

**THE PRESS AND REPORTAGE OF SELECTED NATIONAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *LEADERSHIP* AND *THE*
SUN NEWSPAPERS 2013-2015**

BY

**ABDULNASIR JAMES
(M.Sc/Soc-Sci/41013/2012-2013)**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER DEGREE IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA

July, 2017

DECLARATION

I humbly declare that this dissertation titled “**THE PRESS AND REPORTAGE OF NATIONAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *LEADERSHIP AND THE SUN NEWSPAPERS 2013-2015***” has been carried out by me in the Department of Political Science and International Studies. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree at this or any other institution, to the best of my knowledge.

Name of Student

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled “**THE PRESS AND REPORTAGE OF SELECTED NATIONAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *LEADERSHIP* AND THE *SUN NEWSPAPERS 2013-2015*”** by Abdulnasir James, meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters of Science of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Saidu H. Adamu
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

Date

Dr. Moveh David
Member, Supervisory Committee

Date

Dr. Aliyu Yahaya
Head of Department

Date

Prof. Sadiq Abubakar Zubairu
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies.

Date

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my mother Mrs Doris Haruna Ayuba whose life of sacrifice continues to inspire me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All gratitude to God Almighty for His love, mercy and grace lavished upon me during the course of this journey; Lord take all the glory for the success of this endeavor. To my supervisors, Mallam Saidu Hassan Adamu (of blessed memory) and Dr David Omezia Moveh, words fail me to adequately convey my gratitude for all the guidance and support you offered me. I am and shall ever be in your debt because the discipline I have received from you has not only made me a better student of politics but an improved human being. May the righteous God, the judge of the all the earth, reward your labour of love. I owe no less amount of gratitude to Dr Ibrahim Jimoh of the Department of Mass Communication, ABU, Zaria as well as Dr Usman Tar of the Nigerian Defense (NDA) Academy for the effort expended to improve the quality of the work. To the entire staff of the Department of Political Science Ahmadu Bello University, academic and non-academic, I must say a big thank you for all the support you rendered to me during the course of my studies. In a special way, I must appreciate all the academic staff of the department: Prof. P. P. Izah, Prof. R. A. Dunmoye, Prof. E Unobe, Prof K. Omojuwa, Prof. A. Hudu, Dr. U. Ka'oje, Dr. A.S. Mohammed, Dr. Y. Yakubu, Mallam G. Aminu, Dr. Audu Jacob Dr. I. Shehu, Dr. M. Nurudeen, Dr. D. Hassan, Dr. Mohammed Lawal Tafida, and Dr. B. Gwrazo, among others.

The members of my family I must thank you for the love and support through it all. Patience Stephen, Christiana Yusuf, Maryam J. Waziri, Yakubu Audu Kyauta, and Chimba, thank you all. To my half-brothers and sisters: Jamilu Waziri, Yahaya Waziri, Bilkisu Waziri, Suleiman Waziri and Jamila Waziri thank you so much. Also, my maternal relatives I must appreciate your concern over my life: Asabe Kefas, Mummy Hannatu, Anty Eldina, Anty Helen,

Barister Dichi, Anty Vasty, Anty Salome, Anty Ruth Istifanus, etc. I must also appreciate my uncle HH Yahaya Haruna Ayuba for all the encouragement and fatherly counsel.

I must also thank my friends so much for accepting me the way I am! Manaseh Paul Maichiki, Phoebe Sunday Akwara, Abdulkadir Ahmed, Salisu Inusa, Irmiya Thomas, Ojuh Fidelis Ainoko, Ali Subi Barila, Mary Markus, Yoks, Suleiman Timothy, Samuel Asaolu, Amin A. Maori, Ibrahim Gambo, Philip Simon, Musa Kabiru Awute, Ibrahim Gwani, Abdon Ahmed Sada, Philemon Daniel, John Kadiri, Dangabar Adamu Yila, Abdulkarim Abdullahi, Bello Haruna Ayuba; you are too many to mention; just know I am grateful whether I mention you or Not. For Belinda Manu Panda and Christy Panda I must express deepest gratitude for this interesting new chapter we have started together; hopefully what we have started presages a brighter and better future. Also my immediate neighbors in Federal Low Cost, Mamman Lizkebe and Mary, thanks for the support.

The entire staff of the department of political science, Gombe State University deserve a special mention for helping me learn and grow; Dr Ruth Fani Kinge, Dr Muhammad Kabir Isa, Prof G. Esew, Prof Masoud Omar, Prof Habu Mohammed, Dr Bashir Malam, Dr Agbo U. Johnson, Ramatu Buba, Jamila Ali, Sati Sheik Kubenubu, Adamu Isiaku, Shadrack Tereng, Ibrahim Jalo, Yusuf Yusuf and Adamu Ali. My thanks goes also to the entire students of the department for being the laboratory where my skills have been and are still being honed. Similar gratitude also goes to the members of ECWA youth fellowship Good News Federal Low Cost for prayers and moral support.

ABSTRACT

Even though the press occupies a central place both in the restoration and deepening of democratic government in Nigeria, the precise nature of its impact is a subject of scholarly disputation. The tenor of this disputation is characterized by this ambivalence whereby, on the one hand both practitioners and scholars of the press in Nigeria often praise the Nigerian press for being the most virile in Africa, while on the other hand in analyzing its role in politics the press is accused by the same individuals of not only mirroring but also intensifying the manifold contradictions of the country and the conflicts stemming there from. Based on the entrenched notion that the press, the so-called fourth estate of the realm, is indispensable to democratic government which Nigeria practices, and because the actual impact of the press coverage of issues depends on the nature of the coverage, that is how the press frames the agenda of national discourse, the study considers how the press framed the coverage of Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential elections in the period 2013-2015 using the *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspaper. In addition to the normal research procedure of content analysis employed in mass media research, the study employed in-depth interview for better explanation of how *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspaper framed the themes of the study. Amongst others, the study found out that of the three (3) themes of the study, Boko Haram received the highest prominence followed by the 2015 presidential elections and then corruption; while on the whole there was no clear cut bias along geopolitical lines, the 2015 presidential elections evinced a greater likelihood of bias; that the pressures of the market and the national character of the staff of the newspapers reduced the likelihood of bias. On the basis of these findings, the study recommends increased professionalism for the press in Nigeria, that attempt be made by publishers of newspapers to employ staff that reflect the diversity of the country and the pursuit of innovative research problematiques for the Nigerian universities and checks and balances over the press by bodies like the Nigerian guild of editors to ensure that the power of the press is exercised responsibly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Certification.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
Abstract.....	viii
Table of Content.....	xi

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to The Study.....	1
1.2 <i>Leadership</i> Newspaper.....	5
1.3 <i>The Sun</i> Newspaper.....	7
1.4 Statement of the Research Problem.....	7
1.5 Research Questions	8
1.6 The Research Objectives	8
1.7 Research Assumptions.....	9
1.8 Justification.....	10
1.9 Scope and Limitation of the research.....	13
1.10 Methodology.....	14
1.10.1 Data Collection and Sample Size.....	15

1.10.2 Data Analysis.....	16
1.10.3 Operationalization.....	17
1.11 Break Down of Chapters.....	18

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction.....	19
2.2 Media and Politics In Nigerian Democracy.....	19
2.3 Ethnicity and Press Reportage in Nigeria.....	21
2.4 Geopolitics and Press Reportage in Nigeria.....	26
2.5 Political Party Affiliation and Press Reportage in Nigeria.....	30
2.6 Regime Proximity and Press Reportage in Nigeria.....	34
2.7.0 Theoretical Framework.....	35
2.7.1 Assumptions of Framing Theory.....	38

CHAPTER THREE

ORIGIN, EVOLUTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE PRESS IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction.....	45
3.2 History of The Press In Nigeria.....	45

3.3 The Press Under Military Rule.....	49
3.4 The Structure of Nigerian Press.....	51

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction.....	54
4.1 Frequency of Coverage to Boko Haram, Corruption and The 2015 Presidential Elections.....	54
4.2.0 Distribution of Prominence of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> Newspaper.....	61
4.3.0 Tone of Coverage of Boko Haram, Corruption and The 2015 Presidential Elections.....	69
4.5 Interview Responses For The Direction of Editorials And News Stories For <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership Newspapers</i>	84
4.6 Discussion of Research Propositions.....	86
4.7 Summary of Findings.....	90

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction.....	93
5.2 Summary.....	93

5.3 Conclusion.....	94
5.4 Recommendations.....	95
References.....	97
Appendix A.....	105
Appendix B.....	108
Appendix C.....	115
Appendix D.....	125
 List of Tables	
Table 4.1.1 Frequency of Coverage of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2013.....	54
Table 4.1.2 Frequency of Coverage of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2014.....	56
Table 4.1.3 Frequency of Coverage of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2015	57
Table 4.2.1 Page Placement of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2013.....	61
Table 4.2.2 Page Placement of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2014.....	63
Table 4.2.3 Page Placement of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2015.....	65
Table 4.3.1 Tone of Stories of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2013.....	69
Table 4.3.2 Tone of Stories of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2014.....	71
Table 4.3.3 Tone of News Stories for <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2015.....	73

Table 4.3.5 Editorials of <i>the Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> for 2013.....	77
Table 4.3.6 Tone of Editorials of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2014.....	78
Table 4.3.7 Tone of Editorials of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2015.....	80
Table 4.3.8 Tone of Editorials of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2013-2015.....	81

List of Diagrams

Figure 4.1 Frequency of Reportage of <i>The Sun</i> and <i>Leadership</i> 2013 -2015.....	59
<i>Figure 4.2</i> Page Placement of <i>The Sun</i> 2013-2015.....	67
<i>Figure 4.3</i> Page Placement of <i>Leadership</i> 2013-2015.....	67
<i>Figure 4.4</i> Tone of News Reports of <i>The Sun</i> 2013-2015.....	74
Figure 4.5 Tone of News Reports of <i>Leadership</i> 2013-2015.....	76

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

One of the significant developments in the 21st century is the pervasive influence of the media in all spheres of society. The ascendancy of the media in the political realm is loudly attested to by the invention of catch phrases to denote similar or different conceptions of the relationship between the media and politics. Zaller (1999:1) uses the concept of media politics, which he likens to party politics, judicial politics, legislative politics and bureaucratic politics, to denote “a system of politics in which individual politicians seek to gain office, and to conduct politics while in office, through communication that reaches citizens through the mass media.”

The phrase mediatization of politics was used by Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) to describe the growing significance of the media. According to them, Mediatization entails that instead of serving as *mediators* between political institutions and citizens, the media are increasingly becoming a key player in the political arena; indeed, it is impossible to imagine modern politics without the existence and influence of the media. Together with other terms like videocracy, electronic democracy and media democracy, these terms reflect the increasing dependency of political action on the media (Mazzoleni and Schulz 1999). If political action is increasingly dependent on the media, then the character of the media, in so far as it conditions and determines the content of political action, whether functional or dysfunctional, deserves close scrutiny.

It is for this reason that the idea of the freedom of expression, defined as the freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas without interference, has-deriving from this centrality-not only become a pivot of democratic rule, but political communication has emerged

and acquired a prominent place in the social sciences. In the charter of the United Nations this freedom is reputed as the “touchstone of all the freedoms consecrated in the Charter of the United Nations.” Almond perceptively captured this rising significance thus:

The formation of an informed public opinion is a prerequisite to obtaining the consent of the governed on a continuing basis. Autonomous communication media tend to reflect and to sustain homogenous political cultures like the United States and Great Britain by maintaining the boundaries between the other political structures and functions, and between society and polity....the availability of neutral information about the functioning of the political system makes it possible for the electorate to perform its recruitment function intelligently and effectively, and at the same time tends to create an informed stratum of citizens who are public policy oriented rather than interest oriented in the narrow sense (emphasis mine) Almond cited in Hydle (1972:8).

If “...the availability of neutral information about the functioning of the political system makes it possible for the electorate to perform its recruitment function intelligently and effectively...” then it is a matter deserving of close academic scrutiny, not as a mere intellectual exercise, but because of the implications for practical politics of a non-neutral press in a heterogenous society like Nigeria. Put simply, the character of the structure of the media generally and the press specifically, in terms of ownership pattern, as well as the implication of that ownership pattern, for the availability of neutral or biased information, deserves intent consideration.

In his doctoral thesis titled *The Press and Politics in Nigeria*, Hydle (1976) further amplifies Almond’s thesis of the significance of political communication. He concludes with respect to Nigeria that dire implications for democracy, nation-building, peace and progress flow from the character of the structures of political communication. He showed how the sectional contradictions of Nigerian politics have percolated into the structures of political communication in the country with newspapers evidently serving as mouth pieces of political parties and politicians with the militating factor being only economic imperatives.

While most studies (Jibo and Okoosi-Simbine 2003, Tsebee 2010, Omenugha and Oji, 2008, Ojebuyi and Ekennia 2013, Okoro 2013, Olayiwola 2013, Uduodo and Osak 2008, Ofuafor 2008) on the relationship between the mass media and politics in Nigeria argue that the mass media is biased, even when started operations independent of any political party, what is less than clear is the exact role of economic imperatives on the subsequent character of political communication.

For instance Oso (1991: 47) cites Golding and Elliot who have this to say on how economic imperatives affect the character of the structures of political communication: “The search for new and larger readerships draws the press away from a strident factionalism and toward a more central band of opinion, in which a mix of apparent neutrality and entertainment makes a paper attractive as much as influential.” But Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013:113) contend that “...the profit-driven terrain where the media corporations operate tends to compel journalists to aid their financial supporters, thereby making reports to be driven progressively by free market rather than the truth.” So, even when Oso (1991) reduces being political for the media to opposition to the colonial government in the turbulent context of colonial Nigeria, and proceeds on that basis to define as apolitical the *Daily Times* established in 1926 for the simple reason that it assumes a non-adversarial posture to the colonial government, it can be contended, in line with Marxist political economy, that the owners of capital are not without a political interest or affiliation. Simply put, in refusing to publish anything critical of the colonial government, the owners of capital in the *Daily Times* (Oso 1991 uses the word capitalization to label the infusion of business capital in the media industry) have shown where their allegiance lies.

In his seminal work on the press and politics in Nigeria, Omu (1978:29) captures this delicate intertwining of political and economic considerations in newspaper publishing in these words: “Emphasis on the paramountcy of economic motive, however, could distort what was and has always been a complex situation. A few newspapers were established in the early 1920s largely for reasons of elective propaganda and political rivalry and even those inspired by considerations of profit did not necessarily exclude the demands of political ambition and patriotic inclination.”

However, the media in Nigeria has carved for itself a niche that cannot be tampered with without doing harm to Nigeria’s democratization project as studies, both theoretical (eg McNair 1995) and empirical (for instance Egbon 2002, Oso 2013) have shown that the media occupies an important place in a democracy. It is in recognition of this that successive Nigerian constitutions have stipulated mandates for the media and provided constitutional guarantees of its activities (Sections 22 and 39 of the 1999 Constitution as amended).

The vicissitudes of the Nigerian state from post colonial times to date has further taken its toll on the thin veneer of professionalism overlying the essentially partisan kernel of the media. As Olayiwola (1991) avers: “From colonial era to independence period, to military interregnum, the Nigerian press has been overtly partisan. Nearly all papers in Nigeria started in association with political parties.” But this view may be due to a retest since ownership and control of the press in Nigeria have undergone significant changes in the fourth republic. Moreover, the two newspapers selected for this study, *Leadership* and *The Sun*, all started independent of any political parties. Whether this means the possibility of non-partisanship irrespective of the political affiliations of the publishers, or bias is still evidenced despite the theoretical independence of the newspapers, is an issue the study hopes to illuminate.

Arguing along the same line as Olayiwola, Oso (n.d.) explains that political partisanship of the press emerged with the onset of electoral politics in Nigeria following the constitutional amendments of the 1920s. He used the phrase instrumentalization of the press to refer to this development whereby the press was used to pursue the dual goals of political party interests and the political ambition of the proprietors. In line with Olayiwola (1991), Oso further explains that the Second Republic (1978-1983) saw the re-emergence of party-affiliated newspapers in the country. Probably, the most prominent of these papers were the *Concord* and *Sunday Concord* owned by the business mogul, the late M.K.O. Abiola, who was then a prominent member of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN); and *The Guardian* owned by another business mogul, Alex Ibru. Other papers of the era included *The Democrat* owned by a group of Northern politicians and businessmen, the *Advocate* owned by Chief Adisa Akinloye, the National Chairman of the NPN, the *Weekly Eagle* owned by the flamboyant politician, K.O. Mbadiwe, Vice-President Alex Ekwueme's *Trumpet*, *Nigerian Call* owned by Victor Akan, *The Sun* owned by Anthony Enahoro, *The Nation* owned by Dr. Nwakemma Okoro; *The Nigerian Tribune* resumed its function as Chief Awolowo and his party, Unity Party of Nigeria (U.P.N.)'s propaganda organ.

