

**MEDIA REPORTAGE OF CIVIL UNREST IN NIGERIA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE
STATE’S FOREIGN POLICY: 1990-2011**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations at the (Mafikeng campus) of the North-West University, South Africa

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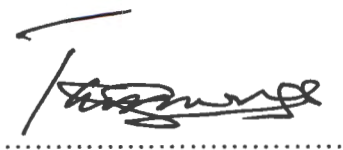
November, 2014

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is as a result of the research done by me. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is in fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the faculty of Human and Social Sciences, North West University, Mahikeng, South Africa.

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Co-Supervisor

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Date

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Chief P. D. Righi who regretfully died months before seeing me complete this work. It is however particularly dedicated to the Glory of my ONE and ONLY. The only ONE who sustains me and is all sufficient for me. My Alpha and Omega. The ONE who WAS, who IS and who WILL ALWAYS BE. The Almighty God. For His blessings, favour and sustenance throughout this programme and in my life.

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is a heterogeneous state constituted upon the 1914 amalgamation that brought disparate communities together as a nation-state which in reality is "an imagined political community" with an elusive common goal because of the absence of unifying political, economic and cultural ideologies. The rupturing of the promises of independence has, therefore, become a provocateur of a definite restiveness informed by abundant internal wrangling that has since 1960 at independence, become a threat to Nigeria's sovereignty. In view of the fact that these social upheavals are well chronicled by both local and foreign media, Nigeria's socio-political instability has on several occasions interrupted diplomatic relations between Nigeria and other sovereign nations especially since foreign policy is often shaped by domestic and international events. A discourse on the making of foreign policies could provide an insight into the determinants of foreign policies especially on Nigeria. As a result, this study aims to describe how the realist, liberal and radical perspectives on state power and policy, determine the making of foreign policy as a result of media reportage by comparing and contrasting the reporting of situation in Nigeria by both the international and national media with a view to evaluating which one makes more impact on policy makers, especially during civilian administrations. The outcome of this study is determined by the content analysis of data gathered through interviews, questionnaires and unstructured observations. The study sample is representative of Nigerian's six geo-political zones as well as religious and educational backgrounds. The findings of this research show that, although the Nigerian public tend to trust foreign media more, the local media, nonetheless, plays a vital role in the governance of Nigeria since the media sets the public agenda. These findings culminate in several recommendations that will lead to beneficial

diplomatic relations and the formulation of favourable foreign policies in the face of potential social hostilities.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights
AfDB	African Development Bank
AD	Alliance for Democracy
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CD	Campaign for Democracy
CEEC	Central and Eastern European countries
CLA	Corpus Linguistics Approach
CLO	Civil Liberties Organization
CNN	Cable News Network
COMMGAP	Communication for Governance and Accountability Program
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
DRA	Dialectical-Relational Approach
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSS	Department of State Services
ECOMOG	Ecowas Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
EMU	Eastern Mandate Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEC	Federal Executive Council
FG	Federal Government
FMG	Federal Military government
FNDIC	Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities

FP	Foreign Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
G77	The Group of 77 countries established on the 15th of June 1964 during a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Geneva.
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRH	His Royal Highness
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IGP	Inspector General of Police
INC	Igbo National Council
ISS	Institute for Security Studies (ISS)
IT	Information Technology
IYC	Ijaw Youth Council
JTF	Joint Task Force
KAS	The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a political foundation
MASSOB	Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra
MDFC	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance
ME	Manipulative Elites
MEMB	Movement for the Emancipation of the Middle Belt
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MNC	Multinational Corporations

MOSOP	Movement for the survival of Ogoni People
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRA	Media Rights Agenda
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition
NBC	National Broadcasting Commission (NBC)
NCP	National Conscience Party
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDOPC	Niger Delta Oil Producing Communities
NDV	Niger Delta Vigilante
NDVF	Niger Delta Volunteer Force
NDPVE	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NLC	Nigerian Labour Congress
NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers
NYSC	National Youths Service Corps
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PNDRM	Pan Niger Delta Revolutionary Militia
SAA	Social Actors Approach
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SCA	Sociocognitive Approach
Sky	Sky Cable Corporation
SSS	State Security Service
UK	United Kingdom
UAD	United Action for Democracy
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
USA	United States of America

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ABSTRACT

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

This study is focused on understanding the reason for the continued unrest in Nigeria and its impact on the nation's foreign policy. It is true that most human dealings are characterised by conflict. In fact, some scholars go as far as to believe that human beings need strife and conflict situations to better understand one another. Denis McQuail sums up the source of social conflict when he said that "societies are structured by differences of power between and within economic classes which breeds at best latent conflict and tension" (McQuail, 1987:4). McQuail's assertion above is true because even when the conflict is not obvious, the tension resulting from the disagreements is palpable.

This is the reality in Africa which seems to be constantly embroiled in internal conflicts from Nigeria, Mali to North and South Sudan, Angola to the Democratic Republic of Congo. African scholars like Dr. Issaka K. Souaré have also given their opinions about Africa and these internal conflicts. In his contribution to the ISS journal titled 'A Critical Assessment of Security Challenges in West Africa, he buttressed this point by citing Adekeye Adebajo as describing Africa as "among the world's most unstable regions" (Issaka K. Souaré, 2005). Fawole and Ukeje's *Crisis of the State in West Africa*, theorise that West Africa, perhaps more than any other sub-region in Africa, 'has acquired the unenviable notoriety of being a veritable theatre of violent conflicts, political instability and state implosions' (ISS, 2005). Corroborating this statement is the activities of the Boko Haram in Nigeria. In October 2013 alone, there were at least three separate incidences widely publicized by the media of the carnage wreaked on Northern Nigeria by the Boko Haram sect. It is reported that about 50 students of a tertiary institution were murdered by the sect while in their rooms sleeping. The sect is also reported to have at various times gone to Police stations and killed several serving officers while on duty and carted away weapons and ammunition.

In spite of the above however, with statements like that from Fawole and Ukeje both African scholars themselves, it is not surprising that the world's perception of Africa is

that of an unstable continent to be sidelined in all good things. The western media have been accused of having a penchant for reporting only the dark side of Africa. An example is the reporting of happenings in Nigeria. The same incident reported by the local media will usually be quite different from how it is reported by the international media. For instance Umaru Pate (1992) in a study conducted, found that Nigerian newspapers made deliberate attempts to emphasize positive news about Africa, and gave more coverage to Africa than to any other region of the world in line with Nigeria's special foreign policy attention to Africa. In explaining the disparity between the way the western media report on Africa and the way we report our news, Awwalu Salihu a Public Communication Specialist with the National Broadcasting Commission in Nigeria, is of the opinion that while some western reporters do not do their home work properly before reporting on Africa, others do not intentionally mean to give negative reports about Africa. His belief is that because the reporters come from a different background and have different values, attitudes, exposure and beliefs, their reporting would come from that perspective which is different from what we know, accept, tolerate or condone as Africans. An example is of Sharia being practiced in Northern Nigeria. For instance, if a lady is being stoned or given lashes of the cane at a street market for a determined offense as stated in the Quran, and most of the bystanders are Muslims, they may see the punishment as justified. The African reporters on the other hand, may temper their words and give it a different slant when reporting the incidence. They may even condemn the lady for her wayward ways. However, the western reporter reporting the same incidence and not being able to relate with the situation, might use words like 'barbaric' and 'savage' to report the act he/she witnessed because given his or her background, women do not get publicly beaten or stoned because they cheat on their partners. To this end, it is obvious that communication and interaction is important and essential to human beings and it is also glaring that media plays a valuable role in allowing us do this. Therefore, the relationship between the Media and human beings is interwoven. Media acts as the channel through which human beings communicate (Kumar, 2006:43). Kumar's summation of media explains why the international media will continue to write about Africa even when they do not do the necessary research before reporting as Awwalu Salihu believes.

The former South African President, Thabo Mbeki in an article *Who Will Define Africa*, brought to the fore the issue of the "consistent and seemingly compulsive negative reporting about Africa" from the Western media. Holding a similar view, Eideani (1994) believes that a lot of the news from the international media on Africa, tends to be relatively scanty and to be preoccupied with sensational and conflict issues. This might explain why Awwalu Salihu made the comment about the disparity between the way African journalists report stories on Africa compared with how the western media report them.

With the world global and everything interconnected (Hafez 2007:64), there are hardly restrictions to media reporting and this means that people have many different ways to obtain the same news. Information can now be got in real time and unfortunately, some observers have largely attributed this as being responsible for the negative reporting given Africa. This is because with advancement in technology, communication is as fast as the speed of light. An email can be sent and a response received almost immediately by the sender. In the same vein, people who are thousands of miles apart and in different time zones, can chat using Skype with just a few seconds delay. That of course means that when events happen, people who are continents apart can communicate by tweeter, facebook and other social media discussing the event even before the print or electronic media break the news to the public. Therefore, probably in answer to Mbeki's statement above, Hafez suggests that since the developed countries produce the news, the image given to the public about developing countries, is usually "false and distorted". The reason he says could probably be because the reporting is being done away from the home state and so it is done to fit a global order of values without taking into consideration the values of the home state. Again, this ties in as earlier reported with what Awwalu Salihu of the National Broadcasting Commission believes. Nevertheless, research also indicates that African media are also guilty of not reporting the positive about Africa to the rest of the world (Eideani 1994). Therefore, if African reporters themselves who are supposed to understand Africa, do not do a good job of publicising the positive aspects of Africa, how is the western media to do so? It is not enough for us to castigate the west. What are we doing as Africans to tell our story or to define who we are as a people as posed by Mbeki's question?

In spite of this, McQuail believes that media is an institution which is regulated by society and indeed develops its own rules and norms which link it to the society. The institution provides an arena where "affairs" of public life play out both nationally and internationally. The institution is all encompassing in that it expresses what it wants while still bringing news and entertainment (McQuail, 1987:3).

The assertion above, that media is linked to all areas of life whether politics, international relations, or the arts, is nowhere more evident than in the social media which are internet-based tools and services which allow users from all over the world interact with each other by generating content, distributing and searching for information online. All these again point to the globalisation of the media with people who will most probably never in this lifetime meet, tweeting about world events and making comments about current affairs on facebook. The importance of social media as a tool for political change is slowly being appreciated. It is believed that twitter played a role in facilitating protests in Tunisia and Egypt and even the January 2011 protest in Nigeria. Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan during his presidential campaign, solicited for support via facebook. To further support this view, Arthur Chatora believes that the UK government was uncomfortable with the social media, following violent riots that rocked the country in mid-2011. Prime Minister David Cameron was prompted to propose blocking the use of social media during future occurrences of riots and civil unrest (Arthur Chatora, 15 March, 2012). The above confirms McQuail's (1987:99) argument of the power wielded by the media. He cites Gerbner as affirming that media has a powerful effect on society so much so that it can both mould it as well as act as its reflector (McQuail, 1987: 96) and this is evident even in the British Prime Minister's proposal to block the social media during future riots because he understands the power of the media and in this case, the social media.

This perceived influence of the media on life and especially foreign policy, cuts across all aspects of the mass media. The US Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in 2000, Evelyn S. Lieberman during a visit to Morocco, declared that internet and satellite influence everyday life including the foreign policy in states such as the US and Morocco (Hafez 2007: 52). Like Evelyn Lieberman, Patrick H. O'Neil is one

of the many authors who believe that cross-border news flow has a great influence on world politics with the internet and television revolution and media, changing things in Mexico and the Soviet Union amongst others (Hafez 2007:64).

To further illustrate the influence and power wielded by the media, especially the social media, is the belief that it contributed a great deal to the uprising in the Arab spring and definitely the January 2012 demonstrations in Nigeria. While it might have influenced a change in the former, no marked change is evident in the case of Nigeria except probably a consciousness that the people were able to make government accountable even if for a short while. The reason for the difference in outcome could be due to the fact that different dynamics were at play in both the Arab Spring and Nigeria. To understand the difference, below is an overview of Nigerian political scene since independence.

1.2. Overview of Nigerian History

Nigeria is believed to be the most populous country in Africa with one in every four or five Africans being a Nigerian. It is a country of people with diverse ethnicity, language and culture and some report the world's first eighth largest producer of crude oil. The country is divided into six geo-political zones namely South-South, South-West, South-East, North-East, North-West and North-Central. Surprisingly, the system of government is not a parliamentary one like in Britain, the former colonial power but rather more like the American system of government, probably because both countries are similar in make up: they are large, complex and heterogeneous (Jean Herskovits, Winter 1979/80).

It is therefore not surprising that with so much diversity, there is a plethora of internal wrangling among the people. The first major internal conflict in Nigeria was the Biafra war between July 1967 and January 1970. The counter-coup in 1970 brought the then Lt. Col. (later General) Yakubu Gowon into power as Head of State. The civil strife was as a result of the Igbo speaking people of the South-East seeking secession. During the years of the civil war, Nigeria could not have an active foreign policy or take active part in foreign affairs. It is reported that while the white-dominated African countries had supported Biafra, the OAU sided with the federation by voting for unity. Needless to say

and not surprising that foreign policy took a back seat since foreign policy is formulated first and foremost in the interest of the nation while taking into consideration its interaction with the international community.

The civil unrest continued in 1975 when General Gowon's regime, was toppled in a coup d'état by the late General Murtala Mohammed's regime who set up the Adedeji Commission to look into the foreign policy of the nation (Akinbobola 1999:378). In 1976, Nigeria waded into the Angolan independence crisis to achieve its foreign policy goal and all seemed to go well when in October 1979, General Olusegun Obasanjo handed over to Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the first civilian government after thirteen years of military rule. Under Shagari's leadership, with the deepening economic crisis, the nation's foreign policy suffered and the administration was toppled in December 1983 by another military regime led by Major General Muhammadu Buhari who reverted to the Murtala/Obasanjo foreign policy (Akinbobola 1999:380).

The Buhari administration was not popular and in August, 1985, the government was toppled in a palace coup by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida who directed Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi the foreign affairs minister at the time, to organise an "all Nigeria conference on foreign policy".

There have since been many heads of states and presidents since General Ibrahim Babangida's rule. And in all the years following, Nigeria's foreign policy has focused more on Africa and its unity as well as ensuring peace in the region. The "giant of Africa" played its role by advocating for liberation for South Africa, Namibia and Angola. It also waded into conflict political situations in regions such as Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote D'Ivoire either as mediator or by sending a large contingent of peacekeepers/peace enforcers to ensure the peace and safety of the people. The country also took an active role in ensuring good trade among its ECOWAS members.

In spite of her contribution to freedom and peace in Africa, Nigeria is not immune to the violent conflicts and political instability. It is amazing therefore, that since independence and several decades after the first Civil War which took place in 1967, Nigeria is still beset by sectarian violence and civil unrest in different parts of the country. To some

foreigners. Nigeria is a 'no-go' area especially the Niger-Delta region and most recently because of the Boko Haram attacks on innocent civilians in some states in the North. Since it is largely known that domestic politics can dictate international relations, it will not be a huge surprise to discover that this state of things impact on the nation's foreign policy. This is evident in the country's relationship with the British and the United States (US) governments, who have at different times warned their citizens either to stay away from Nigeria altogether if they can afford to do so or to stay away from certain trouble spots in the country if they have no other choice. Investors are afraid to conduct business in Nigeria not solely because the infrastructure needed is not in place, but also for security reasons and the ever changing laws which do not make for proper long term business planning.

For these reasons, Adebajo Adekeye, one of the two editors of 'Gulliver's Troubles', refers to Nigeria as Gulliver and her leaders whose ambitions and often inhumane greed which are detrimental to the growth and interests of the nation and its people, he likens to Lilliputians (Kenneth Omeje, 2010). The leaders both past and present have prevented the country with its enormous potential, from fulfilling its leadership aspiration and development potentials. In essence, although Nigeria is big with vast human and natural resources and a huge untapped potential to be great, the country has remained one of the poorest in the world because her leaders have looted the coffers at the expense of the masses with hardly much visible development. The nation's leaders have successively put their personal greed and interest first to the detriment of the growth and development of the country and its people. Rosemary Nuamah (2003) agrees with Adekeye Adebajo about the country's potential. In her words,

...while Nigeria possesses the necessary potential as well as institutional structures needed to formulate a vibrant foreign policy, its constraints lie in domestic factors, namely, the nature of the foreign policy elite and Nigeria's economic dependence and vulnerability.

In spite of the domestic factors like civil unrest, insecurity and dependence on oil alluded to here by Rosemary Nuamah, insecurity in some parts of the country does not seem to be a problem for some multinational companies especially oil companies as they still do

business in Nigeria and in the Niger Delta in particular. Although Multinational Corporations (MNC's) tend to leave conflict areas, they sometimes continue to conduct business in these areas if they perceive the area as stable enough for them to continue doing business and the conflict of course manageable. This could explain why the oil rich states in the Niger-Delta are still hosts to oil companies and their expatriate staff. (Ayo Whetho: PhD Thesis s.a.)

Scholars like Drucker (1973:14) would attribute the continued civil unrest and instability in Africa not so much to underdevelopment but to the fact that the continent has not learned to manage both its human and natural resources. Chinua Achebe in his book 'The Trouble with Nigeria' seems to agree with Drucker because he is of the opinion that the country's trouble is simply a failure of leadership. With good leadership, Achebe is of the opinion that much of the country's problems including a culture of mediocrity, corruption, tribalism, would be resolved.

There is truth in both these assertions as with so much wealth, there is no reason why the average Nigerian should live as reported on \$1 a day just because it is not equitably distributed. The minimum wage is hardly enough for a family of four to exist on and this is by no means about good standard of living while government officials have so much in allowances minus their salaries. So, the problem seems to be that of leadership and how these imbalances can be corrected.

It would appear that there might be truth in what people like Drucker and Achebe believe. Why are some African countries like South Africa and Ghana able to manage their internal problems and Nigeria has not seemed to learn to manage hers? What is responsible for the continued state of civil unrest in the country? Does the media escalate violent situation through reporting? Does Nigeria really follow any known theory of foreign policy? These are some of the questions this study sought answers to.

Perhaps like Alade Fawole (2004) succinctly puts it in his review of 'A Continent in Crisis: Internal Conflicts and External Interventions in Africa', "the time has come for a more eclectic, multi-disciplinary and multi-perspective approach to the study of Africa's problems. Since there will always be conflicts in the continent and indeed in the world, it

may be unreasonable to wish away external interventions in domestic conflicts” (African Affairs, 2004). He nonetheless believes that if we are able to properly analyse and understand African conflicts, then perhaps external actors and other third parties, having a better understanding of the different conflict situations in Africa, can help fashion out a suitable solution and resolution to each of these conflicts.

1.3. Aim of the Study

The primary aim of this thesis was to examine the media reportage of the civil unrest vis-à-vis foreign policy in Nigeria during the period mentioned above. Special emphasis was given to Presidents Obasanjo, Yar-Adua and Jonathan’s civilian administrations although President Babangida who has had a lot written about him already, was also mentioned as the latter part of his administration falls within the time being examined. The study also sought to have an understanding of the reasons for the continued unrest from different groups by examining what the root causes of the problems are. Lastly, the study sought to juxtapose the reporting of situation in Nigeria by both the international media and the national media with a view to evaluating which one makes more impact in terms of reporting.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The study is significant because it examines the media reportage of the incessant civil unrest in Nigeria and its effect on the nation’s foreign policy. The rationale here is that there must be deep seated reasons why there is still so much unrest in a country which gained independence over half a century ago. The significance of this study therefore is that it allowed us critically examine, evaluate and determined why there continue to be recurrent civil unrest in Nigeria. Secondly, it enabled us determine that media in reporting these unrest, will influence the foreign policy.

To date, most of the work on foreign policy and the influence wielded by the media have been about the Western media although with the recent prominence of central and eastern

European countries in global politics with being members of NATO and the European Union, the media foreign policy relationship there, is assuming greater importance (Balabanova, 2011). In Africa, several studies have been conducted on media and foreign policy as well as media and civil unrest or conflict situations. In the same vein, researches have also been carried out on the implications of civil unrest on foreign policy. This study is therefore not only significant but also unique, because it examines the relationship between all three factors with emphasis on the civilian administrations in Nigeria. It also made attempts to juxtapose the way the local media report against how the international media report these same stories with a view to examining which of these make more impact in reporting the Nigerian situation. The findings if adopted, will go a long way to contributing to resolving the civil unrest in Nigeria and in other parts of Africa with like problems. It will of course also contribute as literature reference for future researches in the field.

1.5. Statement of the Problem

Conflicts can be international or internal as in the case of Nigeria, Mali, Sudan and South Sudan and the Democratic republic of Congo (DRC). Some scholars like Akinboye and Attoh (2005:131), are of the opinion that conflict in Third World States, arise as a result of the failure of the government to meet the expectations of its people. In Nigeria, these could be because of ethnic variable as in the case of the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) in the South-West of Nigeria, lack of resources or availability of it as is evident in the Niger-Delta region situation, or even ideology as is being experienced in the Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalists situation in the northern part of the country although the activities of the sect, is spreading to other parts of the country. The latter argue that the constitution of Nigeria should be thrown out and the Quran/sharia law adopted in its place.

Nigeria seems to be a classic case as it has examples of crises arising from all three: ethnicity, availability of resources or what some pundits refer to as resource curse and lastly, religious ideology. The first recording of crisis in the country as earlier mentioned

was the civil war, with the Igbo people in the South-East region of the country wanting secession. Over time, Nigeria witnessed other episodes. In the Niger Delta, the youth restiveness in the area is as a result of the abundance of petroleum product in the region which the people of the region believe they are not benefiting from in spite of the fact that it is what constitutes the majority of the country's earnings. They are asking to be given the opportunity to control the resources of the region. Finally, is the recent activity of the Boko Haram sect in the country which has been attributed to religious ideology with the sect insisting that the Quran be adopted in place of the constitution.

In the case of resources, Multinational Corporations (MNC's) have been accused of not only playing a part in the continued unrest in states rich in oil and other natural resources like timber and diamond but also sustaining conflicts in such regions. It is argued that the activities of the MNC's in such states, degrade the environment in which they operate and cause a lot of social problems in such areas with the active participation of the host countries (Ayo Whetho: PhD thesis, s.a). This assertion, might be true of the unrest in the Niger Delta region where the situation has been called a 'resource war' because the people have complained of MNC's degradation of the environment as well as the region not getting what they see as their due.

Nonetheless, the above is a loaded statement as it hints at the fact that the MNC's might be intentionally fuelling the situation in areas like the Niger Delta for their economic interests. It is open to speculation if the crises in places like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola and Nigeria, will continue for as long as these states are rich in natural resources and MNC's willing to risk the crises and insecurity in the state.

Many scholars like Ochogwu (2011:9), Best and Obateru (2011:35) as well as Pate (2011:54), agree that conflict is very much a part of human life as it involves disagreements and struggle between parties so it does not necessarily signal instability. Some other scholars believe that conflict can also stimulate innovations and lead to social change if properly managed (Oti and Critchfield cited by Best and Obateru (2011:39). If this statement is true, then the change expected by the people of the Niger Delta region is yet to be witnessed. Although the Nigerian government has set up the ministry of the Niger Delta to look into the complaints of the people of the region and while some of the

youths have been sent abroad to learn skills, not a lot has been reported to have changed in the region. There does not appear to be a programme in place to integrate them into the system when they come back to Nigeria.

With all these problems facing Africa, scholars like Otomar J. Bartos and Paul Wehr (2002) Fawole (2004), suggest that identifying the root cause of every conflict will help understand it in order to be able to deal with it. This seems reasonable as Africa cannot keep depending on the western world to resolve its issues. The continent needs to begin to look inwards to resolving its problems. The causes or triggers in each of the crisis areas such as Nigeria, Mali, Egypt, Congo or other parts of Africa, have to be understood in order to be able to fashion workable solutions for each of these regions. What then are the root causes of the continued conflict and tension in African and Nigeria in particular?

It has been established that communication is essential to human beings. Akinboye and Attah (2005:140) also expressing their view, propose that communication is the critical element in managing any crisis. To this end as stated above, there is a need to first understand the cause of the conflict. To do this, dialogue and communication is paramount among the relevant stakeholders in order to be able to get at the heart of the reason for the continued spate of unrest in the continent. Although conflict cannot be controlled, it is hoped that communicating and dialoguing will help manage and maybe even resolve the problems since as with any crisis, it has the potential to escalate if not managed.

Having established that communication is essential in all areas of human life whether as warring factions in which case media simply reports the crises or simply as an avenue to be informed or entertained. Some students of communication go further as to believe that in reality we are subliminally influenced by what we see or hear in the media. They claim that it is possible that whether we own up to it or not, our subconscious picks up on the information we are exposed to. Unfortunately, this claim cannot be verified at this time as it is not an area of focus for this research. We therefore have no way of measuring what people's perceptions are about news items or in this case the media reports of the conflicts in the different regions of Nigeria or Africa in general. In spite of this however, if the media reports are perceived as negative to the cause of the rebels/militants, or the

populace are of the opinion that the story is slanted in favour of the militia groups, the crisis could deepen because the media would be perceived as creating a vacuum between the civil society and the reality of the situation. Media have been accused by some students of politics and mass communication of sometimes sensationalising the reporting, usually to sell more newspapers and make more profit. It is widely agreed, that any internal political event reported by media, is believed to have a lot of impact on foreign policy. It is therefore imperative for media to be responsible by giving balanced reporting as it owes moral obligation to the society.

Evidence of instances when media have sensational headlines abound. An example is the one week stay-at-home order by the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) in January 2012 over the oil de-regulation issue. This affected Nigeria's oil production and by extension, the price of crude oil in the international market. The event was widely reported and an example is one report by Steve LeVine who on January 11, 2012 wrote "...should traders lose the fear of Tehran closing the Strait of Hormuz, and Nigeria's Goodluck Jonathan not managing to make peace with his striking countrymen, look for the air to go out of prices that, despite the continuing European economic crisis, exceed \$100 a barrel. And if they drop far enough -- into the low-\$80s-a-barrel range -- some key petro-states are going to be in serious trouble, according to a couple of analysts from the Eurasia Group".

In his article above, LeVine was stating the obvious as the strike affected oil production in Nigeria which in turn affected the price of oil in the international market. During that period, the country lost a lot of money as only essential services like hospitals and military personnel, were at work. All other sectors were adhering to the stay at home order given by the labour congress.

Further confirming how political events at home impact on foreign policy, the then Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru announced that Nigeria's foreign policy is now tied to its most urgent need, foreign direct investment (FDI). He is quoted as saying "Our embassies abroad especially in Europe, America and Asia are to focus more on investment policy to our domestic agenda. We now tie our foreign policy to our domestic agenda. President Jonathan's visit to other countries will be investment-driven and less of politics" (Ovada Ohiare).

It is true that a nation's interest, directs its national policy as both are interwoven. Foreign policy is a dynamic process which involves interaction between both domestic and the external environment (Akinbobola, 1999:365). This definition is re-iterating what has earlier been said that everything that happens in a nation including the local events, impact on the foreign policy. In essence, the civil unrest and the way the situation is reported by media. An example of how the activities in the country can impact on foreign policy is the hanging of the Ogoni Nine in 1995. A lot of media furore was generated over that unfortunate episode that the United States recalled its Ambassador to Nigeria to show its displeasure at the country's civil rights violation.

Therefore, how proactive has the Nigerian government been in her foreign policy in relation to her domestic one especially as it concerns the upheavals and terrorist acts which the country has been associated with in recent times? Studies have argued that there is a correlation between policy formulation and media reportage. According to Dearing and Rogers (1996:8), research on the belief that media manipulates people through reporting, indicates that the relative importance of an issue determines how it is received by the public and this in turn influences which issues policymakers consider. Some scholars are of the opinion that mass media is ever present and as a matter of fact even involved in the actual policy making (Dearing and Rogers, 1996:76). An example of how media reportage is perceived as influencing foreign policy is the report by John Campbell who writes, Nigeria on the Brink. "The January 2011 elections could tear Nigeria apart. Is there anything the Obama administration can do to help the country avoid North-South conflict or a military coup?" The reporter is obviously of the view that the United States or even the international community could make a difference in wading in on the internal problems of Nigeria.

All the examples above, suggest that media bringing certain domestic issues plaguing a state to the attention of the world, might impact not only on the foreign policy of the state but also of other countries as a result of it. This shows that there is a relationship between domestic conflict and formulation of foreign policy. Furthermore, the extent to which the foreign policy is achieved depends to a large extent on the quality, character and disposition of the policy-makers amongst other things. There are of course other factors

such as the prevailing political and economic circumstances, the resource endowment of the state, the military capability, geographical location, population are some of the other factors which influence foreign policy (Akinboye and Ottoh 2005:117).

Like Akinboye and Ottoh, critical intellectual scholars, like Noam Chomsky, are of the view that in order to understand the foreign policy of any state, it is important to investigate the domestic social structure such as “who sets foreign policy? What interest do they represent? What is the domestic source of their power?”. This is obviously because interrogating this would show that the policy will reflect the interest of those who designed it (Chomsky, 2008:160).

All the above point to the relationship between media, domestic situation and the policy formulation of the state as suggested by several scholars including Harold D. Lasswell (1948) who all support the claim that the media does play a role in directing our attention to certain issues (Dearing and Rogers,1996:11). An example of when media played a role in directing attention to a particular issue, is the freedom of information bill which was recently passed in Nigeria. The masses did not see why Nigerians would not be allowed access to salient information which impact their everyday lives. The argument on whether or not to pass the bill went on with the media presenting the issues at stake. This resulted in the legislature passing the bill. The same can be said of the media reportage of Boko Haram activities in recent times, and the people’s indignation at the government’s seemingly nonchalant attitude to the plight of innocent Nigerians at the hands of the sect. Again, the legislature had no choice but to announce a manhunt for the leaders of the Islamic fundamentalist group. This goes to show that although the public and the mass media are just two types of influences on policy agendas, they are important influences nonetheless (Dearing and Rogers, 1996: 73).

Unfortunately, in spite of the examples given above, studies showing the relationship between all three factors: media, civil unrest and foreign policy and how each one affects the other, are limited. Thus, this study is pertinent and unique in that it is multidisciplinary and sought to examine the relationship between all three: media reporting of civil unrest in Nigeria, and its implication on the nation’s foreign policy. Unlike other works which focused on the military regimes, this research focussed more on civilian

administrations. Particular attempt was made to compare the way the local media report these issues against how the international media report them and examining which of them make more impact in influencing Nigeria's foreign policy. The conclusions arrived at in the thesis will contribute to determining ways of resolving these problem thereby contributing to the lasting solutions as well as serve as literature for future researchers.

In order to do this and direct the research, the objectives below were achieve by answering the research questions following:

1.6. Objectives

This study ascertained that it will be difficult for Nigeria to achieve her foreign policy goals in the face of the negative publicity generated as a result of the unrest in the country.

It also examined the degree to which media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria will influence the nation's foreign policy.

Lastly, it concluded that media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria will influence the nation's foreign policy.

1.7. Research Questions

A qualitative research method was employed and the methodology derived from the data collected and analysed. One of the questions emerges out of the CNN effect premise which is that:

1. Do media influence foreign policy through reporting?
2. Is Nigeria's foreign policy adapted to suit prevailing situations in the country?
3. Will media reportage of the civil unrest in Nigeria significantly affect foreigner's perception of the country and its foreign policy?

1.8. Methodology

The major research tool in this study, was the qualitative research method involving data collection using questionnaires, in-depth interviews, document analysis and unstructured observation. This research method was used because it is flexible and adaptable. It therefore allowed the researcher more flexibility than the quantitative research method. Nevertheless, an element of the quantitative was used to see if there were relationships between variables such as age, gender, educational background, religious inclination, and other such factors. Although media in general is discussed in the thesis, only print media is analysed in the methodology.

1.9. Overview of the Study

Chapter One introduces the study by giving a general background of the research including the aims and objective, statement of the problem, significance of the study as well as the research questions which helped guide the research.

Chapter Two provides a detailed review of relevant literature pertaining to the study as well as the theoretical framework for the study.

Chapter Three gives a breakdown of the methodology including the sample size, population, data analysis method and the justification for this particular research method.

Chapter Four focuses on the analysis of the data as well as discussions on the findings of the data gathered.

Chapter Five takes a look at Civil unrest and Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Some Conflict Theories are also examined in this chapter.

In Chapter Six, a critical look at local media reportage of the civil unrest situation in Nigeria is inspected against foreign media reportage of same on Nigeria. Some Media Theories are also looked at in this chapter.

Chapter Seven gives the conclusions derived from the research as well as the suggested recommendations especially for future researches.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL / THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Literature Review

Having given the background of the Nigerian situation and explained the research problem, there is a need to examine each of the factors that are involved in this study.

Chapter 2, section 22 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which is an amendment of the 1979 constitution states that, "The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this Chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people."

For the purpose of this study, only radio, television and print media was considered. This is because the newer forms of media like Satellite, cable television and social media came into existence in the continent in the 1990's. As one would expect, with technology also came the invasion into homes and the ability to get information in real time which makes regulating social media impossible. However, traditional media is generally regulated by regulatory bodies of each country within the continent. In Nigeria, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) regulates broadcast media of radio and television while the Nigerian Press Council regulates the print media.

This study closely examined two of the factors: media and civil unrest, which might contribute to influencing the foreign policy at this time and spanned the years in focus: 1990-2011. It took a look at the civil unrest in Nigeria in relation to the role of the media in reporting it and the factors which can cause or contribute to unrest in a country.

As earlier stated, Chapter II section 22 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was cleverly crafted. It implies that the media is able to report the truth at all times without prejudice and hold government accountable for what it does - "The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this Chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people". However, there seems an almost veiled

message here as the responsibility of the government to the people or what government is accountable for, is whatever the media interprets it to be.

Unfortunately, it would appear that the press in Nigeria has not always been free to report. Although the Nigerian Media is believed to have some level of freedom than other countries in sub-Sahara Africa, freedom here is relative. Like the rest of the continent, the rights of journalists have been and are still being infringed on to some extent. There have been times especially during the military regimes in the country when news items have been censored, media houses shut and journalists arrested and incarcerated for sometimes long period of time. In spite of the alleged freedom of the press, the media in Nigeria certainly did not enjoy much freedom during the military regime and immediately after during the first civilian administration with a retired military general (Obasanjo) as its first civilian President. Oduyela (August 2005) gave an insight into the media-government relations at the time. A well respected journalist, Dele Giwa, was killed with a "letter bomb" during Ibrahim Babangida's military regime. Many journalists including Soji Omotunde, Nosa Igiebor, Ben Charles, Bayo Onanuga, Babafemi Ojodu, Kunle Ajibade, and Tokunbo Fakeye among others, were detained and jailed during General Sani Abacha's 5-years reign (<http://www.dawodu.com/oduyela22.htm>). Others went on self exile during this period. At the time, the country was not a conducive environment to practice journalism.

In "Imprisonment of Press freedom in Nigeria," Churchill Okonkwo corroborates this fact by demonstrating that even after the military regimes, Media Rights Agenda (MRA), a nongovernmental organization (NGO) which promotes press freedom and freedom of expression, recorded more than fifty cases of reported abuses against journalists and other violations of freedom of expression between June 2002 and September 2003, long after the military regimes (Okonkwo, May 2010). Such a conflictual climate makes it difficult for the media to do its duty of reporting without fear.

Reporters Without Borders, a media watchdog, listed the Nigeria Police Force as the leading abuser of journalists' rights. The violation of the civil rights of Nigerians in general and journalists in particular by the Nigerian police, is much talked about with several instances to cite. Unfortunately, civil rights violations in the country are rife. Edo-

Ugbagwu, a judicial correspondent of The Nation newspapers was on Saturday, April 24, 2010 murdered in Lagos. Godwin Agbroko and Abayomi Ogundeji both of Thisday newspapers, Omololu Falabi and Bayo Ohu of The Guardian were also all killed in Lagos by 'unknown gun men' ([http:// focusnigeria.com/press-freedom-nigeria.htm](http://focusnigeria.com/press-freedom-nigeria.htm)).

Is it possible that these journalists were incarcerated or in trouble with government because of their particular style of reporting? The constitution did not stipulate how media should report. Nonetheless, if these journalists were punished because of their style of reporting, then how should media report? A look at the traditional ways of reporting shows that there are four rhetorical traditions journalists employ in conveying news although only one is mentioned here. Whichever approach is selected by the journalists would invariably affect the meaning received by the audience.

Most people are familiar with the sensational approach which is emotional and discussed here. For instance, in the example given above about journalists who are personally affected by the bombings and killings of their colleagues, because they can relate to the situation and empathise, they are more likely to write in a way that will evoke emotions like anger, alarm, fear, provocation. Picard (1991:40-41) agrees that the above sort of emotions usually work well in conflict situations. His sentiment, is echoed by Brian McNair (2007: 11) who believes that the media do not just report what is going on in politics in an impartial manner because analyses show that media accounts of political events, are laden with value judgments, subjectivities and biases. In spite of all these however, media houses have their own interests which include being seen as independent and objective all the while bearing in mind that they strive to be competitive and profitable (McNair, 2007:150). McNair seems to be saying that although media actually reports subjectively, they want the audience to think that they are objective in their reporting.

The above discussion raises pertinent questions: do media see the audience as naïve? A biased reporting is subjectively obvious in the piece. Most media houses usually stay competitive and make profit by sensationalising events. They might not win any awards for being objective but they could attract an audience if only a curious one. Apart from the issue of subjectivity, it is also a fact that media houses have their own particular

interests as well as allegiances when they are set up. Some of them owe allegiance to government, others to the elites in the society and wherever their allegiances lie like in the case of the media houses to their shareholders especially if foreign controlled, there their interest would lie. That would influence the style of reporting and is usually associated with anti-government, anti-nationalists agenda setting. These allegiances are analysed and discussed in section 2.2 below.

2.1. 1. Perception of the Media

It is widely agreed upon that in spite of journalists' claim to objectivity, usually, when narrating their report, journalists infuse them with emotions (editorial by anonymous, October 2012). The question therefore is, are media truly ever objective or even balanced? McNair does not think so from his statement above and neither does Maj-Britt Hoglund (2008:227) in his writing *Using the Words of Others: 'reporter voice' and the construal of objectivity in the reporting of political conflict in Finland*. Hoglund argues that objective news coverage, is actually a professional myth in journalism. Although objective reporting is reporting the facts, it is also being able to impartially report all the sides of an event or conflict. The reporter sometimes has to make a judgment call on how to interpret what he/she is hearing, and also has to gauge the credibility of the person giving him the information. All these factors will influence what he/she writes and how they write it. Of course, his decision is all the while guided by the editorial policy of the newspaper, and influenced by his own professional and personal values as well as experience (Maj-Britt Hoglund, 2008:227).

This is the reality in Africa and the Nigerian situation in particular. How objective can a reporter who is lobbying to be press secretary or media advisor to a politician be? Nduka Irabor and Tunde Thompson, were both journalists jailed by the Buhari government under Decree 4. Nduka Irabor later became the Chief Press Secretary to Admiral Augustus Aikhomu the Vice-President during President Babangida's regime. (Seyi Oduyela, June 1, 2005). How balanced can a journalist's report on a politician be when he has collected money equivalent to over two year's salary from him? How balanced can

a report be when the media house is owned by a politician? Will an editor who has been bribed by a politician allow a negative story of the same politician be published or aired? It is likely that there will be a positive slant in favour of whoever is paying as in the adage “he who pays the piper dictates the tune.”

Apparently, this problem is not peculiar to Nigeria or Africa. Violet Blue wrote that some concerned Wikipedians accused a trustee of Wikimedia Foundation UK and a Wikipedian in Resident, both high positions, of allegedly using the Wikipedia page for what she termed ‘pay-for-play’ by ‘facilitating front-page placement’ for their publicity-seeking clients (Violet Blue, September 2012). Also in Germany, a consortium of pharmaceutical companies was alleged to have been paying a journalist to write articles which denigrates Professor Edzard Ernst, an academic who has published research into their products.

America is not left out of the allegation. An article ‘Paying for It’ claimed that *The Star* paid a six-figure sum, reportedly \$150,000, for Gennifer Flowers’ story during the 1992 Presidential campaign. *The Star* has also been reported to have paid for other stories such as that of the woman who had an affair with Clinton advisor, Dick Morris and also to the White House steward who said he saw Monica Lewinsky in the Oval office (Kelly Heyboer, 1999).

To further substantiate the claim that Africa is not the only corrupt continent where journalists get some form of payment for service, in 2003, Dean Kruckeberg and Katerina Tsetsura conducted a study attempting to map out the likelihood for “cash for news coverage” in 66 countries using a set of 8 indicators. These indicators supposedly pointed to the probability of corrupt journalistic behaviour in newspapers in the countries sampled. The eight indicators were: tradition of self-determination by citizens; perception of corruption laws; accountability of government; adult literacy; professional journalism education; codes of ethics; freedom of the press; and media competition”. The result showed that journalists in western countries were less likely to be guilty of corruption while countries like China, Saudi Arabia, Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan were most likely to publish news for cash. Unfortunately, due to lack of data, only five African countries were included in the study. They were Mauritius at the 40th position; South

Africa 50th; Kenya 55th; Nigeria 58th; and Egypt 61st position with 66 being the worst position to be (Terje Skjerdal, 2010). In spite of all that is said above about cash for news, in reality, sometimes cash do not necessarily exchange hands. These Journalists are given other incentives like trips abroad and other favours in return for their 'services'. In some instances, some companies such as those in the financial sector have also been noted to give foreign trips and other favours to journalists and their analysts for 'services' rendered.

Another example where it might probably be difficult for journalists to be objective in their reporting is the alleged Boko Haram bombings and killing of innocent civilians in some states in northern Nigeria. Apart from innocent civilians being killed, some journalists have not only lost colleagues, they have also lost family members. It would be difficult for such a journalist to report dispassionately or submit a balanced report.

From the above, it might be difficult in certain instances for journalists to give balanced reports in cases where they or people they know have been personally affected or if they have been paid to write the piece. Seyi Oduyela (June 1, 2005) in 'The Media in Nigeria' claims that the media does not merely distort facts, but polish one side while demeaning the other. To some extent, media could polish one side of a story. However, it would be brazen and outright unethical for them to go as far as to distort the facts. Oduyela's reasons for holding this view could be because these journalists have gone on to work for people in government which proved more lucrative than their journalistic careers. For example, Austin Uganwa another journalist detained during Abacha's regime, later became the Press Secretary to one of the Deputy Speakers. Oduyela concludes that just as the politicians have failed the country, the media have failed too because it looks like the media in Nigeria is no longer a moulder of the society although it might be its reflector. It mirrors the state of decadence in the country (Seyi Oduyela, June 1, 2005). This unfortunately, is another area of research.

From the above, it would appear that 'objectivity' is actually subjective like McNair (2007:11) and Maj-Britt Hoglund (2008) believe as the journalist has the latitude of interpreting the news whichever way he wants. This confirms the power of the Media because it can decide what to report, when and how. What is hoped for therefore is at best

as balanced a reporting as can be expected in the circumstance irrespective of the situation and the emotions being felt by the reporter.

Despite all that has been said, several scholars perceive media has little or no influence especially in politics. These scholars believe that the influence of media on politics is negligible especially in international politics, conflict and issues of national interest (Hafez, 2007:25; Hamelink, 1993:377). Hafez' reason for belittling the influence of the media is because in his view, the focus of mass media of today is on local rather than global issues. There is therefore, a tendency to give news in part and this can make the reporting seem biased. In essence, because international media does not have the whole picture, it is not able to give the whole picture of the story they are reporting. If we agree with Hamelink and Hafez that the media has no influence, then media are not to blame for whatever interpretations the audience comes up with in any media report since they have no influence whatsoever over the audience. Could this then explain why the international media is perceived as sidelining Africa in their reporting? Or does meaning exist because people deem them so and accept them and not the media attempts to influence it?

At the other end of the spectrum, are scholars like Ullamajja Kivikuru who believe in the power of the audience to generate meaning from whatever they hear. These scholars are of the view that media does not try to influence people with their reporting. Rather, people put their own meanings to what media reports (Kivikuru, 1993:172). Human beings they believe, have the capacity to interpret both theirs and other people's actions. Since people have the ability to explain themselves, narrate events and other such social activities, then humans are able to resolve problems (Butt, 1993:2).

If we agree with McQuail (1987) that media is regulated by society, and we know the audience is part of the communication process, then it holds true that the audience is far from innocent in mass communication as they have a choice of selecting what they want to read, hear and believe as they indeed do in the final analysis.

2. 1. 2. Role of Ideology in the Media

What then is the role of ideology in media? Usually the word ideology connotes an extreme view to a lot of people. The word pragmatic which is the middle ground is more preferable. Journalists prefer this middle ground first because not only can most of their audience be found here but also as it is a middle ground which shields them from criticisms while giving the news legitimacy (Croteau, 2005).

Nevertheless, ideology is seen by media scholars as a way to define and explain the world and through this, make value judgments about it (Anonymous, s.a.). Here, media scholars focus on what the implications are generally for defining and thinking about all the related issues such as social, cultural and political rather than on the texts in television programs or films. The essence of analysing media ideology is to learn more about ourselves as well as our society.

The Oxford Dictionary defines ideology as a science of ideas which involves studying the nature and origin. It is "a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy". It is in sum, a set of belief which is characteristic to an individual or group. Simply put, ideology is not just a belief system but a way of life. It is essentially something which is deep in the individual's unconscious and pervades all areas of life. Croteau (2005) explains ideology as a system which defines and explains the world and makes value judgments about it. Ideology here, would be a particular way of thinking or viewing issues. Croteau believes that the media is 'selling' to the public, what they want us to know, hear and think. The focus he says is on the content rather than on the effects of the message.

Like McQuail and Kivikuru, AMM Quamruzzmann (M. A. Dissertation, s.a), in his 'ideology of media', believes that the audience is not always passive and sees both the media and audience as "meaning generating". His definition of ideology is interesting. He defines it as a "process which takes place 'behind our backs' producing and structuring our consciousness in ways that we are not immediately aware of". Apparently, both media and audience do not just listen to information thrown at them. Rather, they collect such information, analyse and take it through series of steps before they can "reconstruct

or re-express" them. Meaning in this instance, is not confined to the written or spoken words alone but also non-verbal cues like gestures, emotions and indeed anything which can be interpreted. Communication as we know is a two way process and fits in perfectly in this case. The media is a lot of things and their functions are also many and include to inform, entertain, educate, mould, reflect or mirror the society and of course to regulate it. Performing all these functions, media cannot but wield so much power. The main idea behind the study of ideology is hegemony drawn from the work of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) an Italian thinker who believes that power can be wielded at any level including everyday life. Of necessity according to him, hegemony is an on-going process if one was to effectively wield power through consent (Croteau, 2005).

Hegemony is not about imposing views on people. It is more subtle. It is about winning people's consent through cultural leadership (Anonymous (s.a.); Croteau (2005). For media to wield any influence, two critical factors will have to be in place: a lot of media coverage concerning the issue and secondly, there is no cogent policy in place so decision can be influenced. If the policy is already in place and certain, irrespective of the hype or slant given the issue, media is not likely to have any significant effect (Robinson, 2002 cited by Balabanova). Balabanova (2011) argues that the influence wielded by the media over policy issues can be contended and gave two examples of how central and eastern European countries (CEE's) governments despite the lack of public support for their policies supported the US in its operation against Iraq.

Suggestions have been made as to how media use the institution to manipulate the audience. It is also for this same power that the media is said to wield, that highly placed individuals can in turn manipulate the media to report what they want the public to know because of their political interest and of course in some instances, gratuity exchange hands as earlier discussed.

The media is further able to transform the society by being the conscience of the people and speaking up against the system failure. Using discourse analysis, we can then understand why and how everyone involved in the communication process functions. Communication takes place without people thinking about it or even being aware of it as in the non verbal cues they send out. People subconsciously bring their emotion and

experiences to bear in each communication process whether they are watching a news item on television or reading one in print in order to interpret and understand it or even during a social discourse. The media aware of this, use it to their advantage by using sensational headings which would captivate the audience. Media can also use pictures which could insight the audience depending on the reaction they want from the audience.

