GALACTICA MEDIA

JOURNAL OF MEDIA STUDIES

GALACTICA MEDIA
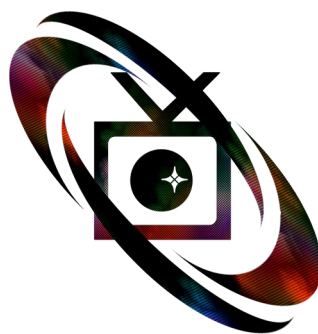# Journal of Media Studies

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Vol 2, No 2

**Media, Culture and Society in Africa and Asia.
Part 1. Nigeria**

Guest Editors: Ben-Collins Ndinojuo & Aniefiok Udoudo
(University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria)

2020

ГАЛАКТИКА МЕДИА
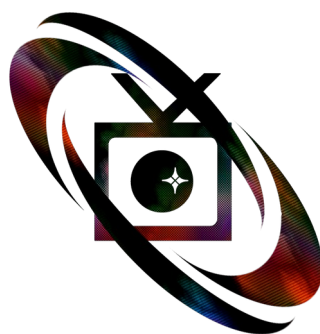## журнал медиа исследований

научный электронный журнал

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Том 2, No 2

**Медиа, культура и общество Африки и Азии.
Часть первая. Нигерия**

Приглашённые редакторы: Ндиножуо Бен-Коллинс & Удудо Анифиок
(Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия)

2020

Dear friends, colleagues, readers and authors!

Galactica Media: Journal of Media Studies is a periodic academic e-journal without printed forms (since 2019). The journal publishes scholastic articles, reviews, information resources, reports of expeditions, conferences and other scientific materials.

This project is a truly ambitious initiative that serves to disseminate scientific intellectual knowledge and information in the field of media and popular culture (history, cultural studies, anthropology, philosophy, etc.) in the modern world community.

It is not for nothing that we used the epithet ambitious, since from the very beginning of its inception and preparation, it really is such. The project was started in 2018 by a small group of enthusiasts, young scientists whose interests lie in the above-mentioned areas of research.

First of all, we have assembled a truly big international team to become the members of our editorial board, people from different parts of our "small global village" called planet Earth, as media culture theorist Herbert Marshall McLuhan put it. Our editors are leading scholars in the field of media and popular culture from Russia, USA, UK, Spain, Austria, Sweden, India, Sri Lanka, China, Malaysia, Ghana.

Therefore, we chose English (the international language of science) and Russian (as the project is an initiative of Russian scientists) as the working languages of the online journal.

Openness, no charge, and peer reviews by leading scholars are the fundamental principles of our project (Ethics). And the digital character of modern international communications made us choose the electronic version of the journal (without physical printing). Based on the above while choosing a platform we preferred an open and free engine called Open Journal Systems, which ideally allows to organize the entire publishing process.

This allowed us to automate each stage of publication through the user registration system.

The names and e-mail addresses entered on the website of this online journal will be used solely for the purposes indicated by the journal and will not be used for any other purposes or passed to other individuals or organizations.

Journal publishes articles on quarterly basis.

Our online edition is devoted to the topical issues in the field of studies of media and mass culture in the broadest coverage of: history, cultural studies, anthropology, philosophy, etc.

The title of the journal was chosen as a reference to the work of the famous theorist of media culture, Herbert Marshall McLuhan, who in his periodization of the invention and assimilation by mankind of mass communications (media) introduced the concept of "Galaxy" (Galaxy of Gutenberg, Galaxy Marconi, etc.).

Aim and Scope

to create a virtual platform for exchange of views and discussions in the field of studies of media and mass culture. We strive to ensure that our network publishing performs an important scientific function – communication and information, which al-

lows not only to accumulate new achievements in this area, but also serves as the ba-
sis for new discoveries and insights.

Online edition maintains its principles – to ensure the intercultural dialogue and to re-
duce the conflict of civilizations. It adheres to the philosophy of non-violence, cultural
and religious tolerance. The editorial Board aims at removing language barriers while
maintaining respect for the national culture of each nation, residing on the small
planet Earth.

All materials submitted to the editors will be carefully selected and sent for double-
blind review.

Which does not mean though that any article sent to the editor will be accepted for
our online edition. Any unscientific or not based on facts article will be rejected by the
editors.

All articles are published FREE, but the fee is not paid to the authors.

Best regards,
Editors

◆ Certificate of registration issued by Roskomnadzor: ЭЛ № ФС77-75 215 since 07 march 2019
◆ Materials are intended for persons over 18 years old.

Уважаемые друзья, коллеги, читатели и авторы!

Сетевое издание Galactica Media: Journal of Media Studies является периодическим научным изданием, не имеющим печатной формы, и выпускается с 2019 года. В сетевом издании публикуются научные статьи, рецензии, информационные ресурсы, отчеты об экспедициях, конференциях и прочие научные материалы.

Данный проект является поистине амбициозной инициативой, служащей распространению научных интеллектуальных знаний и информации, посвящённых исследованиям в области медиа и массовой культуры (история, культурология, антропология, философия и т.д.) в современном мировом сообществе.

Мы не зря использовали эпитет амбициозный, так как с самого начала его зарождения и подготовки он действительно является таковым. Проект был задуман в 2018 году небольшой группой энтузиастов, молодых учёных, сферой интересов которых оказалась вышеуказанная область научных исследований.

Первым делом мы собрали по-настоящему огромную международную команду, которая представлена в редколлегии сетевого издания и охватывает большинство континентов, как выразился теоретик медиакультуры Герберт Маршалл Маклюэн, нашей «маленькой глобальной деревни» под названием планета Земля. Сюда вошли ведущие учёные в сфере медиа и массовой культуры следующих стран: Россия, США, Великобритания, Испания, Австрия, Швеция, Индия, Шри-Ланка, Китай, Малайзия, Гана.

Поэтому в качестве рабочих языков сетевого издания мы выбрали английский (международный язык науки) и русский (так как проект является инициативой российских учёных).

Открытость, бесплатность и рецензируемость ведущими учёными всех поступающих для публикации материалов являются основополагающими научными принципами нашего проекта (основные этические принципы представлены здесь). А цифровой характер современных международных коммуникаций заставил нас выбрать электронный вариант публикации статей (без физической печати). Исходя из вышеперечисленного в выборе платформы для реализации задуманного, мы остановились на открытом и бесплатном движке под названием Open Journal Systems, который позволяет идеально организовать весь издательский процесс.

Это дало нам возможность автоматизировать каждый этап на пути к опубликованию научных материалов через систему регистрации пользователей.

Имена и адреса электронной почты, введенные на сайте этого сетевого издания, будут использованы исключительно для целей, обозначенных этим сетевым изданием, и не будут использованы для каких-либо других целей или предоставлены другим лицам и организациям.

Мы выходим ежеквартально 4 раза в год.

Сетевое издание посвящено актуальным вопросам в сфере исследований медиа и массовой культуры в самом широком их охвате: история, культурология, антропология, философия и т.д.

Название проекта было выбрано в качестве отсылки к творчеству известнейшего теоретика медиакультуры Герберта Маршалла Маклюэна, который в своей периодизации изобретения и усвоения человечеством средств массовой коммуникации (медиа) использовал понятие «Галактика» (Галактика Гуттенберга, Галактика Маркони и т.д.).

Цель проекта

создание виртуальной площадки для обмена мнениями и дискуссий в области исследований медиа и массовой культуры.

Исходя из цели, мы стремимся к тому, чтобы наше сетевого издание выполняло важные научные функции – коммуникативную и информационную, которые послужат основой для новых открытий и озарений.

Сетевое издание выступает с позиций «идеологии» диалога культур и устранение условий конфликта цивилизаций. Оно придерживается принципов философии ненасилия, культурной и религиозной толерантности. Редакция преследует цель устранения языковых барьеров и уважительного отношения к границам национальной культуры каждого народа, проживающего на маленькой планете Земля.

Все материалы, поступающие в редакцию проходят тщательный отбор и отправляются на двойное слепое рецензирование.

Вместе с тем это не означает, что любая, присланная в редакцию статья, будет напечатана в нашем сетевом издании. Любая антинаучная и не подкрепленная фактологически статья будет отклонена редакторами.

Все статьи публикуются в сетевом издании БЕСПЛАТНО, но и гонорар авторам не выплачивается.

С уважением,
редакция журнала

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Qiao Li
Доцент в школе коммуникации и творчества в Университетском колледже KDU, Малайзия

Robert Pfaller
Доктор философских наук, профессор кафедры культурологии, Университет искусств и дизайна, Линц, Австрия

Stephen Duncombe
PhD, Professor of Media and Culture Gallatin School of Individualized Study & Media, Culture and Communication, Steinhardt School New York University, USA

Стивен Денком
PhD, Профессор средств массовой информации и культуры Школы индивидуального изучения и медиа, культуры и коммуникации им. Галлатина, Школа Steinhardt, Нью-Йоркский университет, США

Todd A. Comer
PhD, Professor of English at Defiance College, USA

Тодд А. Комер
PhD, Профессор английского языка в колледже Defiance, США

Todd McGowan
PhD, University of Vermont, Department of English, Associate Professor, USA

Тод МакГован,
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Theodora Dame Adjin-Tettey
PhD, Lecturer Faculty of IT and Communication Studies University of Professional Studies, Accra, Ghana

Теодора Даме Аджин-Тетти
PhD, Преподаватель факультета информационных технологий и коммуникаций, Университет профессиональных исследований, Аккра, Гана

Valeriy V. Savchuk
Dr. Habilitatus, Professor, Department of Cultural Studies, Philosophy of Culture and Aesthetics, Institute of Philosophy, St. Petersburg State University, Russia

Валерий Владимирович Савчук
д. филос. н., профессор кафедры культурологии, философии культуры и эстетики Института философии СПбГУ, Россия

Wasana Maithree Herath
PhD, Senior Lecturer Department of Management Sciences Faculty of Management Uva Wellassa University, Sri Lanka

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PhD, Старший преподаватель Кафедра наук управления Факультет менеджмента Университета Ува Велласса, Шри-Ланка

CONTACTS

КОНТАКТЫ

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Содержание

INTRODUCTION TO SPECIAL ISSUE

Ben-Collins Ndinojuo (a), Aniefiok Udoudo (b)

(a) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: becoolholly[at]gmail.com

(b) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: anieudoudo[at]yahoo.com

Abstract

The article is an opening message from guest editors summarizing the key aspects of the issue.

Keywords

Africa; Nigeria; media; communication; culture; society; introduction; special issue

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ К СПЕЦИАЛЬНОМУ ВЫПУСКУ

Ндиножуо Бен-Коллинс (a), Удудо Анифиок (b)

(a) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: becoolholly[at]gmail.com

(b) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: anieudoudo[at]yahoo.com

Аннотация

Статья представляет собой вступительное слово приглашенных редакторов, суммирующее ключевые аспекты выпуска.

Ключевые слова

Африка; Нигерия; медиа; коммуникация; культура; общество; введение; специальный номер

The year 2020 has left indelible throes on humanity as the world came to a halt while mankind battled the COVID-19, as it were some Hollywood blockbuster. This time, real lives were at stake. The impact was colossal. In the course of this upheaval, the media played an important role to the general public. This is because of the role the media play in providing crucial information on issues in politics and conflicts for most people. This bestows on them a significant influence over the perceptions, opinions and behavior of the populace. This is in consonance with the thoughts of Piet, Isaías and Issa (2014) who are of the opinion that the media enhance collaboration, cooperation and communication among users and help to recapture information, entertainment, marketing, politics, health information and online shopping with their adoption leading to an improved business performance, productivity in both professional and personal skills for its users.

This special issue of *Galactica Media: Journal of Media Studies* was expected to provide more insight into the problems of media, culture and society in Africa and Asia. Unfortunately, the impact of COVID-19 also took its toll on the entries; some of the papers received from Asian and African countries could not make the required corrections within the set deadline. These minor setbacks, however, did not reflect on the offerings contained in this special issue. Going forward, the journal would present more diverse discourses that capture media research issues in the two continents. This special issue comprises five papers with themes in politics, film, conflict, journalism and advertising, all centered on media dialectics within Nigeria. They present media contributions and developments, reflecting some of the problems in the Nigerian mediascape and by extension the African media settings.

This thematic issue presents fresh discussions on the current situations and challenges encountered in media studies, culture and society in the ever changing landscape in Africa as well as reflections on how democratic developments have impacted the society in the continent in order to identify and explore a range of important questions regarding its significance for the changing nature of media, culture and society in the digital age. The contributions critically analyze current theoretical developments in communication, culture and society; reexamine and enlarge epistemology of the subjects under review; assess media perspectives about the global South; propose theoretical and epistemological approaches for comparative research across the continent; provide discourse on the relevance of theories and models across different societies and media systems; and explore efforts and discussions on the theoretical cross-pollination within different continental and regional media.

Politics is central to stability, and in Africa, it is especially important. Without the effective management of politics, the resultant effect is chaos, anarchy and civil crises, which are inimical for the growth of the citizens, country and continent in general. The tool for the management of politics is elections; this happens when disenchanted electorates are allowed to vote out an unpopular government or grant a vote of confidence to the ruling party or individual by re-electing them. The absence of elections or credible elections has been known to bring about strife and violence. The impact of the fall of the Libyan government is still being felt across the continent and extends across to Europe and North America causing a migrant explosion that threatens the economies of the global north (Creta, 2020, Pradella & Rad, 2017). The political instability in Libya has been attributed to the increase in terrorism and free flow of arms from Tripoli to Mali and down to Nigeria where the Boko Haram terrorists have been very active not minding the scourge of the COVID-19 virus, they have been attacking military and civilian population alike (Busari, 2019). The contribution by Ikpegbu and Ihejirika argues on the prerogatives of election campaigning from a media perspective and the importance of security and stability from the electioneering processes.

The contribution by Lucas, Vakkai and Targema examines the potential of film in highlighting issues in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria that has been plagued with militant conflicts and environmental degradation since the discovery of crude oil in the 1960s in the region (Olaniyan, 2017). The paper highlights the feature of film to portray real life occurrences through entertainment. The contribution fits in with the theme of the special issue to address societal malaise in Africa, this it achieves by presenting themes decoded from the feature film to address conflicts within Nigeria and Africa in general. Disturbances in the Niger Delta have a global effect in the oil market as it has been shown in the past where disruptions to oil productions in the region has had a telling impact on the global price of crude oil. Research is one of the ways of reaching out to policy makers to correct societal ills; the authors have been able to thematically present their submission in clear diction. This should encourage more scholarship towards bringing to fore issues bedeviling the nation and the continent through entertainment (infotainment as some authors would refer to it). Film has the ability to capture the audience differently from written texts, thus, citizens not inclined to reading can still be exposed to issues through the graphics that film portrays.

The third contribution provides further insight into the Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria which has also affected the sub-region especially the neighboring countries in Nigeria which include Chad, Niger, Cameroun

and by extension Benin Republic, with reverberations being felt in parts of Mali and Burkina Faso (Ndinojuo, Ihejirika & Okon, 2020). The terrorists have been engaged with the Nigerian military for over ten years in armed conflict, although the Nigerian government has claimed to defeat the insurgents on several occasions, they have remained resolute and have launched attacks repeatedly against both the military and civilian population alike. The military has been successful especially with air raids, while the insurgents have adopted a guerilla tactics of ambush and surprise attacks. At the heart of the media role in reporting about the conflict is the issue of access to the region, journalists reporting about the conflict rely mostly on official military releases and whistleblower information from anonymous sources in the field. Media scholars are expected to provide literature that would provide a better understanding capable of positively influencing the outcome of the conflict that would lead to a timely resolution of the conflict, for the return of normalcy to the North East region of Nigeria. This protects the media from falling under the dictates of the various factions in the conflict such as state security officials, Boko Haran terrorists and other warring factions within the group who may attempt to exploit the media in order to promote their own agendas camouflaged as the media agenda.

The contribution by Popoola provides a historical context in the practice of journalism in Nigeria and traces back practices through the colonial, postcolonial and current era. Reverting back in history can be an evaluating yardstick that differentiates "what was" from "what is," and provides a hint into what needs to be done improve on what is available or retrace if deviating from the norms and ethics of journalism practice. For journalism scholars and students, this presents an interesting and fascinating data that not only elucidates impressionable points, but also presents ideas that can be developed for further analysis that when condensed would also present issues depending on the optics of the researchers. Journalism practice in Nigeria has been faced with a myriad of problems, it is important to reminisce and put the profession on the proper pedestal accorded to similar professions, getting back to the basics and adopting new technologies are crucial to this. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that professions that do not adapt to the realities on ground would be most impacted. The study makes an attempt to provide remedies to the panacea afflicting journalism profession in Nigeria, time would reveal its success or deficiencies, and at the same time, it does provide some quite exciting insight.

The last contribution addresses the role of technology in advertising on the two most popular social media platforms Facebook and Instagram.

It explores approaches used by businesses towards the adoption of digital technologies in seeking gratification from social media applications. The study is relevant because businesses have to adapt to the realities of today; if everyone is on Facebook and Instagram, it would be appropriate to take advantage and ensure the business is present on those platforms. Buying and selling on social media platforms is becoming a norm, with the current COVID-19 pandemic that has seen businesses shuttered and most areas on lockdown, the significance of digital presence cannot be downplayed. Most businesses still operational during the pandemic do so from online platforms. When we add the reality of drone technology for deliveries, the application of digital technologies to businesses becomes immense. Quite a number of challenges still exist in the adoption of these challenges by businesses such as cost of digital technology, technical know-how, age group of business owners, etc. These are, however, surmountable, the reality on ground is that businesses are forced to adapt to present realities or be left behind and become liquidated.

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A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ON MEDIA PRACTICE IN COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA

Ibitayo S. Popoola (a), Tosin A. Adesile (b), Ibrahim O. Odenike (c)

(a) University of Lagos. Lagos, Nigeria. Email: tayonigeria[at]gmail.com

(b) Elizade University. Ilaramokin, Nigeria. Email: tosin.adesile[at]elizadeuniversity.edu.ng

(c) Lagos State Polytechnic. Lagos, Nigeria. Email: nomail[at]nomail.com

Abstract

This is a comparative study on media practice in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. It covers journalism practice from 1920-2020. The study focuses on journalism practice during the days of nationalism-cum-political journalism era, led by Herbert Macaulay, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Mr Ernest Seseilkoli, amongst others. The study adopts journalism during the colonial days, up to the time of independence in 1960, as foundation, and compares it to the modern day journalism practice at the moment. The thesis in the study is anchored on the probing question of establishing changes that have taken place in the profession over a period of 160 years. While providing fresh discussions on the current journalism practice as well as the daunting challenges facing media professionals in Nigeria today, the study provides groundbreaking recommendations to rescue journalism that is almost comatose in Nigeria today. The study uses free press theory as theoretical underpinning, and the key informants interview method.

Keywords

comparative discourse; political journalism; free press; media; Nigeria; post-colonialism

СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ДИСКУРС МЕДИАПРАКТИК В КОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ И ПОСТКОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ НИГЕРИИ

Попула Ибитайо С. (a), Адесиле Тосин А. (b), Оденике Ибрагим О. (c)

(a) Университет Лагоса. Лагос, Нигерия. Email: tayonigeria[at]gmail.com

(b) Университет Элизад. Илара-Мокин, Нигерия. Email: tosin.adesile[at]elizadeuniversity.edu.ng

(c) Лагоский государственный политехнический. Лагос, Нигерия. nomail[at]nomail.com

Аннотация

Статья посвящена сравнительному анализу медийных практик в колониальной и постколониальной Нигерии. Исследование охватывает журналистскую практику 1920-2020 годов и фокусируется на журналистской практике во времена национал-политической журналистики, представленной в числе других Гербертом Маколеем, доктором Ннамди Азикиве, вождем Обафеми Аволово, вождем Энтони Энахоро, Эрнестом СесеиИколи.

Исследование берет за основу журналистику в колониальные времена, вплоть до обретения независимости в 1960 году и сравнивает ее с современной журналистской практикой.

В центре внимания находится вопрос анализа изменений, произошедших в профессии за 160-летний период. Предлагая свежее обсуждение современной журналистской практики, а также сложных проблем, с которыми сегодня сталкиваются работники СМИ в Нигерии, исследование дает принципиально новые рекомендации по спасению журналистики, находящейся сейчас в почти коматозном состоянии в Нигерии. В качестве теоретической основы в исследовании используется теория свободной прессы, а также метод интервью с ключевыми информаторами.

Ключевые слова

сравнительный дискурс; политическая журналистика; свободная пресса; медиа; Нигерия; постколониализм
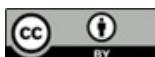
INTRODUCTION

Media historians, notably Omu (1996), Coker (1968), cited by Popoola (2019) and leading communication scholars in Nigeria- Opubor, Akinfeleye, Sobowale (1986) contend that regular printing and publishing of newspapers started in Nigeria in 1859 when the European missionary, Rev. Henry Townsend began the publication of a bi-lingual religious newspaper, Iwe-Irohin, in Abeokuta, South Western Nigeria, about 161 years ago.

This study focuses on Tador's (1996) second and third generations of the Nigerian press. Quoting Tador (1996), Wali (2003) classified the history of the Nigerian press into three broad categories, namely:

(i)   The Early Press (1800-1920)
(ii)   The Nationalist Press (1920-1960)
(iii)   The Modern Nigerian Press (1960-date)

While the study uses the second phase above as the colonial foundation for the study, it uses the third phase as the post-independent phase of the study.

Journalistic activities of frontline nationalists, Herbert Macaulay, Dr, Akinwande Savage, Ernest Sesei Ikoli, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Anthony Enahoro amongst others, were given special attention in the study. In the words of Akinfeleye (1990), these foremost journalists "did their work faithfully, fearlessly and selflessly in the best interest of the people".

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Journalism practice in Nigeria dates back to 1859, a period of over 160 years. However, the myriad of problems facing the profession gives the impression that it's a young profession.

From the onset till date, journalism remains one profession in Nigeria with several constraints and challenges. From archival records, it was gathered that from the onset, media professionals received ridiculously low salaries. Some were not paid as at when due, leading to a situation where many of them never looked at their jobs as a career of a lifetime. To worsen matters, journalists at this point in time were further haunted by the fear of economic, as well as job insecurity.

It is pathetic that the gloomy picture of the profession, as painted by founding fathers of the profession, has not radically changed. This in-

formed the objectives of this study, following which the research questions were drawn.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

(i) To examine the consistent problems militating against journalism after over 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria.

(ii) To identify urgent steps that must be taken in addressing problems militating against journalism after over 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria.

(iii) To recommend steps that must be taken to turn things around for journalism practice in Nigeria.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

(i) What are the consistent problems militating against journalism in Nigeria after over 160 years of professional practice?

(ii) What are the urgent steps that must be taken in addressing problems militating against journalism after over 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria?

(iii) What are the necessary steps that must be taken to turn things around for journalism practice in Nigeria?

METHODOLOGY

This study is anchored on the ethnographic method in which the phenomenon for exploration is clearly defined with relevant questions in a bid to determine what media professionals, who are the objects of this study, identify as the consistent major problems facing media practice in Nigeria. Therefore, the study is conducted through purposive interviews which rely on Key Informants (KI) Method who have expert knowledge on the subject under examination.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is established based on the Libertation Theory of the press. Espousing the theory, Martin and Chaudhary (1983), cited in Popoola et al (2019), the press under the theory exist to uncover and present the truth to the people. Operationally, the press also operate as a private enterprise with little or no government control.

Martin and Chaudhary classified the media under the theory as "autonomous media". They explained that autonomous media make their

own rules of operation, set their own goals and decide on their own interest.

Furthermore, they identified profit motive as the main goal of people venturing into media business. According to them, "publishing or broadcasting for profit, self-aggrandizement or out of altruism, is the principal activity of owners of autonomous media".

While stressing that most media in the Western Europe and some print media in developing countries are autonomous, Martins and Chaudhary (1983) argued that "in such countries, broadcast media are either privately owned or are controlled by a public corporation".

Blake and Haroldsen (1978) cited in Popoola et al (2019), on their part stated that the philosophy of the theory is rooted in the ideas of John Milton, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Isaac Newton, Adam Smith and other philosophers that man has the right to pursue truth and that truth is best advanced when there is an "open market place of ideas". Expatiating on the concept of "open market of ideas", Grossberg et al (1998) say "the idea of a free marketplace of ideas assumes equivalence between the world of commerce and the world ideas: As products compete, ideas do too. In free competition, the good and useful drive out the bad and worthless. Thus, the driving spirit of liberal capitalism suggests that free people, left with their own initiative, will make economically and intellectually profitable choices".

Grossberg et al further observed that the First Amendment to the US Constitution which states that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, or of the press...", was predicated upon this theory, arguing that "if government does not interfere in expression, the free marketplace will assure that good ideas will drive out bad ones, and truth will prevail".

LITERATURE REVIEW

From the onset, journalism remains one profession in Nigeria with several constraints and challenges. It would not be an exaggeration to say at the time it was founded, the foundation was erected upon challenges (Popoola, 2019, p. 66)

The above quotation is very apt in opening up the literature review segment of this study. A major problem that confronted journalism practice in Nigeria in the beginning was the problem of education and training.

Journalism practice began in 1859. However, there was no training of any sort until 1954 when a two-week "vocation course in journalism" was conducted for working journalists at the premier university, the Univer-

sity of Ibadan. In other words, journalism practice had existed for about 95 years before training commenced.

Akinfeleye (2011) in a special study on journalism education and training in Nigeria says "from 1962-1980, there were only two universities in Nigeria that offered formal journalism/mass communication training in Nigeria". He listed the universities as University of Nigeria, Nsukka and the University of Lagos, Akoka, Yaba.

At the time of putting this report together, there are 66 universities in Nigeria, including the newly established Department of Mass Communication at both Landmark University, Omu-Aran and Trinity University, Yaba, Lagos and 41 polytechnics offering Mass Communication and Media Studies/Journalism in Nigeria.

Akinfeleye (2011) however offered explanations for the late takeoff of journalism education and training in Nigeria. He contends that this could be traced to one of the conclusions of Colins Sparks of the Communication Faculty of the Polytechnic of Central London who concluded that:

> Journalism in the United Kingdom is not a profession. In a number of countries, the status of "professionalism" is legislatively defined, but in the United Kingdom's(former colonial rulers of Nigeria) sociological tradition, the term "profession" is restricted to those occupations which meet certain tightly defined criteria, and journalism is not yet part of them in the UK. (Akinfeleye, 2011, pp. 39-40)

It could therefore be deduced from the above, that the nearly-100-year occupation of Nigeria by Great Britain contributed in no small measure to the problems of journalism in Nigeria.

The trend has however changed today as could be seen from the list of over 100 institutions offering journalism and mass communication training in Nigeria today. Many university graduates from other academic disciplines such as Political Science, Sociology, Economics, Geography, History, Philosophy, etc, are now crossing over to journalism (Mass Communication).

In the area of journalists' welfare, conditions from the colonial past till date are not only perplexing, but also worrisome.

Popoola (2019) says from archival records, it was learnt that, at this point in history (colonial days), media professionals received ridiculously low salaries, and some were not even paid as at when due, leading to a situation where many of them never looked at their jobs as a career of a lifetime. To worsen matters, journalists at this point in time were further haunted by the fears of economic and job insecurity.
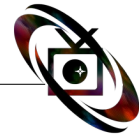
The above precarious situation has not really changed. Chairman of the Lagos State Council of Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), Dr. Quasi-mAkinreti, was quoted by Freedom Online, an online newspaper, saying a number of media proprietors have failed woefully to pay salaries of members as at when due. He listed the culprits as Champion, Vanguard, This-Day newspapers and Daar Communications, the owners of RayPower100.5 FM, Faaji FM and AIT.