Furthermore, Okidu (2011) opines that although the Nigerian media can deploy its powers to address a common enemy, it is "...ethnically and to a lesser extent religiously oriented." He showed how in colonial times newspapers like *The West African Pilot*, *The Ijebu Weekly* and *The Star of Oduduwa* were used to pursue the political ambitions of Nnamdi Azikwe and Obafemi Awolowo in the 1940s. In this battle which raged fiercely and bitterly, even the ethnic groups from which these political figures came from were denigrated. When the then Northern region appeared on the press scene, via the publication of *Gaskiya TaFi kwabo* in 1939

and, subsequently, *The Nigerian Citizen* in 1949 (later succeeded by *New Nigerian*), it was in order to have a voice to represent the region's interests (Okidu 2011).

1.2 Leadership Newspaper

A national newspaper symbolically situated in the nation's capital, *Leadership* started in a five bedroom apartment in Garki II Area of Abuja with 12 staff members. *Leadership* was established on 1st October 2004 as a weekly newspaper. The newspaper was easily accepted by the reading public because its founder Sam Nda Isaiah was a bestselling author having published a book *Last Word*, a compilation of some of his articles from his days as a columnist with *The Daily Trust*. By the end of 2006 the newspaper had become popular as a barometer for gauging public policy issues with a strong readership in Abuja, the country's Federal Capital Territory.

In keeping with the trend of digitalization, *Leadership* set up its site (www.Leadership.ng) which attracts some ten million visitors per month and no fewer than 285,550 likes. The newspaper's site is the third busiest among Nigeria's news twiterratti. According to the September 30th *Leadership* Special Edition 2014, the paper has a Staff strength of 460, and *Leadership* can be found in all the 36 states of Nigeria and the FCT Abuja

The newspaper became a daily on February 1 2006. The varied forms in which it appears in Nigeria newspapers space include *Leadership Daily* (Monday-Thursday), *Leadership Friday*, *Leadership Weekend*, *Leadership Sunday*, *Government*, *Le Vogue*, *Leadership Hausa* and www.Leadership.ng. For its excellence the newspaper has been awarded newspaper of the year twice in the last five years by the Abuja Newspaper Vendors Association and as the most improved newspaper. According to its website (www.Leadership.ng) the secret for its excellence is embodied its mission statement:

Leadership is not a regional or sectional newspaper. It is a national newspaper symbolically embedded in the nation's capital. We shall stand up for good governance. The paper shall defend the interest of the Nigerian state even against its leaders and we shall raise our pen at all times in defense of what is right. These are the values by which we intend to be assessed. We shall never, ever, for any reason forget the noble reason of our coming into being: **For God and Country!** (emphasis in original)

1.3 The Sun Newspaper

On the other hand, *The Sun* newspaper is published by *The Sun* publishing limited, which is a registered limited liability company registered in Nigeria. Headquartered in Lagos but with regional offices in Enugu, Kaduna, Jos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Abuja as well as 42 other branches nationwide, it is a media and entertainment company which commenced operation on January 18th 2003 first as a weekly, before going daily under the title *The Sun* on June 16th 2003. The all-soccer sports daily, *Soccerstar* was added to the stable on 20th February, 2005.

According to its website(www.sunnewsonline.com) the newspaper envisions itself “to be a dominant media content provider and entertainment company in Nigeria and Africa through the pursuit of excellence in delivering innovative and quality media and entertainment product.” The mission the newspaper has defined for itself is: “To practice journalism in the classical tradition of presenting the news and features in an exciting style, with impact, objectivity and appeal that generate returns to all stakeholders: the society, the investors and the practitioners.”

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that there is a controversy over the factors which determine how the press frames issues in Nigeria. Political party affiliation, regime proximity, geopolitical loyalties, ethnicity, religion and economic imperatives are some of the

competing variables being speculated to account for how the press frames issues in Nigeria. While Ezegwu (2012), Enwefah (2010), Agaje 1993 cited in Oso 2013, among others insist that ethno-regional loyalties is key to understanding political partisanship, Oso (1991) and Omenugha and Majority (2008) believe economic consideration has reduced the likelihood of press bias in Nigeria. Omu (1978), Hyde (1972), Onoja (2005) and Olayiwola (1991), however, hold political party affiliation to be the determining factor for how the press frames national issues. Rather less prominently, Okidu (2011) and Kukah (1991) impute religious undertones to the framing of national issues in Nigeria. It is on the basis of this allegations of partisanship by journalists and academics as well as the contention over the factors that determine how newspaper frame issues that this work, bearing in mind the avowed commitment of *Leadership* and *The Sun* to objectivity in their editorial policies, addresses how *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers framed the coverage of Boko Haram, corruption and the presidential election in Nigeria during 2013-2015 periods.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What is the volume of coverage given to Boko Haram, Corruption and the 2015 presidential election by the *The Sun* and the *Leadership* Newspapers in the period 2013-2015?
2. What is the level of prominence given to Boko Haram, Corruption and the 2015 presidential election by the *The Sun* and the *Leadership* Newspapers in the period 2013-2015?
3. What is the tone of the coverage of Boko Haram, Corruption and the 2015 presidential election by the *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers?

4. What are the factors that account for the tone of news coverage in the specific cases of *Leadership* and *The Sun*?

1.6 Research Objectives

1. To establish the volume of coverage given to Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers.
2. To establish the level of prominence given to Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers.
3. To establish the tone of news reports and editorials of *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers.
4. To identify the factors that account for the tone of the news reports and editorials in *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers.

1.7 Research Assumptions

The work seeks to test the following 3 propositions derived from a synthesis of theoretical and empirical knowledge in the field. In discussing the framing theory, Scheufele (1999) suggested that the following hypothetical questions need to be raised if we wish to understand the media frame as a dependent variable:

- a) What factors influence the way journalists or other societal groups frame certain issues?
- b) How do these processes work, and as a result, what are the frames that journalist use?

However in the empirical literature reviewed the factors identified as the sources of framing in the media in Nigeria are religious affiliation (Okidu 2011, Kukah 1991), ethno-regional origin (Tobechukwu 2007, Ezegwu 2012, Enwefah 2010), regime affiliation (Galadima and Enighe 2001, Okpoko 2014) and political party affiliation (Omu 1978, Hydle 1972, Onoja 2005, Olayiwola 1991). The factor of economic imperatives is presented in the body of the literature as

a neutralizer. In the context of the foregoing background, the study proposes the following assumptions:

1. *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers increased volume of coverage of Boko Haram, corruption and the presidential election over the course of the campaign period.
2. *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers gave higher prominence to Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential election than corruption.
3. The tone of news coverage and editorials by *Leadership* would be favorable to the North and those of *The Sun* newspaper would be favorable to the South.
4. The tone of the news reports in *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspaper is determined by the regional origin of the proprietors of *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers.

1.8 Justification

While the ability of the media to set agenda in Nigeria has been amply demonstrated in the body of the existing literature (eg Tsegysu and Ogoshi 2016, Okwuchukwu 2014, Ekhareafu and Ngonso 2013), what has only received partial treatment, is the direction or tone in which agenda is set by the press. Where press coverage has been addressed it has mostly been on the basis of space allotment and prominence as measured through placement of stories in the front, middle or back page as well as the sensational captioning of stories (Ojebuyi and Ekennia 2013, Tobechukwu 2007). In this case the study is an attempt complement what has been discussed in the literature on how the press, specifically *Leadership* and *The Sun* cover Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election. Moreover none of the studies consulted has dealt with the issue of how the two newspapers selected covered the sub themes of the study in the period of 2013-2015.

The research restricts itself to news stories and editorials on Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential elections as content categories. The news stories are categorized according to whether they are placed in the front, inside and back pages. The significance of the page prominence of a story is that the placement does have an important influence on whether or not the public is exposed to the framing of the story. Freyenberger (2013) opines that the news story must be read in order for one to be influenced by the frame of the story and page placement plays a major role in how prominent a story is to the newspaper. Also, the news stories are categorized as favorable, neutral or unfavorable to bring out any biases. The editorials, which are also categorized as favorable, neutral or unfavorable, have been added because they represent the official position of the newspaper.

Furthermore, the editorial has been taken as an additional unit of analysis because the work intends to go beyond the mere agenda setting role of the media. While news reports, by their placement and captioning may determine for their audience what to think about, the editorial has the capacity to actually influence what the audience thinks. This is because the editorial is the subjective opinion of the newspaper, and, correspondingly, goes beyond the mere reporting of news and the sensational framing and captioning of same, to criticism and persuasion which have the ability to reinforce or even create bias. The significance of the editorial, especially in respect of how it informs and forms audience views, was explained in these words by Tomasky (2003:4):

On its front page, a newspaper shows the world its smiling-or perhaps scowling-face. But it is on its editorial page that a newspaper bares its soul. In its news, sports, and culture pages, a newspaper makes an effort to reflect the world; merely to describe it, hopefully in a fair and accurate and considered fashion. But on its editorial page, and only on its editorial page, a newspaper attempts to do something more than describe: It seeks

to advise, argue, commend, rebuke; to imagine the world as it wishes it to be, not simply to describe it as it is.

More over Tobechukwu and Olaitan (2009) have rightly remarked that many a reader are too busy to make sense of the bewildering swelter of news hence the recourse to the editorial as ready interpreter of events. This is what gives the editorial significance as a possible molder of public opinion.

The two newspapers in this study were chosen because of their ownership. While *Leadership* is owned by Sam Nda-Isaiah of northern extraction, *The Sun* is owned by the former governor of Abia State, Orji Uzor Kalu. The choice, however, is not informed by any preconceived notion of their geopolitical allegiance, i.e. that they represent ‘the North or the South.’ In fact the study seeks to bring under close scrutiny the geopolitics of information thesis of political partisanship using newspapers that are located in the Southern parts of Nigeria (*The Sun* Headquartered in Lagos) and in the Northern ((*Leadership* Headquartered in Abuja)) parts of Nigeria.

Also the two newspapers are privately owned, and were established during the fourth republic within one year of each other (*The Sun* was established on 18 January 2003 while *Leadership* was established on 1 October 2004). It is hoped that these two facts would permit the researcher to assess the geopolitics of information or regional parallelism thesis which posits a contingency of interest between the geopolitical origin of the proprietor of a news paper and the pattern of bias it displays. Secondly the influence of commercial imperatives could be gauged since both are privately owned. This however is not to undermine the role that readership and spread has on the choice of the two newspapers.

The analysis is structured along these sub-themes:

1. Boko Haram
2. Corruption
3. The 2015 Presidential Election

Boko Haram has been chosen as sub-theme because of how much of a threat it constitutes to the Nigerian state. Also, if a newspaper is not just a private venture, but a public trust as mass media scholars (Coleman, Anthony and Morrison 2009) uphold, then in Boko Haram the *The Sun* has an opportunity to live up to its emblem of being the “Voice of the Nation.” Equally, editorializing on Boko Haram provides for *Leadership* an opportunity to prove its logo: “for God and Country.”

The inclusion of corruption as a sub-theme in this work has been informed by the fact that, if not in fact, in the perception of Nigerians at least, corruption is the bane of all round development. Thirdly, the 2015 presidential election has been added because of the central place election occupies in a democratic government (Egbon 2002). The mass media is so significant to democratic government that it is called the fourth estate of the realm, and the development of the democratic government linked to development of the system of mass communication (Oso 2013). Living up to this reputation should doubtless involve covering elections with due diligence especially in the intensely political charged atmosphere preceding the 2015 general elections.

1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The study is limited to the daily English version/ edition of *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers in the period 2013 to 2015. The study also used the whole 7 days of the week as opposed to just the five (5) working days to fore stall against the possibility that some editions of the newspaper might not be available. March 2015 marks the terminal point of the study because

the presidential elections held on 28th March effectively ending reference to the 2015 presidential election, as well any politicization, if any, that the campaign might have imbued the coverage of the other two sub-themes of the study. It is hoped that new findings as regards press bias in the Fourth Republic may emerge, since studies in respect of the first, second and third republics often claim unabashed partisanship informed either by the political affiliations and or geopolitical origin of proprietors.

The period 2013-2015 was selected because the Boko Haram insurgency, which is one of the themes along which the study is structured, emerged and achieved national prominence during the period. The 2015 terminal point has been chosen because it puts under the purview of the study the electioneering period of the 2015 general elections and the press is a useful measure of the changing political temperature especially in moments of tension, which, invariably, are what election seasons have become in Nigeria. Moreover, other works (e.g Daramola, 2013) have asserted that election periods come with heightened polarization along partisan lines.

The study was constrained by the availability of newspapers for sampling. Where the libraries do not have all the 30 or 31 daily editions for a month, the range of samples are affected with the effect that some samples end up being too close to each other. Another constraint was access to some of the interviewees. While the study intended to interview the Proprietors, Managing Directors as well as the editors of the two newspapers, making it six (6) interviewees, in the end only 3 interviewees cooperated. These are the Group Managing director and weekend editor of *Leadership* and the daily editor of *The Sun* newspapers. Efforts, running into months, to get the proprietors, that is Sam Nda Isaiah for *Leadership* and Orji Uzor Kalu for *The Sun* proved abortive. Even the recourse to email the interview questions as a questionnaire to these individuals, as well as the erstwhile Managing Director/Editor-in-Chief, Femi Adesina did not

yield any results. Summarily in the survey component of the research design, three (3) individuals comprising two (2) (Group Managing Director and Editor *Leadership* Weekend) from *Leadership* and one (1) from (Editor *The Sun*) *The Sun* were interviewed.

1.10 Methodology

The research employed content analysis (quantitative and qualitative) and survey method of study. Whereas structural content analysis Izah (n.d.) relates to space allotment and positioning of stories, the qualitative content analysis relates to the interpretation of the text in terms of its tone, which is usually explained in terms of whether it is positive/favorable, neutral or negative/unfavorable. Again as Izah (n.d.) further explicates, the type of content analysis adopted by the researcher is dictated by the research question. The choice of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis has therefore been informed by the research problem which seeks to address how the press represented by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspaper framed the identified national issues. While the placement of news story and frequency or volume of reportage is usually used in mass media research, this study stresses the importance of the editorial to the framing of news hence the emphasis placed on it. While the use of words and phrases like the North, South, Muslim north, Christian south, among others, can be convenient pointers to the stand of newspaper on any issue, the choice of the editorial as an additional unit of analysis permits the context of the occurrence of such words and phrases to be roped in, and correspondingly for the considered editorial to be appropriately grouped as either favorable, neutral or unfavorable. Thus, Izah's (n.d.) caution that "...in content analysis we risk losing sight of the forest for the trees" has been heeded.

1.10.1 Data Collection and Sample Size

The content universe of the work is constituted by the published daily edition of the newspapers in the period (2013-2015) under study. This amounts to 817 for each newspaper. The work used probability sampling and employed multi stage sampling which combines simple random sampling and stratified random sampling. The strata used are months and weeks. The use of the week as a stratum is to enhance the representativeness of the sample.

The sample was derived using the Taro Yamane formula (1967) as shown below.

Formula: $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$, where n means sample size, N means population size and e is level of precision which is constant at 0.05.

Therefore $n = \frac{817}{1 + 817(0.05)^2}$

$\frac{817}{1 + 817(0.0025)}$

$\frac{817}{1 + 2.0425}$

$\frac{817}{3.0425}$

=268.52917 for the 27 month period of 2013-2015.

To get the monthly sample:

$\frac{268.52917}{27} = 9.945528$

Therefore 9 approximated to the nearest whole number is the monthly sample for each of the newspaper.

A coding sheet designed by the researcher was used for data collection using basically editorials and news articles as the content categories. For the survey component of the methodology, interviews and open-ended questionnaires for the editors and managing directors of *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspaper are used to supplement the data generated from the newspapers.

1.10.2 Data Analysis

The data generated were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitatively, tabulation and percentages have been employed. For the qualitative dimension the content analytical technique of Key Word in Context (KWIC), where specific words like the North, South, Arewa, Muslim North, Christian South, etc are used as pointers to the presence or absence of bias along geopolitical lines, was used to supplement the quantitative analysis. The discussion of data generated was guided by the three (3) sub-themes namely corruption, Boko-Haram and the 2015 presidential election. Beneath each sub-theme are presented a table which has columns for favorable, neutral and unfavorable editorials. Accordingly the significant categorizations are favorable and unfavorable which shall serve as pointers to the presence or absence of bias. Because the work, amongst other research objectives, seeks to test the geopolitical of information thesis in the highly combustible atmosphere that preceded the 2015 general elections, the categories, favorable neutral and unfavorable are given this qualified operational definitions.

