed by Vanguard with 22.0%. However, from the analysis, the ruling party is seen as the insurgents themselves by their negligence to curtail the spread of the insurgency, it is alleged that they refused to avail the security with the required weapons to outfight the insurgents, while the ruling class accuses the opposition party of all the bombings in order to tarnish the image of the ruling party and to infuse hatred in the minds of the citizens.

Discussion

The questions set for the study are answered by employing the literature reviewed, theoretical approach and the data gathered from the field.

RQ 1: What is the religious identity of the Boko Haram insurgents?

There are divergences in the framing of the Boko Harams' identity as Muslims, Christians, Jews or Buddist as embedded in the sampled articles. In identifying Boko Haram members as Muslim, Vanguard has the higher percentage of 71.3%, followed by Daily Trust with 43.8% .This may be attributed to the location of the Vanguard i.e Lagos as most of the opinions expressed can be credited to Christians. Being north Muslim dominating states especially north central where the activities of the Boko Haram are prevalent and attacks on churches made some people think that Muslim brothers are the Boko Haram sect. Daily Trust has less frequency of 43.8% compared to Vanguard as this can be resulted to the location of the newspaper i.e Abuja. The newspaper is most at times sensitive to the location it situates and most of the contributions are coming from the Muslim majority of the north.

In seeing Boko Haram as Christians, Daily Trust has the 7.6% and this can be traced to some allegations that it was a plot to tarnish the image of Islam. Vanguard followed with 3.0% as most of its framing portrays Muslims as Boko Haram sect. In identifying Boko Haram as others like Jews and Buddhists, Daily Trust has 48.6%, followed by Vanguard with 25.1% .This was resulted to the view that it was a plot from abroad to give a bad name to Islam and that has become the popular opinion in the north.

RQ2: What political class does Boko Haram belongs?

With the purchasing power of sophisticated weapons by the Boko Haram sect, the belief that Boko Haram is rich become famous in all the newspapers but with lesser impact. Though,

the argument is that the sponsors are not the real actors. Daily Trust has 42.9%, followed by Vanguard with 38.9%. The belief that Boko Haram insurgents were poor in the sampled newspapers also carried reasonable percentage compared to being rich believing that their frustration by the abject poverty led them to participate in the terrorism. Some are seeing them as poor people in the north who because of their poverty take revenge in killing people to frustrate the government that cannot deliver well to them."

In portraying them as poor, Vanguard has 61.1%, followed by Daily Trust with 57.1%. It was observed that during Maitatsine which has commonalities with Boko Haram, he exploited the declining economic situation and the Almajiri system to attract large followers amongst the commoners, who were unable to afford the basic necessities of life therefore became answerable to Marwa (Danjibo, 2007). Boko Haram has targeted young students of Islam called' 'almajiri' (a Hausa word for emigrant child; also sometimes referred to as 'street children (Onuoha, 2012). Boys aged as young as six are traditionally sent away by their parents to travel between various teachers, only to end up living in poverty and appalling conditions, begging in the streets or working as child labourers. According to the Nigerian Ministry of Education, the estimated number of almajirism 2010 was 9.5 million, concentrated primarily in the northern states. Due to their socioeconomic circumstanccs, they are particularly vulnerable to indoctrination and illfully tion by religious fanaticism (Goodluck & Juliana, 2014).

RQ3: What is the economic description of Boko Haram fit in the newspapers' frames?
Boko Haram insurgents are attributed to mostly ruling class aimed at dividing the attention of the people so that the 2015 election can be easily rigged. In other hand, the opposition party is accused of the terrorism in order to soil the image of the ruling party. In identifying Boko Haram by political status, Vanguard has the higher percentage of 41.1%, followed by Daily Trust with 35.2%. In portraying them as opposition party, Daily Trust has 38.5%, followed by Vanguard with 36.9%. In portraying them as others like western countries, Daily Trust has 26.2%, followed by Vanguard with 22.0%. However, most of the views revolve around the ruling party as the Boko Haram sect. Opposition party accused them of allowing the insurgency illfully to continue because of their political gain, while those in the ruling party were accusing the opposition party on the sponsorship of the ongoing insurgency with the aim of soiling the image of the government so as to create hatred in the minds of the electorates.

Conclusion and Recommendation
The study concludes that most of the framings offered by the sampled newspapers on the identity of the Boko Haram are motivated by their locations. Newspapers cannot afford loosing the proceeds observed by the patronage of the neighbourhood. Therefore, a slant to satisfy the desire of the newspapers' major clients is featured in the articles sampled for the study. While Vanguard portrays Muslims as Boko Haram sect. Daily Trust takes an opposite stand.

As a result of the insurgents' capacity to withstand and in some battles achieve victory over the Nigeria's federal troops, popular opinion has it that though Boko Haram insurgents' motive is to ban western education, some political elites sponsor their cause for political gain either nationally or internationally. There is widely held belief that the real actors of the scourge are poor but with the intervention of political elites make sophisticated weaponry at their disposal which gave them an edge over Nigerian security. The study recommends that

Nigeria's journalists should prioritize peace of the country over serving the wishes of their locations.

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