Idowu (2018) blamed the above problem on what he called the parlous economy, that has seen progressive devaluation in the national currency between 2000 and 2015, which has also constrained the economic power of the media with dire consequences. Quoting Olukotun (2015), Idowu declared:

> For the media, between 1999 and 2016, many titles like The Sketch, Concord, Post Express, Anchor, Tempo, National Interest, The Comet, New Age, Spectator Weekly, Westerner, Newswatch, Next New Nigerian, Nigerian Compass and PM News/The News, have disappeared from the newsstands. (Idowu, 2018, p. 105)

Idowu further contends that where the media are not free and strong enough to discharge their expected responsibilities to the society, it is a matter of time before that influence begins to be eroded.

Reflecting on the Nigerian media in the Fourth Republic, Idowu says:

> They have resorted to all sorts of schemes to keep afloat in the stormy sea of publishing with unpleasant consequences for the media's ability to carry out investigative reporting on which depends such concerns as transparency, accountability and good governance.(Idowu, 2018, p. 105)

Article 7(i) of the Code of Ethics for Nigerian Journalists forbids a journalist to neither solicit nor accept bribe, gratification or patronage to suppress or publish information.

However, Idowu (2018) contends that "many journalists see nothing wrong in accepting money to publish stories. He cited the example of a midnight parley between former military president, General Ibrahim Babangida (Rtd.) with about 40 journalists at his country home in Minna. He said Babangida was then positioning himself for another shot at the presidency, this time through the ballot box:

> His publicists had arranged this midnight parley with senior journalists, including editors, to learn firsthand of Babangida's planned return to office. An online news medium, Sahara Reporters, reported that Babangida had not only gathered such a large crowd of journalists to his Minna home at that strange hour, but each journalist went home with N250,000($1666) as transport reimbursement. (Idowu, 2018, p. 111)

Popoola (2018) similarly identified unfriendly environments, within which the media are operating, as another critical issue. He noted that coping with state and news sources' anger remains a major problem for media professionals in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. While noting that publishing false news is a criminal offence, Popoola observed that when a truthful story is published, such a story might earn the writer a jail term:

> When Ray Ekpu wrote an article that warned authorities of the Nigerian External Telecommunications Ltd. (NET) to guard their installations, in the wake of rising fraud-induced cases of arson in the country, his advice was ignored. However, when the NET building was torched a day after the publication of the article and two people died in the inferno, Ekpu was arrested and charged for murder. (Popoola, 2019, p. 90)

Mention could also be made of in the imprisonment of the duo of Nduka Irabor and Tunde Thompson of the Guardian newspaper for publishing an article which government felt was an embarrassment. They were jailed one year each while the Guardian newspaper was fined N50,000.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The population for this study are the 12 regular newspapers, 39 radio stations and 13 television stations operating in Lagos as identified by Idowu (2018).

From this population, the study extracted a sample size of 10 newspapers, 20 radio stations and 10 television stations. The figures represent 83%, 51% and 77% respectively of newspapers, radio and television stations operating in Lagos. From the newspapers, radio and TV, two respondents who are senior journalists were purposively selected for Key Informant Interview (KII). In all, a total of 100 respondents were involved in the study. Data from the respondents were subsequently analysed qualitatively to enable its outcome to be understood, digested and invariably used in tackling the research questions. While analysing the data, different issues were treated under appropriate research questions as hereby presented.

RQ1: *What are the consistent problems militating against journalism in Nigeria after 160 years of professional practice?*

A good number of the respondents to this study (97%) identified poor remuneration or not being paid as of when due as a consistent problem facing the profession.

They were of the view that as it was during the days of Dr, Nnamdi Azikwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Anthony Enahoro and Mr Ernest Sesei Ikoli, when journalists were poorly remunerated and a laughing stock in the community, the trend has not really changed significantly.

The Sports Editor of Murhi International TV, James Segbowe, said, "Journalists are not being respected as they should. They are similarly not being accorded their rightful place in the society."

The study also found out that some journalists still go to assignments without enough transportation fares while many others go home at the end of every month with half or no salary.

The respondents similarly argued that even though there are many more opportunities these days unlike during the colonial era, the profession remains unprofitable, frustrating and soul depressing.

The Head of News Department in one of the TV stations, who pleaded anonymity, said one of the ethical principles of journalism is that journalists must not collect brown envelope but added that "as of today and even in times past, poorly-paid journalists are more likely to participate in the collection of brown envelope."

The Manager, News and Current Affairs of a privately-owned radio station expressed a similar view. He pointed out that most privately-owned media houses still owed salaries and allowances of up to one year. He revealed that some government owned media are similarly defaulting.

It was a tale of woe as the media professionals lamented that as welfare of staff constituted a major problem to journalism practice in colonial Nigeria, the trend still remained daunting in the post-independent era.

Providing the picture of journalism practice in the beginning during colonial Nigeria, Popoola (2019) said journalists in the beginning were poorly paid, some were not paid as of when due, while an atmosphere of job insecurity pervaded the industry. Many of the media professionals in this study said the situation has not really changed.

Chairman of the Lagos State Council of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), Dr Quasim Akinreti, said some media owners had failed woefully to pay salaries as of when due.

He identified *The Champion, Vanguard, ThisDay* Newspapers and Daar Communications, owners of *AIT, Raypower 100.5FM and Faaji FM* as major culprits.

His words: *Champion* owes journalists in his stable over 64 months of salaries and emoluments. *The Vanguard* could not pay salaries for about six months now. *ThisDay* newspaper, with huge profits made by the company and expansion to other areas of the media, could not pay salaries regularly until when accumulated for months. Even the government-

owned *Radio Lagos/Eko FM* and *Lagos Television* are part of the defaulters for failing to pay retirement benefits of members who retired from these stations after serving the state meritoriously".

The respondents further claimed that COVID-19 brought irreparable damage to media practice in Nigeria, with several media houses, like The *Nation, Punch*, amongst others, sacking hundreds of media professionals.

Elsewhere, *Platform Africa*, reports that 128 print newspapers across the world reportedly shut down, while thousands of journalists were fired in 24hours.

Top of the reasons identified by the three percent of the respondents who treated the question centered on the state of the Nigerian economy. They argued that the foreign exchange has not been stable and often times on the increase with its adverse effects on either raw materials or production equipment. They further contend that some radio stations have international sponsors and this has helped such stations to be ahead of other stations.

RQ2: *What are the urgent steps that must be taken in addressing problems militating against journalism, after over 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria?*

A number of suggestions were made by the respondents to address the various problems confronting media practice in Nigeria. Top of the suggestions are:

I. Journalism should not be an all-comer's affairs. Media owners should be restricted to media professionals, just as it is done for other professions in Nigeria, especially Medicine, Law and Engineering.

II. Government and the regulatory bodies should set a minimum deposit henceforth for any aspiring media proprietors as done for the insurance and banking sectors while infiltration of unserious-minded Nigerians coming into the industry should be prohibited.

III. The existing curriculum for journalism training should be reviewed so as to accommodate more practical that are more relevant to the development of the society.

IV. The students should revamp themselves by letting their contents and work speak for them.

V. Media houses should drop the garment of being government puppets or megaphones and serve public interest.
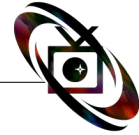
VI.   Media proprietors should invest more in their employees by putting them on regular training to improve their skills and proficiency.

VII.   Ethical uprightness and adherence to the various rules of engagement, especially media law.

VIII.   Journalism being the sixth most stressful job in the world according to CareerCast, a job search engine, requires an attractive welfare package that should be embraced by all media proprietors in Nigeria.

RQ3: *What are the necessary steps that must be taken to turn things around for journalism practice in Nigeria?*

To turn things around, majority of the respondents 70% suggested the need for corporate bodies and wealthy individuals to float a bail out scheme for distressed journalists. They contend that if such bailout fund could be raised in the wake of the outbreak of COVID-19 in Nigeria, nothing stops such measures to be taken in a bid to rescue journalism by tackling wretchedness and poverty.

They similarly suggested that the media could individually follow the example of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, who launched an appeal for financial aid from his supporters and friends when his *West African Pilot* was facing official victimization and was financially distressed.

It was further suggested the need to improve on the contents of what the media are dishing out to the public, in order not to allow social media relegate them to the background. At the moment, Idowu (2018), says news media are fond of presenting sponsored special section stories as news features. According to him "this amounts to non-full disclosure and short-changes the audience".

They similarly tasked the professional bodies, the Guild of Editors and the NUJ to work towards enthroning journalists' independence of action, especially in the area of choice of news sources and news selection.

They canvassed the need to change the terrible perception of the first generation of Nigerian journalists, whose perception was captured by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who remarked that "people took to journalism because there was no good job elsewhere". The respondents said as at today, majority of practicing journalists in Nigeria, see the profession as a stepping stone to other things.

It was further suggested the need to dismantle "journalism of meal ticket" and restore the profession to the respected practice of news hunting without ulterior motives.

Majority of the respondents further see the major problem confronting the profession as ethically related.

They contend that many journalists behave on the field as if they have little grounding in the ethics of journalism. Idowu (2018) alluded to this assertion.

He contends that some journalists do not know they are not expected to collect gratifications from news sources. His words: "Some see it as perks of the office and are acculturated by despicable seniors to see it so. They grow up with a false sense of entitlement with great injury to their individual sense of worth and the soul of the profession".

The respondents further revealed absence of orientation programme to sensitize journalists on the need to pursue their assignments with dedication and sufficient knowledge.

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Journalism in Nigeria has come of age. It remains one of the oldest professions in the country. The painful narrative about journalism in Nigeria is that in spite of the over a century and half existence of journalism in Nigeria, the challenges facing the profession make it look as if it came into existence yesterday.

This study established that practice preceded training as the first newspaper was established in 1859 while the first training took place in 1954, a period of 95 years. Therefore, training was a major problem. Even though 66 universities and 46 polytechnics are currently offering various programmes in Journalism and Mass Communication, this study established that training still remains a major problem.

To address the problem, the National Universities Commission (NUC) approved the unbundling of Mass Communication to seven fields, namely: Journalism and Media Studies, Public Relations, Advertising, Broadcasting, Film and Multimedia studies, Development Communication, Information and Media Studies. This is a step in the right direction that would go a long way in finding solutions to the problem of inadequate training.

As it was during the colonial days, when according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo, "nothing critical must be written about the Nigerian Government or expatriate officials in spite of the fact that things were happening, which aroused the just resentment and indignation of young Nigerians", the trend has only changed a bit today.

Popoola (2019) says "Nigeria continues to rank high among countries where press freedom and freedom of expression are under threat."

The political journalism of the colonial era laid the foundation of passion for news hunting. They were described by Idowu (2018) as "foot soldiers". Many of them trekked a long distance during the colonial day to places of assignment.

Chief Awolowo recalled: "Only editors and their immediate assistants could afford to own a bicycle". However, this day, in spite of the hardship facing the profession, many journalists ride state-of-the-art vehicles.

Journalism welfare is non-existent, going by the ridiculous and depressing salary of Nigerian Journalists.

Nkereuwen (2012) says the salary of Nigerian Journalists range from between N20,000 and N40,000 ($124-$247). He stressed that one or two pay about N70,000 ($432). He described them as the high flyers, adding that "it is, therefore, conclusive that more than 80 per cent of the journalists in the country do not earn enough to pay their basic bills."

Oshunkeye (2011) provides the implication of such ridiculous salary:

> As long as we continue paying journalists slave wages, as long as media owners continue to pay wages that hardly take journalists home, so long would the roots of corruption in the industry deepen. So long would mediocrity continue to thrive in the industry and so long would the consuming public continue to doubt products that the media churn out day after day.

RECAP AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study examined journalism practice in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. It established that many of the problems facing journalism practice in Nigeria today dates back to the colonial days. In spite of the over 160 years of unbroken practice, the problems are yet to subside.

The study put forward three RQs in the beginning.

RQ1 asked: What are the consistent problems militating against journalism after 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria?

The respondents to the study identified the problems as inadequate training, poor remuneration, irregular payment of salaries, non-payment of retirement benefits, hostile environment, and rampaging effect of COVID-19, which has forced several media houses to sack hundreds of workers amongst others.

RQ2 asked: What are the urgent steps that must be taken in addressing problems militating against journalism practice after over 160 years of professional practice in Nigeria?

The respondents provided an 8-point suggestion to the question.

RQ3 asked: What are the necessary steps that must be taken to turn things around for journalism practice in Nigeria?

Majority of the respondents (70%) suggested the need for wealthy Nigerians and corporate bodies to float a bail out scheme similar to the one put in place in the wake of the COVID-19 outbreak.

They further suggested an appeal fund similar to that of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe when he was facing financial hardship in the running of the West African Pilot as a result of government hostilities during the colonial days.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above, the study put forward the following recommendations:

1. Need to amend Section 39(2) of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution, which states that "every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions." This clause is the major problem facing journalism practice in Nigeria. Journalism shouldn't be an all comers affair.
2. Government and the regulatory bodies, such as the Nigerian Press Council (NPC) and the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), should set a minimum deposit for media proprietors just as it's done for the insurance and banking sectors.
3. Urgent implementation of the NUC Policy of unbundling of Mass Communication.
4. Need for an attractive welfare package for journalists because of the delicate and stressful nature of the profession.

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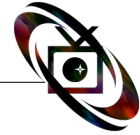Azikiwe, N. (1970). *My Odyssey: An Autobiography.* New York: Praeger.

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SOURCES OF NEWS ABOUT MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST BOKO HARAM INSURGENTS IN NIGERIA NEWSPAPERS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS INVESTIGATION[1]

Ben-Collins Ndinojuo (a), Walter Ihejirika (b), Godwin Okon (c)

(a) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: becoolholly[at]gmail.com

(b) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: walter.ihejirika[at]uniport.edu.ng

(c) Rivers State University. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: okonbus2[at]gmail.com

Abstract

Nigerian military has been battling Boko Haram insurgents since 2009 with mixed successes amid claims that Nigerian troops were reluctant to engage the terrorists because the media framed the group as winning the battle, therefore, this study investigated the sources of news about military operations against Boko Haram. The theories supporting this research were the Agenda Setting and Framing Theory. Using content analysis of four Nigerian dailies; Daily Trust, Premium Times, The Nation & Vanguard, the research analysed sources of news about military operations against Boko Haram from 2014-2016. Findings revealed 185 stories with an average of 1.5 sources, most are identified by their full names, most stories are reported with sources from mainly one side of the divide without corroboration and the dominant sources were military sources. There was no factual basis supporting media bias against Nigerian newspapers, instead media reports were more in support of military positions.

Keywords

Nigeria; military; Boko Haram; sources; newspapers; media; press

1   Organization whose activity is prohibited in the territory of the Russian Federation

ИСТОЧНИКИ НОВОСТЕЙ О ВОЕННЫХ ОПЕРАЦИЯХ ПРОТИВ БОЕВИКОВ «БОКО ХАРАМ» (ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ, ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ КОТОРОЙ ЗАПРЕЩЕНА НА ТЕРРИТОРИИ РФ) В НИГЕРИЙСКИХ ГАЗЕТАХ: КОНТЕНТ-АНАЛИЗ

Ндиножуо Бен-Коллинс (a), Ихеджирика Вальтер (b), Окон Годвин (c)

(a) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: becoolholly[at]gmail.com

(b) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: walter.ihejirika[at]uniport.edu.ng

(c) Государственный университет Риверс. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: okonbus2[at]gmail.com

Аннотация

Нигерийские военные с неоднозначным успехом сражаются с членами «Боко Харам»[1] (организация, деятельность которой запрещена на территории РФ) с 2009 года на фоне заявлений о том, что нигерийские войска неохотно привлекают террористов, потому что СМИ сформировали образ группировки как победившей в борьбе; поэтому в данной работе были исследованы источники новостей о военных операциях против «Боко Харам» (организация, деятельность которой запрещена на территории РФ). Это исследование использует теорию установления повестки дня и теорию фреймов. С применением контент-анализа четырех нигерийских газет – Daily Trust, Premium Times, The Nation и Vanguard – были изучены источники новостей о военных операциях против «Боко Харам» (организация, деятельность которой запрещена на территории РФ) в 2014–2016 годах. Результаты поиска выявили 185 историй, в среднем опирающихся на 1,5 источника; большинство из них подписаны полными именами; большинство историй сообщается в основном односторонне, без подтверждения, и доминирующими были военные материалы. Не обнаружено фактической основы, подкрепляющей предубеждение СМИ относительно нигерийских газет; вместо этого сообщения в СМИ были больше в поддержку позиции военных.

Ключевые слова

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1 Общество, внесенное Совбезом ООН в 2014 г. в список террористических организаций. *Прим. Ред*

INTRODUCTION

The act of news reporting requires the obligation to be truthful, accurate and reliable. This is best achieved in how stories are sourced and proper attribution of news sources when writing news. This means that sources must be credible and pass the reliability threshold where information they provide is verifiable by corroboration. News media are integral to media studies, during national crises or emergencies, researchers work to help news producers in making information valuable and helpful to the audience. The public want to be informed, they turn to news sources to know what is happening, and information help them understand what might happen. This scenario describes the situation in the North East of Nigeria where the Nigerian government has been battling the insurgent group Boko Haram since 2009 with varying degrees of success.

As media researchers, our role is to explore vagaries of the conflicts and try to make meaning out of our observation from available data with the hope that it would contribute to literature about the crises, and also create a better understanding to help government, policy makers and other international agencies involved in efforts to bring the conflict to an end. Thus, Nigeria and its war against terrorism in the North East is our focus in this paper especially how newspapers covering military operations against the group present their news sources in articles. This would give us an understanding of the relationship between the media and the military and how to improve relations when presenting military operations to the public. Journalism first obligation is to tell the truth, to achieve this truth; news sources are central ingredients that make up news integrity and reliability, there is an absolute unanimity on this among news readers. This truth entails having (or naming) news sources, corroborating the information before printing, and presenting the information as intended by the news source(s).

General Winant Sidle on the need for the creation of the Sidle Commission (1984) that came up with framework for the cooperation of the media and military during military operations by the United States Military asked, "How do we conduct military operations in a manner that safeguards the lives of our military and protects the security of the operation while keeping the American public informed through the media?" The Commission agreed that the military should not report about its own activities and it would be best the independent media do the reporting of the conduct of military activities so the public, congress and the press can make their own deductions from the news reports. The media achieves

this using agenda setting and the framing narrative and the gate keeping function to limit (sensitive) information available to the public.

According to Lister (2001) democracy is a relatively new concept for African nations (including Nigeria whose current democracy started in 1999). Many African nations only recently emerged from oppressive regimes into democracies, and in yet many of the cases, the military men only discarded the uniform and continued their oppressions in civilian garbs and in some others, the rulers have remained in power in perpetuity changing the constitution as it suits them to continue. The case of Nigeria although not the worst in Africa has seen mainly former military officers or their relatives as president with the exception of former President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015) who inherited office with the demise of his predecessor. Until recently, most television and radio stations and many newspapers in Africa were government-owned and -controlled. There was little critical, independent reporting.

Journalists acted as the transmission belt to convey government's ideas and messages to its people and never the reverse. Democracy brought about friction between the government and the press due to its open nature meaning greater access to government information and resources; the military and secret police were the go to guys whenever the government need to clampdown on journalists or their organisations. Historically, the media and governments in Nigeria have endured tumultuous relationships mainly due to the occupational hazards of journalism; pressmen want to expose, government wants to conceal, hence the friction (Musa, 2013; Adebanwi, 2011, Odogwu, 1990).

During the height of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2014, the Nigerian military confiscated and destroyed some newspapers and the vans used to transport them across the country over allegations that intelligence reports revealed the newspapers were being used to move materials with grave security implications for Nigeria's military and capable of derailing the war against the Boko Haram insurgents (Abimboye, 2014; Abimboye & Ibeh, 2014). What was however not clear was what constituted the threat to military operations in the North East; the newspaper contents or the vans transporting the newspapers.

This hostility was again observed when journalists with Premium Times, an online newspaper in Nigeria were arrested by the police following complaints by the Nigerian Army of the news organisation publishing damaging claims about military documents which "allegedly" led to deaths and loss of equipment, although where the deaths occurred or the equipment lost were not stated (Ibekwe, 2017; Ogundipe, 2017). The military in this case accused the journalists of working against government

interest in the war against Boko Haram hence their arrest. This mirrors the actions of the military against newspapers in 2014 although the 2017 incident was limited to one media organisation; it however included a new dimension with the arrest of specific journalists working for an on-line newspaper.

This paper analyzed news stories about military operations against Boko Haram in the North East in Nigerian newspapers with the aim of identifying their news sources. This was imperative because according to the then Director of Information, Defense Headquarters, Major General John Enenche, Nigerian troops were reluctant in the past to engage the Boko Haram terrorists because the media framed the Boko Haram group as superior and winning the battle against the military making Nigerian soldiers hesitant to engage members of the sect in open battles (Erunke, 2017). This view however, is subjective; one of the ways it can be examined is by identifying the news sources contained in newspaper reports about military operations against Boko Haram insurgents, the idea being that if there are less military sources quoted and cited in reports, it increases the likelihood of media bias against the military. On the other hand, if there are more of military sources, it reduces the likelihood of media bias as the military is not expected to speak bad about their own organisation. The study provided answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the average number of sources observed in the news accounts of military operations against Boko Haram insurgents?
2. How are the sources identified; full name, single name, alias or anonymous?
3. Were their uses of direct quotes from the news sources?
4. How often do Nigerian newspapers use sources from different sides in a story about military operations against Boko Haram?
5. Which is the dominant between military (government) sources and independent sources?
6. How often were journalists cited as sources in news reports about military operations against Boko Haram in the North East Nigeria?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The media theories that guided this study are the "agenda setting theory of the press" and "framing theory of mass communication". The agenda setting theory of the press was first introduced by McCombs and
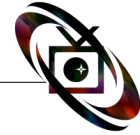
Shaw (1972) who evaluated the response of 100 residents of Chapel Hill, North Carolina on what they thought were the most critical and topical election issues in the US presidential election of 1968 and how that compared to what was reported by the local and national media as the most critical issues. They discovered a robust connection between what journalists and the public considered as main campaign issues. Specifically, the five most pressing campaign topics corresponded with the five most pressing campaign issues of the undecided voters that were part of the study. Based on the findings, they proposed that the press advances the public topics or agendas which are accepted by the public knowingly or unknowingly.

The general theme behind the agenda setting theory of the press is the perceived media influence on the public where news items made prominent influences the prominence of items in the public discourse, and if public talks about such issues long enough, they could result to a call for action that may be positive or negative depending on how the media has framed such issues. Carroll and McCombs (2003) distinctly describe this principle as the prominence of elements contained in news stories has an effect on the prominence of those elements among members of the general, the public. The media agenda in this study can be achieved by presenting one side of the argument or presenting a balanced argument to advance an agenda. Echoing the direction of thought of Major General Enenche who claimed a bias by the media against the Nigerian military, it is expected that majority of the sources to be cited by Nigerian newspapers in the time frame would mainly compose of sources other than the military to support the bias.

Framing theory is regarded by some scholars as the second dimension of the agenda setting theory, whereas the latter is concerned with issues, the former deals with perception; how an issue is presented and the meaning the readers imply from the text of journalistic endeavors. Framing is a quality of communication that leads others to acknowledge one understanding over another because of how the issue is projected by the press in their coverage. This involves projecting the "frames" newspapers adopt, patterns of perception, interpretation, presentation, as well as emphasis, selection and omission by reporters, editors and publishers in news articles. Framing can be traced to domains of cognitive psychology (Bartlett, 1932), and anthropology through the works of Gregory Bateson (1955; 1972), and this has been further distilled in a number of studies (Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Schön & Rein, 1994; Gitlin, 1980; Hallahan, 1999; Rothman & Salovey, 1997; Entman, 1993).

For scholars in communication studies, the study of media frames are important because according to Entman (1993) a frame "is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (p. 55). The way an article is framed can potentially influence its assimilation by the audience (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Entman, 1993), propagate stereotypes in the society and is capable of creating an impression of empathy or aversion toward a group of people or their ideology (Robinson, 2002; Evans, 2010). Reporting positively about military operations and the latest gadgets to be deployed in the fight against Boko Haram can strike fear into the terrorists and dissuade new converts to the ideologies of the sect. At the other spectrum, media could also frame Boko Haram as religious ideologists who deserve the freedom to practice their brand of Islam in their region. Thus, frames can be critical in acceptance or rejection of government policies and positions as well as escalating conflicts or in conflict resolution. Therefore, this study is based on the salience of explicit frames generated by the news media organisations in their selection of news sources for reporting about military operations against Boko Haram insurgents.

Entman defines salience as "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audience" (p.53). Thus, from the assertions of General Enenche, the media gave salience to non-military sources when reporting about military operations against Boko Haram, while omitting those of the military and government forces. Source or quote selection can be used to advance a particular narrative due to reporter's bias or editorial policy (Entman 2004; Scheufele 1999). They achieve this in news presentation by emphasis, selecting certain sources and not others and omitting sources that would negate the agenda they intend to propagate. Gitlin (1980) emphasized that journalists regularly choose among diverse approaches in the presentation of news articles. Their perception involves selecting and making prominent some aspects of events or issues, and making correlations among them in order to advance a narrative, evaluation, and/or resolution.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Reporters critique and evaluate the activities of other people and institutions, and present information about news worthy events, and what they publish can have an overwhelming influence on the people, businesses and institutions they cover, as well as society at large. Journalists are thus expected to live up to the highest standards of integrity in the course of their functions, and by integrity we infer: truth, fairness, sincer-

ity, and avoiding the appearance of a conflict of interest when presenting news reports to readers. Journalists should seek to be fair and truthful in reporting what their sources tell them, factual accuracy entails checking, and double-checking, ensure to get as many sides of the story by interviewing multiple sources with different and often contradictory viewpoints. (Panenberg, 2007).

Ross (1946) argues that communication entails the responsibility to be truthful. He buttresses this assertion by highlighting a Kantian categorical imperative—without a commitment to truth-telling, societies fail to function. Without confidence that other parties are telling the truth—a confidence backed by consistent actions that, over time, create a positive reputation and engender trust—people may lose their ability to transfer information, to act effectively as moral agents, or to even co-exist with others. It is with this sense that the accusation of bias against the media by the Director of Defense Headquarter of the Military in Nigeria becomes troubling. As enablers of information transfer to the audience, it behooves that media information should be as accurate, honest and truthfully as good as it can be. What aids media truthfulness is how they source the information they share across their platforms.

Boeyink (1990) accentuates the significance of sourcing as a method of engendering trust when he stated thus, "attribution serves as an important truth-telling check on a reporter's accuracy. If the source of the information is provided, that information can be independently verified by others. Errors can then be more easily discovered and corrected" (p. 235). In support, Duffy and Freeman (2011) aver that offering full attribution for news sources provides an inherent promise to the reader that validates the information contained in the journalistic piece; this information provided is true and you can go ask the source if in doubt. Vultee (2010) adds to this that naming names of sources is an important aspect of newsgathering and reporting, it consistently creates reports that readers consider credible.