- favorable: for the *Leadership* newspaper, a favorable entry would be an entry (a news story or editorial) in the newspaper concerned with corruption, Boko Haram and The 2015 Presidential Election, which unduly supports the Northern parts of Nigeria, conceived here not just to embed the North central, North East, and North West geopolitical zones as entities with objective existence, but as a self-conscious subjective entity. By the same token, a favorable item for *The Sun* would be an item on corruption, Boko Haram or the 2015 presidential election which unduly supports the southern parts of Nigeria, conceived here not just to cover the south East, South west and the South South as entities with objective existence but as a self-conscious subjective entity.

- Unfavorable: This refers to an item concerned with Boko Haram, corruption and The 2015 Presidential Election, which by its tone is against the northern parts of Nigeria as defined above for *Leadership* newspaper, or against the southern parts of Nigeria as defined above for *The Sun* newspaper.
- Neutral: these are items that though relevant for being concerned with Boko Haram, corruption or the 2015 presidential Election are not biased either for or against the North or South. This means, for instance, that an article that is unfavorable to the regime or PDP in the case of *Leadership*, would be categorized as neutral in so far as they are not biased for or against the northern parts of Nigeria.

1.10.3 Operationalization

The variable operationalized was the tone of the reportage of the selected national issues by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspaper. In mass media research the tone that any unit of analysis may take is categorized as either favorable, unfavorable or neutral with respect to an identified entity, which can be an individual, a political party, a union, etc; From the literature reviewed, among the lines along which the press in Nigeria could be biased include regime i.e. that the press could be biased in favor of or against a regime (Bisi Aborisade and Omar Ibrahim cited in Ya'u Haruna 1985, Nosiri cited in Enwefah 2010), political party (Daramola, 2013, Oso n.d., Omu, 1978) ethno-regional entity and religious group (Kukah, 1993, Okidu 2011).

In this work however the tone of the content categories are classified as favorable, neutral and unfavorable in relation to the North and the South as supposedly monolithic entities. The caveat must be entered however that this study uses these broad categories North and South not so much because the study shares in the assumption of the existence of the these blocs as

monolithic entities but because the study inquires whether geographical parallelism obtains always in the case of every other newspaper and at every time.

When over an issue an entry in the newspaper, whether concerned with Boko Haram, corruption or the 2015 presidential elections, overtly supports or criticizes a particular region (region used not just to refer to the geopolitical zones introduced during the regime of Sani Abacha but widely used phrases like North, South, Muslim North, Christian South,) it is to be grouped as favorable. In line with the key word in context (KWIC) analytical technique, other key phrases to guide the coding are the socio-cultural and political organizations that are supposedly at the forefront of advancing the interest of the regions. They include Afenifere, Ohanaeze Indigbo, Arewa Consultative Forum, Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra MASSOB, Odua Peoples' Congress (OPC), etc. When an entry overtly criticizes, or is biased against a region, it is to be grouped as unfavorable.

A neutral entry would be one that, even when it mentions a region, does not either excessively criticize or support any region conceived in terms like the North, the south Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, etc.

1.11 Break Down of Chapters

The study is made up of five (5) chapters. Chapter one (1) introduced the research in terms of the research problem, research questions, objectives, assumptions, justification, scope and limitation of the research, methodology, data collection and sample size, data analysis, operationalization, and break down of chapters. Review of relevant and related literature as well as the theoretical framework guiding the study was presented in chapter two (2). The origin, evolution, and structure of the press in Nigeria was presented in chapter three (3). In chapter four

(4) data was presented and analyzed in the light of the objectives of the study. Chapter five (5) concludes the study with summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents review of related literature to help the research deepen the contextualization of the study with existing knowledge. The theoretical frame work, framing theory, is also discussed here.

2.2 Media and Politics in Nigerian Democracy

Gujbawu (2006:137) postulates that the constitutional responsibility of the media in any democracy is to serve as purveyors of democratic ideals and to provide a platform for a just and fair electoral process, objective reporting, analysis and constructive criticism. As a matter of constitutional as well as social, moral and professional obligation, Gujbawa identifies the under listed as the duties of the media in Nigeria:

- To provide a platform for public debate, articulation, and reflection of public opinion.
- To give public coverage to the activities of government and its agencies.
- To serve as channels to political parties for articulating their manifestoes and programmes.
- To educate the people on their constitutional rights and responsibilities.
- To contribute to the articulation of government policies through its agenda setting role.
- To expose and criticize bureaucratic incompetence.
- To undertake investigative journalism with a view to unearthing and exposing abuse of power and corruption among public affairs.
- To provide and defend property rights.

- To defend and expose the violations of the rights of the people.

According to section 22 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended, “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.” It was further provided in section 39 of the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria that every person should be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference. Theoretically, the confluence of these sections of the Nigerian constitution, together with supplementary provisions like aspects of the Electoral Act pertaining to media involvement in election and internal self-regulatory mechanisms, define the framework within which the media is to be involved in Nigeria’s democratic rule.

Earlier, it was provided by the constitution in Section 4 sub Section 1 that the “the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice.” It may be added for the sake of emphasis that one of the principles of democracy is a virile media, commonly tagged the fourth estate of the realm (Tobechukwu 2007). From this constitutional and extra-constitutional supplementary provisions may be drawn further justification for two of the subthemes (election and corruption) along which discussion in chapter four is presented. While election is so central to democracy that there cannot be democracy without election in some form, the sub theme of corruption has grave consequences for social justice, one of the principles of the Nigerian state the media is constitutionally obliged to uphold.

Iwu (2007:4), in a post mortem analysis of the role the media played in the 2007 elections, argued that its role was not indicative and reminiscent of its nationalist pedigree. In his

words: “when institutions with abiding social and moral obligations as the media freely and easily accept unrestrained patronage from individuals and entities that have deeply ingrained contempt for the rules of the game and who are out to buy up the society and subvert sensitive processes such as the electoral process, the expectation by the same media that election will still be free and fair in the face of such assault becomes very unrealistic.” Though unsubstantiated, the erstwhile electoral umpire impugns the reputation of the media, and alleges acceptance of patronage by the media.

Yoroms (2009) reinforced this stand in these words: “but with time the media have been drowned by the emergence of press merchants who use enormous resources to control and mortgage the flow of information to the public.” In the following subsections, the character of this control and mortgaging and the variables underlying them, are examined. In doing this attempt has been made, for analytical purpose, to disentangle the various forces conditioning press reportage under separate sub-headings, even though in practice and the works cited themselves, these forces reinforce each other in determining the quality of press reportage. Understandably there are overlaps in the sub-themes.

2.3 Ethnicity and Press Reportage in Nigeria

Omu (1968), and Ikime (1983) (cited in Onoja 2005) link the ethnicization of politics with the march of Nigeria towards political independence. Because of this trend, “post-colonial newspapers are today factionalized, lending support to elite and ethnic issues and have tended to support the national cause only when their interest is seen to be on the safe side.” Consequently the political parties aligned themselves with this new paradigm of political relations and became regionalized, even as the media men shed their nationalist pedigree and moved further afield into

political contests. In place of the hitherto acerbic critique of government (Omu 1978) emerged political mudslinging on the basis of the ethnicity of the owners of the newspapers (Okidu 2011). In the absence of the colonial government as a common enemy, the press splintered along the line of the ethnicity and political parties of their owners.

Tobechukwu (2007) also concludes after studying four national dailies, namely, *The Guardian*, *Champion*, *Tribune* and *Daily Trust* that the ethnic origin of proprietors determines partisanship especially during periods of national conflict. According to him, the ouster of both Alhaji Salisu Buhari and Evan Ewerem from the offices of Speaker and Senate President, respectively, was due to the fact that the Eastern part of Nigeria and the Northern part of Nigeria are marginalized in Nigeria's press ownership structure. He argued, however, that Bola Tinubu could not be removed because the South West dominated the industry. Tobechukwu's study has, however, failed to adequately address political partisanship on at least two grounds. The first ground is that imprecise terms like "East part of Nigeria", "Northern Nigeria" and "South West" were erroneously used. While South West and East part of Nigeria may pass the test of exactitude and the possession of an empirical referent, the word "Northern Nigeria", though widely used, is problematic because it is alien to the current formal lexicon of geopolitics in Nigeria which recognizes only the North East, North West, North Central, South South, South East and South West. The argument regarding the impeachment of Alhaji Salisu Buhari also contradicts one of the hypotheses of his work: that ethnic nationality of publishers influence editorial content. If this was true, *The Daily Trust* and *Champion* would have deployed their papers to protect their own (Alhaji Salisu Buhari). Tobechukwu has, therefore, not empirically established that, in all cases, editorial partisanship is conditioned by the ethnic origins of proprietors of newspapers.

In his own study, Ibrahim (2006) justifies his choice of *New Nigerian* and *Daily Trust* newspapers on the one hand and *The Nigerian Tribune* and *The Punch* on the other, to investigate the role of the press in the 2003 presidential elections, on the ground that the former pair represents the North of the Niger while the latter represents the South. Similarly, he asserts that the leading contenders, Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Olusegun Obasanjo, represented the North and the South respectively. Similarly, the veteran columnist, Mohammed Haruna, in an interview with News Agency of Nigeria during the inauguration of the board of *New Nigeria* newspapers buttressed this position when he remarked that the “criticism of the newspaper’s bias for northern interest and causes are entirely hypocritical because there is no newspaper that does not champion sectional or group interests.”(Kukah 1991)

Ibrahim’s premise- a commonly held one-that newspapers are biased in support of a monolithic “North of the Niger” or “the South” however is at variance Oso’s position that newspaper are partisan in favor of political parties. He cites the *Nigerian Tribune* as an advocate of Obafemi Awolowo and Unity Party of Nigeria’s interests; not the South or even the South West, as Ibrahim assumes of Nigerian newspapers. In fact Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013) showed how, in the gladiatorial contest between Chief Lamidi Adedibu and Senator Rashid Ladoja, *The Nation* and *Nigerian Tribune* Newspapers were partisan each supporting a different faction in the conflict. Interestingly the crisis was intra party and even led to the factionalization of the PDP in Oyo state. It was also intra-regional (in Ibadan, Oyo State, the South West Geopolitical Zone). The import of this is that while there might an iota of truth in the claim of Mohammed Haruna that there is no newspaper that does not support sectional or group interest in the country, the situation does not lend itself to easy and convenient generalizations.

Tobechukwu (2007) traced the genesis of the ethnicization of newspapers to the feud between *The Daily Service* of Ernest Ikoli and *West African Pilot* of Nnamdi Azikwe between 1939-1944 in the aftermath of the expansion of the political space in Nigeria by the Macpherson constitution of 1951. From Adamu's (1994) elaboration of the said contests, in the course of which he cited Nnoli (1984) and Omu (1978), it seems that ethnic masks were put on what was essentially a contest for media space and political power.

While admitting that the labels *Ngbati Press*, *Ikenga Press*, *Arewa Press* and *Minority press* are not water-tight descriptions, Adebani (2009) still justifies his choice of *New Nigeria* to represent the *Arewa Press*, *TELL* to represent *The Ngati Press* and *Guardian* to represent *The Minority Press* on the grounds that the attempt to so categorize Nigerian newspapers "...reflect the reality in the polity, where the newspapers are seen as defenders and reflections of particular ethno-religious formations. " The second justification for his choice is that in crises situations the newspapers readily become avenues for crystallizing and advancing the position of opposing interests. The second justification may be tenable, but for the first there is the question of the deliberate obfuscation of the real interest of groups to perpetuate the manipulation that the newspapers are capable of. In fact what entities "are seen" to be might be worlds away from what they are in actuality (Usman 1987). That newspapers are seen to be divided along geopolitical lines does not therefore constitute enough grounds for accepting their appearance.

To compound the problem, what was presented as data was a mish-mash of features, opinion articles and editorials without any attempt at systematization. Again, a magazine was chosen alongside newspapers without any attempt to rationalize the choice. With this it is possible to carry out spin in even an academic article, for one can conveniently cite publications that support

whatever conclusion one aims to reach, in the absence of a pre-specified acceptable systematic guideline for the drawing of data.

Adebanwi (2009) also failed to state his sampling technique. Passages from the purposively selected newspapers are copiously quoted to buttress arguments. The consequence is without any rigor Adebanwi reached two conclusions. Firstly that the portrayal of OPC in the press has consequence for Nigerian democracy, and secondly, that there was a bias in the representation of Odua People's Congress by the *New Nigerian*. Even if these conclusions might appear true, the methodological weaknesses identified reduce their scientific tenability.

Corroborating Yushau's (2009: 264) position, Adebayo and Agbaje (2010) argue that the preeminent factor that influences the quality of press reportage is ownership. While Yushau's (2009: 265) position on the intertwining of regional and elite factors in determining press reportage in Nigeria is that "the elite effectively utilize the media either to promote their interest, their region, their personal interest or even manipulate public opinion to their advantage," Adebayo and Agbaje's (2010:) contention is that "It is as an instrument in the hands of the ruling class then that one understands the role of the Nigerian media. Whatever ethnic colouration they reflect then is a function of the use of which they are put by their owners and their having to serve as mirrors intra-ruling class competition , which tends to be exercised in ethnic terms." These assertions signify that there is no iron-cast determinism about the nature of press reportage of national issues in Nigeria. The variables usually held to account for the nature of press reportage, geopolitical zone and ethnicity for instance, have been subordinated to the interests of their elites owners. On the basis of this, the mere fact of been geographically located in the Northern parts of Nigeria for *Leadership* and the Southern parts of Nigeria for *The Sun* does not warrant, on the basis of the two scholarly positions articulated above, for the two newspapers to be termed regional or ethnic. This

study thus considers whether and within what limit the reportage of these newspapers aligns itself with the regional parallelism thesis.

Without premising their choice on any rigid ethno-religious orientation for the Nigerian press, John and Olaniyi (2009) studied these national newspapers and magazines: *This Day*, *Champion*, *The Punch*, *Trust*, *The Nigerian Standard*, *Newswatch*, *Tell*, *The News* and *The Week*. The concern of their study was the coverage of the 2001 and 2002 conflicts in Plateau state and the impact the coverage might have had on the escalation of the conflict. While conceding that operational constraints could have affected the quality of the reports, it was concluded that sensationalism and bias characterized the reports with escalating effects for the conflict especially the 2001 conflict which was couched in religious terms and given more coverage by the press. Though the inability of the press to authenticate stories before publication is another flipside of the press coverage of these conflicts, the study underscored the significant fact that the press framing of conflicts affects the audience interpretation and possibly actions in conflict situations; the more reason why the underlying factors that determine press partisanship in Nigeria have been taken up by this study.

2.4 Geopolitics and Press Reportage in Nigeria

Oyorvbaire (2001:2) attributes the geopolitical orientation of the Nigerian press to its history. While being nationalistic, the press was simultaneously geopolitically partisan. According to him “The fact was that the media grew in the mold of hostility towards government and government establishment,....There was also the fact that the origin and dominant location of the media created for it an instrument for the propagation of a role, which was nationalistic yet,

geopolitically partisan. This is the inheritance at independence in the relationship between the media and the political process.” (Oyovbaire 2001:2)

On their part, Abdu and Alabi (2009) used four national newspapers namely *The Weekly/Daily Trust*, *The New Nigerian*, *The Guardian* and *The Punch* to examine the quality of the press reportage of two conflicts that rocked the ancient city of Kaduna. These conflicts were the Sharia disturbances of 2000 and the *This Day*-Miss World pageantry violence. Rather cautiously, the selected newspapers were tagged Northern based and Southern based. The study concluded that there was bias in the cases of *Weekly/Daily Trust*, *The Punch* and *The Guardian*. While the last two Southern based newspapers were biased in support of the Southern Kaduna Christians, the *Weekly/Daily Trust* rooted for the Hausa-Fulani Muslim interests. The near-neutral posture of *New Nigeria* was attributed to ownership-the federal government had taken over the newspaper in 1976. While the cautious tagging of the selected newspapers enabled the study to avoid the weaknesses of earlier studies, nonetheless the study was able only to show that 3 out of the four newspapers were biased but not why.

The problematic nature of the categorization of the press along north-south lines can be further seen in this way: while Adebani (2009) conveniently identifies an Arewa press, an Ikenga press, an Ngbati press and a minority press which he chose *The Guardian* to represent, Abdu and Alabi (2009) identified *The Guardian* as a Southern-based paper that was biased in support of Southern Kaduna Christians in Northern Nigeria. With this and the spread of interests and alliances-religious, ethnic and political-across geopolitical zones, press bias appears hardly to follow any permanent logic of North-South antagonism. Moreover, Yusha’u (2009) averred that, among others, the character of the society conditions regional consideration-what he refers to as regional Parallelism-in press reportage in Nigeria.