Therefore, if we see all these and more as the role of the media in society, then it stands to reason that with so much power come responsibilities. McQuail's (1987:3) assertion, that media as an institution, is regulated by society and indeed develops its own rules and norms which link it to the society, points to the ideology of the media. Media is used as an instrument by people to exercise power. In essence, media is an effective instrument of power because it can persuade in matters of opinion and belief, influence behaviour as well as define and structure perceptions of reality (McQuail, 1987:82). Media help paint pictures of the society and this plays a role in shaping our perceptions in the social setting. Furthermore, media do not just report impartially about politics. Their reporting is subjective and biased while at the same time, managing to be competitive and profitable (McNair, 2007:11).

2. 1. 3. Analysis of the Media

From the foregoing, it is generally agreed that factors such as the prevailing political and economic situation, ownership of the press and even level of press freedom enjoyed as well as the journalists' level of education and training, will all determine how the press performs its functions. The audience is not being manipulated by media in the communication process because they play an active role in the communication process. The audience determines what is reported in the press by its level of interest and that is what would determine what the media will keep reporting. For as long as the audience is interested in the story, the media will keep reporting it. Media simply adapts the roles to suit the communication since it performs several roles. It can act as a mirror, a shaper of issues and event, a conciliator and more. All these roles combine to affect the audience's attitudes, knowledge and their actions in determining events. In spite of the fact that the

Media allow us know what is happening in other parts of the world, it is a myth that the reach of the media is on the rise (Edeani, 1994).

Some scholars like Hafez, see globalization of the media as a myth because it does not give an indication as to the actual reach or potential of the media to change culture and the society. He strongly criticises CNN, (which he perceives as the only globally accepted media) and concludes that the network "has lost it". To buttress this view that there is no global village, he cites several scholars. In his criticism of the media, he fears that they may even heighten the tension between the populace, religious groups, ethnic and cultural minorities rather than make it better depending on their reporting style. The increased reporting which was sometimes limited to terrorism in foreign lands, quickly died down soon after the event (Hafez, 2007: 2-3).

Well, this might be true to the extent that the networks and print media, do not seem to harp on negative news in their region but it is also true that Sky or Al Jazeera's reporting of the 'war in Syria' or 'chemical weapons in Iran' for example have been in the news for so long and is still in the news and does not look like it is going to die down any time soon. The same can be said of the Egypt crisis. We have to bear in mind that media will report anything that is newsworthy. So, if the situation is under control, it is hardly newsworthy since there are a lot of news items vying for attention. Hafez's fear that media could heighten tension is therefore misplaced.

While Hafez fears that the media could heighten the tension in the conflict areas and this might well be if media use inciting, provocative language. Edeani concludes that mass media reportage of conflict is influenced by the home country's interests and foreign policy goals. According to Edeani (1994), in a research conducted in the early 1990's of some select newspapers and magazines in Nigeria, it appeared the media then largely did good and balanced reporting of all sides of the conflicts in Nigeria. The conclusion arrived at, is that media helps in shaping the type of society we have. Umaru Pate also conducted a study of three Nigerian newspapers which confirmed that geography as well as foreign policy, played a great part in the stories that were reported (Pate, 1992). It would seem that McQuail's organisation, selection and production theory of communication which takes into account all the forces that affect media performance

such as the political inclination of the media house, the government, freedom of the press and of course audience behaviour, is being supported here by these scholars.

While scholars are not agreed on the audience's interpretation of print media, it appears that when it comes to visual communication, they agree that television, visual aids or pictures, all help to enhance the message. Pictures are believed to help in the communication process. They help record and summarise ideas, and influence the perceptions and behaviour of people (Stiles, 2004:127 quotes Kotler (1986)). Could the media's ability to influence the perception and behaviour of the audience be because people look to the media for certain ideals? Early studies of the audience show that people looked to the media for reinforcement of their own values, security and assurance, contact with others and the society at large (McQuail 1987:96).

These all seem to point to the power the media wields and since human beings will take news wherever they get it whether it is from the television, radio, prints or even the social media, it has been suggested that media uses communication in such a way as to imply or suggest to the reader, listener or viewer the particular message they want to communicate. Re-enforcing Stiles' view that when visual element is introduced, the report becomes more real to the audience unless they make a conscious effort to see it just as a report and not something which could be happening in real life (Nightingale and Ross, 2003:77). For example the Boko Haram bombing shown on television or photographs in press showing pictures of these heinous acts, would evoke more emotions in people as it would bring home the reality and enormity of such heinous acts. This confirms the intrusive nature of television.

From the above, it would appear that although people put their own individual meanings to whatever the media reports, introducing a visual element to a news story, makes it more real and believable as people can relate to it. It brings the message home to the audience. This would not be surprising since everyone including governments, businesses, civil society groups and other organisations, use mass media for their own purposes especially as there is a general consensus that people will interpret any communication based on their experiences, values, attitudes and beliefs. In sum,

communication is a more complex and intricate system as it is not only about the message but also about the channel as well as the receiver.

2.1.4. Media and Conflict Situations

Since media is a reflection and a regulator of the society and society itself is structured by differences of power whether economic or political, then there is a need to examine the possible ramifications of both on the society.

The Niger-Delta militants for instance, say that they are fighting for both economic and political power. The people of the region are asking the government for a certain percentage of oil revenue to develop the region as well as the authority to decide what happens to the oil in the region. In a show of goodwill, the Federal government of Nigeria, has set up a Ministry of the Niger-Delta solely to look into the affairs of the region. So far, their requests have not been acceded to, so there continue to be some unrest in the region. Summarising the relationship between the media and government in relation to the civil unrest, Robert Obiora writes that none of the approaches taken by government so far to resolve the issues in the Niger-Delta, have worked (Robert Obiora, April 30, 2012).

Although media has a duty in this instance as in all news, to report the problem not only to Nigerians but to the rest of the world, its role in reporting conflict has unfortunately, come under scrutiny. Louw citing Schlesinger et al (1983) see three possible relationships in conflict situations between the media and perpetrators or terrorists. The first are journalists/reporters who are themselves 'criminals' because they sympathise with the terrorists and give them media coverage. The second group of journalists see the terrorists' violence as illegitimate but believe that terrorists are made because of the ills in the society and those ills should be corrected. Finally are the radical journalists who side with the perpetrators and see the terror acts as justified (Louw, 2005:249).

This classification of the relationship between media and perpetrators seems far-fetched. There is no doubt that journalists are human beings and will have their leanings. They

might sympathise, even empathise with the perpetrators but it is unlikely that a respectable journalist will shirk his responsibility of informing and educating the people about the issues being discussed and not condemn the terror acts being perpetrated by these rebels. No matter what their grouses are, there are better ways to seek redress than killing innocent people.

These perpetrators, terrorists, militants, rebels or whatever names we choose to call them are said to do what they do to communicate and they do this in several ways and for several reasons (Louw 2005:242-243). They sometimes try to mobilize people by telling them that the government is not serving the people's interest. This they would do in ways that will attract attention. An example is the Niger-Delta militants or the Islamic fundamentalist group Boko Haram who kidnap and sometimes kill foreigners to get attention and as already stated and in some cases for ransom. Secondly, terrorists deploy violence in the hope that government would accede to their requests or if this does not happen, gain sympathy from others who see the government as heavy handed and unsympathetic to the plight of the terrorists. Perpetrators can also communicate by sending messages to government supporters with the aim of frightening them into making policies which would favour them, the perpetrators. Sometimes, perpetrators simply want to send a message to foreign governments, its citizens and their allies not to give support in some way to the target country. Lastly, at other times, terrorists try to negatively affect the economy of the target country in this instance, Nigeria, by making the country unsafe and insecure for tourists, investors and other such groups of people. This is already being witnessed in Nigeria and a lot of foreigners are afraid to come to the country as a result of which investment and tourism opportunities are being wasted not just because of underdeveloped infrastructure, but also because of security issues.

Unfortunately, the media seems to be in the middle of the conflict as journalists' reporting of news is influenced by what they perceive as their function which includes informing and educating (Eke and Alali, 1991:8). The contagion argument, has been used against them in spite of the fact that there is no scientific argument to back it up. Media have been accused of encouraging terrorism by giving terrorists and terror acts publicity thereby giving them more importance. This, Eke and Alali argue, creates more violence

and will encourage other smaller groups to form and even commit more heinous acts. The people who believe in the contagion argument assert that giving publicity to perpetrators, will also make them more visible and they may even hijack the media for their use (Picard, 1991:50-52). Picard cites Rudolf Levy (1985), a Defence Department expert on terrorism who has taught at the U.S. Army Intelligence Centre and School as giving all these reasons for contagion.

It is doubtful that the media is knowingly encouraging terrorists and terror acts. However, maybe the contagion argument is true to some extent of the Nigerian situation. After all, before the Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalists, were the Niger-Delta militants and before them was the OPC and before them, were the Ndigbhos. Although media are carrying out as earlier mentioned, what they perceive as their function, could the perpetrators knowing the power of the media be 'hijacking' it for their use? Could it be that they appreciate that the mass media is an effective instrument of power because it can persuade in matters of opinion and belief, influence behaviour as well as define and structure perceptions of reality? (McQuail, 1987:82). The Boko Haram bombings in 2012 of some newspaper houses in the North of the country, was aimed at influencing the behaviour of the media to deter them from negative publication about the sect. It was also to instil fear of the sect in people. The Boko Haram may have succeeded in doing at least the latter and have certainly succeeded in gaining a lot of attention. Former Vice-President Atiku Abubakar reacting to the unfortunate event, had condemned the Boko Haram bombing of *ThisDay* Newspaper buildings in Abuja and Kaduna. Abubakar said: "The attacks on media houses are a dangerous dimension to the insurgency in the country and government needs to be more creative in tackling the menace" (AllAfrica Global Media, 27 April 2012). His words then seem almost prophetic as indeed the insurgency has truly taken a different and bigger dimension between 2013 and 2014. The year 2013 allegedly saw the Boko Haram group going into villages, schools, police stations and other public places carrying out their killing sprees while 2014 saw them doing all these and much more including bombing public places and kidnapping people including over 200 school girls from their school near Chibok.

In summary, we can glean from all the above that conflict, like all other human endeavours, is part of human existence and the media owes the public the duty of reporting them. What and how they report, is out of the control of the audience as several factors such as the experience, value, education of the reporter, the policy of the media house and other such factors, come into play in reporting. Louw E. (2005:238) affirming this states that "All societies have dominant and dominated groups. Sometimes, dominated groups become so alienated and frustrated they rebel and opt to deploy political violence against their rulers". Could that have been the case with the Ndigbo, the Igbo speaking people from the South East or OPC from the South West of Nigeria? Could that be the case with the people of the Niger-Delta as a whole or even the Boko Haram in the North? Are these groups of Nigerians feeling frustrated and alienated and rebelling against the government and by extension the people of Nigeria?

There will always be conflicts between human beings. These conflicts as we know them will exist between people of lower social statuses and the "Power Elite" who are the people at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy (Mills, 1916-1962), people of different cultures, religion and so on. However, given the context of this research, Max Weber's belief that power, prestige and property which can be found in all spheres of life and which contribute to social conflict, is more fitting and will be our reference point.

Like Louw, Akinboye and Attah (2005:131) believe that some conflicts in the third world are as a result of internal disagreement between the political class and the people over goals and the strategies to adopt to achieve these goals. It is therefore not surprising if internal tension and conflict occur in the state when this happens. The January 2012 mass rally in Nigeria to protest the government's insensitivity to the plight of the masses over the removal of fuel subsidy, is an example and a testament to that fact. The Boko Haram wanting the Quran/sharia to replace the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, is another example. These examples can best be described as civil unrest.

Civil unrest in a broad sense describes unrest caused by a group of people protesting the socio-political problems in their environment either to the government or public at large and it can sometimes escalate into chaos https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_disorder. Sometimes the objection is about some policy of the government which the people

disagree with and other times, it is symbolic. In both cases, the idea is to get the government to change or modify its policy on the matter <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2379876>. A simply definition of civil unrest is that it involves a disruption of the typical social order and can involve a strike or protest which can be either peaceful or violent <http://www.everydaysociologyblog.com/2012/05/civil-unrest-riots-and-rebellions-whats-the-difference.html>.

Since the civil unrest, especially the Boko Haram bombings and killing of innocent civilians have become a major problem and an embarrassment to the Nigerian government with its attending media hype, it is now being referred to as **TERRORISM**. Some people see the spate of violence from the hostage taking and bombings of the Niger-Delta people to the bombings of the Boko Haram group as terrorism. The state of things has garnered so much interest in the media that Klaus Pähler, head of the German Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) in Nigeria in a statement credited to him and posted on 4, May, 2012 on the web, commented in Abuja that the recent Boko Haram bombings is a new level of terrorism. Worried by the frequency of attacks and the efficiency of the perpetrators, he goes on to say that terrorism in Nigeria has dramatically increased over the course of the last year. What makes it more dangerous for everyone according to him, is that the technology used is getting more sophisticated. Another person who commented on this is the spokeswoman for the UN, High Commissioner for Human Rights, Cecile Pouilly. On November 5th 2013, she that "Members of Boko Haram and other groups and entities, if judged to have committed widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population ... (could be) guilty of crimes against humanity". She made this comment after the sect's alleged latest attack on a wedding convoy which killed several people including the groom.

The internet is full of detailed accounts of such related incidences. The U.S. Department of State also has a catalogue of some of the killings and unrest with specific locations, dates and figures. Most of the killings documented seemed to have happened between 2007 and 2009, mostly during the Yar'Adua's administration. There appears to be a relationship between the spate of unrest and the different administrations as more civil unrest were recorded during civilian administrations compared to military regimes.

The U.S. Department of State suggests that the incidences of ethnic and religious conflicts became more pronounced after military rule although many of the unrest were not all politically motivated or as a result of religious ideology (Diplomacy in Action, April 12, 2012). This could be because the military regimes were largely dictatorial and so they came down hard on anyone or group who did not conform to certain behaviour. In the Niger Delta, the main reason for the unrest as already mentioned, is disagreements over the use of oil revenue wealth, and long standing disputes over the distribution of land and other resources and the underdevelopment of the region. While some of the abductions may have been politically motivated, others involved international oil workers and perceived high-value targets. Kidnappings also occurred against the middle class as a means of generating quick cash, and against political opponents for political gain. In some instances, senior religious leaders as well as senior citizens or parents of well known Nigerians like the mother of the current Finance Minister, Prof. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, were kidnapped for ransom. While kidnappings for ransom commonly occurred in the south, they became more widespread in the country as a reasonable quick and "easy" way to make money or get attention. All these perpetrated acts are what some observers call terrorism.

Terrorism means different things to different people. Some commentators believe terrorists are young men and in rare case women like Samantha Lewthwaite who come from rich and privileged backgrounds. Contrary to what these people might think, they are usually not dropouts but professionals or semi professionals like doctors, architects, engineers, scientist who in most cases have families. Some have even studied in the West (http://wikiislam.net/wiki/Muslim_Statistics_-_Terrorism). The people who believe this may well cite people like Osama Bin Laden and the young Nigerian, Abu Talab who almost blew up a plane in the US and who is currently serving a life sentence in a US prison. Both are believed to have come from privileged homes with western education. Others are believed to be disgruntled people in the society who want to be heard (like Samantha Lewthwaite, the white widow) while yet others might see these perpetrators as people being used by a group of people, to destabilize the government in power. This latter view is supported by Berecovitch and Lutmar (2010:243) who proposed that in any conflict, there are some internal factions who may have an interest in prolonging the

conflict rather than resolve it. Rumours of this view is rife in Nigeria as some political elites are believed to be sponsoring these perpetrators in their agitation with the hope of de-stabilising the country for their own economic and political interests.

An example is when the Inspector General of Police (IGP) Mohammed Abubakar announced that there is no cogent evidence to arrest and prosecute some senators from Borno State of Nigeria as well as a former governor Ali Modu Sheriff. A past and a serving lawmakers, who were also accused of sponsoring Boko Haram, are under investigation (Molly Kilete, November 1, 2012). Former President Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, is not free of the scandal. He is rumoured to be one of the people sponsoring Boko Haram (Jason, 2010). The Nigerian press on-line, is full of sensational headlines like "EXPOSED! Prominent Men Sponsoring Boko Haram: Plus Video Evidence". There is one by the Editorial Board of one of the prominent newspapers in the country, *The Punch* newspaper with the caption "Unmask and punish Boko Haram's sponsors" (*The Punch*, Nov 6, 2012). In this piece, the IGP (Inspector General of Police) Mohammed Abubakar is chastised for warning the sponsors that they are under surveillance as this warning is giving them a heads up to be more careful. Unfortunately, these wealthy and influential Nigerians seem to be sacred and untouchable no matter what crimes they commit. They are not even questioned to determine their involvement or otherwise in these acts.

Most terrorist movements are believed to be relatively small. They are usually covert groups with anti-establishment political or religious ideologies, seeking to de-stabilize the government in power or influence (be it a domestic or foreign-based power), using violence or the threat of violence in order to be relevant (Horgan, J. 2005:1). This seems to hold true for Nigeria at the moment as with all the perpetrators of the unrest. In the case of Boko Haram, who believe that they are doing the will of God. Could this be a universal belief of Muslims or just some few fanatics? Hamid Mowlana (1993) affirms that a Muslim looks to the laws of God for guidance and not that of humans. He argues that Islam is a "total life system" and the guiding principles for humans to live by, are contained in the Quran. He blames the stagnation in the Islamic world on conflicts and colonialism with factors such as luxury and materialism, setting the states into decline.

Apparently in Islam, neither the elected leaders, the state itself or even the people, has sovereignty. Sovereignty belongs only to Allah (Mowlana, 1993).

Mowlana's assertion might explain why the Boko Haram, a Muslim sect in Nigeria, is advocating that the Quran be adopted in place of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as they consider it a complete guide to how human beings should live. Does this belief explain why El-Shabab the Islamic fundamentalist group allegedly went on rampage for 4 days at the Westgate mall in Kenya in September, 2013 killing innocent people? It was reported that members of the group asked Muslims to indicate by a show of hands and were freed only after they could recite something in Arabic/Quran <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24189116>.

There is anecdotal evidence that some of the rebels who plant the bombs credited to the Boko Haram group, are people from neighbouring countries like Niger Republic paid to come into Nigeria to cause havoc. Boko Haram is also rumoured to be supporting and encouraging the Muslims in northern Mali to secede. These anecdotal evidences are rife and will probably continue and intensify even as the group's activities have attracted international attention. It however needs to be arrested as soon as possible.

With all the unrest in recent times from the Niger-delta militants to the Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalists, the nation's foreign policy as scholars already suggest, is undoubtedly affected bearing in mind that domestic issues impact foreign policy and the media being right in the middle presenting both sides of the issue.

2. 1. 5. Media and Nigeria's Foreign Policy

There are varied views on media's impact on foreign policy. Scholars are generally agreed on the foreign policy goals influencing the media reportage. Although ownership of the media determines what and how a news item is presented, the foreign policy goal take precedence over it (Edeani, 1994). In the same vein, it would appear that media tend to focus on foreign affairs which occur in relation to their own respective regions and the political environment particularly the political interest of the group, will affect media

reporting to reflect the foreign policy (Pate 1992). Media have been known to exert some influence on foreign policy.

Several authors have confirmed that the effects of television and the media on foreign policy tend to be obvious. It is believed that in most cases, political decisions had already been made before the large scale media hype of the event. Hafez (2007) is one of such scholars who are of the opinion that the media has little or no influence on foreign policy decisions. He nonetheless concedes that if the authors who believe that media influence foreign policy are correct, then the media can exercise an effect on foreign policy in places suffering humanitarian crises and even then he warns, only under certain conditions. He concludes that in the final analysis, media will never win over vital issues of foreign policy because "the media *follow* rather than *lead*." (Hafez, 2007:54). Like him, Kofi Anan quoted by Nic Gowing in Piers Robinson's "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics" is believed to have said that when foreign policy has been thought through and decisions made, then the media have little impact (Robinson, P. 2001). In essence, states do not change policies just because there is media hype about an event.

Warren P. Strobel, a one time white house correspondent like Hafez stated that the media has no effect on changing policy. Not unlike Hafez, he also concedes that media is however able to change public opinion (Warren P. Strobel, 1996). He gave a couple of examples where it seemed that the CNN effect did occur although he is quick to point out that the U.S. government was intending to either go in or pull out of those countries even before the media uproar anyway. Strobel concedes that US foreign policy formulation, has indeed been influenced by the CNN effect. In his words, "this ability of CNN to alter a policy that is in flux was graphically demonstrated again just a few months later in February 1994 when a mortar shell slammed into a marketplace in Sarajevo, killing 68 people and wounding many more. The images of the "market massacre" caused outrage around the world. The United States abandoned a year-old hands-off policy toward the Balkans and, a few days later, persuaded NATO to declare a zone around Sarajevo free of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons".

Other scholars also suggest that there are compelling evidence of instances where influence of media on American foreign policy formulation, is apparent. The Somalia incidence is one that was greatly covered by the media and cited as television's influence on U. S. policy formulation (Mermin, J. 1997 cited by Robinson, 2001). Like Strobel, Mermin believes that the CNN effect on its own, was not the sole contributory factor in US changing its policy during the Somalia crisis. Rather, he is of the opinion that all the actors contributed: the media giving the crisis world publicity and the U.S. government not wanting to lose face as other governments seemed to be taking an interest in Somalia. He cited Hines (1999: A11) as stating that George Bush senior said the media was instrumental in making him decide to do something about Somalia.

Former President Bush conceded Saturday that he ordered US troops into Somalia in 1992 after seeing heart-rending pictures of starving waifs on television....Bush said that as he and his wife Barbara, watched television at the white house and saw 'those starving kids....in quest of a little pitiful cup of rice', he phoned Defence Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Collin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. 'Please come over to the White House'. Bush recalled telling the military leaders, 'I-we-cant-watch this anymore. You've got to do something' (Hines (1999: A11) cited by Piers Robinson, 2001).

Another example of the seeming influence of media on foreign policy formulation is the Bosnia war. Richard Holbrook a highly placed US official involved in the Bosnia crisis is quoted as having said in a 1999 article "No Media – No War" as saying 'Let's be clear: the reason the West, finally belatedly intervened was heavily related to media coverage'. In summary, it is clear that policies are not likely to change on trivial issues just because there is media hype about them. However it is also clear that governments have been known to change policies if it immediately affects the masses or on humanitarian issues such as unrest, security issues and in the instances given above.

What then is foreign policy and what likely factors can influence foreign policy? As already stated, factors which can influence foreign policy formulation, include the domestic situation at play in the country and in the case of Nigeria, the continued spates of violence from the Niger-Delta and the new threats by Boko Haram, the security

situation, unemployment, economic hardships as a result of global economic downturn, youth restiveness, religious ideology and so many other internal and external problems. Media reportage has also been said to impact foreign policy which is an aspect of international relations. The press is very vital in any political process. The relationship between media and foreign policy has been likened to the blood in the human body. This shows how essential media is to the entire foreign policy process (Dearing and Rogers, 1996:76). It gives an insight into the importance of the media in the entire political process by likening it to blood in a human as human beings need blood to survive. This might explain why the media is allowed into the chambers during legislative sessions.

In order to understand how important media is to the foreign policy process, there is a need to examine all the various parts that make up the political process.

2. 1. 6. Relationship between Foreign Policy and International Relations

Foreign policy is subsumed under International Relations. International Relations Theory as the name implies, is the study of international relations from a theoretical standpoint and it attempts to provide a basis on which the field can be analysed. The field is so wide and it includes politics, foreign policy analysis, diplomacy and other aspects of international affairs. Just as the discipline is wide, there are many definitions of it. Irrespective of what the definitions are nonetheless, the sum of it is that international relations is a complex process by which nations either build or destroy relationships. Akinboye and Ottoh (2005:13) borrowing Morgenthau (1978) words sum it up simply as the struggle for power.

Power in this case, is the totality of what makes the state including factors which influence its power such as the quality of leadership, degree of national cohesion, quality and quantity of national population, geographical location of the country, economic resource endowment, the ideology or form of government, degree of cultural homogeneity or heterogeneity of the citizenry, the degree of national morale, quality of diplomacy, military capability of the state amongst others (Akinbobola, 1999:330). In all these however, a state will only be powerful if its sovereignty remains and as long as the

problems of social control divide people into the led and leaders as well as rulers and the ruled (Akinboye and Attah 2005:88). In international relations, perception is an important part of reality (Abdul Rauf Mustapha in Kwame D. Dakwa's review of Gulliver's Troubles)

What then is perceived as real in the Nigerian situation? It is true that in order to govern effectively, states are guided by their individual foreign policies in interactions with the international community. It is also true that they need to take into consideration the various emerging challenges being experienced in the country. It is only fitting therefore, that Nigeria's foreign policy should seek to respond effectively the realities in the country, in Africa and the rest of the world. These challenges include terrorism and security concerns, climate change, migration, corrupt leadership, youth restiveness, unemployment, poverty, hunger, human and drug trafficking, activities of multinationals in the oil rich region amongst other. Confirming this, Adekeye Adebajo and Abdul Rauf Mustapha editors of Gulliver's Troubles, state that Nigeria has slowly lost influence globally. The duo enumerate the numerous foreign policy challenges facing the country with factors like domestic situations, regional and global challenges, and lack of depth in professionalism in the conduct of foreign policy being some of the drawbacks.

The Jonathan administration has been pro-active in this wise. In August 2011, it put together a group of International Relations experts and foreign policy practitioners, to review Nigeria's Foreign Policy. The President charged the Council to market the country as an environment in which to conduct business. In a communiqué, the chairman, Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations said the aim of the seminar is to come up with an amended Foreign Policy thrust which would seek to:

focus on activities to promote the country's economic growth and development; maximizing the co-ordination of the inputs by various government institutions and agencies; focusing on how Nigeria can enhance the mutuality of interests from its foreign policy initiatives in Africa and the rest of the world; strengthening Nigeria's role in international organizations; enhancing the capacity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for more effective and efficient execution of Nigeria's foreign policy.

One has to wonder if the policy is being modified at this time as a result of the negative publicity the nation has been receiving because of the kidnappings, unemployment, corruption, terrorist threats and spate of bombings by Boko Haram as well as other negative press the nation has had to endure the past few years. The Nigerian situation seems to defy the successive governments as there does not seem to be any solution in sight. Observers have theorised that the longer leaders are in power, the more difficult it is to change or deviate from the policies that have been in place for a long time (Bercovitch and Lutmar, 2010: 245). This might be true as the last time the Nigerian Foreign policy was reviewed was in 2002.

2. 1. 7. Foreign Policy

With all that said, what is foreign policy? Like any other definition, foreign policy has been defined in different ways by different people. Simply put, foreign policy transcends the boundary of any given state and encapsulates a country's defined objectives in its interaction with the international community (Akinboye & Atooh 2005:115-116). In essence, foreign policy can be said to be a state's guide to dealing with other states politically, economically, socially and in other areas. It is constrained and shaped by actors such as the government agencies, political interest groups and industries (Pearson, 2013). Usually, foreign policy activities are handled by the ministry of foreign affairs as is the case of Nigeria or its equivalent. The Ministry is directly responsible for foreign policy formulation and implementation.

Since 1964, the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has been charged with the responsibility of seeing to the successful implementation of the foreign policy goals. It is assisted in this function by two other relevant institutions namely the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) and the National Advisory Committee of Foreign Affairs. Below are the elements and objectives of Nigeria's Foreign Policy as identified by General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1976:

- a. The defense of our Sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity:

- b. The creation of the necessary political and economic condition in Africa and the rest of the world, which will facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of all African Countries while at the same time, foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development:
- c. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the world:
- d. The promotion and the defense of justice and respect for human dignity especially and the dignity of the black men:
- e. The defence and promotion of world peace.

While some of the objective like "b" are rather lofty because the nation cannot on its own "create" the necessary political and economic condition in Africa and indeed the rest of the world, Nigeria has played her part in ensuring peace and democracy in parts of Africa by being very active in the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as well as sending large troops through the Ecowas Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to monitor peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone especially during President Obasanjo's civilian administration between 1999-2007.

To further show her commitment to Africa, Nigeria made slight modification to the Foreign Policy goal in section 19 of the 1979 constitution and section 20 of the 1989 constitution. Section 19 of the 1979 constitution states that "the state shall promote African Unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and state, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations".

Section 20 of the 1989 constitution was amended to read the Nation's Foreign policy goals as:

- a. promotion and protection of the national interest:
- b. promotion of total liberation of Africa from colonial rule and support of African Unity:

- c. Promotion of international cooperation from the consolidation of universal peace and elimination of racial discrimination in all its manifestations;
- d. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement on international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and
- e. Promotion of a just world economic order.

In the 1999 constitution however, b and c have been modified slightly to read as seen below :

- (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- (c) promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;

In April 1986, the then Head of State, Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida who believed that a government should rule with the consent of the people if it was to succeed (Akinterinwa 2007:67), addressed a conference in Kuru, Jos, Nigeria in which facets of the country's foreign policy was examined. Below is an excerpt of the address:

Nigeria's national interest can be identified as predicated on the nation's military, economic, political and social security. Anything that will enhance the capacity of Nigerian's to defend their security, must be seen as being in their national interest. (Akinboye & Attoh 2005:115-116)

Babangida went further to say that "anything that promotes Nigeria's economic growth and development is in the national interest. Anything that will make Nigeria politically stable is also in the national interest". His belief in this statement might explain why during his military regime between 1985-1993, the country's foreign policy on economic growth and development, was adjusted slightly to reflect the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which a large number of Nigerians said brought hardship to the citizens. His foreign policy focus was on export promotion, encouragement of direct

foreign investment and debt rescheduling. The concept of economic diplomacy was also introduced in the hope that Nigeria will ingratiate herself and cultivate the goodwill and friendship of the leading countries of Europe, North America and Japan.

Unfortunately, the country's relations with the international community had suffered many times in the past. Between 1984-1986, diplomatic relations between Nigeria and the United Kingdom was severed over Nigeria's kidnapping of Umaru Dikko, a politician in exile in the UK who was wanted for alleged corruption in Nigeria. The Commonwealth has also at some time imposed either full or partial sanctions in the form of visa restrictions targeted at Nigerian on senior government officials and their families as a result of human rights violations (the killing of the Ogoni nine amongst others) and conflictual internal relations.

In order to have an effective foreign policy therefore, a state needs to employ several methods including diplomacy, propaganda, militarism, economic devises and cultural mechanisms. However, all the foregoing can only thrive in a politically and economically stable domestic environment which is currently absent in Nigeria following so much sectarian violence in different parts of the country and the growing concerns on the laxity in attending to attendant security issues. It is not enough to formulate good and sound foreign policy, but their successful implementation is equally as important. In many instances, government is largely employing 'force method' as was initially the case in the Niger-Delta situation when a combined military force was dispatched to the region to arrest the unrest. Foreign policy can also be implemented through diplomacy, propaganda or even through economic measures which the government of Nigeria later resorted to by paying the rebels monthly allowances in order to entice the militants to surrender their weapons. The government has recently sponsored some of the militants to Europe and South Africa to learn skills. Foreign policy as already stated, is therefore very essential since it provides guidelines which states follow when interacting with each other.

2. 1. 8. Nigeria's Foreign Policy from 1990- 2011

What was Nigeria's foreign policy like under the several administrations the country went through between 1990 and 2011?

2. 1. 8. 1. President Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida

President Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida was in power from 1985 to 1993 with the last three years of his administration being within the period in focus. He stepped down in August 1993 and handed over to another military ruler, General Sani Abacha who died while in office. General Abacha's regime lasted some say from November 1993 to 1998 before General Abdusallam took over in 1998 and then handed over to President Obasanjo in 1999 which marked the beginning of the civilian administrations. It was President Obasanjo who then handed over to Umaru Yar'Adua and lastly the current President, Goodluck Jonathan.

Scholars like Akinterinwa (2007:56), are of the view that during President Ibrahim Babangida's regime, the machinery of government was re-organised in order to give him immense power. In this respect, the term head of state was changed in addition to ensuring that the Central bank of Nigeria reported directly to the presidency and not the finance ministry. According to Akinterinwa, Babangida also created the position of the Secretary to the Federal Military government (FMG) whose responsibility was to design, implement and coordinate policy. Akinterinwa argues that Nigeria's foreign policy was in shambles when Babangida came into power and at the time, Nigeria did not have good relations with Britain because of the country's attempt to deport a Nigerian politician, Umaru Dikko from the UK in 1984 as already stated. Akinterinwa (2007) is of the view that only a meagre 1.52% of budgetary allocation was given to funding foreign policy programmes compared to 6%, 3.9%, 3% and 3.3% in Senegal, Republic of Benin, Zaire and Cote d'Ivoire respectively (Akinterinwa, 2007:66). In spite of all these, Akinterinwa claims that during Babangida's administration between 1985-1993, Nigeria's foreign relations and international image had greatly improved and the country enjoyed a lot of international goodwill a position that was supported by Atah Pine (2011).

Like Akinterinwa, Nwosu saw Nigeria's foreign policy under Babangida as revolving around attempts to rejuvenate the nation's economy as well as project the country as an important member of the international community (Nwosu, 2007:116). He is of the opinion that Babangida was able to do this by ensuring that Nigerians and indeed Africa, had representation seats in international organisations such as OPEC. As a result, Rilwan Lukman and Jubil Aminu (both Nigerians) assumed the presidency at different times while Chu Okongwu was alternate president also of OPEC. Joe Garba was permanent secretary also to the UN in 1989 while Emeka Anyaoku was the first African secretary general of the Commonwealth in 1990. President Babangida also actively canvassed for a seat for an African UN secretary general to which 6 Africans contested including Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria who lost to Boutros Boutros Ghali of Egypt. (Nwosu: 2007:107).

Not everyone agrees that Babangida's regime was good. A lot of his critics accuse him of legalising corruption and human rights violations. His administration witnessed a lot of monetary incentives popularly known as the brown envelope and Ghana-must-go era and of course his annulment of the June 12, 1993 election widely believed to have been fairly won by businessman Moshood Kashimawo Abiola, did not endear him to Nigerians or even the international community.

Nonetheless, some critics are of the view that generally during the military era, Nigeria's External Affairs Ministers were more visible and better able to articulate Nigeria's foreign and national security policies than during civilian administrations (<http://www.painblanknews.com/artopn407.html>)

Below is a look at Nigeria's foreign policy under three different civilian administrations and the impact they have made.

2. 1. 8. 2. President Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo

Although the country had a very active foreign policy while Obasanjo was President, his critics say the minister of Foreign Affairs was hardly visible. The former President has

been accused of handling the portfolios of the ministry of External Affairs. His foreign policy included, seeking debt relief, attracting foreign investment to the country and of course maintaining good relations with both her neighbours as well as the world at large. Nigeria mediated in disputes between factions in some Africa countries such as Liberia, and Chad. She also sent troops to warring countries like Liberia and Sierra Leone on peace keeping missions. In Obasanjo's words at the 2002 London Summit:

I have devoted much time and energy journeying virtually all corners of the globe in my personal effort to positively reintegrate our country into the international community and attract investment. We are happy to report that the results from these trips have been encouraging enough to confirm my personal belief and the advice of marketing experts, namely that personal contact is the best way to market your product. And my product is Nigeria (Obasanjo, 2002).

Obasanjo like Babangida also has his supporters. Observers are of the opinion that his administration between 1999-2007 inherited a battered economy due to years of mismanagement under military rule but managed to turn it around. As a matter of fact, according to the Gender In Nigeria Report 2012 carried out by the British Council Nigeria, the country has realized impressive growth since its return to democracy. It is reported that the economy grew fifteen fold from US\$36 billion in 1999 to nearly US\$555 billion in 2010. A strong increase in the GDP is also believed to have been recorded between 2007 and 2008 as a result of increased oil exports and high global crude prices at the time. The Nigerian High Commission in the UK giving the economic overview, had written that the best performance by the country in many years, happened between 2004-2008 when the country's GDP grew two-fold to \$209.5 billion and at an impressive rate of 7%. This was mostly during President Obasanjo's administration. At the time, the country's GDP recorded an average growth rate of 6.3% between 2006 and 2008. This was probably due in part to the growth of the non-oil sectors including agriculture, telecommunications, banking and services which contributed over 40% of the GDP. The increase in the price of crude oil before the sharp decline of 2008 which happened as a result of the worldwide economic downturn, was also a contributory

factor. It would appear that not only are people of the opinion that Nigeria's foreign policy under President Obasanjo, was very successful, the statistics prove it too. Wikipedia, sums up the above

before Obasanjo's administration Nigeria's GDP growth had been painfully slow since 1987, and only managed 3% between 1999/2000. However, under Obasanjo the growth rate doubled to 6% until he left office. Nigeria's foreign reserves rose from \$2 billion in 1999 to \$43 billion on leaving office in 2007. He was able to secure debt pardons from the Paris and London club amounting to some \$18 billion and paid another \$18 Billion to be debt free. Most of these loans were secured and spent by past corrupt officials (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olusegun_Obasanjo).

In 1999, the Obasanjo administration introduced citizen diplomacy, a foreign policy thrust in which the Nigerian citizen is the focus of the nation's foreign policy. Citizen Diplomacy essentially centres on addressing the basic needs of Nigerians (like security, health and housing) in relations to its engagement with the international community. Unfortunately, this has not been realised. Most Nigerians are still struggling to have the basic needs of food, shelter and security.

As earlier mentioned, critics of President Olusegun Obasanjo have accused him of taking over the portfolios of ministers of energy as well as Foreign Affairs between 1999 and 2007 which meant that the ministers did not have any leeway to articulate Nigeria's foreign policy goals (Nuhu-Koko, Sept 15, 2008). (<http://www.nigerianmuse.com/20080915111317zg/sections/general-articles/foreign-policy-and-president-yar-adua-s-impending-cabinet-shake-up/>) and Abidde (<http://www.pointblanknews.com/artopn407.html>). Walter Carrington, the former US Ambassador to Nigeria in an interview with Pius Utomi Ekpe, on April 25th 2007, said that President Obasanjo will be remembered for his foreign policy especially as he made a lot of impact on the international community. He however agrees that many Nigerians will not rate the former president high as they believe he sacrificed attention to domestic issues in favour of foreign policy (http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2007/04/24/seven_questions_is_nigerian_democracy_alive_well_and_kicking). Carrington might be right because anecdotal evidence

shows that a number of Nigerians hold Obasanjo responsible for the messy state of the nation and its politics whether rightly or otherwise.

2. 1. 8. 3. President Umar Musa Yar'Adua

In 2007, President Obasanjo handed the reins of power over to another civilian President, Umar Musa Yar'Adua who had pledged to continue the economic reforms of his predecessor with emphasis on infrastructure improvements which had been identified as the main impediment to economic growth and development. He also promised to work toward developing stronger public-private partnerships for the provision of electricity and good roads. It is worthy of note here that it is reported that in 2000, while Yar'Adua was governor, Katsina State became the fifth Northern State to adopt the Sharia Law. Amina Lawal, an unmarried woman from Bakori was sentenced to death by stoning by a Sharia court for adultery (Wikipedia, 2002).

Like his predecessors, Yar'Adua's administration also came up with a domestic policy of a seven point agenda for Nigeria's socio-economic and political transformation. Unfortunately, he did not give special consideration to the nation's foreign policy. His seven point agenda included infrastructure especially electricity and transportation, the development of the Niger Delta region, food security, investment in health, education and training, land reforms and home ownership, national security and wealth creation.

Needless to say that none of the promised seven point agenda materialised. Nigeria's foreign policy during this period was generally in a comatose state as not a lot happened to the country's foreign affairs due to the President's severe illness. Pundits also accused the External Affairs Minister, Chief Ojo Maduekwe of not being visible during this period. It did not help that the President's health problems came to a head and he was almost always away in Saudi Arabia for treatment until he was finally hospitalised and died. As can be expected, due to the severity of his illness, the President was not able to attend the meeting of the United Nations, an assembly of world leaders who discuss very important world issues. The forum would have been an opportunity for Nigeria to re-affirm her leading role in Africa.

2. 1. 8. 4. President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was the Vice President during Yar'Adua's administration. As a result of Yar'Adua's constant trips abroad for medical treatment, the entire country was at a standstill as the Vice-President had not been mandated to act in the absence of the President. The legislators had to vote to give Jonathan power to run affairs of the State in the President's absence. In January 2010, a federal court officially handed him the reins of power and in February of the same year, the Senate confirmed his position as acting head of state until after the death of Yar'Adua in May when Jonathan took over and was sworn in on May, 2010 as acting President. Not a lot happened to foreign policy then as one would imagine that he spent some time familiarising himself with affairs of the state during this period. However, he did manage to cancel the US blacklist of Nigeria as a terrorist country because of Umar Abdul Mutallab's attempt to bomb a US bound plane on Christmas day 2009. Jonathan's administration claims to be committed to the wellbeing of Nigerians all over the world and evidence of this is perhaps when he brought back Nigerian's who were caught in the Egypt, Libya, and Cote d'Ivoire crises. It made Nigerians feel like the country cared about every citizen and their welfare. After that tenure, President Jonathan went on to contest as the Presidential candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) the ruling party in Nigeria and the party which claims to be the largest political party in Africa. He won the 18th April, 2011 election for a four year term.

Like Obasanjo, Jonathan's foreign policy revolves around courting investors to the country. In his words, "In the next four years, we will pay special attention to the improvement and strengthening of economic ties with our partners in the international community as a foundation for stability and growth of our country." Although the foreign policy is on investment and economic cooperation, the administration claims that it is a radical departure from the old one which had Africa as the centre point. This new policy they claim ties in with the country's domestic agenda.

Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru confirmed the president's statement that the country's foreign policy is now tied to its most urgent need which is foreign direct investment (FDI). Addressing journalists at the

end of President Jonathan's first Federal Executive Council (FEC) meeting in 2011 in Abuja. Ambassador Ashiru is quoted on ThisDay Live as saying,

Our embassies abroad especially in Europe, America and Asia are to focus more on investment policy to our domestic agenda. We now tie our foreign policy to our domestic agenda. President Jonathan's visit to other countries will be investment-driven and less of politics (Ahamefula Ogbu, 21 July, 2011).

Also in another interview with Africanonline, Ashiru affirmed that the emphasis of the nation's foreign policy thrust is now on investments and economic cooperation. He reiterated Nigeria's commitment to playing her part as a leader in Africa on all major issues affecting the continent while emphasizing the fact that the country's foreign policy direction will be to propel the economic and industrial development of the country forward. Saif Atojoko observes positive impact of President Jonathan's administration in which annual GDP had grown by 8.3% and 7.8% in 2010 and 2011, respectively. Jonathan's administration seems to be making a positive impact. In "From Stagnation to Transformation", Saif Atojoko reports that GDP had grown by 7.5 per cent as at February 2011 and the overall GDP growth rate hit 8.29 per cent in 2010 before the 7.8 per cent achieved in 2011. (Saif Atojoko, May 28, 2012).

Nonetheless, not everyone agrees with President Jonathan's foreign policy. Sabella Ogbobode Abidde in 'Libya: Nigeria's Foreign Policy Faux Pas', castigated and found appalling President Goodluck Jonathan and his foreign policy team's formal recognition of the National Transitional Council (in Libya). He called them weak and incapable of complex analysis and accused them of not truly understanding international politics. He hinted at the fact that it is possible that President Jonathan's decision might have something to do with Ghaddafi's March 2010 statement where the latter accused Nigeria of not realising either its economic or political developmental goals and in the face of the incessant religious and ethnic violence, suggested that Nigeria might be better split in two along religious lines (Abidde, August 30, 2011). This is by no means the first time a Nigerian President is being criticised. Abidde himself had in the past accused President Obasanjo of not being trustworthy for giving up the former Sierra Leone President,

Charles Taylor who was convicted of committing criminal activities in Sierra Leone. Obasanjo had allegedly promised him safe passage in Nigeria and an internationally recognised immunity from arrest and prosecution.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The situations in Nigeria just like in most human endeavours, does not fit one particular theory as there are elements of each in the conflict situations in the country. It would therefore be erroneous to think one size fits all. Human beings are dynamic and constantly evolving. So too are the challenges the people and the country face such as sectarian violence, terrorism and youth restiveness. All these cannot be lumped and addressed with the same theories. New theories which address 'New Wars' have been formulated (Obershall, 1973). They include Ancient Hatred which is primordial and within an ethnic group where the group is rigid and fight education and modernization as in the Boko Haram situation. There is identity or symbolic politics with an economic root where resources are not equitably distributed as is being witnessed in the Niger Delta crisis. Other theories are contention for power and manipulative elites.

In spite of the fact that there are elements of each of these theories in the Nigerian situation, the manipulative elite account of conflict theory seems to echo the Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict Theory. Therefore, the latter was used in this study. The study also employed McQuail's Organization, Selection, and Production theory of communication as well as Discourse Analysis for synergy to explain the media angle of the research.

2.2.1. Ethnic Conflict Theory

Some academics like Samuel Huntington a political scientist and Robert D. Kaplan a journalist and writer, both Americans born in New York decades apart, had at the end of the Cold War, predicted a proliferation of conflicts fuelled by several factors including tribalism, overpopulation and resource scarcity. Some scholars in academia are still

debating whether ethnic conflicts have become more prevalent since the end of the cold war and if so, how can these conflicts be managed. Unfortunately, the predictions of both Samuel Huntington and Robert D. Kaplan, are the reality in Africa today with the genocide in Rwanda and Somalia, fear of overpopulation in Nigeria and of course tribalism with factions coming up from different parts of the country.

Ethnic conflict is generally categorized by political scientists and sociologists, under three broad headings, namely, primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist. A quick look at both the primordialist and constructivist accounts help shed light on why the instrumentalist account is more suited to the study.

The proponents of the Primordialist accounts of ethnic conflict believe that ethnic groups and nationalities exist because of what they have in common. The argument here is that factors such as territorial location, facial features are some of what bonds them together as a group. For instance, the Boko Haram sect is an Islamic Fundamentalist group which is adamant that the Quran be adopted as the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This group is killing even other northerners who are either not Muslims or even Muslims who do not belong to their sect. The Niger-Delta people are agitating for power to decide what happens to the revenue that comes from the region as well as being in control of their region. Clearly the Primordialist accounts of ethnic conflict is inadequate as it does not address the situation in Nigeria. There is no doubt that each group has a bond which keeps its members together. It is however that of religious ideology on the one hand and resource control on the other. So, this theory does not apply to the Niger Delta situation neither does it apply to the Boko Haram problem.

The sum of Constructivist accounts of ethnic conflict theory is to accommodate and assimilate. This simply means that people accommodate new knowledge, mix it with the old knowledge which they have in the deep recesses of their minds, internalise what they hear, then construct meanings based on past experiences. Wikipedia sums it as "constructivism is a theory describing how learning happens". Again, this theory is found wanting because it does not apply or address the Nigerian situation which is a lot more complicated than this.

The Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict theory of International Relations, is more apt for this study as it focuses on the violence and genocide between groups. On the one hand, are the people of the Niger Delta kidnapping and killing to protect what they believe is the injustice done to them as a people by government and Multinational oil corporations and on the other are some people from the North kidnapping foreigners and killing both southerners and northerners and any Christians who live among them because of their religious ideology. There is also the OPC in the South West whose aim is to protect the ideals of its people as Yorubas.

This theory holds that the persistent unrest is not really due to ethnicity but rather to leaders using ethnicity or ideology to make people do what they want in their pursuit of power and accumulation of material resources. The Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict theory is woven around the notion that the greed of political leader is what fuels and drives the conflict.