However, Vultee (2010) cautions that media credibility extends beyond its function as a strategic ritual associating facts—including names—invariably with truth-telling. Rather, credibility functions as a complex ethical concept—one that is both created and earned at many levels of the process: "individual, institution, audience, context, and practice" (p. 16). It includes a responsibility to do the correct things for the public good in order to create and foster trust between the journalist and the audience and also those they are reporting about; this they can achieve by truth-telling when reporting the news in all circumstances.

Snow-Capparelli (2013) enjoins reporters to seek out intelligent and articulate sources from all relevant perspectives and partisan viewpoints. Journalists are encouraged to seek out both those who have power and those who do not; this ensures equal representations especially of the groups under examination. In the case of our research, journalists when reporting about military operations should include statements from the military, corroborating information from the residents in the area, civil society organisations and Think-Tanks, and if possible the insurgents who received the actions of the military for their own side of how the their engagement with the military fared. Snow-Capparelli (2013) continues that journalists should avoid single-source stories when possible, most news reports should have a minimum of three sources; special reports and in-depth features should contain many more.

Kovach and Rosenthiel (2007) highlight that the main role of journalists "is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing" (p. 12). They emphasize that journalists do little good if they suppress information that can help citizens make informed decisions. Some authors (Hoyt, 2009; Panenberg, 2007; Coile, 2005; Okrent, 2004) argue that attributing information to anonymous sources may occasionally be the only way to fulfill this information provision role of the media. Duffy and Freeman (2011) opine that the ethics surrounding the use of anonymous sources involves two contending principles; the duty to inform the public versus the duty to do so truthfully and transparently. The journalist is left with making the weighty decision of these competing principle, they must weigh their decisions and interests within an ethical framework. Some of these anonymous-sourced stories have many a time put the journalist on collision course with the government (Ibekwe, 2017; Ogundipe, 2017; Abimboye, 2014; Abimboye & Ibeh, 2014).

States are reliant on news outfits to update the public about their actions and policies. The usual standard of reporting is such that journalists cover regular beats and rely on official government spokespersons or sources for up to date information, fortifies prevailing norms and state-society relations. A symbiotic relationship is observed here where the government needs the media to create awareness for government policies and programmes, in return, journalists are granted access to officially verifiable sources of government information (Hoffman, 2006; Ngige, Badekale & HammanJoda, 2016). The level of this cooperation is still an issue of debate among media scholars and commentators.

Hook and Pu (2006) citing Reese and Buckalew (1995) state that literary studies of news coverage of United States foreign policy reliably reveal patterns of news framing that legitimise the government's percep-

tions and positions on topical issues as exemplified in the coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1991 which was characterised by patriotic frames. The anti-corruption programmes of the Buhari-led government in Nigeria since 2015 have been widely reported by the Nigerian media especially newspapers (Tukur, 2015; Krishi & Sule, 2016). Many times, cases involving past government officials accused of corruption are sensationally reported with anonymous government sources providing details of how such officials "allegedly" looted public monies entrusted to their care (Adesomoju, 2016; Egbas, 2016). The publicity of such corruption cases were to shore up a public support base for the government anti-corruption policy in line with the ruling party's campaign promises.

MEDIA-SOURCE DYNAMICS

Examining journalists and their sources can be traced back to questions about influence bias and the agenda being advocated by media players. Elmasry (2009) notes that the nature of the sources is thereby crucial in understanding the framing processes when studying newspaper reports by showing a preference for one point of view over another. Gauseth (2012) opines that salience can also be achieved by including viewpoints from one side of an armed conflict while excluding other actors. This means that including or excluding certain sources when reporting about a news story can have an influence on news presentation and perception of the issue under investigation. Berkowitz (2009) pertinently questions the manner the use of news sources by journalists' portrays a specific news motivation that either includes or negates some topics ahead of others. Elmasry (2009) describes this as making one perspective more prominent by allocating more to the view point and in the process legitimizes the often-quoted side.

This exclusion or inclusion will have an effect on how the public or other actors in the issues interpret reported news stories. If the news sources for a story are particularly from one faction of events, the story is expected to be written in favour of the faction that provides the news sources. Boko Haram has often times attacked journalists attributing it to the role of journalists in presenting government side of the story and neglecting their own account of events (Reporters Without Border, 2013; Abang, 2017).

Scholars have documented the relevance of news sources and how they influence news stories and also how the choice of sources enables framing when writing reports by giving prominence to the side regularly quoted as sources (Manning, 2001; Schneider, 2011). From evidence,

Schneider (2011) advocated that the use of sources and quotes allows reporters to beckon the expressions of different sources to construct news accounts in specific narratives to suit the agenda they are projecting based on their personal bias or house style. van Dijk (1988) contends that "quotations allow the insertion of subjective interpretation, explanations, or opinions about current news events, without breaking the ideological rule that require(s) the separation of facts from opinions" (152).

Quintessentially, the dynamic that exists between journalists and their news sources have been portrayed by scholars as a struggle for control over public perception and public approval of the sources and the agenda (McQuail, 2010; Berkowitz, 2009; Sallot & Johnson, 2006). Berkowitz (2009) is of the view that ethics of the profession does not allow reporters to have an opinion when reporting on an event, however, their opinion could be limited to things such as describing settings, crowd size, appearance of people and what they said. Ericson (1999) earlier theorized that by following this source-driven process, journalists become society's scientists and the news they produce becomes their scientific report because they can be empirically verified to qualify as truth. However, reporting terrorism has become more difficult with prevalent cases occurring nearly in every part of the developed and developing nations.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study made use of content analysis research design. The research populations consisted of the four daily newspapers in Nigeria which were purposively selected, they include: *Vanguard, Premium Times, Daily Trust,* and *The Nation*; and all editions of the selected newspapers from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2016 including weekend versions. This gives us 365 days in 2014 and 2015 each and 366 days in 2016 all amounting to 4384 issues in total. The sample size of this study was calculated using the Taro Yamane (Yamane, 1973) formula with a confidence level of 95%. The formula is presented as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N\left(e\right)^2}$$

Where:

n = sample size required
N = number of people in the population
e = allowable error (%)

Thus, substituting for the values in the equation,
This becomes,

$$n = \frac{4384}{1 + 4384 \cdot (0,05)^2} = 366 \text{ (rounded up)}.$$

However, to ensure a uniform distribution of the sample sizes across the sampled newspapers, the sample size of 366 was reduced to n = 360, quota sampling was further used to share the sample across the newspapers into 90 issues for each sampled newspaper, and further divided into 30 issues per year for evenness.

In order to select 30 issues for each year, a calendar was constructed using systematic random sampling technique with 1/n = 12, i.e. one issue was systematically selected every 12 days for all of the sampled newspapers. To reduce bias in selection of the starting point in January, a straw was drawn for numbers 1 to 12. The number 10 was selected, thus January 10 2014 was chosen as the starting point for each sampling year. The unit of analysis for this study is straight news; the main method of data collection for the paper was reviews of secondary sources consisting of news reports about military operations against Boko Haram group in the period under review using both quantitative and qualitative techniques in data analysis.

The study was limited to digital versions of the sampled newspapers available on the internet for ease of retrieval and analysis. Digital versions were used because the Internet provides the technical capability for researchers to scrutinize an article, assess its sources, and communicate using channels that other media do not provide. This has been validated in a number of studies (Freyenberger, 2013; Wang & Riffe, 2010). The primary substance in the choice of newspapers for the study was the prominence of the selected media, as manifest in their circulation and regional representation. *Vanguard* was the highest rated Nigerian newspaper; *Premium Times* was the most read online newspaper in Nigeria (Alexa, 2017), *The Nation* was rated as the third best newspaper in Nigeria (Chigozie, 2013) while *Daily Trust* was the top rated newspaper from Northern Nigeria (Shehu, 2015). The research population includes all editions of the selected newspapers from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2016 including weekend versions. This gives us 365 days in 2014 and 2015 each and 366 days in 2016 all amounting to 4384 issues in total.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Findings from the study are presented in this section and are modeled after the research questions.

Research Question 1: What is the average number of sources observed in the news accounts?

	Number of sources per story	Newspapers				Total	%
		Daily Trust	*Premium Times*	*The Nation*	*Vanguard*		
1	Zero	0	1	2	2	5	3
2	One	19	32	23	40	114	61.5
3	Two	3	12	9	16	40	22
4	Three	3	6	5	3	17	9
5	Four	0	3	4	1	8	4
6	Five or more	1	0	0	0	1	0.5
	Total	**26**	**54**	**43**	**62**	**185**	**100**
	Average	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.3		

Table 1: Number of sources in each story

The findings from Table 1 highlights that the four newspapers used a fairly similar number of sources for news stories with an average of 1.5 sources per story. The table further showed that 61.5% of the stories were written with only one source. This is against the recommendation of Snow-Capparelli (2013) that journalists should avoid single-source stories when possible, and should use a minimum of three sources, while special reports and in-depth features should contain many more. For journalists to be fair and objective, using multiple sources increases the credibility of the story. Panenberg (2007) enjoined that interviewing multiple sources with different viewpoints increases factual accuracy which entails checking, and double-checking on every piece of information before publication. On the part of newspapers reporting military operations against Boko Haram insurgents, they are enjoined to increase the number of sources for their stories as the average of 1.5 per story is half the recommended number by Snow-Capparelli (2013).

Research Question 2: How are the sources identified; full name, single name, alias or anonymous?

How the sources were identified was presented in Table 2. It highlights that in most of the reported news about military operations against Boko Haram, 69% of the sources were identified by their full names. Worthy of mention is the fact that in 5 out of the 185 stories analyzed across the newspapers, there were no sources mentioned in the stories. The stories were written as if they were common knowledge, or the reader is left to assume either the journalist is supposed to know of the information. The journalists made no effort to identify how they got the information being reported; whether from the military, residents, civil society organisations, other media or from the web. Boeyink (1990) earlier opined that "f the source of the information is provided, that information can be independently verified by others. Errors can then be more easily discovered and corrected" (p. 235).

		Newspapers					
	Source Identification	*Daily Trust*	*Premium Times*	*The Nation*	*Vanguard*	Total	%
1	None	0	1	2	2	5	3
2	Full name	17	38	30	43	128	69
3	Single name	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Alias	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Anonymous	2	2	2	3	9	5
6	Other media or organisation	4	3	2	7	16	8
7	Full name & single name	0	1	0	0	1	0.5
8	Full name & Anonymous	3	6	5	4	18	10
9	Full name & media/org.	0	2	0	3	5	3
10	Full name, anonymous & media/org.	0	0	2	0	2	1
11	Anonymous & 0ther media/org.	0	1	0	0	1	0.5
	Total	**26**	**54**	**43**	**62**	**185**	**100**

Table 2: How sources were identified in news

Recall that Vultee (2010) stated that naming names of sources is an important aspect of newsgathering and reporting, it consistently creates reports that readers consider credible. The newspapers in this regard presented most of their stories with full attrition that identifies the sources of the information they were reporting on. Duffy and Freeman (2011) averred that offering full attribution for news sources provides an inherent promise to the reader that validates the information contained in the journalistic piece; this information provided is true and you can go ask the source if in doubt. Snow-Capparelli (2013) adds that motives of the anonymous sources should be evaluated, and they should only be used where necessary, and when used, the information provided should be corroborated with other sources.

Research Question 3: Were their use of direct quotes from the news sources?

		Newspapers				
Use of Quote	*Daily Trust*	*Premium Times*	*The Nation*	*Vanguard*	**Total**	*%*
1 Yes	22	50	39	56	167	90
2 No	4	4	4	6	18	10
Total	**26**	**54**	**43**	**62**	**185**	**100**

Table 3: Use of Quotes in News

Quotes were prominently used in news reporting about military operations against Boko Haram in Nigeria with 90% of the news (see Table 3). This was also consistent with the results from Table 2 where most of the news stories had sources that were identified either by their full names, or in combination with anonymous sources. However, it was observed that quotes were used in stories with anonymous sources in the newspapers analyzed; *Daily Trust* in four of the stories where anonymous sources used quotes, the one of the stories was about the attack of Gwoza residents by Soldiers looking for escaped Boko Haram insurgent in a report on October 13, 2014 and another a story on 6th November, 2014 about an Airforce jet striking a military camp mistaking it for a Boko Haram camp. *Premium Times* had five such stories; *The Nation* and *Vanguard* each had six stories with similar use of quotes for anonymous sources.

Because quote selection can be used to advance a particular narrative due to reporter's bias or editorial policy (Entman 2004; Scheufele 1999), it

is expedient for journalists to avoid using quotes for stories with anonymous sources or sources that are not properly identified in case corroboration is needed or follow up questions to verify aspects of the information they provided. The choice of sources enables framing when writing reports by giving prominence to the side regularly quoted as sources (Manning, 2001; Schneider, 2011), thus the side regularly used as sources and quoted in the news will have the narrative framed in their construct because journalists have given them a foothold in the control, dissemination and the slant introduced in reportage..

Research Question 4: How often do Nigerian newspapers use sources from different sides in a story about military operations against Boko Haram?

		Newspapers				
Use of same sources	*Daily Trust*	*Premium Times*	*The Nation*	*Vanguard*	**Total**	*%*
1 Yes	25	47	41	58	171	92
2 No	1	7	2	4	14	8
Total	**26**	**54**	**43**	**62**	**185**	**100**

Table 4: Use of varying sources in same news article

In presenting varying sources for each story analyzed in Table 4, it was discovered that 92% of the stories contained sources from the same side of the conflict. This does not enhance the credibility of the story being reported. In the fight against Boko Haram insurgents, the effect is felt by three main groups, the military, Boko Haram members and the residents of North East Nigeria. Every story for the sake of credibility should contain input from at least two of the groups to provide some sort of balance; ideally, all three should be present in every news report. But due to the issue of timeliness and access, having two can suffice for each story. *Premium Times* had the most varying sources for its stories with 13% of its stories compared to the other three who all had less than 7%.

Snow-Capparelli (2013) enjoined reporters to seek out intelligent and articulate sources from all relevant perspectives and partisan viewpoints.

Journalists are encouraged to seek out both those who have power and those who do not; this ensures equal representations especially of the groups under examination. In this case, the statement from military authorities or Boko Haram insurgents should not be taken on face value, efforts should be made to corroborate such information from other groups such as residents, civil society organisations who operate in the area and also other journalists for consistency and veracity of what is being reported.

Research Question 5: Which is the dominant between military (government) sources and independent sources?

	Source Type	Newspapers				Total	%
		Daily Trust	Premium Times	The Nation	Vanguard		
1	No Source mentioned	0	1	2	2	5	3
2	Military sources only	17	42	31	43	133	72
3	Other sources only	7	7	3	8	25	13.5
4	Military and other sources	2	4	6	9	21	11
5	Journalists only	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Journalists & Military	0	0	1	0	1	0.5
7	Journalists & other sources	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Journalists, Military & other sources	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	**26**	**54**	**43**	**62**	**185**	**100**

Table 5: Types of sources

Data from Table 5 show that 72% of the news articles used "military sources only"; adding the other categories where military sources were also used sums up to 84% of the news where the military were mentioned as sources compared to independent sources which were 25%. In effect, the military were the main producers of news as against what the Sidle Commission was set out to combat in 1984. The Commission agreed that the military should not report about its own activities and it would be best the independent media do the reporting of the conduct of military activities so the public, congress and the press can make their own deductions from the news reports. An independent appraisal of the war against Boko Haram would lead to objective and critical reporting that would identify lapses sometimes before they cause damage as the information

would be public before the National Assembly and the public purview. It conforms with the adage that a problem shared is a problem half solved.

Entman (1993) was of the view that a frame "is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (p. 55). Thus, the military as the main sources have dominated the text about reporting military activities against Boko Haram. The way articles will be framed around the dominant interest can potentially influence its assimilation (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987), this also buttresses the views expressed by Carroll and McCombs (2003) who opine that the prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public. Reality check however sets in whenever the insurgent group carries out one of its dastardly acts such as the kidnap of the Dapchi school girls in Yobe State, Nigeria, 4 years after the kidnap of hundreds of school girls from Chibok Town, Borno State (John, 2018) or the attack of military bases by Boko Haram in leading to heavy casualties (Ilo, 2018).

Another dimension to the dominant use of military sources in news reporting about military operations against Boko Haram is the symbiotic relationship observed between the government and the press; here the government needs the media to create awareness for government policies and programmes, in return, journalists are granted access to officially verifiable sources of government information (Hoffman, 2006; Ngige, Badekale & HammanJoda, 2016). The military thus makes available to the press information of its activities which the press are expected to share to the public to ease fears and let the people know government is in control, this ideology tends towards development communication, where information is disseminated for societal good.

Research Question 6: How often were journalists cited as sources in news reports about military operations against Boko Haram in the North East Nigeria?

From Table 5, journalists were seen as sources in one news article from *The Nation*, this means that journalists were not close to areas where military operations occur. Most of the reports were from military briefs, releases and interviews, other media organisations, press release by international agencies, and interviews with residents. The findings also highlight the distance in working relationship between the military and the press; this, however, needs more research to validate.

This observation corroborates earlier authors who noted the frosty relationship that exists between journalists and soldiers (Musa, 2013; Adebanwi, 2011; Odogwu, 1990). This difficulty in creating an enabling working environment may be the reason why they both find it difficult to work

together as the nation looks to resolve the Boko Haram insurgency. Nigeria may have to borrow a leaf from the US where the Sidle Commission (1984) report was set up to work out modalities that will guide media involvement in military operations to foster transparency and accountability, both fundamental to the deepening of democracy.

The implications of the findings include that the military were both the actors and reporters of the events. With the military being the dominant sources, the stories are expected to be favourable to the military as they will not be expected to speak ill of the organisation they represent or put out information capable of damaging the reputation of the military. Gauseth (2012) reechoes that salience can also be achieved by including viewpoints from one side of an armed conflict while excluding other actors. This means that including or excluding certain sources when reporting about a news story can have an influence on news presentation and perception of the issue under investigation.

CONCLUSION

In looking at the variables investigated in this study that empirically explored the statement by the Director of Information, Defense Headquarters, Major General John Enenche, who claimed that Nigerian troops were reluctant in the past to engage the Boko Haram terrorists because the media framed the Boko Haram group as superior and winning the battle against the military making Nigerian soldiers hesitant to engage members of the sect in open battles. This view, however, is subjective; one of the ways it can be examined is by identifying the news sources contained in newspaper reports about military operations against Boko Haram insurgents. The idea being that if there are less military sources quoted and cited in reports, it increases the likelihood of media bias against the military. On the other hand, if there are more of military sources, it reduces the likelihood of media bias as the military is not expected to speak bad about their own organisation.

Finally, the findings do not support the statement by Major General Enenche that the media were responsible for soldiers abandoning the battlefield when confronted by Boko Haram insurgents. Instead, the media have pandered towards the military by ensuring that most of the sources for news about military incursions against the group are military sources and at a great cost to journalistic integrity as there was no evidence of journalists being given first hand access to information on military operations, or being embedded with the military nor specific evidence of journalists being granted access to flashpoint areas. The study

recommends further research into the dynamics of the relationship between the media and military in order to have an insight into the cooperation between them to foster openness and accountability in military activities.

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NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF ISSUE-BASED POLITICAL STATEMENTS AND CAMPAIGNS IN NIGERIA'S ELECTORAL PROCESS (NOVEMBER 2018 – FEBRUARY 2019)

Emmanuel Ikpegbu (a), Walter Ihejirika (b)

(a) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: emmanuelikpegbu[at]gmail.com

(b) University of Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Email: walter.ihejirika[at]uniport.edu.ng

Abstract

The electoral process in Nigeria is now more dynamic than in earlier years because of the nature of competitions among politicians. In a bid to sell candidates and woo voters, political parties engage in election campaigns during which statements are made. Campaigns ought to address issues of public importance, but in some instances the comments are mere expressions of personal sentiments. The press is not just the fourth estate of the realm but also the voice of the people to report issues for voters' enlightenment. This paper examined newspaper coverage of issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's 2019 electoral process. Two theoretical frameworks for the study were Agenda Setting Theory and Development Media Theory. The study was both quantitative and qualitative, covering newspaper reports from two national dailies, Vanguard and The Punch. A total of 76 editions were studied using the content analysis research design, with quoted statements buttressing the argument. The data were presented with frequency tables and analysed through simple percentages. There were 116 reports on the subject in the dailies. The paper found out that while there were coverage over some national issues like restructuring, security, corruption, economy, and electricity, the greater volume of political statements were not issue-based. There is the need for the press to pay less attention on matters that would not serve to educate voters adequately. The study recommends that the press use the editorials to canvass for issue-based comments. The study also contributed to knowledge as the seminal analysis of political statements in 2019 general elections.

Keywords

electoral process; election campaign; issue-based; political statements; media; Nigeria
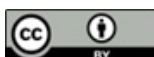
ОСВЕЩЕНИЕ В ГАЗЕТАХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗАЯВЛЕНИЙ И КАМПАНИЙ, ОРИЕНТИРОВАННЫХ НА ПРОБЛЕМЫ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ ВАЖНОСТИ, В ИЗБИРАТЕЛЬНОМ ПРОЦЕССЕ В НИГЕРИИ (НОЯБРЬ 2018 ГОДА – ФЕВРАЛЬ 2019 ГОДА)

Икпегбу Эммануэль (a), Ихеджирика Вальтер (b)

(a) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: emmanuelikpegbu[at]gmail.com

(b) Университет Порт Харкорт. Порт Харкорт, Нигерия. Email: walter.ihejirika[at]uniport.edu.ng

Аннотация

Избирательный процесс в Нигерии сейчас более динамичный, чем в предыдущие годы, благодаря характеру соревновательности среди политиков. В попытке продать кандидатов и привлечь голоса избирателей политические партии участвуют в избирательных кампаниях, в ходе которых делаются заявления. Кампании должны ориентироваться на проблемы общественной важности, но в некоторых случаях комментарии являются лишь выражением личных настроений. Пресса – это не только четвертая власть в мире, но и голос людей, которые сообщают о своих проблемах для информиравания/просвещения избирателей. Эта статья рассматривает освещение в газетах тематических политических заявлений и кампаний в ходе избирательного процесса в Нигерии в 2019 году. В теоретическом плане формат исследования задан двумя рамками – Теории постановки повестки дня и Теории для медиа периода развития. В работе использовались как количественные, так и качественные методы; исследование охватывало газетные сообщения двух национальных ежедневных газет, Vanguard и The Punch. В общей сложности были изучены 76 изданий с использованием контент-анализа; при этом цитируемые высказывания подтверждали выдвинутые положения. Данные были представлены с помощью частотных таблиц и проанализированы с использованием простых процентов. В газетах было найдено 116 сообщений на интересующую нас тему. В статье показано, что, хотя некоторые национальные проблемы, такие как реструктуризация, безопасность, коррупция, экономика и электричество в газетах освещались, однако значительно больший объем политических заявлений не был основан на конкретном материале. Необходимо, чтобы пресса уделяла меньше внимания вопросам, которые не могут адекватно информировать избирателей. В нашей работе рекомендуется, чтобы пресса использовала редакционные статьи для организации комментирования общественно-важных тем. Исследование также внесло свой вклад в академические знания как оригинальный первоначальный анализ политических заявлений на всеобщих выборах 2019 года.

Ключевые слова

избирательный процесс; избирательная кампания; проблемно-ориентированные; политические заявления; медиа; Нигерия

OVERVIEW

Prior to the 2019 elections, the political space in Nigeria was marked by mixed feelings and realities because for many citizens, the government had not met their yearnings. The poor economic state of the people and the ailing economy of the nation, the rampant spate of killings by herdsmen and Boko Haram terrorists in the North as well as pockets of crime is several parts of the South, raised much concern. In South-East, there was the growing agitation against marginalisation by citizens and groups like the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), who called for secession. And virtually every geopolitical zone clamoured for restructuring. But amidst these scenes, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari believed that it had done very much in the country to improve the economy, improve security and fight against corruption. And the government had confidence going into the general elections.

Electioneering campaigns are expected to be issue-based because through it the electorate makes decisions. Some have argued that the atmosphere of the last election was explosive (Sobowale, 2019). The campaigns was officially declared open by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), on November 18, 2019, but prior to that date, there had been efforts and statements to woo voters through rallies and other forums. It was declared by the electoral umpire that both parties and candidates should conduct themselves in organised, peaceful, rancor-free, hate and/or inflammatory speeches-free way (Egburonu & Odufowokan, 2018).

But, rather than address burning issues in the country and sell opinions on how to better the country, politicians and their parties were often seen speaking of non-issue-based matters. Chief among the parties and politicians were the presidential candidates of the leading All Progressive Congress (APC), President Muhammadu Buhari and the main opposition party, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. The candidates' campaign organs were found expressing venoms against each other through name calling, allegations, insults, etc. (Iheanacho, 2019).

One of the forms of statements made during political campaigns is hate speech. Hate can be referred to as the use of discriminatory sobriquet to malign, stigmatise or abuse someone or people on the grounds of origin, socio-economics, religion, association etc. through verbal expression, demonstrative actions, written content that would cause others to engage in negative attitude towards the object (Adibe, 2015). Because of one's background, orientation or intention, hate can be demonstrated towards

such and whenever there is a denigrating communication in that wise, Kukah (2015) believes that there is hate speech. The effect of every hate speech is disaffection towards the person or group referred to. And it is the belief of Mrabure (2016) that necessary steps need to be taken to discourage hate speech because besides its direct effects on the 'hated', the populace are likely to suffer from denial of freedom of expression through it.

Sometimes, the statements made by politicians may not even be hate speech but could be claims on things they would not fulfill. They often look at the pressing needs of the people and make promises that cannot not be kept. One of such borders on gender equality in governance. It is believed that women are not well represented in the political space and the present call is even for quota participation (Okorie, 2016; Olatunde, 2010; Audu, 2008). It is therefore usual to hear statements reassuring the female voting strength. Anorue, Obayi and Onyebuchi (2012) believe that attention should be sincerely accorded to women in the polity.

While there are several institutions in the society that wields much influence, the role of the press in determining what takes place in the country cannot be overemphasised. It can mould the form of political issues and actors through the nature of its communication to the audience. Here is the critical role of agenda setting the press stands to play (Davaney, 2013). The reason for such an understanding is not farfetched. People could perceive individuals, institutions or government in the direction the press portrays it. Hampl (2017) puts it this way: "The representation of social actors could indicate in what way particular parties, camps, or individuals are portrayed in discourse" (p. 56). The press stand as the voice of the masses and what they publish has a lot of impact. In many instances, media could decide to focus attention on certain issues such that it becomes a national subject. They could also silence an aspect of development that they do not find worthy of public knowledge. This is why Chiluwa (2011) espouses the understanding of the press having the power to conceal facts or reveal secrets.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

The aim of this paper was to ascertain newspaper coverage of issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics from November 2018 to February 2019. The specific objectives were to:

1. Find out the frequency of stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the dailies;
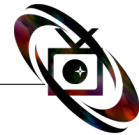
2. Identify the types of reports on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the newspapers;

3. Ascertain the different kinds of political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in newspapers;

4. Find out the placement of stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the newspapers; and

5. Ascertain the directionality of newspaper reports on issue-based political statement and campaigns in Nigeria's politics.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How frequent were stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the dailies?