Further more, Yusha'u (2009) developed what he called regional parallelism in his doctoral thesis on the coverage of corruption by the southern and northern press. Regional parallelism, says Yusha'u (2009: 263), "refers to the influence of regional considerations in the practice of journalism. It is rooted in the historical realities of a given country." The characteristics of this phenomenon include: (1) It is determined by location (2) It is supported by the elites (3) It is promoted by political and business interests (4) It is made obvious by the economic imbalance in media ownership (5) It is surrounded by the complexities that characterised the society (6) It is not absolute. While all these variables shed light on the forces that influence regional parallelism, the import of these variables that must be underscored are the role of elites and the complexity of the society which result in the last feature of regional parallelism, that is its not absoluteness. Simply put, owing to the role of the interests of elites and the complex nature of the Nigerian society, regional parallelism is not absolute. The significance of this point is that it allows for a nuanced account of the regional nature of press reportage in keeping with the changing nature of the Nigerian society.

Wakili (2009) surveyed seven Nigerian Newspapers *The Guardian*, *New Nigerian*, *The Champion*, *The Punch*, *Weekly Trust*, *The Vanguard* and *The Daily Triumph* and three weekly magazines namely *Tell*, *Citizen* and *The News*. The problematique of the study was the press coverage of four major instances of violence between 1991-2001. The study concluded that some of the newspapers in their reportage and analysis overtly reflected the views and perceptions dominant in the geopolitical zone or ethno-religious bloc within which they were located. And secondly other papers (*Citizen Magazine* and *New Nigerian*) were detached, balanced and professional in their reportage.

Mohammed and Danladi (2012) concluded from a study of *Daily Trust* and *The Punch* coverage of the post election violence in Bauchi and Kaduna that “one might see a glaring evidence of bias on how the two newspapers covered the two separate incidences. Whereas *The Punch* paid more attention to the NYSC killings; in which of the 28 headlines recorded during the period only 6 headlines talked about the killings in Zonkwa while 22 were of the NYSC killings in Bauchi. Compared to that of *The Daily Trust*, where 54 headlines were recorded, 37 covered more of the Zonkwa killings than the NYSC killings in Bauchi. The authors additionally berated the newspapers employment of sensationalism in their headlines and also wondered whether geopolitical and ethno religious considerations were responsible for this observed bias. While the conclusion may fit in easily with the geopolitics of information thesis that political partisanship follows a North South line, a challenge for this study is that the overall context in which the newspapers operate was hardly incorporated. For instance what might the editorial policy of the newspapers have to say on this supposed pattern? What about the logistics and security especially in turbulent periods like this? The point, therefore, is that more background factors as mentioned above need to be examined before it can be established that there is bias underpinned by geopolitical and or ethno-religious consideration.

From a meticulous study of the editorials of *Vanguard* and *The Guardian* newspapers for the whole of 2006, in which a total of 142 samples, 71 for each newspaper respectively were chosen, Ezerikevwe (2013) found out that by manifest content, the editorials of the press highlighted the evils and the reasons why the masses should not support former president Olusegun Obasabjo’s tenure elongation programme. Out of the 142 issues content analyzed fifty (50) of them representing approximately 35% of the issues treated the power elongation bid of the former president and criticized his attempt to continue in office after 8 years. It should be remarked here

for the sake of emphasis that the editorial represent the official position of a newspaper, and a whole year is adequate enough a time frame within which a newspapers overall orientation should crystallize.

Furthermore, the editorials were analyzed in time of national upheaval which is ideal for deciphering the objectivity or partisanship of a newspaper; as Pate (2002) cited in Omebije (2012) remarked:

Nothing defines the character of the media establishment more sharply than any crisis that pitches nation against nation or one section of the society against another. In times of conflict the responsibility of the media is magnified ten folds by society demand for more news information and analysis, and therefore its increased capacity to inform debate and shape public opinion. Every opinion written or spoken by the media is a potential machete, bullet or bomb in the mind and hands of victims and perpetrators

Omebije's (2012) study, premised on the view that there exists a northern and southern press, with *Daily Trust* chosen to represent the former, and *The Sun* to represent the latter examined "how the different axis of the press has influenced the coverage of its activities." His finding was that "although *Trust* and *Sun* widely condemned the violence and called for a quick resolution to the Boko Haram crisis, their geographical and ideological affiliation of Arewa press and Lagos Ibadan press took a better part of them, as evident in the manner in which they frame reports relating to Boko Haram."

2.5 Political Party Affiliation and Press Reportage in Nigeria

Muazu (2009:40) traced the emergence of the party newspaper to the introduction of the elective principle in 1922 by the Clifford constitution. Interested as the nationalist-cum-newspaper men were in representing their people once the political doors were flung open, albeit narrowly so, the newspaper were streamlined to pursue the political interest of their owners in their new political

parties. When Herbert Macaulay and Horatio Jackson formed the Nigerian National Democratic Party, their newspapers became appendages of their political party. Other nationalist politicians followed suit, and to the normal business of engaging the colonial government was added the attack of political opponents.

Adamu (1994) showed how a power tussle within the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) eventually ethnicised the hitherto pan-Nigeria press largely dominated by Nnamdi Azikwe. Two contestants, Ernest Ikoli (Ijaw) and Samuel Akinsanya (Ijebu Yoruba) vied for a vacant seat on the Lagos Legislative Council. Zik, some Ijebus and the majority of the Ibos supported Samuel Akinsanya while Ernest Ikoli was supported by Awolowo (an Ijebu) and a majority of the dominant Lagos Yoruba. Ernest Ikoli won and Zik together with his supporters abandoned the NYM and alleged tribal discrimination. The spillover of that contest for the Press was a series of bitter recriminations on the pages of *The Pilot* and *Daily Service* edited by Ernest Ikoli.

Adamu (1994) agreed with Nnoli's position that it is possible that the feud was fueled by Zik's perception of a threat to his ownership and control of the national press from the Ikoli-edited *Daily Service*. Awolowo's support of Ernest Ikoli over Samuel Akinsanya (a fellow Ijebu) was calculated to reduce the preponderant influence of Azikwe in Lagos politics. Linked to the fact stressed by Omu (1978) that to the then nationalist politicians a viable newspaper was a necessary part of any campaign strategy, it can be argued that what eventually played out as a regional and ethnic contest was essentially a power struggle. The intra-zone (south west) and intra-party (PDP) god-father versus god-son contest between Chief Lamidi Adedibu and Senator Rashid Ladoja fought on the pages of *Nigerian Tribune* and *The Nation* newspaper also supports this position. This is not to dismiss the fact that the press war may be carried out in scathing regional and ethnic terms. For the present study, the implication of this historical instance of bias is that present

manifestations of bias along geopolitical and ethno-religious lines cannot be taken on their face value.

Muazu (2009) also supports the position that newspapers support political parties. In addition to the example of *The National Concord*, Muazu says governments at the federal and state levels also used newspapers to advance the interest of the political parties in power. Unlike in the first republic when the federal government was without a newspaper, in the Second Republic the federal government had newspapers namely *The New Nigerian* and *The Daily Times* which it could use. Here we see newspapers being biased along regime and political party lines.

Despite accepting the historically conditioned political bias of the press in Nigeria which peaked from the run up to independence through the first and second republics, with the newspapers contributing to the national conflicts preceding both the first military coup and the Nigerian civil war, Oso (n.d.,2007, Adamu 1994) envisages low political bias informed by membership of political parties; this despite the fact that politicians (including Sam Nda Isaiah and Orji Uzor Kalu) own newspaper, although these newspapers are theoretically independent of the political parties of their owners. This diminishing tide of political party-based political partisanship was anchored on firstly, the fact that political parties are legally expected to be national, and secondly the fact that the major political contenders with their eyes on the presidency like to be seen as national and not regional, ethnic or religious leaders. For instance Chief Uzor Kalu captioned himself as a detribalized Nigerian on his campaign poster before the 2007 General Elections.

Adibe (2015) also supports the position that bias relies less on political party affiliation of the owners than other variables. According to him “If, as we argued the media owners influence

contents, then given that political party affiliation or loyalty of the owners may not be coterminous with state boundaries, then the political party affiliation of the owners could be one of the centralizing tendencies in the country among the media.”

Oso (n.d.) notes that the degree of bias has now been attenuated by certain factors. First, all the political parties are legally expected to be national in their structure. Related to this is the fact that the leading political actors with their eyes on the presidency, are trying to present themselves as “national leaders” not champions of ethnic, regional or religious groups. Without any doubt, none of the political actors on the scene today can create the same level of passion and followership or has the charisma that Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe or Alhaji Ahmadu Bello had in their time that could be channeled into newspaper patronage and readership. The creation of states has also further restricted the sphere of influence of current politicians. There is no doubt that the newly found power of some ethnic minorities, particularly the South-South based on oil has somehow weakened the stronghold of the three major ethnic groups (Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo) in the country's power game. This does not of course mean that the newspapers cannot be partisan along the political and business interests of their owners. The most noticeable example is the perennial struggle between *The Compass* (owned by Gbenga Daniel, the former P.D.P. Governor of Ogun State) and *The Nation* (owned by Bola Tinubu, former Governor of Lagos State and leader of APC.) for what has been called the soul of the South West. Ironically, *The Nigerian Tribune* supports the mainstream matra of the Yoruba faction of the P.D.P. This of course does not mean that the dominant social groups either in politics or business have lost the power to influence news production.

Apart from outright ownership, the dominant class has been able to influence the press through the promotion and articulation of certain concepts and discourses which are largely

taken for granted, though ideological. Such concepts include national interest, development and security, democracy and constitutionalism. Oso's (2012) study of press coverage of Obasanjo's second term bid in 2003, discovered that the South-West press was 'blackmailed' to support Obasanjo based on the use of the fear of collapse of democracy and the so called need for the Yorubas to be part of the 'mainstream' represented by Obasanjo and the P.D.P. Here ethnicity was employed to help the PDP and Obasanjo win elections.

Okpoko (2014) observes that almost all the states created from the regions in 1967, 1976, 1987, 1991 and 1996 presently have either a daily or weekly newspaper owned and controlled by the governments of these states. Under democratic government, the nation's experience has been such that the newspapers were virtually party newspapers funded by the state government, as the difference between the state government and the political parties are often blurred in practice. While the fact of state government ownership, the source of press partisanship for Okpoko, tends to put this position outside this work, since *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers are privately owned, it can be surmised that if government ownership breeds political partisanship, might private ownership conduce to less political partisanship?

Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013) showed how, in the gladiatorial contest between Chief Lamidi Adedibu and Senator Rashid Ladoja, *The Nation* and *Nigerian Tribune* Newspapers were partisan each supporting a different faction in the conflict. Interestingly the crisis was intra party and even led to the factionalization of the PDP in Oyo state. It was also intra-regional (in Ibadan, Oyo State, the South West Geopolitical Zone). The import of this is that while there might an iota of truth in the claim of Mohammed Haruna that there is no newspaper that does not support sectional or group interest in the country, the situation does not lend itself to easy and convenient generalizations.

2.6 Regime Proximity and Press Reportage in Nigeria

Galadima and Enighe (2001) aver that the press in Nigeria always support their owners, whether private party or government, in the quest to acquire and monopolize power. They also allege that, in the hands of private owners, the media are recklessly partisan and contribute in fanning the embers of violence and instability in Nigeria (cited in Tobeckukwu 2007). This view was supported by Yoroms (2009) when he asserts that inextricably enmeshed in the vortex of contradictions as the press is, it takes a stand for the powers that be when conflict arises in plural and heterogeneous societies like Nigeria. He particularly cites the regime of IBB where the information minister, Tony Suleman Momoh, via a series of letters titled “*Letters to My Country Men*” attempted to remedy the rapidly declining legitimacy of that military junta.

A report of the European Union (EU) Election observation mission in respect of the 2003 general elections echoed the above position. The report says that the media performance during the Nigerian elections was flawed, as it failed to provide unbiased, fair and informative coverage of political parties and candidates contesting the elections. Federal and state owned media were biased in favour of parties and candidates in power. If the press, whether public or private, are partisan, contrary to the theoretical assumption that democratic government ordinarily conduces to the functioning of the press as a public trust (Ojo and Adebayo 2013), then there is a need for the variables that have come to negate the functions of the press in Nigeria democratic rule, making it partisan, to be empirically established.

From the literature reviewed thus far, and in light of the changes that have taken place both in Nigeria’s democracy generally and the press landscape specifically (a change examined at some depth in Chapter 3), there is a need for the issue of how the press reports national issues to be addressed again, if only to investigate whether and to what extent the press in Nigeria here

represented by the *The Sun* and the *Leadership* newspapers are biased, and if they are what variables condition this framing of news. This need is strengthened by the fact that some of the studies reviewed did not establish against the backdrop of unassailable methodology and empirical fact that the press in Nigeria is biased along geopolitical lines. Moreover, the two newspapers studied here started independent of any political party and originate in the context of Nigeria's latest attempt to practice democracy. At its crux therefore, the study examines how the press reported the three national issues selected with an eye to illuminating the validity of the geopolitics of information thesis in the period 2013-2015.

2.7.0 Theoretical Frame Work: Framing Theory

This research is guided by framing theory. However, because the framing theory is often referred to as a second-level agenda setting theory, an over view of agenda setting theory is deemed a necessary precursor for an adequate understanding of the theory of framing.

Initially postulated from a study of Chapel Hill voters in the 1968 United States presidential election campaign, the agenda setting theory has been replicated in hundreds of studies globally across campaign and non-campaign scenarios in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Australia with appreciable success; hence its popularity (McComb 2005).

Agenda setting theory simply postulates that although the mass media may not tell people what to think, it does tell them what to think about. In the words of McComb (2005) "those aspects of public affairs that are prominent in the news become prominent among the public." This conclusion is arrived at by correlating what the public considers important with the objects in news that have repeatedly been given prominence by the media (McCombs and Shaw 1972). This conclusion is arrived at by asking any variant of this simple question: what do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

In respect of Nigeria, Anaeto, Onabanjo and Osifeso (2008) underscored the importance of Agenda setting theory thus: “The relevance of Agenda Setting theory to the contemporary media parlance could be understood from the strength of the theory i.e. the theory focuses on the audience interaction with the media, empirically demonstrates links between media exposure, audience motivation to seek orientation, and audience perception of public issues and integrates a number of similar ideas including priming, story positioning and story vividness.” Further agreeing with this significance of the agenda setting theory, Suleman and Salau (2012) hold that where a connection can indeed be established between media coverage and audience discussion, and the initial press content is biased, then the press might be doing serious harm to Nigeria’s nation-building effort. If the press is biased, a significant question is what variables account for this bias, and, in what language and images do the press render news in Nigeria? Or simply put: how and what determines the press framing of news?

The transition from agenda setting theory to framing is to be found in the difference between object and object attribute as concerns of mass media as discussed by media effect theorists. While the original or first level agenda setting centers on the transfer of object salience from the media to the audience, the second-level agenda setting (later simplified and refined as framing) revolves around the transfer of attribute salience from the news content to the audience, by which way the media moves beyond telling the audience what to think about to how to think it (McComb 2005).

Agreeing with McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997), Scheufele (1999) has even referred to framing theory as second level agenda setting theory. Scheufele further remarks that not only are framing and agenda setting related, framing is an extension of agenda setting. The framing theory as second level agenda setting is used to describe the “impacts of the salient

characteristics of media coverage on audience's interpretation of these news stories." The research problem may thus be recast in these words: if the press sets agenda, in what tone or language does it set (and frame) agenda, and, more importantly, what variables generate these salient characteristics of news report and editorials in *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers?

Entman (1993) underscored the significance of framing in these words: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation." Because of this significance, Scheufele (1999) undertook a comprehensive review of earlier approaches to framing and then classified previous approaches to framing research along two dimensions: the type of frame examined (media versus audience frames) and the way frames are operationalized (independent and dependent variable). This bifurcation follows Kinders and Sanders (cited in Scheufele 1999) suggestion that frame serve both as "devices embedded in political discourse", which is equivalent to the concept of media frames, and as "internal structures" of the mind which is equivalent to individual frames.

Studies of frames as dependent variables have examined the role of various factors in influencing the creation or modification of frames. At the media level, journalists' framing of an issue may be influenced by several socio-cultural or organizational variables (journalistic routines, organizational pressures and constraints), ideological or political orientation of journalists, other elites, pressures of interest groups and by individual or ideological variables. At the individual level the frame as the dependent variable is examined mostly as direct outcome of how mass media frames an issue. Framing theory divides the factors that operate in the media frame as dependent variable into intrinsic and extrinsic factors. While the intrinsic factors

namely organizational variables are admittedly important, studies have tended to associate framing with extrinsic factors like political party affiliation, ethnicity and proximity or distance to the regime.