This theory fits because it has repeatedly been said that most of the conflict situation in Nigeria whether the Niger delta crisis or the Boko Haram one, are at the instigation of certain influential people in the society who want to de-stabilise the country for their personal gains. Former President General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida's name has repeatedly come up as well as that of Alhaji Muhammadu Buhari both Muslims from Northern Nigeria who both ruled the country at different times. This could explain the continued unrest between the Boko Haram in the North and the Southerners, which most people claim is hinged on religious ideology rather than ethnicity. It is also possible that some leaders in the Niger Delta region are fuelling the situation by inciting the youths to fight and claim what they see as their right also because they stand to gain material wealth as well as power. It has been said that while the people languish in poverty and squalor, the chiefs and elders of the region live in luxury and travel abroad often. They are untouched by the abject poverty in the region.

Another reason the theory is more appropriate is because it argues that the modernization and the economic factors both contribute to the conflict. According to them, when an ethnic group is more modern, there is increased social integration and awareness, which can make the difference between them and the other ethnic groups obvious. Of course

these differences can result in disadvantages which can in turn create ethnic grievances among the group members, and this increases the possibility of the ethnic conflict. The very reason Boko Haram (which means 'no to western education') is in existence today is because the group is against modernisation. The reason for the agitation in the Niger Delta, is as a result to economic factor. The region is undeveloped. There are no basic amenities from a region that gives the majority of Nigerians the country's wealth. This of course is the reason for the conflict. The minute a group begins to compare themselves with other groups who are "economically, culturally and politically more successful", the less successful group will feel discriminated against (Eriten and Romine 2008). This is the situation being witnessed in the Niger Delta region where the people compare themselves with other developed states in the country and do not see why their region is so under developed especially as they believe that the vast wealth of the country is from the area.

According to the instrumentalist account, deprivation as in the case of the Niger Delta, could be another motivation for ethnic conflict. The region is deprived of basic human needs to live. Farm produce cannot be grown in the region, neither can fishes thrive in the rivers. The quality of life and standard of living of the people in the area is very poor. All these, will contribute to ethnic conflict. In the case of the Ndigbos, the Ibo speaking people of the country who wanted secession in 1966, not a lot has been heard of them in terms of agitation. Although they are a very industrious and business minded group of people, it must have taken a leader or leaders to put the idea in their heads to secede believing that they will be better off on their own than being in Nigeria. It is believed that they have since after the civil war in 1970, been trying to make this a reality.

Scholars of the Instrumentalist account of ethnic theory do not argue that ethnic difference is a part of many conflicts neither do they argue that some people believe that they are fighting over such difference as it is a reality. However, Instrumentalists believe that ethnic difference alone is not sufficient to explain conflicts. There have to be other factors and in this case the leaders.

2.2.2. McQuail's Organization, Selection, and Production Theory

This theory of media as an institution, takes into account all the forces that affect media performance. For instance, it takes into consideration the political inclination of the media house, the government, freedom of the press and of course audience behaviour including their emotions, values, attitudes, beliefs amongst others. So, a newspaper article can have different meanings for different people. They each would interpret it based on their past experiences and other factors peculiar to the person. This theory is relevant because it takes into consideration all the players in the communication process especially as we know that communication is two way.

2.2.3. Discourse Analysis

This is perceived as a product of Postmodern theory and is a holistic Theory of Communication. Some scholars refer to it as Critical Discourse Analysis while yet others call it Critical Discourse Studies. For the purpose of this research, we shall refer to it simply as Discourse Analysis. The theory believes that people are part of a larger group and therefore must communicate and in so doing, take into consideration the totality of a person in the communication process including values, emotions, attitudes, beliefs and more. In essence, our experiences will determine the meaning we attribute to what takes place in the communication process. Human beings assign meanings to reality in order to make it real (Jager and Maier, 2009:39). In essence, all meaningful realities exist because we ascribe meanings to them and make them real in our lives.

Discourse is the use of language either in speech or writing as social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 cited by Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Discourse Analysis therefore encompasses the understanding and interpretation of both the written and spoken words. The theory tries to explain the origin and structure of a social situation, the actors, action and other such factors in a communication process (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The crux of analysing any discourse is to understand what the actors are saying in this case, the writer/reader or the speaker /audience. Put simply, discourse analysis is a way to interpret written or spoken words. It focuses on the meaning behind words or actions rather than a

particular appropriate way of things. It takes into consideration all the other nuances not verbalised.

In discourse analysis, there exists a relationship between the way people think and emotions. For instance, when people are emotional, their communication will reflect this state. So, a newspaper article for instance, could have different meanings for different people as the interpretation will be subjective and solely dependent on each individual. In essence, discourse analysis focuses on the existence and messages in the texts or communication process within a historical and social context and provide the hidden meaning behind it. It helps in understanding the conditions behind the problem and assists with a solution. Thus, it helped reveal the motivation and politics in the media pieces which were examined.

There are various theories of discourse as well as several approaches to the study of discourse analysis including the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), the Corpus Linguistics Approach (CLA), the Social Actors Approach (SAA) and the Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA). Each of these theories and approaches, explain discourse in different ways. For instance, the Sociocognitive Approach (SCA) under Socio-psychological theories of discourse suggests that certain linguistic indicators such as stress and intonation, word order, turn taking, hesitation, style of writing all come into play in a discourse situation.

There is the power of discourse and the power over discourse. When certain individuals or groups can influence discourse than others because they either have more financial resources or better access to the media than the other people, then they have power over discourse as in the case of politicians and other elites in the society. Here, media regulates people's thinking and exert influence by using words which make political reports or indeed other reports, more interesting (Jager and Maier, 2009). Although media houses like to claim that they are impartial, this is impossible from a discourse-theoretical perspective. In journalism, there are three distinctive styles or authorial voice namely the reporter voice, correspondent voice and commentator voice and all three are evaluative. They do either of two things: if the writer's voice seems to jump out from the discourse

piece, then the piece is subjective but if it is sounds matter of fact, it points at the objectivity of the writer (Martin and White, 2005 cited by Van Hout et al 2012).

Media have also been accused of 'stancing'. Stancing is when a reporter takes a subjective position and weaves it for the audience. The process of stancing is guided by the professional values and principles of the media house with factors like newsworthiness and audience design coming to play. Findings conducted on product oriented research, suggest that journalists can motivate the audience to either stand close or distance themselves from sources by their very actions. Four stancing levels practiced by journalists were identified. They are the meta, meso, macro and micro levels of stancing (Perrin, 2012).

At the Meta level, stancing is practiced by policy makers and media practitioners, chief editors, media managers or the journalists themselves. In this instance, the stancing is done and justified according to what the media see as their public mandate. The macro level is concerned with public discourse. Here, journalists select what they deem more appropriate to the audience and jettison the initial utterances from sources. Meso level is where collaborative texts are highlighted. For instance when media professionals collaborate to co-author a piece. As can be expected, each author's values, beliefs, emotion, knowledge of subject, experiences and more, will come into play. The co-author's at this point, will have to 'negotiate' a stance on how the piece should be written. The fourth level, the micro level, takes into consideration the journalists' way of doing things. This includes the usual strategy or procedure employed when writing or reporting a piece. In essence, any routine that is followed either as a person or as a group in the news room or media house as a whole comes into play at this level.

To further corroborate the media's stancing above, White (2012) writes about the neutrality of the media. According to him, it would be naïve to assume that the journalist is neutral. Neutralism he says, is the style of language used in journalism where there is clearly both ideological and ideological work going on but the particular words or phrases cannot be easily pinpointed. The journalists write in a way that the reader is left to infer from what is written. There are two types of attitudes expected here: the inscribed attitudes where the words are explicit and the audience do not have to read between the

lines and the invoked attitudes where they are implied. Invoked attitude is further subdivided into provoked attitude where the reporting is evaluative and evoked attitude where reporting is factual (White, 2012)

In journalism, the 'reporter voice' which comes through from the writing, does one of two things: it either provokes or evokes emotions in the reader. What this therefore means is that when the journalist uses a provocative reporter voice, the writing is usually more subjective and possibly more obvious to the reader and to show certainty for what is being reported, reporters use words which allude to their sources (White, 2012).

Content Analysis is a quantitative research technique of analysing the content of data collected. It gives a guideline on how to systematically and reliably analyse and quantify media content (Anders Hansen et al, 1998:91). For the purpose of this research, these were the stories or texts in the select media as well as the interviews. In essence, all the data gathered whether visual or verbal (Schreier, 2012:3). Since content analysis is not a theory but a research tool to analyse texts, it was used to complement discourse analysis to enable us determine factors such as frequency in order to be able to understand them. As earlier stated, only news items from select print media were analysed in this research.

2. 2. 4. Summary of Theoretical Framework

At the moment, Nigeria's foreign policy is neither strong nor appealing to the international community bearing in mind that respect in the international community depends largely on a state's internal peace and security, wellbeing of its people, respect for human rights and economic emancipation. Unfortunately, Nigeria is beleaguered by domestic issues such as security, economic growth, youth restiveness, among others and all these militate against the foreign policy goals being achieved.

In studying media reportage of civil unrest and its impact on foreign policy in Nigeria, the study premised on three theories which looked at how conflicts and unrest are generated, reported, analysed and utilised based on different levels of understandings and how all these processes affects the image and foreign policy of Nigeria. The

Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict theory, McQuail's theory of Organisation, Selection and Production and Discourse Analysis, form the theoretical underpinnings and framework for this study. The instrumentalist account theory believes that unrest, conflicts and civil wars are usually as a result of the power pursuit and ideology of some elite and community leaders whose greed fuel the conflict. The unrest is sometimes orchestrated by the political elites who do this by instigating the people to violence in their bid to either enrich themselves financially, materially or gain political power. Therefore, for as long as the oligarchies exist with these selfish mindsets, conflicts and unrest will always be there (George Orwell, 1984). This of course would impact the domestic situation which would in turn influence foreign policy.

The media plays its part by reporting on both the domestic issues as well as the international issues which affect the country. Nonetheless, in spite of the claim of being impartial, media reportage of these unrest and conflicts are usually not without bias. The Nigerian media like media all over the world, set the agenda by drawing readers' attention and interest to certain stories they give prominence. The reportage of these unrest situation, are sometime very screwed and biased to suit the interest of the media house and sponsors and not necessarily the realities and actual cause of these conflicts as seen in McQuail's theory of organisation, selection and production.

Jager and Maier, (2009) observe that media houses have been accused of regulating people's thinking and exerting influence by using words which make political reports, tribal dominance of certain groups, resource distribution or indeed other reports such as civil unrest, more interesting. Orwell (1984) concurs that this tendency impacts adversely on foreign policies of countries.

Since Africa's most populous country-Nigeria has more diverse ethnic groups, differing levels of education and unequal development levels across the country, it is understandable that national issues and how each fits into such discourse with common understanding often eludes many of its citizens. Discourse analysis and communication theory then becomes critical in that scenarios. Human beings have to assign meanings to reality in order to make it real (Jager and Maier, 2009:39). A newspaper article can therefore have different meanings for different people. They each would interpret it based

on their experiences, exposures and knowledge. This tendency often adds more spins to conflict situation and sometime create a chaotic and polarised media arena for both the local media and the foreign media. For instance, if the owner of a media house is from the Niger Delta region, the journalists who work in the organisation would tend to write to reflect the cause of the people of the region positively. Also, the same article might be interpreted differently by people depending on which part of the six geo-political zones of Nigeria they hail from or whether they are Christian or Muslim.

Lastly, oftentimes there is a relationship between perceptions and realities and any perceived unrest, conflict and injustice whether real or perceived, has serious repercussion on the nation's economy, how it is perceived in the international community and ultimately, the state's foreign policy.

2. 2. 5. Conclusion

Nigeria's foreign policy over half a century after independence can best be summed up as "change and continuity, motion without movement, dynamism without surge" (Atah Pine, 4 Oct. 2011). A lot of people are of the same opinion. A large number of participants at the 2003 conference held in Oxford, UK with the theme "Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the cold war: Domestic Regional and External," most of whom were Nigerians, felt that the combination of insecurity as well as being seen as a corrupt nation, were major factors which influenced Nigeria's foreign policy especially as corruption was deterring foreign investors from conducting business in the country. Their sentiment, is echoed by a lot of pundits including Pine who asserts that in order for Nigeria to realise her full potential, the country needs a foreign policy which would address and resolve the 'crisis' of underdevelopment.

It is clear that although the Nigerian government wants to move the country forward by attracting foreign investments, the only way this can happen is if the government can guarantee both the investors and the international community stability, good governance, improved security of both lives and property, anti corruption reforms and of course infrastructural development which is very crucial to manufacturing. No business person

will invest in the country when life and property are not safe and investment is unlikely to yield expected profitable returns. Perhaps the Nigerian media needs to take up the challenge of being a moulder of the society and not a reflector and begin to write positive articles which would hopefully reflect positively on the country.

It is also worthy to note that the fact that being dependent on petroleum alone unfortunately, might not be the way for Nigeria to achieve an aggressive foreign policy. The country needs to begin to explore other viable but yet untapped resource areas which are in abundance in the country especially as some like mineral commodities (coal, gold and bauxite) have been discovered. Others like agricultural commodities (groundnut, cocoa and coffee) also should be explored.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The major research tool in this study, was the qualitative research method which involves data collection using in-depth interviews, document analysis and unstructured observation (Jankowski and Wester, 1991:59). It is not only flexible but adaptable (Schreier, 2012:24). For this reason, it allowed the researcher more flexibility than the quantitative research method. The three types of qualitative methods were employed in this research. They are the descriptive method which will not refer to theoretical perspective, the analytical method which is based on concepts emerging from the study and finally the substantive account which is the researcher's contribution to knowledge. It is pertinent to note here that "qualitative research is often dependent on factors not fully controlled by the researcher" (Newcomb, 1991: 99).

However, an element of the quantitative method was used as it focuses on concrete measurable factors and is any approach that uses systematic observation to account for human behaviour and generalise about them (Allen et al. 2009:6). The reason for introducing an element of this method, was to enable us see if there were relationships between variables such as the nominal variables like gender, ordinal variables which can be measured like level of education, income bracket and other such variables in relation to how participants answered the questionnaires. It also answered the what and how questions. Quantitative method according to McQuail, also focuses on factors such as the participants' perceptions and description of the subject matter. All these enabled us see the correlation between factors.

Content Analysis of the data collected was done. For the purpose of this research, these comprised some of the relevant stories and texts in the sampled media reporting of some of the civil unrest situations. It also included some interviews. All the data which were gathered whether visual or verbal according to Schreier (2012:3). Only certain news stories covering the period under review were considered. These basically were the stories written when each of the civil unrest were at their peak and the months and years when they were volatile.

The aim of using the qualitative content analysis research methods as well as an element of the quantitative method, was to strengthen this research. The qualitative method enabled the researcher analyse and interpret the interviews as well as the unstructured observation in order to get a general sense of the participants' perception of the subject matter. It allowed for inferences from what the respondents were not saying as well because the researcher was able to see firsthand all the nuances which were not verbalised. The method allowed for a detailed consideration of all the important elements of a news story. It therefore helped with organising the content and structure of the news items in order to draw out the salient meanings and general tone of the stories (Lule, 1991:93). These two methods, enabled the researcher infer from the results obtained in order to be able to give a generalised conclusion. Adding elements of the quantitative method of course made the research more robust and enabled us see and conclude the relationships between all the variables such as the demographics in order to make inferences.

3.1. Study Area

The study area was made up of people from the north and three of the other geo- political zones: south-west, south-south and south-east. The study sampled the Hausas/Fulanis but unfortunately limited itself to only a couple of some select less volatile northern states of Nigeria. The Yorubas (Afeniferere/Oodua) in the South-West region and the minority in the South-South oil producing areas of the Niger-Delta region, namely, the Ijaws as well as the Igbo's in the South-East, were also covered. These groups are fairly representative of the clusters available in the country.

3.2. Population

The population consists of representatives of government from the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution, a sub organisation under the ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. The ordinary Nigerians who owe no allegiance to any of the groups below were also sampled as well as some media editors.

The sample also included people who are either still agitating for something or have at one time or the other done so. Generally, the sample population, cut across religious, educational and socio-economic backgrounds.

Below is a quick look at some of the groups

OPC (Oodua People's Congress) can be found in the South-West region of Nigeria. The group is described as a militant Yoruba nationalist group which was founded some say in 1995 while others say 1997 by Dr. Frederick Faseun. The group came into existence to fight what it saw as government's injustice on one of their own, Chief Moshood Kashimawo Abiola, the widely acclaimed winner of the 1993 June 12 Presidential elections, who was incarcerated by the government and later died in custody. A more militant group headed by Ganiyu Adams which claimed to use magical powers, broke away from the main body in 1999. Although the factions operated separately for a while with the more militant group being more disruptive, with mediation, the groups today manage to function under both leaderships. They have since set up a website and seem more organized with set down goals and objectives although nothing is said about the founder Dr. Frederick Faseun or even his affiliation to the group on the website.

MASSOB (Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra). This group represents the Ibos or Igbo speaking people of the South-East. They are credited for the first civil war after independence. Massob is described as a secession movement led by Chief Ralph Uwazuruike, a lawyer and it has its headquarters in Imo State. The group claims to have a 25 stage plan to peacefully achieve the Republic of Biafra although some people say not as peaceful as they have aligned with some more violent groups from the Niger-Delta. The Biafra dream is obviously being kept alive as the internet is filled with information about this group and their intention and hope. They are rumoured to be working underground with a radio network and even a Biafra House in Washington DC, USA.

MOSOP (Movement for the survival of Ogoni People) are people from the river-rine area of the South-South of the Niger Delta. They have and are still clamouring for better standard of living for the people of Ogoniland. Their leader Ken Saro Wiwa and some

other activists were beheaded in 1995 by government to quell the violence. Like the OPC, Mosop also has a website which explains who they are and the group's aspirations.

MEND (Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta) was founded in 1990. This group has a well articulated website that details events as well as what the group is about. It is said to be one of the largest groups in the Niger delta. Some claim it is the umbrella body of all the other groups in the Niger Delta. MEND came into limelight in January 2006 when it claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of some foreign oil workers. The group, is believed to use more sophisticated armed tactics than the other groups and is suspected to have educated people organising its activities. Although the leadership of MEND is not certain, the spokesperson is known as Jomo Gbomo and he is sometimes also referred to as the leader.

BOKO HARAM also known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, is largely believed to be Moslems (Muslims) who live in the north of Nigeria. Their notoriety grew in the past couple of years both in the country and outside its shores with the spate of bombings on innocent people in the north either in churches, densely populated market places, police headquarters, the UN building in Abuja, or even the killings in some villages in the north and very recently, some media houses including ThisDay newspapers buildings in two cities in the north.

Apart from the above, there are other smaller not so well known or organized groups like the Egbesu Boys from the Niger-Delta. They are believed to have magical powers which protect them from gun shots. The group claimed responsibility for the December 27th 2011 attack on a mosque in Warri, Delta state in retaliation and a warning to Boko Haram for killing Christians in the north although some people say that the attack was actually carried out by the Boko Haram group.

Other groups include the Pan Niger Delta Revolutionary Militia (PNDRM); the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC); the Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC); The Niger Delta Oil Producing Communities (NDOPC); Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom and the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF). This last group was founded in 2004 and its aim, like most of the militant groups in the Niger Delta, is to have more control of

the petroleum region and was until 2005 led by Asari Dokubo now known and addressed as Alhaji Mujahid Asari Dokubo.

For the purpose of this research however, only three groups were examined. They are MASSOB which represents the agitations from the Igbo speaking people, MEND believed to be the largest group in the South-South region of the Niger-Delta and the OPC from the South West.

The researcher would have liked to interview some members of the Boko Haram sect and include the group in the research but was advised against this for security reasons. The activities of the group are very volatile at this time and the researcher's safety could not be guaranteed.

3.3. Sample Size and Selection Method

A total of 108 participants were sampled for the questionnaires and responses from their questionnaires analysed. The researcher attempted to make the sample representative by sampling the ordinary Nigerians who have an opinion about the spate of civil unrest as this affects their security too. Some of the agitators ' perpetrators themselves were sampled to determine what their issues are and elicit opinions and suggestions as to how to resolve the problems. Editors of five media organisations including two from the North, were sampled to get the media slant to the issues presented. Representatives of government were also included in the sample population.

The sample cut across both men and women from all works of life and religious, educational and ethnic divide. It also cut across different socio-economic and political class with a sample size of 31% between 36 years and above and a 69 % younger age group between 18 and 35 years as Nigeria is believed to have a majority young population with high dependency ratio on this age group (http://www.indexmundi.com/nigeria/demographics_profile.html) (www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/pages/download). The sample size is structured this way

because it ensured a high probability of different opinions from the different groups of people.

3.4. Data Collection Methods

Data was generated from both primary and secondary sources using the qualitative research method which is an interpretive research method (Schreier 2012: 20) with content analysis to evaluate the media angle. As already mentioned, to make for balanced research however, an element of the quantitative with regard to the participants' demographics, was used.

In the case of the **primary source**, the major data collection method employed here were the questionnaires as well as both the formal and informal methods of interviewing to ensure that adequate data were gathered for the study. Although the observational method was also employed, it was not used as a major tool. Old newspaper clippings were collated to help see how the media has reported the civil unrest through the years and the political fallouts from it. Both the interview questions and questionnaire, were derived from the research questions. The questionnaire and the formal interview questions, were both given in advance to relevant experts on the subjects in the areas of media, politics and international relations, to be vetted and approved before being administered to participants.

For **questionnaires**, both the multiple choice and open ended type questions was used to enable the participants better communicate how they feel. Because it is a major instrument of data collection, the questionnaire was structured in such a way as to address the concerns of the ordinary Nigerians as well as the militia groups.

The first part of the questionnaire addressed the demographics of the participants with variables such as gender, age, marital status, educational background and geo-political zone. The second part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit from the participants their perception of the problems. The answers helped in giving an idea for the continued unrest as well as the political implications on the foreign policy.

Particular care was taken to establish content, face and construct validities in the research instruments. The second major instrument which is the formal and informal interview type was a follow up to the questionnaire. The purpose of this approach, was to check for thoroughness as it gave the participants the opportunity to clarify or expatiate on the questions asked. This helped take care of vagueness and ambiguities which in turn ensured face validity of the research. Several questions examining the same issue were formulated to ensure for construct validity. The Content Validity method was also used here to ensure that the area under study has been represented in the research instruments. In a nutshell, external validity is the degree to which the result can be generalized while reliability is the extent to which the research findings can, be replicated and this research took care of that.

The researcher also made use of personal **interviews** which like the questionnaires, was generated from the research questions. Although the questions were drawn up, the interviews were also unstructured to give the participants the opportunity to vocalise what they felt as much as possible and proffer possible solutions.

Secondary data sources which were used in this study proved invaluable and they include works already collected by others such as book, journals, unpublished works, the internet as well as documents garnered in the course of the study from newspapers, government agencies, internet sources, published or unpublished works amongst others.

3.5. Data Analysis Methods

The data gathered, was determined by the answers given by the participants in both the questionnaires as well as the interviews and guided by the research questions and the objectives of this research. A descriptive approach to data analysis was used to determine the relationship between variables and where necessary, also frequencies and percentages in some cases to show relationships and even infer.

The contents of the selected newspaper articles were analysed taking into consideration factors such as number of stories, page number, if it was accompanied by a photograph as

well as the general tone of the story (Lule, 1991:92). Although the study spans a period of 21 years, only news coverage from certain years were examined. These largely spanned the years the Niger Delta crisis was at its peak. It also included some mention of the Odua People's Congress as well as some reported activities of Massob - the Igbo people from the South East part of the country. Select articles in the major newspapers in Nigeria giving months and years were also presented. These cut across both national as well as the regional media.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Participants were informed about the aim of the study and given the assurance that participation was voluntary and their identities protected especially in the case of government workers who wanted to remain anonymous. They were also assured that the information garnered will be confidential. During the course of writing this research, the final transcribed drafts of the interviews were presented to those interviewed as it would appear in the thesis to ensure that their views are not misrepresented and their approval sought.

Luckily in the course of administering the interviews and questionnaires, the researcher was not privy to witnessing any act of terror or a kidnapping being carried out. If any of these had happened, the researcher would have been faced with a moral and ethical dilemma. Taylor and Bogdan (1984:71) (as cited by David Waddington) assert that "one is not absolved of moral and ethical responsibility for one's action or inactions merely because one is conducting research. To act or fail to act is to make an ethical and political choice". What this means is that although the researcher would not have been obliged to tell the government about the crimes witnessed while conducting the research, informing or not doing so, already makes him/her culpable. It would therefore have been a no win situation as whatever the researcher decided to do, would have been an ethical and political choice in itself either way whether to report to the authorities or not.

3.7. Additional Comments

Pictorial representation with newspaper clippings from the archives, form part of the appendix/annexure. However, in order not to shock the sensibility of people, particular attempt was made not to include gory pictures where available. This was also the case with sensitive media write-up which had the potential of inciting or offending the public.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

All the data gathered were analysed using discourse analysis, content analysis, McQuail's organization, selection, and production theory as well as the Instrumentalist account of ethnic conflict theory which echoes Oberschall's manipulative elite theory. These data were analysed in terms of content, language and research questions as well as objectives. The analysis of the discourse and content of the newspapers are however subject to the researcher's interpretation based on interest, experience and knowledge so therefore subjective.

Data was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The target audience were the insurgent groups, media and the ordinary Nigerians. Although the years in focus were 1990-2011, in the case of analysing the content, a concerted effort was made to choose newspaper clippings which represented the problem statement as well as the objectives of the research within the years being studied. The objectives of the research were:

To ascertain whether or not Nigeria will achieve her foreign policy goals in spite of the negative publicity generated as a result of the unrest in the country.

To examine the degree to which media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria will influence the nation's foreign policy.

Lastly, to examined if media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria will influence the nation's foreign policy.

In analysing content of the data, the researcher inferred from what was written. In the case of the newspaper clippings, analysis was done in terms of space dedicated to the reports, frequency of such reports, use of illustrative material including photographs or cartoons and use of emotive words or language by the reporter in some cases to construct the meaning and deduce relevance to the theories for the research.

Although the research findings are presented qualitatively using descriptive research method, an element of the quantitative was used to infer relationships between the variables where they occurred.

4. 1. Findings and Discussions

Table 4.1.captures the demographic characteristics of respondents including, age, gender, marital status, level of education, profession, religion, state of origin and state of residence.

Respondents as captured in table 4.1., range from people with secondary school level education to those with post graduate level education. There were no primary school leavers recorded among the respondents. The analysis revealed that respondents with basic level of education like secondary level seem to have jobs such as drivers, petty traders, barber, soldier, stylist, electrician, photographer among other. However, a few of the responding graduates were make-up artist, beauty therapist, civil servants, fashion retailers and a builder. On the whole, respondents with graduate or post graduate education have jobs as consultants, engineers, lecturers/teacher or educationists, IT/ICT, web designer, Risk Advisor, banker, accountant, Social worker while some run their own businesses. There appear to be more versatility with this group of people who are either graduates or have post-graduate education as some of the respondents included people in the maritime industry, shipping, traders, commodities export, sales representatives, psychologist, economist, media practitioners, admin, marketing, producer, journalists and screenwriter.

Table 4.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents		
Variables	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Religion		
Christianity	87	81
Islam	17	16
Others	3	3
Age (Yrs)		
18-25	21	20
26-35	52	49
36-45	22	21
46-55	10	9
55- and above	1	1
Others	0	1

Education		
Primary		0
Secondary	17	16
Graduate	48	45
Postgraduate	38	36
Others	4	4
Marital Status		
Married	64	60
Single	42	39
Others	1	1
Gender		
Male	69	64
Female	38	36
Profession		
Civil Servant	3	3
Lecturer/Teacher	4	4
Business and Traders	10	9
Student	11	10
Maritime/Shipping	7	7
Media/Journalist	7	7
Beauty/Make-up	2	2
IT/Web Design	3	3
Soldier	1	1
Engineer/Accountant/Banking	3	3
Sales/Retail Marketing	5	5
Driver	2	2
Unemployed	1	1
Others	23	21
Blanks	25	23

The study interviewed 108 people. Of these, 64% are males while 36% are females. From the above, 60% and 39% are married and single, respectively. 81% of the sample population are Christians while 16% of them are Muslims. Nearly half of the respondents (49%) are between 26 and 35 years old followed by 36-45 age-group (21%), 18-25 age-group (20%) and just 11% for

respondents over 46 years. The table further shows that majority of the sample population (81%) are graduates with 36% of these having post graduate degrees.

Table 4.2. Respondents by State of Origin

State of origin		
	Frequency	Percentages (%)
South South	19	18
South East	15	14
South West	44	41
North West	3	3
North East	1	1
North Central	3	3
Others	22	21

Table 4.2 above shows respondents by state of origin and below in Figure 1, is a graphic representation.

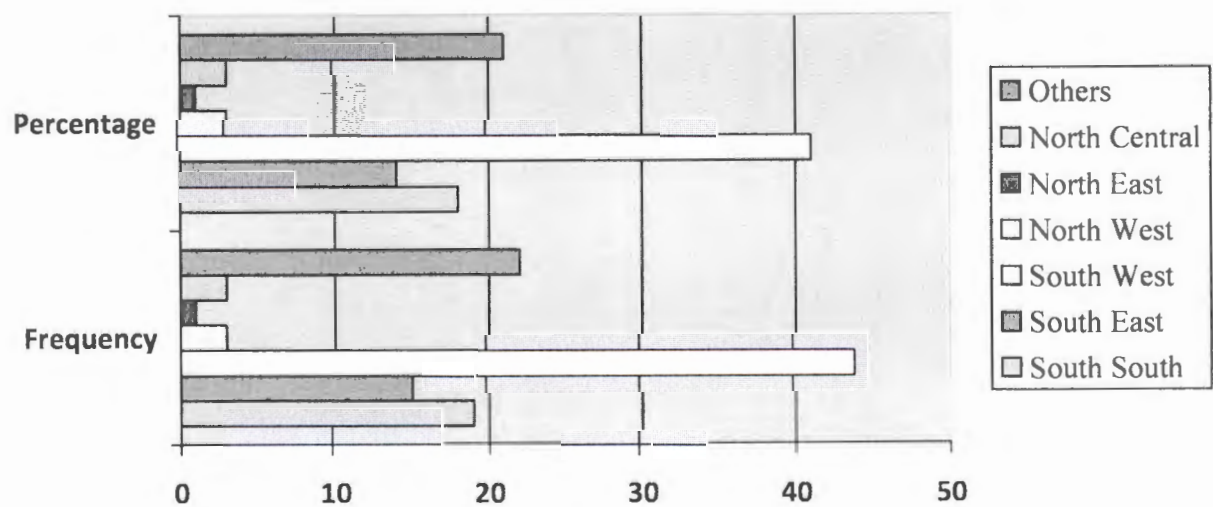


Figure 1.

18% of the sample population are from the South South while 14% represent respondents from the South East. 41% being majority of the sample population are from the South West, 7% represent respondents from the North, while 21% of the sample population opted not to divulge their state of origins.

Table 4.3. Respondents by State of Residence

State of Residence		
	Frequency	Percentage (%)
South South	6	6
South East	7	7
South West	83	78
North West	2	2
North East	1	1
North Central	4	4

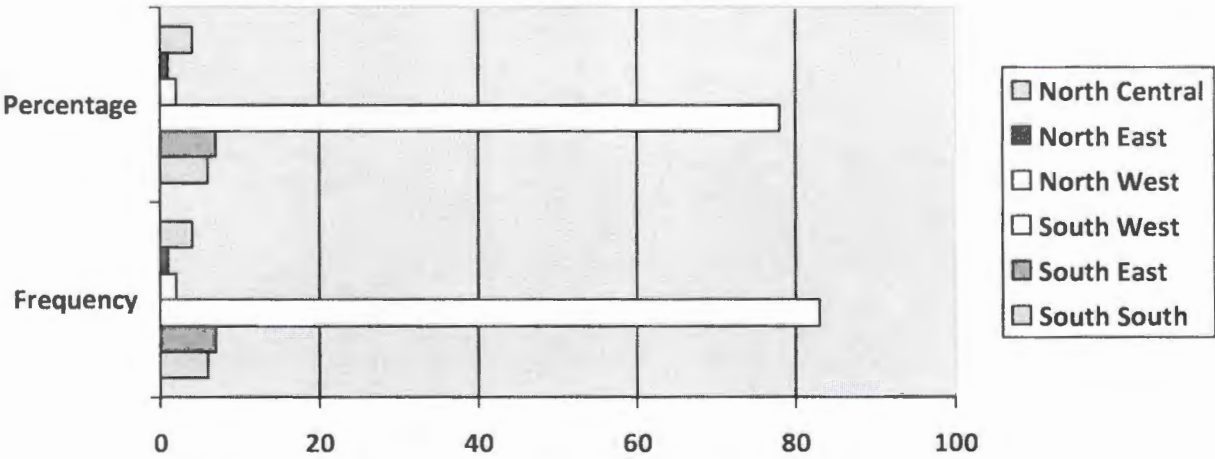


Figure 2.

Table 4.3. above shows sample population by states of residence with a graphic representation in Figure 2 also above showing number of respondents by state of residence. From the above, 78% of the sample population reside in the South West geopolitical area of the country with other 20% scattered around the other 6 geopolitical zones. 2% of respondents did not indicate state of residence.

4.4. Dependency on news and role of media

Level of Education	Radio	TV	Radio & TV	Press	Radio, TV & Press	On-line
Secondary	8	6	1		1	3
Graduate	6	20	3	5	1	2
Post-graduate	10	20	2	5		

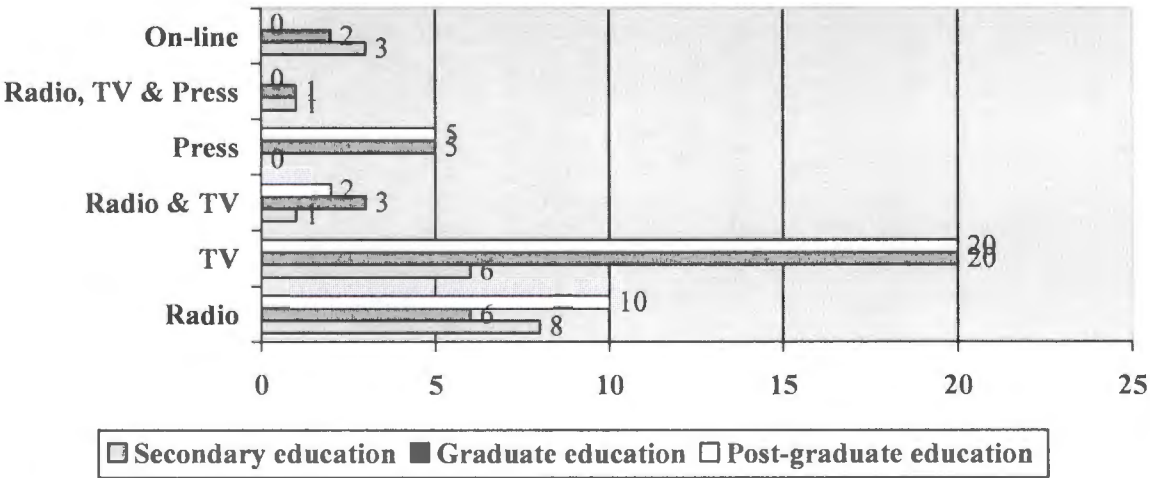


Figure 3

Table 4.4 and figure 3 above show respondents preferred news media by level of education. It reveals that with the exception of a couple of respondents who said they are indifferent to news, people are generally dependent on it and although a number of the study sample population say they get their news either from one source or the other, others prefer to get them from a combination of sources to get a more balanced perspective of the news. Most of these respondents are media editors and a couple of the members of the insurgent groups interviewed. The respondents who listen to radio do so because of ease of access and convenience. A lot of them like the drivers listen on their phones.

Most of the respondents prefer to get their news on television compared to Radio or press and of these, majority of them are either graduates or have post graduate degrees. (See table 4.4). The reasons given for preferring to get their news vary. Some say it helps them relax, others mostly say it is because they can see the pictures which they find attention grabbing. They can see the pictures on television and this makes the news more real or believable. This group of respondents are simply affirming what some scholars like Stiles (2004) and Nightingale and Ross (2003) believe about image enhancing the message. Besides, watching news on television some say is essentially more detailed with picture while two respondents actually answered that seeing the pictures make for better understanding of what is being presented. This ties in with scholars who agree that when it comes to print media, pictures and other visual aids help to enhance the message. These visual aids they say help to record and summarise ideas, and influence the perceptions and behaviour of people (Stiles, 2004:127 quotes Kotler (1986). This might explain why some respondents prefer news on television and print.

It however appears that respondents prefer to get their news on-line because it is more convenient and like one respondent said, they help him synchronise all the information gathered. It is interesting that some of these respondents who get their news on-line say they do so because it is more reliable. The respondents who prefer press do so because they claim they are not only more detailed, but they are also more objective and a better way to record the subject.

Table 4.5. Dependency on news and role of media

Dependency on news and role of media				
	Very Dependent	Dependent	Neutral	Not dependent
Secondary	3	6	8	
Graduate	13	19	13	3
Post Graduate	10	14	12	2
Others		2	1	

Table 4.5 shows that on the whole, most respondents have some level of dependency on news. In the same vein, a significant number are also neutral to news while only a few are not dependent on news at all.

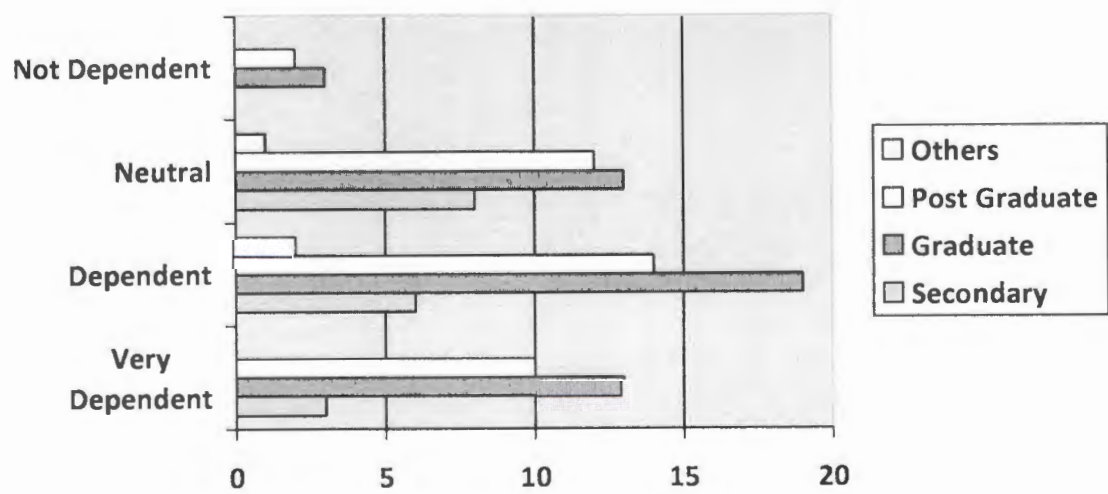


Figure 4.

4. 6. Media in politics

Media in politics				
	Very important	Important	Neutral	Not important
Secondary	9	6	3	1
Graduate	31	10	3	1
Post Graduate	24	9	5	
Others	3			

Majority of respondents are of the opinion that the role of media in politics is very important and a very insignificant number think the role of media is either neutral or not important. All the respondents however agree that media is important in government. Below is a graphic representation.

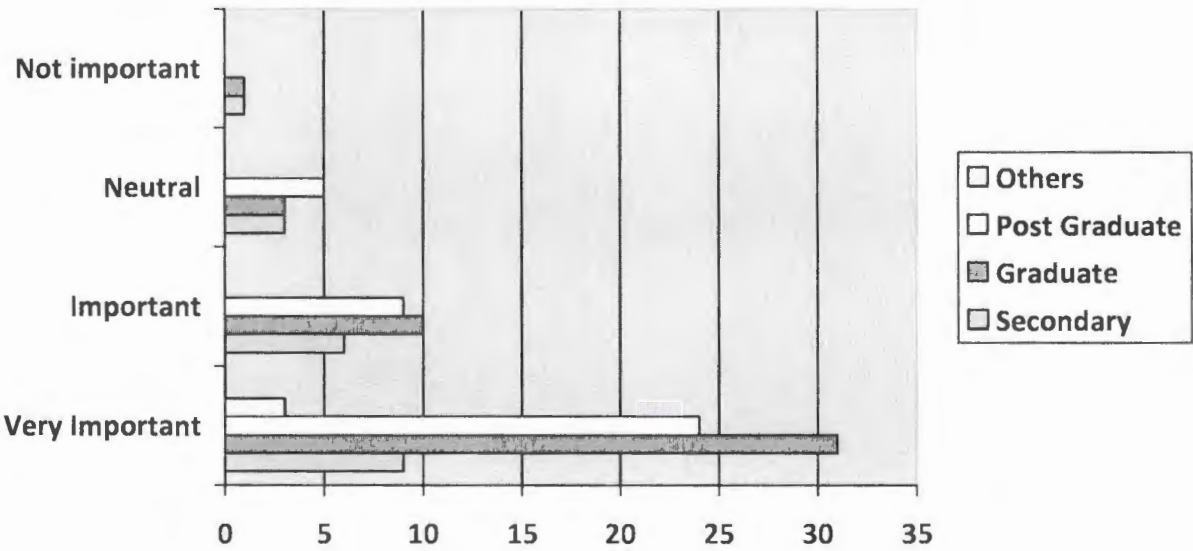


Figure 5

4.7. Role of media

Role of Media in Society				
	Moulder	Mirror	Conscience	Regulator
Secondary		9	4	3
Graduate	5	25	6	8
Post Graduate	2	17	9	6
Others		3		

While one respondent sees the role of media in the society as that of a mirror and the conscience of the society, two respondents see media as a moulder as well as a mirror of the society and another two respondents see the media as performing all the functions of a moulder, mirror, conscience and regulator of society. Majority of the respondents however, simply see the role of media as being largely that of the watchdog, mirroring the society.

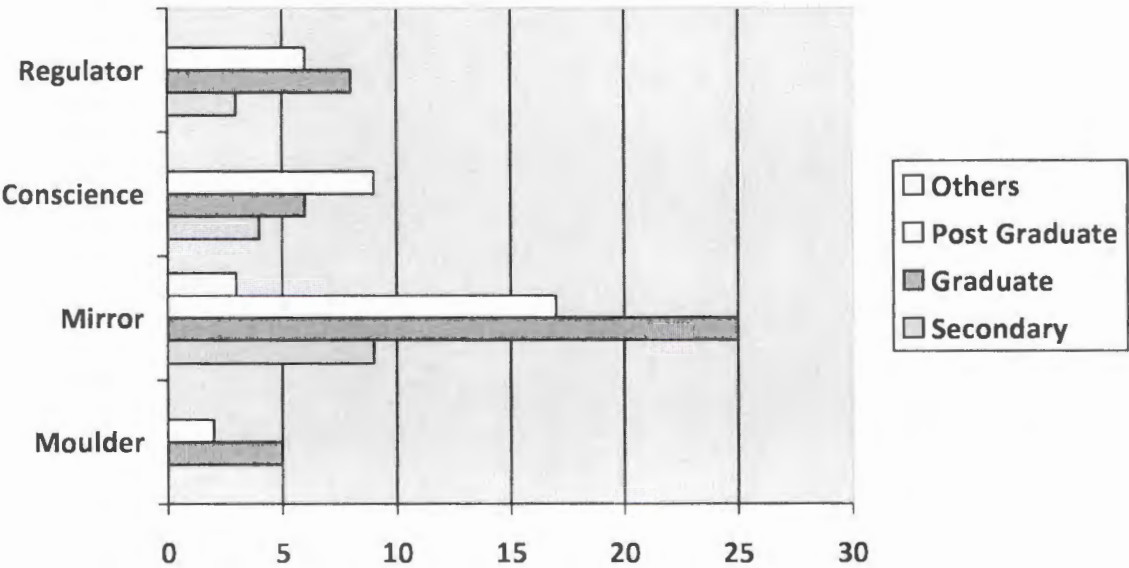


Figure 6

The Media editors interviewed further say that the role of media include to inform, educate and entertain and like one respondent said, holds up issues to the public by setting the agenda. In all, there is general consensus by respondents that media indeed wield a lot of power although the reasons given for this differ. In view of the many varied and important functions of the media, one of the respondents interviewed cautioned that it must be done right or it could lead to negative results especially as the role media plays in politics is very important. A couple of the respondents interviewed are of the opinion that while politicians want to be visible, media owes the public the responsibility of holding up the manifestoes of these politicians and the issues at stake in order to enable the public take a position. In spite of the fact that the Nigerian audience is increasingly getting sophisticated according to a couple of the respondents interviewed one of them a media editor and the other a representative of the NIIA, both agree that it takes a very sophisticated mind to be able to discern the truths in these manifestoes and not be influenced by mere words. Another media editor added that although media wields so much influence, Nigerians now doubt the credibility of the media because their reputation is tainted. Some of these journalists he explained, do dodgy things like collect brown envelopes and write with a slant to favour whoever has paid them.

What comes through in all the above, is that there is a need for media to be responsible because of the power they wield. In any case, no matter how sophisticated the audience is, media is generally perceived almost the same all over the world in how they perform their duties. One media editor said that media are largely seen as nuisances irrespective of what part of the world they are in. Just as there are similarities in the way they perform their duties, there are also differences. Most of the media editors and government respondents interviewed are of the opinion that while the Nigerian media essentially cater to the local audience and is more careful to check for facts because they are on the spot and have access to verifying these facts and details, the foreign media report to satisfy an international audience which is a much wider audience than it Nigerian or even African audience. The Nigerian media also report all that happens in the country whether good or bad in spite of problems of logistics and technology unlike their foreign counterparts who focus on reporting the negative about Nigeria and Africa. The foreign media on the other hand are accused of not usually reporting the successes in the country because they have negative view of Nigeria and the third world in general. For instance during the Jos crisis, in spite of the fact that a lot of other things were happening in the country and

in Jos in particular, all that some of the western media focused on was the mayhem and deaths. Unlike the Nigerian media, quite a number of them do not have adequate representation on the ground in the country. Respondents believe that while some have foot soldiers to do the work, others do not and therefore are relying on sources which are not credible. This explains the slant given to news from the third world, which is more often than not, unbalanced and negative. Nevertheless, the attention media gives to issues seem to validate them even if they do not have the whole picture. It therefore seems like media therefore sets the agenda and the public believe them.

So, while some of the respondents interviewed believe that although the Nigerian media tries to be objective in their reporting, they are of the opinion that the country's media can be a lot better as they are of the view that there is still the occasional slant given to a story. On the whole, these respondents believe that reports are rarely skewed because the Nigerian audience is a sophisticated and discerning one. Only one of the media editors interviewed is of the opinion that media in Nigeria is very balanced because according to him, the country has a very vibrant media. Another group of respondents is of the opinion that it is difficult for media to report objectively because sometimes journalists do not have all the facts to enable them make informed decisions or opinions in their reports. While some times this is due to the fact that journalists do not have access to the necessary information, other times, it is because, they do not do the necessary foot work required to get the information. It would therefore appear that even the Nigerian journalists themselves sometimes do not have the whole picture. A lot of the respondents who answered the questionnaires believe that media reporting in the country is not balanced but biased. They give the example of cases of brown envelope. In these instances they claim, stories which appear in the news are influenced by politicians or whoever has given them the inducement. So, if objectivity and balance is impossible according to these respondents, fairness is what should be talked about as it is impossible to give equal weight to the different sides of issues.