2. What are the types of reports on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the newspapers?

3. What are the different kinds of political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in newspapers?

4. How were the stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics placed in the newspapers?

5. What is the directionality of newspaper reports on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is a common belief in the communication world that the press can actually construct news to form a worldview for the audience (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzch, 2009). This is due to the place of the media in setting agenda for the audience. The agenda setting theory, being one of the most popular frameworks in media studies, originated from the ideas of Walter Lippman's *Public Opinion* of 1922; theorised by Bernard Cohen in 1963 and crystalised by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972 (McQuail, 2010; Baran & Davies, 2009). The understanding is that what the media presents to the public is often taken as issues that worth attention and becomes the audience agenda at the long run.

On the other hand, Development Media Theory was propounded by Dennis McQuail in 1987 to espouse the place of the press in societies. It is an extension of the earlier forms of the Normative Theories to include the roles that developing nations' media have to play to bring about the needed positive change in the society (Anaeto, Onabanjo & Osifeso, 2008). It is believed that the press owe the country a statutory responsibility to carry out development activities that are in tandem with the laws and

policies established in the land. Thus, the media have freedom and responsibilities not only to inform, but to inform properly; not just to educate, but to educate effectively; not just to entertain, but to entertain intelligently. It thus deals with press behaviour.

These theories are cogent because the agenda setting theory draws attention to the press' role of bringing important issues to public discussion while the development media theory demands responsible journalism from the media.

ISSUES IN NIGERIA AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Election takes place in a politically charged atmosphere where citizens prepare themselves to perform their constitutional roles by voting (Musbeh, 2018). Political parties have been described as indispensable means for representative democracies (Pippa, 2005), bearing in mind that the democratic system is made up of the agencies like political parties which make democracy feasible as the loop for governance (IDEA, 2017). And in many countries, a multiparty system is adopted in which more than two political parties contest in elections. It is therefore necessary to strengthen political parties in every society (Sete, 2018). Given that democracy is a ground order of political legitimacy in the society, politicians make every attempt to sway voters (Held, 2006; Adeleke, 2006) during electioneering campaigns. Thus, statements made are often aimed at galvanising support.

The 2019 general elections in Nigeria witnessed another round of political campaigns which availed politicians the opportunity to inform the electorates what they would do if voted into power. Unlike the 2015 general elections when there were only 14 presidential candidates, the last election had 73 of them vying for the exalted seat. But the contest was basically between APC and PDP. Among the issues that faced the nation and demanded for attention were those of security, anti-corruption fight, economy, unemployment, electricity, job creation, and restructuring. It is believed that the ability to address these could influence voting (Egburonu & Odufowokan, 2018; Unah, 2019).

THE PRESS AND REPORTAGE OF POLITICAL STATEMENTS

There is an enormous role that is expected of the press in the democratic process of Nigeria. Iredia (2007) puts it this way: "The people must be assisted to premise their choices of rationality and vote wisely during elections. They must have all information that is needed to elect the right candidates who can ensure good governance". He also added, "Where

such public awareness is lacking, those of us in the media must accept a share of the blame of failed elections in Nigeria" (p. 12). It is therefore important that the press do not just pass information to the public as much as it evolves, but that they go further in analysing the reports for readers' appreciation as well as focusing on relevant issues.

The objective of reporting political statements and campaigns is to enable voters who rely on the press to become very much acquainted with the candidates and parties in order to make informed decisions at the poll for good governance (Dimitrova, Sheheta, Stromback & Nord, 2014; Carkoglu, Baruh & Yildirim, 2014). The understanding of many scholars and analysts today is that it is unthinkable to hold elections in contemporary times without the contribution of the media (Ace Project, 2012; Ibrahim, Ogwezzy-Ndesikka & Tejumaiye, 2015).

In their study, Asiru, Ogutu and Orwenjo (2018) found out that there was bias in newspaper reportage of political parties and candidates in the 2011 elections. While a particular party, the ruling party was projected positively, the main opposition was presented negatively as other contending parties were accorded least attention. Again, Ojebuyi and Chukwunwike (2018) found out that female politicians receive less attention in Nigerian newspaper reportage compared to male folk who had more coverage and prominence in the publications. In a study championed by *BusinessDay Media* and *NOIPolls* in November 2014, it was found out that:

> More than half **(**57%**)** of the Nigerian adult population believe political campaigns are not focusing on current issues in the country; this perception cuts across all regions, although residents of North-West zone maintained a different perspective as the majority in this region believe the campaigns of politicians are focused on addressing the present issues. In line with this, a significant proportion (48%) of Nigerians stated politicians should focus on addressing security in their campaigns to make meaningful impact. This stance was mostly maintained by residents of the North-East (70%) and North-West (62%) given the current state of insecurity in these regions. Job Creation and Education were also considered as priority for focus among other areas...A view of the pressing issues in Nigeria demonstrates Education (67%) as the most pressing national issue that needs to be tackled, followed by Electricity **(**39%**),** Infrastructure **(**38%**)**, and Water (34%), among others; even though Nigerians believe current campaigns should focus on security (*NOI Polls*, 2015).

The implications of the above are that while the press could be biased, previous electioneering processes witnessed much of non-issue-based statements because the campaigns where not development focused. The 2019 election presents another opportunity to evaluate the experience by understanding what was portrayed in the newspapers.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted through the content analysis research method because it focused on press coverage of political statements made towards the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. This method is recommended for media contents (Kerlinger, 2000). The study population is comprised of all national dailies from which *Vanguard* and *Punch* were sampled. Both dailies have national circulation and credibility. The study covered three months: November 2018, January and February 2019. These months marked the official launching of the political campaign and its closing. The study designed a code sheet and a code guide for data gathering in which it had the unit of analysis as *story type, issue-based, non-issue-based, placement, frequency,* and *directionality.* The content categories included *security, economy, job creation, infrastructure, education, water supply, electricity, health, restructuring, agriculture, road/transport, anti-corruption, industrialization,* and '*others*' as issue-based indicators whereas *name-calling, allegations,* and *partisanship* formed the non-issue-based indicators. Monday, Wednesday and Friday, were adopted to form a composite week. There were a total 76 publications from both dailies within the period of the study. In the presentation and analysis of data, the study employed tables and simple percentages for clarity.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Research Question One: *How frequent were stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the dailies?*

| Item | Period | | | | | | Total |
| | November | | January | | February | | |
	No. Published Stories	Percent (%)	No. Published Stories	Percent (%)	No. Published Stories	Percent (%)	
Vanguard	21	48.8 (36.2)	19	45.2 (32.7)	18	58.06 (31)	58
Punch	22	51.2 (37.9)	23	54.8 (39.7)	13	41.9 (22.4)	58
Total	**43**	**100 (37.06)**	**42**	**100 (36.2)**	**31**	**100 (26.7)**	**116**

Table 1: Frequency of Reports on Political Statements

Table 1 reveals that there were more political statements before the election date given that it recorded constant decline in the number of reported statements, from 37.06% in November 2018 to 26.7% in February,

2019, which was the period of the election. Thus, it can be said that when the election drew closer, politicians focused more on actions than words.

Research Question Two: *What are the types of reports on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in the news-papers?*

Type of Story	Vanguard		Punch		Total	Percent (%)
	No. Report	Percent (%)	No. Report	Percent (%)		
Straight news	57	98.27	58	100	115	99.1
Letters	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cartoons/ pictures/Ad	0	0	0	0	0	0
Opinion article	0	0	0	0	0	0
Features	1	1.7	0	0	1	0.86
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**58**	**100**	**58**	**100**	**116**	**100**

Table 2: Story types on Political Statements

The data in Table 2 reveals that almost all the statements made were reported as straight news in the dailies. Only one *features* had a statement.

Research Question Three: *What are the different kinds of political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics in newspapers?*

Issue Indicator	November			January			February			Cum. Total	Per cent (%)
	Vanguard	Punch	Total	Vanguard	Punch	Total	Vanguard	Punch	Total		
Security	2	3	5	1	1	2	1	1	2	9	7.75
Economy	2	3	5	2	1	3	0	1	1	9	7.75
Job creation	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.86
Infrastructure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.86
Water supply	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electricity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Health	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.86
Restructuring	2	2	4	1	1	2	1	0	1	7	6.03
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Road/ Transport	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1.7
Anti-corruption	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Industrialization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other issue-based	3	2	5	3	2	5	4	4	8	18	15.5
Name-calling	7	2	9	5	2	7	2	1	3	19	16.4
Allegations	2	6	8	2	8	10	3	4	7	25	21.5
Partisanship	4	4	8	4	5	9	5	2	7	24	20.7
Total	**22**	**24**	*46*	**19**	**20**	*39*	**17**	**14**	*31*	**116**	**100**

Table 3: Kinds of Statements (Indicators) on Political Statements

Table 3 illustrates that some issues were not reported in the headlines of the newspapers within the period under review. Among such were infrastructure, water supply, electricity, agriculture, anti-corruption, and industrialization. And these are among the issue-based campaign subjects the electorates expects to hear which sums up to 41.3%. But the non-issue-based subjects like *name-calling* (16.4%)*, allegations* (21.5%) and *partisanship* (20.7%) took more of the statements, which together made up 58.6% of the entire reports. This implies that more of the statements during the political campaign were not issue-based.

Research Question Four: *How were the stories on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics placed in the newspapers?*

Promine nce	November			January			February			Tot al	Perce nt (%)
	Vang uard	Pu nc h	To tal	Vang uard	Pu nc h	To tal	Vang uard	Pu nc h	To tal		
Front page	12	12	24	5	8	13	3	4	7	44	37.9
Inside page	10	12	22	14	12	26	14	10	24	72	62.1
Centre page	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Back page	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**22**	**24**	*46*	**19**	**20**	*39*	**17**	**14**	*31*	**116**	**100**

Table 4: Placement of Stories on Political Statements

From Table 4, it can be understood that none of the statements appeared on the centre nor back page but only on the front and inside page. The number of stories that appeared on the front page (37.9) among the 116 reports on political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics,

speaks of the attention that accorded the issue. It is the cover page stories that are often used to sell the newspaper.

Research Question Five: *What is the directionality of newspaper reports on issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's politics?*

Directionality	November			January			February			Total	Percent (%)
	Vanguard	Punch	Total	Vanguard	Punch	Total	Vanguard	Punch	Total		
Favourable	2	3	5	3	2	5	1	0	1	11	9.5
Neutral	16	18	34	14	16	30	14	13	27	91	78.4
Unfavourable	4	3	7	2	2	4	2	1	3	14	12.06
Total	**22**	**24**	*46*	**19**	**20**	*39*	**17**	**14**	*31*	**116**	**100**

Table 5: Direction of Reports on Political Statements

Table 5 highlights that most of the reports were neutral in the presentation, given the 78.4%. This implies that the stories reported political statements with less supportive or unsupportive approach.

SOME POLITICAL STATEMENTS ON ISSUES IN THE DAILIES

The data presented in above in Table 3 reveals that few of the statements were on issue-based subjects whereas more of the speeches were on non-issue-base. Some of the issue-based statements are as follows:

Restructuring **2019 Presidency: We'll back only candidates that support restructuring – Aare Adams**
As the 15th Aare Onakakanfo of Yoruba Land, I [Gani Adams] must not be partisan, every son and daughter of Yoruba Land has every right to visit me. Only a presidential candidate that has passion and believes in the restructuring of Nigeria will be supported.
By Dupo Akinrefon, Vanguard, November 26, 2018, p. 11

Restructuring: Buhari, Osinbajo deceitful, say Afenifere, Ohaneze
President Muhammadu Buhari and Vice President Yemi Osinbajo on Tuesday came under attack over their separate remarks on the ongoing call for restructuring of the country.
"It is either these people are slow at learning or they cannot understand issues around them. We have made the issues very clear on what the call for restructuring is about" (Yinka Odumakin).
By O. Fabiyi, O. Adetayo, O. Atoyebi & O. Aluko, Punch, Nov. 14, 2018, pp. 1 & 2

Economy & Transportation	**Atiku will reduce fuel price, say PDP** The Peoples' Democratic Party has said its presidential candidate has worked out a pricing template that will immediately crash the pump price of fuel in the country. *By Olusola Fabiyi, Punch, November 2, 2018, p. 10* **Atiku promises to revive Warri Seaport, complete Second Niger Bridge** The presidential candidate of the PDP, Alhaji Atiku, has promised to revive the Warri Seaport in Delta State. *By Ochei Matthew, Punch February 1, 2019, p.7*
Infrastructure & Health	**Sanwo-Olu 'll not abandon ongoing projects, says Ambode** "I am so excited about the fact that Mr. Sanwo-Olu has actually come out here and he has issued a promissory note and what that means is that we are going to have a government of continuity" (Akinwunmi Ambode). *By Oladimeji Ramon, Punch, November 23, 2018, p. 6* **Imo Guber: Ohakim promises to reduce mortality rate by 60%** The Imo state governorship candidate of the Accord Party, Ikedi Ohakim, yesterday promised to implement a policy he said would reduce the mortality rate in the state by 60 per cent. *By Chinonso Alozie, Vangaurd, January 9, 2019, p. 15*

The above excerpts are some of the political statements made during the 2019 general elections campaign period. These were part of the issue-based speeches by the candidates and their parties. It is expected that campaigns should serve as platforms for aspirants to inform the electorates on what they would do if given the opportunity. Besides some of the accounts of issue-based statements by politicians reported in the dailies, there were more non-issue-based statements, as indicated in the data. Some of such include:

Name-Calling   **Okorocha, Yari, Amosun, suffering change trauma, Oshiomhole**
National chairman of the ruling All Progressive Congress, APC,
Comrade Adams Oshiomhole, has said that the three govs opposed to
his conduct of party primaries in their states were behaving like drug
addicts suffering from 'withdrawal symptoms'.
By Omeiza Ajayi, Vanguard, November 2, 2018, pp. 1 & 41

**Buhari no match for Atiku, PDP – Atiku's leading gang of
mercantile politicians, APC responds**
Ahead of the 2019 presidential election, Peoples Democratic Party,
PDP, has challenged President Muhammadu Buhari to a live, one-on-
one debate with its candidate, Atiku Abubakar, on critical sectors of the
nation's economy.
By Dirisu Yakubu & Omeiza Ajayi, Vanguard, November 26, 2018, p. 8

Tinubu attacks Atiku, says ex-VP not fit for president
The national leader of the APC, Bola Tinubu, has said former Vice-
President Atiku Abubakar does not deserve another shot at power
because he blew his opportunity during his eight years reign under
former President Olusegun Obasanjo.
By Oladimeji Ramon, Punch, January 9, 2019, p. 40

Allegations   **Presidential poll: Atiku's integrity questionable – Tinubu**
National leader of the All Progressives Congress, APC, Asiwaju Bola
Tinubu, yesterday, said unlike President Muhammadu Buhari, the
integrity of presidential candidate of Peoples Democratic Party, PDP,
Atiku Abubakar is questionable.
"Leave a naira on the table with Buhari in the room, you will find the
naira on the table when you return...With Atiku, things are more
nuanced...His compass has four models pointing in different directions
at the same time" (Tinubu).
By Dapo Akirefon, Vanguard, January 9, 2019, p. 11

Buhari using govt funds for campaign, says Atiku
The presidential candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party, Atiku
Abubakar, has that President Muhammadu Buhari of the All
Progressive Congress, is using government funds for his presidential
campaign.
By Success Nwogu, Punch, January 11, 2019, p. 7

Buhari, APC can't be trusted, says Atiku at Lagos rally
The presidential candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party, Alhaji
Atiku Abubakar, has said President Muhammadu Buhari and his party,
the Al Progressive Congress, can no longer be trusted because they
have not kept any of the promises they made to Nigerians while
soliciting their votes four years ago.
By Femi Makinde, Punch, February 13, 2019, p. 7

Partisanship

2019 Imo guber: I'll support Nwosu if he joins another party – Okorocha

Imo State governor Rochas Okorocha, yesterday said he would support his son-in-law Mr. Uche Nwosu, for the governorship race in Imo, should he (Nwosu) join another political party.

By Chinonso Alozie, Vanguard, November 28, 2018, p. 8

Oshiomhole: Once you join the APC, your sins are forgiven

The National chairman of the All Progressive Congress, Adams Oshiomhole, urged members of opposition party to join the APC so that their sins could be forgiven.

By S. Nwogu, T. Onojeghen & A. Peter, Punch, January 18, 2019, pp. 1& 2

Re-list us, or no polls in Rivers – APC candidates

Candidates of All Progressive Congress, APC, for the 2019 elections in Rivers State have said they will not allow elections to hold in the state if Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, does not relist them in the ballot for the general election.

By E. Yafugborhi & D. Iheanachor, Vanguard, February 15, p. 1

In the above statements, it is clear that the issues raised against the individuals mentioned are nothing but personal sentiments rather than topical issues of public interest. By describing Okorocha, Yari and Amosun as suffering from "withdrawal symptoms", the speaker is invariably saying that they are mentally weak and short of right thinking mind. On the second statement, the intention is to tag the candidate and his party as commercially minded persons who only want to exploit the people. And in the last statement, the speaker wants the electorate not to even mention the name because the person is not qualified to start with. All these expressions were geared to discrediting the individuals. The allegations on integrity, misuse of public fund and lack of trust are also geared towards smearing the personalities. The partisanship depict how attached the individuals are such that it is only what concerns them that matters.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Frequency of Reports on Political Statements and Campaigns

From the findings in Table 1, it was discovered that more political statements were made before the date of the election as the newspapers recorded decline in reportage on the issue, close to the election. That is, while the dailies reported much of political statements within the period, the number of reports dropped from 37.06% to 26.7% by the last month of

the campaign. Corroborating this qualitative data were the statements cited above, which also indicated that more non-issue-based speeches were uttered at the earlier part of the campaign period. This indicates that the press follow issues and political actors as they move such that when they raise their voices, the media highlights such and when they keep silent, the same is reflected in the reports. Asiru, Ogutu and Orwenjo (2018) found out that the press do accord attention to political actors in their reportage. This finding supports the Agenda Setting theory that the press set the tone for discussion of issues.

Story Types on Political Statements and Campaigns

Among the types of stories, the findings show that almost all the reports came as straight news (99.1%), which meant that it was the statements made by the politicians that formed a good part of the newspaper reports. This brings out the principle of salience in the agenda theory of the media. The newspapers were able to emphasise that stories about statements made by politicians during the period were newsworthy and should be emphasized.

Kinds of Political Statements in Campaigns

The study had two major classes of indicators on the kinds of statements. It was found out that there were less of issue-based statements given that the sum of such is 41.3% compared to the non-issue-based statements that totaled 58.6%. It is then clear what was observed during the 2019 electioneering campaign were statements devoid of developmental plans but full of personal sentiments. Besides the cited statements above on name-calling, allegations and partisanship, there were others like "Stop donating like Father Christmas, attend to Nigerians, Atiku tells Buhari (Punch newspaper, 2018, Nov. 5, p. 53); "Buhari is too weak to lead Nigeria, says PDP" (Punch newspaper, Jan. 23, 2019, p. 3); and "I won't disappoint you like APC, Atiku" (Vanguard newspaper, Feb. 13, p. 10). This findings aligns with NOI Polls (2015) in which it was found out that about 57% of adult Nigerians believe that political campaigns do not address important issues in the country. The development media theory underlines that the press should highlight development issues in the society. This means that more of the reports in the dailies should be on statements that are issue-based in subsequent periods. The projection of candidates who make issue-based statements could influence voting.

Placement of Stories on Issue-based Political Statements

The findings from the study show that the reports on the political statements appeared on the front (37.9%) and inside pages (62.1) only. Basically, the back page of newspapers are given to sports and special features such that it does not take regular news stories. But the prominence is predicated on fact that the reports made the cover pages and in most cases, the banner headlines. Stories like "Okorocha, Amosun attack Oshiomhole afresh – his leadership has cost APC 5 million members, says Imo gov – we'll resist any bid to hand Ogun over to a rapacious cabal – Ogun gov" (Vanguard newspaper, 2018, Nov. 2, p. 1) and "Elections: Obasanjo bombs Buhari again – says he's planning to rig polls, behaving like Abacha" (Vanguard newspaper, 2019, Jan. 21, p. 1) are among the numerous that appeared on the cover page. This finding demonstrates the agenda setting theory that the emphasis media places on certain issues based on placement or coverage could influence the importance the audience attach to such (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

CONCLUSION

Because Nigeria's electoral process is now more dynamic than in earlier years with the nature of competitions among political parties, politicians explore ways to woo voters during election campaigns. In the course of this, political statements are often made at different forums and platforms. The expectation is that campaigns should address issues that affect the country, but in some instances the comments are directed at personal affairs and matters of less public interest. The press exists to report issues for voters' enlightenment. This paper examined newspaper coverage of issue-based political statements and campaigns in Nigeria's electoral process. The paper found out that while there were coverage over some national issues like restructuring, security, corruption, economy, unemployment, and electricity, the greater volume of reports of political statements in newspapers were not issue-based. There is the need for the press to pay less attention to matters that would not serve to educate voters appropriately.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Drawing from the findings put forward, the study therefore recommends that:

1. Given that during the electioneering period much attention was accorded to political statements, there is the need for the press to balance issues of national interest along with current developments in order not to silence other matters of public interest.
2. Literate Nigerians need to react to political statements through articles, letters, etc. for dailies because these were almost non-existing on the issue within the period.
3. Nigerians need to ask politicians questions based on issues of national or public importance as a means of reducing non-issue-based statements. In the same vein, the press use the editorials to speak against non-issue-based campaigns.
4. The press need to highlight more of issue-based political statements on the cover page rather than those that would create panic and disaffection.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Academically, this paper is a seminal effort, that is, first attempt to analyse the political statements made by politicians in the most recent general elections held in Nigeria. In practice, it gives the public a picture of the kind of statements made by leaders during the 2019 electioneering campaign, which would aid future development initiatives.

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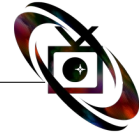
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ONLINE ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA: AN EXAMINATION OF APPROACHES IN FACEBOOK AND INSTAGRAM

Silas Udenze (a), Olisa Junior Aduba (b)

(a) University of Abuja. Abuja, Nigeria. Email: udenzes[at]gmail.com

(b) University of Abuja. Abuja, Nigeria. Email: adubaolisa[at]yahoo.com

Abstract

The study examined online advertising in Nigeria; it also sought to ascertain an examination of approaches in Facebook and Instagram. The aim of the research is to analyse the extent Nigerian businesses are utilizing social media to advertise their products. The theory adopted to anchor the study is Diffusion of Innovation Theory. Mixed methodology was employed to generate data for the study. Survey designed was used for the quantitative method while semi-structured interviews were conducted for the qualitative method. Online questionnaires were employed to get data from 375 Internet-users; representing consumers of these online advertisements, while 6 business owners making use of online advertising through social media, were interviewed under the qualitative method. The results of the study show that Nigerians make use of social media sites like Facebook and Instagram as advertising platforms to a little extent despite the huge number of consumers using these networks in the country. The research recommends that business owners should change their perception about social media as just a platform for fun or social activities, but to start considering it as an avenue to marketing and profit making. Also, the work recommends Nigerian businesses to engage the media professionals to handle their online activities; taking into the account that social media is so powerful it can build or destroy any business or brand. The work further recommends more effort put into the Consumer Protection Council with regards to online advertising activities. This will aid to online consumers protection and also to a large extent curb the cyber fraud.

Keywords

advertising; Facebook; Instagram; Nigeria; Social media; media; communication
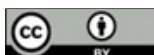
ОНЛАЙН-РЕКЛАМА В НИГЕРИИ: ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ПОДХОДОВ В FACEBOOK И INSTAGRAM

Удензе Силас (a), Адуба Олиса Джуниор (b)

(a) Университет Абужа. Абуджа, Нигерия. Email: udenzes[at]gmail.com

(b) Университет Абужа. Абуджа, Нигерия. Email: adubaolisa[at]yahoo.com

Аннотация

В исследовании рассматривается интернет-реклама в Нигерии; в частности, ситуация с рекламой в социальных сетях Facebook и Instagram. Цель работы – изучить, в какой степени нигерийские предприятия используют социальные сети для рекламы своей продукции. Теоретической основой исследования является теория Диффузии инноваций. Смешанная методология была использована для получения данных. Разработанный автором опрос использовался как количественный метод исследования, в то время как полу-структурированные интервью проводились для качественного метода. Онлайн анкетирование использовалось для опроса 375 интернет-пользователей, представляющих потребителей рекламы, в то время как 6 владельцев бизнеса, использующих рекламу через социальные сети, были опрошены в рамках качественного метода. Результаты исследования показывают, что нигерийцы слабо используют социальные сети, такие как Facebook и Instagram, в качестве рекламных платформ, несмотря на огромное количество пользователей этих сетей в стране. В исследовании рекомендуется, чтобы владельцы бизнеса изменили свое восприятие социальных сетей как просто платформы для развлечения или социальных мероприятий, и обратили внимание на предоставляемые ими возможности для маркетинга и продаж. Кроме того, работа рекомендует нигерийским предприятиям привлекать профессионалов СМИ для управления своей онлайн-деятельностью; учитывая, что социальные сети настолько мощны, что они могут создать или разрушить любой бизнес или бренд. Далее автор рекомендует Совету по защите прав потребителей приложить больше усилий в отношении онлайн-рекламы. Это поможет защитить онлайн-потребителей, а также в значительной степени обуздать кибер-мошенничество.

Ключевые слова

реклама; Facebook; Instagram; Нигерия; социальные сети; медиа; коммуникации

INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In recent times, the advertising landscape has evolved significantly especially online over the internet. Citing Dominick (2007) Asemah, and Edegoh, defined Advertising as "any form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods and services, usually paid for by an identified sponsor" (2013, p. 321). Further, in justifying the essence of advertising, they equally argue that "Advertising is unique and special and if anything is to be known about the existence of a product, commodity, item, good, service or a political candidate, etc., and then there is the need for advertising". Asemah, and Edegoh, (2012, p. 251). In the past, Organizations usually purchased advertising time slots on television or radio, spaces in newspapers, and best locations for their hoardings on the busiest of streets. However, still couldn't get directly in touch with their target consumers. After the arrival of this new media, a new dimension was introduced to human communication called online advertising, leading to the complete change in the pros and cons of advertising. Online advertising can be said to be adverting on the internet.

Online advertising, simply put, is advertising on the Internet. Online advertising cuts across display adverts found on websites, adverts on search engine results pages, adverts found in emails and other social platforms, and different ways in which advertisers use the Internet. Of course, this is not just limited to computers; online advertising can be found anywhere you access the web, for example, through mobile devices, I-pads, tabs, etc. One primary objective of online advertising is to increase brand awareness or information without geographical boundary limits. One of such dimensions is the social media. Social media are social interaction designed platforms. They are sites that enable user participation and allow individuals or groups to generate content and engage in conversations and exchange of materials. Andres Kaplan's perception about Social media as cited by Endwell, (2014, p. 1) states that "online media that promote participation, openness, conversation, community, connectedness, interactivity, collaboration and information sharing".

According to Kaplan, and Haenlein, (2010, p. 61) Social media build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, which allows for collaboration and the creation and exchange of user-generated content". Arens, Weigold and Arens, (2011) as reviewed in Endwell, (2014) argues that social media platforms are called social, mainly because they possess the ability to connect like-minded individuals in such ways that have never been experienced before. Endwell (2014, p.2) goes ahead to

opine that "Social media allow people to exchange personal comments, political views, business ideas and commercial messages using various online platforms such as blogs, microblogs and social networks."