An interesting implication of this analytical division of framing into media and audience frames on the one hand, and independent and dependent variables on the other, is that the original source of meaning can be surmised, even when individual frames as dependent variables have not been studied. In simple terms, if frames as dependent variables in people minds are a result of media frames, then the source of the media frames becomes the source of individual frames. This means frames can be studied as cause and effect. As cause frames condition audience interpretation of reality, and as effect frames are generated by internal (editorial policy, socio-cultural factors) and external variables (relationship to power holders). In this study frames are studied as effect or dependent variables and therefore the research attempts to identify the types of frames used as well as the factors that account for the type of frames used by *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers in the period 2013-2015.

2.7.1 Assumptions of Framing Theory

- In tandem with theories of media effects generally, framing theory assumes that mass media have significant effects.
- The subsequent character of the effects of mass media depends on how this mediation (construction of meaning or frame building) was carried out.
- Mass media actively set the frame of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret reality.
- This framing is active because there is an inter play of schemas preexisting in peoples

minds with what the media supplies, that is the frames supplied by the media reinforce or overthrow frames in the minds of the audience.

- While having internal framing mechanisms, the mass media is embedded in an environment which may condition the frames it develops and subsequently transmits to the audience.

Scheufele (1999) define media frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...the frames suggest what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.” In this work it is the media frame as a dependent variable that is the researcher’s concern. Also, the study inquires whether the “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to the unfolding strip of events” in the period under study is the supposed polarization of the country along North-South lines.

Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan (2010) stressed the significance of framing when they remarked that “journalists usually are no neutral actors in the political process.” The above point was further buttressed with the work of Olowe (cited in Ishola 2008) where he asserts that “no news report is ideologically neutral, transparent and innocent.” McQuail (cited in Nwabueze and Edegoh 2010) underscores the significance of framing in these words: “it is almost unavoidable for journalists to do this (framing) and in so doing to depart from pure objectivity and to introduce some (unintended) biases.” The latter part of this assertion is particularly illuminating because it raises the possibility of subjectivity creeping into objectivity for, even failure to editorialize on a particular issue could be informed by partisan considerations. In other words, press partisanship appears to be inseparably interwoven into the garment of journalism.

Similarly, Udoakah (cited in Nwabueze and Edegoh 2010) has perceptibly observed that framing occurs because “mass media products are dependent products-products of social,

political and economic forces.” The significance of this assertion is that, in tandem with the sociology of knowledge approach, the mass media employs frames to report news that it draws from the larger socio-cultural, political and economic milieu in which it is embedded; or, as Nwabueze and Edegoh (2010) aptly put it “...framing shows that news presentation is a function of certain knowledge structure and socio-cultural maps of journalists covering events.”

According to Nwabueze and Edegoh (2010) “framing of news entails giving specific interpretation using words in news presentation such that the audience do not just read about an issue but view it from a particular perspective.” It points to the representation of reality in the light the source wants the recipient to see it.

Omebije (2012) says whatever the audience makes of media information or messages is determined by the way such message is mediated. The impact that media message makes on the audience is determined by the way the media, whether print or electronic, mediates the message it produces. Thus, even when it can be ascertained that the media effects, or there is media effect, recalibrating that effect to serve the goals of society, for instance fostering democracy, depends on unlocking how the media constructs and represents reality in the first instance. Therefore it is proper to pose this question: How and what informs the framing of news report and editorials by *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers?

Framing was further explicated by Semetko and Valkenburg (in Okunna and Omenugha 2008). According to them the media employs five different types of frames in treating news:

1. **Conflict frame:** in this frame complex, intricate and deep-seated problems are simplified to certain conflicts and the performance and style of combatants brought to the fore.

Perhaps this would explain the reporting of issues from the threadbare North-South dichotomy frame in Nigeria.

2. **Human interest frame:** here the media appeals to the emotional side of its audience in reporting events. Also the personal angle is emphasized in this frame.
3. **Economic consequences frame:** the economic implications of events for the nation are emphasized by journalist when this frame is employed by the media.
4. **Morality frame:** in this frame responses to questions by news sources are often clad in religious or moral terms. This frame may not necessarily derive from journalist but from news sources.
5. **Responsibility frame:** the media directs the attention of the audience to the government, group or individual responsible for an event.

To assist in the understanding of media framing, Entman (1993) explained four illustrations of theoretical debates in the study of mass communication. The first illustration discussed is audience autonomy. One of the key concepts of framing theory is the notion of dominant meaning. "From a framing perspective, dominant meaning consists of the problem, causal, evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most people" (Entman,1993, p. 56). The dominant meaning can be identified by a particular framing of a situation that is frequently mentioned in the text and is the most common opinion among the audience (Entman,1993, p. 56).

Another illustration discussed by Entman is journalistic objectivity. According to him, "Journalists may follow the rules for 'objective' reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a

situation” (Entman,1993, p. 56). Because some journalists lack the understanding of framing, they can unknowingly impose their dominant frames on the news. If they had a better understanding of the difference between “including scattered oppositional facts and challenging a dominant frame,” they might be better prepared to build news stories that make each issue equally salient (Entman, 1993, p. 57). A better understanding of this concept could result in more balanced reporting throughout the media environment.

Another key idea in Entman’s dissection of framing theory is content analysis. Entman (1993) stated that content analysis has “the major task of determining textural meaning” and the identity of frames in the media (Entman,1993, p. 57). He warns that coders need to be aware of drawing conclusions about dominant meanings. Proper coding instruction and agreement can result in valid results about issues and the frames that are being portrayed in the media.

Public opinion and normative democratic theory is the final element mentioned. The framing of any topic can influence public opinion and this specific topic deals with the democratic process. Entman stated that democratic process could be influenced by how the issues are framed in the media (Entman,1993, p. 57). Media framing can potentially have an effect on any issue that is portrayed in the media and framing has become a popular topic in research studies throughout the world.

Framing theory provides guides to the identification of the type of frames that have been employed in any communicating text. Entman (1993, p. 52) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. For Tankard (2001 cited in de Vreese 2005), amongst the characteristics of any communicating text that should guide the researcher in figuring the

presence or absence of frames are headlines, source selection, quote selection and concluding paragraphs and statements. By combining the ideas of Entman (1993) and Tankard (2001), this study looks for frames by looking out for phrases like Muslim North, Christian South, the North, the South, among others. Also, the framing of headlines is also considered as a possible pointer to the presence of the regional frame. This procedure was applied both to the general entries as well as the editorials.

One way that media framing has been studied is by viewing the theory as a process. De Vreese (2005) examined the communicative processes of framing. “Communication is not static, but rather a dynamic process” that includes frame-building and frame-setting (p. 51). De Vreese stated that frame-building refers to the elements that influence the structure of each news frame internally (De Vreese, 2005, p. 52). However, external factors are equally as important. “The frame-building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites and social movements” (De Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

De Vreese (2005) underscores the fact that framing has serious consequences at the individual and the societal level. An individual level consequence may be altered attitudes about an issues based on exposure to certain frames. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions. Framing can affect the individual and public knowledge of a news topic, which makes it an important part of this study, since understanding the underlying processes concomitant to the generation and ventilation of frames is sine qua none to neutralizing the negative effects of framing where negatives frames are used, or reinforcing positive frames where these have been identified in any communicating text.

For the present study, the national discourse on Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential elections, all very central to Nigeria's democracy, are being investigated to show how and why they are framed by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspaper. If there are internal and external variables that come to bear in the frame building process, what might these variables? Would they be the elites, say the publishers of the two dailies, namely Sam Nda Isaiah of *Leadership* or Orji Uzor Kalu of *The Sun*? Or, do the political party, geopolitical zone and or proximity or distance to any regime determine the framing of news by these dailies? While all these are relevant questions, the study concentrates only on whether framing in geopolitical terms (a monolithic north versus another monolithic south) was employed by the *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers.

CHAPTER 3

ORIGIN, EVOLUTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE PRESS IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction

The origin of the Nigerian media is to be found in the exertions of the missionaries, the indigenous elites and governments, colonial and post-colonial. But each arm of the Nigerian media, whether it is television, radio or print media, has its peculiar history (Muazu 2009). The print media or the press in Nigeria has a reputation of virility because of the experienced it has

passed through in its 155 years (using 1859, the year *Iwe Irohin* was established by Reverend Henry Townsend as a baseline) of operation. From its inception as a torch bearer of civilization in the hands of the missionary Townsend, the press mutated through the varied historical experience of Nigeria to assume the present clout of vibrancy and partisanship simultaneously. The road to this position would be outlined in the sub-sections below.

3.2 History of the Press In Nigeria

The first newspaper in Nigeria, the *Iwe-Irohin Fun Ara Egba ati Yoruba* which means a newspaper for the Egba and Yoruba speaking peoples, was established by a British missionary Reverend Henry Townsend, to advance reading culture and enlightenment. The twin factors of education and printing technology were the fulcrums upon which rolled Nigeria's maiden newspaper (Oso and Adaja 2007). The newspaper not only endeared itself to the people, its stand on issues came to be highly regarded to the extent that when it was seen to be biased, it became the object of the fury of the recipient of its unfair coverage as in the Ijaye War between Ibadan and Abeokuta. The newspaper was attacked and some of its equipments destroyed for what was perceived to be biased reporting (Omu 1978:7).

Though the contribution of the newspaper and or the missionary press which it spawned was, over all, modest, it nonetheless showed to the nationalists, whose rank was swelled by the return of the ex-servicemen, one of the promising avenues that can be used to further the cause of emancipation (Muazu 2009). But that is not to say the early journalist were fired only by nationalist zeal. Among others, marginalization from the colonial government, denigration of African racial identity and dignity, contradictions in the missionaries application of Christian ethics and the principles of democracy, frustration arising from exclusion or being out

maneuvered out of the Niger-Delta trade, influenced the recourse to journalism. It is for this reason that Omu (1978), while acknowledging the fact that political interest was important, concluded that the situation was intricate and motives were often mixed.

Following the establishment of the first indigenous press, *the Anglo-African*, by Robert Campbell in 1863, other titles, owned by indigenes and foreigners, followed. They included *Lagos Times* (1880), *Lagos Observer* (1882), *The Eagle* and *Lagos Critique* (1883), *The Mirror* (1887), *The Lagos Weekly Record* (1871-1930), *The Pioneer* (1914-1936), *The Chronicle* (1908), *The Lagos Standard* (1894-1920), *The Lagos Daily News* (1925-1950) and *the Nigerian Daily Times* (1926). Accounting for this proliferation, in addition to the factors already cited, was the denial of employment opportunities to qualified Nigerians and under employment where the paternalistic colonial government conceded jobs to the natives.

Oso and Adaja (2007) aver that these newspapers were marked out by certain peculiar features. Firstly they were established by descendants of freed slaves enamored of the English liberal philosophy which they accordingly canvassed for all. Secondly they were politically motivated, politically conscious and directed towards political participation by the indigenous elite. Another major feature of the nationalist newspaper was private ownership. In most instances the owner doubles as the editor.

The first attempt to float a newspaper in the then northern region was the publication in 1931 of a Hausa language newspaper called *Jaridar Najeriya* published at the instance of the Lieutenant governor of Northern Nigeria in Kaduna. *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* (Truth is Worth More Than A penny) was subsequently established in 1939 by the Northern Literature Bureau to further the cause of adult literacy in the Northern Region. In 1945 the Bureau changed its name

to Gaskiya Corporation and three years later added a fortnightly English Language Newspaper called the *Nigerian Citizen* to its stable. These publications were run by the colonial government. Muazu (2009) attributes the delay in the appearance of the press in the defunct northern region to late contact with and settlement of Europeans, the concentration of economic and administrative activities in the South and the late access to Western education.

In the light of the growing significance of the newspaper as a necessary component of any successful political campaign paraphernalia, Dr Nnamdi Azikwe bought the *Comet*, a weekly newspaper, from Dutsen Mohammed Ali in Lagos and transferred it to Kano in 1944 under the new name “the *Daily Comet*”. Thus was birthed the private press in the Northern Region. Azikwe allowed The Northern Elements progressive Union (NEPU) activists to publish a Hausa section in this Paper edited by Magaji Danbata to foster nationalism in the polity.

The extension of the tentacles of the Zik Group of Newspaper went beyond the Northern Region. In Port Harcourt Dr Azikwe established the *Eastern Nigeria Guardian*, *The Nigerian Spokesman* was established in Onitsha while *The Southern Nigeria Defender* was established in Warri. Led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Action group was not left behind in the Newspapering of the Nigerian political landscape. It established *The Middle Belt Herald* in Jos, *The Eastern Observer* in Onitsha, *The Northern Star* in Kano and *The Mid-West Echo* in Benin. The significance of this newspaper spread is that political engagement via the press was expanding outside of Lagos.

These newspapers excelled in criticizing the government which responded in characteristic authoritarian government fashion with a barrage of censorship measures. Examples include the seditious Offence Ordinance of 1909, the criminal code of 1916, the newspaper

ordinance of 1917 and the official secrets acts of 1920. Not content with these restrictions as adequate measures to checkmate what Lugard called “the misleading journalism” of the nationalists, the colonial government urged its friend to establish newspapers that would serve as a counter poise to the nationalist press. *The Nigerian Pioneer* was established in 1914 for this end (Muazu 2009).

In tandem with these measures to checkmate the nationalist press went the encouragement of the regionalization of political parties, and newspapers, using divide and rule by the colonial government. When therefore *The New Nigeria* was established in 1966 by the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) to do what the other newspapers namely *The Pilot* and *Daily Service* have been doing for the Action Group (AG) and the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) respectively, *The New Nigerian* newspaper proudly announced in its maiden editorial that it identifies with “...the North and its people and interest and aspiration...and to champion the vital need for national unity (Muazu 2009).”

The political parties having secured mouthpieces for themselves in the news papers, the stage was set for an all out press war when vital political interests were at stake. Predictably the newspapers were wont to present issues through the lenses of the regional, ethnic and political interest of their masters. Whether it was the Federal Elections of 1964, The Western Region Elections of 1965, appointments to important public positions or the national census of 1963, the press threw caution to the wind and further fueled the smoldering fire of national crisis that was to culminate in the first military coup. Hence for the rein of anarchy that erupted in the Western Region, as well as its echoes in other parts of the country, the pustchist laid some of the blame on the press (Adamu 1994).

According to Onoja (2007) State governments also entered into newspaper publishing, as they needed to protect and publicise their interests and programmes. In 1964, the Western government started the *Daily sketch* in Lagos. This was later moved to Ibadan. The Mid West region carved out of the Western region published *The Observer* on 29th May 1968; East Central state joined with the *Renaissance* in 1973 but renamed it the Star in 1973; Rivers state had *The Tide* while Benue Plateau published *The Standard* in 1973. Others included *The Path* (Sokoto), *The Triumph* (Kano), *The Horizon* (Lagos), *The Herald* (Kwara), *The Chronicles* (Rivers), *Albishir* (Northeastern state), *The Mobilizer* (Borno), *Wikki*, *Uwargida*, *The Scope* (Adamawa) and *Trumpeter/Kakaki* (Bauchi) and *Taraba Insight* (Gambo and Hassan 2007:102-103)

3.3 The Nigerian Press Under Military Rule

While the military mostly ascend to power capitalizing on the rising tide of discontent suffusing the public space as a result of press coverage of the ineptitude of civilian government, the relationship subsequently deteriorates as the military discovers that the responsibility of the press to make a government fulfill its basic obligations to its citizens has to be carried out whether the government of the day is civilian or military (Adeyemi 1995). Out of this realization emerges the promulgation of decrees of varying level of severity to gag the press.

Adeyemi (1995) also identifies two forms of persecution of the press in Nigeria by the military: the first form is “direct actions” (military tribunals, decrees, control of the judiciary, promulgation of retroactive laws, etc.) and the second “indirect actions” (manipulation, coercion, self censorship and settlement). Accordingly, the former form of persecution was associated with General Buhari’s regime, while the latter, amongst others, was ascribed to the regime of general Ibrahim Babangida. Operationally however, hardly did any regime exclusively use direct or indirect measure to achieve its end. For instance, Major General Buhari’s regime also directed

government agencies to place their adverts only in government newspapers while civil servants were warned from speaking to reporters without the permission of their supervisors (Pate 2011)

According to Onoja (2005) at the assumption of General Ironsi to the presidency in the aftermath of the first military coup of 15 January, 1967, he inherited existing statutory provisions mostly borrowed from colonial statute books to control the press. These were the Detention Act of 1961, Official Secret Act of 1962, Newspaper Amendment Act of 1964, the Criminal Code Act particularly, Section 50, 59 and 418 which deals with freedom of information, and the State of Emergency Decree of 1966.