One cannot generalise and conclude as to the objectivity or balance of media in Nigeria. What we can say however, is that it is freer now than it was during the military era for instance what is popularly called the Abacha era. There are however still cases of harassment and fear among journalists one respondent added. In spite of this, media in Nigeria is generally free to report on

issues in the country including government initiatives, the ethnic groups, religious groups and many other topical issues. Although the media also reports on sensitive political issues, it is done cautiously. This is because the interests whether political or otherwise of the owner of the organisation is taken into consideration as well as repercussions from government or the political class to both the journalist, editor or organisation itself.

The study attempted to see with all the publicity on the insurgencies, if respondents had any idea of what some of the groups are agitating for. Their responses were interesting. On the whole, most Nigerians are aware of the different insurgent groups in the country and also have an idea of what they are agitating for even if not the specifics of it. Majority of the respondents both media editors and the ordinary Nigerian on the street believe that the Boko Haram group want to Islamise the country, or as one media editor put it, the group wants 'Islam enthroned' in the country. Others say the group does not want western education while yet others call them terrorists. A few respondents accuse the Boko Haram group of having a Northern agenda and wanting to discredit President Jonathan and destabilise his administration since he is from the South-South and they had hoped to have a Northerner in the highest seat in the land. Still others say the group simply want attention from the federal government and external forces. There is yet another group of respondents who are of the view that with the spate of bombings and kidnappings, the Boko Haram group does not seem to have a defined cause or have lost focus.

In the case of the Niger Delta, respondents seem to have an idea of what the people in the Niger Delta are agitating for. The responses vary from wanting to control the resources of the region, to developing the region. Some respondents say the people of the Niger Delta want compensation for the environmental degradation done by the oil companies as well as the development of the region. There are yet a few who say they simply want to enrich themselves or want attention as earlier mentioned above both from the federal government and from the international community.

Although a few respondents do not seem to know what the Igbos or the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) group is agitating for, a lot more respondents say the people of the region want self determination and secession. Some respondents said that the Igbos want less government involvement in their affairs while a few say they have an ethnic agenda and like one respondent argues, the group seeks self determination.

There are also a few respondents who are of the view that Massob like the other groups simply want attention while some respondents say they have no idea what any of the groups are agitating for.

When asked what people think of the Oodua People's Congress, respondents seem to see the group simply as a group which ensures the security of lives and property in the South West region of the country. This might explain why one of the media editors interviewed referred to the group simply as a vigilante group and not as an insurgent or militia group. Although a few respondents are of the opinion that the group also want a region or 'Yoruba Supremacy' like a few respondents put it just like the Igbos, others see them as simply making a political statement or wanting attention from government and the international community.

In order to compare the views of the average Nigerian, the media editors who are supposedly more informed about the different insurgent groups, some representatives of some of the groups were sought as to how they felt media had fared in publicising their cause.

According to the Igbo respondents, media has not been quite effective at promoting the causes of the Massob group. Media it seems are compelled by how important the public regards the cause. So, it would appear that the groups now only get publicity when members are arrested and that is even if the arrests are publicised. As for the OPC, one of the factional heads and the national coordinator of the group, Otunba Ganiyu Adams accused media of having caused a lot of damage with their negative reporting in the beginning of the group's insurgency. He explained that the group sprang up as a grassroot organisation and was unable to take on the media in its negative publicity of their cause. He went on to add that the war between the two factional heads of the group Dr. Frederick Faseun and himself (Otunba Ganiyu Adams) in 1999, did not help the negative publicity received by the group. According to him, things between the media and the group only started being cordial between 2003 and 2004. These days however, he says that the media is more professional and calls the group to balance the story.

In terms of the impact the publicity generated is making both locally and internationally, some of the respondents affiliated with some of the insurgency groups acknowledged the importance of media in giving adequate reportage to their cause. They claim that media is indeed making impact about their respective causes both locally and internationally. Although not a lot of

publicity is being generated at the moment about the Biafra cause but according to one of the Biafra natives interviewed, the publicity generated both locally and internationally helps in two ways. According to him, in the first place, it helps to sensitise the Biafrans themselves and secondly it informs the Nigerian government and the world that the cause is in the heart of the people of Biafra and should be heeded (sic). The respondent went on to say that that there seem to be an international media conspiracy against reporting on Biafra as less than 1% of the overall activities of the group have been reported. In the case of the OPC, the respondent interviewed said that between 1998 and 2003, international media reporting on OPC activities was in fact much better than what was reported by the local media. He stated that unlike what was reported by the local media, the group's activities were all civil disobedience and not kidnappings or bombings as reported by the media. He went on to say he has been detained twice in the cause of his belief - the first time for three months and the second time was for fourteen months, between 2005 and 2006. In spite of the fact that on the whole, media reporting of the various insurgent groups in Nigeria, have been negative, the OPC factional head Otunba Ganiyu Adams summed that "without media there is no world".

In giving his bio, the Igbo respondent interviewed referred to himself as a Comrade, Civil Society, Political and Cultural Activist. He is also the General Secretary, United Action for Democracy (UAD), Chairman, Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) Enugu State Branch, the National Secretary, Igbo National Council (INC) and Vice President, International Solidarity for Peace and Human Rights Initiative. From his bio above, his responses are not surprising. In his response, he refers to himself as a Biafran in Nigeria and strongly opines that people should be free to determine their fate whether politically, economically or any other way they so choose. He goes on further to express the strong belief that people should have a right to choose to belong to Nigeria or to declare a state of their own if they feel insecure in the country because as he sees it, every nationality has a right to make pronouncements and decisions bordering upon their wellbeing. When asked how receptive government has been to their cause, the respondent replied that generally, Government's response is as a result of what is happening at any given time. He went on to add that governments immediately after the civil war right up to President Yar'Adua's administration were repressive towards the Biafra cause. Many people who advocated for secession he said were either killed or detained. The respondent however noted

that although the Igbo people still feel repressed, it is not as obvious now during President Jonathan's administration.

In the case of the Yoruba group the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), the respondent explained that the group was formed following the nullification of the June 12, 1993 general election allegedly won by Chief M.K.O Abiola, was annulled. Initially, he said Campaign for Democracy was formed and later, the Oodua Youth Movement was formed and on August 25th 1994, the Oodua People's Congress came into being. The group he said, came into existence essentially to call for a restructuring in government of the country in favour of federalism. According to him, it was to fight for the identity of the Yoruba people who are estimated to be 230 million scattered all over the world especially in West African countries (Togo, Ghana, Benin Republic) and Brazil. According to the respondent, Yoruba people are also reported to be in some parts of the United States including North Carolina which he says can boast of a King with tribal marks. The group came into being to unite all these people, protect and champion their interests and promote their cultural heritage. He explained that to do this, the Olokun Company which celebrates the Olokun festival, was formed to promote the people's cultural heritage. The group he says also performs the function of building research centres where the historical background of the Yoruba people can be authenticated. Like the Igbo respondent, he claims that government was very hostile to the OPC cause, especially during President Obasanjo's administration. Again, he agrees that things have since been cordial between the group and current government.

Irrespective of what the issues with these groups are, the respondents are all of the view that there is a need for their demands to be properly articulated. Respondents also agree that government needs to listen to these groups and dialogue with them with a view to seeing what can realistically be done to resolve the different issues with them.

With this suggestion by respondents, members of each of the groups were asked if they were willing to dialogue with government and what they think government can do to resolve the situation and problems in their respective regions. As it turns out, each of them have their set of ideas as to what government should do to resolve these issues. The Igbo respondent who referred to himself as being of "Igbo race, a Biafran national within Nigeria", strongly believes that "government should constitute and back a proper sovereign national conference where every divide in Nigeria would be free to advocate for and constitute the form of state in which it wishes

to belong to and determine its interests in such a state". He criticised the recently concluded national conference because according to him while the government claims that it was independent, the following issues remain questionable about it. He questions the country in convoking the conference where he says not every ethnic "nationalities" (sic) were represented, and also practitioners of what he calls the fundamental religion of the nation which is Africa Traditional religion were not represented. The Igbo respondent further criticised the fact that half of the delegates were picked by government and the other half were screened and approved by the same government which convened the national conference. Delegates he said, were constrained as to what to discuss at the conference. They were asked not to bring up the issue of the dissolution of the country. Finally, he took exception to the fact that the pressure groups like Massob, Mosop, Boko Haram, Mend which are advocating for social change in the country were not given an opportunity to air their views at the conference.

The OPC respondent on his part believes that if government restructures the country in such a way that it gives the six geo-political zones powers to have their own regional police which would be assisted by independent security such as the OPC, then it is possible to resolve the problem but without it, it would be impossible. He went on further to say that the amnesty deal resolved a lot of the issues of the Niger Delta. He however believes that most of the activities in the Niger Delta at the moment are not coordinated by the groups but by individuals who are working to better their individual socio-economic and political status.

With all these uncertainties, insecurity and general unrest in the country, it is no wonder that the country gets a lot of negative publicity. Overall, respondents are of the view that international news reporting on Africa and Nigeria in particular is negative and biased since the journalists report from a point of prejudice. Respondents believe that a lot of the stories done by foreign media are tailored to suit the stereotype of Africa that the world has and so the reports are skewed. One respondent explained that there is the old belief of Africa being fraught with wars, corruption, chaos, violence, anarchy which is all that are reported about Nigeria and Africa. So, all the negatives about the continent and the country get reported and hyped. While some respondents concede that although some of these foreign journalists are simply ignorant about Africa and blame them for not trying too hard to find out the facts, they also believe that some

others are simply being mischievous. Sadly, according to one of the media editors, all these negative reports are the reality in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

The Igbo respondent interviewed agreed with the other respondents that international news reporting on Africa in general and Nigeria in particular is negative as they seem to harp only on the negative things thereby focussing on what he called “the continuous repression” of the continent. He accused the foreign media of hardly ever reporting what will lead to development and growth of Africa but says they always seem interested in showing how unfit Africa is to run its affairs. According to him, foreign media advocate what he calls the recolonisation of Afrika (sic). While it does seem like it is true that foreign media hardly report the things or programmes which happen in the continent and will lead to growth and development, the reality might be different. Although it looks like what is usually reported is news like the recent Ebola breakout and how Africa cannot handle the scourge, the foreign media like Al Jazeera also have programmes which give countries an avenue to give their side of the story. Corroborating all the views of the other respondents, the OPC factional head buys into the view that international reports about the continent and Nigeria in particular, are biased and show what he calls the ugliest about the continent and the country.

Due to the barrage of negative reporting on the unrest in Nigeria, respondents are of the opinion that the public will unfortunately make judgements and decisions based on what they see or hear from the media, and in this case, the unbalanced media reports which do not contain all the facts. Media and in this case, foreign media validates these issues about Nigeria which they report by the level of attention they give them. People believe these news items which they read, watch or hear and form opinions on the country based on these. One respondent however noted that people are influenced by the media based on their psychodynamics. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that because the international media have more resources to do their job and can even interface with their correspondents, they are able to make more impact because of their reach and resources and therefore more believable. So, even if these media do not have foot soldiers and are not armed with all the facts about Africa and Nigeria as earlier mentioned, they have the advantage of having the resources especially as the public tend to trust foreign media more as they are seen as more believable and credible. This is probably why news will be woven to suit the audience bearing in mind the stories the international audience expect about Africa.

For this reason, most of the sample population were of the opinion that media reporting of civil unrest in Nigeria does influence the perception of both the people within the country and outside the country.

Due to all the negative reporting therefore, it is generally agreed by most of the respondents including the media editors and the government officials interviewed that although Nigeria could achieve her foreign policy goal, it would be very difficult as there are too many distractions vying for the government's attention with security issues being at the forefront. A large area of the country has been tagged no go areas which makes it difficult for foreign investments and this one of the media editors noted, does not tie in with the image the country is trying to project and at variant with what people hear or see on international media at the moment.

There is almost an even split in what respondents believe about international news reporting of the civil unrest in the country. While 48 respondents believe international reporting of the unrest is both balanced and objective, 44 respondents do not agree. They think it is negative and biased. While one respondent finds the reporting fair, 13 abstained from responding. In all, although some respondents are of the opinion that the Nigerian media does a better job of reporting news, as earlier stated, some others still do not agree and think that the Nigerian media panders to the whims of the government and the political elites. Although some respondents think that the international media report on the country is negative, the respondents who disagree with this view say that international news reporting on Nigeria is not only objective and balanced but that the international media do more investigative journalism and report the truth. On the whole, respondents say that people believe what they see and hear and form their opinions based on these. In all, 45 respondents and most of the sample population interviewed think that international news media reporting on Africa and Nigeria is honest, 31 respondents think they are negative while 19 of them are of the opinion that international news media reporting is positive and 8 respondents opted not to respond. There were a few responses which include they are biased, it is a bit of honesty, positive and negative at the same time.

In all, 78 of the 108 respondents are of the opinion that media reporting of civil unrest situation in Nigeria influences people's perception of the country while only 22 respondents say it does not. Of the remaining 9 respondents, 7 abstained from answering the question. With a majority, it

would appear that the third research question has been answered. Media reportage of the civil unrest in Nigeria significantly affects foreigner's perception of the country and its foreign policy.

The social media is also rife with all the negative publicity Nigeria has been exposed to in recent times from the unrest and general insecurity in the country to being portrayed as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Its leaders are known worldwide for enriching themselves with the country's resources at the expense of the people. Most of the sample population believe that social media does play a role in the negative publicity the country is receiving because it is not constrained by legal instruments such as ethics and so is impossible to control as one respondent put it "anyone can be a reporter and post anything". People who post things on social media do not check to confirm if what they are putting out there is correct. Others believe that social media simply circulate what they see or hear whether good or bad without sieving. The respondents who are of this view believe that social media helps to balance the publicity and this they say ensures that there is transparency in what is reported.

Of the 108 respondents, 61 are of the opinion that social media has contributed to the negative publicity the country is receiving while 44 people disagree. Only 3 respondents abstained from answering the question. The reasons given for social media contributing to the negative publicity of the country is largely that the reporting and what is posted are biased and negative while those who do not agree see the social media as putting the truth out there.

Since social media cannot be controlled, then people will continue to post whatever they want on social media. Since the different reasons given for the unrest are still very much a reality, it stands to reason to say that negative reports of the country will influence what people think about Nigeria and its people. Furthermore, of the 108 respondents, 78 respondents are of the opinion that media reporting of civil unrest situation in Nigeria influences people's perception of the country while 22 say it does not. Of the remaining 9 respondents, 7 abstained from answering the question. Only 18 respondents think that the country can achieve her foreign policy goal while one respondent abstained from responding. Eighty nine respondents being majority of the sample population do not believe that Nigeria can achieve her foreign policy goal. This might be due to the fact that only five respondents think that President Jonathan's foreign policy is very effective. Thirty-six people of the sample population are of the opinion that the foreign policy is either moderately effective or just effective while 52 people are of the view that it is not effective.

There were other responses. While some respondents think that the foreign policy is the same as the previous Presidents, some other respondents do not know what the country's foreign policy is. There were others who wondered how the foreign policy affects the common man.

It might therefore not be far from the truth like several of the respondents believe that it will be very difficult for Nigeria to achieve her foreign policy goal with all the negative publicity and its effects on the country and the people. The first objective of this research which is whether or not Nigeria will achieve her foreign policy goals in spite of the negative publicity generated as a result of the unrest in the country has thus been answered.

Enumerating the cause of the continued spate of civil unrest in the country, respondents listed failure of leadership and inadequacies of government, high level of indiscipline and a culture of corruption, poverty, insecurity, government's insensitivity to the plight of the masses, tribalism, religious intolerance, structural imbalance in the polity with a wide gap between the rich and the poor among other. All the above factors influence the nation's foreign policy. It stands to reason therefore that as long as any of the above factors mentioned incite people to any kind of unrest, media will continue to report them.

In spite of the fact that most of the respondents are dependent on news in one form or another, it was clear that a lot of Nigerians do not know or understand the nation's foreign policy or how all these problems have a bearing on the foreign policy. A number of respondents have no idea what the Jonathan administration's Foreign Policy is or even what the nation's foreign policy is. When respondents were asked about President Jonathan's foreign policy, a couple of them dismissingly said that he does not have much in the way of a foreign policy. One respondent thinks that the foreign policy is unclear while a couple other respondents think that it is the same as the past three governments. One of the media editors is of the opinion that President Jonathan is trying to build on what President Obasanjo did during his administration which is being the 'Giant of Africa. Unfortunately, the president has to deal with so many problems at home which militate against the success of such a foreign policy, he added. In his view, President Obasanjo ran a more robust Foreign Policy and he went on further to say that if the measure of the success of foreign policy is by how peaceful the country and its people have been, then President Jonathan's administration has been beleaguered by several problems. As a result of this, he has not been focused as he has been trying to deal with all the problems including the security problem which

is a huge problem for the country at the moment. This challenge is peculiar as the previous civilian administrations did not have the magnitude of the security issues which President Jonathan has had to deal with he added. His view was corroborated by yet another media person. This time, the chairman of the editorial board of another media organisation. He also agreed that President Jonathan has been distracted and not been able to focus on the foreign policy or even have a robust one at that. Nonetheless, he does concede that the President is still going through with trade agreements with China. One respondent who works at the National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution is emphatic that President Jonathan's Foreign Policy has potentials. She noted that although the effects of the policies are not likely to be felt in the short term, statistics show that foreign investments are higher, and if they are sustained, it will make a lot of difference to the country in future. Another respondent is of the view that insurgencies have no impact on foreign policy and noted that President Jonathan was lucky to have had Ambassador Ashiru who was a career diplomat serve as foreign minister for a while. Incidentally, the two people who believe that President Jonathan's foreign policy has potential also happen to work for government: one at the National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution and the other at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). They might have an advantage over other Nigerians as to the goings on in government and how government works.

The interviewed representatives of the OPC and Massob, agree with the last respondents. They are of the opinion that President Jonathan's foreign policy is much better and Otunba Ganiyu Adams actually believes the president's foreign policy goals are good. He explained that the complaints by ambassadors and staff which dogged the other administrations especially during Obasanjo's era, have been greatly reduced as the ministry of foreign affairs now has funding. He went on to advise that there is need to launder the country's image for the better by emphasising to the international community as well as impressing upon them that because one or two of the six geo-political zones in the country are unsafe, does not necessarily mean that the entire country and the other four geo-political zones are unsafe.

In spite of the fact that four of the six geo-political zones are relatively safe, negative media hype about the security situation in the country, is what people believe. Sadly even Nigerians do not think the country is safe. Only 8 respondents think that the country is safe while another 8 gave no opinion whatsoever. Twenty-four respondents think that the country is moderately safe while

64 respondents being majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the country is not safe at all. With the most people being of the view that the country is not safe, it is no wonder that foreign investment in the country is low as investors are afraid of both their safety and their investment given the tumultuous terrain in the country. There is therefore high probability that media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria will influence the nation's foreign policy. The second objective that media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria influences the nation's foreign policy has also been answered.

To this end, suggestions have been made as to how media uses the institution to manipulate the audience. It is also for this same power that the media is said to wield, that highly placed individuals can in turn manipulate the media to report what they want the public to know because of their political interest and of course in some instances, gratuity exchange hands as earlier discussed. An example of when media played a role in directing attention to particular issue is the freedom of information bill which was recently passed in Nigeria. The masses did not see why Nigerians would not be allowed access to salient information which impact on their everyday lives. The argument went on for a long time with the media presenting the issues at stake. The resultant effect of this argument was that the legislature had no choice but to pass the bill. In the same vein with the media reportage of Boko Haram activities in recent times, and the people's indignation at the government's seemingly nonchalant attitude to the plight of innocent Nigerians at the hands of the sect. Again, the legislature had no choice but to announce a manhunt for the leaders of the Islamic fundamentalist group and the elites who are rumoured to be sponsoring them.

The power the media wields in being able to manipulate government through reporting, is not peculiar to Nigeria alone. According to Warren P. Strobel (1996), the US foreign policy formulation had in the past been influenced by the CNN effect. He gave the examples of how outraged the world was with the "market massacre in which a mortar slammed into a marketplace in Sarajevo, killing 68 people and wounding many more in February 1994. After the incidence, the United States he said "abandoned a year-old hands-off policy toward the Balkans" and was days later able to persuade NATO to declare a zone around Sarajevo free of Bosnian Serb heavy weapon.

Another example is the Somalia incidence which was also covered to a great extent by media world over. Hines (1999: A11) (cited by Robinson, 2001) as stating that George Bush senior said the media was instrumental in making him decide to do something about Somalia. Finally is an example in a US official Richard Holbrook who was at the time involved in the Bosnia crisis, was reported as saying that the reason the West eventually intervened in the Bosnia crisis was the massive media reportage.

From the above, one can conclude that although policies are not likely to change on trivial issues, from all indications, it appears that consistent reports on an issue has been known to influence countries to changing or at least modifying their foreign policy. This therefore answers the first research question. Media can influence foreign policy through reporting.

From the above, it is evident that international relations impacts foreign policy of nations just like domestic issues are known to impact foreign policy. In spite of the fact that foreign policies of nations are not likely to change on trivial issues, they have nonetheless been known to change all over the world just like in the examples given above. The US government is not alone in modifying foreign policy to suit situations. It appears that even the Nigerian government has been known to react to happenings in the country by amending foreign policy. During his tenure, the late President Musa Shehu Yar'Adua in reaction to the crisis in the Niger Delta, set up a new ministry called Ministry of the Niger-Delta solely to look into the affairs of the region with the hope of resolving the problems in the Niger Delta.

Also, the current President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in August 2011, put together a group of International Relations experts and foreign policy practitioners, to review Nigeria's Foreign Policy which now focuses less on Africa and more on the domestic agenda. The Jonathan administration charged the Council with the duty of marketing the country as an environment in which to conduct business with emphasis on activities which would promote the country's economic growth and development (Ahamefula Ogbu, 21 July, 2011).

Before the 2011 review, the country had been known to modify its foreign policy from time to time. To show her commitment to Africa, Nigeria made slight modification to the Foreign Policy goal in sections 19 of the 1979 constitution and section 20 of the 1989 constitution. Section 19 of the 1979 constitution states that "the state shall promote African Unity, as well as total political,

economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and state, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations". Section 20 of the 1989 constitution was also amended in terms of the Nation's Foreign policy goals.

Before the former two presidents and at the start of civilian administration in the country, President Obasanjo on assumption into office in May, 1999, made economic diplomacy his focus on Foreign Policy issues. The administration introduced citizen diplomacy, a foreign policy thrust in which the Nigerian citizen is the focus of the nation's foreign policy called National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) (Okolie, 2010: 131).

Another President who also made changes to the nation's foreign policy was President Babangida during his administration between 1985-1993, who modified its goal to reflect the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the hope it would help with the economic growth and development of the country. The central foreign policy focus was on export promotion.

Nigeria's foreign policy over the years seem to have been reactionary, depending on the domestic issues. When Major General Muhammadu Buhari led a coup in December 1983 to topple Shagari led administration in which the nation's foreign policy suffered with deepening economic crisis, his administration reverted to the Murtala/Obasanjo foreign policy (Akinbobola 1999:380). When the Buhari administration was also toppled in a palace coup in August, 1985 by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, the then foreign affairs minister, Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi was directed by the new Head of State to organise an "all Nigeria conference on foreign policy". Even the General Gowon had his share of coup and when he was toppled in 1975 by the late General Murtala Mohammed's regime, the new government set up the Adedeji Commission to look into the foreign policy of the nation (Akinbobola 1999:378). From the foregoing, one can conclude that Nigeria's foreign policy has always been adapted to suit prevailing situations in the country. The second research question has been answered here.

Although generally Nigerians have their opinions of why the country is still beset with so much civil unrest, most foreigners do not know and some have no idea of what is going on or why. They are therefore depending on the media for information. Most foreigners will therefore depend on the foreign media for news of happenings outside their regions. Since it has been

established that due to the fact that they are better funded and can go places and even bring the events live to the audience, the general notion is that for this reason, the foreign media are more believable. The audience therefore believe what they see or hear on the foreign media.

Although there are varied views on media's impact on foreign policy, however, it has been established that media reportage has limited influence on foreign policy. Nonetheless, scholars are generally agreed on the foreign policy goals influencing the media reportage. The political environment particularly the political interest of the group, will affect media reporting to reflect the foreign policy (Pate, 1992).

A nation's foreign policy takes into consideration the various emerging challenges being experienced in the country, region and globally. These challenges facing Nigerians as already identified and enumerated above. The most worrying are government's and the political elites' insensitivity to the plight of the masses and the structural imbalance in the polity with a wide gap between the rich and the poor among other.

4.2. New Realities / Emerging Challenges in Nigeria

An examination of some of them giving the view of respondents' is as follows:

Respondents agree that the reason for these continued spate of violent unrest in the country is as a result of people being suspicious of one another. They attribute this to the involuntary union of people who the colonial masters put together to form the nation, Nigeria. One of the media editors argued that the present sectarian violence currently being experienced in the country is not the same strand as previously experienced. These current ones he says are based on new realities and emerging trends. Another media editor gave reason for the unrest as poverty. He explained that when people are poor and see no way out, they fight back and usually this is by way of unrest. Some other respondents explain that in the case of unemployment, the unrest is due to the fact that some politicians have been accused of using some of these youths as their thugs during political campaigns in their quest for more power (*The Guardian*, Saturday Sept. 9, 2006, pg 11; *ThisDay*, Wed. Oct 4, 2006 pg 52; *The Guardian* of Saturday February 3, 2007). Unfortunately after elections they say, the youths who now have no jobs and are armed, resort to

destabilising the peace. Pent up bottled emotions due to factors like perceived injustices is another reason given by some respondents for the unrest. According to them perpetrators of the alleged acts were not punished so these people then do theirs in retaliation.

Several others reasons were given for the unrest. Some respondents are of the view that over the years citizens become dissatisfied with governance when their needs are not met. In the case of Boko Haram, a number of the sample population are of the opinion that it is due to foreign influence. Unfortunately, one media editor is of the opinion that some of these militants have not acquired the skills to live in modern society and so hit at those who do. Other reasons given for the unrest some respondents attribute to ignorance. One respondent further explained that if people are skilled in whatever they do, it helps create opportunities which further expand their horizons and the stability they need in their lives to be better citizens. Ethnicity and religious intolerance are also contributory factors to the spate of unrest in the country as respondents accuse the political elites of capitalising on the situation to divide the people. Some respondents point accusing fingers at the elites who they believe are the nation's problem. These power elites it is believed, have their own agenda and rig elections in order to get to power. Politicians are also accused by all the respondents of playing up both religion which is very potent and ethnicity in order to gain power. A respondent who works for NHA, strongly states that what is being practiced in Nigeria today is "ethnicised politics" (sic).

The fallout of all the above is that security is an issue in the country with the insurgency situation, poverty, unemployment, Boko Haram terrorism and more. Most respondents are of the view that the country was safer during the military regimes than now in civilian era although they concede that the scenarios are different so we cannot compare them. This they say is because the military had the advantage as they could silence dissenting voices with the use of force couple with the fact that the military regimes had no finesse, no diplomacy and certainly no good human rights records in resolving issues. The respondents agree that although there were security issues during the military regimes, they were not as many as present time and they had their own way of quelling them. The same cannot be said for democratic administrations as **democracy gives room for civil unrest to come about** as one media editor put it. So because the military 'managed' these challenges, they were largely internal and did not get as much attention as these recent cases of insurgencies in the country. According to one respondent, a media editor

himself, the military did have their peculiar challenges as well. According to him, the military era saw the Ife-Modakeke clashes in the South West of the country. The Maitasine and the Hausa-Fulani clashes also happened during the military regimes. The civilian administrations however began witnessing ethnic violence and sharia which has since culminated into the Boko Haram crisis as we see it today he added. Most of the respondents believe that security was much better during military regimes as opposed to civilian administrations.

Most of the sample population are of the view that the legislators are not proactive to the security situation in the country, at all but rather react to situations as they arise. One of the media editors with a northern media replying tongue in cheek said that if the definition of proactive means that the legislators talk about the situation, write a report to government with recommendations, then they are being proactive. A few other respondents disagree with these respondents. They are of the opinion that the legislators are trying to be proactive especially as the anti terrorism bill has been passed. On the whole, respondents agree that the laws are not the problem in Nigeria as the country has good laws. However, the implementation of these laws is the problem they say. A couple of the respondents blame civil societies and lobby groups for the state of things. Accusations have been levelled at them for not doing their jobs probably because they have been compromised one respondent added. One respondent suggests that where dialogue would work, the issues should be dealt with by discussing them. However, in his opinion, if force is called for, then government needs to use force to quell the security situation. On the other hand he continued, if the perpetrators are deemed to have violated the laws of the land, then the law needs to take its course. Most of the respondents harp on the fact that it is essential to go back to attempting to resolve these issues such as ignorance, poverty and unemployment in order to deal with the security situation in the country.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that leadership plays a part in how stable a nation is. One respondent summed that "leadership is everything". Another respondent went on to say that there is always political undertone in what is going on even in civil unrest because while people expect government to be able to fix all their problems, the system unfortunately is not allowed to work by these elites. Corruption has become an institution in the country. It has come to stay. A respondent attributed this to the fact that there is no clear distinction in the functions performed by local governments and the states so the overlaps serve as the excuse needed for corruption to

take place. A couple of respondents state that politics has been made so attractive that people just want to get to power by any means and begin to amass wealth. They also do this by arming some of the unemployed youths. One emotional respondent is of the opinion that leaders themselves are not being true to the people and not doing enough to tackle corruption. They make promises during campaigns which they do not follow through once they get into government. Nevertheless, all the respondents agree that leaders need to set good examples for people to

4. 3. Examining the Newspaper reports using Discourse and Content Analyses

In this section, the newspaper reports will be examined closely taking into consideration the language, tone, number of pages, frequency of report, the underlying meaning as perceived by the researcher (if any), if reports sound emotive or not as well as if there were pictures. The number of pages given each report in newspapers is usually an indication of the importance given the topic under discussion.

Although in recent times, the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) has not caused the government a lot of trouble, it is rumoured that plans are still going on for secession. Occasionally, the members of this group still get arrested in the cause of their activities for the realisation of their dream of the State of Biafra. In 1999, the leader of the group Ralph Uwazuruike had apparently given the country one year notice of the group's intention to declare a sovereign state in 2000. *The New Nigeria* of 21 May, 2000 in a piece by Isaiah Ibrahim titled 'ETHNIC ARMIES The plot against Nigeria' examined all the militia groups and their activities. The article is spread over three pages with pictures including pictures of the dead and another of youth soldiers tagged 'ugly images of war'. There were also pictures of all the actors at the time namely the then Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon and the late Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu the former Massob leader who declared secession for the Republic of Biafra. The article also included the picture of the current leader of Biafra and one of the factional heads of the OPC.

In the body of the article in the second paragraph, the writer used words like 're-open a sad chapter in Nigeria's history' and in the third paragraph, words like 'systematic recruitment, mobilization and indoctrination of Igbo youths with negative anti-Nigerian passion'. He quotes Uwazuruike as inciting the youths by using words like 'the Igbos are facing a threat of total

annihilation and the organization was founded to prevent the great tragedy". In the fourth paragraph, the leader Chief Uwazuruike is quoted as telling the youths that "the Igbo race is now regarded only good for the crumbs on master's table. It is on realising this spirit of exclusion on the part of Nigeria government over the years that the Igbo man chose to depend on his entrepreneurial abilities to fend for himself. In this case too, he is branded a petty trader". The writer went on to in the fifth paragraph to quote the leader as saying "MASSOB is worried by the wicked plans to annihilate Ndigbo. If this trend is allowed to persist, by the next 30 years or so, the Igbo race will fizzle out into oblivion. MASSOB is convinced that the best approach to avoid total annihilation is to withdraw from the unaccommodating entity called Nigeria having lost all hope in the system". Uwazuruike's reference to Nigeria as 'the entity called Nigeria' is derogatory.

In the opening paragraphs of the article, the writer's words show regret at what he perceives is going on. In his view, the leader of the group incites the Igbo people against the country. He is very thorough in quoting Uwazuruike's words to the people to buttress his point about the Massob leader inciting and instigating the youths to rise up against the country. The writer's tone does not come through as objective as he makes sentences like *"if this is not provocative enough to ignite the agitative spirit of the Igbo youths..."* *"Uwazruike would give the youths false hope and confidence saying..."*

In the same vein, the writer examines the MOSOP group. Concerning them, he writes *"at the height of its militancy, the group killed four Ogoni chiefs, which resulted in the arrest, detention, trial and execution of Saro Wiwa and eight other leaders of MOSOP... the Ijaw youths among several other terrorist groups that have caused bloodshed..."* This sentence in itself is judgmental. Again, not an objective piece.

About the OPC he wrote, *"The OPC' which now exists as an ethnic army to protect the interest of the Yorubas, has engaged in series of blood chilling operations as it happened at the Apapa Wharf, where it went to defend the interest of Yoruba Port workers against their Igbo counterparts"*. This statement sounds matter of fact as that is what the group claims to be about.

All through the article, we see the Instrumentalist account of ethnic conflict theory (Oberschall's manipulative elite theory) coming to play here. The writer claims the ethnic leaders and elites

like Ralph Uwazuruike for the Igbos, Ken Saro Wiwa and other Ijaw Leaders for the Niger Delta and Ogoniland in particular and the Afeniferere leaders and AD governors in the South West for the Yorubas, are the ones either inciting and/or supporting these groups.

Isaiah Ibrahim ended the report on a sad and regretful note with "...what is evident is that the country has failed to sustain unity and stability through the building of modern agro-industrial economy that would engage the energy of its youths. Thus 33 years after, Nigerian youths are not bothered about their role in the promotion of national unity, integration and rapid economic development as outlined in the objectives of the National Youths Service Corps (NYSC). Hence, even those who passed through the scheme found themselves being pulled back into their tribalistic dispositions, with the implications that they could easily be mobilized to engage in subversive activities against their fatherland. The sad story is that history may be about to repeat itself and *those who know are not showing good examples, while those who know not have nothing to learn*" (italicised words mine for emphasis) (*New Nigeria* on Sunday, May 14, 2000 pgs 11-13).

Another reportage about some of the militia groups written by Bosun Oladunjoye and Bayo Muraina also in the same year but this time in the *National Concord* of Friday, September 22, 2000 has the caption 'Rising profile of OPC, Bakassi Boys'. It is a two page report with five pictures and under the caption is the introduction in italics "they were rebuffed, spurned and ridiculed by agents of the federal government as terrorist organizations. Accused of taking law into their hands in their self imposed assignment of ridding their areas of crime. The police descended on these quasi-security groups with an order from President Olusegun Obasanjo to shoot members at sight. That was sometime in January. The groups which went underground resurfaced in a more determined effort to prove that the Nigerian police is inefficient in crime prevention and busting especially armed robbery. Bakassi Boys and OPC have both shot themselves to national reckoning as a third force. Their areas of operation are virtually free of criminal activities" (*National Concord* of Friday, September 22, 2000 pgs W1 and W12). The statement almost sounds like the writer admires the two groups.

The writers start out taking a position in the first paragraph with "the phenomenal growth in violent crimes and the collapse of law and order *brought about by government inaction and the inability of law enforcement agents to protect Nigerians prompted concerned individuals and*

groups to rise up to the challenge of stemming the scourge of crime....". Also, later on in the report on page W12, "the body to a large extent has rid Lagos of criminals" confirms this. The words in italics make their stance clear. The words used include those which connote fear like "terror, reckless abandon, laid siege, self imposed job of flushing out, killing as many criminals, lucrative town for armed robbers, first class den of armed robbers and a hotbed of gory crimes, dictatorial regime" amongst other. Again the report claims that some wealthy men were not only accused but confirmed to either have been armed robbers themselves or sponsoring robbers as at the time of the report. Some policemen were themselves indicted in the act of partnering with the armed robbers by leasing their guns to these robbers. Again, this shows that the people who have positions of authority are able to manipulate the system to their own advantage. The writers did make an attempt to balance out the report, but it is obvious that there is a slant when they make sentences like "...Oodua People's Congress (OPC) no doubt has got what it takes to be accepted and respected in its task of combating crimes" and "Oodua People's Congress (OPC) is shooting itself into reckoning as a result of overwhelming success it continues to record by the day on its self assigned role of total war against criminals....".

It is probably worthy of note here that the *National Concord* is a South West newspaper and the OPC operate in the South West region of the country and both reports were written during President Obasanjo's administration. In both reports so far, it is clear that people's behavior has been group action and ethnically prompted with leaders alleged to be inciting and supporting their respective groups confirming the Instrumentalist account of ethnic theory which states that leaders manipulate situation for their selfish reasons.

4.3.1. Oodua People's Congress

The OPC activities started in 1994 to protect the interest of the Yoruba race among other objectives. However, at some point, the group seemed to have lost focus and began generating negative reports of destruction against other ethnic groups. According to Otunba Ganiyu Adams, one of the factional heads and the national coordinator of the group, the OPC was not involved in kidnapping for ransom or bombings. All that could be attributed to the group he said is 'civil disturbance' and there were a lot of it going on in the Oodua states with media coverage to prove it. Things have since settled down especially since the factional war between the founder and

coordinator in 1999 were resolved. The group now seems to have better focus than when it first started as is evidenced in media reportage. The activities of the group have been reported from inception to date. Some newspaper clippings showing the evolution of the group through the years in focus are examined.

Joseph Musa's article titled 'OPC Versus Everybody' in *ThisDay* of 14 January, 2000 is a full page one with three photographs. It examines the activities of the OPC especially in Lagos State. The writer gives a litany of the group's activities especially in Lagos and an idea of how much mayhem was caused without any seeming repercussions. The following words in paragraph eight, tells us that:

in fact, at the stage of the OPC activities, many were of the belief that the Federal Government was giving the OPC some kind of tacit support as it refused to condemn the unwholesome activities of the OPC. The feeling was so strong that the government was generally seen as showing double standard when it sent military men to Odi, Bayelsa State to quell the unruly activities of the youths of the area, in which process virtually the whole of Odi was sacked, while the OPC has actually done much more harm in Lagos alone.

The writer's view might not be the reality as at that time, the government had instructed the police to shoot on sight any group found to be disturbing the peace. His report gives the impression that the OPC was given preferential treatment by the government which at that time, was headed by a Yoruba man as President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The reporter noted that while the late Gani Fawehinmi, a lawyer and a civil rights activist, 'distanced himself' from the activities of the group, Wole Soyinka like the founder of the group Frederick Faseun, is reported to have made excuses for them in paragraph ten. The writer goes on to say that "some have said that though it may be difficult to adequately define the ideals of the OPC, it could be said that they are interested in having a society that is free of robbers". It is true that this might have been true when the group first came into existence as was obvious from their activities in the Western states where they operate, things have since settled down and they appear more focused on the Yoruba interest.

Another paper, this time the *New Nigeria* of 23 October, 2000 has an editorial spread over two pages (1-4) and a full page special report on page 14 with two pictures. It again examines the activities of the OPC over several years. The editorial as we know is a very important part of the print media as it is influenced by the ownership of the media. This piece is topical and argues the case for stopping all ethnic militia groups. The editorial is the view of the media organisation and in spite of the fact that this article comes across as balanced and objective as it records blames where they should be and commends those who prevented the crisis from escalating, it does seem like there is a slant to the story. Nonetheless, certain words give an insight into the frame of mind of the writer at the time of writing the piece. For instance "Governor Bola Tinubu, *supposedly* so democratic that he wants nothing to do with soldiers, fiddled and *pussy-footed* for 72 hours *while Lagos burned*. All the while, he arranged 'peace' meeting with OPC leaders, thereby *conferring dubious legitimacy on murderous thugs who have nothing but contempt for peace, authority and humanity*". He goes on further "to be sure, *not all state authorities in Nigeria have Governor Tinubu's callous and irresponsible approach to security issues occasioned by a muddled ideological posturing...*".

In another sentence "that OPC is but a tool in the larger *Afenifere* political agenda stands to reason not only because of the Lagos State government's open collaboration with it. In the heat of the carnage, Mr. Abraham Adesanya, the so-called official voice of the Yoruba, far from urging restraint, fanned the embers of hatred with a hollow story of how he "escaped death" at Apapa. The callously irresponsible attitude of so-called statesmen such as Adesanya in the midst of genocide must be checked by the authorities at all costs".

These are not only strong word but strong allegations as well against the leadership of the Yoruba people. The editorial takes a position and condemns the activities of the OPC in no uncertain terms with strongly worded colourful words like callous, irresponsible, supposedly, pussy-footed, vengeful catastrophe, carnage, genocide amongst others. The tone comes through as disappointed, angry, disgusted even. Again, there is a hint that Yoruba leaders are in support of the activities of their ethnic militia.

Like the others, the editorial advised in the seventh paragraph that "...such luck may not hold indefinitely unless the authorities take prompt and thorough-going measures to stamp out militant ethnic nationalism from Nigeria once and for all". He continued that "nothing less than

a full-scale campaign to wipe out militant tribal nationalism can guarantee communal peace in Nigeria....”

Perhaps it is also pertinent to note that the newspaper is owned by widely read in the north of the country. Whether a southern paper would have taken the same slant in writing the same piece is left to the readers to decide.

The same theme and sentiment runs through the special report on page 14 of the same newspaper. President Obasanjo and his government are once again castigated for treating the OPC menace with kid gloves and not decisively dealing with the problem. The Lagos State governor at the time was also condemned. All ethnic militia groups were said to have been outlawed by the government as announced by the then Minister of Information and National Orientation Professor Jerry Gana.

Ali Alkali the writer of the special report on page 14 quoted an article in *ThisDay* of Friday October 20 in which he wrote that *“one newspaper commentator even called the OPC barbarism “romantic” and described the OPC members as Obasanjo’s “defenders” instead of enemies”* and that *“whenever Obasanjo comes under attack from other ethnic stakeholders today, OPC will come out fiercely to defend him. This they do so romantically, invoking the spirit of O’odua, the progenitor of the Yoruba race. This is no sin at all; afterall Obasanjo is one of their own”*. He also cited *The Punch* editorial of the same date October 20, 2000 for praising rather than condemning the activities of the OPC. *The Punch* newspaper was founded by a Yoruba man from the south west of Nigeria like the militia group. In all and taking note of the words in italics, the North-South divide in the country is again emphasized bearing in mind that the *New Nigerian* can be called a northern media.

Reports of the activities of the OPC continued being through the years mainly clashes with other ethnic groups in various parts of the country from Mushin, Apapa in Lagos to Ibadan, Ilorin and even internal factional wars between the supporters of both leaders of the group. They left a lot of destruction in their wake including burning houses, dousing officers doused with acid and property destroyed. In a full page feature report with photographs showing the mayhem allegedly wrought by the group, Bayo Alade in the *Nigerian Tribune* of Monday 28 February, 2005 titled ‘OPC and its fast dying dreams’, x-rayed the group. He notes that the common thread among all

the ethnic militia groups is militancy. They all relied on arms which were in most cases unlicensed and also spiritual powers.

In paragraph seven, the writer asserts that “... *In fact, the nationalist outlook has been jettisoned for inter-group fighting and murder. The OPC had gradually turned itself into a group that could mete out instant justice to an individual without being queried*”. He continued in paragraph nine “*the nationalist group has unwittingly ridiculed itself as it continued to fight its rival faction over flimsy excuses. Since the group broke into two, the intensity of infighting had increased so much that fellow Yoruba who used to identify with them are now indifferent*”. The regret and disappointment he feels is obvious in his next words “*how come a group with so much hope and lofty ideas degenerated into a local security group and later concentrated on fighting each other rather than fighting for the advancement of the Yoruba race?*”.

It is interesting that the *Nigerian Tribune* being a South West newspaper and the feature written by a Yoruba person would use disparaging words to define the activities of the group. “*A nationalist group has turned a haven of hoodlums and the nightmare which the OPC is, is no doubt about to end*”. To the writer, “*the Yoruba definitely are not better off socio-politically since the coming of OPC. In fact, it has ridiculed the Yoruba more in the eyes of the whole world*”.

The above statements might explain why one of the respondents interviewed said the group had lost focus. The group began to have better focus and became more defined in the later years. There were few civil disobedience cases and the leaders became social commentators offering suggestions on how to move the country forward. It also began concentrating on organising the festivals which celebrate the Yoruba people and their culture.

Willy Eya and Victor Ebimomi’s article at the bottom of the page of the *Sunday Sun* of July 31, 2011 is one third of the whole page with the caption “...Let’s review our unity – OPC ... Warns sect to steer clear of South West” in which Chief Ganiyu Adams re-iterated his call for a sovereign national conference where all stakeholders and ethnic groups will be represented and agree how to live in unity and in the event that this cannot be agreed on, then a split. He cautioned Boko Haram on insisting on Sharia laws only in the North as it is coming across like

they want their own republic in the North. He enjoined the government to take a cue from the Arab spring and avert the uprising that happened there by giving Nigerians good governance.

“OPC faults FG amnesty programme, calls for Tambuwal’s resignation” is the caption of another article in the *Nigerian Tribune* of Tuesday 9 August, 2011 by Soji Ajibola. In it, the founder of the group Dr. Frederick Faseun faults government’s amnesty deal to ethnic groups which use violence. He threatened that OPC can do just the same if what the government appreciates to take notice is violence.

Having regained focus, it is evident that the OPC is all about the Yoruba people and their interests.

4.3.2. Biafra

The Biafra secession plan for self determination seems to have been an ongoing one since the end of the civil war in 1970. The leader of the group Ralph Uwazuruike unlike his predecessor Odumegwu Ojukwu advocates non violent in realizing their dreams. The group has continued to be vocal about its activities with a lot of media coverage to prove it. The group’s activities seem to have gained momentum from 2000. However, for the purpose of this research, only the newspaper clippings which are pertinent to this study throughout the years in focus, are examined.

Several of the people interviewed stated that one of the problems with Nigeria is old wounds. In a special report by Emma Ike for *The Guardian* on Sunday January 21, 2001, he detailed his interview with the Biafra leader Chief Ralph Uwazuruike who he credited with the words “Only The Actualisation of Biafra Will Heal Our Wounds” which also happens to be the caption of the interview. The report covers two thirds of the page with a picture of a pensive looking Uwazuruike.

In the interview, Uwazuruike talked about his experiences and that of his family in the course of the struggle and the reason he decided to go the non violence route like one of his mentors, Mahatma Gandhi. Ghandi’s experience in South Africa and with the British in the late 1800 to early 1900 (Ghandi, 1996), taught him that it was hopeless to challenge authority. He then

devised a means of non-violent disobedience which is spiritual / religious, based on the fact that human beings are pure. His core principles centre on truth and non-violent civil disobedience. http://www.mahatma.com.php/showNews.php?newsid_52&linkid_10. Chief Ralph Uwazurike opting to go the non-violent route in achieving secession is understandable especially when viewed against the many lives the Igbos lost during the Nigerian civil war in 1967. The Massob leader blamed the Obasanjo administration for causing disaffection between the Igbos and the other ethnic groups.