Similarly, Eid, and Ward, (2009) as cited in Endwell, (2014) agree that in this modern age of the information superhighway, significant numbers of people around the world are building social networks online that cut across local, regional and global communities thereby communicating "their shared interests and activities", and interacting through a number of online-based tools.

It is challenging to study social media without encountering the phrase social networking. Hence, both concepts will be discussed in this study. Weltge, and McKenzie-Harris, (2017, p.15) define social media as any medium of communication performed electronically through which users start-up online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (as videos). While Investopedia defines social networking as" the use of internet-based social media programs to make connections with friends, family, classmates, customers and clients. Social networking can happen for various reasons, example business purposes, social purposes or both through applications such as Classmates.com, Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and Yelp." A simple way to comprehend the essential difference between social media and social networking is that people are assisted through social media to make the connection while social networking enhances that connection. People are linked together due to their "common interests, passions, and causes" as they continue to enhance their relationships by getting to know each other through interaction over time (Cohn, 2011).

The increasing rate of growth of these social media has made it impossible for them to be ignored by individuals and business organisations (Omeruo 2010). Giving credence to the above, Osae-Brown and Emelike (2011) note that social media are changing the manner many businesses communicate with their customers. In like manner, consumers are using the social media to take charge of their shopping experience and connect with others. They explain that these social media have become an instantaneous marketing tool used by ambitious advertisers to improve awareness about their products and services; thereby building a strong online presence and community.

Dominick (2009) explains that advertisers mainly showcase their products/services on social networks and use platforms such as blog ads to target specific blogs whose readers would be likely customers. Some advertisers also have links or hyperlinks below their adverts linking potential customers to their web pages, blogs or social networking plat-

forms. According to Nnanne, (2011, p.5) Social media are "undoubtedly shaping and redefining the nature of communication among people all over the world." This statement aligns with Endwell, (2014, p. 2) position that the attraction to social media by business organisations/entrepreneurs is that barriers are broken as they can relate to customers on a one-on-one basis.

In the past, advertising used to be seen as a one-way communication, delivered from the advertiser through some media vehicle to a receiver, the target audience. This also means that advertisers hardly hear what consumers are saying about their products unless they embark on research. In a world with Web 2.0 (social media), advertising encounters a new phase. Social media enable interactive capabilities in an environment characterised by user involvement, "freedom, and dialogue" thereby bringing about a high degree of interactivity and consumer involvement in advertising applications. Online advertising through Social media has genuinely enabled a two-way (or multi-way) communication between brands and consumers. "Social media, blogs and microblogs have made it possible for consumers to express their opinions and experiences about a product" (Arens, Weigold and Arens, 2011, p. 552). Online advertising becomes more about connections, conversations, and shared control resulting to less passive consumption of packaged content. Dominick, (2009) argues that advertising is not only paid for in this era but word of mouth (viral advertising) is used to harness paid advertising.

Advertising through traditional media relied on a model of interrupting and disrupting consumers life. This interruption is because the key to every ad is to halt "what the viewers are doing in order to get them thinking about something else" (Chaney, 2009, p.37). Consequently, scholars believe that consumers accept these interruptions, served in the form of advertising, because they recognised it as a price to pay for what was formerly seen as free content on the electronic and print media. In other words, dominant content owners determined the dissemination of content targeted at consumers. The interruption-disruption model is being eliminated by the social media, which enables consumers to control and create their own media content.

According to Diamond (2010), the paradigm shift is a change of power. Customers do not only want to be asked permission by marketers, but they also want to engage actively and be involved in the ideas contributing to a product. They desire to tell a company what they feel, how the consumers view their brand, and how they can improve. Evans & Mckee (2010, p.11) explain that — engagement on the Social Web means that customers become participants rather than viewers. Online advertising

through Social media has granted consumers the authority to speak up, and their voices are being heard loud and clear. While organisations want consumers to buy their products, these empowered consumers wish that the companies pay attention to them and give an opportunity to contribute to decision making. They no longer want to be mere passive consumers of products and services, but active participants helping to co-create them (Chaney, 2009; The Economist 2006). Praise and Guinan (2008) posit that for social media advertising to thrive, an organisation's marketing department should relinquish some level of control and instead facilitate customers in driving the organisation's value proposition.

This study will be focusing more on social networks like Facebook and Instagram. Facebook and Instagram give business organisations the opportunity to meet their target markets as well as afford individuals the opportunity to connect with the organisations and brands they like and learn more about their products and services.

On Facebook, subscribers connect to a brand by "liking" them. While on Instagram, an individual "follows" a company of choice to get posts from them. Diamond (2008) explains that "individuals want to do business with people they like, so a company needs to be likeable". Facebook advertising platform is known as Facebook Ads. Tuten (2008) explains that Facebook has offered advertisers more strategic value with a mix of essential avenues, including targeted display ads and sponsored stories, known as Social Ads, branded profiles known as Facebook Pages, a developer incentive program to encourage content development called Facebook Developers, and Newsfeed. He notes further that Facebook Social Ads are targeted at specific users based on member profiles and behaviour in the network. For instance, adverts on Facebook can be delivered to users whose friends have recently engaged with the brand's Facebook profile or visited the brand's website. Even the destination of delivery for social adverts can be set with adverts appearing next to News feeds of friends (a Facebook feature that gives room for friends to update others on their latest activities). By delivering ad impressions that are corresponding to news feeds, Facebook encourages word-of-mouth communication and interaction about a brand.

Adverts on Instagram are called Instagram ads; they show up as sponsored posts on your page. One has access to freely remove ads, which they feel is not relevant to them by directly going to the menu and removing that particular ad. The consumer also has the option of including advertisements that they have interests in and also get involved with an Instagram community with same likes. Just like Facebook (their parent company) the app chooses the ads to show the user based on the information

of what you do both on Facebook or Instagram and by third-party sites and apps. For example, you might see ads on your page based on people you follow and things you like on Instagram, your information and also interests on Facebook (if you have a Facebook account with the same details) and the websites you visit and the apps you use.

However, it is just as important to understand the motivation behind why people use social media (Facebook and Instagram) as it is to know how they serve as very effective online advertising platforms. This development exists because while much is uncertain about social media, one thing is sure, the masses have widely adopted them. Therefore, this study examines the utilisation of online advertising in Nigeria with approaches in Facebook and Instagram.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since the coming of Facebook and Instagram, a growing number of commercial organisations have embraced them as part of their marketing strategy. They have uncovered the potentials of the social media in promoting customer relations and increasing product patronage. Being that social media is a new platform for advertising and is still underutilised; the percentage of active users, entrepreneurs/business organisations that have embraced this new platform completely, is currently not known. It is also not known how entrepreneurs/businesses using them have fared regarding improved patronage. With over 93 million internet data subscribers, stated by the Nigerian Communication Commission (NCC) as at October 2017, 16 million monthly active Facebook users as of June 2016 in Nigeria and four million, two hundred thousand, six hundred and fourteen (4,200,614) fans generated from Nigeria. The researchers wanted to establish whether Nigerians are participating in the growing phenomenon. Are they using Facebook and Instagram as strategic online advertising platforms? Are business organisations/entrepreneurs utilising the advantages of this "ready" and substantial social market to relate with their clients on an individual level?

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study's primary aim is to examine the use of online advertising in Nigeria, examining the approaches in Facebook and Instagram. The secondary objectives of this study are:
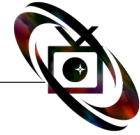
1. To establish the what extent to which social media sites like Face-book and Instagram are used as advertising platforms in Nigeria by Nigerians.
2. To find out the impact of the online advertisement to consumers of social media platforms
3. To ascertain to what extent social media advertising is beneficial to business owners.
4. To determine the level of success in promoting products through online advertising.
5. To examine the challenges business owners encounter in the use of social media for advertising.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

These research questions were formulated to direct the study:

1. To what extent are social media sites like Facebook and Instagram as advertising platforms in Nigeria?
2. What are the impacts of the online advertisement to consumers of social media platforms?
3. What extent is social media advertising beneficial to business owners?
4. What is the level of success in promoting products/ services through online advertising?
5. Are there any challenges limiting the effective application of on-line advertising in Nigeria?

LITERATURE REVIEW: ONLINE ADVERTISING

Online advertising can be called by the following names: online mar-keting, Internet advertising or web advertising. Falah (2014) believes this is a type of advertising and marketing which makes use of the Internet to deliver promotional oriented messages to potential consumers. Belch & Belch (2001) saw advertising on the web as a variety of forms, which in-cludes banner-advertisements, interstitials, pop-ups, sponsorships, and links or webcasting push technologies. The study of Baran (as cited in Mathew, Ogedebe and Ogedebe, 2013) sees "web advertising as cyber ad-vertising; they are interstitial ads, pop-outs, extramercials, large rectan-gles, advergames, intermercials, transaction journalism, text ad, targeted keyword buys and surround sessions."

According to Dominick (2009), October 1994 was the beginning of online advertising, when Hotwired, the first digital commercial magazine,
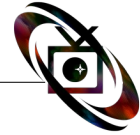
began a network with some sponsors who subscribed by paying to acquire advertising banners for their products placed on the entire the sites.

Lisica, Jesic and Neskovic (2012) saw advertising online as a kind of promotion which employs the internet as a medium to convey marketing information with the aim of attracting patronage. According to Adikesavan (2014), an example of online advertising include online classified advertising, blogs, and banner ads, contextual ads on results pages of search engines, advertising networks and interstitial ads. Gordon and Lima-Turner (cited in Mathew, Ogedebe and Ogedebe, 2013) were of the opinion that a social agreement between internet users and advertisers could be seen as online advertising.

Choi and Rifon (2002) urged that the fast growth of revenues generated from online advertising show the capability of advertising online as an alternative to that of conventional media. Hwang, McMillan and Lee (2003) stressed that advertising online is not just pop-ups and banners buttons, but also believe that website for businesses includes an essential functionality missing in the conventional corporate advertising. The possibility of designing eye-catching, innovative, unique and self-perpetuating advertisements is limitless. When developing an online ad, content, colour, style, graphics, format and the target audience must be put in perspective for the advertising message to be communicated effectively and efficiently. By understanding and implementing the best-suited design features, a company can produce effective campaigns that reach target audiences, and go beyond standard demographic groupings. Online advertisements can be designed strategically, with the goal in mind of achieving, and influencing a particular target market (Gallagher et al., 2001)

Wohn and Korgaonkar (2003) said that there is a massive difference between how male and female genders perceive online advertisement. Positive attitudes towards adverting online are seen in the males than females. Another is that the men have a higher tendency than the female gender to buy from the internet. The men surf the net for entertainment and functional purposes, which has a higher tendency to encounter online advertisements unlike the majority of the female that most times settle for shopping purposes.

Mathew, Ogedebe and Ogedebe (2013) also believed interactive technologies like the internet created the opportunity make advertisements that are more personal, more targeted and yet is capable of carrying the audience to participate, thus feeling engaged. This is to say that as a medium of advertising, it provides an excellent opportunity for engaging, interacting and captivating the users. An array of various formats of advertising can be employed to convey a specific message to audience Ac-

cording to Brigg and Holis (1997) the different forms of advertisement acquire different types of responses from the audience, meaning each format of the online advertisement has its peculiar attractions and limitations.

NEW MEDIA

New media are digital technologies, with attributes of being interactive, compressible, manipulated, dense, and networkable. A few examples are the computer multimedia, Internet, CD-ROMS, computer games, websites and DVDs. In other words, unless a technology contains such features that are capable of digital interactivity, it cannot be termed as one.

New media creates an avenue with the possibility for any user to design, edit, remodel and exchange contents with other users, making use of tools that are easy to use and most times they cost little or nothing. The essential requirement for the new media is a mobile device or computer with access to the internet. The following are what the new media can do:

i. Link people with information
ii. collaborating with others, this includes members of your network;
iii. Creation of new avenues of communication that assist in delivering information

The new media are a disparate set of communication technologies that share specific features apart from being new, made possible by digitisation and being widely available for personal use as a communication tool. The new media is not only or even mainly concerned with the production and distribution of messages, but at least, mostly involved with processing, exchange and storage. The new media can be considered as much an institution of private, as of public communication and are regulated but not accordingly. Their operations are not typically professional or bureaucratically organised to the same degree as mass media. These are the significant differences that underscore the fact that the new media correspond with the mass media primarily in being widely diffused, in principle available to all, for communication and at least, as free from control.

Newness is a relative characteristic, as both place and time influence the technology; this is to say, what can be classified as new today, can also be tomorrow termed as old, and what is perceived as new in one's surroundings or culture can be seen as outmoded or unknown in another.

Thus, newness at some point was seen as the application of telecommunications, microelectronics and computers that renders new services or amplifies the old ones. It merely means that the very moment technologies are created to complement or succeed the old ones in performing better, then such platforms can be classified as "new media ''. According to Mc-Quail's study, (cited by Asemah and Edegoh, 2012), New media has four main characteristic attributes. They are as follow:

i. Encoded content decentralisation;
ii. higher capacity with regards to dissemination, which has surpassed limitations of the past like capacity, cost and reach;
iii. interactivity; giving room for receivers to be more active and participatory in the flow of information; and
iv. Flexibility.

SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media's concept has attracted so many perceptions and views from various disciplines. A necessary explanation connotes "interactive communication within a group". The "group" in this definition represents "social" content of the definition. According to Suomen Toivo–Think Tank (2012), social media are new information network and information technology using a form of interactive communication skills, where users produce the content of information and interpersonal relationships are established and maintained in the process. A typical social media services could be content sharing, web communities, or an Internet forum (Sanastokeskus, 2010). In the same vein, Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) identified social media as a group of Internet-based application that is structured on the technology and perception of web 2.0, which gives access to create and exchange its content. Sweetser and Laricsy (2008) believe that users of the social media are not passive like in the situation of radio, Television, magazine and Newspaper; preferably they are active in generating and exchange of information.

Social media make use of technologies that are web-based, computer and mobile devices (examples are palmtops, tabs, desktops, laptops and smart-phones) for the creation of highly interactive forums giving access for persons, communities and or businesses to exchange, discuss, refine content that is generated by the users.

According to Ace Cloud Hosting (2015), Social media functions in a dialogic transmission system (many sources too many receivers). Which makes it the opposite to how conventional media functions, traditional
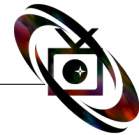
media functions under a monologic transmission model (a single refer-ence too many receivers), an example is a paper newspaper which is con-veyed to many subscribers. Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, Google+ Pinterest, Twitter, Reddit, Viber, Snapchat, WeChat, YouTube and Tumblr are favourite examples of social media platforms. With each of them having more than 100,000,000 registered users.

SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

Social Networks were defined by Redbridge Marketing (2008) people within online communities who practically exchange in their activity, a unified interest. According to YALSA (2007), Social Networking Sites can be seen as "those websites which give an opportunity for interaction, by allowing you and other users to post content, building on the web's data and partaking in a live chat. Marketing Evolution (2007) observed that So-cial Networking stands for :

> A fad, especially among the young and technologically obsessed an unprece-dented tool for keeping in touch with friends and family "A disruptive, un-scripted environment" An unparalleled opportunity for brands and consumer to make genuine connections" Some combination of all of the above …. and then some.

The research document from the Office of Communications (OFCOM) saw Social Network sites as those platforms which give users the opportunity to create their information page like a personal page and also room to build their network. This explanation further suggests that social networking sites are forums not just based on social interactions but is also an avenue for business relationships between customers and companies. Social Networking Sites are many, but the most popular ones are Skype, Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, WeChat, Instagram, Twitter, Reddit, Vine Camera, Pinterest, BBM, Tumblr, Google+, Linkedin, Viber, Kakaotalk. Facebook has about 1.97 billion monthly active users as of April 2017, while WhatsApp (1.2 billion) and YouTube (1billion) follow in a suit regarding popularity among the list (Statista, 2017).

The process of Social Networking is straightforward, in the sense of no need for a compulsory complex set up like special training of graphic or web design is required. This is to say posting on forums, creating blogs, adding content on a friend' wall, editing information on wiki and watch-ing or creating a channel on Youtube is very simple to perform; and it is even getting more comfortable by the day as manufacturers are modifying it, no wonder there is a constant increase in youths participation.

Examples of social networking tools according to the research document from Social Networking Tools Office of Communications (OFCOM) are Blogs, Podcasts, RSS, Tagging and wiki. According to Marketing Evolution (2007), social networks are classified into the following: The Professionals, the See and Be Seens, the Connectors, the Explorers, the Rookies, and the Spectators.

OFCOM (cited in Gbadeyan, 2010) also categorised people due to their attitudes and behaviour in using social networks, and they are The "Alpha Socializers", the "Attention Seeks" the "Followers", the "Faithfuls" and the "Functionals." OFCOM also categorised non-users of the social networking sites into groups for various reasons, they are:

1. Intellectual rejecters – They have no interest for it because they see it as a waste of time.
2. Concerned about Safety –They are worried about the how secure are their details online, therefore having doubts on making use of it
3. Technically experienced – They do not believe in making use of technologies like computers and the internet.

FACEBOOK

The social network platform Facebook merely is used for the connection users with people surrounding them, these can be family members or relations, friends, colleagues or other people with interests that are similar. In 2004, Mark Zuckerberg along with Austin Moskovitz, Chris Hughes and Eduardo Saverin created Facebook. Initially, there was a restriction to the membership for Facebook. Only students from Harvard had access to get it; however, the membership was later extended to students from other colleges/ universities across the United States. According to Dunay and Krueger (2010), Facebook expanded in 2006 not just beyond universities, but to businesses, other schools and users interested around globally.

According to Nwaeze, (cited in Nyekwere, Kur and Nyekwere, 2013), believes that advertising on Facebook gives room for businesses to reach their exact customers, linking them to their brands and products. Of recent, there have been some additions of new features to Facebook which includes Story sharing, instant chat/messaging, live video etc. Users of the platform can communicate with other users through various methods, for instance, video calls, private messaging or merely writing on walls of other users. Posting on Walls by default cannot be seen by the general public but only the friends of the user. Privacy settings can also be ad-

justed by a user to allow others to visualise his profile, from the level of friendship already existing.

Facebook gives a platform for businesses, brands, products, and professionals in all spheres of life, celebrities, public figures and individuals with the aim of showcasing themselves to the Facebook community. According to Facebook newsroom (2017) as of December 2016, Facebook has an average of 1.23 billion daily active users worldwide and 7.2 million people in Nigeria visits Facebook each day (Financial Nigeria, 2016), although in the past consumer brands that are big enjoy having large fan bases due to their reach, but this day, smaller brands, personalities and consultants can also develop a loyal and massive fan base by making practical use of Facebook. "If Facebook were a country, it would be the most populous nation on earth. With a size of 1.39 billion people logging in to Facebook each month to go through their News Feeds, communicate with various groups and friends and then engage in other activities in the platform." (Stenovec, 2017). That exceeds the entire population of China, which is the world's most populous country. According to Taylor (2016), at least two people in seven of the world's population make use of Facebook monthly.

Facebook stated from Nigeria alone, daily users amounted to 7.2 million people, with a large percentage accessing the platform via mobile. According to a study done in 2017 by eMarketer, 42% of millennial respondents admitted that they had not stayed up to five hours without checking their feeds.

The top four platforms used by social media marketers include Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram and Twitter, with the pack led by Facebook. Social Media Marketing Industry Report (2017) stated that a total number of 94% was the number of marketers making use of the platform, Facebook. It also revealed that 62% of the marketers picked Facebook when asked to select their most important platform. According to an info-graphic by Sumo Coupon, Facebook users generate 4 million likes every minute. Also, every 60 seconds, the following are achieved: 500 new users join Facebook; 50,000 links are shared on Facebook; 100,000 friend requests are sent; 243,000 photos are uploaded on Facebook; and 3, 3 million items are shared on Facebook.

Facebook Pages are user profiles equivalents. A page is a location on the site where entrepreneurs/companies write all about themselves. Some of the most robust social targeting features, as noted by Zarrella and Zarrella (cited in Endwell, Tur and Nyekwere, p.183. 2013), are useful when such companies have a large number of Page members or users. Zarrella and Zarrella notes further that although some brands attract mil-

lions of fans to their Facebook pages through paid advertisement, there are also some brands that their marketing strategies capitalize on the viral power of Facebook, relying on fan participation to generate a stream of news feed stories, which in turn create word-of-mouth awareness and attract new fans to the page. Special events such as symposium, trade fair, seminar etc., can be generated by an organisation on their official page and "invitations" delivered to friends on their network. According to Endwell (2012), while commercial messages posted on a company's Facebook page and their events are restricted to their fans, the paid advertisement appears on the right-hand side of a Facebook page whose owner falls within the target market of the advertiser as indicated during the creation of the advertisement. Pages can help a company promote their business on Facebook through the following:

Wall: this is similar to a user's profile; it is in the form of a tab which serves as the central component of a Facebook page. The Wall gives room for a business brand and their followers to post data like notes photos and videos. Updates are being generated from these actions and most times displayed on a user's news feed as stories.

News Feed: this section of Facebook displays any recent activity taking place on a user's or business page. For instance, once there is a new video posted on a user's page, it is published on his or her news feed as a recent story.

Status Updates: this gives the avenue for one's status to be updated; this is an attractive tool for marketers as it provides room for a marketer to input any new information about their products. Unlike the profile section, this tool accommodates endless streams of updates conveyed to your followers.

Discussions: this is a tool in which topics are expanded through conversations. Users start up a topic and followers are allowed to build on it by commenting their opinions. Two options are usually given for followers which is a box to write on or a button to click like. Facebook assists in solidifying relationships irrespective if the organisation is advertising to other organisations or persons.

As of March 2016, according to the growthok blog (2017) stated that three million companies, as of March 2016, from all over the world used Facebook's paid ads to reach their target audience, with more than 70% from outside of the United States. In April 2017, the number had grown to 5 million advertisers. The majority of Facebook's advertisers are small and medium-sized businesses. A report by Social Media Examiner in 2017 revealed that a surprising 93% of social marketers regularly use Facebook ads and 64% plan on increasing their Facebook ads activities.
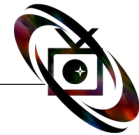
INSTAGRAM

Instagram is a social networking application that mainly deals with mobile photo-sharing, Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger created the app. It was launched in October 2010 it was designed primarily for only Apple products for free but was later released two years later for Android devices. It was bought by Facebook in April 2012, for US$1 billion. Just a year after, Instagram grew by 23%, while Facebook, being the parent company, only increased by 3%. Instagram has three primary sections, which are:

Camera: this is the part of the app where the user can post pictures or videos; editing and filtration of the photograph or video can also be done here. This is the section basically where one selects what to post to the public. What will be seen about you.

Instagram page: this is the section where you see what others have posted; it can be videos or just pictures. This is the section where the audience gets to see what a company is advertising. The audience can communicate back by "liking" the picture or video," commenting" or "send to" other users or groups.

Direct: this is the section where you view posts you have sent to other users or groups. Recently this section was updated, and one can now send disappearing posts like photos and videos to others or groups.

Updates and new features are steadily released on Instagram to enhance more spontaneous and frequent sharing within the application, one of them is the "Stories" feature, which can be identified as a replica of Snapchat's core feature. This gives room upload multiple pictures and videos with filters and illustrations. According to Forbes, as of December 2016, Instagram has about 600 million active users monthly. The social network has been focusing on growing its global advertising business and enabling more real-time sharing. After first launching advertising widely about a year ago, the app reached 500,000 advertisers in September. Instagram was expected to generate about $1.5 billion in mobile advertising sales in 2016 and the estimate of $5 billion in 2018, according to forecasting firm eMarketer. (Czajkowski 2016).

Ads on Instagram are called Instagram ads; they show up as sponsored posts on your page. One has access to freely remove ads, which they feel is not relevant to them by directly going to the menu and removing that particular ad. The consumer also has the option of including advertisements that they have interests in and also get involved with an Instagram community with same likes. Just like Facebook (their parent com-

pany) the app chooses the ads to show the user based on the information of what you do both on Facebook or Instagram; For instance a user may see a particular type of advertisement on your page based on things you like on the application and people you follow on Instagram, your interests and also information on Facebook (if you have a Facebook account with similar details with that of Instagram); the websites you visit and the Apps you use.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are very relevant in every academic endeavour. Thus, Asemah (2010) emphasises that theories lend themselves to various analysis and texts, such that the phenomena central to the research get clarified, explained and even predicted as the case may be. Therefore, for us to attain a clearer grasp of this study, the diffusion of innovation theory has been selected to provide the framework.

The theory diffusion of innovation is best described as how information or idea can spread over time through some channels and social structures in the society Ojobor, 2002. Also, it can be seen as the process by which that innovation is communicated over time through certain mediums between the members within a social system; in other words, the concept behind this theory is that for a new idea to spread there must be awareness stage, interest stage, the evaluation stage and trial and adoption stages. Rogers (1962) and Rogers and Shoemaker's (1973) model of information diffusion envisaged four stages: information, persuasion, decision or adoption and confirmation (McQuail, 2011). To this work, the theory's relevance stems from the fact that social media are at the evolving stage and as such, different users will adopt them in varying degrees. While some users have passed awareness, interest and trial stages, choosing social media for advertising and some patronising products advertised on them, others are yet to embrace this new media even though they are aware of them.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted dual methodology, that is, qualitative and quantitative method. The qualitative method, focus group was employed for the selected companies: The Companies whose staffs were selected for the interviews are: "Tribal chic" Known with the handle" the_tribalchic" on Instagram and "kevwee" on Facebook; it focuses on fashion and designing, located in Abuja; it has over five hundred and seventy followers on both Facebook and Instagram. "Lemmy Vendutti Photography (LVP)" is a me-

dia company that deals in photography for various events and personal portraits, located in Abuja, it has currently twenty-five thousand three hundred followers (25,300) on Instagram and eighteen thousand, and seventy-nine (18,079) followers on Facebook. Finally, Sapphira Island known for the sale of cosmetics, make use of both the Facebook and Instagram platform to advertise, they have one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine (1,769) followers on Instagram and five hundred (500) on Facebook. They were considered because of the ample experience they have gained in operating their businesses. Successfully advertising their products and services on various social media platforms and interacting with the clientele.

The quantitative method, survey was used to explore the thoughts of residence of Abuja. Abuja is Nigeria's Federal Capital Territory and a cosmopolitan City, bringing together people of diverse cultures, tribes, states and ethnicities from all over; which automatically represent the entire country. Abuja is broken into Abaji, Abuja Municipal Area Council, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje and Kwali. According to Adeyemi Adepetun of the Guardian Newspaper, the National Bureau of Statistics telecommunication sector's third quarter 2016, stated that Abuja has a total population of 4,359,372 internet users, thus in determining the sample size, this population was adopted using Taro Yamane (1976) method for calculating sample size. The equation is illustrated as below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1\,N \cdot (e)^2}$$

n = Sample Size
N = Population under study
e = Margin of error or level of precision (it could be 0.10, 0.05 or 0.01)

Therefore, when this formula is applied with the combined population figure of internet users in Abuja, which is 4,359,372 we get the following:

$$n = \frac{4,359,372}{1 + 4,359,372 \cdot (0.005)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{4,359,372}{1 + 4,359,372 \cdot (0.0025)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{4,359,372}{10,899.43} \qquad = \mathbf{399.9633\,008\,332}$$

n = 399.9633 008 332 rounded to **400**

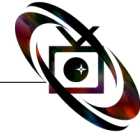A sample size of 400 was adopted from the calculation.