Although not articulated with theoretical clarity, the role that the regime of Major General Buhari envisaged for the press in Nigeria is that of a partner in the urgent task resuscitating Nigeria's ailing economy and restoring discipline in national life (Pate 2011, Adeyemi 1995); in short the regime conceived the press in terms of development journalism. The minister of information captured this imperative thus: "our nation is too young for her newspapers to indulge in destructive sensationalism, deliberate mischief and purposeless slants which will only set us back from the path of progress and development" (*New Nigeria* cited in Pate 2011)

The freedom of the press was to be adjusted and exercised in line with what the regime defines as the national interest. The subsequent tenor of the relationship between the press and the military government can therefore be attributed to determination of the press to exercise its rights and the determination of the military government to line up the press with the exigencies of the moment. Pate (2011) then lists accountability and stability, legitimacy and differences in the perception of the role as the forces that conditioned press military relations, especially during Major Genral Buhari's regime.

Specifically, the Military government used measures like the Decree no. 1 Constitution (Suspension and Modification) of 1984 and decree no. 2, state security (Detention of Persons). Arguably, the most severe measure promulgated by the Military government was the promulgation of the Public Officers (protection against false accusation) Decree no. 4 of 1984. The decree stipulated that both the author and publisher of a story were guilty of an offence if (a) the publication was false in its entirety; (b) the allegation made in the material were not proved in every material particular; and (c) even if the whole story was true but embarrassed the government of the day. Under section 8 of the Decree a journalist or a publisher could be sentenced to two years imprisonment, and in the case of a newspaper house pay a fine of #100,000 or more. Despite its unpopularity, it was implemented to the letter for instance the punishment of two journalist of *The Guardian* newspaper. The subsequent hue and cry it generated notwithstanding, the decree was not repealed.

3.4 The Structure of The Nigerian Press

Hydle's (1972) assertion that "both grammatically and politically, the media is plural" finds ample expression in the Nigerian press landscape. The fissures of the Nigerian society have percolated into the structures of political communication leading some journalists to simplistically assert the division of Nigeria press along North South lines, as articulated in these words: "The ... argument is that the media in Nigeria has always being partisan to the extent that it openly and unapologetically champions ethnic, religious or party interests, and dramatizes, on that basis, several compelling forms of power images, and in the process reproduces the structure of the Nigerian society, its politics and internal contradictions". (Abati 1999:70) Not that this study aligns itself with the position, but the point being made is that the Nigerian press has

multiple owners and multiple interests that may here and there cohere with some of the established fault lines in the country, though this does not necessarily obtain in all cases.

The ownership of the media generally in Nigeria is both private and public. While for the press there has been an established supremacy of private ownership, in the broad broadcast media it is the government that predominates. Geographically the South West zone has more concentration of Nigerian media with Lagos specifically being the hub. Kaduna is the next state of the federation with a high concentration of media. The dominance of Lagos rest on a number of factors: One is the concentration of industries and port facilities in Lagos, two is the position of Lagos first as one time federal capital (1960-1991) and secondly the administrative capital of Lagos State (from these first two points arise the possibility of deriving higher sales and administrative revenue, a vital live wire of newspapers), thirdly is the cosmopolitan character of Lagos and the high concentration of a literate population, and finally is the concentration of printing facilities in Lagos which reduces the cost of production. Kaduna shares in some of the benefits too (Muazu 2009, Gambo and Hassan 2007).

Gambo and Hassan (2007) argue that as opposed to government involvement in publication of newspapers and magazines, which predominates in Northern Nigeria, the involvement of individuals in newspaper publication in Nigeria has rarely being devoid of political consideration, that is the potential political influence which the proprietor may enjoy.

A noticeable trend in the press has been the high mortality rate of newspapers established outside of the South West zone of the country. A study by I-Mets (2002) on the emergence and collapse of newspapers in the North East zone identifies lack of feasibility studies, frequent changes of state chief executives, the absence of a strong financial base, low skilled staff and poor local patronage as some of the reasons. A related feature of the Nigerian media landscape is

urbano-centrism. This means newspapers are concentrated in urban centers for technological and financial reasons.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The chapter presents analysis of editorials and news stories for the *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers. In doing this both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of content analysis were employed. Quantitatively, entries in newspapers are presented in terms of frequency and percentage, while the qualitative aspects relates especially to the interpretation, categorization and presentation of the data in terms of favourable, neutral and unfavourable. Key Word in Context (KWIC) content analytic technique was employed with words like the North, South, Muslim North, Muslim South, Arewa, etc considered in qualitatively interpreting entries. Also, the in-depth interviews conducted were integrated into the analysis.

4.1 Frequency of Coverage to Boko Haram, Corruption and The 2015 Presidential Election

In this section, the frequency of the coded news articles and editorials would be used to assess the space allotment given to the themes of the study by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers

Table 4.1.1 Frequency of Coverage of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013

OS/N	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>		<i>Leadership</i>	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	Boko Haram	290	52	235	36
2	Corruption	157	28	109	17
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	108	20	306	47
Total		555	100	650	100

Irrespective of the not-so-wide differences in the numbers as shown in table 4.1.1 above, it is obvious that Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential election, which in between themselves account for an average of 44% $(52+36 \div 2)$ of the volume of coverage, were deemed important by *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers. The fact that corruption similarly came last in the reportage of the two newspapers for 2013 strengthens this inference.

In terms of contrast, while, going by frequency of coverage Boko Haram was first, The 2015 Presidential election second and corruption third for *The Sun* newspaper, *Leadership*

newspaper, though in the North, gave the highest reportage to the 2015 presidential election, then Boko Haram and finally corruption. While this result suggests that higher importance was placed on Boko Haram, a national security concern predominantly localized to the Northern parts of Nigeria, this can only be a tentative inference for two reasons: the first is that stories on Boko Haram fall under what framing theory calls humans interest, which are stories that lend themselves to sensational captioning in order to attract readers (Semetko and Valkenburg cited in Okunna and Omenugha 2008). And with reference to the interviews conducted, interviewees for the two (2) newspapers opined that consideration for the market, that is the need to attract different readers has reduced the possibility of bias. The second reason is that the study covers 27 months hence the final conclusion on how the newspapers framed the themes of the study and what reasons informed the nature of the framing can only be made when all evidences have been considered.

Table 4.1.2 Frequency of Coverage of The Sun and Leadership 2014

S/n	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>		<i>Leadership</i>	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	Boko Haram	595	67	693	63

2	Corruption			57	6	150	14
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections			241	27	250	23
Total				893	100	1093	100

According to table 4.1.2 above, Boko Haram had the highest frequency with 63% of the frequency of coverage for *Leadership* Newspaper in 2014. While reduced, the 2015 presidential election still had the second highest score with 23% of the frequency of coverage for *Leadership* newspaper in 2014. With 14% corruption still has the least percentage frequency of coverage for *Leadership* newspaper in 2014. In part, the increase of entries on Boko Haram is explained by the escalation of their attacks in 2014 with the kidnap of 276 school girls from Chibok in April, 2014 marking the high point of their attacks. *Leadership* newspaper even opened a Chibok Diary as a permanent feature of their newspaper guaranteeing continuous news on Boko Haram.

Based on the results in Table 4.1.2 above, Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential elections remained first and second in importance, with corruption not only being the last but further dropping in the volume of reportage allotted to it by the two (2) newspapers. Further underscoring the importance accorded to Boko Haram and the 2015 Presidential elections by *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers are three other changes. The first one is the increase in the percentages for Boko Haram in the case of the newspapers; *The Sun*'s volume of coverage shot up to 67% from 52% while *Leadership* volume of coverage of Boko Haram rose to 63% from

36%. Secondly, the mean coverage for the two (2) newspapers also rose to 65% $(67+63\div 2)$ in 2014 from 44% in 2013.

Table 4.1.3 Frequency of Coverage of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2015

S/N	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>		<i>Leadership</i>	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Boko Haram	77	17	168	34.7
2	Corruption	25	6	33	6.8
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	349	77	283	58.8
Total		451	100	484	100

From table 4.1.3 above, it can be seen that from the second position in 2014, the 2015 presidential election climbed to the highest spot on the table with 77% of the stories sampled while corruption still had the lowest coverage with 6 % of the stories sampled. Boko Haram, with 17% of the sample had the second highest score. The notable point is the steep decline from 66% in 2014 to 17% in 2015. Since attacks by Boko Haram did not significantly wane as the earlier scheduled March 28th, 2015, presidential elections approached, the plausible explanation for the higher coverage in favour of the 2015 presidential elections between Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential election is the fact that the elections, unlike any other in Nigeria’s electoral history, was intensely and bitterly contested on both electronic and print media.

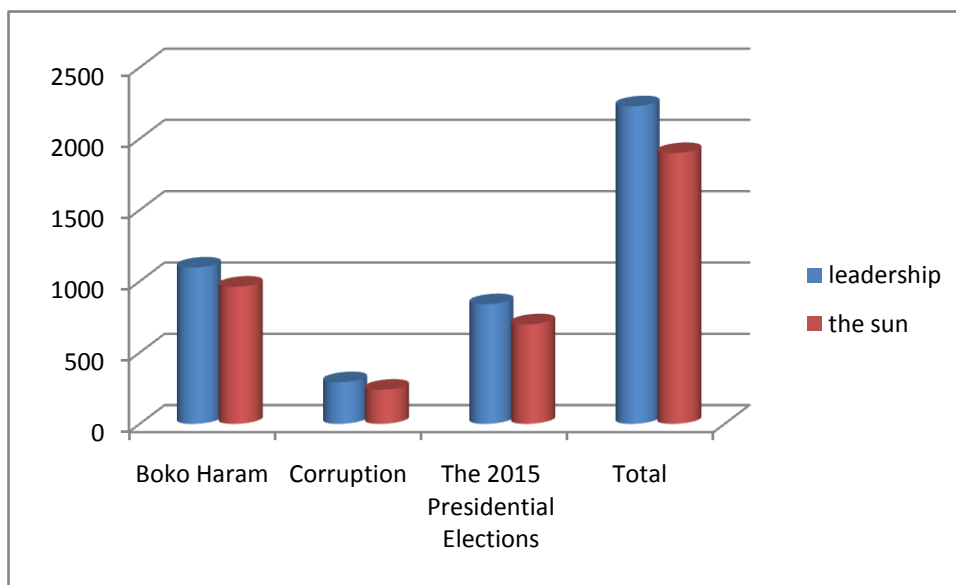
In view of this intense electoral competition, the persistence of Boko Haram attacks which resulted in the debate on the postponement of the elections on the grounds that the service

chiefs could not guarantee security in the states in the tight grip of Boko Haram, is the reason why the 2015 presidential election did not completely eclipse Boko Haram. In other words, discourse on Boko Haram became inseparably linked to the possibility of the March 28th presidential elections holding; hence the relatively (corruption only had 6%) high coverage for Boko Haram by *The Sun*.

For the year 2015 reportage of the themes of the study by *Leadership*, the 2015 presidential election understandably had the highest reportage with 58.5% of the frequency of coverage. The proximity of the election may be said to account for the highest score it had. The 34.7% for Boko Haram meant that Boko Haram had the second highest score for *Leadership* newspaper in 2015. Inseparably linked to the 2015 presidential elections as Boko Haram was, it is understandable that it still had a substantial coverage, since, the discussion on whether to postpone the presidential election earlier scheduled to hold on March 28th, 2015, was on grounds of insecurity, due, largely, to attacks by Boko Haram. With 6.8% corruption was still the least covered of the three (3) themes of the study in the three (3) months of 2015 included in this study.

In terms of comparison, it can be argued that palpably in response to the fast approaching 2015 presidential elections, the volume of coverage for *The Sun* as well as *Leadership* changed, even though corruption was still the least reported of the three (3) themes of the study in 2015. The change is that the 2015 presidential elections had the highest coverage with 77% and 58% for *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers respectively. The mean reportage for the 2015 presidential election was 67.9%, a number greater than the 65% mean reportage that Boko Haram had in 2014. Going by this, it can be surmised that the press was one of the platforms on which the 2015 presidential election was contested.

Figure 4.1 Frequency of Reportage of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013 -2015



Cumulatively, Boko Haram, with 50.6% of the total reportage dominated the coverage followed by the 2015 Presidential Election with 36.8%. Finally corruption had 12.6%. If the importance placed on the national issues which constitute the themes of the study are to be gauged solely on the bases of the frequency of coverage allotted, what the data above has shown is that corruption did not receive attention commensurate with the widely held perception by Nigerians that corruption is foremost amongst the challenges confronting the Nigerian polity. Also, the volume of coverage for corruption by *The Sun* newspaper, which declined over the

course of the period under study, does not square up with the fact that corruption constituted one of the important issues that defined the contest and campaign in the run up to the 2015 Presidential Elections.

For the 2015 Presidential Elections, which has the second highest frequency of coverage with 36.8%, the coverage of it by *The Sun* newspaper rose as the general elections drew closer. On this it can be said that the frequency of coverage of the 2015 presidential election was not only substantial, but it reflected the intensification of the competition and the rising significance of the election as it drew closer. The frequency coverage also showed that the press was one of the channels on which the elections was publicised and contested. For Boko Haram which cumulatively has the highest frequency of coverage, the coverage of it by *The Sun* correctly reflected the escalation of its terrorist attacks.

On the whole, 49% of the frequency of coverage to Boko Haram by *Leadership* newspaper meant that the Boko Haram was the most covered by *Leadership* newspaper in the period 2013-2015. For the 2015 presidential election, the 38% of the volume of coverage which it had meant that it got the second highest volume of coverage by *Leadership* newspaper in the period 2013-2015. Despite the widespread perception that corruption is not only a perennial problem for the Nigerian polity (Ogbeidi 2012; Ogundiya 2010), corruption still had the least volume of coverage with 13%. In other words, going by the volume of coverage as presented in Figure 4.1 above, amongst the three (3) themes of the study namely Boko Haram, corruption, and the 2015 presidential elections, the most important national issue for *Leadership* Newspaper in the period 2013-2015 was Boko Haram, followed by the 2015 presidential elections and lastly corruption.

This prioritising of the themes of the study by *Leadership* newspaper suggests that *Leadership* newspaper was concerned with the issues affecting its immediate environment-the North. This point, which echoes Sir Ahmadu's Bello justification for the establishment of Gakiya Ta Fi Kwabo in 1939 (Okidu 2011), is further supported by one of the interview respondents, who equivocated that: "*Leadership* Newspaper is a national newspaper, we print simultaneously at Abuja to satisfy the Northern audience, Asaba to satisfy South and South East and Lagos to satisfy South West. We look at the north critically. I have not agreed that we are a regional newspaper but we look at the North critically; because when we wake up it is the North we first see; is that correct?" (Interview 2015) Thus *Leadership* might only be construed as a paper of the North to the extent or limited degree that it caters predominantly to the news requirement of its immediate environment.

The difference in the volume of reportage of the themes of the study by the two (2) dailies are three (3). The first one is that in absolute terms *Leadership*, with a total of 2227 entries, reported more on the three (2) themes of the study. Secondly, while the percentage reportage (50.6%) on Boko Haram for *The Sun* was slightly higher than that of *Leadership* (49%), in absolute terms the number of stories for *Leadership* (1096), surpassed those of *The Sun* probably for the reasons adduced above. On the whole, the distribution of coverage of the themes of the study by the two (2) dailies did not significantly evince difference. From the much reported Boko Haram to the 2015 presidential elections and corruption which was the least reported on, the percentage difference, standing at a maximum difference of 1.6 in the case of Boko Haram and a minimum of 0.4%, allows us to conclude that a similar level of importance was placed on the themes of the study by *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers.

4.2.0 Distribution of Prominence of *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspaper

Table 4.2.1 Page Placement of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013

S/N	Theme	Front Page	Inside Page	Back Page	Total
1	Boko Haram	86 (29.05)	196 (66.21)	14 (4.72)	296 (100)
2	Corruption	14 (8.91)	138 (87.89)	5 (3.18)	157 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	21 (19.4)	78 (72.22)	9 (8.33)	108 (100)
<i>Leadership</i>					
1	Boko Haram	78 (33.19)	147 (62.55)	10 (4.25)	235(100)
2	Corruption	18 (16.51)	86 (78.89)	5 (4.58)	109 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	61 (19.93)	229 (74.83)	16 (5.22)	306 (100)

In table 4.2.1 above, of the 296 entries for Boko Haram, 66.21% were placed in the inside pages, while 29.05% were placed on the front pages and 4.72% were placed in the back pages. For corruption, of the 157 entries 87.89% were placed in the inside pages while 8.91% were placed on the front pages and 3.18% were placed on the back pages. Of the 108 stories for the 2015 presidential election, 72.22% were placed in the inside pages while 19.4% were placed on the inside pages followed by the back pages which accounted for 8.33% of the stories covered. Of the three (3) themes of the study, it can be seen from table 4.2.1. above that Boko Haram with 29.05% of its entries on the front page, got most of the front page which signifies high importance placed on Boko Haram stories. The next in importance by story placement is the

2015 presidential election with 19.4% of its stories on the front page. The second highest front page placement of stories was for the 2015 presidential elections with 19.4% of the 108 stories for the 2015 presidential elections. While having substantial coverage by *The Sun* in 2013-the second highest-only 8.91% of the 157 stories of corruption were on the front pages.