Over the years, arrests of Massob members have been reported. It is interesting that *Champion* newspaper owned by an Igbo man dedicates space in the newspaper in what seems like every year probably around the anniversary of the Biafra war to outline or examine issues facing Massob when the other media do not. The *Champion's* subjective articles re-live the story of the Biafra war probably as a reminder to the Igbo people of their mission, struggle and ultimate objective. The *Champion* media's several write ups on Biafra, is a classic example of McQuail's organization, selection and production theory in which every story is carefully selected and produced including the date of insertion. See a full page write-up in *Daily Champion* Thursday May 31, 2007 titled '40 years since Biafra' which although centres around the Biafra struggle, also in my view captures the essence of the country Nigeria and probably explains the distrust among the different ethnic groups. Another half page in the *Daily Champion* of 16 May, 2008 with the caption 'Plight of MASSOB' hints at victimization of members of the group at the instance of the then President Obasanjo's administration. There is yet a three quarters of a page in the *Daily Champion* of 21 May, 2009 captioned 'Tales out of Biafra: 40 years of 'Republic' of Acha' written in diary form by a former combatant/intelligence personnel in the Biafra Army but now a traditional ruler, HRH Eze Ogbonnaya. Joy Olekanma wrote almost a full page in the *Sunday Champion* of May 30, 2010 with pictures of the two major actors at the time, the then Head of State, Gowon and Ojukwu who declared the state of Biafra. It also shows a map of Biafra carved out of Nigeria. This article is titled '43 years of Biafra Declaration of the war, The Aburi accord, other meetings Enter the Ahiara declaration'. There is yet another subjective piece in the *Champion* with the writer quoting from Mr. Ralph Uwechue's book "Reflections on the Nigerian civil war: facing the future". Sentences like "...youths *itching for the opportunity to fight* and who trained in secret make shift camps *never relented* as they were *determined to avenge themselves for the 1966 massacres*"; "owing to the fact that *Britain and Russia wanted to*

retain their privileged position in Nigeria they came fighting Biafra, a situation that led to the fall of some Biafran heroes” and in the last paragraph “further efforts to bring the combatants to an agreement failed as the Aburi accord failed to meet their various expectations. But while these debates lasted, the war continued to rage with women, children, civilians *especially on the side of Biafra were made targets*”. It is obvious the writer identifies with the Biafra people.

The Guardian of 31 October, 2001 carries an article written by Aniekan Bassey has the caption ‘Ex-Biafran warlord, Effiong identifies civil war’s cause. In it, General Philip Effiong talks about the main cause of the war which he attributed to corruption, oppression and abuse of power and not resource control as has been peddled. He also stated that ‘true federalism comes with resource control’ and the need to for people to appreciate that groups’ agitations is not because they want to break away but rather a they are asking for justice, fair play and equity.

In the *Daily Champion* report of 25 May, 2006, Alphonsus Nweze talks about ‘1000 suspected MASSOB members arrested’. The report is more subjective than objective. He talks about how the members of the group have been arrested and ‘Police Mobile Force *unleashing their might* on people believed to be MASSOB members’. The report goes on to talk about how the people defied the actions of the police, blocked major roads in the town but ‘the police later came to *dislodge* them, shooting into the air *indiscriminately* and firing tear-gas canisters’(sic)

It would seem that to stay visible, Massob members have always staged activities which ensure they are constantly in the media. *The Punch* of 6 May, 2008 by Adelani Adepegba reports how ‘Security agents killed 2,000 MASSOB members in 7 years’. The caption is sensational enough for the reader to want to read more. In the body of the article, is the claim by the group that between May 2000 and April 2008, about 2000 registered members of the group were killed by security operatives in various parts of the country. The group also demanded the release of over 1000 more of their members who had been held in the different prisons all over the country. In its bid to show their non-violent nature, the group in protest of the alleged killing and detention of its members, planned a walk from Okigwe to Enugu between May 22-31, 2008 on the 41st anniversary of the declaration of Biafra. In all, it seemed like the article was written just to keep the group visible to the public.

Adelani Adepegba again wrote about MASSOB in *The Punch* on 19 May, 2008. His caption 'Police raid MASSOB's base in Enugu' re-iterated that about 2000 members of the group had been killed and the organisation mounting its flag to commemorate the anniversary of the group and the police raids and actions taken to stop them. The police public relations officer spoken to, Mr. Mike Abattam justified police action by saying that the group has been proscribed and has no business hoisting its flag".

'MASSOB: Searching for a needle in a haystack' is the caption in the *Nigerian Tribune* of Wednesday 28 May, 2008 in which Jude Ossai writes about the start of the Biafra agitation. It is a full page write-up with pictures of Uwazuruike and Ojukwu both present and past leaders of the group respectively. Again, the same history is rehashed and of how government security agencies have been unfair to members of the group. The writer quotes an emotional Uwazuruike as saying,

I will die for Biafra. I am not afraid of fighting for Biafra. Biafra is my life. Inasmuch there is injustice in Nigeria, we will continue to speak against injustice. I am not afraid of anybody. The Igbo educated elites are cowards. They cannot stand for the truth. The little scrubs they get as contracts from wither the feudal lords or the west had made them to avoid standing by the truth.

The article talks of how the 'spirit of Biafra lives in every Igbo man' and how they are nursing the idea of a sovereign state of Biafra in spite of all the problems which the group is facing. Some Igbos are however not optimistic of the outcome because they do not see how the group hopes to function as a sovereign state within Nigeria which is a sovereign state in itself. Others are of the opinion that the group's action is retrogressive and so making things even more difficult for the Igbo people to attain the highest political office in the country. While some Igbo align with the ideals of the group, they question how some of the leaders live ostentatiously.

In *Nigerian Tribune* of Friday 5 September, 2008 'Politics of MASSOB sit-at-home order' again written by Jude Ossai, the writer states that the group might be losing its hold on the people as they did not honour the sit-at-home order which was in commemoration of the Biafra struggle. It is full page article with a picture of the leader of the group Chief Ralph Uwazuruike. As with the

other reports, a recap of the members who have been imprisoned, and President Obasanjo's culpability in the deaths of some of them.

The last article to be examined on Biafra is a full page one with photographs of the then President Yar'Adua and the Massob leader, Uwazuruike in the *Sunday Champion* of September 6, 2009 written by Emma Ogu. Again, the ordeal of the leader and the group is re-visited. In this article titled 'MASSOB and Yar'Adua's selective amnesty' however, Uwazuruike questions why his group are being treated the way they are when they are a non-violent group while the Niger Delta group who are violent get treated differently. As in the other writings on Biafra in *The Champion*, this is also subjective with sentences like "many other activists of the movement are being chased from pillar to post for attempting to re-invent Biafra. But this has not dampened the spirit of the agitators as they have remained adamant in their clamour for Biafra, armed with the movement's slogan of 'no surrender no retreat'"

The Biafran struggle can best be summed in Chief Uwazuruike's words at the end of the article "*we cannot compromise the struggle for Biafra no matter their intimidation*"

4. 3. 3. Niger Delta

As already mentioned above, a number of the oil producing states in Africa are among the worst performers and the Niger Delta region of Nigeria which is estimated to have 159 oil fields, at least 7200 kilometres of pipeline and 275 flow stations is one of them (Ukeje, 2010: 59). The region has garnered a lot of attention over the years not only as an oil producing region of Nigeria, but also for the conflict associated with it including the violence and kidnapping for ransom. The region even made the Wall Street Journal of September 19th, 2009 in the story "Delta Farce: Nigeria's oil mess" according to Osagie, Ibaba and Watts (2009) (cited by Amodu and Sobowale, April 2011: 93-94).

Why then would an oil producing state which should be reaping the benefits of being a major contributor to the state's foreign reserve be in so much conflict? Literature is rife on the subject of the contributory factors to conflict in oil producing states. While Okogu (2007:56) maintains that the very existence of natural resources, have contributed to the conflict and security issues in developing countries, Nwosu (2010:130) blames the conflict in part to the presence of oil

companies in the region. He is of the opinion that the oil companies or multinational companies “encourage” societal ills and destabilise the society. These he says manifest in dysfunctional families, domestic violence, sexual molestation of young girls, communal clashes, emergence of youth restiveness with youths who want to correct the injustice they believe has been done to the people of the region. Oil companies and indeed multinational companies, have been blamed for a lot of the problems in the third world.

4. 4. Multinational Corporation (MNC's)

According to Adeniran (1983:301), multinational corporations usually have their headquarters in a country while doing business all over the world. In his opinion, most of the foreign investment in the third world is from multinational corporations.

There are opposing views about the role of multinationals in these countries. While some advocates of multinational companies say that the companies are doing a good job of using their capital and technology to improve the growth and efficiency of the regions in which they operate thereby improving the welfare of the people, others have levelled several accusations at them and credited them with some unpleasant events which happen in the third world as a result of their presence in the areas.

The critics say that multinationals actually stifle the growth of the region. These companies have been accused of moving labour from one country to another and deciding on the salary structure irrespective of the system in place in the country of operation (Adeniran, 1983:303). In Nigeria, the people of the Niger Delta region themselves believe that the oil companies degrade their environment and do not develop their land. They also claim that they lack good infrastructure while the facilities in the oil companies are modern and even affluent. (Amodu and Sobowale, April 2011:100). Another accusation levelled at the multinational companies is that they employ expatriates at the expense of the indigenous people who need work (Adeniran, 1983:306). These lead to a lot of tension and sometimes conflict in the regions.

The most common causes of conflict is breakdown in communication. There are however others just as common including corruption in government which breeds a lot of societal ills including

little or no development (Igwe, 2010:123), environmental degradation and resource control as are being experienced in the Niger Delta region. Another cause of conflict is where people want to defend their territory (Oberschall, s.a.). Territory here could be land, property or even source of livelihood.

Building on Igwe's (2010) argument above, a cursory look shows that in Africa, governance is linked to the political elites who have been accused of abusing their powers and converting the apparatus of the state for their personal use. The greed of these elites makes it easier for them to be used by powerful states and foreign interests to the detriment of their people. This invariably causes conflict (Igwe, 2010:121).

A breakdown of the several causes of conflicts include threats to democracy where elected leaders themselves have been accused of weakening democracy or when Islamic fundamentalist groups threaten the security of the state (Dokubo, 2006:122). Nevertheless, the factors which contribute to conflict are not limited to the economic, religious or political alone. They can also be communal or even sentimental. That should however not diminish their seriousness or importance (Amodu and Sobowale, April 2011: 94). In a study conducted by them, the duo noted that communities sometimes engage in conflicts simply to attract the attention of the government and oil companies. The reason for this could be because the people blame the Nigerian government for having abandoned its responsibility to them as is the case with the people of the Niger Delta and not ensuring that the region is developed with schools, water and other amenities which would ameliorate their sufferings and raise their quality of life (Amodu and Sobowale, April 2011:97). The oil companies are seen as the enemies who have shirked their corporate responsibility to the people of the region and degraded the land. They also take notice when the oil pipelines are vandalised.

Shell in particular, has been accused of not helping to solve the problems of the oil rich region. The company is accused of oil spillage, corruption among its staff in the region as well as lack of development of the region. Shell is actually accused of fuelling the conflict situation in the region with its policies and practices.

The principle of cause and effect comes into play here and the fall out of all these oil related conflicts in the Niger Delta is increased security challenges to both the country and the oil

companies themselves (Nwosu, 2010:128). Of the 9 oil producing states in Nigeria namely Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Rivers, Cross river, Delta, Edo, Imo and Ondo states, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has categorised Bayelsa, Rivers and Delta states as the high risk areas which are volatile and rife with violent conflicts ((Ukeje, 2010:60); Mojaye and Unurhoro, April 2010:121). Probably in an attempt to address the issues of the Niger Delta, the ministry of the Niger Delta, was created in 2008 (Nwosu, 2010: 40).

As a result of the activities of the Niger Delta militants, the economic infrastructure of the country has not only been impacted on, these activities have also spilled to the neighbouring countries. In June 2008, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is said to have attacked Bonga oil Platform in the Atlantic Ocean. The group is also rumoured to have incessantly killed some Cameroonian gendarmes on duty in the disputed Bakassi Peninsular and in November 2007, authorities in Yaounde the Cameroonian capital announced that 20 soldiers died when a speedboat was attacked around an army post. The attacks are said to have continued when in August 2008, Nigeria lost the Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon and the militants were rumoured to have promised to make the peninsular ungovernable (Ukeje, 2010:70-71). In Caselli and Coleman's (s.a.) view, the people of the Niger Delta are the "victims" against the government that is controlling the resources of the region.

Another cause of conflict is politics. In Nigeria, it is rumoured that politicians arm their political thugs for campaigns leading to elections (Amodu and Sobowale, April, 2011:100-101). Unfortunately after the elections when the services of the thugs are no longer needed, the ammunitions are never collected from them and since they now have no regular paying jobs, they resort to use these weapons for other violent acts such as kidnapping, armed robbery and as hired guns.

The Niger Delta unrest seems to have been a continuous one. The problem has also evolved over the years and morphed into vandalism of equipment, bombings, hostage taking amongst others. There have of course been reports of the activities of the ethnic militia groups in the region over the years from when the insurgencies started to date. There however seemed to have been more reportage on the activities of the group in 2006. Most of the reports essentially are simply different ways of examining the problem in the region. Therefore, for the purpose of this

research, only the newspaper clippings which reflect the salient points of this study through the years in focus are examined.

The Niger Delta region is synonymous with hostage taking and at a time in the history of the group, hardly a week going by without an incidence of kidnapping. On Thursday July 6, 2006, Dennis Naku did a feature in the *Daily Champion* captioned Niger Delta: When will militants stop taking hostages? It is a two page feature with five pictures of the President, the Rivers state governor, leader of the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), inspector General of Police and some military personnel.

The writer employed a reportorial style writing giving the reader an insight into what happened and is happening in the region and the reason stated for the kidnapped workers of the oil firm, Peak Petroleum. The claim is that the oil company reneged on the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) entered into with the community. The MoU pertained to employment of indigenes and provision of infrastructure. In the article, a source blamed the incessant insurgency in the region to government's indifference to non-violent struggle like that of MOSOP and the militants attempts to resist the neglect by both the government and the oil companies against the oil region.

The writer used strong words which convey the people's fear and power like 'dreaded' 'formidable' and 'havoc in society'. In all, the feature article is very detailed giving places and names of all the actors both kidnapped and kidnappers.

Following that feature article is yet another one in the *Saturday Champion* of 19 August, 2006 titled RIVERS STATE: In the throes of hostage-takers written by Tony Ita Etim. It is a little over a page and a half with five pictures of the freed hostages, the president, governors of both Delta and Rivers states as well as that of the hostage takers.

Again, it is a detailed article about the goings on in the region and the kidnappings giving names, places and dates. It was also noted that only a couple of the groups claim responsibility for their actions while most of them are faceless.

The kidnappings continued in 2007 but by this time becoming more of a money making venture than a political statement. *The Vanguard* of 14 January, 2007 with the caption 'We thought the

end had come' by Samuel Oyadongha gives details. It is a full page article with two pictures of the hostage takers and the other with two of the hostage takers and a hostage. MEND denied it had anything to do with it as the organisation does not kidnap for ransom. It also condemned the act. The insurgency in the region is as a result of the people's frustration and anger at the oil companies who they blame for their plight which include poverty, unemployment and other social malaise.

Companies especially expatriate companies are leaving the Niger Delta as a result of the kidnappings which affected oil production. The region has become high risk for doing business not only because of the kidnapping but also vandalism of equipment and facilities. These acts are attributed to the people's frustration at having no jobs, socio-economic decay and what they term government's insincerity towards them. *The Guardian* of Saturday January 20, 2007 gives an insight into why this is so. It is a full page piece with a photograph of some militants titled 'On The Road To Anarchy'. Again, it is hinted that some people are carrying out these less than acceptable acts under the guise of fighting for the rights of the people of the region.

Overall, it is a complete article as all the sides are covered. Suggestions are also proffered as to what should be done to resolve the problem. It is again re-iterated that the root causes of these problems need to be addressed and to some people, this includes the very structure of the country. They therefore suggest that the country needs to be restructured just like Otunba Ganiyu Adams the OPC factional leader believes.

An interesting well written piece is the one in *ThisDay*, Sunday January 28, 2007 captioned 'A Little On The Ill-Informed Side' by Tom O'Neil of *National Geographic* magazine. It is interesting because it is written by a foreign journalist who took the time to go to the region to see and speak with the people and dedicated space to it. The effort he made in the article is obvious not only in the writing but also in the number of pages as well as number of photographs. It is a three pages article with six pictures (two on each page) and embodies the situation in Nigeria. The piece is vivid, well thought out and matter of fact. It is insightful and educative. The writer paints a picture which enables the reader picture the story he is weaving especially as the article has some dialogue.

The writer compares Nigeria a “a potential model nation” blessed with oil and wealth if properly managed, to one that “has become a dangerous nation, addicted to oil wealth, with people increasingly willing to turn to corruption, sabotage, and murder to get a fix of the wealth. The cruelest twist is that half a century of oil extraction in the delta has failed to make the lives of the people better. Instead, they are poorer still, and hopeless”. According to him, “what has not changed is what an International crisis group report calls a ‘cancer of corruption’. A Western diplomat quoted in the report was even more direct, referring to ‘the institutionalized looting of national wealth’”. This echoes the sentiment of one of the people interviewed who said that corruption has become institutionalised in the country.

The writer cites that a UN report warns that the rate of environmental degradation in the Niger Delta is slowly pushing the region towards ecological disaster. He made attempts to balance the story by making efforts to interview the actors namely the governor of Rivers State, representatives of the oil companies, Joint Task Force (JTF) but they were all not forthcoming about granting him interview.

The Guardian of Saturday February 3, 2007 carries two stories of the Niger Delta unrest in page 52. One is an interview a Kelvin Ebiri had with Jomo Gbomo the spokesperson of MEND and the other is one with Ken Atsuwete the Executive Director, Human Rights and Election Development Project (H-Right Alliance). In the former, Jomo Gbomo reaffirms that the unrest in the region will end when government accedes to their demands while in the second, Ken Atsuwete hints at leaders manipulating the people to fuel the crisis. He questions the supposed agreement with the militants and believes some people saw it as another money making venture and capitalised on it. In his words “...you will not be surprised to learn that quite a number of our leaders are also backing these boys in the creeks with funds and other logistic supports and what they get in return far surpasses what they get from legitimate living...”

Another piece written by another foreigner for a foreign magazine also in *The Guardian* makes interesting reading. It is a two page article with four pictures captioned ‘Delta Farce?’ written by Pranav Behari for *Guernica* which is a magazine on Arts and Politics. The article is in *The Guardian* of Sunday December 20, 2009 in which the writer takes the reader into the camp of the militants. It is a literary piece written documentary style and like the National Geographic one, also with some dialogue. In it, we learn that Jomo Gbomo the name of the spokesperson of the

group is simply a name used by the group for the whoever in the group speak on their behalf and it can be anyone in the group. The reader learns that 'by email, I asked the current Jomo Gbomo the origins of this name. 'Jomo Gbomo is the same thing as saying Scarlet Pimpernel,' he replied.

In Charles Akinsete's contribution to the *Sunday Tribune* of 10 October, 2010 captioned 'MEND: Commercial entity or freedom fighters?' a full page and a half article with two pictures: one of the President and some ex-militants and the other of the leader of MEND, Henry Okah. In it, the writer notes that the death of Ken Saro Wiwa and people like him marked the end of non-violent protests in the region and heralded the violent form of protests as the people saw it as the only way to get noticed. They succeeded in getting noticed not only by the federal government but also by the international community. In October 2009, the federal government offered amnesty to the militants. It was going well until the Abuja bombing during the 50th anniversary celebration which MEND claimed responsible for. The group asked what there was to celebrate in 50 years of failure. In spite of MEND claiming responsibility, the paper alleges that "there are strong indications that the incidence may have a political undertone, as security operatives, in their investigation, were said to have arrested media mogul and Director-General of the Ibrahim Babangida Campaign Organisation, Chief Raymond Dokpesi, apparently in connection with the bomb blast...while the government was not ruling out terrorism (MEND) in the whole matter, it was also certain that some political figures were somewhat involved...". Again, it points to elites manipulating the situation to their advantage and for their purpose. The spate of kidnappings and the bombings credited to MEND and the group denying responsibility, is worrying as it seems the militant groups have deviated from their central objectives. Political analysts are of the opinion that some top politicians were using these groups to destabilize the country ahead of the 2011 election. This article also seems balanced as it weighs the relevant sides of the issue which are the militia group and security operative and even includes opinion of political analysts.

A full page article with a photograph in *The Guardian* of Sunday November 21, 2010 written by Anietie Akpan captioned 'ONYEMA: Post-amnesty Succeeding, Blame Politicians for Fresh Crisis' again accuses politicians for trying to derail the amnesty programme and elections for their selfish reasons. In the interview, Onyema accuses them of sponsoring the mayhem in the

country confirming what some other people have been saying about the elites manipulating the situation for their selfish reasons. He accuses politicians of being desperate for power. In his words “those who are doing these things are the ones in power and because they enjoy immunity”. In fact, he blames the government for not meeting its obligations to the people and the media for supporting militancy through the sort of coverage they give these groups.

A two page special report in the *Sunday Vanguard* of June 12, 2011 by Emma Amaize captioned ‘FRESH HOSTILITIES IN NIGER DELTA! Jonathan, Tompolo, ex-militant leaders VS Okah, MEND’, talks about the uneasy relationship between President Jonathan and Henry Okah. With five pictures of the actors: President Jonathan, Henry Okah, Asari Dokubo, Tompolo and some of the militants. The report alleges that both Okah’s trial in South Africa and his brother’s in Nigeria are more political than legal. Also in the report, MEND is said to have accused the West of having good relations with dictators in Africa and considered the whole amnesty programme a travesty.

Although the report is centered on the view of the militants and MEND in particular, the writer gave a lot of his opinion as well. The writer uses interesting choice of words like “to consummate”, “*frontally tackle* the problems of the region”, “his successor Yar’Adua, *retrieved the key from Obasanjo*”, “*the Niger Delta crisis is like a fly perching on the scrotum, using more than necessary force to kill the fly may cause collateral damage*”. The writer’s use of such words make the writing seem too informal, casual even and more like a piece for a folklore book rather than a newspaper report.

As with others, recommendations were made for the government to set up industries which would provide jobs in the region, build roads, bridges, provide water and electricity.

Finally, it appears that Shell’s activities in the Niger Delta are of concern to the home country Netherlands. In a full page interview in *The Guardian* of Sunday January 23, 2011, Kelvin Ebiri speaks with Sharon Gesthuizen a member of parliament in the Netherlands about the public hearing on Shell’s activities in the Niger Delta. In the interview she expressed how appalled she was with the living conditions of the people in the Niger Delta. Since Shell is a Dutch company, the country wants to be sure that the oil company is not responsible for the problems in the

region. She also suggested a situation where the Dutch and some European partners would meet with the Nigerian government and ask them to improve conditions in the Niger Delta.

She was refreshingly forthcoming about her views and did not attempt to defend the actions of the people of the Netherlands. She expressed disappointment that both the oil companies and the federal government are pointing accusing fingers at one another for still flaring gas in the region after several promises to stop. During her brief visit, she came to the conclusion that the "oil companies are doing business with corrupt people".

She suggested that there might be a need to put diplomatic pressure on the government to improve conditions in the Niger Delta and other parts of the country which need it. Also, there is a need for all the stakeholders like the Nigerian ambassador to the Netherlands, the Dutch ambassador to Nigeria, NGOs, Shell, the Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs to meet and discuss the problems and what can be done to improve the situation as she believes resolving the problem is the federal government's responsibility to provide the people with good governance and fight corruption.

4. 5. Niger Delta Militants Versus Government

The *Sunday Punch* article of 24 October, 2010 titled 'MIEND's fresh threats' written by Akinwale Aborisade is a full page piece with pictures of the relevant people. The writer uses words like '*fresh anxiety*' and '*unleash another terror*', with the words in italics implying that something like it had happened. He also uses words which conjure up images of fright and the general state of mind of the residents of Abuja fright in words like '*bated breath*' '*imminent attack*', '*perpetual fear and apprehension*'.

The writer quotes the then Senate Deputy Leader, Victor Ndoma Egba as saying "... *all Nigerians know what the MIEND stands for. The group had an agitation which they canvassed. They presented their position to the Federal Government and it has been addressed and there was peace... This sudden threat by a group claiming to be MIEND is disturbing. I just believe that certain group of people trying to discredit the government of the day are using the name of MIEND to hatch their inordinate plan*". Since this article was written after the amnesty deal, his

statement ties in with the belief of a number of people that some of the new groups coming up and destroying the brokered peace are not MEND as they claim.

The *Sunday Vanguard* of December 5, 2010 has an article again by Emma Amaize (the Regional Editor, South Africa) with the caption 'Mass Killings, burial in N-Delta Villagers. The article is about the government's Joint Task Force (JTF) and the 'invasion' of Ayakoromor community in Delta State on December 1, 2010. The story spans over a page. In it, the writer uses words which connote carnage like '*chilling details*' *kingsmen killed*', '*homes razed*', '*mass burial of slain villagers*'.

On the whole, the story seems balanced as the reporter gave both sides of the divide the opportunity to recount what happened and also reported what was being done by the state government thereby allowing the reader form an opinion.

'Niger Delta Counting the cost of resurgence of violence and military response' by Dennis Naku in the *Sunday Champion* of December 5, 2010 is a two page piece with pictures on both pages. In the second paragraph, the writer uses some very interesting words in the sentence "for the *umpteenth* time, the creeks and Atlantic fringes are *being ruffled* by *gun totting* militants, most of whom *had* embraced the amnesty *hitherto* by the federal government". The last two words imply that although the amnesty deal had at some point been in place, the situation is now in the past. The word '*umpteenth*' refers to the frequency of occurrence while the '*gun totting* militants' simply lets the reader know that the militants carry guns. The point here is that the writer is able to paint a picture for the reader to envision.

Again, this article talks about the activities of JTF in the region and as can be expected the reactions of the militants in taking hostage of the worker, blowing up equipment and facilities of the oil companies. It essentially is about the general dissatisfaction that all is still not well in the region. This article is also well written because the writer attempts to balance out all the sides of the story. The reader has the opportunity of hearing from JTF, from the militants who also accuse some ex militants of not letting the government largess trickle down to them and the ex-militants who are accused also get to let the reader know from their standpoint. The Special Adviser to the Bayelsa State Governor on Mobilisation and Niger Delta Regional Integration matters Jude Tabai also had his say. He confirmed in the last paragraph of the second page that in deed "greed

is at the highest level in the Niger Delta” as the militants are being betrayed by their militant leaders.

4. 6. Legality of the Ethnic / Militia Groups

Ronke Olawale’s article ‘Putting ban on militia groups in context’ which appeared in *The Guardian* of Wednesday November 1, 2000 is a full page x-ray of the groups and the government ban placed on them in relation to the law. The story also has pictures. The language is objective and all the relevant sides seem to have been weighed in the article. The reporter presents the opinion of leaders with regards to the reason for the existence of these groups. A foremost Yoruba leader, Bola Ahmed Tinubu puts socio-economic factors as being responsible for the existence of the groups. President Obasanjo on his part puts the cause of the ethnic violence in the country to the poor economic situation of the people. In his words “the so called ethnic violence in Lagos was also caused by lack of economic growth and it could happen anywhere in the world...even in Europe, people are more tolerant when the economy is booming. When the economy is down, you see more of intolerance, all sorts of discriminations...”

In another report titled ‘OPC, Sharia Army, Egbesu et al and Public Order Act in This Day of 8 May, 2001, Sebastine Hon a legal practitioner and Chairman of Movement for the Emancipation of the Middle Belt (MEMB) in a one and a half page article with pictures examines the legality of these ethnic/militia groups. The second paragraph again hints at group bonding by ethnicity as well as leaders who back these groups. Although the writer uses aspects of the law to buttress his point, it is nonetheless subjective and judgemental with colourful words and sentences like “the recent burning of some hotels in Kano city by a sharia enforcement team, *led by the Deputy Governor of Kano state, Alhaji Abdullahi Ganduje himself shows that the Nigerian Federation is half way into its grave*”, “...perpetrated by ethnic armies make one to shudder endlessly, especially in view of the coming ‘dangerous’ year called 2003.... Like the others, the writer also points fingers at leaders for instigating these militia groups in the sentence “they also call into aid sections 38 and 40 of the Constitution which guarantee the right to freedom of religion and of the right to peaceful assembly and association. These constitutional provisions, however, *are only being used as a smoke screen to cover up the patent illegalities encouraged (and at times*

perpetrated) by our siren-blowing Executive Governors. He concluded that all the ethnic armies are both illegal and unconstitutional.

In page 31, the writer Sebastian Hon sums that the introduction of sharia is a political step and the sharia enforcement armies are all agents of political initiative. He also said that the other ethnic militia groups all contravene the law in various ways with their unlawful acts either by wearing uniforms or flying their own flags.

4. 7. Government Initiatives to manage the unrest

The Federal government of Nigeria has made a concerted effort to stem the growing ethnic militia groups in the country. While some of the initiatives were negative, others were positive.

On 1 June, 2006, the *Daily Champion* did a full page piece on 7 years of Democracy in Nigeria titled 'Healing the Niger Delta' by Tunde Arokoyo in which he detailed government's several efforts at addressing the Niger Delta problem and the reason they failed. In the first paragraph of the third column, the writer states that:

today with the turn of events in the Niger Delta area, one must say that President Olusegun Obasanjo deserves not just a commendation, but a rich applause for the bold, courageous and enduring steps he has taken to restore hope to the people of the Niger Delta region. Today, there are good roads, portable water, good school buildings, hospitals and health care centres, electricity supply, community halls etc. courtesy of the Federal Government through the NDDC, Niger Delta Development Commission.

Although the article recounted the failed efforts of successive governments to resolve the problems in the Niger Delta region, the rest of the piece came across more like singing the praise of President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The *Nigerian Tribune* editorial of Monday 11 September, 2006 was almost a full page on 'THE NIGER DELTA SHOOT ON SIGHT ORDER' given by the government. In it, the paper examines the activities of the groups in the Niger Delta including hostage taking under the guise of fighting for the people of the region which it said probably prompted President Obasanjo's shoot on sight order given to the police in his attempt to bring an end to such behaviours. However, the sentence which strikes a chord is *"there are too many groups in the Niger Delta*

region which, in the name of fighting for the emancipation of the people of the region, are committing crimes and making huge money from their criminality....

The editorial claims that several attempts made by both government and the oil companies to develop the region have been spurned by the youths. Several other reports already examined claim the contrary is the case here. These reports allege that the people of the region are asking that both the government and oil companies help develop their region but so far their cries have not been heeded. There is no doubt that some of the funds for these projects have gone to private pockets and probably some truth in the fact that some youths have at some times vandalised pipelines and equipment. Again, it is worthy of note that the *Nigerian Tribute* is a South West media and it is possible that this has a bearing on the slant given to the editorial.

Overall, the tone of the editorial is judgmental as is evident in the sentence "...This is affecting the projected revenue of the government and it is also drawing back the communities' wheel of progress. There is no way this would be *allowed by any government....* So, the exasperation of the Federal Government and its shoot on sight order was quite understandable....". It however cautions on managing the shoot on sight order and suggests finding a better and lasting way to resolve the youth restiveness in the region.

ThisDay features of Thursday May 5, 2011 by Chinedu Eze takes a look at the 'Amnesty Programme: FG Gives Succour to Niger Delta Youths' in a one page and a half feature including a photograph of some of militants at their send forth party. In paragraph three, the writer talks about the anxiety and suspicions of the people of the region concerning the sincerity of the programme especially as there had never been a precedent. The piece is written like a report in which the writer regales the reader with the happenings. For example "as the amnesty programme started, training centres were created and reformation of those involved in the struggle started. Then on June 27, 2010 a batch of trainers from the United States arrived the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, Lagos to start training of the delegates...". In another example, he writes "Government kept its promise and has successfully continued with the training and rehabilitation of Niger Delta youths...".

Since the amnesty deal was brokered in 2009, one of the positive initiatives by the government to transform ex-militants in the Niger Delta region is the post-amnesty blueprint which was reported in the *Nigerian Tribune* of Tuesday 18 May, 2010 by Donald Ojogo (the South African Bureau Chief of the organisation). The article spans almost two pages with a picture of the Presidential Adviser on Niger Delta Affairs. The paper reported that on 12 May, 2010 the Presidential adviser on Niger Delta Affairs, Mr. Timi Alaibe unveiled the post-amnesty package of ex-militants by the government.

The report weighs the impact and lost opportunities to the country, to the people of the region as well as the victims. It also lists government's previous efforts at developing the region, the issues that are militating against the development of the region and the way forward. The style of writing is businesslike using bullet points and highlighting the key points rather than making full sentences in most cases. The article finishes by noting that *"any search through the internet and newspapers shows that local and international coverage of the Niger Delta focuses on conflict, poverty, corruption and violence"*. This article corroborates what all the respondents interviewed said about international media reporting of Africa and Nigeria in particular. In spite of the post-amnesty package for the ex-militants of the Niger Delta, there are still on-going offensive in the region.

Another features report this time by Davidson Iriekpen in *ThisDay* newspaper of Wednesday July 27, 2011 looks at 'Sustaining Peace in Niger Delta through Amnesty'. It is a little over a full page with a picture showing some of the recipients of the programme just before they boarded their flight out of the country. The writer reports the event matter of fact and straight to the point with no embellishment or colourful words or language. He then gives the reader a flashback of what had happened before the amnesty deal and also recounted how many people have so far benefitted from the programme and what part of the world they went for training. The article made an effort to weigh all sides of the situation reporting people's opinions about the amnesty programme as well as the terms of the programme itself. The writer also signals a note of warning about the challenge which could be experienced in fixing the ex-militants in jobs on their return home.

4. 8. Recommendations on resolving the militia problem

The Guardian of Friday August 4, 2006, has two full pages on the recommendations by the Justice development and peace commission of the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria for the utilisation of God given oil and gas resources to serve the common good titled 'Nigeria: The travesty of oil and gas wealth'. In it, the body highlighted suggestions as to what should be done. Some of the recommendations include zero tolerance for corruption, an efficient and transparent management of the oil and gas resources will go towards alleviating poverty and improve quality of life. The group also had suggestions for the Federal Government, the NDDC, the National Assembly, the Federal inland revenue. For the communities themselves, the body advised them to shun violence and vandalism amongst others.

In a full page article written for *The Punch* of Thursday August 17, 2006 on page 3, Adeyeye Joseph writes about 'N'Delta: 'Military onslaught will cause shut-down in oil production'. He talks about the Belgium-based research and policy group, International Crisis Group's view (ICG) as well as the United Nations Human Development Report on the implication of using force to manage the Niger Delta problem. In the article are figures to buttress these views and the importance of oil to the country. Peaceful negotiation was recommended instead of the use of force by both the Nigerian Military and their international counterparts. The Nigerian government is also advised to tackle corruption and ensure that aid and grants given to the region get to the people. Furthermore, the government is enjoined to address the derivation formula as well as the 1978 Land Use Act.

Abimbola Akosile in a page and a half of *ThisDay* on Wednesday August 30, 2006 outlines a report by the Crisis Group on Africa titled 'Niger-Delta: Clearing The swamps of Insurgency'. The article starts out putting things in perspective for the reader. The first paragraph sums it all up while introducing the reader to all the parties concerned. Again, as in the above, the report by the Crisis Group on Africa reiterates that dialogue is the way to go to resolving the issues in the Niger Delta and not force. The report lists the three factors militating against Nigeria being a major oil producer. These factors have consistently been mentioned as the bane of the country and they are poverty, crime and corruption. The group gives a rundown of the root cause of the problem in the Niger Delta. Like the other groups, this one also proffer suggestion to the all the

stakeholders. The writer did a good job outlining the Crisis Group on Africa report and balancing it with reports done by other international bodies to give credibility to the piece.

In a special report: RENEWED WAR IN NIGER DELTA of *Saturday Vanguard* of October 7, 2006, captioned 'How to stop the bloodbath, by ex-militants written by Jimitota Onoyume in which he met with two ex-militants and recorded their suggestions for ending the Niger Delta problem. According to them, what has developed into the Niger Delta insurgency of today, started out as cult wars among illegal oil bunkers and then later on these groups were used by barons. According to the duo, when the 2003 elections drew near, politicians saw how they could use these youths to control their areas and they allegedly equipped and funded them. And after the elections, there were so many fire arms in the system that according to them, the problem began when the government attempted to retrieve the fire arms. With the people in the region already angry, the situation was fuelled and it automatically became easy to fall into militancy. The ex militants accused politicians of using them to do their dirty jobs and suggested that government should develop the region. This again points to Oberschall's manipulative elite theory which states that the elites in the society manipulate their people by using ethnicity to get political power.

So many individuals and groups have made suggestions as to how the problem in the Niger Delta region should be addressed. The Niger Delta militants themselves proffered some at the two day conference held at The Hague, the Netherlands with about 100 attendees including the civil society, non-governmental organisations, the Nigerian and Dutch governments also had representation at the conference. Shell was unfortunately absent at the event. In the *Daily Champion* of March 8, 2010, Okey Onwuchekwa writes on the 'Post-Amnesty peace parley When Niger Delta stakeholders stormed The Hague'. The writer emphasises that while the people of the Niger Delta might call it a curse, the political elites and oil companies would not see it so as it is a blessing to them. He writes that "stupendous wealth garnered from the oil-region by this cabal that cuts across tribe and tongue stands out as its showers of blessing theory". The article gives a recap of the happenings in the Niger Delta as well as the conference itself.

Some of the recommendations from The Hague conference include adoption and implementation of the Niger Delta technical Committee report by the federal government, for the international community to pressure the oil companies in the region to end gas flaring by 2011 and adopt international best practices in tackling environmental issues. Other recommendations include refusing student visas to children of public office holders as well as bringing back all the 'stolen' monies stashed abroad by corrupt leaders and politicians.

4. 9. Conclusion

In all, the newspapers examined show that media organise, select and produce stories which it deems of interest to the reader depending on the target audience. Due to the fact that individual experiences and biases are different, interpretation of these news and stories will be varied and will depend on each individual. What reverberates through most of the newspapers examined is that powerful elites and leaders in the society are being accused of manipulating the insurgency problem to destabilise the country for their selfish reasons. This proves that the instrumentalist account of the ethnic conflict theory is the only choice for this research. Another theory which holds sway in this research is the theory that media would organise, select and produce news as is evident in all the newspapers analysed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CIVIL UNREST AND NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

5. 1. 1. Civil Unrest

It is widely believed that Africa is among the poorest in the world in spite of it being rich in natural resources. There is also a group of people who strongly blame most of the problems of the continent on colonialism and neo-colonialism. The powerful elites in the society themselves are not absolved of the problems facing the continent. As a matter of fact, they are generally blamed for contributing to the problems facing the continent by corruptly enriching themselves at the expense of the masses and the detriment of the growth of the continent.

Like a lot of people, Nicholson (2002:26), maintains that several quasi states are still noticeable in Africa. This belief is understandable considering that African countries have had little social and economic development since gaining independence from their colonial masters decades ago. Unfortunately, this almost lack of development has also impacted on the ability of these states to function like sovereign states. Basic social services which are expected to be provided by the government for the people are not obtainable. Nicholson (2002:21) asserts that internal conflicts are rife because there is a powerful impulse in human beings to identify with a particular group and defend the ideals of that group. If Nicholson's assertion above is true, then Mojaye and Unurhoro's (April 2010: 122) claim that what has evolved today as the Niger Delta crisis and the oil war, started in 1997 as inter tribal clashes between the Ijaw and Itsekiri people of the Niger Delta region over land disputes. This they say later developed to become the Niger Delta crisis as we know it today.

Of course, the poor security situation in the continent does not help the situation. During the latter part of the 20th century, majority of the conflicts, have largely been civil wars within nation states with most of these occurring in sub-Saharan Africa according to Stewart and Fitzgerald (2001) (cited by Okogu, 2007:56). Narrowing this down, Nicholson (2002:26) particularly attributes the problem of Nigeria to elites who work with the multinationals to exploit the people. In his words

...The very fact of recognition from outside, coupled with control of the means of violence internally, gave many elites the power to enrich themselves in a way any

involvement in economic production would not. They can channel foreign aid in their direction, do favourable deals with multinationals for their own rather than their country's benefit, and tax their hapless compatriots on what little wealth they are able to accumulate in the dreadful political circumstances. Various periods in various countries can be described in this way and many, unfortunately, continue.

Another contributory threat to the nation's internal security is the political and religious intolerance. For instance, the Maitasine riots in parts of the North, the Kaduna riots in March 1987 were a couple of the insecurity sparked by religion. The 1967-1970 civil war, the 1983 general elections violence are a couple of the influence of politics on the state of affairs especially security in Nigeria (Dokubo, 2010:35).

5. 1. 2. International Relations

Some scholars believe that international relations is changing and will continue to do so for a number of reasons. One reason given for this is that people are adapting to a changing world. Secondly, human being now know and understand more about human behaviour and how to interact with one another and lastly is the fact that some issues like gender which had previously been neglected, have now been identified as important (Nicholson, 2002:229). There are many more women like Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, the President of Argentina, Dilma Rousseff the first female president of Brazil and Park Geun-Hye also the first ever South Korean female President, all playing active roles in politics and holding positions of power globally. There are of course others like Susan Rice the national security officer of the United States, and before her Condoleezza Rice who also play active roles in their respective governments.

Confirming the importance of women in politics, David Bloomfield and Ben Reilly (s.a.) are of the opinion that women need to be involved in peace negotiation process because of their very essence as women and the different invaluable perspective they bring to the process. http://www.idea.int/publications/democracy_and_deep_rooted_conflict/upload/chapter_1.pdf. The growing involvement of women in all spheres of life is being acknowledged and appreciated. At the Addis Ababa, Ethiopia meeting in July 2004, the AU took a cue from several

platforms including the Dakar 1994 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995 and of course the United Nations policy on gender equality which centres on human and people's rights. Article 4 (L) of the Constitutive Act of the AU reiterates equality amongst all human beings and states that the Union will function by taking into consideration gender equality in all its policies and programmes. The Union promotes gender equality at all levels and has been involved in women empowerment for over 30 years. The AU gender policy is to ensure equal representation and participation of women in decision making and the peace process to influence policies. The policy centres on the principle that all human beings are equal and should have equal opportunities

http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Gender/African_Union_Gender_Policy_2009.pdf. Since the mid 1990s, Africa has witnessed increase in participation of women in politics. Women are more involved in politics from the local government, legislatures, and the executive level. There have been nine female prime ministers in Africa since 1993. In 2003, Rwanda claimed the world's highest ratio of women in parliament and today, the women in Rwandan hold 64% of the country's legislative seats while more than 40% of the parliamentary seats are held by women in South Africa, Senegal and Seychelles. In Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda, women hold over 35% of seats in contrast to their US counterparts who hold 18% of the seats in the House and 20% in the Senate. On the international scene, another African Female, Fatou Bensouda of Gambia holds the post of chief prosecutor in the International Criminal Court (<http://democracyinafrica.org/women-politics-africa-today/>). Since the start of democracy in Nigeria, the country has included more women in government. As at 2009-2013 there were 7 women in the Nigerian parliament (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>). However, all that changed with President Goodluck Jonathan's government which made a difference by appointing more women into the executive council. There are about 30% women in government as opposed to the 10% women in previous government (<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/all-the-presidents-women-the-tale-of-a-paradigm-shift/>).

A female, Professor U. Joy Ogwu has been Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations since 2008. Before her appointment, she led Nigeria's foremost Foreign policy Think Tank in January 2001 and was at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) as the first woman Director General, a position she held until 2006 when she was appointed minister of

foreign affairs from August 2006 May 2007

(<http://redesign.nigeriaunmission.org/ambassadorpermanent-representative>).

On the whole, Africa is beginning to recognise the role of women in politics. This is being manifested in the number of women holding political positions in the continent and competing with their male counterparts. For instance, Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the Liberian President, was the first female President elected in the Continent. The second female President who was also elected, was former President of Malawi, Joyce Banda. There is also the current Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Her Excellency, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma <http://cpauc.au.int/>.

The role of women is even more pertinent in international relations. This is so especially given the fact that theories of international relations are concerned with the role and behaviour of states in the international arena and the field is particularly concerned with issues of war and peace (Cordell & Wolff, s.a.) which makes the participation of women vital in peace negotiation process. In line with this view, some foreign policy analysts are questioning the traditional sense of international relations and moving away from the state centred model of foreign policy. They are now examining both the external and internal factors of foreign policy and seeing a relationship which they term linkage politics theory (Poyoson, 2011). According to Rosenau (cited by Poyoson, 1971:78), the theory is an attempt to see how the relationship in one system, influences, affects or elicits a response in another. An example is the link or relationship between the state system and its environment. For instance, the Boko Haram and the security situation in Nigeria particularly in the North of the country. The domino effect of this is colossal as the citizens live in fear and the implication for the country in the international community and of course Nigeria's foreign policy can also not be over emphasised. This might explain Adeniran's (1983:385) reasoning that since past local and international wars have changed both international relations and the structure of international relations, conflicts and wars will be agents of change in international relations in future. Cordell & Wolff (s.a.) conclude that although International Relations theories give useful insight into the study of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution in general, these theories need to be woven into theories of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations in order to have a comprehensive analytical model.

Two ethnic conflict theories are examined here. They are Rational Choice and Social-psychological approaches to ethnic conflict. While the Rational Choice theories assume that when a group feels threatened, they would go on the offensive before being attacked, the Social-psychological approach centres on the inequality between groups. In the latter approach to ethnic conflict, when a group feels entitled to something to which they are denied, or they even feel like it would be taken from them, they will use violence in order to either get it or use violence just to ensure they keep it if they already have it. Findings from several sources discover that ethnic conflicts and in some cases civil wars, happen more in low-income countries (Cordell & Wolff, s.a.).

Due to their findings, these scholars like Okogu, (2007:57) advocate that to deal with conflicts, policies which would lead to economic development, need to be put in place. Governments need policies which would alleviate the social and economic situation of the people. The belief is that if the people feel economically secure, the tendency to have conflict situations will be on the decrease (Cordell & Wolff, (s.a.); Eriten and Romine (2008) citing several scholars). This belief is also held in an editorial by The Christian Science Monitor on the world's reactions to Boko Haram's kidnapping of the Chibok girls and the crisis which seems to be reinforcing the perception of Africa as a continent perpetually in conflict. <http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/the-monitors-view/2014/0519/Africa-s-best-response-to-Boko-Haram>.

5. 1. 3 Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is both an act as well as a process (Adeniran, 1983:365). Some scholars have categorized foreign policy into three main parts namely a country's policy intention towards another, what it hopes to achieve in its relations with other countries and lastly its means of achieving the set policy goals (Adeniran,1983:331); Ayinde (2010:10). These objectives can be broken down into primary, secondary and tertiary objectives. Primary objectives are those which relate to the security and survival of the state and its people irrespective of where they live. These objectives include the economic and physical well being of both the state and its people. In this case, there would be no compromise whatsoever. So, if the country has to go to war to

protect its people and its territorial integrity, it would. The second objectives involve those in which a country has some interests. It can choose to pursue these interests or it can decide to negotiate the terms of achieving the objectives by agreeing to some compromise. In the third objective, the goal is all about the prestige of the country in the international community. The importance given to each is different depending on the country's foreign policy focus. For instance, while trade might be very important to one state to ensure the economic survival of its citizens, it might be of less importance to another state that is more concerned with defending its territory (Ayinde, 2010:10).

Issues in foreign policy therefore have to be understood first in relation to what is happening in the home state at the time and secondly on the larger scale, in the international scene. It is widely agreed that in order to have a "dynamic and influential foreign policy", certain factors are essential and they include a stable domestic socio-political order, a strong economic base and military power to defend the country's territorial integrity (Adeniran, 1983: 333; Poyoson, 2011: 40). To this end therefore, whether directly or indirectly, many people are involved in routinely deciding foreign policy goals. For instance, the public can play either a direct role or an indirect one in Foreign Policy. When the public plays a direct role for instance, it could be in form of protests, demonstrations and articles in newspapers about particular policy position of government. It can be indirect when people indirectly let the government know they are not in support of its decision in a matter. An example of this is when the citizens continue to do business with a country after their government has severed relations with the country (Adeniran, 1983: 336). For instance, in the United States where organised groups like business corporations have been known to exert influence on US government to change foreign policy. In a study carried out by them, Jacobs and Page (February, 2005) found that internationally oriented businesses are strongly influential in U.S. foreign policy. Also, several studies conducted on both qualitative and quantitative researches, show that public opinion greatly influences both the U.S. foreign policy and the policy preferences of government officials. (Jacobs and Page, February 2005). Below is a brief examination of two of the three objectives of foreign policy as mentioned above.