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

In analysis the qualitative data that emanated from the interviews study, the researcher analysed the data thematically. After a thorough coding of the six interviews, some major themes emanated, thus, the analysis of data in this section is done thematically. It is pertinent to state that the analysis of data is done in consonance with the research objectives of the study.

A popular media: Facebook and Instagram

One of the secondary objectives of this study is to ascertain to what extent social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram are used for advertising. To answer this question, six companies were purposively chosen, and these companies use Facebook and Instagram for advertising. This is a pointer to the fact that Facebook and Instagram are obviously popular. From the analysis of data, it was revealed that business owners are coming to the realisation that social media is paramount to the success of their businesses. Participants of this study also revealed that they have been using the social media for advertising for more than five years now. According to a respondent, Ossia Okey who was interviewed on the 20th May, 2018, "Ok, I have been in business for more than twelve years but started advertising online five years ago when I saw the trend, because without social media you won't go far in business, won't have 360 degree view of your business, people won't know about your business, but with social media, you will be like you are in the global village, everybody no matter where they are, will have access to you". From the latter assertion, we can observe that the respondent has been using the social media for up to five years now. The participant above also revealed that without the social media a business venture might not fully achieve its mission and vision. Since all the interviewees of this study use Facebook and Instagram for their advertising, this finding concludes that business owners use social media platforms for advertising purpose to a large extent.

However, it also discovered that social media the use of social media for advertising is still at the infant stage in Nigeria. All the interviewees of this study are of the opinion that social media advertising has not reached its zenith. They profess that business owners have to come to the realisa-

tion that social media has the potential to change the fortune of businesses. According to Ahmad Amin, a respondent that specializes in photography, "No, it has not and it is just starting, a lot is going to come up from it, my fear is that there will be a time that people will not be advertising on television , radio and the rest of mass media but solely on the social media platforms". Another respondent, Kenny Bola who was interviewed on the 23rd April, 2018 asserts that with the rate at which technology is growing, the use of social media for advertising in Nigeria is just "a drop in the ocean". Put another way, we have not scratched the power of social media advertising. "It is still of a drop in an ocean the way I see, generally, our approach to technology in the recent decade has made things go very fast. The use of online advertising in Nigeria has just started in terms of where we can be, the money right now can tell the future is still bright, but it has not reached its peak yet".

Highly beneficial

During the analysis of the six interviews conducted by the researcher, it was discovered that the use of social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram is very beneficial to the respondents for online advertising. All of the interviewee attested to the fact that the use of social media has helped to a large extent. According to Kevwe Erutor, interviewed 12th May 2018, social media has helped to promote her business even beyond her circle. Her thoughts are captured below:

> Yes, the answer is yes. It actually promotes the project and it has a wider coverage so it's expends not just people within your circle it actually goes as far as showing the entire world, what you actually have to offer.

From the foregoing assertion we see that the social media is very beneficial to this respondent. According to the interviewee, social media has a wider coverage, that is, it transcends distance and time. The advertiser mentions that social media enables her to reach the entire world. The power of the social media to this respondent is enormous. She believes that her project is leveraging on the potentials of the social to enable her reach a wider audience.

Another respondent; Princes Oguejiofor interviewed on the 24th May, 2018 equally revealed that the use of social media for online advertising has been beneficial to her. According to her, a friend introduced her to the use of social media for business purpose and ever since then she has been using it. "Actually, a friend of mine told me about the usage of social media platforms, I use it and it helps me to promote my business". According to the other respondent, Ossia Okey who was interviewed on
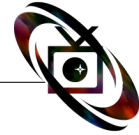
the 20th May, 2018 stated, he has been selling more goods ever since he stated using social media for promoting his services. In fact, he submitted that he makes more sales online compared to face-to-face transaction. "Very well, with social media I have been selling more than I expected, when I check my turn over I weekly, I notice the ones I sold on social media is more than the ones I sell in my shops". Yet another respondent, Rebecca Koatsa, interviewed on the 22nd May, 2018 confirmed that she was introduced to social media by a friend and ever then her business has been growing. "Of course, I was introduced to this social media platform, and since then my business has been expanding and growing".

Preferred/Major advertising medium

Also, majority of the interviewee argued that social media is their major advertising medium. The preference of social media for advertising may be connected to the reason given by one of the respondents as stated earlier on that the medium affords her the opportunity to reach a wider audience. Rebecca Koatsa, who was interviewed on the 22nd May, 2018 pointed out that the social media is the major medium she uses for advertising. "Well, it's pretty much the major… I make use of it a lot, it is pretty much my major form of advert, so yes every form of promotion is actually done mostly through social media and then we have other ways of interacting with people that are not through social media". From the thought above we can understand that this individual has other means of reaching her clients, but social media is the preferred medium. One of the respondents, ken Bola interviewed on the 23rd April, 2018 (a photographer) opines that their company solely relies on the social media for advertising. "Very, very well; constantly in fact, it's right now one of major advance source of advert for us, it helps us in getting all that we need and it's not products across to our customers".

Yet another thought from the respondent, Ossia Okey interviewed on the 20th May, 2018, elaborates that he solely base his business promotion on the social media. "Considering my field, I have solely based my business on online in terms of social media interactions and all that, that's mainly the platform I use to advertise". Ahmad Amin, a respondent corroborated the preceding submission. He argued that without the social media there will be no business for him. To him, the social media is the ultimate. "Very well, that has been the way forward, without social media or social media advertising; there would be no business for me rather".

The submissions of these individuals point to one thing: the social media is the major advertising medium for their businesses. They gave different opinions as to why they preferred the social media. In an inter-

view on the 10th April, 2019, Ahmed summarises his feelings on the theme.

> It has really been very successful and positive response from most of my clients; in fact at the moment I can tell you that eighty 80%of my new clients come from my social media platform; this is because they see it and it connects with them, they feel it and it is easier for them, to get access to and they can easily it as the contact me as well just to get the product.

A Referral/Interlinked Medium

From analysis of the qualitative data from this study, the researcher discovered that majority of the respondents cited that the social media affords them the opportunities to meet persons that are not originally their pages. This ability of the social media to get new referrals for these business persons makes the social media an interlinked media. According to the discoveries from this study, one of the main advantages of the social media is the connection to new referrals and the expansion of client base. My first interviewee, Kewve Eruotor, interviewed on the 12th May, 2018 succinctly gave her views on the power of the social media to connect her to new referrals.

> I would go with new referrals and expansion of client base, because when you have a product and someone buys into it, if he likes it, he shows it off on his page; once he or she shows it off on their page, it reaches another set of wider audience which would want to find out if and how this person acquired the product. And the beauty about this is that when you have some key players what we have right now like "Instagram celebrities." Instagram celebrity is someone that tends to have alot of followers or also icons, when i say icon i mean people that tends to influence alot of products because people see them, they admire them, they want to be like them; they want to wear and go places that those people go. If you could actually reach any of these kinds of people; the referral base you will get and the attention you will get is usually massive; on just only one you could get alot; just by that person identifying with you as a brand; you will get alot of referrals. So, I go with avenue for new referrals and expansion of client base.

It is obvious from this elaborate highlight that the social media has the ability to create a wider coverage through referrals. According to this respondent, when a potential client likes her Instagram page, the client automatically refers her product to the persons on her friend list. Particularly, the Instagram celebrities are so vital and powerful in this regard. This interviewee postulated that Instagram celebrities are individuals that have many followers Instagram. Furthermore, these celebrities tend to in-

fluence potential consumer with their ways of life. In other words, Instagram celebrities have the capability to expand a company's client base. Rebecca Koatsa, interviewed on the 22nd May 2018 attested that the referral power of the social media affords the opportunity to interface more with her client. "Well, I would say it creates an opportunity for me to interface with my clients more, because it gives me the opportunity to get more references, get more information about what my clients feel about the product and it helps me to remodel or reshape my products best suit my clients and get more business". In other words, the social media also helps the latter participant to get feedback from her clients. This is the interactivity feature of the social media. It allows two-way communication between clients and business persons. Yet another participant affirmed this referral theme: "Well for me, an avenue for new referrals and expansion of client base is the ultimate, in the sense that if I have enough referrals, my business grows and I make more money".

The foregoing assertion brings us to the need to mention that the social media is highly interactive/interlinked medium. The media allows the free flow of information across board. It is very easy for a client or business owner to share content from a particular medium, say Instagram to other platforms like Facebook and Twitter. The sharing of contents across platforms enables a business to reach a large audience. That is why it has been argued that account pages of different media are not just constructed by the owner of the account, but profile are being constructed today by both the owner of the account and their friends/followers. For instance, if an individual decides to share a picture on his Facebook account and he tags me, automatically my Facebook page will further display the picture which he tagged me to. Also, my friends on Facebook will get to view the picture. So, most social media platforms have add-ons that enable user co-create pages.

Poor Infrastructures

Despite the huge potentials of social media in advertising, there are downsides to the use of social media for advertising. Findings from the analysis of data showed that social media could be a two-edged sword. According to one of the interviewee Ahmad Amin, "I would rate it high, very high, because it has the capability to run down your business and at the same time, has the power to boost your business". From this thought, the participant acknowledges the merits and demerits of social media.

The prominent challenge of the social media advertising that emanated from my data analysis is the lack of internet connection or data. Almost all the interviewees assert that the most challenging challenge of
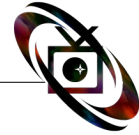
using social media for advertising is poor internet connection. A partici-pant put his thought thus: "It has to do with the internet usage, alot of people do not have that much access to internet, and Lack of the access to internet hinders it; and the understanding and usage of social media plat-form". Another respondent, Ossai Okey corroborated this latter thought. "It is the same with the problems in Nigeria; we talk about high cost of in-ternet, power issues, internet availability, we even thank God now that our phones people can access internet. Like five to ten years ago, for you to get internet access, you have to go and pay for browsing time at cyber cafes and the likes of hanging micro wave radios etc, but now thank God for 3G and 4G network by tier 1 providers. The future is bright".

Other minor challenges that evolved from the findings are lack of technical know-how to use the social media, and the activities of fraud-sters. It was discovered that the participants still believe that a good tech-nical know-how of the social media is crucial to achieving the full poten-tial of the medium. "Know how – Awareness on how to use the social me-dia platform and also how to reach the people who are experts to explain how to use most if the features on these platforms". The social media is readily available for any individual to use, but the knowledge of how to use it is essential. Another respondent opines thus: "Some people are still yet to grasp the whole idea of how they can use it to get across their prospective client". This final observation from one of the interviewees, Ken Bola who was interviewed on the 23rd April, 2018, gives us a gist of the whole challenges; both minor and major challenges:

> No matter how effective or fast we are approaching this, we can't rule out the fact that we are still a developing world, as you know a country like Nigeria still has some rural areas where they do not have access to electricity not to talk about the modern technology that will enhance online advertising access to in-ternet use. So those are some challenges and we hope the government can look into that we could talk about education the number of literate people compared to the illiterate, there is still a wide gap, especially with the youths and younger generation access to education and the facilities to engage the use of the inter-net.

This study aims to assess the use of social media for online advertis-ing in Nigeria. From the qualitative analysis of data, it has been revealed that social media advertising is finding its place among Nigerian busi-nesses. Despite the merits of social media advertising, the study found that there are downsides to the use of social media for advertising. The themes discussed above are the major discoveries from the study. Findings
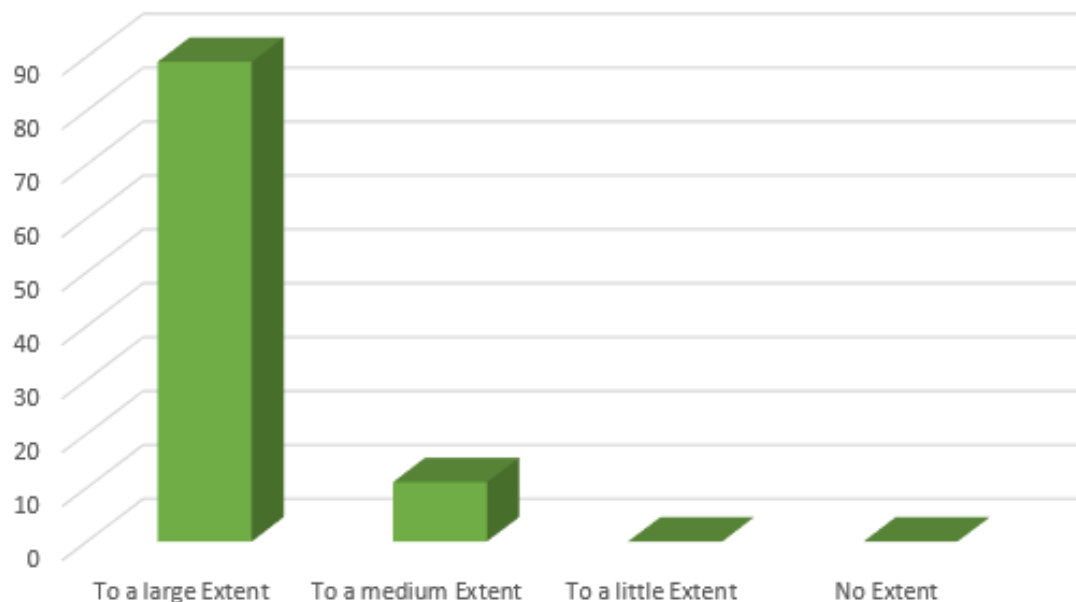
from the quantitative study will further strengthen and reinforce the findings from the qualitative study.

GRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATE

	Large Extent	Medium Extent	Little Extent	No Extent
■ Series1	1	16	63	20
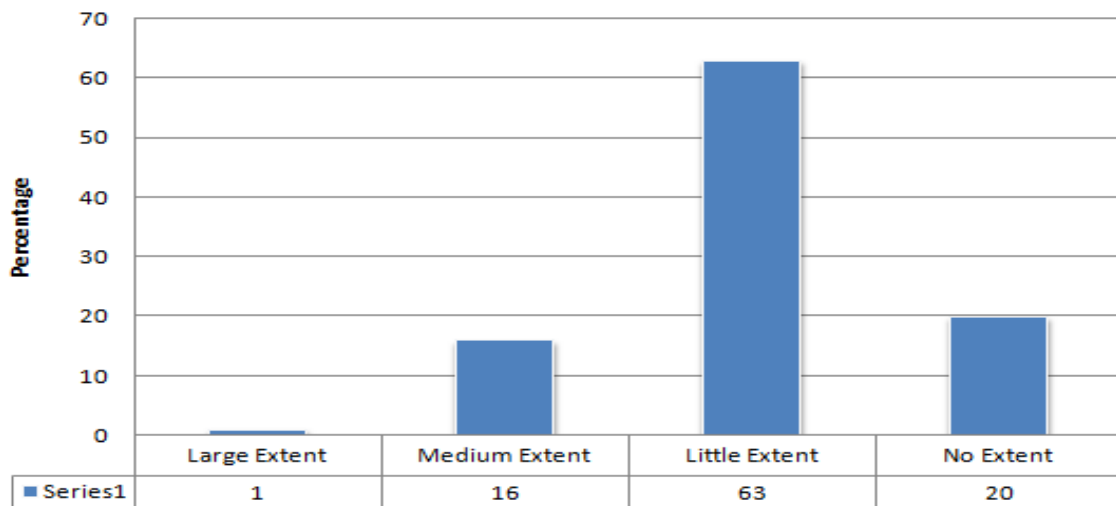
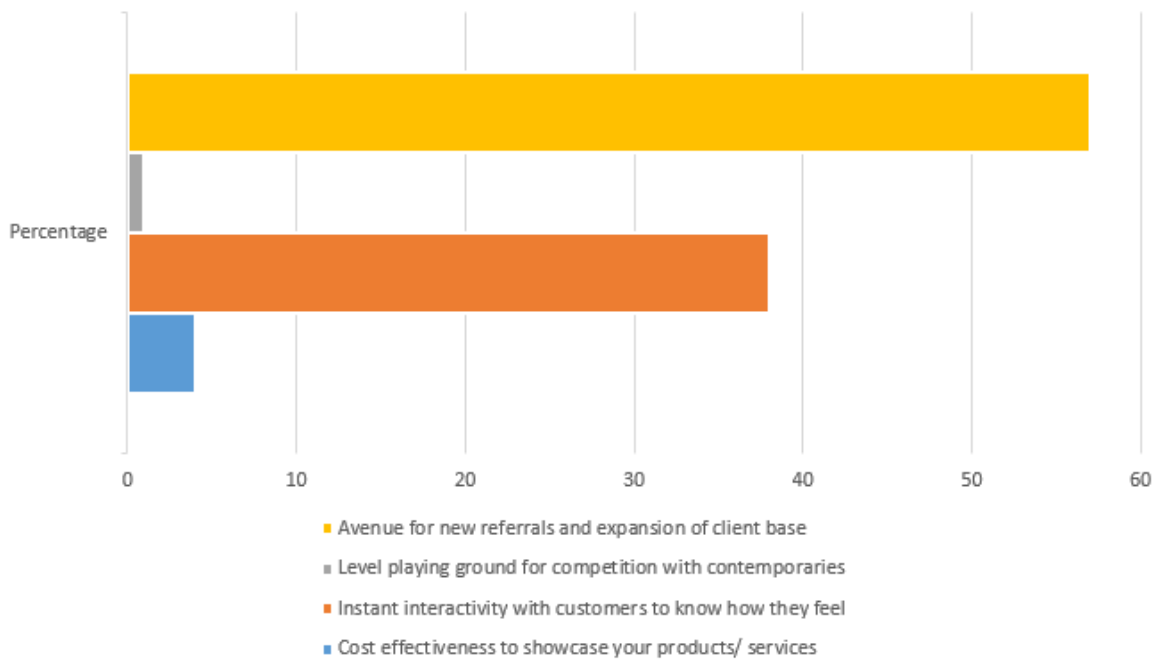**The extent social media are used by Nigerian companies to advertise products and services**

The benefit of online advertising on businesses
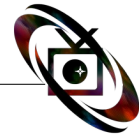
Online Advertising Advantages with the most impact on Businesses

Percentage

0   10   20   30   40   50   60

■ Avenue for new referrals and expansion of client base

■ Level playing ground for competition with contemporaries

■ Instant interactivity with customers to know how they feel

■ Cost effectiveness to showcase your products/ services

Major challenges Faced in effective use of online advertising

	Lack of Infrastructure	Quality control	Lack of qualified Personnel	Poor awareness
Yes	87	63	71	74
No	13	37	29	26

—— Yes   —— No

Method to Overcome Present Challenges Faced by effective online advertising

	Provision of the necessary infrastructure	Improve quality control	Creation of a functional communication department by organization	More Awareness
■ Yes	87	69	75	75
■ No	13	31	25	25

■ Yes ■ No
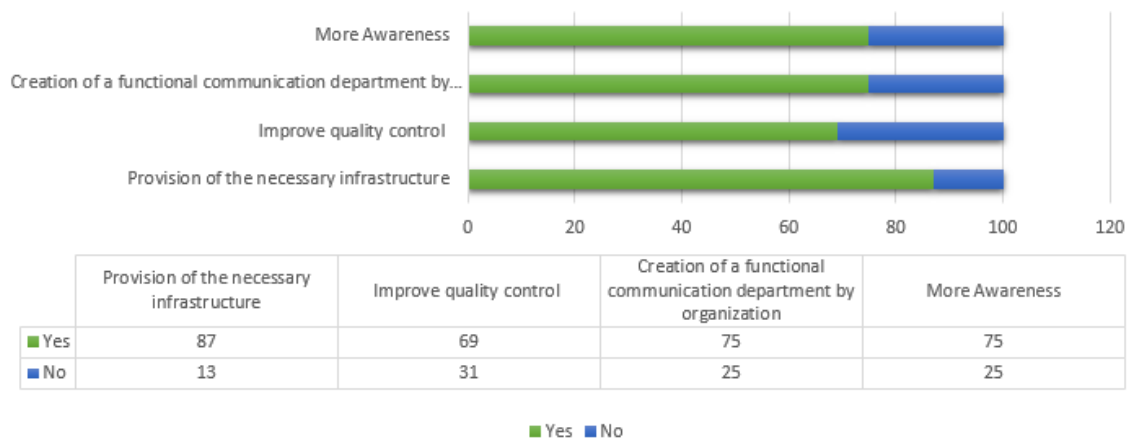
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

After a thorough analyses of both qualitative and quantitative data emanating from the survey and semi structured interviews, the study reveals that online advertising in Nigeria through platforms like Facebook and Instagram are not utilized as they should, despite obvious fact that a large sum of Nigerians are active users of these platforms making them already potential customers. Similarly, this illumination aligns with Endwell (2012) established that respondents are aware of the use of social media in advertising but only a few organizations that advertises on the platforms. Another study which supports this result is that of Folaranmi (2013) which says that "Nigeria is not Lagging behind when it among other social media users."

The work also reveals that customers expects to see more of their favorite brands advertise on social media, so they can be able to advice the brands how best to improve, this clearly is in line with what Endwell, Terna and Nyekwere (2013, p.130) said "From the foregoing finding, one can deduce that consumers expect a dialogue in social media, in which brands listen to what they have to say rather than simply pushing promotional marketing messages to them without taking into account what they think, feel, and want." The study also discovered that when it comes to what aspects social media advertisements are mostly targeted, majority of the respondents admitted that online advertising through social media accelerate instant decision making in keying to a product or service. Again, the work of Endwell, Terna and Nyekwere (2013) also brought up a discovery which is similar to the research discovery; theirs states that social
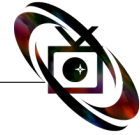
media advertising help make buying decisions either on the customer's accord or through recommendations by reviews or by their trusted friends. Singh (2012) also stated that his study also found out that online advertisements of brands and celebrity endorsement influences the behaviour of the potential buyer.

Another finding the study discovered is that amongst the uncountable benefits Nigerian businesses can benefit from online advertising like direct access to customers, an open forum to communicate with them and hear their views with regards to your brand, a level playing ground with contemporaries; majority of the respondents that were business owners selected an avenue for new referrals and expansion of client base. This simply means that

Findings from this study have contributed to the body of knowledge in the theory which anchored this study; Diffusion of Innovation Theory, revealed that alot of Nigerian business or brands are at different stages of using these platforms while some businesses already make use it as their main advertising platform, some are just beginning to accept the new concept and type of audience, some other businesses just register their presence in it and are not so active; while there are still some that do not even make us of it at all due to certain circumstances like lack of infrastructure, no professional hand to assist in running the arm of the business, ignorance of what to do or just under minding the potency of these new type of adverting and marketing. They are all at different stages of accepting and utilizing this innovation. Similarly, Nyekwere (2009, p. 22) also revealed in his study that "the success for any new innovation critically depends on the level of awareness, interest and adoption that is given to that innovation".

CONCLUSION

From this study, it is very obvious that Nigerian businesses are not doing enough to utilize the use of social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram as advertising platforms. There is evidence however that the few businesses that are already making use of it are benefiting tremendously, gaining a wider base of audience, not just locally but on a global scale; and massive boost in terms of sales or patronage. The consumers on the other hand are rapidly increasing in the adoption of these innovations, clearly showing their desire, for their favourite products and brands to become more personal with them. Creating a connection where they can contribute and make the brands serve them better. This automatically creates an already willing market for the businesses to explore.

Thus, this work is an eye opener for Nigerians who are into business and for those aspiring to start up one in future, which they should stop, wasting too much time the social media for just having fun and social activities, but start utilizing the various platforms to advertise their brands or products and get more closer to their customers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made:

i. Business owners or managers in Nigeria should change their perception about the social media as just a platform for social or fun activities, not really for serious individuals or business, but to start seeing it as a platform they can utilize and benefit from tremendously.

ii. There is need for institutions of learning to inculcate social media studies; and even branch it out into so many specializations like advertising, public relations, news gathering and reporting etc, into their curriculum of study. Young scholars need to be guided to the right path of this not new but yet still so broad and explore it, in order to expand its vast and untapped aspects for the benefit of not just the Nation but the world at large.

iii. There is need for the government to provide basic amenities like constant electricity and policies that will make internet providers to cut down on prices of internet access.

iv. The regulatory agency, Consumer Protection Council put together by the Government needs to put in more effort in monitoring Nigerian companies advertising on the social media. This agency should serve as a guide for consumers to be informed on which adverts are real and verified, and those that are not. Nigerian businesses will apply, get inspected in person and then registered on the agency's official media platforms. This will also enhance accountability, control and help in the eradication of fraudsters on the social media.

v. Businesses in Nigeria should consider employing professionals to handle their social media pages. In order to get the best out of these platforms, it is important to get someone with some level of knowledge and training in the field. The expertises will help guide the business in making the right type of discussions that can improve the business.

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MIRRORING THE CONFLICT SITUATION OF THE OIL-RICH NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA ON THE SCREEN: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE FILM - BLACK NOVEMBER

Joseph M. Lucas (a), Fatima D. Vakkai (b), Tordue Simon Targema (c)

(a) Taraba State University. Jalingo, Nigeria. Email: josephlucas928[at]gmail.com

(b) Taraba State University. Jalingo, Nigeria. Email: timadominic18[at]gmail.com

(c) Taraba State University. Jalingo, Nigeria. Email: torduesimon[at]gmail.com

Abstract

This study examines the potentials of film in managing conflict in the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria. This is against the backdrop that since the commencement of oil production in the region in the 1960s to date, it has continued to experience one form of armed conflict or the other. These manifest in several ways such as kidnapping of foreign oil workers, vandalization of oil facilities and confrontation with security operatives by militants, leaving adverse effects on the Nigerian economy which depends on crude oil as the major source of income. The paradox of plenty or resource curse that has come to characterize the region and how it can be addressed, therefore, is what prompts the current study. Using the Nollywood film- Black November, the study demonstrates that film is an instrument that can be used effectively to manage conflicts in the region. From the viewpoint of Singhal and Rogers' Entertainment-Education approach, the study adopts thematic analysis to identify and discuss the various themes embedded in the film. Findings indicate that several forces are behind the intractable conflict in the region as contained in the film, such as exploitation of resident communities by multinational oil companies, environmental degradation occasioned by oil spillage and gas flaring, and gross injustice, insincerity and human rights abuse by security operatives that make the people lose faith and confidence in both them and the government which they represent. Other causes include betrayal and corruption on the part of community leaders and the burning fire of patriotism in the youth who are determined to fight for their rights. Given the rich thematic embodiment of the film, the study concludes that film has potentials which, if effectively harnessed, will go a long way in managing conflicts in the society.