According to table 4.2.1 above, 33.19% of the 235 stories for Boko Haram reported by *Leadership* were on the front pages while 62.55% were in the inside pages. The back pages had 4.25% of the 235 Boko Haram stories in *Leadership* newspaper in the year 2013. For corruption, 16.51% of the 109 total entries were on the front pages. The inside pages had 78.89% of the corruption stories of *Leadership* newspaper in 2013. The rest of the corruption stories for *Leadership* in 2013, which is 4.58%, were placed on the back pages. Table 4.5.1 above has also shown that 19.93% of the 306 stories for the 2015 presidential election were on the front pages. The inside and back pages had 74.83% and 5.22% respectively.

This result has revealed that Boko Haram with 33.19% of a total of 235 placed on the front page in 2013 has the highest importance. The 2015 presidential elections received the second highest importance followed by corruption. The fact that the 2015 presidential elections has the highest frequency of reportage with 306 entries further buttresses the point being made that Boko Haram is considered highly important by *Leadership* newspaper in 2013.

Table 4.2.2 Page Placement of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2014

The Sun

S/N	Theme	Front Page	Inside Page	Back Page	Total
1	Boko Haram	145 (24.36)	422 (70.92)	28 (4.70)	595 (100)

2	Corruption	6 (10.52)	51 (89.47)	0 (0)	57 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	38 (15.96)	176 (73.94)	24 (10.08)	238 (100)

Leadership

1	Boko Haram	243 (35.06)	420(60.60)	30 (4.32)	693 (100)
2	Corruption	19 (12.67)	116 (77.33)	15 (10)	150 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	49 (19.6)	170 (68)	31 (12.4)	250 (100)

In table 4.2.2 above, 24.36% of the stories sampled for Boko Haram were placed on the inside pages. The inside pages had 70.92% of the sampled stories for Boko Haram while the back pages had 4.70% of the sampled stories for Boko Haram. For corruption, 10.52% of the sampled stories were on the front pages while 89.47% were on the inside pages. The back pages had no entry for corruption in the year 2014. The placement of the coverage of the 2015 presidential election in Table 4.2.2 for *The Sun* above has shown that of the 238 stories sampled, 15.96% were on the front pages while 73.94% were in the inside pages. On the back pages were 10.08% of the sampled stories.

As with 2013, so also in 2014; Boko Haram with the highest frequency of coverage at 595 also got the most of the front page with 24.36%. The 2015 presidential Elections similarly had the second highest placement on the front page with 15.96% of the 238 total entries on the front page. With the least coverage of 57 stories in 2014, corruption also got the least placement on the front page with 10.52% of the 57 stories on the front page. This means that corruption was

not considered as important as the other two themes (Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential elections) of the study.

Of the 693 Boko Haram stories reported by *Leadership* newspaper in 2014, Table 4.2.2 has shown that 35.06% were on the front pages, 60.60% on the inside pages and 4.33% on the back pages. The 150 stories reporting on corruption in 2014 in *Leadership* newspaper were distributed 12.67% on the front pages, 77.33% on the inside pages and 10% on the back pages. Out of the 250 stories for the 2015 presidential elections in *Leadership* newspaper 2014, 19.6% were on the front pages, 68% were on the inside pages and finally 12.4% were on the back pages.

It can be seen from Table 4.2.2 above that both in relative and absolute terms, Boko Haram received the highest priority placement with 35.06% on the front page. The 2015 presidential elections received the next important placement with 19.6% on the front page. Corruption, with 12.67% on the front page, got the least coverage on the front page of *Leadership* newspaper in 2014.

Table 4.2.3 Page Placement of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2015

S/N	Theme	Front Page	Inside Page	Back Page	Total
1	Boko Haram	24 (31.16)	48 (62.33)	5 (6.49)	77 (100)
2	Corruption	1 (4)	22 (88)	2 (8)	25 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	33 (9.45)	299 (85.67)	17 (4.87)	349 (100)
<i>Leadership</i>					
1	Boko Haram	54 (32.14)	113 (67.26)	1 (0.59)	168 (100)
2	Corruption	4 (12.12)	28 (84.84)	1 (3.03)	33 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	27 (9.54)	246 (86.92)	10 (3.53)	283 (100)

Table 4.2.3 above has shown that 31.16% of Boko Haram stories were placed on the front pages by *The Sun*. As usual the inside pages with 62.33% of the Boko Haram stories in 2015 was the highest entry. The 6.49% on the back pages completed the Boko Haram stories for the year 2015. With a total of 25 entries, 4% of the entries were placed on the front page, 88% in the inside pages and 8% on the back page completed the placement of the corruption stories for *The Sun* in the year 2015. For the 2015 Presidential Election, 9.45 % were placed on the front pages while 85.67% of the stories sampled were placed on the inside pages. What was left of the sampled entries for the 2015 presidential elections, 4.87% in all, were placed on the back pages.

With the 2015 presidential elections around the corner, not only did the presidential elections supplant Boko Haram in terms of frequency of coverage, table 4.2.3 above has also shown that with 9.45% of its 349 stories on the front page, the 2015 presidential elections had the highest placement on the front pages. Boko Haram, with 31.16% had the second highest placement on the front pages, and, as usual, corruption, with 4% of the 25 stories on the front page, had the least coverage on the front page. This simply means that in the three (3) months of 2015 under the purview of this study the 2015 presidential election was the most prioritised, followed by Boko Haram and then corruption.

Of the 168 stories sampled for Boko Haram in *Leadership* newspaper for the first three (3) months of 2015, 32.14% were on the front pages, 67.26% were on the inside pages and 0.59 was on the back page. The 33 stories reporting on corruption for *Leadership* newspaper in 2015 were distributed 12.12% on the front pages, 84.84% on the inside pages and 3.53 on the back pages. For the 2015 Presidential Election, 9.54% were placed on the front pages, 86.92% on the inside pages and 5.53% on the back pages.

What the data on Table 4.2.3 above mean is that even though Boko Haram had the second highest frequency of coverage with 168 entries in 2015, it still got the most of the front page with 32.14% on the front pages, followed by the 2015 presidential elections with 9.54% on the front pages and corruption with 12.12% on the front pages. In other words the page placement of *Leadership* newspaper for 2015 shows Boko Haram as the most important followed by the 2015 presidential elections and corruption.

Figure 4.2 Page Placement of *The Sun* 2013-2015

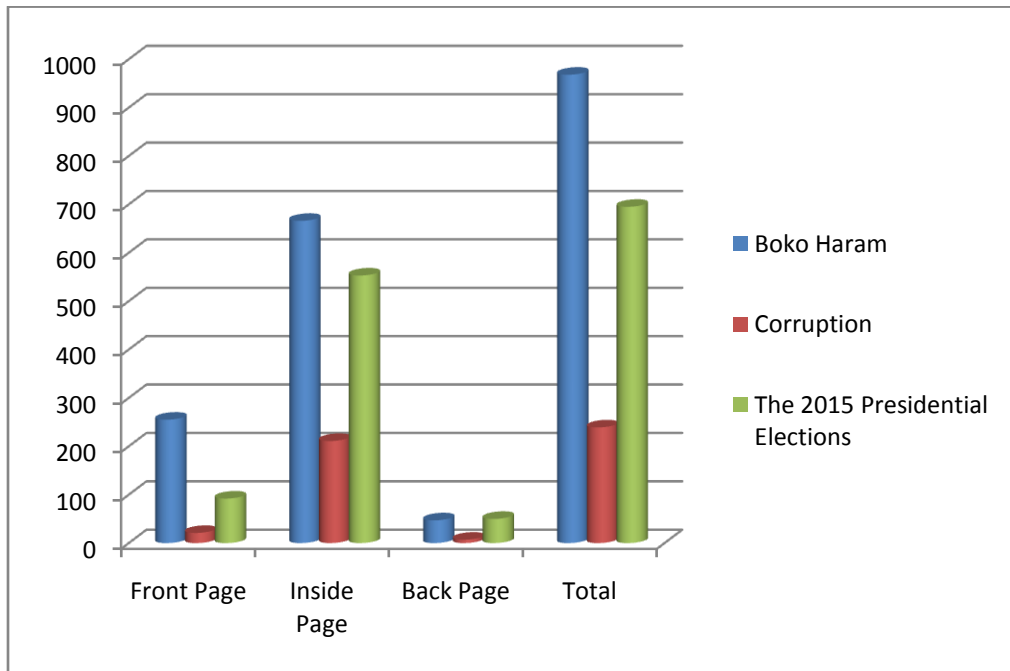
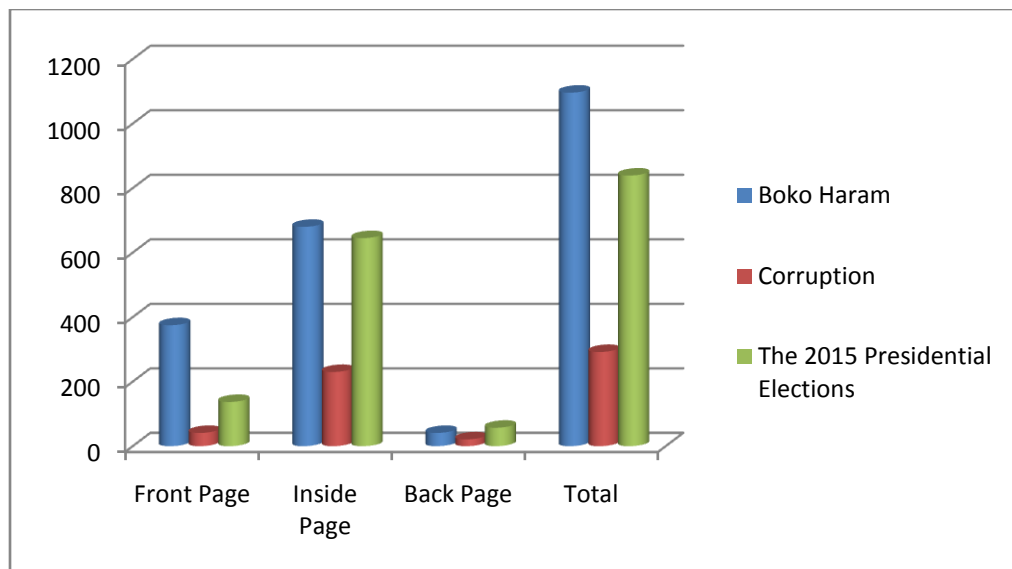


Figure 4.3 Leadership Page Placement 2013-2015



Cumulatively, the total number of entries for Boko Haram on the front page of *The Sun* as presented on Figure 4.2 is 26.34%. The entries on the inside pages for Boko Haram sum up to 68.80% while the back pages accounted for 4.85 % of the entries for Boko Haram for the period 2013-2015. For corruption, 8.78% of the total of 239 entries sampled were placed on the front pages while 88.28% were in the inside pages. A paltry 2.92% of the total corruption stories of *The Sun* were placed on the back pages. For the 2015 presidential elections, 13.23% were placed on the front pages while 79.56% were in the inside pages. On the back pages were placed 7.19% of the 2015 presidential Election stories for the period of 2013-2015 by *The Sun* newspaper.

On the whole, the page placement of the three (3) themes of the study by *The Sun* in the period of 2013-2015 has shown that Boko Haram with 26.34% on the front page was the most prioritised, the 2015 presidential elections with 13.23% of its total of 695 on the front page was the second most prioritized, and, finally, corruption with 8.78% of its total 239 got the least priority on the front pages of *The Sun* newspaper in the period 2013-2015. This inference is further supported by the fact that even the volume of coverage of the themes of the study (where

Boko Haram is first with 968 entries, the 2015 presidential Election is second with 695 entries, and corruption is third and last with 239) for *The Sun* for the duration of the study also aligns itself with this ranking of the themes of the study.

For the page placement of the themes of the study as presented on Figure 4.3, out of the 1096 Boko Haram stories covered by *Leadership* newspaper between 2013-2015, 34.21% were on the front pages, 62.04% on the inside pages and 3.74% were on the back pages. For the total of 292 stories coverage of corruption by *Leadership* newspaper between 2013-2015, 14.04% were on the front pages, 78.76% on the inside pages and 7.19% on the back pages. The placement of the 839 stories on the 2015 presidential election as presented in figure 4.3 above shows 16.32% on the front pages, 76.87% on the inside pages and 6.79% on the back pages.

The import of the data on Figure 4.3 is that in the period 2013-2015, *Leadership* placed the highest significance on Boko Haram, then the 2015 presidential elections and finally corruption. It is also important that the frequency of coverage also shows supports this inference. The only caveat that can be entered to put this inference in perspective is that Boko Haram stories fall under what framing theory calls the human interest frame, which attract readers to the extent that they are reported as soon as they occur. Thus the preponderant front page placement of Boko Haram story reflects not only the importance the newspaper places on them but also their perishability should there be a time lag between occurrence and reportage.

4.3.0 Tone of Coverage of Boko Haram, Corruption and The 2015 Presidential Elections By *The Sun*

Table 4.3.1 Tone of Stories of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013

S/N	Theme	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Total
1	Boko Haram	8 (3)	282 (97)	0 (0)	290 (100)
2	Corruption	0 (0)	157 (100)	0 (0)	157 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	12 (11)	96 (89)	0 (0)	108 (100)

Leadership

1	Boko Haram	8 (3.4)	224 (95.3)	3 (1.3)	235 (100)
2	Corruption	0 (0)	109 (100)	0 (0)	109 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	21 (6.9)	275 (89.89)	10 (3.2)	306 (100)

In table 4.3.1 above, of the 290 entries for Boko Haram presented by *The Sun*, 3 % are favourable to the South while 282 representing 97% were neutral. There were no Boko Haram entries unfavourable to the South for the 2013 sampled stories. Table 4.3.1 has also shown that all the corruption entries of *The Sun* newspaper are neutral. For the 2015 Presidential Elections as covered by *The Sun* newspaper in 2013, 11% were favourable to the South while there were no entries unfavourable to the South. This means the empirical grounds for positing an absolute southern bias in the coverage of the 2015 presidential election by *The Sun* newspaper hardly exists. The direction of coverage of Boko Haram by *The Sun* newspaper in 2013 shown in table 4.3.1 above reveals that only 3% of the entries were favourable to the south and none was unfavourable to the North. The rest of the stories constituting 97% of the 290 were neutral. With

this, the conclusion of a southern bias in the coverage of Boko Haram which the geopolitics of information thesis posits appears to be standing on thin empirical ground. The absence of any editorials in favour of the south would further support this inference.

Table 4.3.1 above shows that in the case of *Leadership* newspaper for 2014 only 3.4% of the 235 entries for Boko Haram were favourable to the North while another paltry 1.3% were unfavourable to the North. The bulk of the entries, that is 95.31% were neutral. For corruption, all the stories (109) were neutral. The data for the 2015 presidential elections displayed on table 4.3.1 above shows that 6.9% of the 306 entries for the 2015 presidential election as favourable, 3.2% as unfavourable to the North and 89.9% as neutral. The data on Table 4.3.1 has shown that an insignificant 3.4% stories on Boko Haram were favourable to the North while 1.3% were unfavourable. With these numbers it can hardly be definitely affirmed that in 2013 *Leadership* coverage of Boko Haram showed any marked bias that can form any basis for tagging the paper as an “Arewa” press as the geopolitics of information thesis assumes. In the coverage of corruption in 2013 by *Leadership* newspaper, there was no bias either for or against the North. The 2015 presidential elections as covered by *Leadership* similarly also showed only a slight bias with 6.9% of the stories covered being favourable to the Northern parts of Nigeria.

Table 4.3.2 Tone of Stories of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2014

<i>The Sun</i>					
S/N	Theme	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Total
1	Boko Haram	6 (1)	589 (99)	0 (0)	595 (100)

2	Corruption	0 (0)	57 (100)	0 (0)	57 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	17 (7)	221 (92)	3 (1)	241 (100)
<hr/> Leadership <hr/>					
1	Boko Haram	3 (0.4)	690 (99.6)	0 (0)	693 (100)
2	Corruption	0 (0)	150 (100)	0 (0)	150 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	6 (2.4)	243 (97.2)	1 (0.4)	250 (100)

For the year 2014, of the total of 595 entries for Boko Haram, 1% were favourable to the South while 99% are neutral. There were no entries unfavourable to the south in the 2014 samples of *The Sun* newspaper. Going by this data, it can hardly be convincingly argued that *The Sun* newspaper in 2014 was biased in favour of the South in its coverage of Boko Haram. As with the year 2013, all the corruption stories (57) covered by *The Sun* newspaper in 2014 were neutral. For the 2015 Presidential Elections, 7% were favourable to the South while 92% were neutral. A paltry 1% of the total 241 stories are unfavourable to the South. While the coverage of the 2015 presidential election witnessed a higher score for the category favourable in 2014 with 7%, this percentage is still not enough to warrant the conclusion that the newspaper fit with the notion of a Lagos-Ibadan or Ngbat Press always advancing the interest of the south.