5. 1. 3. 1. Concept of Security as a Foreign Policy goal

The first goal relates to security of both the state and its people. Scholars like Dokubo (2010: 26) argue that security means different things at different times and if the security of the citizens is considered priority and the defence and survival of its territory are the essence of the external policy, then the search for security is a given as a determinant for International Relations. Dokubo like Ayinde (2010) believes that when states suffer from insecurity, then they are poised for war (Dokubo, 2010:26; Ayinde, 2010:10). Security as already mentioned means different things at different times and so also the definition of it differs. However, I find Richard Ullman's definition as (cited by Dokubo, 2010:27) more encapsulating and relevant to the Nigerian situation at the moment. To him,

A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of the state or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private non-government entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state.

This definition is more pertinent to the country's (Nigeria) situation as a large number of Nigerians and foreigners live in fear of being kidnapped, mugged and with the recent activities of the Boko Haram bombings of motor parks, military bases, schools and other public places especially in Northern Nigeria. Not only have lives and property been lost, the quality of life has also been adversely affected. As earlier mentioned, the resultant effect is that foreign investment which the country is in dire need of, has suffered.

Although there had been sectarian violence in Nigeria in the past, the Boko Haram situation brought Nigeria negative international prominence of a different magnitude. The adoption of Sharia, the Christian-Muslim hostilities, the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria including the Kafanchan-Kaduna crisis in 1987 and 1999; Zangon-Katari riots in 1992 are all examples of the violence the country had experienced in the past. Also the Tafawa Balewa clashes in 1991, 1995 and 2000; the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000 and the Jos riots of 2001 with hundreds killed and thousands displaced in the October 2001 communal clashes that spread through the middle belt states through Taraba, Nasarawa, Benue, have all been instances of note (Poyoson, 2011:33). In

spite of these, hostilities and intolerance within religions Nicholson (2002:48) notes, are often more intense than with other religions. The truth of this is brought home with the Boko Haram sect who is killing other Muslims who do not belong to their sect or believe in the Boko Haram doctrine. All these will of course have both socio-political and foreign policy implications for Nigeria (Anugwom, 2008:159 cited by Poyoson, 2011: 32)

5.1. 3. 2 Prestige Foreign Policy Goal

Several Nigerian scholars of international relations are of the opinion that Nigeria's foreign policy has for too long revolved around Africa as its centre piece with the country playing a big brother role to the rest of the continent. One of such scholars is Ayinde (2010). The country's foreign policy seems to be more concerned with national prestige which is detrimental to the stability of economic opportunities and prosperity for the state and its people. This quest for continental leadership, being seen as the "Giant of Africa", has not only been detrimental to the overall foreign policy of the nation, it is a myth (Ayinde, 2010:11).

Several observers have their impression about what country has or should have hegemony in Africa. On the web is an interesting BBC article with input from people from different African countries. Kenya's Antony Ragui's and Ronak Gopaldas' articles are particularly interesting. Their contributions were non emotive. The conclusion is that before Nigeria can think of being the continental leader, she must first fix her myriad of problems which include, corruption and weak governance among others (BBC, 22 June, 2014) (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27885700>). What type of foreign policy should Nigeria then be pursuing given that some countries even in Africa seem to have been able to have good and robust foreign policy?

5. 1. 4. Types of Foreign Policy

According to some scholars, foreign policy can be classified into four namely "Innenpolitik theorists," "offensive realists," "defensive realists," and "neoclassical realists" (Rose, s.a). Innenpolitik assumes that foreign policy is an offshoot of the domestic politics. Here, factors such as ideology, culture, and economics influence states' foreign policies. This theory has

however been criticised for failing to explain how and why there is no uniform behaviour from states with similar makeup (Rose, s.a.). The second group of theorists, the Offensive realists or Aggressive realists, propose a situation where states maximize security. In this case, a lot of jostling will be done to ensure security. Again, Rose criticizes this theory for not being able to explain how and why there is no uniform behaviour from states with similar makeup (Rose, s.a.)

Like the Offensive Realists, Defensive realists also see states as inherently chaotic. In spite of this, states can usually deal with external threats simply by balancing power. Proponents of this theory however argue that the situation could degenerate into tense confrontations which could in peculiar circumstances, lead to international episodes. On the whole, this theory sees foreign policy as peaceful and purely reactionary.

The last group of theorists, the Neoclassical realists do not agree that states' aim is simply to secure its people and territory. They affirm that states use whatever powers they have to make the international community do what they want. This theory asserts that states with more power will pursue an aggressive foreign policy. What foreign policy theory does Nigeria adopt given the four explained above?

5. 1. 5. Examining Nigeria's Foreign Policy

In his treatment of 'Democracy, De-Democratisation and Development in Nigeria', Abubakar Momoh (2006) poses a question: "why is African being trivialized?" This almost echoes the former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki's *Who Will Define Africa* statement about the consistent negative reporting given the continent. Momoh came to the conclusion that it is because the continent has never mattered to the rest of the world as it is seen as a 'burden' to the industrialised economies. A close examination of Karl Maier's book which is seen as the most authoritative book on Nigerian polity in the 1990's and its "alarming title" *This House has Fallen: Nigeria in Crisis* is enlightening and gives an insight into the way Nigeria is perceived by some people outside the country. In the book, Maier apparently shows how 'unimportant Nigeria is to the West'. In Maier's words, "To most outsiders, the very name Nigeria conjures up image of chaos and confusion, military coups, repression, drug trafficking, and business

fraud...". Momoh (2006) concluded that the level of ignorance and indifference among the world's most powerful governments about Nigeria is startling.

It is a fact that in order to have a viable foreign policy in a competitive world, it is imperative, to build competitive, dynamic and resilient economy. Also of importance of course is employing potent foreign policy instruments to actualize them. To this end, successive governments in Nigeria have flirted with different approaches for the country's foreign policy from export promotions, indigenisation policy, austerity measures, structural adjustment programmes, and recently encouraging foreign direct investments. Unfortunately, all these have failed to achieve the set goal of giving the country a viable foreign policy. Nigeria is unable to have a well articulated and result oriented foreign policy according to Okolie (2010:131) because it has a weak and uncompetitive economic structure with the resultant effect that there is poverty in the country and human development is low.

Salami (2007:72) like a lot of other Nigerian scholars of international relations in dissecting and analysing Nigeria's foreign policy, is of the opinion that there is a need to re-invent the nation's foreign policy objectives so that it aligns with the global objectives of sustainable development. In his criticism of the Nation's foreign policy, he believes that since international relations is increasingly becoming global, local issues pertinent to a nation, are in turn attracting world attention (Salami, 2007:76). Affirming my belief that in spite of all the purported reviews and advisory councils set up to review the nation's foreign policy by successive governments, Okolie (2010:138) asserts that the country's foreign policy has not changed much either in content, substance or orientation. The wheel just seems to be spinning government after government in spite of the good intentions. This fact is attested to when one examines that Nigeria's external relations, have revolved around being a member of international organisations as well as participating in such organisations like the AU, ECOWAS, OPEC, UN, G77 while other African nations like South Africa, were probably promoting their domestic development strategies (Ayinde, 2010:14).

Nevertheless, in an attempt to re-invent the country's foreign policy, several challenges will probably face it Salami (2007:81) is quick to concede. One of them is the plethora of domestic problems facing the nation such as corruption and moral decadence, the issue of ethnicity, lack of sincere leaders, religious bigotry all of which affect democracy. The domino effect of this is

that the nation's economy will in turn be affected by factors such as joblessness, inflation, under-employment, financial recklessness on the part of government, unstable exchange rate, and unpredictable foreign exchange earnings. The implication here is that about three quarters of Nigerians are living in abject poverty and some of these are illiterate to whom foreign policy is elitist and meaningless as they are still battling to have the basic needs. Although it is not confirmed, it is however probable that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is charged with representing the nation's foreign policy, is in a state of decadence as a result of the domestic problems being experienced in the country. The infrastructures are dilapidated, the ministry is poorly funded, inadequate staff training, inaccessible website and many more challenges beset the ministry (Ayinde, 2010:21-22). Stories are rife in both the ministry and its missions abroad about rude staff, unethical conducts, general chaos in transacting business with the public and several such unpleasant behaviours.

A catalogue of Nigeria's foreign relations includes visits from world leaders including the Queen of England, two US Presidents as well as other world leaders. Nigeria has also chaired the Commonwealth in 2003 during President Obasanjo's administration (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth_Chairperson-in-Office) and also the AU between July 2004-January 2006 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chairperson_of_the_African_Union). The country has also chaired other such organisations at different times like the one in which Prof. Joy Ogwu assumed the one-month Rotational Presidency of the UN Security Council. Nigeria has also played her part by mediating in the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Darfur, Sierra Leon, Liberia, Togo, Guinea Bissau and some other countries in Southern Africa including South Africa.

While those might count as 'gains' for the country, the loses are just as numerous including the alliance formed by countries like Ghana, Liberia, Egypt against Nigeria in different fora, to defeat the country's hopes, even though Nigeria had assisted these countries in the past. An example is that of the 10th Ordinary session of the Executive Council of the AU where Congo was nominated in spite of the fact that Nigeria already had the group's nomination. Again, Nigeria's claim of "giant of Africa" was shot to shreds when she lost an election contesting for the presidency of the African Development Bank (AfDB) to Rwanda. At that instance, Ayinde (2010:16) concluded that Nigeria's influence did not go beyond Abuja as sub-regional

politicking would shape the affairs of the continent. Examining Nigeria's giant of Africa claim, he questions Nigeria's external relations especially her ineffectual responses when her citizens are meted undignified treatments abroad both within the continent and outside in countries like Czech Republic and South Africa. Nigerians are singled out and particularly scrutinised more than other citizens of other countries for drugs and other unsavoury behaviours and activities.

The Bakassi ruling which Nigeria lost to Cameroon is another example of the loss to the country. From December 1993, Nigeria-Cameroon relations suffered tension over ownership of the Bakassi peninsula. In 1994, Cameroon petitioned the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to settle the dispute. After 8 years, on Oct 10, 2002, the International Court of Justice gave judgment of the contested Bakassi peninsula, in favour of Cameroon and in December 2003, the process of transfer and implementation of the International Court of Judgment ruling, began. On August 14, 2006, Nigeria removed its military presence from the Bakassi Peninsula (Menkene and Fonkeng, 2010:125).

Also using business indices to rate Nigeria, her position belies her supposed status. In the 2006 African Business, the top Nigerian company ranked 44th position and even then, only FOUR Nigeria companies made the top 100 companies in Africa. South African companies on the other hand, had the first 10 positions. Of the 100 companies, 68 of them were South African companies, 18 companies from Egypt made the list and 7 from Morocco. The same pattern is almost replicated in 2007 with South Africa having 62 companies in the top 100 companies in Africa, Egypt 18 companies, Morocco 9 and Nigeria 7. In the 2007 ranking, the best placed Nigerian company ranked 46th in Africa (Ayinde, 2010:18).

An identical pattern is seen in the ranking of African Universities. The ranking shows that the top 8 Universities, are in South Africa and of the 100, 21 are South Africa Universities. There are 13 in Egypt, Morocco and Algeria both have 9 Universities each while Kenya has 8. Nigeria and Tunisia each have four universities in the top 100 ranking while Ghana and Tanzania both have 3 universities in the top 100 universities in Africa. The highest ranking university in Nigeria the Obafemi Awolowo University, ranked 44th in Africa. The nation's ranking in all these and other sectors like agriculture and the evidence which corroborate these ranking, does belie her 'giant of Africa' claim which Ayinde (2010:19-20) maintains is a 'myth'.

How effective then is Nigeria's foreign policy given global trends? Below is an examination of some of the nation's foreign policy in recent times.

5. 1. 6. Examining Nigeria's Foreign Policy under the different governments

An examination of the nation's foreign policy shows that on assumption into office in May, 1999, Obasanjo made economic diplomacy his focus in order to tackle the Foreign Policy related issues plaguing the country (Okolie, 2010: 131). He is also accused of having taken 113 trips abroad from 1999-2002 (Okolie, 2010:143) as well as having taken over the function of the ministers of petroleum and some say even that of foreign affairs. Some people even nicknamed him "Emperor" and other called him "Headmaster" because he was said to have ruled rather than led Nigerians (Idemudia, 2008:138).

In spite of all these criticisms, some commentators like Oseni (2005:87) believe that Obasanjo is a true patriot and indeed very passionate about Nigeria. The foreign trips he made were defended and explained. These trips his admirers say, were to market the country and entice foreign investors. The quote "My mission in Government is largely to change the orientation of Nigerians from greed and corruption to serving the interest of the Nation" was on a plaque in Obasanjo's office when he was President and even his home (Oseni, 2005:87). This was probably to serve as constant reminder to him of his purpose while in office.

One could therefore speculate that President Obasanjo in instituting the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) programme which is a domestic policy hoped that it would ultimately impact foreign policy. Going by the aims of the NEEDS programme which focused on four main strategies namely reorienting the values of the country and its people, reducing poverty, creating wealth, and generating employment, it would appear that Obasanjo's focus at least in the early stages of his government, was how to change the orientation and attitudes of Nigerians towards a better Nigeria. The belief was that once the nation and its people got these two elements right (orientation and attitude), then every other issue plaguing the nation like infrastructure, refineries, healthcare, will begin to fall in place for the better. The programme is based on the premise that these goals can be achieved only by creating an environment in which businesses can thrive and people are empowered to take

advantage of the opportunities which the programme would present. Only then, it is believed would the government be able to provide the much needed basic services (Okolie, 2010:140).

Taking an in-depth look at the goals of the NEEDS programme, the administration probably did mean well by initiating the programme. The plan was to provide an enabling environment for businesses to grow, jobs to be created as these would impact favourably on the growth of the economy and its people. Some of the goals were achieved for example at least in the telecommunication sector with job creation. If the NEEDS programme did not make as much impact as expected or hoped for to make a difference to the country and its people, then maybe the problem was in the method of execution.

President Yar'Adua's administration like Obasanjo's also concentrated on a domestic policy which it hoped would impact foreign policy goals. His administration attempted to address the poor state of infrastructure in the country. The administration set up an Infrastructure Commission to address this. The purpose of the commission was to address the poor state of infrastructure in the country with the hope of reversing it and probably hoping it would bring investors to the country. Again, this was not successful as the decadent state of infrastructure in the country is a testimony of the failure of this programme (Salihu, 2011:95).

5.2. Conflict

In order for conflict to exist, there must be two or more parties involved and the conflict could revolve around political, cultural, social, economic or territorial issues (Stefan and wolff, s.a). Although Karl Marx is largely associated with conflict theory, C. Wright Mills is said to be the father of modern conflict theory. The theory draws attention to the inequality in social situations. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conflict_theory).

Conflict is on the decline worldwide. Like Igwe (2010:117), Cordell & Wolff (forthcoming) maintain, that wars between states have decreased in frequency since 1945. Although in Africa, active conflicts decreased from 14 to 9 between 2000 and 2006, it is nonetheless worrying that between 2000-2005, 19 countries were in conflict and 13 of these were countries which practiced some form of democracy or the other and 8 of them experienced internal conflict only

after adopting the multiparty system elections. That in itself contradicts the very essence of democracy (Igwe, 2010:117).

According to modern conflict theory, inequality exists because those in control of society's resources actively defend their advantages over the masses who are coerced by those in power. It is largely agreed that grievances have played major role in why some groups chose to rebel. According to Joan Esteban et al. (2012), conflicts within national boundaries have over the second half of the 20th century become dominant and about one-third of countries experienced civil conflict. Between the 1960s and the 1990s, there have been an estimated 80 violent changes of governments in sub-Sahara African countries. In that time, many of them like Nigeria, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan, also experienced civil conflict. While 18 of them were going through armed rebellion, 11 countries had serious political crisis (Adedeji 1999: 3-5 cited by Abdalla Bujra) (<http://www.dpmf.org/images/occasionalpaper4.pdf>).

Since the end of the World War 2, more than half of the civil conflicts recorded have been classified as ethnic conflicts which is usually linked to language, historic origins, and cultural values (Ruane and Todd (2004) citing several sources). Other causes of conflict have been linked to religion and political values. As individuals, human being tend to identify with groups be it ethnic, religious or other groups and are likely to act in the interest of self or the group (Joan Esteban et al. 2012). An example of this, is that of a mother, Grandmother and Candidate representing Kansas' third congressional district in Congress. She is Kelly Kutala who posted an article 'My Excommunication' on July 2nd, 2014. She wrote,

...meaning my three daughters and I faced moving a full house by ourselves. Yet on the morning when we were to move, I opened the door and was stunned to discover about a dozen trucks and trailers occupied by people from our church and community, all ready to help. It was organized chaos, but I will always be grateful to those who helped my family through a trying time. They showed up because they share my faith and my belief in giving back to others in tough times and being there for one another... (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kelly-kutala-on-my-excommunication-b_5548995.html?ncid=txtlnkusaolp00000592).

Her article confirms and reinforces Esteban et al's (2012) view that human beings identify with groups. Note the word 'share my' in the last sentence.

While not all conflicts are ethnic in nature, many of them nonetheless are. In ethnically diverse societies, there are various degrees of conflict potential and the reason for this is the emotions called up from memories of past grievances which are the social and physical realities of today (Blagojevic, s.a.) These groups keep using past injustices and grievances to justify their stance (for the conflict) or cause conflict. An example is the Igbo people of Nigeria who were the active participants of the civil war in Nigeria because they wanted secession. Here, relative deprivation theory attempts to explain why groups want secession. The theory states that the poorer areas want secession because they think the government discriminates against them while the richer areas might want to secede because they do not want to be burdened by the poorer ones (Eriten and Romine, (2008) citing Kaufman (2001:18); Brown (2001: 321).

Secondly, states with a moderate amount of ethnic diversity are more likely to experience civil war onset and multi-ethnicity significantly increased the likelihood of small-scale domestic violence and, to a lesser degree, the likelihood of large-scale violence (Blimes, s.a. cited Ellingsen (2000)). This might also explain why in spite of the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in Nigeria, there has not been large scale violence in the country among the people.

Nonetheless, there are many causes of civil conflict. In some cases, it is resource war, others religious insurgency, race is another factor as was the case in South Africa and Zimbabwe, language and even physical appearance have been manipulated by individuals and groups of people seeking to achieve political ends by instigating conflicts as was the case of the Tutsis and Hutus of Rwanda. It is probably safe to say that conflict is probable when the resource in contention is sizeable in the case of the oil in Niger Delta of Nigeria or diamond in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Caselli and Coleman, s.a.). It should be noted that there is the potential of ethnic conflict when multi ethnic groups are exposed to certain factors irrespective of who they are. As long as these factors are present, they are likely to react the same way. (Blagojevic, s.a.). Critics of the conflict perspective point to its overly negative view of society. (<http://sociology.about.com/od/Sociological-Theory/a/Conflict-Theory.htm>).

With these definitions of conflict theory, what then is conflict in everyday situation? It is generally agreed that conflict is inevitable in human dealings as it ultimately brings about change and improvement in the society. With globalisation, states are becoming multicultural so people of different races and ethnicity are now having to co-exist with one another (Tong, 2009). Friction is almost inevitable in this instance. Also, given man's insatiable needs there is bound to be struggle for the available scarce resources especially as long as there are achievers, there will also be onlookers and praise singers. The society therefore must be capable of regulating all the different people and their opinions so that these conflicts are well managed (Omu and Oboh, 2008:173).

While conflict is 'healthy' as long as it does not degenerate into violence and destruction in any democratic process, Dokubo (2006:116) cautions that deep rooted conflicts cannot be controlled by ignoring, denying or eliminating them. Evidence that it is dangerous to ignore or deny that these conflicts exist is evident in countries like Senegal and India that have practiced democracy for a long time but are still grappling with managing conflicts in their regions such as in Casamance in Senegal and Kashmir and Punjab in India (Dokubo, 2006:117). The 32 year Casamance Conflict is West Africa's longest civil war in southern Senegal although not the most violent. The conflict which began in 1982 between the Senegalese government and the fractionalised Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MDFC). However, on May 1, 2014 the leader of the MDFC (used interchangeably with MFDC), declared a unilateral ceasefire and sued for peace. Only about 38% of the youths are skilled or employed due to the 32 year civil war with no growth in the economy <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014-may-26/senegal-conflict-youth-unemployment-jobs>. In the case of Kashmir, the conflict is as a result of centralised power operating in a predominantly heterogeneous society which is as religiously diverse as it is culturally so. Tensions have been fuelled by controversy over the policies of India's central government with the ethnic and regional tensions raging out of control. The root cause of the Kashmir conflict extends as far back as 1947 and into the 1990s with the 1990s conflict there reflecting the trend in India. That of the central government's interference in local affairs and being accused of rigging, corruption and generally inept at handling affairs of state as well as alienating the electorate. The activists feeling that the government had defrauded the people, incited them to demonstrations with strikes, bombings and assassinations taking place <http://countrystudies.us/india/117.htm>. With

such conflicts going on in different parts of the world, BO (2011:47) concluded that the frequency and magnitudes of wars and communal conflicts says a lot about the decadence of the society.

5. 2. 1. Theories underpinning Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria

Ethnic Conflict theories fall into the primordialist, instrumentalists and a middle ground, the constructivist theories of ethnic conflict.

5. 2. 1. 1. Primordial Theory

The Primordialists argue that ethnic conflict is as a result of ancient hatreds which go back to ancient ancestors and indeed the animal kingdom. These theorists are of the view that tendencies towards intolerance and xenophobia are more natural to human beings than people would accept (Blagojevic, s.a.). This theory is rejected for this research as it does not explain the Nigerian situation in its entirety and over simplifies the problems.

5. 2. 1. 2. Constructivist theory

Constructivism is the middle point between Primordialists and Instrumentalists. It claims that ethnicity is the product of a social process. It is constantly evolving and so cannot be predicted. While it is true that human beings are dynamic and constantly evolving, again, this theory does not help to explain the Nigerian situation so it is also rejected.

5. 2. 1. 3. Symbolic theory

Although instrumentalists claims below are challenged by symbolic theorists as being inadequate in explaining ethnic conflict. This group of theorists are of the view that despite the fact that economic development could cause rivalry, they claim that it does not explain why people resort to war or would even get together for political action ((Long (2009); Kaufman (2001: 8) cited by Eriten and Romine, (2008)) Symbolic theorists believe that ethnic conflicts come about as a

result of myths and symbols, ethnic fears, and opportunities for ethnic mobilisation (Eriten and Romine, (2008).

Another criticism of the instrumentalist theory by symbolic theorists is that instrumentalist are wrong in thinking that the power elites are manipulating the people to conflict situation and believe that the conflicts could come from the masses themselves and not necessarily instigated by the elites even though it could be. Symbolic theorists assert that the instrumentalists are wrong in thinking that elites are manipulation the people for selfish interests when in fact the elites could be interested in keeping the culture of the people intact.

Despite the above criticisms of instrumentalist theory by symbolic theorists, the instrumentalist account (Oberschall's manipulative elite) of ethnic conflict theory is used for this study because it is more suited to the Nigeria problem at this time.

5. 2. 1. 4. Instrumentalist Theory

The instrumentalist account of ethnic conflict attributes the conflicts to deeper problems. These theorists argue that ethnicity is merely a means to achieve an end especially by the elites in the society. The theory can be subsumed under three factors namely modernisation which increases social integration and awareness, economic factors and elite ambitions.

5. 2. 1. 5. Instrumentalist account (Manipulative Elite) of Ethnic Conflict theory

While Bojana Blagojevic's Political Entrepreneurs Approach and Oberschall's Manipulative Elites approach, are similar to the instrumentalist account of ethnic conflict theory, the latter is a particularly more apt theory to the Nigerian situation and therefore being used for this research.

Political Entrepreneurs Approach just like Oberschall's Manipulative Elites approach is when elites are able to manipulate and whip up ethnic sentiments from past grievances based on current instability and uncertainty. The leaders allegedly use this situation to mobilise groups for their own purposes and to strengthen their power (Blagojevic, s.a).

Oberschall's Manipulative Elites (ME) theory is an opportunity centred conflict theory because here, elites create the opportunities they require to advance their goals around issues and crises while using the people to do it. The theory is more of an up to down communication. The elites are in control and talk down to the people. In this theory, the elites manipulate the people using every weapon at their disposal including pointing at the divisions in society, injustices and blowing them out of proportion in order to get the people to react with aggression, hate, anger and other negative emotions they can whip up. This theory resonates with the Nigerians whose diverse groups all have one grievance or the other against other ethnic groups.

Manipulative Elites (ME) theory asserts that these people like the Boko Haram group reject education, resist assimilation and what they consider erosion of their set way of life from education, secularisation and modernisation. The Boko Haram organisation is all of those things and well organised and as rumoured, with probably as much fire power if not more than the Nigerian government. It might therefore stand to reason to conclude that the group is well funded and might have faceless leaders who are controlling them behind the scene as has always been alleged.

Ethnic conflict is seen by the instrumentalists as the response to a perceived threat to one's identity (Caselli and Coleman, s.a.). Elites are only able to manipulate people in the areas already of concern to them for instance, if the people are already feeling marginalised either economically or politically. In Nigeria for instance, years of ethnic minorities like the people of the Niger Delta feeling marginalised and government imposing harsh economic programmes on them which further increased the suffering and poverty of the masses did not help the situation (Abubakar cited by Tong (2009)).

The theory argues that the source of ethnic conflict include the role of elites in the conflict as manipulating and exaggerating the conflict situation for their own benefits. It has always been a cause of concern in Nigeria that certain elites and leaders in the different geo-political regions of the country manipulate their people to enrich themselves. This is made easier since they also act as the interface either between the government and their people or between the multinational oil companies and their people. Another factor is the economic factors. Here, the economic welfare of the people and the decline in the standards of living and quality of living are contributory factor of ethnic conflicts. Because of the oil spillage and degradation in the Niger Delta by oil

companies, the people of the area have had their sources of livelihood taken from them. They can neither farm the land nor fish in the rivers. Lastly is modernisation such as improvement in sectors such as education, transportation, communication, urban migration etc. (Eriten and Romine, 2008). The Boko Haram group are a typical example here. The group says western education is forbidden and reject any kind of civilisation including education especially for the girl child. The North-South divide in Nigeria is conspicuously obvious in this instance and has caused resentment because the south is more developed and the people have a more liberal outlook. They are probably arguably more educated and prosperous than the Northerners (http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20140703NorthernNigeriaHoffmann.pdf): (BBC, 20. May 2014) (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501>) (www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications1/Gender-Nigeria2012.pdf).

In explaining the theory, Eriten and Romine (2008) assert that in Instrumental theory, the economic conditions are the major sources of ethnic conflict. Secession and other ethnic or nationalist movement are probable when the disparity between the ethnic groups become obvious as a result of inequality (Horowitz, (1985) cited by Eriten and Romine, (2008). The Igbo people wanted Republic of Biafra probably because they felt they were strong enough to go alone without any dead weights. The Niger Delta groups sprang up as a result of the injustice done to their land and then to the people of the region like Ken Saro Wiwa and others like him who were killed for the cause.

5. 3. Criticism of Ethnic Conflict Theories

Gilley (2004) is of the opinion that too much emphasis has been placed on ethnic conflict by scholars when there is not much evidence to support the claims that ethnic conflict is on the rise globally. He agrees that ethnicity does play a part in some conflicts, but not all. Countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe have political conflicts which have not degenerated into ethnic conflicts. Also in Somalia, in spite of years of civil strife, many Somalis feel more threatened about armed thugs and wild animals than they do about other ethnic groups. Gilley maintains that because people of different ethnicity have conflict does not necessarily make the genesis of the problem ethnicity. It could be other issues which have nothing to do with their ethnicity. For

instance, evidence suggests that cases of ethnic violence are on the decrease in India as the people become better educated with better quality of life. Gilley (2004) therefore proposes either totally abandoning the field of ethnic conflict studies or at least limiting it since in his opinion, it is not always the best way to study the issues at stake. Doing either of the above he believes, will likely help in arriving at robust and useful advice for policy makers. He proposes modernisation theory instead as it will explain that frequency of these conflicts will be on the decrease as people get better education, better quality of life, more disposable income like in India (Gilley, 2004). Wimmer (s.a.) on his part accuses all the stakeholders for the turn of event. According to him, all the relevant parties are not in consonance with one another. For instance, journalist have no idea how far researchers have gone into researching the causes and effects of ethnic conflicts and the plausible solutions proffered. Policy makers on their part are coming up with policies that have no bearing to what researchers have proposed and of course, scholars and academics have no clue as to what is going on as they have no experience whatsoever in the matter.

What is the conflict situation in Africa and Nigeria in particular? Are the conflicts in Africa as a result of ethnicity or can modernisation as proposed by Gilley (2004) solve the conflicts in Africa? There are different types of conflict. Types of conflict here do not refer to the conflict which goes on within or between individuals or group. Rather the types of conflicts alluded to here is the one which is plaguing Nigeria and threatening the security of the lives and property of its citizens.

Some elites seem to be using religion to upset the security of the state. The influence of radical Islamic groups has permeated Africa and indeed West Africa (Okereke, 2010:19-20). These groups can be seen in Nigeria, Mali, Niger and even Cameroon. Kenya of course is not left out. These groups of Islamic fundamentalists terrorise people and leave their calling cards behind in the form of bodies. This fact is attested to in the Nigerian situation where the extremist Islamic group Boko Haram, has been wreaking havoc in the country especially in the North of the country for years. In April 2014, the group kidnapped over 200 girls ages ranging from 10 - 18 years from their school near Chibok, Northern Nigeria. It has been months and the girls are yet to be returned to their homes although a few of them have allegedly managed to escape their captors. This event again brought the nation yet another worldwide negative publicity not

forgetting the spate of bombings in public places like parks, attacks on military bases as well as kidnapping of women and girls as mentioned above.

The activities of Islamic fundamentalist groups in Nigeria seem to be growing. A group which is said to model itself after the Taliban and suspected of having affiliations with the Al Sunna Wal Jamma, is rumoured to have been formed by militant Muslim University and Polytechnic students in the country. Others say that the group was established in the country by a fugitive Taliban leader. Whatever the truth, the group is suspected of having carried out attacks on government offices, police stations, killed several officers and civilians in the incidence in Yobe and Borno states North East of the country on December 2003 (Okereke, 2010:19-20).

Since all these groups, whether Islamic fundamentalists, militants wanting control over resources and in so doing bombing, kidnapping, killing people or terrorising innocent people, can they be called terrorists? Imoibighe (2007:62-63) asserts that terrorism thrives in an environment already fraught with conflict and sums up terrorism as a product of conflict which spiralled out of control and degenerated. This might explain Adeniran's (1983:250) stance that terrorism can be fuelled by a number of factors including perceived or actual deprivation or religious intolerance. The Niger delta militants feel deprived of what they see as rightfully theirs while the Boko Haram is intolerant of other people's religious affiliations and western influence.

Using Imoibighe's definition of terrorism, did the Nigerian government not move fast enough to diffuse the conflict situation with Boko Haram? Is that why the situation degenerated to the point where Nigeria is attracting negative publicity from the world because the Boko Haram group is seen as a terrorist organisation? The group does not particularly want to dialogue. Its demands are clear. Boko Haram is demanding that its soldiers who were arrested be released and of course the adoption of sharia law or no law in Nigeria!

Terrorism can be traced to a French word *terrorisme* which takes its origin from the Latin word *terrere* which means "to frighten or to cause to tremble". Terrorism involves the use of violence to harm, cause distress and inflict fear in people and the acts are usually sporadic and irrational (Imoibighe, 2007:62); Adeniran, (1983:248). Terrorism can be inspired by politics, religion, ethnicity, race among other factors and its very essence impacts gravely on both the state as well as other states (Adeniran, 1983:246). Obviously, this defines most of the militia groups in the

country as they have at one time or the other frightened people to doing what they want. The Niger Delta groups have scared people with arms, bombed places, kidnapped both Nigerians and foreigners all with the aim of making government accede to their request of controlling the resources of the region. The Boko Haram group has kidnapped, bombed and is not ready to negotiate its stance of Sharia law in place of the Nigerian constitution. The people of Biafra caused the civil war in Nigeria because they wanted secession. All these groups have frightened the ordinary man who is not part of their cause in the hope of achieving what they want. Does that make them terrorists or just people fighting for a cause they believe in?

Article 1(a) (i) of the African Union Plan of Action gives a general consensus on what can be termed terrorist acts. These Acts can be identified as acts which intimidate, force, elicit fear or which induces any government, organization or even the public to either do or not do or even to abandon a particular view or act. The widely publicised picture of the Chibok girls as seen on International media is them chanting passages from the Quran. Clearly they are not all Muslims. Some were made to renounce Christianity or whatever other belief they held before the abduction. Another example is the Kenyan Westgate Mall attack of September, 2013. People were holed in for days inside the mall with the members of the Al Shabaab group who were rumoured to have had guns and grenades and were shooting at will (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/oct/04/westgate-mall-attacks-kenya-terror#part-two>; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24189116>). Several witnesses told of how certain individuals were allowed to leave. Some were asked to recite passages from the Quran and allowed to leave the mall only when they could and if they could not, were shot.

Apart from the above, terrorist acts are also acts which disrupt the delivery of essential services to the public or even simply disrupting public service. It can also be to create a public emergency situation. Obviously, the Boko Haram situation comes to mind as the entire global community is involved in asking that governments act in order to have the young girls returned to their families. Another thing that comes to mind is how foreign governments like the United Kingdom and the United States have warned their citizens to avoid volatile areas like Northern Nigeria and Niger Delta areas unless they have essential business there.

Lastly, also culpable under article (a) (i) (iii), are individuals who give any form of sponsorship, promotion, contribution to the cause or even incite people to commit acts of terrorism (Okereke

2010:13). A lot of people including elites in the society like senators and a couple of governors have been rumoured to be helping these group. Unfortunately, they have as yet not been indicted.

5. 4. Measures to counter Terrorism

All over the world, several measures have been put in place to counter the scourge of terrorism. Adeniran, (1983:251) argues that terrorists within a nation state, usually have undergone mental dysfunction. Dealing with terrorism can either be positive or negative. A positive attempt to deal with terrorism can be when the state is able to successfully counter or foil the attack in such a way that the terrorists have to abort the plan. Nigeria was able to foil a planned attack in the East of the country when busses load of suspected Boko Haram members were intercepted on their way to Port Harcourt and the East in June, 2014. Although a few of the members of the Islamic group escaped, most of them were captured including one of the leaders who had eluded police for a long time. Acts to counter terrorism can be negative if all it does is make the terrorists look like martyrs among their Muslim followers like Osama Bin Laden and the white widow, Samantha Lewthwaite. Although Nigeria has recorded some positives in its fight against this group, the state has unfortunately, recorded more losses than successes especially as the leaders are yet to be caught and the spate of bombings in public places and kidnappings of young girls and boys are continuing.

Also in an attempt to counter the scourge as a result of the incessant attacks by terrorists, the UN Global Counter Strategy on terrorism was adopted in September 2006. Even the AU at regional levels, have adopted measures to counter terrorism. For instance, in July 1999 at the 35th Summit of the then OAU in Algiers, Africa showed her commitment to the war on terror by adopting the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. The continent re-affirmed this commitment again in 2001 during the October Summit of the AU in the Dakar Declaration against Terrorism (Okereke, 2010: 10)

Apart from the regions, African countries have also individually come up with laws to counter this scourge. In reaction to the 9/11 terrorist bombing of the twin towers in the USA, Ghana in October 2001 established a centre where people can go and give information on suspected terrorists and in 2003, Tunisia passed the Anti-terrorism legislation (Okereke, 2010:11). In 2007,

Niger Republic launched an initiative which focused on security and trafficking related issues while Nigeria in the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) Act of 2004, Article 15(1-3), outlines acts which can be classified as terrorism. They include engaging in acts of terrorism or even financing them as earlier stated in this research (Okereke, 2010: 11). Similar to Nigeria, Gambia has both the Anti-terrorism Act of 2000 and the Anti-Money Laundry Act of 2003 to help combat the scourge of terrorism (Okereke, 2010:27). These anti-terrorist laws become necessary in the light of the fact that some African countries like Nigeria, Mauritania, Somalia, Mali, Sudan, Ethiopia and Chad all have borders which make them both susceptible and conducive for these terrorists to move and conduct their activities freely in them (Okereke, 2010:18).

5. 5. Conclusion

Since human beings are dynamic, conflict also do not remain the same and constantly change over time. The issues change, the people themselves change as well as their reactions to them. (Oberschall, s.a.). People have to contend with new realities which come about as a result of change. The changes can be due to technology, globalisation, conflicts or other factors like climate change. Therefore, ways to resolving these conflicts should also keep evolving and adapted to suit the specific situations. It is indeed a sorry situation that after over half a century of independence, Nigeria, a country that prides itself on plenty, is still beleaguered by problems of insecurity, unemployment, poor standard of living and poor quality of life. As is to be expected, these are presenting a problem to the government as there is generally friction in the country and conflict among groups of people. Inequality is a factor which seems to reverberate with all scholars as a contributory factor to conflict. Also agreed on in influencing conflict are natural resources, low GDP per capita and environmental conditions. According to Cilliers and Schunemann (ISS paper 246, May 2013), there is strong indication that countries with low GDP per capita and weak institutions are more likely to experience internal armed conflict and civil strife because they experience more instability with low per capita income, weak governance, corruption, gap between the rich and the poor among other factors. All these factors plague Nigeria. Good governance is vital to growth and stability of a country as is evident in how many African countries have not been able to build on what the colonial masters left behind. An

example is Nigeria and South Korea. The former had a much larger GDP than South Korea in the fifties. However decades later with bad leadership, political turmoil and successive ineffective governments, the country is lagging behind while South Korea has been able to build a better economy. The latter, is the 11th largest economy globally (<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper246.pdf>) while Nigeria ranks at number 55 with many of its citizens still suffering great poverty <http://www.everyculture.com/Ma-Ni/Nigeria.html>.

Several factors can be responsible for this disparity. Increased education on the average, is associated with lower level of instability (Cilliers and Schunemann, May 2013). What this means is that areas with more educated people are less prone to violence (<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper246.pdf>). Statistics show that in terms of human development, 23 of the poorest countries in the world are in Africa. Life expectancy in the Continent has fallen to 46 years because of the HIV/Aids pandemic while South Asia also suffering the same malaise as Africa, has a life expectancy of 64 years (Igwe, 2010: 118). There is therefore a need for African to be educated on a lot of issues like health, environmental factors and other such concerns which affect their daily lives and not just governance.

Several scholars on their part believe that social aid and economic development can help reduce the likelihood of conflicts and ultimately enhance security in the continent. Okogu, (2007:57) therefore suggests that before the continent can begin to look into conflict prevention especially in Nigeria, there is first the need to address the issue of "economic malaise" which he says precedes the outbreak of conflict while continuing the periodic dialogue between government and the stakeholders. Perhaps Cordell & Wolff's (s.a.) idea should be considered. The duo propose that in order to develop a good model for the study of ethnic conflict and ways of resolving these conflicts, there is a need to consider theories of interethnic relations in the hope that this would help give an insight into why conflicts persist as well as ways of resolving them.

In resolving the conflict as a result of resources in Nigeria, Okogu (2007:56) like some other Nigerians believes that if more states in the federation contribute in some way to the resources of the nation, there will be less clamour for resource control and more sympathy to the plight of the people of the Niger Delta and the environmental degradation being experienced in the region. This idea here is that if more states in the federation also have some form of resource or the other which is tapped, and through this they are able to contribute to the country's reserve, then they

might be able to understand and empathise with the people of the Niger Delta region and of course understand what they are going through and the reason for their agitation. This is because the very process of tapping and refining whatever the product or resource is be it oil, coal or bauxite, will affect and possibly degrade the environment.

Another submission by Wallace and Wolf (2006) (cited by Amodu and Sobowale, April 2011:101) is that it is possible that in order for conflict to be controlled, one group must suppress its rival even if only temporarily. They however, also play the devil's advocate by stating that if this is true, then the suppressed group could deliberately allow themselves to be suppressed for the sake of peace in order to avoid conflict. Given this, it is also probable that the group that oppresses people use terror tactics for power struggle or to wield some influence. They would do this by striking fear in their opponents and manipulating them towards making them do what they want and would sometimes impose their will on opponents as in the case of Boko Haram. While some people are leaving the North of the country, it is possible that some others have been coerced into becoming Muslims because of fear of the group's reprisal on their communities and families. (<http://www.thereligionofpeace.com/Quran/013-forced-conversion.htm>).

To this end, several solutions have been proffered to quell the security situation in Nigeria. One suggestion proffered by Dokubo (2010:32) is an integrative approach to resolving the security situation. In the integrative approach he proposes that everyone be involved in security. This means that the individual, civil society, state, even West Africa as a region and indeed the international community is accountable and each retains some control over the level of security. His suggestion is in line with what the Lagos State government of Nigeria is doing at the moment by encouraging Lagosians to report any unusual activities in their areas and to endeavour to know their neighbours and what each one does.

There is no doubt that all the turmoil in the country is making some impact on the nation's foreign policy. It is therefore pertinent to ask some questions regarding Nigeria's foreign policy. For instance, "what kind of foreign policy objective does one expect Nigeria to have now and in the future?", "how can these policies be vigorously pursued in order to achieve them?" and "what yardstick can be used to evaluate them?". Once the objectives have been formulated, there is a need to interrogate what is or what should be Nigeria national interest in these new formulated goals (Salami, 2007:73). Given the different types of foreign policy, it would appear

that Nigeria's foreign policy has been more of an *Innenpolitik* theory than any of the other three theories. The nation's foreign policy is tailored after the domestic politics. Her policies have been reactionary to happenings in the country like the economic situation and more recently the religious issue with Boko Haram.

It is worthy of note here that although the foreign policy goals of a nation is all about the national interest, national interest is subjective. National interest is dependent on who is addressing the issue since leaders are said to influence the people under them all in the name of nationalism (Owolabi, 2008:64). This type of nationalism is dysfunctional and can be called sub nationalism which is when some people appeal to the sentiments of others in terms of ethnicity or other sectional goals to the detriment of the national goals. Sub nationalism is believed to have been growing in some parts of the world including Africa and could lead to civil wars and disintegration and has threatened the unity of countries like Nigeria, Canada and Sri Lanka. (Adeniran, 1983:353).

For this reason, Nigeria needs a total overhaul of its foreign policy starting with clear and concise foreign policy objectives, overhauling the ministry of foreign affairs itself both the infrastructure, technology as well as the man power. That entails training people for their respective positions. In line with this, there is also a need to have the foreign affairs website properly managed to give the pertinent information to visitors to the website (Ayinde, 2010: 22). This overhaul and re-inventing of the nation's foreign policy is essential in order to capitalise on the opportunities available as a result of globalisation with trade and information technology (Salami, 2007:79). On his part, Ayinde (2010:23) urges that the nation needs to place emphasis on people and security rather than prestigious status or continental leadership. He believes that Nigeria's status should be credible and verifiable and not just because the nation believes in a myth of being more important in the continent than it actually is.

CHAPTER SIX

6. LOCAL MEDIA REPORTAGE VERSUS FOREIGN MEDIA REPORTAGE

6. 1. 1. Introduction to Media

Nations are brought together by communication with the knowledge that no nation can successfully exist on its own without support from other nations and it is this interdependency on one another that brought about globalisation (Ekeanyanwu, 2008:226-227). In essence, communication and development are inseparable to growth and development (Oboh, 2008:16). This importance of communication is stressed by Robert C. North when he stated that “politics could not exist, nor could wars be fought without communication” (Idahosa, 2008: 204).

This interdependency has resulted in global communication with the attendant negative associated with it. The increased development of information and communication technologies has led to the Internet and various forms of converged media. While Fourie (2008) is of the opinion that a contributory factor to the spread of democracy is this increase in globalisation, ICT and the new media environment, Hudson (April, 2010: 3) disagrees. He on his part blames the same global communication and internet usage, for weakening the power any country can have in controlling information from the media because it crosses state and country divide. In essence, it reaches a global audience which makes it impossible to control or even regulate.

There are no guidelines or censorship on the use of social media. Anyone can send uncensored information, debates, pictures and other materials on facebook, tweeter and other social media platform. Of course, with global increase in human communication, the nature of land conflict as well as peace, has also changed (Chris Hables Gray, (1997:5) cited by Hudson, April 2010:3). The importance of social media in everyday communication is even more emphasised as it seems that the internet is replacing the university, television and other such platforms for intellectual discourse because it is not open to censorship (Hudson, April 2010: 2). It would therefore seem that the ‘power’ (inverted commas) of the internet lies in the fact that it cannot as yet be regulated or censored. Corroborating Hudson’s view, Richard Murdoch (2005) (cited by Alao and Chioma, April, 2012:105) asserts that the media is being revolutionised. Murdoch is of the view that the youths are revolutionising the way news is ‘assessed’(sic). Most people, not just the

youths are no longer waiting for the morning papers, television or radio to get their news. They simply log onto the internet to get up to date news, breaking news and historical news. Murdock believes that people want more control over the media rather than the media being in control of what, where and when they get information. Confirming the power and influence of the internet in communication, media practitioners themselves confirm that they are increasingly turning to social media for both content and delivery while quite a number of people are also exploring other forms of social media (Morah, April, 2012:154).

With the barrage of information human beings are exposed to and the seeming ease with which they can now get them, it is no wonder that some scholars maintain that human beings are subliminally influenced by what we see and hear. This view is corroborated by Potter (2004:1) and McQuail (2008:456) (cited by Afolayan, Kumiya, Abuya and Okioya (2012)) who argue that media bombard us with information which in turn influences what we say and do. This is in the light that human lives are full of this barrage of information which are derived from the media on a daily basis. Potter asserts that human beings are not physically able to avoid the barrage of information the media throws our way. Therefore, in order to “protect” ourselves psychologically, we automatically process it. Due to so much dependency on the automatic process, we lose a lot of salient information and so our ability as human beings to construct meanings weaken with the resultant effect that we come to depend more and more on the media to tell us what is important and who is important because our skills to construct meanings is weak.

The debate about whether opinions are partly formed based on the information given by the media and the influence wielded by the media as well as the effects of such on the entire communication process is an age long one (Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan, April, 2010:79). While not disputing the influence wielded by the media on the audience, Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan (April, 2010:85) point out that the level of influence wielded by the media all depends on the need of the individual audience as well as their level of dependency. The duo cite several authors who have come to the conclusion that in news reportage or even coverage, it is possible for journalists to exercise some level of subjectivity by giving prominence to certain news items over others and it might be “unrealistic” to expect media to give equal weight to news especially in the case of political coverage (Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan, April, 2010:82). Identical view is

held by McQuail (1994:310) (cited by Umuerrri, 2008:193)) who believes that the institution, constructs social reality by framing images of what is real in both a predictable and patterned way. Ayodele (1988) goes as far as to hint at a possible dismissal for a journalist who does not obey the editorial policy of the media organisation.

To understand framing, there is a need to understand how news is processed. News can be processed in three ways. They can be processed actively, through reflective integrators and lastly through selective scanners (Kosicki and Mcleod (1990) (cited by Umuerrri, 2008: 193).

News are said to be processed actively when individuals go in search of more information believing that the media is either not providing all the information or giving out information either from a slanted angle or giving out information which is generally not objective. Processing through reflective integrators on the other hand, is when people discuss the news or information garnered from the media with other people with a view to being able to put it in perspective. Lastly, when news is processed through selective scanners, it is because people use media strictly to look for information which is relevant to them. Either way, human beings are constantly processing the barrage of information coming to them whether in a social setting, political even religious gatherings. The importance and role of media in all areas of our lives have been emphasised and several theories propounded.