Keywords

film; conflict management; Niger Delta; Nigeria; Black November; media; visual communication

ОТРАЖЕНИЕ КОНФЛИКТНОЙ СИТУАЦИИ В БОГАТОМ НЕФТЬЮ РЕГИОНЕ ДЕЛЬТЫ РЕКИ НИГЕР В НИГЕРИИ НА ЭКРАНЕ: ТЕМАТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ФИЛЬМА "ЧЕРНЫЙ НОЯБРЬ"

Лукас Джозеф М. (a), Ваккай Фатима Д. (b), Таргема Торду Симон (c)

(a) Государственный университет Тараба. Джалинго, Нигерия. Email: josephlucas928[at]gmail.com

(b) Государственный университет Тараба. Джалинго, Нигерия. Email: timadominic18[at]gmail.com

(c) Государственный университет Тараба. Джалинго, Нигерия. Email: torduesimon[at]gmail.com

Аннотация

В исследовании рассматриваются возможности фильма в управлении конфликтами в богатой нефтью дельте реки Нигер в Нигерии. С начала добычи нефти в регионе в 1960-х годах и до настоящего времени в дельте не прекращались те или иные формы вооруженного конфликта. Их причины разнообразны: похищение иностранных нефтяников, вандализация нефтяных объектов и столкновение с боевиками, проводящими операции по обеспечению безопасности. Все это негативно сказывается на экономике Нигерии, зависящей от сырой нефти как основного источника дохода. Этому региону присущ так называемый парадокс изобилия или проклятие богатых ресурсов, и текущее исследование рассматривает меры с помощью которого эту проблему можно было бы разрешить. Объектом исследования является фильм «Черный ноябрь». Исследование показывает, что фильм - это инструмент, который можно эффективно использовать для управления конфликтами в регионе. Используя подход Сингхала и Роджерса «Развлечение-Образование», автор подвергает фильм тематическому анализу для выявления и обсуждения различных, включенных в фильм тем. Результаты исследования указывают на то, что за описанном в фильме неразрешимым конфликтом в регионе стоят несколько сил, таких как эксплуатация местных сообществ многонациональными нефтяными компаниями, ухудшение состояния окружающей среды, вызванное разливом нефти и сжиганием газа, а также грубая несправедливость, неискренность и нарушение прав человека со стороны силовиков, из-за чего люди теряют доверие как к ним, так и к правительству, которое они представляют. Другие причины включают предательство и коррупцию со стороны общественных лидеров и накал патриотизма среди молодежи, полной решимости бороться за свои права. Учитывая богатое тематическое наполнение фильма, автор приходит к выводу, что у фильма есть потенциал, который, если его эффективно использовать, может иметь большое значение для разрешения конфликтов в социуме.

Ключевые слова

INTRODUCTION

The spate of violent conflicts that has engulfed present day Nigeria is alarming. Top on the array of such conflicts are the prolonged Niger Delta militancy in the oil-rich Niger Delta region, the Boko Haram insurgency in the North Eastern region, and the myriad of ethnic cum religious conflicts, prominently, the herders/farmers conflicts that have spread through the North Central/North Eastern regions, and increased in intensity over the past few years. Considering the devastating effects of these conflicts on the socio-economic wellbeing of the masses, and the rate at which new forms of violent conflicts erupt in the country on daily basis, it is safe to note that the complexity of the conflict situation in Nigeria is, indeed, deepening by the day. Several factors culminate into these conflicts, principal among which include the struggle for scarce resources such as land, environmental degradation occasioned by exploitation of mineral resources, the struggle for political power, religious intolerance and ethnic chauvinism among an endless array of others (Orounye, 2012; Yuguda & Goni, 2013; Abdulsalam, 2014). The Niger Delta conflict is particularly unique for several reasons. First, it has one of the longest histories among the various conflicts bedeviling the country now, dating back to the 1960s when the exploration of crude oil began in the region. The conflict passes through several stages of evolution, with each stage assuming a unique posture, but maintaining the same goal, which is, demanding for a fair share of the resources tapped from the region, and reduction in, or fair compensation to the damage which the activities of oil exploitation cause to the region and its environment.

Second, it is a conflict which the major perpetrators clearly itemize their demands, (which are not only legitimate, but also genuine), and utilize appropriate channels of communication to make the demands known to all concerned stakeholders. This effort has attracted a lot of international agencies to look into the conflict and explore strategies to mitigate it, and has also compelled the various administrations that have ruled the country over the years to come up with measures towards finding lasting solutions to the conflict, such as the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NNDC) by former President Olusegun Obasanjo in the year 2000 (Nwankwo, 2015). The intensive deployment of the media of communication to complement the efforts towards pressing home, the demands and concerns of the region, and projecting to the whole word, the realities in the region that have continued to nurture and sustain the conflict over the years, is what ignites the current study.
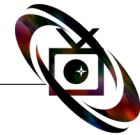
Jeta Amata in his film - *Black November* vividly presents the complexity of the conflict situation in the region. His film can be best described as an attempt to bring unto the screen, the multifaceted nature of the causes of constant conflicts and unrest in the region. From Gallo's complexity and systems approach to conflict analysis (Gallo, 2012), it is glaring that the film x-rays some of the factors that make the conflict situation in the region a very complex one. This complexity as portrayed in the film stems from the fact that many institutions in the society are culpable for the continued occurrence of the conflict. It is against this backdrop that this study interrogates the strategic role of film as interventionist medium in managing conflict in the region, by exploring the thematic embodiment of the film with the aim to demonstrate how well film can help to articulate the right messages that would lead to desired solution(s) to societal problems that always result in violent conflicts.

NIGER DELTA CONFLICT: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE CAUSES, MANIFESTATION AND CONSEQUENCES

The Niger Delta question has been interrogated at several forums, both at academic gatherings, and at national and international levels. As a result, a corpus of literature exists, that documents the causes, nature, manifestations, consequences and mitigation strategies of the conflict that preoccupies the region over the years. The area which is described as the Niger Delta region of Nigeria lies between latitudes 4o and 6o north of the Equator and 4o and 8o east of the Greenwich. It comprises nine out of the thirty-six states that make up the Federal Republic of Nigeria. These are: Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Edo, Imo, Rivers, Bayelsa, Delta, Abia and Ondo, making it coterminous with all of Nigeria's oil producing states (Afinotan & Ojakorotu 2009). (Nwankwo, 2015, p. 383) notes that the history of conflict in the Niger Delta region dates back to 'the Akassa Raid of 1895, when the inhabitants of the area resisted economic domination by British merchants... the consequences of which included the British invalidation and overthrow of the Royal Niger Company (RNC) and later colonialism'. The discovery of crude oil deposit in the region in the 1950s, and subsequent exploration and exploitation of the resources resulted in quite a number of issues which have continued to sustain the renewed spirit of violent conflicts that have come to characterize the region over the years (ibid).

Among the numerous causes of conflict in the region, (Nwankwo, 2015) highlights two leading causes, namely: the struggle for control over resources and the issue of environmental degradation occasioned by the

activities of multinational oil companies. The question of who will control the oil resources in the region has been a contentious one ever since the exploitation of oil in the region began. (Nwankwo, 2015) notes that, prior to oil exploitation in the country; agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. During this period, derivation formula was pegged at 50%, the implication of which was that the individual regions were entitled to 50% of the income they generated. This has been reversed with the discovery of crude oil, where derivation formula dropped to 1.5 % then grew to 3% and currently, it is at 13%. The change was based on the government's argument that oil is an accident of geographical location, an arrangement that does not augur well with the Niger Delta region which has crude oil deposit in abundance. Revenue allocation, thus, has become the major point of contestation and agitation in the region. The second major cause of conflicts in the region is the issue of environmental degradation. Citing Uwadiae, (Nwankwo, 2015) maintains that:

> The region has been faced with the problems of oil spillages and gas flaring, which have caused serious atmospheric pollution, ground water and soil contamination, constant heat around the flare pits and abnormal salinity of the pool water, resulting in serious health hazards for the local inhabitants, and of course, grave disturbance to the life cycles of plants and animals in the region (p. 383).

Accordingly, (Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2009) enumerates other causes of conflict in the region to include rising level of poverty, political subjugation and internal colonization, and failed expectations on the part of people of the region, who feel that the nation relies on resources from their region for sustenance, but leaves them impoverished and deprived. Agitations by militant groups in the region, thus, are premised on this reality, and the demand for social amenities and infrastructural development in the region to make life easy for inhabitants has dominated the agenda of the various militia groups that have emerged in the region. The perception of the people within the host communities of the Niger Delta is that, rather than achieve development, oil production in the region has bedeviled the communities with environmental degradation, mass poverty and oppression, coupled with cases of human rights violations by government security agents in the region (Nwankwo, 2015).

It is in pursuit of economic empowerment and emancipation of the region that Isaac Adaka Boro in 1966 led a revolution that resulted in the formation of the Niger Delta Republic. The leaders of the failed republic had intended to put pressure on the federal government through civil disobedience to redress the economic imbalance created through oil exploration/exploitation in the region, thereby making it difficult for the people

to engage in farming and fishing, which are mainly the vocations of the people of the region. The protest, though unsuccessful, created the basis for the continuing agitation among concerned groups that are fighting for the liberation of the Niger Delta people. Long after Boro's agitation, the situation in the region remains unaddressed as expected, a reality that prompted the renowned environmental activist, Ken Sarowiwa to embark on another peaceful struggle for the emancipation of the Ogoni People from state-imposed poverty in the 1990s (Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2009; Nwankwo 2015).

Today, the struggle in the region has come a long way, and has given rise to so many protest groups fighting for economic liberation, many which have come and gone, with some still in existence. These, according to (Afinotan & Ojakorotu 2009), and (Nwankwo, 2015) include the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC), and Movement for the Survival of the Ijaw Ethnic Nationality (MOSEIN). Others include the Pan-Niger Delta Resistance Movement, the Environmental Rights Action (ERA), the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC); the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), and the Movement for Reparation to Ogbia (MORETO). Accordingly, the mode of operation of these groups varies, and ranges from peaceful protests, media warfare and appeal, and in extreme cases, physical violence such as vandalization of oil facilities, kidnapping of oil workers (mostly Europeans) and confrontations with security officers. Another worrying dimension to the manifestation of these conflicts is the emergence of ethnic nationalism, which has helped to deepen the complexity of the Niger delta problematic, as (Nwankwo, 2015) notes, that:

> Ethnic nationalism in the Niger-Delta has become one of the major problems in the region, as many people under the disguise of fighting for the economic emancipation of the Niger-Delta people exploit the oil companies and federal government by demanding money that never gets to the hands of the downtrodden citizens in the Niger-Delta region (p. 384).

Consequently, the effects of the constant squabbles between militant groups in the region and oil companies/security agencies are multifaceted, with serious impact on the country's GDP.
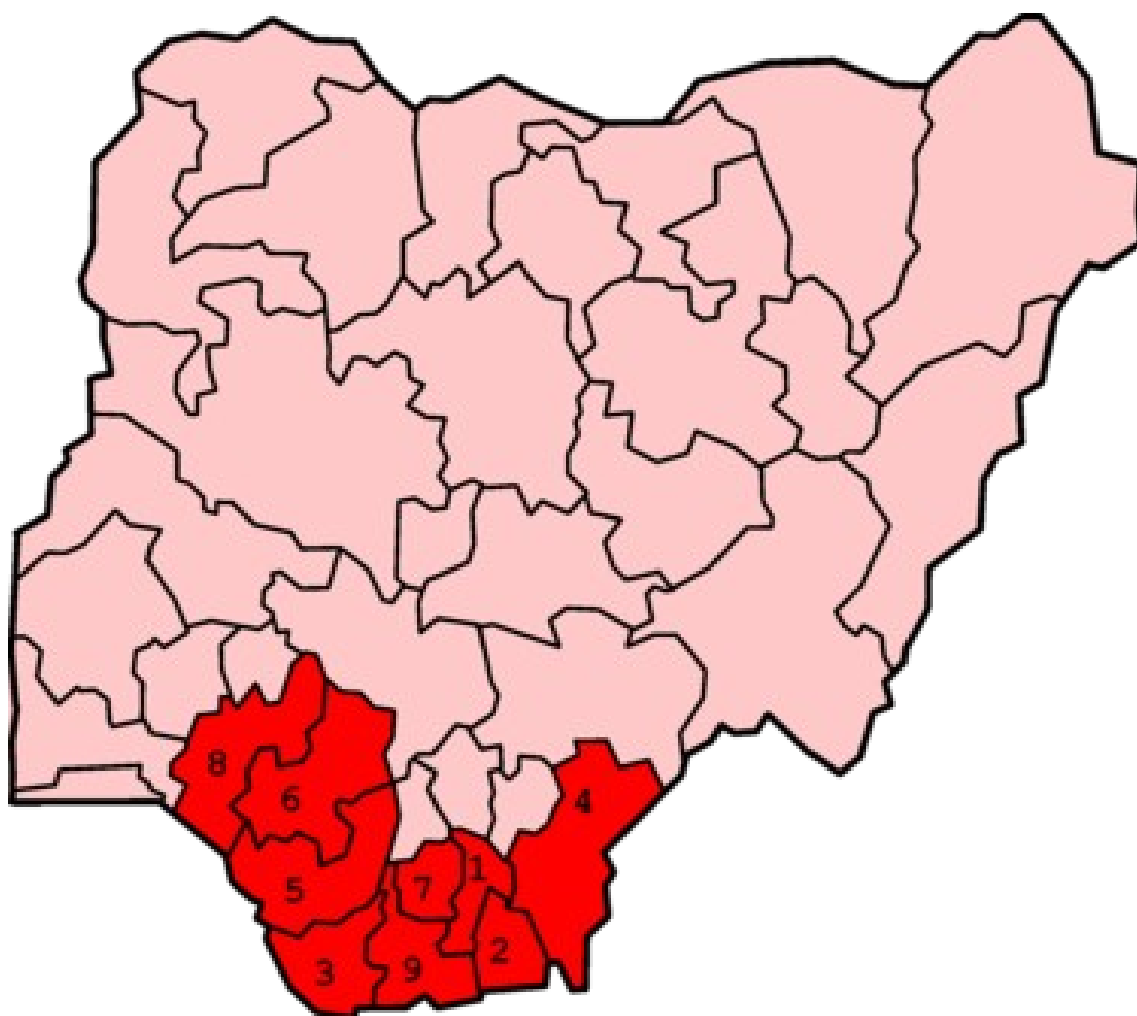
1. Abia	4. Cross River	7. Imo
2. Akwa Ibom	5. Delta	8. Ondo
3. Bayelsa	6. Edo	9. Rivers

Fig.1. Map of Nigeria showing the nine states that make up the Niger Delta region

Governments over the years have come up with strategies to minimize the occurrence of violent conflicts in the region, such as the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Board (NNDB) in 1960, the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992, the Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund (PTF) in 1995, the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000, and the establishment of the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs in 2008 (Okolie-Osemene, as cited in Nwankwo 2015). These agencies are saddled with the responsibility of cushioning the effects of oil production activities on the environment and its residents.
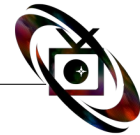
Several development projects have been executed in this regard, courtesy of these agencies. Also, in attempt to reduce the plights of people in the region, the various multinational oil companies operating in the region evolve corporate social responsibility measures which address multi-faceted issues ranging from granting of scholarships to residents of the region, provision of social amenities such as roads, blocks of classrooms and safe drinking water. These measures exist side-by-side with their numerous shortcomings, and are often times, accused of been exploitative in nature. The security Joint Task Force that are always drafted and sent to the region to quell riots are not spared of misdoings either, and are accused of several ills such as human rights abuse, raping and extrajudicial killings of citizens among others. These, coupled with internal domination by elites in the region, have deepened the complexity of the conflict situation in the region, and made it to remain intractable and unresolved despite the measures put in place to tame it (Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2009; Nwankwo, 2015).

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES: FILM AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

A lay man's understanding of film is as simple as film being a flexible strip of plastic, or other material coated with light sensitive emulsion for exposure in a camera, used to produce photographs or motion pictures. This perception conceives of film as merely a story or event recorded by a camera as a set of moving images and shown in a cinema or on television. A dipper layer of meaning, however, can be inferred from the word. (Nwabueze, 2014) defines film as motion picture production for audience entertainment or information dissemination. It could be in form of movies involving interesting plots for audience entertainment, or documentary films aimed at enlightening the audience on specific themes, subjects or issues. Quite often, the terms- film, movie and motion picture are used interchangeably, but the main idea that runs through them is that they contain a series of still photographs, projected in rapid succession onto a screen by means of light.

Film in recent times has become an art, studied because of its unique potential of packaging and projecting reality to society (Owens-Ibie & Ademosu, 2017; Suntai & Targema, 2017; Chile & Targema, 2017). (Jacobs, n.d., p. 1) succinctly captures this description of movies in the following words: 'Movies are entertainment. Movies are documents of their time and place. Movies are artistic forms of self-expression. Movies we see at theatres, on television or home video are typically narrative films. They

tell stories about characters going through experiences...' From this asser-
tion, it could be deduced that films are forms of entertainment media that
package and present to the society, the realities of human existence,
where the various characters act out the issue at stake for the audience.

Citing McLuhan, (Kurfi, 2017) notes that, the movie is not only a
supreme expression of mechanism, but paradoxically, it offers as a prod-
uct, the most magical of consumer commodities, namely: dreams. It is,
therefore, not accidental that the movie has excelled as a medium that
offers poor people roles of riches and power beyond the dreams of
avarice. Empirical researches have established that film has potentials
which if well harnessed, can go a long way in effectively managing con-
flicts in society (see Kurfi, 2017). (Nykon, 2011) argues for the deployment
of film towards amicable resolution of conflict in the society. According to
him:

> Nurturing a belief in universal humanity and the efficacy of peaceful alternatives
> to violence can be achieved by modeling such behaviors, beliefs and attitudes in
> mainstream film. The resulting films would be 'humanizing' as opposed to 'dehu-
> manizing' and thus constitute a positive contribution to society (p. 18).

Conflict appears to be one of the most studied concepts in the hu-
manities and social sciences. This is because it occupies a central stage in
the process of human existence, and has continued to redefine relation-
ships between people and communities. Although proliferation of defini-
tions abound for the concept, this study subscribes to the definition of
(Anstey, 2008), who states that: conflict exists in a relationship when *par-
ties* believe their *aspirations* cannot be achieved *at the same time*, or per-
ceive a *divergence* in their *values, needs or interests* (latent) and *purpose-
fully* mobilize the power that is available to them in an effort to *eliminate,
neutralize, or change* each other to protect or further their interests in the
interaction (manifest conflict). Conflict, thus, is a situation of intense dis-
agreement (that could, or could not result in physical violence) over re-
sources or ends shared by two parties (emphasis, original).

Conflict management is the process of handling conflicts in the soci-
ety in such a way that will minimize frequent occurrence of violent con-
flicts, and pave the way for amicable resolution of latent conflicts that ex-
ist among people. (Jeong, 2010) presents four major approaches for effec-
tive conflict management and resolution, these are: negotiation, media-
tion, facilitation and reconciliation.

> ***Negotiation*** - is a process of bargaining to attain mutual ground among two
> conflicting parties in a conflict, where both parties shift grounds and arrive at a
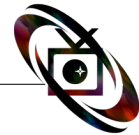
common ground, thereby, paving the way for amicable resolutions. It entails 'trading of concessions and invention of options for mutual gain', where the interests of each party are sought and 'commonly agreeable solutions' are explored (Jeong, 2010, p. 153)

Mediation - involves a third party in the process of conflict resolution. It is the coming in of a third (and of course, neutral) party to help the conflicting parties negotiate and amicably resolve their differences.

Facilitation - enhancing mutual understanding of parties in a dispute, where group discussion or interaction is designed for a collective search for problem solving based on mutual understanding of the issues and sources of problems

Reconciliation - the immediate post-conflict activity which deals with mending relationships that have been spoiled as a result of the conflict, it is the process of re-uniting the conflicting parties to embrace themselves once again and forge ahead as one (see also, Egbefo, Mohammed, Apara & Ngarka, 2010).

Apparently, all these processes of conflict management and resolution rely on the mass media for success, and what makes film particularly important in the process is its ability to create and resolve conflicts. At the end of every film, viewers acquire skill on how to engage in the various processes of conflict management. (Kurfi, 2017, p. 335) agrees with this position, when he summits that: 'film and conflict are interrelated. Perhaps, this is why one hardly sees a film without conflict as one of its elements. Film deliberately creates and resolves conflict basically to educate viewers on how to handle conflict related issues.' This potential of film makes it a vibrant tool in the process of conflict management and resolution, as we would discuss in depth in the subsequent sections.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is hinged on the Entertainment-Education approach. Also referred to as the E-E approach to behavior change communication, Entertainment-Education approach is a brainchild of Arvind Singhal and the eminent scholar, Everett Rogers (1999). In the simplest of terms, Entertainment-Education is an approach in which social messages are incorporated into entertainment programs. According to (Singhal & Rogers, 1999):

Entertainment-education is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior. Entertainment- Education seeks to capitalize on the appeal of popular media to show individuals how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives (p. 12).

Entertainment Education is a deliberate attempt to weave education and morality into entertainment oriented media content with a view to enhancing positive attitudinal change. According to (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p. 342), 'thoughtful, deliberate, and purposeful embedding of educational messages in entertainment genres, in all their nuance and complexity, is central to the entertainment education strategy'. Entertainment Education is a media strategy that enables the producer to use one stone and kill two birds- entertainment and education at the same time (Suntai & Targema, 2017). Entertainment-Education comes in many forms including serial drama, broadcast on television and radio, cartoons, interactive talk shows and folk media. Elaborating further, a report by Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (cited in Suntai & Targema, 2017) lists public service announcements, situation comedy, feature films, reality programming, magazine or variety programs, theatre and street theatre, forum or interactive theatre, animated cartoons, comic books or graphic novels and photonovelas, internet and mobile phone programming as some of the media where Entertainment Education find expression.

Entertainment-Education has been widely applied in health communication and agricultural extension programs, where research evidence indicates positive results. Notable examples include the *Soul City* television and radio program in South Africa which was initiated in 1994, and has, over the years, been the leading program in educating the people on HIV/ AIDS and other related health diseases (McPhail, 2009; Tufte, 2002). The Tanzanian Soap Opera- *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times) was also established in 1993 to serve two main purposes- to inform the population about the different ways to deal with the AIDS problem, and also to inform the public about family planning techniques (McPhail, 2009). This program was modeled on the Entertainment-Education approach, and was quite instrumental in achieving the desired attitudinal change. Other programs on the media that are aimed at achieving attitudinal change such as BBC's *The Archers*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's *Farm Radio Forum,* among several others adopt the Entertainment-Education approach, and have recorded varying degrees of success.

Similarly, several academic researches have been anchored on the principles of Entertainment-Education approach. (Katu-Ogundimu, 2013) who reviews a Nigerian Nollywood film- *Jenifa*, finds it worthy and educating using the Entertainment-Education lenses. The study identifies and discusses three major themes- crisis of social class identity, women as victims of societal vices and 'sexploitation' of women by women. These have been discussed as depicted in the movie vis-à-vis contemporary realities,

given that they are among the major issues that bug society, particularly, the female gender. (Suntai & Targema, 2017) also adopt the Entertainment-Education approach to explore the thematic embodiment of the computer-animated film- *Madagascar Escape 2 Africa.* The study finds the film worthy in terms of thematic endowment, with relevant themes to the personality development of children such as the relevance of every talent/skill, the power of unity, love, innovation and adventure. Thus, given its relevance in both theoretical and practical applications, Entertainment-Education approach is a suitable framework to anchor discussion in the current study.

METHOD

This study adopts qualitative content analytical approach to explore and discuss in depth, the various themes embedded in the film under review. Qualitative content analytical approach as used in the study is a thematic analysis that enables the researchers to engage intimately with the communication material in order to unravel the various themes contained therein. Using this method, therefore, the major ideas in the film are grouped into themes and discussed, vis-à-vis the conflict situation and realities of the Niger Delta region.

THE FILM - *BLACK NOVEMBER*

Black November presents a struggle by activists in the Niger Delta region to emancipate the people of the region from the untold hardships that arise from oil exploitation in the region. Gas flaring and oil spillage cause serious damage to lives, property and the environment, making life difficult for the people. In an attempt to put an end to this hardship, Ebiere, a beneficiary of Western Oil Company Scholarship lends voice to her people, gaining their monumental support. The spirit of patriotism, though shared by all, is, however, perceived differently from the viewpoints of those involved in the liberation movement. For instance, while Ebiere believes strongly in non-violence and peaceful protest, Dede, (her fiancé) and his fellow youths believe in violence, as according to them, '… *the only language the West understands is violence…'* This disparity in ideology complicates the struggle for liberation in the region, thus, setting the tune for the movie.

Attempts by Ebiere to actualize her vision of peaceful protests on several occasions end in dead lucks, compounded by non-cooperative security agencies that see protests and mass mobilization of citizens as attempts to overthrow the military government, and as a result, do all they

can to clampdown on the masses and frustrate civil protests. Worst still, community leaders collaborate with the Western Oil Company to exploit the masses, as cases of gas flaring and oil spillage are on the rise, forcing Dede and his fellow compatriots to explore the option of violence. Quickly mobilizing themselves to the creeks under the umbrella of the United Peoples Front for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta People of Nigeria, they commence kidnapping of foreigners working in oil companies, vandalization of oil facilities and hostilities towards the Western Oil Company.

The Western Oil Company's move to use Ebiere and achieve meaningful dialogue with the militants results in the eventual death of Dede, the leader of the movement, alongside several other militants and security personnel, thus, worsening the conflict situation. Security operatives did not help matters either, as cases of human right abuses such as bullying and molestation of residents, harassment and rapping of women in the region are on the increase. Meanwhile, nemesis catches up with the four community leaders who share money received from the Western Oil Company among themselves, as one of them confesses, renounces the act and opts to return the money, given the rising degree of injustice and violence in the land. Threatened by this development, the trio conspires against him and poisons him to death.

A mob action by residents ends up in jungle justice for the three chiefs who are locked inside a car, and set ablaze. Ebiere who understands the mischief that government is up to, offers herself as a sacrificial lamb to save the rest of the community members, who indeed, spearhead the murder, from mass execution. Tamuno, Dede's cousin who resigns from the Nigerian Police Force because of its insincerity in handling the conflict situation in the region and joins the United Peoples Front for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta People of Nigeria, sets to set Ebiere free. He quickly mobilizes his gang to the U.S., and holds hostage, Tom Hudson, the chairman, Western Oil Company in Nigeria to bargain for Ebiere's release. Intelligence tactics from the U.S. anti-terrorism and security agencies, however, prevail, and Ebiere hangs on a noose in the premises of Warri prison, thereby, paying the ultimate price for her dear land.

EMERGING THEMES AND DISCUSSION

Black November is endowed with themes that are reflective of the realities in the Niger Delta region. This section identifies and discusses some of the themes under three broad categories, viz: the causes of militancy,
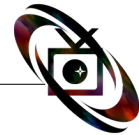
armed struggle and restiveness in the Niger Delta region, the spirit of patriotism and the quest to fight for the rights of the masses, and mobilization for peaceful, non-violent struggle with its concomitant multifaceted challenges. Collectively, these themes have articulated the agenda for a nonviolent movement in the conflict-ridden region towards achieving a lasting solution to the myriad of problems bedeviling it.

MAJOR CAUSES OF MILITANCY AND ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION

The major causes of constant struggles and militancy in the Niger Delta region as portrayed in the film are:

Environmental degradation, occasioned by oil spillage and gas flaring

The film demonstrates this issue as one of the major causes of conflict in the region. Prior to the discovery of crude oil in the region, farming and fishing were the major occupations of inhabitants (Apuke, 2017). However, with the commencement of oil exploitation in the region, constant oil spillage from pipelines leaves the land infertile, with damaging effects on the rivers and their resources. To this end, oil exploitation has deprived inhabitants of the region of their traditional occupations, with no alternative to rely on. Tamuno articulates this message as the reason why the gang embarks on the armed struggle, thus: '*my people are dying, our lands are devastated, our farmlands, livestock, wildlife…*' Similarly, in an exchange of words with security operatives at the scene of a licking pipeline, one of the women leaders query: '*so what would you rather we do? Stand by and watch the property of the federal government of Nigeria spill and spoil our land?*' Indeed, all through the film, the damaging effects of oil exploitation is constantly portrayed, so that the audience will get to understand the extent of environmental degradation in the region, occasioned by oil production. Plates 1 and 2 below are screenshots of environmental effects of oil production activities in the region.