6. 1. 2. Media and Politics

Although several theories have been proposed to explain the role of media in governance, the inquisitive theory which is more traditional is probably still the most acceptable (Denenberg, (1970) (cited by (Njoku, 2008:314). The theory sees media as informing people of what government is doing. This enables the public form opinions which media in turn reports in order for government to be able to respond appropriately to the needs of the people. In essence, media are agents of change (Pate and Bashir, April 2012:37). Some politicians continue to maintain that news media coverage is of the utmost important in shaping policy responses to humanitarian crises (Blair (1999); Holbrooke (1999) both cited by Robinson, (2001)). Other commentators and indeed some media theorists in contrast downplay and even deny the possibility of the media shaping or influencing government policy-making (Robinson, 2001). If media are agents of

change like Pate and Bashir (April, 2012:37) believe, then the management of media houses need to be dynamic in all they do including being creative. They also need to keep abreast of contemporary democratic issues which challenge the society in order to be effective in their responsibility to the people.

Thus in democracy, the role of the press goes beyond the basic function of informing, educating and entertaining (Isola, 2008:19). Media is expected to be responsible for sustaining and nourishing the ethos of democracy. Performing this function becomes difficult in Nigeria as the political environment in the country is largely monetised as are a lot of things in the country (Idemudia, 2008:143). This means that to an extent sustaining the ethos of democracy in the country would be difficult as some journalists could be compromised during the course of their jobs which would make balanced reporting difficult. Idahosa, (2008:211) nonetheless enjoins the media to ensure that despite this, there is a symbiotic relationship between the political system and the environment. Information should be devoid of distortion and assertions. This is of the utmost importance since media practice is guided by laws in the country.

6. 1. 3. Media in Nigeria

In Nigeria, Article 17, Decree No. 60 of the 1999 constitution makes provision for who qualifies as a journalist. A journalist must have been trained and qualified from approved institutions with the relevant experience as recognized by Nigeria Union of Journalists to qualify to be so called. Apart from these, a journalist should be at least 18 years of age, of good character, honest with no conviction record either at home or abroad, as well as have some training in the field (Berger, 2007). Although those are the set parameters on paper, things have since evolved in Nigeria as not all journalists in the country fit this mould (https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume12_5-Effects-of-Non-Professionalism.pdf). A number of journalists in recent times have come into the industry armed with other qualifications other than journalism and gained the necessary experience on the job. Under Part V, 26 (c) of the Nigerian Press and Practice of Journalism Council Bill, a person: "A person shall not practice as a Journalist in Nigeria unless (c) he has qualifications in other disciplines from a recognised institution and has passed the prescribed professional examination of the Nigeria Union of Journalist"

(<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2009/11/the-nigerian-press-and-practice-of-journalism-council-bill-2/>).

The growth of media everywhere including West Africa, brought about the 1993 ECOWAS Treaty. This also reaffirms the provisions of the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and in Article 66 under Chapter XI of the treaty, several guidelines for the press are outlined. They include:

- a) to maintain within their borders, and between one another, freedom of access for professionals of the communication industry and for information sources;
- b) to facilitate exchange of information between their press organs; to promote and foster effective dissemination of information within the Community;
- c) to ensure respect for the rights of journalists;

The ECOWAS member states further agreed to a 2001 protocol on constitutional principles which would ensure the growth of media practice in Africa with standardisation. This means that member countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Mali and Senegal are expected to abide by the media laws and principles which include popular participation in decision-making, strict adherence to democratic principles, and decentralisation of power at all levels of governance'. Also, freedom of the press is guaranteed. Member states all agree under Article 32 of the same 2001 Protocol that good governance and press freedom are essential in order to ensure social justice, prevent conflict and guarantee the political stability of member nations in order to ensure peace and strengthen democracy. Article 37 enjoins the member states to work towards developing the media and ensure pluralism in the information sector. Article 20 of the 1993 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) gives states the powers to their sovereignty in some matters of international communications.

Ngoa (April, 2012:1) traces the beginning of the Nigerian media to before colonialism which he put at 1859. The Nigerian press has largely been elitist with the majority of people not put into consideration in its dynamics. There is a general consensus among scholars that the earlier newspapers were owned by foreigners namely missionaries and western educated foreigners like Sierra Leoneans, Liberians and West Indians who migrated to Nigeria. The first printing press in

Nigeria, was owned by the Presbyterian Mission in Calabar in 1846. Another newspaper *Iwe Irohin*, was the first Nigerian and indeed African newspaper founded and published by a missionary from Exeter, Rev. Henry Townsend in Abeokuta in 1859. After the newspaper, several other newspapers also came into existence including *The West African Pilot* in November 1937 founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe. The paper brought a new approach to journalism because Zik as he was fondly called, used the paper to heighten the people's nationalistic consciousness. (Ngoa, April 2012:3).

The country's media continued to grow until the *Daily Times* came into existence in 1926 (Ngoa, April 2012:4). In spite of this, with a re-examination and rejuvenation of moral reforms in the society, in the 1989's came two newspapers which changed the face of newspapers in Nigeria. *The Guardian* came into existence in February 1983 while *Newswatch* was born in 1984. With the continued growth of the industry, the government made provision in the 1999 Constitution for a Bill of Rights which guarantees the people right to freedom of expression and the press and in 2004, the government set up a commission to review the existing 1990 National Mass Communication Policy. It is however not clear if a new document came about as a result of the review (Berger, 2007).

The growth of the Nigerian media brought about reforms in the industry with the formulation of the Nigerian Press Council which is guided by the Nigerian Press Council Decree No. 85 of 1992 as amended by Decree No. 60 of 1999. The function of the council includes to regulate the print media, register journalists, accredit journalism courses in tertiary institutions of learning, and investigate and punish actions by journalists who violate the press code (Nosaze, (2013) KAS Democracy Report 2008).

The growth in the media also brought about the setting up of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) which is mandated by the Act of the National Assembly of Section 2 subsection (1) of Act No 38 of 1992 as amended by Act No 55, of 1999 to carry out several functions which empower the Commission to carry out a number of duties, some of which include, licensing monitoring, regulating and conducting research in broadcasting in Nigeria. It is also the duty of the Commission, to ensure the development, in a dynamic manner, through the accreditation of the mass communication curricula in all the tertiary and other institution related to broadcasting. As stated in the 1999 constitution, the commission shall be

made up of people who are recommended by the minister and appointed by the president. They include a chairman, ten other members as may be approved to represent the various sectors such as broadcasting, law, engineering, business, State Security Service (SSS or Department of State Services (DSS), culture, education, social science, public affairs, the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, and the Director-General of the Commission (www.nbc.gov.ng).

In 2002, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), charged the Nigerian Media to project the best of the country while rejecting the worst in the delivery of their duties. It enjoined the Nigeria media to be at par with the best in the world while being distinctly Nigerian with a 60/40 ratio local against foreign programming (Alao and Chioma: 2012:105).

Given the number of years the Nigerian media has been in existence, Galadima (2011:26) is disappointed with the industry. In his opinion, media has not contributed to reconciling the society either by changing some misconceptions or even generally promoting understanding among the people. Galadima believes that “reliable, accurate and objective media” is still a major challenge in Nigeria and accuses some of the media houses of propagandist tendencies and exploiting the religious and ethnic problems in the country to ‘promote hate among Nigerians’. In line with this, a survey carried out by Best and Obateru (2011), concluded that journalists can hardly be objective in their reportage of conflicts even if they are not directly involved in the conflict as reportage is influenced by factors such as personal bias and ownership of the media (Best and Obateru, 2011:38).

It is agreed that ownership of the media does have influence over the slant given to the editorials and these act as catalyst for social change (Galadima, 2011); Nwankwo et al (1993) and Folarin (2005) (cited by Enwefah, April 2010:100). In an interview with Alhaji Lateef Kayode Jakande, former Governor of Lagos State and a former journalist himself, Oseni (2005:487) reports him as stating that editorials are meant to argue a case while expressing an opinion all in the hope of convincing the reader. For that reason, editorials should be well researched, consistent and stylish, he advised. They should show objectivity, integrity and be topical. In spite of the fact that editorials are judgemental, Jakande enjoins that they should be balanced and capable of informing people. A good editorial he sums, is one which contains information which is not generally available to the public (Oseni, 2005:487).

There is a general consensus about the role of editorials in media. To bring home this point about how ownership of the media influences what is written, Folarin (cited by Enwefah, April 2010: 95) is quoted as saying that there is a popular belief that “the ghost of the proprietor is ever hanging over the editorial conference whether that proprietor happens to be government, a corporation or an individual.” Folarin’s assertion is backed by Schramm (1973) who cited a former United States President, Dwight Eisenhower (sic), as saying that while the news belongs to the people, the editorial column, belongs to the owner. Rystrom (1983) on his part (again cited by Enwefah, April 2010:93) affirms that editorials have become very important in modern journalism because of the unique role it plays in being seen as the embodiment of the media house. Like Jakande, he believes that any newspaper which prides itself on being the conscience and voice of the people, must have a well articulated editorial page which directly or indirectly affect the public be it controversial topics or any other topical issue. For any media anywhere in the world to therefore function effectively, it must be guided by some codes of conduct. The Nigeria media just like any other media is governed by certain codes it must abide by.

6. 1. 4. Media and Ethics

Media is guided by professional ethics in what to report and what not to report. This principle is drawn from the Social Responsibility theory which is based on the principle of truth, fairness, objectivity, balance and being informative. The first and second objectives of the media are to preserve press freedom and be responsible with the sole aim of achieving the public good. (McQuail, (1987) (cited by Bo, October, 2011:37). The code of conduct of the media is set up solely to ensure that the truth is told to the public at all times and in the event that a piece of information is wrong or incorrect, it is corrected before the public has the opportunity of seeing it (Obadan, 2008:184). This is however not always the case. Sometimes, the information is already printed before the parties concerned are aware and raise an objection about it at which point, the media house would print a retraction or make the necessary corrections. McQuail (1998) (cited by Agbanu, October 2011:84) nonetheless concedes that the mass media is faced with the **dilemma of succeeding as a business enterprise while maintaining its duty to the public**. Scholars are generally agreed that media is faced with several ethical dilemmas and that there are

unfortunately, no universally accepted solutions to resolving them. (Agbanu, October 2011: 85) (citing Herrscher (2002); Perkins (2002); McQuail (2005:175).

Like media in other countries, the Nigerian mass media is faced with the same ethical dilemmas. The only difference is that certain factors are typical to each country. For instance, Idemudia (2008:147) accuses the Nigeria media of being infected by the same malaise in the society, namely bribery and corruption although the electronic media has been affected only to the extent that they are no longer enlightening the public but rather are obsessed with monetising their services. As is to be expected, this has of course affected objectivity and professionalism in the media with journalists accepting gifts and bribes (Ojih and Onakpa, 2012:83). Continuing Idemudia's line above, and in an attempt to answer the objectivity question, Ayedun (1988), is of the opinion that the African society is rife with its various traditions, beliefs, images, values and so on. Therefore, since the journalist is a product of the larger society and his/her society in particular, add all these to the individual's attitudes, beliefs, experiences and there is no doubt that they are bound to be influenced by all in the society. These influences help to shape the person and in turn the reporting. The reporter therefore cannot isolate himself from the society.

Suleiman (2002:61) (cited by Agbanu, October 2011) affirming Ojih and Onakpa's (2012) view about media accepting gifts asserts that "the most damaging consequence of distress in the Nigerian media has been the effect on ethics and professionalism, which have suffered abuse. In several cases, some journalists faced with the burden of survival have been hard put to resist the temptation to accept gratification that they are exposed to. The attendant consequence have been to either "misrepresent facts, close their eyes to glaring cases of illegalities or rationalize same in a bid to favour the party from which money was obtained."

Given the alleged culture of bribery and corruption in the country which has infect the media and Suleiman's claim of money in exchange for favour, there is a need to examine and understand the different types of gratification that media is exposed to. Agbanu (October 2011: 86-87) tries to make a distinction between brown envelopes and bribe. Bribery is any financial or material gift, which is offered to a journalist with the aim of influencing the editorial. The reason for the bribe is known to both parties and often negotiated. Brown envelope on the other hand, is money voluntarily given to a journalist and it may either influence his report or not. Although nothing is spelt out in the case of brown envelop and there are no negotiations, the very action of accepting

the envelopes, means that the journalist owes the 'host' a good turn. Ubakah and Nwabueze (supra:39) (cited by Agbanu, October 2011:90) concluded that the brown envelope syndrome crept into journalism as a result of media poverty. Most journalists are paid meagre salaries and have to work under poor conditions without all the necessary apparatus to get the job done. It is therefore no wonder that their professionalism suffers. This unfortunately affects not only media content but also objectivity in news reporting with the result that the credibility of the journalism profession is eroded.

It would be almost impossible for a journalist who is paid meagre salary not to vie for favours from the people who give him gratification by giving the stories about them a favourable slant. Probably in an attempt to defend this, Nwodu (2006:150) (cited by Agbanu, October 2011:88) makes the case that journalists as mentioned above, are often paid meagre salaries and media practitioners in some media organizations in the developing nations are owed several months salary in arrears. Painfully, these journalists shop in the same markets as everyone else and are expected to meet both their family and social obligations. Unfortunately, since their professional earnings cannot support these values, desires and life expectations, they compromise. This leads to conflict of interest where their personal values clash with their professional obligations.

Examining different views about the ethics of journalism, Amadi (October, 2011:160) cited several scholars including Kunczik (1995:37) who cites Max Weber as having very low opinions of most journalists. The generality of journalists are seen as low-lives who belong to a pariah cast and are always judged by their low ethical representation.

6. 1. 5. Media and Pictorial Representation

There are as many people who continue to believe that gory pictures should not be shown in the media as those who feel it should be because it is the truth and should be reported (BO, 2011: 41). There is a need to put both views in perspective. For instance, Article 1 of UNESCO's international code states that "No fact should be wilfully distorted and no essential fact should be deliberately suppressed". On the other side, Article 5 of the Nigerian Journalists code of ethics states that "A journalist should not present lurid details, either in words or picture, of violence, sexual acts, and abhorrent or horrid scenes" (BO, October 2011: 38). Journalists would be at a

quandary if they operate in Nigeria given the UNESCO international code. While I agree that there is the need to be sensitive to the feelings of the public and there might be need to be economical with the truth to some extent in reporting in order not to escalate certain situations, I also acknowledge that it might be difficult to effectively convey the intensity of any war or violent situation from pictorial images unless pictures of the victims are reported without bias. While presenting some of these pictures could enrage the public and incite them to vengeful acts in some countries that might not be the case in Nigeria. After several examples of the Nigerian situation where gory pictorial images such as killings and decapitation of children were reported in the media, Daniel BO (2011: 42) concluded that reporting the gory images themselves, did not in any way incite the public to riots. In essence, journalists should be guided by the law of the land in their profession while keeping in mind the UNESCO international code for journalists.

In my opinion, while bearing in mind the UNESCO code as well as that of the country, journalists should be guided by human ethics which means that any pictures which dehumanises the human being, should not be shown. These pictures desecrate the sanctity of the human being. Recently there has been a balance between what the media feels it owes the public and their attempt to be responsible. The electronic media now warn viewers that what they are about to see is sensitive and some viewers may find it 'disturbing' (BO, October 2011: 40). This is a form of censorship which warns the audience of what to expect in advance.

6. 1. 6. Press Freedom

Press censorship is a global phenomenon. A new report has found that Press freedom has declined globally to its lowest level in over a decade. Freedom House, an American NGO conducted a study and found that only 14% of people in the world operate under a free press (<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/may/01/press-freedom-2014-the-global-picture>). The level of censorship however, depends on the type of government in power whether military, civilian or democratic. Yet another factor at play in censorship is the level of development of the country in question: whether it is developed or developing (Stanley and Mojaye, April 2012:41). For instance, the 2014 World Press Freedom Index highlighted the negative effect of conflicts on freedom of information. To this end, the negative effect of

conflicts on freedom of information has also caused some countries including democratic ones to modify how they interpret national security needs which has become detrimental to press freedom and of course the people. The report found that journalists in non-democratic countries are intimidated by agents of the state through kidnapping, assassinations, threats and other forms of coercion. While it might be slightly much easier to control journalists and organisations which are press related, television is different and so not so easy to control. It is however easier to control terrestrial television than it is to control satellite television. This is due to the fact that governments cannot control where the contents of satellite television are broadcast from (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_the_press).

It should therefore be noted that in an unstable environment especially one riddled in conflict, the media and journalists in particular become fair game for groups and individuals who want to control what is reported in the news contrary to international law article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Protocols Additional 1 and 2 to the Geneva Conventions <http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php>. For example, freedom of information is curbed in Asia in countries like India and Bangladesh. China in the reign of Xi Jinping came hard on foreign media and there is so much censorship and control of the media in all forms (<http://rsf.org/index2014/en-asia.php>). Furthermore, countries where freedom of information is not respected include Syria, Iran, Somalia and United Arab Emirate. Egypt has also recorded a lot of abuse against journalists. The three Al Jazeera reporters alleged to have links with the Moslem Brotherhood, have been given jail time in Egypt ranging from 7 years to 10 years for doing their jobs. Even the US has been accused of gagging the press when it comes to certain information as in the case of Edward Snowden and in recent times both the US and British governments have been exposed of spying on governments and citizens by wiretapping and other surveillance practices. Both countries (UK and the US), have been accused of being obsessed with hunting down whistleblowers. Several journalists have been jailed in Turkey for doing their jobs and journalists have been physically attacked in Guatemala. Burundi restricted freedom of journalists and in Kenya in the wake of the Westgate Mall attack, the parliament adopted a law to create a court solely to judge audiovisual content. Countries like Vietnam, Uzbekistan and Saudi Arabia continue to control information flow with strict censorship <http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php>.

Nonetheless, Africa has reported positive progress in freedom of the press especially in countries like Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritania, Senegal and Zimbabwe. In spite of the fact that Nigeria is believed to have a free press, countries like Namibia, Botswana, Niger, Burkina Faso and South Africa, did better than Nigeria in the survey conducted by Freedom House. This is not surprising given the state of turmoil the country has been in the past few years with the youth restiveness, poverty, unemployment and the recent Boko Haram scourge (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2013#.VBliK1xwbMw>). In spite of censorship unfortunately, media is expected to have the added responsibility of assuring and guaranteeing the protection of the freedom of both the media and the people according to Suarez (1978) (cited by Isola, 2008:19).

In Nigeria, chapter 4, section 33-46 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees the rights of all citizens as well as rights to peaceful assembly (Ogbondah, April 2012:17). Contrary to the above provision in the Nigerian constitution however, several political assemblies, rallies and political parties have been disbanded. They include National Conscience party (NCP), National Democratic Coalition NADECO), "Egbe Afeniferere", Campaign for Democracy (CD), Eastern Mandate Union (EMU) among others. In 1994, the military regime at the time, sacked the board of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) as well as both the boards of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) and the Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria, the two major oil unions in the sector. Also in May 1996, the then President Sani Abacha, banned university unions (Ogbondah, April 2012:18).

On the nation's road to democracy, all the governments so far experienced in Nigeria contributed in some way or another to controlling the press. In a study conducted by Stanley and Mojaye (April, 2012:47), it was concluded that the military clampdown on the freedom of the media was responsible for media inefficiency and corrupt public officers (Stanley and Mojaye, April 2012: 47).

By comparing the conclusion arrived at by Stanley and Mojaye (April 2012:47) above that the military clampdown on the freedom of the media was responsible for media inefficiency and corrupt public officers and Amadi's (October, 2011:155) view that disagreements between officials of states and people who promote freedom of expression, in part shapes history, it is

obvious that both agree that there is a relationship between the government and press freedom. Hahn (1998) (cited by Amadi, 2011:155) goes on boldly to suggest that the disagreements between the government and people who promote press freedom, arise when politicians use ambiguous language in their discourse. He accuses them of choosing this style of speech because it enables them change their emphasis without changing the words and of course that also means that the audience can hold different meanings for the same words. This of course gives the government wiggle room when put on the spot.

6. 1. 7. Media Theories

In Mass communication as in any field, a theory can be used to explain how the society affects mass communication or how mass communication itself affects the society. Early work on communication theory started with a focus on language, and how it is used to generate meaning which is believed to be in the words themselves. Saussure, a French linguist developed the idea that a language is a system of signs, where words are used to signify objects and it is through either the written or spoken word that language is applied to real-life situations. It is these signs or words which become sentences and paragraphs which we use in everyday life (Saussure, 1916 cited by anonymous). Since then, there have been other theories of communication such as systems theory (Bertalanffy, 1968) which states that communication is all about the flow of information including a feedback. Shannon and Weaver's (1949) information theory is another. Here, there is a source from where the message originates, before it is passed through a channel, to a receiver who then interprets the message. Although the meaning is believed to be in the message in this theory, it does not take into consideration the context or the environment and anything which does not pass through the set channel is considered 'noise' or a distraction to the entire communication process.

The limitation in this model is that Shannon and Weaver were engineers and in studying the communication process, their focus was on the efficiency of telephones and radio waves. This theory although useful, is so only in the technical aspect of communication. It does not address the day to day human communication in speech, texts and other non-verbal communication cues which take place during communication since the entire process is about meaning and not just

information. In any communication whether speech, texts or non-verbal communication, people's thoughts and emotions are injected and in decoding, people also interpret or decode by extracting the thoughts of the sender and the emotions injected in the message (Reddy 1979:20 Cited by Chandler, D. s.a.). Chandler is therefore of the opinion, that this model does not take into consideration the individual's interpretation in the communication process.

Another criticism of Shannon and Weaver's model is that it sees the source as the active participant and only recognizes the receiver as passive and merely absorbing the information. It therefore does not make provision for feedback which is what makes the communication process more interactive and a two way process as we know. In essence, the model assumes that communication has a predetermined outcome. This is however not always so such as in non verbal communication when the sender unintentionally sends a message. For instance when we make a 'face' or when meaning is generated based on how people perceive us because of the way we dress. Meaning therefore, has to be put in context. There are always underlying meanings in a communication and they are actively created and not just generated and anything can be a sign as long as someone is able to interpret it as meaning something (Chandler, 2007: 11-13) (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/short/trans.html>).

Since these theories, there have been other newer models or theories which have tried to explain the communication process. They include conversation studies, turn taking and many others.

Public sphere, a normative theory is one of such theories. Public sphere is not a new concept to human beings. It has been in existence for as long as human beings have lived and has evolved over the centuries with the practice being tailored to suit the times as was evident in ancient Greece, European monarchies when the Kings would hold court and even tribal gatherings as we know them today. In recent times, public sphere has been associated with the work of Jürgen Habermas, a German sociologist (CommGap, The World Bank). It is central to good governance as it is participatory and as the name implies, a forum where people come together to deliberate, debate issues with the sole aim of forming public opinion. However, two conditions must exist for a public sphere to be effective in the political arena. The first is to objectively minimise bureaucratic decisions and secondly, to revitalise structural conflicts of interest in such a way that it is universally of interest to all and acknowledged by them (Habermas, 1989)

http://pages.uoregon.edu/koopman/courses_readings/phil123-

[net/publicness/habermas_structural_trans_pub_sphere.pdf](http://pages.uoregon.edu/koopman/courses_readings/phil123-net/publicness/habermas_structural_trans_pub_sphere.pdf). It is believed here that media shapes public sphere in a number of ways including questioning, criticising and legitimising the operations of all the stakeholders namely the government and public (Pate and Bashir, April 2012:35). Identical view is held by Oyero (2008:37) who asserts that the public sphere, is where public opinion can be given voice as freedom of expression and access to public sphere, are both central to democracy. The public sphere as we know it today first started in Great Britain in the 18th century (Habermas, 1989). It was a forum in which both individual and government could meet to discuss and debate pressing issues relevant to the nation (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Structural_Transformation_of_the_Public_Sphere).

Habermas' public sphere is believed to have helped check misuse of power and authority by the state. It also gave voice to the people through civil societies (<http://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/public/summary.html>). A public sphere which functioned in the political arena sought the help of the public in its attempts to influence the state's decisions on matters. This forum has since been transformed into parliament in modern times (Habermas, 1989). The debate and criticisms in public sphere are believed to have the potential of transforming (<http://understandingsociety.blogspot.com/2010/09/public-sphere.html>). Embedded in the public sphere are sub spheres which have to do with the demographics, political views as well as the ethnicity and lifestyles of the actors. (NcNair, 2006:137) cited by Volkmer (2014:31).

Public sphere has however evolved over the years and now it is politicians before the people, manipulating public opinion (<http://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/public/summary.html>). The 20th century sees a weakening in the principle of the public sphere. According to Volkmer (2014:13), globalisation has eroded the national boundaries of public sphere as we know it and modern day public sphere include the social media where people of shared interest share thoughts, ideas, upload links and other such forum (Volkmer, 2014:150). In this case, public sphere can either be formal, organised and planned like when people fix certain days and time to meet to discuss pressing issues in their common interests or informal. In the case of the latter, people who do not know each other but find themselves in the same space, can begin to discuss issues which affect them all like politics and state of the nation (<http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/ogandy/C53704read/squires%20public%20sphere.pdf>). Examples

of this include the social media. Citizens can also send in their comments and receive replies through the same medium. The forum is not just about the masses but about organised groups that exert their influence on the public sphere (<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.com/2011/09/jurgen-habermass-public-sphere.html>).

Agreeing with Volker (2014), Richard Nordquist is also of the opinion that modern day public sphere comprises of the media namely press, radio and television (<http://grammar.about.com/od/pq/g/publicsphere.htm>). However, the present day public sphere is at the mercy of governments which can decide to censor them depending on what they stand for (<http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/ogandy/C53704read/squires%20public%20sphere.pdf>). For instance, authoritarian states like Iran have been known to make attempts to censor information flow to their citizens by jamming the frequencies of networks like Al Jazeera, BBC World Service, Voice of America and Deutsche Welle (Volkmer, 2014:49). Catherine R. Squires using the African Americans as a case study, is of the opinion that marginalised groups such as religious minorities, women, blacks, homosexuals and immigrants, have had to have a forum of their own in which to communicate away from the main one they are excluded from (<http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/ogandy/C53704read/squires%20public%20sphere.pdf>). Critics of the public sphere say that groups like the poor, needy, women and some even say bourgeois have been excluded although Habermas himself says it is no longer the public sphere if any groups like those mentioned above are excluded (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Structural_Transformation_of_the_Public_Sphere). For this reason, government officials can therefore not be held accountable for their actions without a good and functioning public sphere according to COMMGAP which stands for Communication for Governance and Accountability Program by The World Bank.

From the above, it means that public sphere can help to guard against abuse of power. It also means that citizens can have influence over political decisions. Unfortunately, that does not seem to be the case in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the polity is unable to hold government and public officials accountable for their actions probably because there is no functioning public sphere in the country. There have been instances when government officials have been accused of corruption and embezzlement. In civilised societies, the honourable thing would be to step down like Lord Jeffrey Archer did in the United Kingdom until the case is resolved. This does not

happen in Nigeria. It is business as usual and most of them go about their official businesses, chairing committees and eventually, the cases are thrown out of court on technicalities.

Even the National conference which was supposedly convened to iron out issues plaguing the country, is rumoured to be criticised for not having been transparent. The conference began on March 17th, 2014 in Abuja with about 492 delegates after a lot of clamour from people for a forum like it to be able to air the different views in the country. It is alleged that government chose the delegates instead of the people from the different constituencies choosing who they want to represent them and that some key stakeholders were conspicuously absent. It is also alleged that the agenda was set by the government and delegates and certain issues like should the country consider breaking up, should not be discussed.

Since one of the requirements for public sphere is free flows of information on all sides with citizens being able to air their views freely and debate these same issues. If this does not occur, then in truth, the conference is not a true representation of what public sphere is.

In any society, public perception of any event is shaped to a large extent by the media. A number of sources have therefore shown identical view about media framing of news. While McQuail (2005:379) (cited by Nwabueze and Edegoh, April 2010: 113) maintains that framing of news is almost inevitable as it is the process of interpreting isolated items, Bruner (April, 2012:63-64) while agreeing with him that media frames are interpretive schemes which are ways the media suggests to the reader how to interpret news, goes on further to explain that this process affords journalists the opportunity of using metaphors or simply implying the meanings intended.

Nwabueze and Edegoh (April 2010:114) believe that framing gives rise to what can only be described as subjective objectivity. According to them, subjective objectivity is when the event is compiled and presented from the media's perceived angle of objectivity. Affirming this view, McQuail (2005:379) noted that it is possible while attempting to be objective, to unintentionally introduce some biases while reporting news items. A number of other sources have shown similar views about this. Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan (April, 2010: 80), claim that the decision made by media professionals, determines what information they choose to put out to the audience. They cite Ekeanyanwu (2007) as asserting that the media controls what the audience believes by first putting any news item in perspective, interpreting it and then assigning

meanings to them. That way, the media controls the value each news item is given. There is no doubt in Perrin's mind that the key activities in the news process from the news generation, selection and even presentation is influenced by the journalists' point of view either implicitly or explicitly (Perrin, October 2012).

Several explanations have been given for framing news and theories propounded. One of such is the Conspiracy model of communication which states that the few powerful elites in the society are able to use the mass media to do what they want (Idachaba, October 2011:31). Agenda Setting theory which is another theory of mass communication is that although the media do not tell audience what to believe, the audience is however influenced by the quantity of news item, the frequency of reporting and of course, the prominence given to the news decides it for the audience be it politics or conflict (Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan, April, 2010: 83)

Gate keeping, another theory is a process of sieving all the barrage of available information, shaping it and further reducing it before disseminating to the audience. Folarin (1998) (cited by Ijeh, April 2010:106) concludes that gatekeepers in the media, modify the news.

The implication here is that information flow is controlled and managed from the point of reception to dissemination. Opposing this view, Ijeh (April, 2010:103) concedes that although information flow is controlled, he claims that it does not mean that the news is subject to the whims and caprices of the journalists as they are guided by certain rules which determine what and how they write. These include as already determined ownership of the media organisation, government regulations, ethical consideration, sensitivity, societal priorities and other such factors which determine what news the journalist gives prominence. This would explain why a single news item is treated differently in the different media (Ijeh, April 2010: 104).

There are two broad categories of gatekeeping which Folarin (1998) who developed them calls internal media gatekeeping and that which is outside the media. In internal gatekeeping, the gatekeepers include editors, directors of the media houses, producers and publishers themselves. In the case of the latter which is gatekeeping outside the media, although it involves people outside the media, they also have an input in what is considered news. These include government, content source, advertisers and the consumers themselves (Folarin (1998) (cited by Ijeh, April 2010:105).

Apart from the above, there are essentially two forms of control in gatekeeping. They are government control and self control. Journalists exercise self control and try not to violate both the press laws and ethics of the profession by ensuring that what gets to the public is appropriate for the people. For instance, certain news which is capable of inciting the public to riots as in the case of very graphic pictures, would make the media take the public's sensitivity into consideration (Ijeh, April 2010:107). The other control is self explanatory as it is when government enforces control on what media puts out. As a matter of fact, the first internal gatekeeper in the entire process in the treatment of news is the reporter or cameraman or whoever is the first to come in contact with the news before the editor. In the case of broadcast media, it is possible for the editor not to be the last gatekeeper because the newscaster can deliberately or not, contribute to the clarity or ambiguity of the news item and in the case of print, the circulation department as well as the distribution van driver can determine who gets to read the newspaper or magazine as they determine what routes they would distribute the newspapers on any given day (Ijeh, April 2010).

Apart from the aforementioned, there are so many models and theories of communication which try to explain the communication process. While they all have their merits, like most things, they also have a lot of de-merits which do not make them appropriate for this research. The two theories being used to explain this thesis are discourse analysis and McQuail's Organisation, Selection and Production theories. While discourse analysis is not an easy field to explain because it cuts across several fields with elements of sociology, linguistics and even psychology as well as other disciplines, it is however a holistic theory as we will see later on. McQuail's organisation, selection and production theory on Media as an institution is also being used as it takes into account all forces that affect media performance (Littlejohn, (1992) cited by R.E.Khan, s.a.)

6. 1. 7. 1. Discourse Analysis

While the work on theories of communication continues, what is agreed on by many communication researchers is that the meaning during a communication process lies much deeper than in the dialogue alone. These researchers believe that meaning can be found in the

context, relationship between communicators, the dialogue itself, the society, environment, history and a whole lot of other factors (Anonymous, s.a.).

Since this view goes beyond the usual view of communication, it is seen as discourse because it includes the use of language, social interaction and other factors mentioned above. Discourse is all about the structure, the language and its effect, the relationship between the discourse itself and the larger society (Van Dijk, (1997) cited by Anonymous). Anything that has to do with human beings and how they function in the society be it the clothing, literature or architecture, mannerism, can all be studied in communication as they give voice to how human beings function in a social setting (Littlejohn, 2002 cited by Anonymous). Discourse analysis is therefore being used for this research because it goes further than the other theories. It sees the person, society, language as all connected in the communication process.

Discourse Analysis is generally perceived as the product of the postmodern era (Anon. s. a.). Over the past few decades, the terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' have been used to encompass a broad spectrum of scholastic activities which include the written text, grammar, lexis, intonation as well as investigating the spoken interaction, the process of interpreting written texts and the spoken word and a whole lot of other things. The bottom-line is that discourse and discourse analysis is all about individual interpretation. There is no right or wrong answers as it is based on the weight of the individual's argument and their level of persuasion. It is therefore, subjective (Anon. s.a.).

Discourse analysis can be categorised as how people both make meaning and make out meaning, in texts on the one hand and on the other hand is how meanings are socially constructed so that they make sense and make meaning in a social setting. Therefore, for the discourse process to take place, there have to be speakers and writers and of course listeners and readers who are all trying to interpret what is said or read and make sense of the entire communication process. In so doing, we analyse the words and try to get at the meaning behind the speaker/reader's words/texts and the reason for it (Widdowson, (2007) reviewed by McCarthy).

To re-iterate, discourse is not only situated in but also takes into consideration factors such as the context, shared environments, values in order for the discourse to be meaningful. Here, the cultural assumptions and expectations come to play. For instance, it has been said that Nigerians

are very loud people to the extent that foreigners sometimes think that they are arguing when in fact they are simply conversing. That is something which is peculiar to Nigeria and Nigerians. Therefore, in a discourse situation, this has to be understood. Also, some nationals perceive Nigerians not only as loud people but also arrogant. There is a thin line between arrogance and confidence. What people see as arrogance could actually be a lot of self-confidence in the people. So, again using a Nigerian as an example in a discourse situation, one would have to understand that they do not generally honour the rule of turn taking during conversations and are loud. All these are everyday assumptions which underlie the communication process. The reality is that texts are just texts, just like the spoken words are just that, words. The keys to unlocking the meaning behind them in order for meaningful communication to take place, is complex as several factors including some which have already been mentioned, have to be considered (Widdowson, (2007) reviewed by McCarthy).

Discourse analysis takes into consideration several factors which are at play in a communication process including the social context, cultural context or any other context in which communication takes place and can either be written or spoken. This therefore means that anything from a journal, a newspaper article, even verbal communication, can qualify as text when transcribed, analysed and studied according to the discourse looking for patterns in how the sentences are structured and other such variables. In discourse analysis studying an aspect of discourse, one would have to consider all the other factors at play during communication in order to get at the meaning. The central theme in discourse analysis is the fact that each person creates his /her reality and there is a wide range of what can be analysed and studied in discourse.

6. 1. 7. 2. Types of Discourse Analysis

There are several theories of discourse analysis including Jacques Derrida's deconstruction theory, Michel Foucault's genealogy and social criticism and analysis of the uses of discourse to exercise power theory. There is also Julia Kristeva's theory of discourse analysis from a feminist point of view and Fredric Jameson's marxist analysis of Postmodernism and other critical and postmodern thinkers (Anon. s. a.).

6. 1. 7. 3. McQuail's Organisation, Selection and Production Theory of Media

Before writing begins and discourse takes place, writers draw on their experiences, interviews and observations to guide their actions. This method enables them collect and analyse the information gathered to be used in natural social setting. In going through the process, journalists have to decide what parts of their ideas and source materials they will include in the news item and how. To start the process however, they first have to find the news source, decide whether the source is credible enough to be used, define and set the limits of the topic, ensure that the story is of relevance to the audience in order for it to capture their attention and of course take a stance. In essence, Stancing determines the selection of certain topics, the sources, quotes and even decide what to omit in the final analysis. Stancing is the practice of taking a particular position based on a person's or an organisation's opinions, attitudes, and emotions.

Stancing is a process which works with news writing at all levels and stages. It is essential in news production because it can shape the entire process from who is represented in news items, what is talked about, and how topics, and utterances are framed. It begins when journalists have an understanding of their tasks according to their cultural, organisational, and individual macro-stances and continues until the journalists send the results of their work to colleagues who assemble news programs (Perrin, October 2012). Although it is still not known why gatekeeping and stancing happen, it is nonetheless possible to have an idea of how journalists' select their news and the salience they give to each news item or even the actors (Vertommen et al., (2012) cited by Perrin, 2012).

6. 1. 7. 4. Criticisms of normative theory

Existing normative theory is being criticised as being inadequate and mere political acts of power perpetrated in the name of 'public interest' to legitimise media regulation. Normative theory has discouraged arguments about it by focussing on aspects such as regulation vs. the open market, people-centeredness vs. market-centeredness, quality vs. quantity, public vs. private, rationality vs. subjectivity, and so forth. Ang (1998) criticises normative theory for being based on outmoded models of mass communication because these models are now inadequate either to

describe or evaluate the current media environment and society we find ourselves. It assumes that there is limited supply, audience is passive and content is homogenous.

In terms of content, new genres such as infotainment, talk shows and reality television are being produced with all of them blurring the line as we know it between information and entertainment. This is because media in general has become market driven. The more-or-less taken-for-granted social responsibility of journalism to the public has been undermined and it is now guided by what is interesting rather than what is important. It is all about what the audience wants to see or read rather than guided by the ethics as we used to know it (Fourie, 2008).

6. 2. Foreign Media

In order to keep abreast of what is happening in the international scene, most people depend on the mass media for information about happenings around the world. Unfortunately, western media is fraught with programmes and articles that are biased and distorted both in their selection and production and on the whole, largely ignorant about Africa. Everyone knows that media can help shape perceptions of other nations to some extent. It is no wonder that westerners' perception of Africa is of images of starving child, a people with little education, Aids and other diseases. Other reports centre on how the West can help Africa sort out its democratic problems with rigged elections, dictatorship governments, poverty and corrupt elites who deposit the money stolen from the people in these western banks. This latter fact is of course not mentioned with as much frequency in the western media. It is true that they own up to the fact that Africa is a continent rich in natural resources, they only subtly allude to those who benefit from these resources. They would rather harp on the continent being riddled with constant wars and warlords and dictators without really attempting to explain what brought the wars about. There are hardly stories of industries or government programmes and when stories that are typically African like wildlife are shown or written about, credit is hardly ever given to the locals for the knowledge or skill put to bear to make it all possible. All these help to reinforce the generally hopelessness and incompetence that is perceived as Africa (Mahadeo and McKinney, s.a).

Confirming how media can shape people's perception of nations, Brewer, Graf and Willnat (2003) cite several sources that confirm that exposure to news increases knowledge of people about the subject and can to a large extent influence people's opinions towards foreign nations. Some other sources assert that these perceptions in turn influence the way people of different nations perceive and interact with one another and also influence the general practice of international relations including foreign policy (Brewer, Graf and Willnat (2003) citing Bartels, 1995; Mannheim, 1991, 1994; Peffley and Hurwitz, (1992)). It should therefore not come as a surprise when actors in the international scene are accused of allegedly moulding the content of media coverage.

Another way media can influence attitudes toward foreign countries is through framing as framing helps guide how people understand issues and then form judgments based on this. Here, an aspect of the truth is built upon and made to look more important. For instance, Mexico and Colombia due to foreign media frames have become synonymous with drugs. Foreign media coverage about these countries is more often than not about drugs and only a few times about how they are working with the US government to fight the war on drugs. This raises the possibility that news stories about domestic issues such the Boko Haram situation in Nigeria may affect how citizens evaluate foreign nations and how Nigerians themselves are evaluated by other nations (Brewer, Graf and Willnat, 2003). Several sources argue that when faced with complex political issues, ordinary people would rather take the easy way out by making evaluations based on the pieces of information most easily retrieved from memory rather than base their judgments on all the relevant knowledge stored in their memories (Brewer, Graf and Willnat (2003) cite several authors including Iyengar and Kinder (1987)).

Just like other developing countries such as Mexico and Columbia, African countries including Nigeria, have had their share of bad rap from the foreign media. Numerous studies conducted, have shown "how Africa has been poorly reported and negatively portrayed by the Western media". The reports have largely focused on wars, conflicts and trouble spots (Uche, 2006: 54) and "objectivity and balanced coverage are out of the question" (Uche, 2006:56). The western media have proven that the reportage is usually more speculation on their part than actual facts. Examples of coverage by the 'Anglo-American' press include, *The Times* articles by Peter Hawthorn on Feb 25, 2002 and March 25, 2002 on Zimbabwe, a BBC programme on March 14,

2002 at 03.00hrs, on Zimbabwe. Also, Britain is not innocent of his charge. Britain's *The Daily Telegraph* of March 15, 2002, pages 15 & 29 by Stephen Robinson on Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa are examples of how Africa is negatively portrayed (Uche, 2006 : 61). Also, America's *Newsweek* of March 4, 2002 on Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (Uche, 2006 : 63) and *The New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune* on Nigeria during Obasanjo's administration (Uche, 2006 :64).

The language, content and logic in the reporting by the American and British press on Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe in the first quarter of 2002, were 'outrageous, unprofessional and unethical' to journalism according to Uche (2006). In the reportage, it was humiliating to read and see how these countries were ridiculed. Based on reportage of this sort, he came to the conclusion that in some circumstances and to an extent, news can become propaganda and propaganda given certain instances, can be news (Uche, 2006: 55).

Negative reports especially on television elicit reaction from viewers in the way that print media does not. Broadcast reports especially on television capture the imagination of the viewer because of the audio and visual elements. The same cannot be said of radio as it only has the audio element. It is therefore possible for the listener to be uninvolved and possibly detached. An example is the CNN report by the Kenya born Bureau Chief Jeff Koinage of February 5, 2002 on the Idi Araba, Hausa-Yoruba ethnic incidence which happened in Lagos, Nigeria. In his report, he claimed both warring factions Hausas and Yoruba were so disappointed in the government, they preferred the military regime prior to 1999. He went on to say that Nigerians decided that democracy had done more harm than good. The report generated a lot of outrage in Nigeria on the grounds that it was not balanced, it was distorted, negative and misrepresented Nigerians (Uche, 2006:65).

The negative or inadequate reportage given Africa has not gone unnoticed by some people from the West as well. An outgoing British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent, Barnaby Philips summed up the state of news reportage by the foreign media by saying that "it is depressing that only a handful of foreign news organizations bother to keep a reporter in Nigeria, despite its population of well over 100 million. And those of us who are based here know that it is the bad news that often makes the headlines (BBC, from our Correspondent, July 8, 2001 cited by Uche, 2006:73-74). Building on this claim, Okigbo (1980:6) (cited by Ekeanyanwu, 2008:

241-242) says that developing countries have less than 30% of world coverage devoted to them in spite of the fact that they constitute 75% of the world population with the result that a large number of people from the third world are more informed about happenings in the west than the average person from the west is about the third world.

In Nigeria, there has always been the need to control the media by law initially largely due to the excesses of what Obadan, (2008:175) termed the expatriate press and their unjust coverage of Africa. He accused some foreign press of having treated Africa with "levity and cynicism" and presenting the international audience with a very ridiculous and gloomy picture of the continent and its people. According to him, the facts and motives are misconstrued probably because the journalists are misinformed, ignorant or sometimes even deliberately misconstrue the facts (Obadan, 2008:175). The foreign media have consistently painted the continent and Nigeria in particular in bad light with their reportage. Examples are *The Financial Times* of London, April 18, 2002: A story carried by Neil Henry titled, "Lagos: Expect the Unexpected" which appeared both in the *Washington Post* and *International Herald Tribune* on December 12, 1989 and many more, all painted Nigeria negatively (Uche, 2006:71).

Confirming these negative sensational news reporting about Africa by the foreign media, Bruner (April, 2012:63) in his article about Reuters' December 25, 2011 Jos Christmas day bombing article, wrote about how it was received in the United States. In his words, "church bombings in Nigeria on Christmas Day certainly make for sensational news in the United States". In his exploratory study, Bruner (April, 2012: 63-64) examined media framing of violence in Nigeria between 2000-2012 specifically in Jos, in the middle belt of the country, and its effect in the United States. In his analysis, he found that the *New York Times* used words like "attacks, horror, massacre, revenge, unrest, explosive, chaos, deadly, killings, clashes, violence, religious, Muslim-Christian, Christian-Muslim, ethnic, bodies, bloody, battle, rampage and so on either in the headlines or in the body. Words that connote hopelessness, total chaos and elicit fear in people.

Although the *Washington Post* on the other hand did not carry as many articles on the unrest, they also used sensational words like "clashes, attacks, deadly, kill and other such words in the body of their writings (Bruner, April 2012: 67). Bruner concluded that the readers of both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* were more exposed to the violence than any other

happenings in Jos since the dominant themes in the Jos attacks in Nigeria were clashes, killings and body counts rather than any other event which was happening in the city at the time (Bruner, April 2012: 68) just like is noticed about reportage on countries like Mexico and Colombia for instance.

It is ridiculous that both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* who are not in Nigeria and have no inkling about the goings on in the country attempted to explain the reason for the unrest. *The New York Times* on November 30 2008 used phrases like “clashes between gangs” and on January 19, 2010 “angry Muslim youths”. *The Washington Post* on December 2, 2008 had an article which had the phrase “Rival ethnic and religious gangs...” *The New York Times* on March 10, 2010 stated that “Residents here emphasized the extensive use of machetes in Sunday’s attack” Bruner (April 2012). The two newspapers used explicit and explosive words like the “swiftness and ferocity of the bloodshed” in a December 1, 2008 article in *The New York Times* (Bruner, April 2012:70).

Momoh (1988:7) concludes that “it is common knowledge that news from Third World countries usually make their appearance in the media of developed countries only when they are sensational and border on drama strong enough to arouse their sensibilities and sense of curiosity” (Quoted by Ekeanyanwu (2008:241). Ekeanyanwu (2008: 242) is quick to chastise the editors of the third world themselves, for being culpable in “over-selecting” conflict news from the western media.

6. 2. 1. Media and Conflict

Ochogwu (2011:9-10) makes bold to say that in societies going through conflict or crisis, media usually “becomes part of the controversy”. Although media at all levels whether local, national or international is supposed to play a mediatory /conciliatory role, they are accused of stoking the conflict either consciously or unconsciously through their reportage. He accuses media of being partisan and biased in their reportage of the Jos crisis to the extent that people lost confidence in the media organizations and the journalists themselves. Ochogwu (2011:9-10) came to the conclusion that “the objectivity of the media became subjective in the reportage of the Jos crisis”. They are re-affirming what several scholars all agree on : that it is possible for journalists

to be subjective in their objectivity. That means that journalists unintentional introduce some element of bias into the reportage (Nwabueze and Edegoh, (April, 2010:114); McQuail (2005:379); Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan, (April, 2010: 82). It is probably difficult and unrealistic like Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan (April, 2010: 82) believe, to expect journalists to give equal weight to reportage especial political coverage. The journalist almost always takes a position. He/she therefore reports from this position. What this means therefore is that the very fact that a position is taken and reported from that particular angle, already makes it subjective in spite of the fact that the journalist attempts to be objective in writing or reporting the piece. This in essence makes it subjective objectivity. These scholars are therefore of the view that it is difficult for journalists to totally be objective in the real sense of the word.

6. 2. 2. Conclusion:

Although in all, the Nigerian press had a difficult time functioning as it should have under military regimes, Ngoa (April, 2012:11) is of the opinion that they especially had a harder time during General Abacha's regime more than any other government. Galadima (2011: 26) however argues that the media have not been able to hold governments accountable to the people. The Nigeria media like media all over the world, has the burden of being fair and truthful in reporting. They need to hold the government and the people in power as well as the elites in society accountable on behalf of the people like the western media have been known to do. There should be no sacred cows. For instance Lord Jeffrey Archer, a British politician and novelist was exposed by *The News of the World* for lying to a court in a libel suit he had filed against *the Daily Star*. He was jailed in 2001 for four year for perjury and perverting the course of justice. (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1424501.stm). Before that, he was 'forced' to step down as Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Party in 1986 when yet another newspaper, this time a Sunday paper carried the story that he allegedly paid a prostitute (Jibo and Ookoosi-Simbine, 2003). Still from the west is another example of the Watergate scandal exposed by *The Washington Post*. The dedication of the journalists and their publisher made a difference in exposing President Richard Nixon in 1974 (Jibo and Ookoosi-Simbine, 2003). (http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/26/newsid_2478000/2478303.stm).

The media theories in use everywhere in the world are all based on western environment. This unfortunately means that African media is guided by research and contexts from the west (Atton and Mabweazara, 2011). In spite of the seeming 'sameness' of media systems and media practice, these theories are neither dynamic nor universally applicable as they are limited in scope. They are not tailored to fit individual situations that obtains in Africa. Given the criticisms and complexity of normative theory, compounded by the fact that the way media are supposed to behave in individual societies are guided by the world views and not the particular society, it might be time to explore alternative theories of media which focus solely on studies of African journalism. It should be rooted in African experiences as has been proposed by some African media scholars. Perhaps there exist variations which can no longer be described and evaluated in terms of a single ethical framework and conceptualisation of what constitutes democracy and freedom of expression, and how the media should behave. With globalisation and a new media environment, it is probably time to explore a more indigenous media theory for Africa like these scholars have suggested.

Several African scholars have therefore proposed different ways of resolving the media issues all over the world and in Africa in particular. The call by these scholars including Atton and Mabweazara (2011) to 'de-Westernise' media theory, and especially normative media theory, is not new. The proposal here is on the need to the emphasis the development of comparative theories that consciously avoid ethnocentric bias and focus on elements that appear to be both universal and inherent in most societies (Fourie, 2008). Some scholars in South Africa have proposed a more African or indigenous approach to media. They argue that the pluralist theories do not take into account other non-western areas in terms of their views, media practices including how much freedom of expression is enjoyed in the different countries. Their argument is based on the need to come up with a media theory which revolves around a more indigenous media ethics such as ubuntuism. It is said to bear similarity to both the European and the North American communitarian philosophy as well as North-American civic journalism (Fourie, 2008).

What is ubuntuism?

The danger in attempting to explain ubuntuism, is that there would be a tendency to simplify it and in so doing, lose its meaning and the very essence of it. Nonetheless, to give an idea of what it is, is to say that ubuntuism is embedded in the African consciousness including who the people

are, their behaviour, beliefs and more. In short, all that makes them African. Ubuntuism can better be explained by its traits which include the dignity of the African people, harmony amongst its people, compassion for other human beings, reciprocity and humanity all with the sole aim of building and maintaining a society which is fair and full of love (Fourie, 2008). Probably a simple way to explain ubuntu is to explain the African thinking on the matter. It is derived from the Zulu maxim 'umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu', which means 'a person is a person through other persons' or simply put, 'I am, because of others'. Similar beliefs and sayings with slight variations, are also evident in other Africa countries and cultures (Fourie, 2008). Therefore, ubuntuism captures the essence of Africa and the African as the individual being part of a collective.

Professor Wole Soyinka, a nobel laureate echoes this sentiment. Although the context is different as he was alluding to the Muslim-Christian situation in Nigeria, it however does have a bearing on the discourse in that he airs his concern about the effects of foreign influence on Africa. His concern is on the negative impact several imports from the West have had and are having on Africa. In his words, "We cannot ignore the negative impact which both (Christianity and Islam) have had on African society. "They are imperialist forces: intervening, arrogant. Modern Africa has been distorted" (<https://uk.news.yahoo.com/boko-haram-carnage-making-nigeria-break-less-likely-120706464.html#wuKDIi>).

It should be noted at this point that adopting Ubuntuism as a theory has been cautioned by some people as idealistic since globalisation has eroded the African culture itself.

In conclusion, in journalism a piece of work would be the sum of the journalist's views, the media organization's position and the society. Stancing is therefore subjective. In spite of the fact that there is an element of the subjective in stancing, it is nonetheless guided by the professional values of the media (Perrin, 2012).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1. Conclusion

Nigeria is a country with diverse ethnicity and culture. It is therefore understandable for conflict to arise among groups of people in the country. These conflicts can be fuelled by any number of factors which are present in Nigeria including tribalism, overpopulation and scarcity of resources. The country's problem is summed up by the duo of Pate and Bashir (April 2012:33) as the "absence of accountability and wanton disregard for the will of the people". Although Nigeria prides herself on plenty, it is still beleaguered by problems of insecurity, unemployment, as well as both poor standard of living and quality of life, a culture of corruption, poverty, crime and many more unsavoury negative things which militate against it being a potential great nation.

The leaders, both past and present have consistently been blamed by Nigerians for having prevented the country with its enormous potential, from fulfilling both its leadership aspirations and development potentials. In essence, although Nigeria is big with vast human and natural resources and a huge untapped potential to be great both in human and natural resources as stated earlier, the country has remained one of the poorest in the world. The African Development Bank's *Progress Report on Poverty Reduction 1998-2000* lists Nigeria as one of the low-income economies prone to conflict as a result of poverty http://www.barep.org/ifaaprg_semi.pdf. It should be noted however that the government in 2014, declared Nigeria as the Number One fastest growing economy in Africa. Sceptics including Nigerians themselves doubt this report because given the culture of corruption in the country, they reason that the report is probably doctored. Some others do not believe the report because according to them, it does not translate to better quality of life for the average Nigerian. In support of this, the World Bank's definition of poverty is relevant here. The organization defines hunger as not being able to visit the doctor when ill, not being able to go to school or able to read, not having a roof over your head, not having a job, fear of what the future holds because you are living a day at a time. Umukoro (2010: 48) laments how poverty makes you powerlessness with no control over your life. It is

therefore unfortunate that Nigeria's leaders have looted the coffers at the expense of the masses with hardly much visible social and economic development.

It is widely agreed that corruption and disregard for the people, is at the centre of the country's problem. The nation's democracy is fraught with electoral malpractices which include buying and selling of votes, rigging of elections and general disregard for the rule of law. The lack of accountability and looting of public funds is unimaginable. Most Nigerian's summation of the problems with the country is encapsulated in the words of Pate and Bashir (2013) who opine that

negative acts of political misbehaviours, electoral malpractices, tyrannical attitudes, bad governance, disregard for the rule of law, massive stealing of public resources, propagation of blatant lies, increased deprivations, personal appropriation of state power, and gross ineptitude by elected officials which seem to combine with debilitating poverty to overwhelm the general population and push it to hopelessness, frustration and possible violent outburst (Pate and Bashir, April 2012:33).

Some observers have consistently blamed the root cause of Nigeria's problem on the 1914 amalgamation in which the country with its multi ethnic and multi cultural people were put together to form what is known today as the country Nigeria. This diversity in the culture and language in itself, makes friction inevitable (Caselli and Coleman, July 2002). A contributory threat to the nation's internal security is the political and religious intolerance. While conflict is 'healthy' as long as it does not degenerate into violence and destruction in any democratic process, Dokubo (2006:116-117) cautions that deep rooted conflicts cannot be controlled by ignoring, denying or eliminating them. This is due in part to the fact that in any conflict, there are some internal factions as well as external forces, who may have an interest in prolonging them rather than resolving it. In the case of Nigeria, political elites are believed to be sponsoring these perpetrators in their agitation with the hope of de-stabilising the country for their own economic and political interests (Bereovitch and Lutmar, 2010:243). As stated earlier, conflict is not always due to internal and indigenous factors alone. Sometimes, there are external actors who play a role in facilitating and promoting internal conflicts. In the case of the Niger Delta, it is the multinational oil companies who are accused of being in cahoot with the ethnic and political leaders in the region. Both parties are accused of profiting from the conflict at the expense of the people of the Niger Delta. This will continue for as long as these external actors have a stake in

the conflict. The external factor at play in the Boko Haram situation, can be attributed to the influence of Al Qaeda and other Muslim extremist Muslim groups.

To this end, ethnicity and religious intolerance have also been identified as contributory factors to the unrest in the country as the political elites are accused of capitalising on the situation to divide the people. These political elites are believed to have their own agenda which include rigging elections in order to either get to power or remain in power. For this reason, they play up two potentially volatile factors which are religion and ethnicity in order to gain power. For instance, the Christian-Muslim differences are played up or even the North-South divide in which case, they give the impression some groups are marginalised all in order to get sympathy from particular groups. This is compounded by the fact that politics in Nigeria has been made so attractive that politicians and aspiring politicians, just want to get to power by any means possible in order to begin to amass wealth wherever possible. Although there are laws in place to fight corruption, unfortunately the country has a culture of 'sacred cows' who are protected from accounting for their corrupt acts by the elites in the society who are also allegedly guilty of the same acts. Alluding to this, President Olusegun Obasanjo in his 2005 Democracy Day address to the nation said "corruption kills innovation, creativity, compromises public morality, contaminates the individuals and collective integrity, distorts national plans and erodes dignity and commitment to hard work and the dignity of labour" (Yomere (2007) cited by Oboreh (2010: 25).

It is also probable that the continued unrest and instability in Nigeria is more as a result of the fact that its leaders have not learned to manage both its human and natural resources. The root causes of the agitation by all the ethnic groups have not been addressed. For instance, the Igbos are still intent on having a sovereign state of Biafra largely because the causes that led to the 1967 civil war have not been properly addressed. The problems in the Nigeria Delta are still unresolved. Ojakorotu (2010:46) sums up the Niger Delta situation as frustration-aggression. He reasons that when people are frustrated, the tendency is for them to be aggressive as is the case with the people of the region. In spite of the fact that during Obasanjo's administration, government's policy regarding the Niger Delta region was greatly improved compared to his predecessor (Ojakorotu, 2010:55-56), it is not *uhuru* (freedom) yet in the Niger Delta. The quality of life is still very poor, the infrastructure in the region still leaves a lot to be desired:

there is no portable water, no good healthcare and many such amenities needed in the region are still not available. In Oboreh's (2010:28) view however, Shehu Musa Yar'Adua's NDDC Master Plan is a holistic approach which can help to resolve the problems of the Niger Delta. This is because the plan involved ensuring that basic amenities were available to the people of the region amongst other things. President Yar'Adua was also able to negotiate an amnesty deal with the militants which included sending some of them abroad to acquire skills. Although it is indeed laudable that the government is helping the militant acquire skills, it is however, not clear what provision have been put in place on how these militants will be re-integrated into the society on their return after their training in different parts of the world including Spain, South Africa and the United States. This is due to the fact that one of the reasons for the agitation in the first place is because the young men have no jobs and some of them are graduates. So, there might still be a vacuum after they come back having acquired these skills with still no jobs.

In order to attempt to resolve the numerous problems facing the nation, the Jonathan administration has been pro-active about the nation's foreign policy. The administration put together a group of International Relations experts and foreign policy practitioners, to review Nigeria's Foreign Policy and to market the country as an environment in which to conduct business.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that leadership plays a part in how stable a nation is. Leadership is at the core of all that is going on in Nigeria. There is a growing perception by the people pointing to the failure of leadership in resolving pertinent socio-economic and political questions in the country. The continued unrest and instability in Nigeria might be due to the fact that it has not learned to manage both its human and natural resources. With good leadership, the country's myriad of problems which include poverty, corruption, unemployment, insecurity, will be better addressed and resolved. Adekeye Adebajo and Abdul Raufu Mustapha editors of *Gulliver's Troubles*, state that Nigeria has slowly lost influence globally. This has happened because unfolding fault-lines in the domestic scene for instance political events like the situation in the Niger Delta and the escalated Boko Haram insurgency, have an impact on foreign policy which is about the country's external environment (Akinbobola, 1999:365). The foreign policy transcends the boundary of any given state and encapsulates a country's defined objectives in its interaction with the international community (Akinboye & Attoh 2005:115-116). Since it is a

state's guide to dealing with other states politically, economically, socially and in other areas, every happening in the domestic setting also influences the foreign policy. To this end, the extent to which the foreign policy is achieved depends on a lot of factors including as mentioned above, the prevailing political and economic circumstances, the resource endowment of the state among others. (Akinboye and Ottob 2005:117). These factors include the domestic situation at play in the country and in the case of Nigeria, the continued spate of violence from the Niger-Delta, religious ideology and the new threats by Boko Haram, unemployment, economic hardships as a result of global economic downturn, youth restiveness and so many other internal and external problems.

Media reportage has also been said to impact foreign policy. There is a relationship between media, domestic situation and the policy formulation of the state and both the public and the mass media are important influences on policy agendas. Everyone uses mass media for their own purposes and people will interpret any communication based on their experiences, values, attitudes, knowledge, beliefs amongst others. With all the negative media coverage the country is exposed to with the unrest involving the Niger Delta, Biafra, OPC and now Boko Haram terrorist acts as well as the culture of corruption the country is associated with, people's perceptions of it are influenced and this in turn influences the way people of different nations perceive and interact with Nigeria and its people. This unfortunately makes it doubtful that the nation will achieve her foreign policy goals as a result of all the negative publicity generated due to the unrest. It also means that the Nigerian government will have to be proactive by adapting the foreign policy that suits the prevailing situation in the country and address these new realities the country is facing.

Further to this, apart from informing, analysing and interpreting news, Oseni (2005:32) enjoins the Nigerian media not to be tired of mirroring the society no matter how unflattering the image. The Nigerian media is said to reflect or mirror the state of decadence in the country. Like its foreign counterparts, media practitioners in Nigeria have also been accused of collecting 'brown envelopes' or 'play for pay' as it is known in some other parts of the world (<http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=601>). Since media owes it to people to be responsible, it is imperative to at the very least, give fair reporting if not a balanced one. The foreign media on their part have been found wanting in their reportage of the continent. They are accused of

reporting for the most part the negative on Africa sometimes without thorough investigations and these are usually news of chaos, war, hunger, genocide and corruption without reporting the good which comes out of Africa.

Although the importance of media in politics is agreed on, its influence however is said to be negligible especially in international politics, conflict and issues of national interest. Governments have nonetheless been known to change policies if it immediately affects the masses or on humanitarian issues such as unrest, security issues and in the instances given above. There is therefore a need for Nigeria to make an effort to revamp its image by attempting to resolve its numerous problems in order to once again be seen as a great nation. In order to begin to do this, several solutions on the way forward for the country, have been suggested by a lot of people including the sample population. These are enumerated in the recommendations.

7. 1. 2. Theoretical Reflections of Thesis Findings

This study employed a combination of tools in the research methodology namely questionnaire, interviews and discourse and content analysis. Since the research is multi disciplinary because it has elements of both the social sciences and humanities in the study, using a combination of tools was to corroborate the facts and have a better understanding of the research. It was also to ensure that the insight attained can be replicated. On the whole, this method helped to enhance and validate the findings of the study.

The findings of this research show that media can influence policy through reporting as has been known to happen in some states in need of humanitarian assistance like the Somalia 1992 civil war. In the same vein, the sample population believes that media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria influences the nation's foreign policy. This is also evident in the fact that over the years in Nigeria, foreign policy has been known to be adapted to suit prevailing situations in the country. Unfortunately, due to the incessant negative reporting on Nigeria, respondents are of the opinion that the public will make judgements and decisions based on the unbalanced reports they see or hear in the media especially the foreign media and based on this, form their opinions of the country. In the light of this therefore, the sample population strongly believes that media reportage of the civil unrest in Nigeria significantly affects foreigner's perception of the country

and its foreign policy. They are also of the opinion that for that reason, it will be very difficult for Nigeria to achieve her foreign policy goal which is to attract foreign direct investment into the country. In all, the sample population, blame government, political elites and group leaders in the society for the state of decadence and unrest in the country. This they say, is due to the selfish reasons of these leaders which are sometimes political, economic or both. Apart from the views of the sample population, the media is also fraught with accusations about the role of these leaders and elites in the unrest as well as the corruption and decadence in the country.

For that reason, the study employed The Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict theory of International Relations which states that ethnic difference alone is not sufficient to explain conflicts. This theory believes that there have to be other factors, and in this case, the various leaders using ethnicity or ideology to make people do what they want in their individual pursuit of power and accumulation of material resources. The Instrumentalist theory is woven around the notion that the greed of ethnic and political leaders is what fuels and drives the conflicts which are at the instigation of certain influential people in the society who want to de-stabilise the country for their personal gains. Affirming this view, Dokubo (2006:116-117) opines that in any conflict, there are some internal factions who may have an interest in prolonging the conflict rather than resolving it. Further corroborating this view, Bercovitch and Lutmar (2010:243), assert that in the case of Nigeria, political elites are believed to be sponsoring these perpetrators of violence, in their agitation with the hope of de-stablising the country for their own economic and political interests. The sample population themselves say that this is the case in the country and newspaper clippings are rife with these accusations. Names of powerful elites ranging from former Presidents to past and current serving Senators, have repeatedly been mentioned. This might explain the continued insurgency by Boko Haram which is believed to be sponsored by some of these elites. It is also possible that some leaders in the Niger Delta region are fuelling the situation with the multinationals by inciting the youths to go to any lengths and claim what they see as their right. This can also be because the leaders stand to gain material wealth as well as power because while the people languish in poverty and squalor, the chiefs and elders of the region are said to be untouched by the abject poverty in the region. They live stately and travel abroad. Most of the sample population believe this to be the case in Nigeria.

Another reason the instrumentalist account of the ethnic conflict theory is appropriate for this study is because it argues that modernisation can contribute to conflict. This is the situation with the Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalists group who abhor all kinds of western influence including education. Economic factor is another contributory reason for conflict according to the theory and this is evident in the Niger Delta unrest. The conflict in the region is because the people are asking for the more percentage of the oil derivative. The Instrumentalist Account of the Ethnic Conflict theory also sees deprivation as motivation for ethnic conflict. Again, this is evident in the Niger Delta where the region is deprived of a lot of amenities including basic ones like water as well as fertile farmland. In the case of the Igbo speaking people of the country who wanted secession in 1966, it is probable that the group believes that it will be better off on its own rather than being in Nigeria. It therefore feels deprived of what it can achieve on its own as this is a very industrious and business minded group.

The media theory used in this study is McQuail's Organization, Selection, and Production theory of communication although Discourse Analysis was used for synergy to explain the media angle of the research. This theory recognises that communication is a two way process with feedback and takes into account all the players in the communication process as well as the forces that affect media performance during the process. These include the political inclination of the media house, the government, freedom of the press and of course audience behaviour including their emotions, values and beliefs amongst others. So, it is possible for a newspaper article to have different meanings for different people based on interpretation by each individual. It is also possible for the article to have a different slant depending on the political inclination of the media house or if the government puts restrictions on what can be reported.

Therefore, to have a better understanding of all the information generated in the methodology, discourse analysis, another theory of communication, was used in this study to complement McQuail's organization, selection, and production theory of communication. This theory is employed because it is a holistic one and it believes that because people are part of a larger group, they must communicate and in so doing, bring into the communication process, all their experiences, emotions, values, beliefs and attitudes in order for each to make meaning of the communication. Interpretation during the communication process is therefore subjective and the meaning generated, depends on each individual. Since discourse analysis believes that a

relationship exists between the way people think and their emotions. It is subjective and therefore takes into consideration all the other nuances not verbalised either in speech or writing and focuses on the meanings behind the words or actions rather than a particular appropriate way of things. This study therefore analysed the content of some newspaper clippings using discourse analysis to generate meanings behind some of the newspaper articles.

7. 1. 3. Key Contributions of the Study

The aim of this thesis was threefold. The study sought to examine media reportage of the civil unrest in the country and its impact if any on the state's foreign policy. The findings of this research show that people generally have some level of dependency on news whether it is on radio, television, press, on-line or a combination of sources. Participants also all agree that media is vital in politics and government and for this reason journalists are sometimes accused of abusing the power they wield by doing dubious things like giving a particular news item a slant to favour who has paid them or even getting paid to carry a particular news item. Media objectivity in this case is actually subjective because it can decide what to report, when and how.

On the whole, participants are of the view that media reportage of civil unrest in Nigeria influences the nation's foreign policy. Secondly, the study also sought to have an understanding of the reasons for the continued unrest from the different groups by examining what the root causes of the problems are. Here, most of the sample population are of the view that there continue to be unrest in Nigeria because the root causes of each and every conflict as well as the actors, have not been identified and where they have been identified, not much has been done to resolve them. It is also probable that another contributory factor to the continued unrest and instability in Nigeria is due to the fact that its leaders have not learned to manage both its human and natural resources. The security situation persists, there is unemployment, the youths are restiveness, and so many other internal problems. A few of the sample population are of the view that the continued unrest is as a result of the new realities for instance, the economic hardships as a result of global economic crises being felt by all, religious ideology as is being experienced in other parts of the world with Islamic fundamentalists like the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and of course, Boko Haram.

Lastly, the study sought to juxtapose the reporting of situation in Nigeria by both the international media and the national media with a view to evaluating which one makes more impact in terms of reporting. While the Nigerian media reports for the local audience, the foreign media on the other hand reports to satisfy an international audience. On the whole, most of the sample population are of the opinion that foreign media make more impact because they have more resources and are more believable. They agree that foreign media generally give reports about Africa and Nigeria in particular, a negative slant. Therefore, as a result of these reports, foreigners make their judgements and decisions about Nigeria and its people based on the unbalanced report they see or hear in the foreign media and form their opinions subject to these. In the light of this, the sample population strongly believe that media reportage of the civil unrest in Nigeria significantly affect foreigners' perception of the country and its foreign policy.

Most of the study on foreign policy and the influence wielded by the media, have been based on Western media. In Africa, several studies have been conducted on media and foreign policy. There have also been studies conducted on media and civil unrest or conflict situations. Research have also been carried out on the implications of civil unrest on foreign policy. However, this study is significant and unique because while other studies have studied the relationship between any two of the factors mentioned above, this study examines the relationship between all three factors namely, civil unrest, media and foreign policy and emphasises the civilian administrations in Nigeria instead of the military which the other studies concentrated on. This study is therefore significance in that it has shed more light on why there continue to be recurrent civil unrest in Nigeria and several solutions have been proffered by the sample population.

The study of media is a very wide area. Unfortunately, the scope of this research had to be limited in order to manage it. Although this study is concerned about media reportage, it has been limited to civil unrest in particular and further limited to only the examination of print media in the analysis of the study. For this reason, there is still vast room for other aspects of media to be studied.

7.1.4. Thesis Recommendation

It is essential that young democracies like Nigeria have independent and free media to ensure good governance. This can help ensure transparency, accountability and the rule of law. Corruption unfortunately, seems to have permeated most aspects of life in Nigeria and possibly the media as well. Of course, the fact that government restricts media to some extent and in some matters, does not help the situation. The former World Bank president James Wolfensohn who became the 9th president of the organisation in June 1995, acknowledged that corruption in government is one of the obstacles to development and in order to fight it, media has to be free to report it. Information he further said, has to be accessible (<http://www.un.org/en/events/pressfreedomday/background.shtml>). Media freedom and access to information work together. Free media encourages debate and gives the citizens control over their lives. When media is free to report the truth and the people have access to information, they are empowered and are able to make informed decisions which would affect all areas of their lives including economic, political and social life. Empowerment in itself is both a social, economic and political process which gives the citizens a voice. It also gives them control over their lives vis-a-vis what happening in the country. They are therefore able to hold government at all levels accountable for whatever it does on their behalf. This enables them fight corruption and ultimately impact development. It is important therefore, that citizens realise that they are a very important part of government and must be encouraged to give their input in governance. The Nigerian media on its part needs to hold the government and the elites in society accountable on behalf of the people in order for growth and development to take place in the country. This in turn will lead to transparency which hopefully will help encourage the fight against corruption which Africa and Nigeria in particular desperately needs at this time. This would ultimately result in development for both the country and the continent. Media freedom all across the continent is therefore very essential to the growth and development in Africa. This would be in line with the AU vision of an integrated, prosperous and peaceful continent. A continent in which all Africans see themselves as stakeholders and work towards building a strong continent which is socially and economically developed. A continent which is a force to be reckoned with in the global arena. Unfortunately, Africa is nowhere near being any of that at the moment. All Africans in all spheres of life therefore have to play their role in ensuring the success of this vision [http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Gender African Union Gender Policy 2009.pdf](http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Gender%20African%20Union%20Gender%20Policy%202009.pdf).

7.2. Recommendations

The comment credited to the then head of state Yakubu Gowon during the civil war, still holds true. He was quoted as saying,

if it were possible for us to avoid chaos and civil war merely by drifting apart as some people claim, that easy choice may have been taken. But we know that to take such a course will quickly lead to the disintegration of the existing regions on condition of chaos and disastrous foreign interference” He went on further that “...rather than acquiesce (sic) in secession and disintegration, we will adopt the courageous course of facing the fundamental problems that has plagued this country since the fifties... (*New Nigeria on Sunday*, May 14, 2000, pg 13)

Still in the same article, Gowon pointed out that “the citizens of this country have not given the military any mandate to divide up the country into sovereign states and to plunge them in to bloody disaster...”. The former head of state’s statement still holds true. It would be simplistic to think that giving independence to regions agitating for it will resolve the country’s many problems.

In the course of the research, several suggestions were proffered for moving the country forward. One that keeps recurring and consistently being advocated by the sample population, social and political pundits including Fawole (2004) and even in a large number of the newspaper reports examined in the content analysis, is that it is imperative to trace the root cause of the individual conflicts and address them. This is important in order to understand the cause or triggers so that the country can chart a more fitting way to resolving or dealing with each of these conflicts. Further to this, all the actors of each militia or insurgent group need to be identified and engaged in dialogue with the hope of resolving the issues. The ultimate goal here is continuous peace building as suggested by the respondent who works at the National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution.

Another suggestion made by several people including the sample population and Ayinde (2010) is that before Nigeria can think of being the continental leader, it must first fix its myriad of problems which include problems with its democracy, weak governance, insecurity, a drug peddling and now terrorist country, one of the most corrupt in the world and many more

unsavoury names. Nigeria therefore needs to respond to the new realities facing it and its people by totally overhauling its foreign policy starting with clear and concise foreign policy objectives, overhauling the ministry of foreign affairs itself both the infrastructure, technology as well as the man power. That would of course involve training people for their respective positions. In line with this, there is also a need to have the foreign affairs website properly managed and to give the pertinent information to visitors to the website (Ayinde, 2010:22). This overhaul and re-inventing of the nation's foreign policy is essential in order for the country to capitalise on the opportunities available as a result of globalisation with trade and information technology (Salami, 2007:79). Although this had been done in the past, there is a need to explore new ways for the nation to be more people focused and people centred. The country needs to place more emphasis on its citizens rather than placing emphasis on prestigious status or continental leadership. Nigeria's status should be credible and verifiable and not just because the nation believes in or claims a myth of being more important in the continent than it actually is (Ayinde, 2010: 23). Only then can the rest of the world respect the country.

Pertaining to security, Dokubo (2010:32) suggests an integrative approach to resolving the security situation. In the integrative approach he proposes, everyone will be involved in security. This means that the individual, civil society, state, even West Africa as a region and indeed the international community is accountable and each would retain some control over the level of security in the country and the region in general.

Another recommendation is one that was close to the heart of former President Obasanjo. He believed that Nigeria needs a re-orientation about the core values which were once upheld in the society as well as an attitudinal change in the way a lot of things are done in the country. People do not have to like President Obasanjo to agree with his idea here. It is strongly believed that if the country is able to get these two seemingly basic concepts right (a re-orientation of the core values as well as attitudinal change in the way a lot of things are done in the country), then every other aspect of the economy and country will fall in place. These include the culture of corruption, waste, inefficiency, non-chalance and a general lackadaisical attitude to a lot of things including holding public office holders accountable. A change in the way of seeing these issues or of dealing with them, will begin to manifest and result in a change in the nation for the better. This will of course entail enforcing the laws which are already in place to fight corruption

including the culture of 'sacred cows' which should be stopped. What this means is that there should be zero tolerance for corruption and an efficient and transparent management of the oil and gas resources. If this is done, it will go a long way towards alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life of the citizens. To this end, economic development is suggested. It is believed that this will help reduce the likelihood of conflicts and ultimately enhance security in the country if the government creates a conducive environment which will make it possible for jobs to be available to citizens. This would in turn help to raise morale. One respondent interviewed who incidentally is from the North, actually suggested channelling the looted funds into developing the country.

To re-iterate, from the foregoing it is obvious that leadership plays a part in how stable a nation is. One respondent summed up that "leadership is everything". Politicians need to make people the focus when they are in public positions and the people themselves should do their part. The citizens need to cast their votes as well as protect these votes in order to ensure that the right people are voted in. It is hoped that the elites will not only allow but indeed ensure that due process in the entire electoral process takes place. Some of the people interviewed suggested that leaders at all levels whether political, social, economic, cultural or religious, should be involved and responsible for educating the people they are responsible to and for as a way of helping the situation.

Another problem the country faces is its over dependence and emphasis on oil in spite of the fact that it has the potential to grow other sectors of the economy like gas, manufacturing, tourism, agriculture, solid minerals (Oseni, 2005:89-90). A concerted effort should therefore be made by the government to develop these other precious minerals like tin, gold and bauxite as well as other produce which are in abundant in parts of the country. Oboreh (2010:29) however suggested that states which have other mineral resources like the ones mentioned above, be subjected to the same law that states with oil are subjected to. If this is done he opines, the people of the Niger Delta will probably not feel as exploited as they do at the moment. He further reasons that the people of the other states will on their part, be able to empathise and probably have an idea of what the people of the Niger Delta have felt all these years.

7. 2. 1. Potential topics for future studies

During the course of this study, several questions arose in salient areas of the study especially in media. These might therefore be worthwhile areas for further studies.

- Arising from the research, several of the sample population cast aspersions on the integrity of the media. This is not surprising with the level of corruption and indeed the culture of corruption in Nigeria. Therefore, is the Nigerian media still the moulder of the society or a reflector of the decadence in the society? There would be a need to further research into this area in order to ascertain if the Nigerian media is merely reflecting the decadence in the society or indeed untouched by the decadence and making every efforts to mould the Nigerian society.
- Secondly, several scholars believe that human beings are subliminally influenced by what they see or hear in the media. It might also be interesting to study if indeed people are unconsciously influenced by what they are exposed to either visually or by audio and act on these sublime suggestions.
- Another possible area of research is media objectivity. Volkmer (2014:158) gave examples of how objectivity is a relative term depending on who is reporting. Objectivity to one person in the West and going further say a particular country in the West might be different to what is termed objective in a developing world. Again, it would depend on the part of the developing world. Are they predominantly Muslims or Christians, what are their beliefs, values, culture? All these would determine what they consider objective and might be different from what the reporter considers objective if he/she does not share these values. It is would therefore be interesting to study what objectivity is to different groups of people and how they define it.
- Several African scholars have suggested adopting and adapting a media theory for the continent. Perhaps it is time for a thorough study to be carried out to see how adapting a media theory which best suits Africa and Nigeria in particular can be adopted. Of course, this would entail de-emphasising the western model of media and beginning to work on adapting a more indigenous African model which best suits the African situation such as

ubuntuism or any other which would help with a theory that best suits the African people in general and Nigerian situation and society in particular. This theory can then be adapted to suit each country or region. Of course, certain challenges are envisaged going this route as each country or region would have to decide what model to use and set down criteria on how to operate (Fourie, 2008). However, it is believed that this will be a worthwhile area of research. This is because adapting an African model or theory, might help Africans tell their stories without fear of misrepresentation.

- Another area worthy of further research is the activities of the Boko Haram group. There is a need to understand why the group is killing not just Christians but fellow Muslims as well. Is Boko Haram a particular Muslim sect with a different ideology from other Muslim sects? What are the group's objectives and aspirations?

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Appendix i

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant,

This questionnaire is to help us find out if the media reportage of civil unrest within the country in any way influences the nation’s foreign policy.

The research is being carried out by a PhD student of the North West University, Mafikeng, South Africa. Please answer all the questions truthfully and be assured that the information gathered, will be treated with the utmost confidence.

Thank you.

SECTION A

- 1. Name:(Optional)
- 2. Gender: Male Female
- 3. Marital Status : Married : Single :
- 4. Education : Primary :..... Secondary :
Graduate : Post - Graduate :
No Education
- 5. Profession / Occupation:
- 6. Religion: Christianity Islam
- 7. State of Origin / Nationality :
- 8. State of Residence :
- 9. Age : 18 25 26 35

36 45 46 55

55 and Above -----

SECTION B

1. Where do you prefer to get your news? Radio: TV:

Press: On-Line

Why?

2. How dependent on the media are you for news?

Very dependent: Dependent: Neutral: Not dependent:

3. What would you say is the role of the media in the society?

Moulder: Mirror: Conscience: Regulator:

4. How important is the role of the media in politics?

Very important: Important: Neutral: Not Important:

5. Do you think the media has a part to play in government? Yes: No:

6. Do you think media reporting of the civil unrest situation in the country is adequate and balanced? Yes: No:

7. What do you understand or think these groups of people are agitating for?

Boko Haram :

Niger Delta Groups :

Afeniferere / OPC :

Ndigbos / Massob (Biafra):

8. What do you think the government can or should do to resolve the issues with these groups of people?

9. With the current security situation in the country, do you think Nigeria can achieve her foreign policy goal? Yes: No:

10. Do you think leadership plays a part in the situation? Yes: No:

11. Do you think the Nigerian government is responsive to the plight of the masses?

Yes: No:

12. How and why?

13. What can Nigerians on their part do to make government more responsive to the plight of the common man?

.....

.....

14. Do you think that the Nigerian media is free to report as it deems fit?

Yes No:

15. Do you think the social media plays a part in all the negative publicity the country is receiving? Yes: No :

16. If yes, How and why?

.....

17. In your opinion, how objective and balanced is media reporting in the country?

Very: Adequate: Not very:

18. How effective is President Goodluck Jonathan's foreign policy in comparison with his past three predecessors?

Very effective Moderately effective Not effective.....

19. How would you rate the security situation in the country during the civilian administrations compared to the military regimes? Safe.....

Very Moderately Safe Not Safe

20. What in your opinion is responsible for the civil unrest in the country? In essence, what factors can cause or contribute to unrest in the country?

Uneven distribution of Resources Underdeveloped Infrastructures Unemployment Religious Intolerance -----

Others

21. What can be done to resolve it?

22. How do you see the international media reporting of the civil unrest situation in Nigeria?

Balanced and objective Negative

23. What in your opinion is the difference or similarity in the way the Nigerian media reports the situation compared to international media reports?

.....
.....
.....

24. What do you think the government can do to quell the civil unrest and security situation in the country?

25. In your view, how much power or influence do you think the media wield in swaying or influencing people’s opinion?

Not Much Very Much None Whatsoever

26. If any influence at all, how?

.....
.....

27. What do you think Nigeria should be doing to claim her leadership position in the continent that she is not doing?

.....
.....

28. What is your perception of international news reporting on Africa and Nigeria in particular?

Positive Honest Negative

29. In your opinion, do you think media reporting of the civil unrest in Nigeria, influences people's perception of the country?

Yes No

Appendix ii (a) Interviews

INSURGENT GROUPS

- 1. Where do you prefer to get your news: Radio: TV: Press:
Why?
- 2. How dependent on the media are you for news?
Very dependent: Dependent: Neutral:..... Not dependent:
- 3. Can you give an insight into your cause?
- 4. How effective would you say the media has been in publicising your cause?
- 5. What impact do you think the publicity generated is making both locally and internationally?
- 6. What is your perception of international news reporting on Africa and Nigeria in particular?
- 7. What do you think of their reporting of your cause?
- 8. How responsive is the government to your cause?
- 9. What do you think the government can do to resolve the situation?
- 10. How effective is President Goodluck Jonathan’s foreign policy in comparison with his past three predecessors especially in relation to your cause?

Appendix ii (b) Interviews

(Media Editors, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, National Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution)

1. In your opinion, do you think media reporting of the civil unrest in Nigeria, influences people's perception of the country?
2. Have you heard of these groups: Massob, OPC, Boko Haram, Mend, Mosop?
- 2b. What do you think they are agitating for?
3. What do you think the government can or should do to resolve the issues with these groups of people?
4. What in your opinion is the difference or similarity in the way the Nigerian media reports the civil unrest in the country compared to international media reports?
5. What is your perception of international news reporting on Africa and Nigeria in particular?
6. In your view, how much power or influence does the media wield in swaying or influencing people's opinion?
7. With the current security situation in the country, do you think Nigeria can achieve her foreign policy goal?
8. How would you rate the security situation in the country during the civilian administrations compared to the military regimes?
9. What do you think the government can do to quell the civil unrest and improve security situation in the country?
10. How proactive is the legislature to the security situation in the country?

Appendix iii

Newspaper Clippings

Daily Champion
Thursday May 25, 2006
Thursday June 1, 2006
Thursday July 6, 2006
Saturday August 19, 2006
Thursday May 31, 2007
Friday May 16, 2008
Thursday May 21, 2009
Sunday September 6, 2009
Monday March 8, 2010
Sunday May 30, 2010
Sunday December 5, 2010
National Concord
Friday September 22, 2000
New Nigerian
Monday October 23, 2000
Sunday May 14, 2000
Monday 28 February 2005
Nigerian Tribune
Monday September 11, 2006

Wednesday May 28, 2008
Friday September 5, 2008
Tuesday May 18, 2010
Sunday October 10, 2010
Tuesday August 9, 2011
ThisDay
Friday January 14, 2000
Tuesday May 8, 2001
Wednesday August 30, 2006
Wednesday October 4, 2006
Sunday January 28, 2007
Thursday May 5, 2011
Wednesday July 27, 2011
The Guardian
Wednesday November 1, 2000
Sunday January 21, 2001
Wednesday October 31, 2001
Friday August 4, 2006
Saturday September 9, 2006
Saturday January 20, 2007
Saturday February 3, 2007
Sunday December 20, 2009

Sunday November 21, 2010
Sunday January 23, 2011
The Punch
Thursday August 17, 2006
Tuesday May 6, 2008
Monday May 19, 2008
Sunday October 24, 2010
The Sun
Sunday July 31, 2011
The Vanguard
Saturday October 7, 2006
Sunday January 14, 2007
Sunday December 5, 2010
Sunday June 12, 2011

Appendix iv

Interviews and Places

Hajia Amina Al Hassan, Features Editor, Leadership Newspapers in August 2013 at the NBC Offices in Abuja.

Mr. Habeeb Pindiga, Daily Editor, Daily Trust in August 2013 at their Abuja Office.

Mrs. Grace Awodu, Assistant Director, Research, Department of Democracy Development Studies, National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution in August, 2013 at her office in Abuja.

Mr. *Lekan Otufodunrin, On-line Managing Editor, The Nation on Monday 7th April, 2014 at 3.14pm at The Nation Premises in Matori, Lagos.

Mr. Hyacinth Onoh, Principal Copy Editor, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) on Thursday 10th April, 2014 at 10. 48am in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

Mr. *Femi Adesina, Managing Director, The SUN and President of Nigerian Guild of Editors on Thursday 17th April, 2014 at 4.30pm in his office at Kirikiri Industrial Layout, Apapa, Lagos.

Mr. Ikeddy Isiguzo, Chairman, Vanguard Editorial Board on Tuesday 13th May, 2014 at 13.28pm at Planet ONE, Ikeja, Lagos.

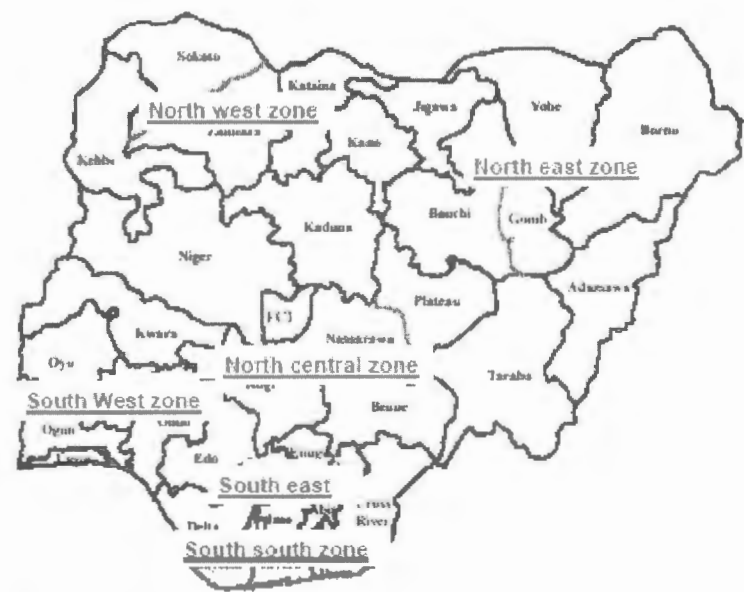
Otunba Ganiyu Adams one of the factional heads of the Oodua people's congress (OPC) on Friday 16th May, 2014 at 11.45am at his home in Abule Ado, Lagos.

Comrade Zulu Ofoelue a Civil Society, Political and Cultural Activist, General Secretary, United Action for Democracy (UAD), Chairman, Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) Enugu State Branch, National Secretary, Igbo National Council (INC) and Vice President, International Solidarity for Peace and Human Rights Initiative in June, 2014.

Appendix V



Map of Nigeria. <http://www.google.co.za/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.waado.org>. Accessed: March 22, 2012.



Map of Nigeria showing the Six Geo-Political Zones. <http://www.google.co.za/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.biomedcentral.com%2Fcontent%2F>. Accessed: March 23, 2012.

Appendix vi

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's address to a gathering of International Relations experts and foreign policy practitioners at the retreat on the review of Nigeria's foreign policy, Monday 1st August, 2011.

PROTOCOL

"It is my pleasure to address this august gathering of International Relations experts and foreign policy practitioners at the start of the Retreat on the Review of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Let me start by thanking the Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations for organizing this important Foreign Policy Review Conference. I have every confidence that with the calibre of experts assembled for this exercise, a future of exciting possibilities lies ahead for our nation's foreign policy pursuits.

At the dawn of our independence, our founding fathers rightly devoted attention and our nation's scarce resources to the decolonization process and the eradication of racism from the African continent. To the extent that these were blights on the dignity of the black race, they were legitimate foreign policy pursuits for our country.

As President, I stand before you to affirm that our country did, indeed, play a leading and facilitating role in the emancipation of the African continent from colonialism and racial discrimination. These are achievements we can all be proud of.

As the most populous black nation on earth, it seemed our manifest destiny, is to champion the cause of African emancipation and integration.

To be sure, African renaissance remains an unfinished business, but the work that remains should not stop us from focusing on new priorities and challenges.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, there is no doubt in my mind that our post-independence foreign policy served our country well. The question that naturally flows from this assertion is why the need for a review if current policy is effective and serving the national interest? I agree with those who think that a review is necessary in order to fully capture emerging challenges and

also to inject new dynamism into our foreign policy. I must caution, however, that the changes or adjustments we seek through this review should not merely be for the sake of change.

We should rather be looking at how we can deploy our foreign policy at the service of our nation's domestic priorities.

In the era of globalization; at a time of grave challenges to national and international security, such as we face from terrorism and transnational criminal networks; at a time of massive poverty and youth restiveness in our country, we have no choice but to adjust and adapt the way we conduct foreign policy. As we respond to the forces of globalisation, perhaps more than ever before, our diplomacy must be put at the service of our domestic priorities.

As you are all aware, the upheaval of the late 1980's brought an end to bipolarity and ideology as organizing principles of international relations.

The rise of new economic powers outside the traditional economic centres of Euro-America has altered the landscape of international political economy and economic partnership arrangements, as we see happening in the ongoing dialogue between Africa and China, on one hand, and with India, on the other.

All these changes present both challenges and opportunities in the murky world of international politics. I expect this retreat not only to come up with ideas on how to re-design our foreign policy, but also strategies for achieving our foreign policy objectives.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, in my Inaugural Address of 29 May, 2011, I enunciated what I believe could form the outlines of our country's future foreign policy direction.

In that Address, I indicated that, "Nigeria, in partnership with the African Union, will lead the process for democracy and development in Africa. In particular through support towards the consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in the continent".

In taking a firm position on democracy, my objective was to challenge Nigerians to see democracy as the future of their country and for all of Africa. As a nation, we have taken the right decision to embrace democracy. Democracy is good for Nigeria because it can help us build a just, fair and inclusive nation. For me, there is no greater indignity, no greater disrespect for the

values that bind us together as a nation than to deprive citizens of a say in who would govern them.

This is the philosophical basis of the marching order I gave to all our diplomatic Missions abroad in my Inaugural Address to “accord this vision of defending the dignity of humanity the highest priority”.

Since foreign policy is the externalization of domestic priorities and the aspiration of citizens, the big challenge for Nigerian diplomacy, is to articulate and vigorously market the country as a conducive environment in which to do business. Afterall, for a developing country like Nigeria, poverty eradication, job creation, economic progress and security are some of the top priorities on the national agenda which must necessarily drive foreign policy undertakings. The dignity of humanity must therefore be defended at home and abroad.

I believe economic diplomacy is entirely compatible with democracy promotion, for at least two reasons. First, building a strong economy will help us build a strong, stable, prosperous and peaceful country, where democracy will thrive and business will flourish, and where citizens can live and pursue their dreams with dignity under the protection of the law. Second, it is in Nigeria’s interest to promote the culture of democracy across Africa. Since it is the surest way to guarantee peace, justice and happiness in the continent.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not mean to prejudge the outcome of your deliberations, but I feel I must share some of my thoughts regarding some general principles that have evolved from our historical experience as a nation. First, I believe our foreign policy must reflect the aspirations of a democratic Nigeria.

Second, when the issues are unambiguous as, for example, when the interests of Africa are at stake, we must be assertive but not dogmatic. Our objective should always be to negotiate the best possible outcome for Africa in the belief that when Africa does well, Nigeria’s interests would be well served.

Third, given the increasing inter-connectedness of the world, we would do well to pursue a robust multilateral diplomacy, but this should not be at the expense of our bilateral relationships.

We should, therefore, continue to build and deepen our partnerships with friendly countries. In all cases, these relationships must be anchored on mutual respect and responsiveness.

As a responsible member of the international community, Nigeria must remain committed to the principles and purposes of the UN. It is in Nigeria's interest to continue to share our peace-keeping experiences with regional and sub-regional organisations in Africa, including ECOWAS. In other words, our commitment to regional and international peace and security must remain as strong as ever.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, as Nigeria's window to the outside world, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must constantly raise its game to match international best practices. This necessarily calls for periodic introspection and self-renewal, the objective being to ensure sustainable coherence and adaptability in a rapidly changing and competitive environment.

In other words, for it to be able to cope with Nigeria's growing responsibilities on the world stage, the Foreign Ministry must itself be reformed to equip it with the competencies necessary to drive policy implementation.

Looking forward, the challenge should be to create a knowledge-driven, confident, nimble and globally competitive Service, which would be able to respond to the many challenges and opportunities in the external environment.

In conclusion, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I charge the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to embark on a comprehensive documentation of the various roles our nation had played globally in her determined contributions to human progress.

Such documentation will hopefully capture our past commitments, our losses, and gains, and help guide our future endeavours. It will also serve as a constant reminder to us as we refocus our reform objectives and aspirations. We need this documentation as quickly as possible so as to indicate what our founding fathers had done and to also use it to engage the international community more constructively.

I wish you well in your deliberations and hope that you arrive at very fruitful outcomes.

Thank you and God bless.” <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/57243/1-president-jonathans-address-on-the-review-nigerias.html>. Accessed: March 22, 2012.