Plates 1&2: Screenshots of dead fish as a result of oil spillage, and pipeline blast in the film

Exploitation of the masses by oil companies

This is also among the major causes of conflict in the Niger Delta region. This becomes rather complicated as local elites join the oil companies to extend the frontiers of the exploitation, as (Galtung, 1971) postulates in his theory of structural imperialism. *Black November* depicts this reality extensively; in fact, it is one of the most occurring messages echoed in the film. For instance, after a clash with security operatives at the scene of a licking pipeline that leaves scores of residents killed, the Western Oil Company offers to compensate the people. However, the delegation drafted from the company only succeeds in pitching one family against the other, resulting in a chaotic gathering. It is at this point that Ebiere assumes her role as the mouthpiece of the masses; her opinion carries the day, when she addresses the gathering as follows:

> *Good show, good show you put up here, another wonderful way of pitching family against family, or would I say man against man, you come here, enriching yourselves from the spoils of our land, in the process, wiping out families and generations. Yet you keep the foul burning, keep the people unrest, and they would rely on you. What they do is give us sickness, and then treat us, they make us hungry, and then feed us, they kill our loved ones, and then offer us money for burial. Can you not see their plan? It is high time you start to think more of the people, other than your selfish fat pockets... if you do not change your ways, the people will rise.*

This, no doubt, sparks the revolutionary fire of Dede and his fellow compatriots in the struggle, culminating into the United Peoples Front for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta People of Nigeria. While holding

Tom Hudson hostage in the U.S., the terrorists, led by Tamuno articulate their basis for agitation as follows: '*50% of our oil comes to the United States*' '*one, out of every five Americans uses Nigerian oil*' '*we export crude oil to you people, only to import refined oil, why? Because Western Oil and our corrupt government won't allow our refineries to work.*'

This revolutionary spirit is ignited by the exploitative mode of operation of Western Oil, which has co-opts few indigenes of the Niger Delta to help exploit the people to the fullest. Efforts by Western Oil to woo Ebiere to its side, however, prove abortive, as she chooses to speak for her people. This exploitative disposition of multinational companies has been criticized for perpetuating underdevelopment in Third World nations. (Stiglitz, 2006) notes that they hold the economies of such smaller nations to ransom, and help to actualize the 'paradox of plenty', or what is also referred to as resource curse for many developing nations with rich mineral deposits.

Betrayal and corruption: the failure of community leaders and stakeholders

Another worrying dimension to the conflict in the Niger Delta region is the role of dubious community leaders. Often times, they are used as the whip with which oil companies chastise residents. (Nwankwo, 2015) decries this unfortunate trend when he notes, that:

> Ethnic nationalism in the Niger-Delta has become one of the major problems in the region, as many people under the disguise of fighting for the economic emancipation of the Niger-Delta people exploit the oil companies and federal government by demanding money that never gets to the hands of the downtrodden citizens ... (p. 384).

The four community leaders who represent their people in a dialogue with Western Oil in Abuja after a blast of a pipeline demonstrate this reality. They share the 500$ offered by the oil company among themselves, and devote just a small fraction to the victims. Corruption is so pervasive in dealings of the oil company with resident communities to the extent that the CEO, Tom Hudson, would tease: '*what Nigerian does not accept a bribe?*' As one would rightly expect, several attempts are made to woo Ebiere to the side of the Western Oil company given her increasing popularity among the people, but to no avail.

A mediator between Western Oil and host communities insists: '*this is Nigeria Ebiere, think like a Nigerian...this is not a bribe, it is just the company's way of saying 'we appreciate your efforts...'.*' Ebiere's response to him is rather demeaning and embarrassing: '*I really do appreciate this, but*

I must decline your offer. If I had wanted a lucrative job, I would have stayed back in the U.S. My desire to be here is for the people.' Thus, she distinguishes herself as an activist who has her people at heart, and spearheads their course.

To the credit of the film, the corrupt leaders have paid for their betrayal. The saga leaks in the long run and the angry residents dispense jungle justice on them. This is sure a lesson to all who have the mandate to represent their communities in different capacities. At the end of the film, the viewer sees the extent to which community leaders who are supposed to speak for their people are complacent, and turns to be agents of oppression in the hands of the oil companies, thus deepening the complexity of the conflict.

Injustice, lack of sincerity and human rights abuse by security agencies

Empirical evidence documents the gross human right abuse perpetrated by security agencies in the Niger Delta region. *Black November* depicts this reality in details, as the film is replete with scenes that show security operatives molesting, humiliating and dehumanizing innocent civilians. No doubt, security operatives have contributed a lot to the deteriorating security situation in the region according to the film. Their zero-tolerance posture to peaceful protest translates into armed struggle, kidnapping and valdalization of oil facilities by the youth. It is pathetic to watch officers of the Nigerian army brutalize innocent vulnerable women protesting at the premises of Western Oil Company. At a particular scene in the movie, an officer of the Nigerian Police Force lit fire at a licking pipeline, killing scores of residents. Husbands watch in complete shock as officers of the Nigerian Army rape their wives in broad daylight.

These acts of injustice coming from security operatives diminish the confidence of the masses in them, and ignite violent struggle and restiveness among the youth in the region. Since security operatives represent the state, residents have lost faith in the government as well, and the 'patriotic' youth are prepared, with their minds hardened after several experiences of betrayal, molestation and killing by security operatives, to go extra mile, fighting for their rights. Plates 3 and 4 below are screenshots of human right abuses by security operatives in the film.
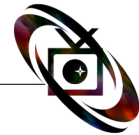
Plates 3&4: Screenshots of military officers rapping a woman in the presence of her husband, and military officers bullying women in a protest

PATRIOTISM AND THE QUEST TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE MASSES

Failed expectations and negligence by the government and oil companies result in movements to emancipate the people of the region from the damaging effects of oil production activities on their land. Patriotic spirit in the film is represented by the roles of Ebiere, Dede, Tamuno and their fellow compatriots. However, expression of this patriotism varies based on orientations of the various activists. Ebiere believes in peaceful protest and is determined to go to whatever length in her fight for justice, thanks to the Western Oil scholarship which empowers her for the challenge. She, thus, takes it upon herself to mobilize the people along this line, and forms a vibrant non-violent movement that threatens even the authorities. She hinges her struggle on the quest to actualize the desired emancipation through non-violent process: '*violence never pays, there are better ways of sending a message across'* is her favorite maxim. On how to make the struggle a reality, she explains: '*we can match down the streets of Lagos and Abuja, we can make the whole word hear our cries.*'

This, however, is not as easy as Ebiere envisions, as the incorporation of youth makes it difficult to draw a distinction between the struggle which is intended to be a non-violent movement, and an armed struggle. Dede, leader of the youth, also sees it as a point of honor to fight for his land, and is determined to give his life for the course: '*at least I'll die fighting for something I believe in, fighting for my land...'* he confides in Ebiele. This conviction he shares with his peers, although he does not believe in

peaceful protest: '*I don't believe in doing this thing with protest, I want to fight, I want to make life unbearable for them...*' Tamuno (Dede's cousin who has resigned from the Nigerian Police Force and joined the liberation movement, and would later become the leader after the demise of Dede) also shares in this vision, as he declares to Ebiere who is shocked to see him in the terrorist camp: '*do not be surprised, my people are my people, I would rather die on the right side...*'

With this mindset, the youth anchor their struggle on violence, and give it expression through kidnapping of American oil workers and destruction of oil facilities. Ebiere, who is coopted to persuade the militants to lay down arms, finds the task really challenging, as negotiating a compromise between security operatives and the militants seems impossible, given the atmosphere of mutual distrust that prevails from both camps. Notwithstanding, she persuades the rebels to give in to the option of dialogue:

> *They have requested that you lay your arms ...before you consider the option [of violence], they have asked for dialogue, this is an opportunity for you to be free, a chance for you to return to your families...give peace a chance, give dialogue a chance...*

At the end of the film, Ebiere, Dede and Tamuno prove their patriotism and commitment to the liberation movement beyond reasonable doubt. Dede offers to, and eventually dies with security operatives in the course of the struggle, his death which inspires Ebiere to be stronger and more determined as she declares during his interment:

> *They have killed our brothers, our sisters, our fathers, our mothers, even our children, but what they cannot kil is our spirit, for every time they put a knife through us we only get stronger, so this time, for Dede, we will be strong, for Dede...*

In the same manner, Ebiere offers herself as a sacrificial lamb to save the rest of the community members who set fire on the three elders that liaise with the Western Oil company to exploit them. Although Ebiere warns them prior to the crime, the thought of having the whole community hanged convinces her to offer herself in other to exonerate the culprits in their numbers. Tamuno continues from this point, and extends the struggle to the United States, where he holds hostage, Tom Hudson to bargain for Ebiere's release. At the end of the film, therefore, it appears glaring that the fire of patriotism in residents of the Niger Delta region who have been deprived of the basic conditions of life by both the state
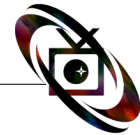
and none-state actors is so high, and cannot be quenched by even the fierce resounding echo of military guns.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The thematic discussion above dispels any doubt about the effectiveness of film in mirroring social reality towards attaining a better society. *Black November* has interrogated the Niger Delta question intensively. It has depicted the multifaceted nature of such issues that have continued to nurture, ignite and sustain constant upheavals and breakdown of law and order in the region. Scholarly literature has established these causes already, for instance, (Stiglitz, 2006) unmasks the mystery behind the politics of oil production in developing nations, where powerful nations of the West and multinational companies operate a sort of exploitative relationship that helps to keep the naturally endowed nations in a state of dependence. Indeed, Stiglitz and several other scholars decry this imperialistic relationship that amounts to a resource curse, or what they term the 'paradox of plenty' for developing nations. *Black November* is a screen representation of this thinking, kudos to the producer.

The film, however, can be criticized for one or two major weaknesses. First, it projects a victor-vanquish approach to the Niger Delta conflict, contrary to the position of (Nykon, 2011), who recommends three key strategies that producers of films must note towards achieving a peaceful society: (1) that there are viable alternatives to violent-contending methods of conflict resolution; (2) that positive outcomes for both parties can often be created; and (3) that all parties are worthy of being treated humanely. *Black November* falls short of the expectation of all these recommendations.

The second major weakness of the film is that it presents just the problem, without the solution. At the end of the film, both peaceful and violent struggles fail in providing solution to the Niger Delta conflict, a gap that leaves the audience to wonder which approach is the best for tackling the multifarious issues that cause conflict in the Niger Delta region. The film, thus, fails to demonstrate how the four principles of conflict management as given by (Jeong, 2010) - negotiation, mediation, facilitation and reconciliation work in practice. Notwithstanding this gap, the Entertainment-Education approach of (Singhal & Rogers 1999) has been effectively deployed to present the realities of the conflict situation in the Niger Delta region.

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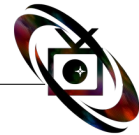
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HOW TO WRITE A CULT BOOK ON CINEMA

Ivan Denisov (a)

Independent Researcher. Moscow, Russia. Email: ivan_denisov[at]inbox.ru

Abstract

Book Review: Pavlov, A. V. (2020). *Tell Your Children: One Hundred and Eleven Essays on Cult Cinema. Third ed., revised and added.* Moscow: HSE Publishing House.

Keywords

cinema; cult cinema; grindhouse; Alexander Pavlov; cinema studies; Quentin Tarantino

КАК НАПИСАТЬ КУЛЬТОВУЮ КНИГУ О КИНО

Денисов Иван (a)

(a) Независимый исследователь. Москва, Россия. Email: ivan_denisov[at]inbox.ru

Аннотация

Рецензия на книгу: Павлов, А. В. (2020). *Расскажите вашим детям: Сто одиннадцать опытов о культовом кинематографе. 3-е изд., перераб. и доп.* Москва: Издательский дом Высшей школы экономики.

Ключевые слова

кинематограф; культовое кино; грайндхаус; Александр Павлов; киноведение; Квентин Тарантино

Очень часто слова или понятия от постоянного употребления либо теряют смысл, либо становятся такими заезженными, что их автоматически используют не к месту, не задумываясь и не особенно понимая значения. Пример такого понятия – «культовый фильм». Сейчас культовым называют любое более менее приглянувшееся рецензенту кинопроизведение. В российском киноведении дела совсем плохи, так как осмысленные исследования темы в духе Стивена Троуэра («Кошмар США») или Билла Лэндиса («Sleazoid Express») практически отсутствуют. К счастью, есть Александр Павлов, который едва ли не в одиночку анализирует культовое кино, открывая для читателя/зрителя новые имена или заставляя по-иному увидеть уже знакомые фильмы.

Книга Александра Павлова «Расскажите вашим детям» выходила в 2016 году (Павлов, 2016). В ней автор, развивая некоторые темы первой работы «Постыдное удовольствие» 2014 года (Павлов, 2014), сосредотачивался именно на культовом кино, разбирая основные, по его мнению, примеры и предлагая самый основательный справочник по теме. И вот новое издание, о котором и речь. В него вошли «новые опыты» о культовом кино, а также – появилось большое заключение, в котором автор учел новейшую литературу по теме, которая появилась после 2016 года.

Любопытно, что после «Расскажите вашим детям», в 2018 году, Павлов написал и издал лучшую книгу о Тарантино на русском языке (а, возможно, и вообще лучшую), «Бесславные ублюдки, бешеные псы» (Павлов, 2018) и во многом окончательно закрепился в ранге «Тарантино российской киноаналитики». То есть у нас имеются рецензенты, пишущие о новинках, есть авторы академических изданий о приевшихся «классиках» или попсовых кинотекстов на разные темы, но исследователь, который предлагает неожиданную трактовку самых разнообразных жанров, подкрепляя её энциклопедическими знаниями, только один. Это как раз Александр Павлов. И как Тарантино строит своё кино на огромном количестве просмотренных фильмов, переосмысливая их согласно своему таланту и пониманию кинематографа, так и Павлов на столь же огромном количестве просмотренных фильмов строит уникальное киноведение, которое уже стало культовым в стране.

Но что же такое «культовое кино»? Изначальное понимание уже не столь актуально, тем не менее скажем, что сперва культовым фильмом считалось малобюджетное произведение, которое, обладая внешними признаками того или иного жанра, не вполне отвечало всем жанровым требованиям и приобретало популярность

прежде всего в узком кругу почитателей. Со временем понятие стало проецироваться и на ленты, разошедшиеся на цитаты, вошедшие в повседневный обиход, или на картины, точно комментировавшие особенности своего времени.

В дальнейшем малый бюджет уже перестал быть таким важным, но оставался желательным. «Чем меньше денег в бюджете, тем больше реальности. Если хотите узнать, как по-настоящему выглядела Америка середины 1970-х, смотрите "Техасскую резню бензопилой"», как сказал биограф культовых режиссёров Энди Миллигэна и Расса Майера Джимми Макдоноф. И да, «Техасская резня бензопилой» в книге Павлова, конечно, есть.

В некоторых случаях вполне обычный коммерческий в своей стране фильм мог приобрести культовую славу в условиях иной культуры, что особенно характерно для азиатского кино. Достаточно вспомнить «Убийцу сёгуна» 1980 года (перемонтированные Робертом Хьюстоном части японского самурайского киносериала «Меч отмщения», снятые режиссёром Кэндзи Мисуми). Но давайте посмотрим, какие названия предлагает нам исследование Павлова.

Для начала немного о структуре. Во вступлении автор даёт очень подробную трактовку культового кино, которая, естественно, во многом расходится с той, что вы прочитали выше. Но тем интереснее будет сравнить её как с трактовкой рецензента, так и с вашей собственной. После основательного вступления Павлов принимается за наиболее значительные, по его мнению, примеры культового кино. Важный момент – тщательно анализируя каждый фильм, автор счастливо избегает оценок. Понять его личное отношение к тому или иному культовому произведению практически невозможно, и это очень серьёзный плюс. Подобная отстраненность в отличие от пристрастности куда лучше помогает понять смысл рецензируемых лент. При этом очередное издание расширилось на 22 новых опыта, благодаря новым отличным рецензиям. К оригинальным добавились «Ангел мщения»/«Мисс 45-й калибр», «Зловещие мертвецы 2», «Тело будет предано земле, а старший мичман будет петь», «Карты, деньги, два ствола», «Королевская битва», «Они пришли вместе», «Под Силвер Лэйк»... и это не все дополнения.

Какие же культовые картины мы находим в книге?

Культовые в первоначальном смысле фильмы в книге представлены не очень широко. И, наверное, правильно. Анализ работ Рона Ормонда или Роберты и Майкла Финдлэй вряд ли бы

сделал книгу доступной для большинства читателей. Но есть, например, Расс Майер или Роджер Корман. Выбрать в их внушительном наследии один фильм не так легко, но предпочтения Павлова более чем разумны. Корман представлен «Магазинчиком ужасов»(1960), который даже получал римейк в мейнстримном кино, а Майер – самым точным и издевательским портретом 1960-х – «Изнанка долины кукол» (1970). Но любителям малоизвестных лент не стоит расстраиваться – достаточно прочитать рецензию на «Резню в стиле мафии» (1974/1978) и узнать о кинематографе Дюка Митчелла, а заодно о его влиянии на кинематограф всё того же Квентина Тарантино. И, конечно, не обошлось без «худшего фильма всех времён», «План №9 из открытого космоса» Эдварда Вуда-младшего (1959).

Голливудская классика представлена прежде всего «Касабланкой» Майкла Кёртица (1942), а из периода 1960-70-х в книге присутствуют среди прочих «Гарольд и Мод» Хэла Эшби (1971) и «Таксист» Мартина Скорсезе (1976). Однако, как и положено киноисследователю, полюбившему кино в эпоху видеосалонов и пиратских кассет, Павлов особенное внимание уделяет фильмам ужасов и боевикам 1980-х. «Зловещие мертвецы» Сэма Рэйми (обе части, 1981 и 1987), «Терминатор» Джеймса Кэмерона (1984), «Существо в корзине» Фрэнка Хененлоттера (1981). И, разумеется, самый репрезентативный фильм чудесного десятилетия – смесь мистики, боевика о каратэ и танцевального мюзикла – «Ниндзя 3» Сэма Фёрстенберга (1984).

Здесь же, кстати, и «Чужие среди нас» Джона Карпентера (1989). Этот малобюджетный фантастический боевик известен не только длинной и часто цитируемой дракой и даже не только более цитируемой репликой «Я пришёл сюда пожевать резинку и надрать задницы. Резинка уже кончилась». Известен он и как критика «рейгановских 1980-х», о чём говорил сам Карпентер и на что обращает внимание Павлов (кстати, антирейгановские мотивы прослеживаются Павловым и в «Нечто» того же режиссёра (1982) – рецензия, появившаяся в новом издании). Однако здесь автор этих строк не может удержаться от личных воспоминаний: для нас, посетителей видеосалонов той поры, опус Карпентера воспринимался как антикоммунистический, критикующий советский контроль над населением и цензуру, то есть фильм казался самым что ни на есть «рейгановским». Жаль, что такое противоречие в книге не рассматривается, но мои ровесники скорее всего обратят на него внимание.

Не забыл Павлов о лентах, снятых вне пределов США. Например, в Великобритании. В компанию к сатире Расса Майера на 1960-е попадает другой беспощадный фильм об идеализируемой эпохе, экспериментальная гангстерская драма «Представление» Дональда Кэммелла и Николаса Роуга (1970). И, возможно, самая цитируемая британская картина, «Заводной апельсин» Стэнли Кубрика (1971). Священное для любителей культового кино трио самых популярных итальянских жанров представлено спагетти-вестерном Серджо Корбуччи «Великое молчание» (1968), poliziottescho «Миланский калибр 9» Фернандо Ди Лео (1972) и хоррорами «Инферно» Дарио Арджето (1980), «Ад каннибалов» Руджеро Деодато (1980) и «Седьмые врата ада» Лючио Фульчи (1981). Эротические комедии итальянского производства здесь скорее стали бы «четвёртым лишни», поэтому ожидаемо не представлены, зато есть драма «Сало, или 120 дней Содома» Пьера Паоло Пазолини (1975), в которой соединение эротики, жестокости и просто отвратительных сцен позволяют выйти за рамки привычного для Пазолини «фестивального кино» и попасть в категорию безусловного культа. Особо преданные поклонники итальянского жанрового кино могут посетовать на отсутствие Серджо Леоне или Умберто Ленци, но, полагаю, Корбуччи или Ди Лео стали им достойной заменой. По крайней мере, в трактовке Павлова. Есть и самый культовый постановщик из Испании, Хесус Франко, с «Вампиршами-лесбиянками» (1971). Ну, а кому интереснее северный подход к культовому кино, ищите «Триллер» Бо Арне Вибениуса (1973) и узнавайте, как появился культ вокруг актрисы Кристины Линдберг.

Азиатское культовое кино тоже может похвастаться своим трио. Гонконгские ленты о каратэ, гонконгские же «балеты пуль» и японские самурайские ленты. Последним, увы, в книге места не нашлось, хотя упоминаемый «Убийца сёгуна» или оригинальные ленты серии «Меч возмездия» (1972-1974) были бы очень кстати (подождём следующего издания?). Поклонники же гонконгского кино получат удовольствие от рецензий на «Змею в тени орла» Юэнь Воо-Пина (1978) и «Убийцу» Джона Ву (1989).

Впрочем, японское кино Павлов вниманием не обошёл. Просто предпочёл более современные примеры. Мода на «азиатский экстрим» XXI столетия у многих ассоциируется с южнокорейским кино, но Павлов напоминает: началось всё с японцев. При этом он разумно избегает перехваленного Такаси Миике (кроме разве его участия в гонконгско-японско-южнокорейском киноальманахе «Три

экстрима» 2004 года в компании с Фрут Чаном и Пак Чхан-Уком) или уже забытый «Звонок» (1998) с многочисленными продолжениями и римейками, а выбирает действительно главных творцов моды. Точнее, ветерана Киндзи Фукасаку, потрясшего на рубеже веков зрителей своей «Королевской битвой»(2000) и сегодняшнего кинолидера Японии, оригинала Сиона Соно. Здесь выбор несколько более неожидан (из фильмографии Соно очень трудно выбрать какой-то самый показательный пример), но культовый статус «Холодной рыбы» (2010), второй части «трилогии ненависти» (вместе с «Откровением любви» 2008 и «Виновной в романе» 2011) неоспорим.

При этом выбор самого культового фильма Сиона Соно – не такая сложная задача, как находить культовое кино в русскоязычном культурном пространстве. В советские времена у любителей книг был самиздат, в том числе и отечественных авторов, а вот кинолюбителям приходилось хуже. Здесь функции самиздата выполняли видеокассеты с иностранными лентами, да и то с 1980-х, а роль культовых играли вполне мейнстримные комедии, криминальные или шпионские сериалы и фантастика для детей и подростков. Лишь в конце 1980-х стал намечаться прогресс, но всё равно – однозначно культовым советским фильмом эпохи остаётся только «Игла» Рашида Нугманова (1988). И, конечно, она присутствует в книге Павлова.

1990-е, казалось бы, открыли перспективы для культового кино в России, но наша страна привычно не воспользовалась шансом. Поток боевиков и комедий подпадал под определение «плохое кино», но дать культовые достижения так и не смог. Разве некоторые работы уже второй половины десятилетия, после «Брата» Алексея Балабанова (1995). Павлов, судя по всему, разделяет моё представление, так как в его книге мы находим фильм конца 1990-х «Тело будет предано земле, а старший мичман будет петь» Ильи Макарова (1998) и, разумеется, «Зелёный слоник» Светланы Басковой (1999). К сожалению, в XXI веке российское культовое кино оказалось даже в худшем положении, чем при советской власти. И в потоке пафосных блокбастеров или скучного артхауса даже Павлову не удалось найти примеры реально культовых фильмов.

Кстати, упомянутые выше 1990-е стали благодатным периодом и для западного культового кино. В «Расскажите вашим детям» мы, конечно, встретим главный во всех смыслах фильм десятилетия «Криминально чтиво» Квентина Тарантино (1994), самый точный

портрет поколения, «На игле» Дэнни Бойла (1996) и самый культовый фильм братьев Коэнов «Большой Лебовский»(1998). Но есть и внешне более скромные, однако ничуть не менее значимые работы. «Клерки» Кевина Смита (1994), к примеру. Или разошедшееся на огромное количество англоязычных мемов «Офисное пространство» Майка Джаджа (1999). Да и знаменитый и культовый сам по себе Дэвид Линч представлен именно фильмом 1990-х – «Шоссе в никуда» (1996).

Интересно, что из культовых фильмов нового века Павлов обращает внимание на постановщиков из достаточно экзотичных стран вроде Греции (Йоргос Лантимос и снятый им в Великобритании «Лобстер» 2015 года), Австралия (Джордж Миллер и «Безумный Макс: Дорога ярости» 2015 года). Обратите внимание, что Павлов предпочитает новую версию «Безумного Макса» оригинальной трилогии, указывая на культовость первой и второй серий, но полагая именно фильм XXI века, использующий «все содержательные и структурные элементы наследия оригинальных серий, сознательно ориентируясь на то, чтобы обрести культовую репутацию» (Павлов, 2020, с. 525-526). Кроме Австралии и Греции новейшее культовое кино в книге представлено такой страной, как Новая Зеландия (Тайки Вайтити и «Реальные упыри» 2014 года). Если что, то экзотичные страны можно встретить в книге и раньше: от той же Новой Зеландии в ней есть Питер Джексон, когда он снимал не скучные экранизации фэнтези или римейки классики, а азартные кровопролития уровня «Живой мертвечины» (1992), но вообще столь частое упоминание режиссёров из непривычных стран именно на последних страницах книги есть своего рода подтверждение, что постановщики из более привычных США или Италии сейчас немного выдохлись.

Подтверждение этому тезису можно увидеть и в финальной главе книги. В ней особенное внимание уделено «Драйву» Николаса Виндинга Рефна (2011). Рефна тоже можно определить в тройку – трио самых известных в мировом кино датчан. Но по сравнению с бесспорным классиком Карлом Теодором Дрейером и перехваленным любимцем кинокритиков Ларсом Фон Триром именно Рефн стал культовым постановщиком. И на примере его первого американского опыта Павлов объясняет, почему.

Если помните, в начале рецензии я цитировал писателя Джимми Макдонофа и упоминал фильм Тоуба Хупера «Техасская резня бензопилой» (1974). Так вот, закончить рецензию можно возвращением к этой теме. Дело в том, что Рефн называет

«Техасскую резню бензопилой» тем произведением, которое заставило его взяться за кинокамеру. Но не только своими работами вроде «Драйва» датчанин отдаёт дань культовому кино. В 2018 году он запустил сайт bynwr.com, на котором выкладываются отреставрированные американские культовые ленты 1950-70-х годов и сопровождаются текстами по истории создания или историческому моменту на дату выхода фильмов. Да, а главным редактором сайта стал тот самый Джимми Макдоноф.

Очень бы хотелось увидеть подобный сайт под руководством Александра Павлова. Но пока мы все ждём его следующую книгу и надеемся, что «Расскажите вашим детям» будет где-то раз в пять лет выходить новыми изданиями и с новыми рецензиями. И баланс культовое кино – культовая книга будет поддержан.

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