Table 4.3.2 above indicates that only 0.4% of the 693 stories covering Boko Haram are favourable to the North and no unfavourable entry for the North in the stories sampled for *Leadership* Newspaper in 2014. Most of the sampled stories, 99.6%, are neutral to the North. As

in the year 2013, all the stories for corruption (150) were neutral in the samples drawn for *Leadership* newspaper in 2014. For the 2015 presidential elections, 2.4% were favourable to the North and 0.4% is unfavourable to the North. The bulk of the stories covering the 2015 presidential elections by *Leadership* newspaper in 2014, that is 97.2%, were neutral. These data on table 4.3.2 also did not present any weighty evidence for affirming that *Leadership* newspaper either in its coverage of the 2015 presidential elections or Boko Haram was significantly biased in favour of the North. The reporting of corruption here did not also evince any bias. Thus, in so far as newspaper bias is ascertained using the North-South lens, the *Leadership* newspaper in 2014 did not present strong evidence of a bias for the northern parts of Nigeria. It should also be noted that the distribution of bias and neutrality for the two (2) newspapers were similar; neither was there marked bias for the North in case of *Leadership* nor was there bias for the South in the case of *The Sun*. The two (2) newspapers were also similar in that most of the stories sampled fell under the neutral category.

Table 4.3.3 Tone of News Stories for *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2015

The Sun

S/N	Theme	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Total
1	Boko Haram	0 (0)	77 (100)	0 (0)	77 (100)
2	Corruption	0 (0)	25 (100)	0 (0)	25 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	21 (6)	325 (93)	3 (1)	349 (100)

Leadership

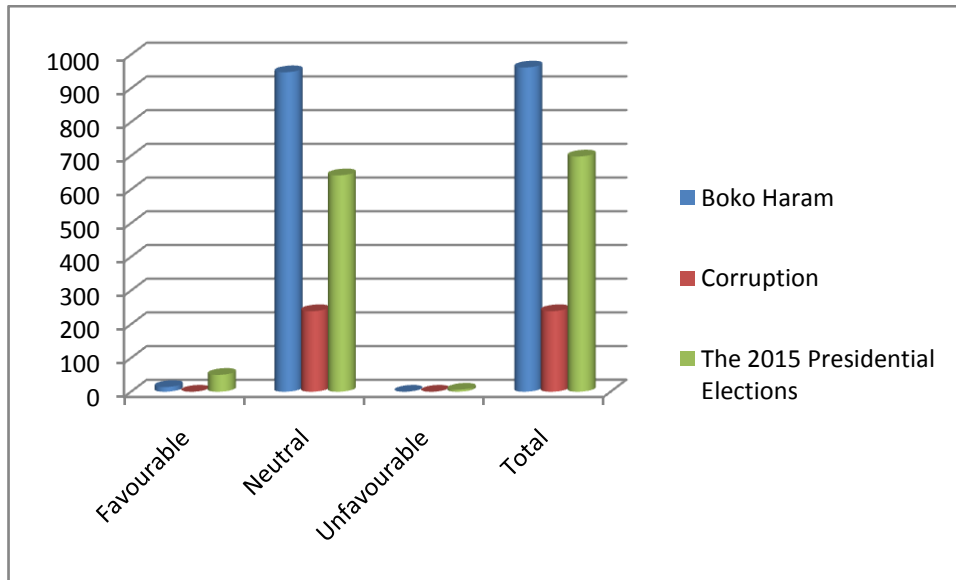
1	Boko Haram	0 (0)	164 (97.6)	4 (2.4)	168 (100)
2	Corruption	0 (0)	33 (100)	0 (0)	33 (100)
3	The 2015 Presidential Elections	10 (3.53)	263 (92.93)	10 (3.53)	283 (100)

For the 3 months of the year 2015 sampled, table 4.3.3 shows that all the entries for Boko Haram were neutral. This means the highly charged political atmosphere notwithstanding, there was no overt bias for or against the south in the coverage of Boko Haram by *The Sun* newspaper. The entries for corruption were similarly all in the neutral category. Though covering just 3 months, 6% of the sampled stories on the 2015 presidential election were favourable. Also, 1% were unfavourable to the South. While the 6% of the stories favourable to the South in only 3 months point to a heightened sense of competition which tends to increase the likelihood of bias, viewed in context, that is the fact that majority of the entries comprising 93 % and 1% fell under the category of neutral and unfavourable respectively, a definitive affirmation of press bias along the North-South lines is hardly justifiable.

Table 4.3.3 above shows that there were no stories favourable to the North and only 2.4% were unfavourable to the North. The table also shows that 164 amounting to 97.6% were neutral. For corruption, the 33 stories sampled by *Leadership* newspaper were neutral. A total of 3.53% of the sampled stories were favourable to the North and another 3.53% were unfavourable to the North. Majority of the entries, that is 92.93%, accounting for the rest of the coverage of the 2015 presidential elections were all neutral.

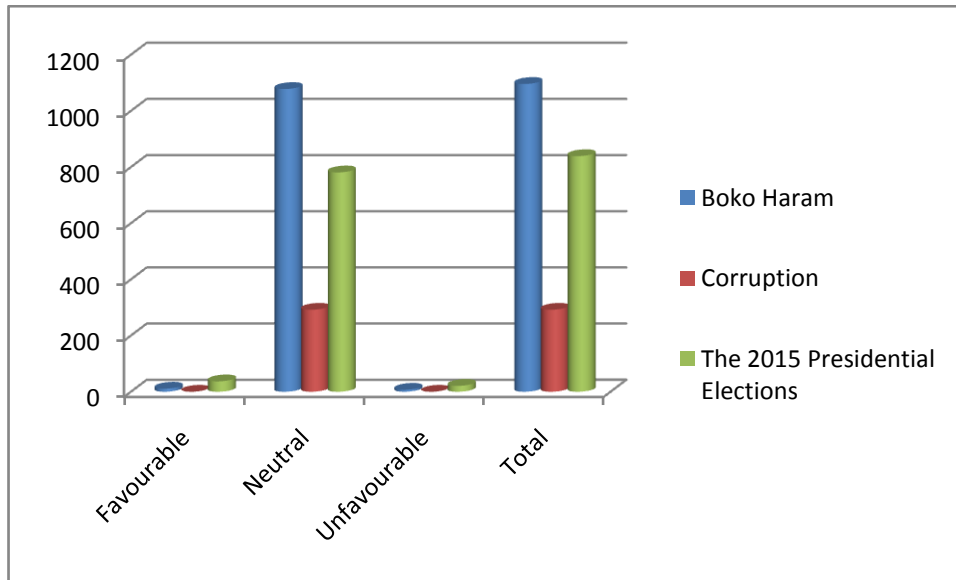
It can be seen from Table 4.3.3 that there was no bias for the North in the reporting of Boko Haram by *Leadership* newspaper in 2015. As usual the corruption stories were all neutral. The 2015 presidential election however had an even distribution between favourable and unfavourable categories. This affirms again that likely the intensely competitive atmosphere of presidential elections result to more competition which manifests itself as the holding of positions for and against regions. To put this even distribution in context, it is important to note that none of the editorials coded fell either on the category of favourable or unfavourable. This means the limited bias evinced were to be traced to sources other than the newspapers themselves. The newspaper might only share in collateral responsibility for the limited bias expressed since it exercises gate keeping function (determining what comes into the media or press house and whether and in what forms it is disseminated as news).

***Figure 4.4* Tone of News Reports of *The Sun* 2013-2015**



On the whole, Figure 4.4 has revealed that 1.5% of entries for Boko Haram were favourable to the South and none unfavourable to the south. Also, 98.5% of the entries were neutral. The inference that can be made from the data presented above is that in the period 2013-2015 *The Sun* newspaper did not significantly evince any bias along the North-South lines in its coverage of Boko Haram. All the entries for corruption did not show any bias; in other words all the entries for corruption were all neutral to the South. For the 2015 presidential election, 7% of the sample was favourable while 92% were neutral to the South. Only 1% was unfavourable to the South in *The Sun* coverage of the 2015 presidential election in the period 2013-2015. Although the direction of the stories covering the 2015 presidential election in *The Sun* newspaper in the period 2013-2015 did show some level of bias (7% of 698), the only inference it seems to permit is that presidential elections have a high likelihood of polarizing the country along North-South lines.

Figure 4.5 Tone of News Reports of *Leadership* 2013-2015



Cumulatively, in the period 2013-2015, only 1% of the 1096 entries was favourable to the North and 7 entries amounting to 1% unfavourable to the North for *Leadership* Newspaper. The direction of the largest portion of the entries, that is 98.1%, was neutral. The 292 entries for corruption were all neutral to the North. For the intensely contested 2015 presidential elections, 4.4% of the sampled entries were favourable to the North and 2.5% were unfavourable to the North. At 93.1% of the 839 stories sampled, the category neutral had by far the largest proportion. The data presented above further buttresses the fact that the themes of the study were not framed in terms of the North battling the South. As has been inferred with reference to the tables representing the tone of coverage for *The Sun* and *Leadership* in 2013, 2014 and 2015, the distribution of the stories into the favourable, neutral and unfavourable categories did not follow the line of North and South, which means that geopolitical bias hardly operated in the 2013-2015 period.

Table 4.3.5 Tone of Editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013

Although already buttressed at some length in chapter 1, it is worth belabouring at this point that the editorial represents the official position of the newspaper. And as one of the interviewees emphasized, individuals and even journalists who may be on the editorial board are free, when they write as columnists, to articulate and express opinions that may be biased in favour of or against any groups in the society. Essentially, therefore, conclusions on the loyalties of a newspaper, whether to the nation or to any group in society besides the nation, are to be made with reference to both the tone and editorial policy of a particular newspaper. It is on this basis that the tables and discussions presented here analyzes the editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* for 2013-2015.

Table 4.3.5 Editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* for 2013

SN	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>			<i>Leadership</i>		
		Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable
1	Boko Haram	0	1(25%)	0	0	1(50%)	0
2	The 2015 Presidential	0	0(0)	0	0		0

	Elections					0	
3	Corruption	0	3(75%)	0	0	1(50%)	0
	Total	0	4	0	0	2	0

Table 4.3.5 has shown that Boko Haram was editorialized on just once in 2013 by *The Sun* newspaper. In the editorial which was published on 18th December, 2013 titled “Revising the Strategies against Boko Haram,” *The Sun* took the position that:

...while the government may enlist the support of the mass media, Muslim students and the public as part of the new strategies for fighting terrorism, we do not believe public communication which is mainly ideological, can do much to stem the tide of terrorist attacks in the three North Eastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. It may stem the tide of terrorism in the future, but it does not address the very present problem of insurgents raiding and killing people at will in troubled parts of the country

Obviously nothing in the content of the editorial cited above gives the impression of regional bias. In fact not even the title contains the remotest semblance of geopolitical bias. As with the only editorial on Boko Haram in 2013 which was not couched in geopolitical terms, the reportage of the third theme of the study, namely, corruption, which has the highest number of editorials (3), was also not presented using the prisms in terms of North and South.

For Leadership, there were only two (2) editorials that focused on the themes of the study, which were, like the four (4) editorials in the case of *The Sun*, all neutral. With this it can

be adduced that the editorial reports of the two (2) newspapers did not in any way show geopolitical bias in 2013.

Table 4.3.6 **Tone of Editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2014**

SN	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>			<i>Leadership</i>		
		Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable
1	Boko Haram	0	9(81.8)	0	0	9(90)	0
2	The 2015 Presidential Elections	0	2(18.2)	0	0	1(10)	0
3	Corruption	0	0(0)	0	0	0(0)	0
Total		0	11(100)	0	0	100	0

In tandem with the results on entries other than editorials in the preceding tables, Table 4.3.6 has shown that Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential elections were the most and more editorialized of the three (3) themes of the study accounting for 81.8% and 18.2 % of the sampled editorials respectively for *The Sun*. This therefore confirms the fact that whether owing to the fact that Boko Haram belongs to what the framing theory calls human interest frames, or for simple commercial reasons (since the interviewees said consideration that competitors would report an issue influences their decision of what to include and or exclude) or the newspaper is

living up to its emblem of being the “Voice of the Nation,” Boko Haram did receive editorial attention.

For *Leadership* newspaper, the result is similar with what obtained in the case of *The Sun*. 90% of the editorials that were on the themes of the study were on Boko Haram in 2014 and another 10% was on the 2015 presidential election. The significant thing to note is the close range between the editorials of the two (2) newspapers on Boko Haram—a paltry 8.2%. In one of its editorials on Boko Haram on the 9th of November, 2014, titled “Declare Total War on Boko Haram” *Leadership* declared that: In our opinion, the war on Boko haram is no longer a small scale one. It is indeed a full blown war and the federal government should treat it as such. The days of kid gloves are over and the terms of engagement should be defined to reflect that. We urge the government to process a news strategy to work out modalities for total and swift victory against terrorism.” In the light of the escalation of Boko Haram attacks, in an editorial titled 100 Days After the Chibok Abduction on the 25th of July, 2014, *The Sun* editorialized thus: No matter what the authorities may say, the fact that the girls have remained with their abductors for over 100 days now is an indication that whatever they have been doing, has, so far, not yielded the desired result...nothing but their release would douse the demand for their release, and the government must accept this fact, and do every thing in its power to ensure that they are released soon.” The content of the two articles inhere in this similarity: they advocated the marshalling of maximum force to crush the growing insurgency. The significance of this is that despite the politicization of the war on Boko Haram which led to the view in some quotas that the insurgency and the war to quell it were attempts to decimate the population of the northern parts of Nigeria, the two newspapers none the less called on the federal government to employ force commensurate to the one used by the terrorist.

Table 4.3.7 Tone of Editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2015

SN	Theme	<i>The Sun</i>			<i>Leadership</i>		
		Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable
1	Boko Haram	0	1	0	0	6	0
2	The 2015 Presidential Elections	0	2	0	0	0	0
3	Corruption	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total		0	3	0	0	8	0

What stands out from table 4.3.7 is the complete absence of any editorials biased for or against the Northern or Southern parts of Nigeria. Another notable point is the fact that *Leadership*, with

6 editorials on Boko Haram editorialized more on Boko Haram than *The Sun* which had only one (1). However, in that both the three (3) stories for *The Sun* and the eight (8) stories for *Leadership* were neutral in the case of all the three (3) themes of the study, the two newspapers were more similar than their different in their editorial orientation to the themes of the study. One of the two (2) editorials by *The Sun* on the 2015 presidential election, which was titled “The Presidential Candidates and the Proposed Peace Pact”, took the position that:

We appeal to all those fanning the embers of disunity to desist from it. Nigeria will do better in a live and let live environment. We appeal to religious zealots to remind themselves that this is a multi-religious country with provisions for freedom of religion in our constitution. We urge all candidates to prepare for the coming polls with the spirit of sportsmanship.

For *Leadership* newspaper which in 2015 reported more on the themes of the study with a total of 8 entries as shown in table 4.3.7, in an editorial titled “Boko Haram Attacks on Gombe State,” the newspaper remarked that: “in the last six months, the sect has stepped up its attack on Gombe state which had remained relatively peaceful...although they had unleashed terror in the north eastern part of the state along Bajoga, Ashaka and Nafada axes, they have always retreated to Yobe and Borno states.” Among others, “Days numbered for Boko Haram” and “Chad and The War Against Boko Haram” are among the titles of the editorials. Because neither the content of the editorials nor their titles were couched in regional terms, it can be asserted that there was no geopolitical bias in the editorials of the two newspapers.

Table 4.3.8 Tone of Editorials of *The Sun* and *Leadership* 2013-2015

		<i>The Sun</i>			<i>Leadership</i>		
SN	Theme	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable	Favourable	Neutral	Unfavourable

1	Boko Haram	0	11	0	0	16	0
2	The 2015 Presidential Elections	0	4	0	0	1	0
3	Corruption	0	3	0	0	3	0
Total		0	18	0	0	20	0

As table 4.3.8 has shown, the preponderant coverage that Boko Haram received in other entries other than the editorial in 2013 by *The Sun* newspapers where it had the highest frequency of coverage for the three (3) themes of the study is marched by the frequency of editorial on Boko Haram in the period 2013-2015. The eleven (11) editorials on Boko Haram was the highest for the three (3) themes of the study. The 2015 presidential election and corruption, with 4 and 3 editorials respectively, were the second and third most important national issues for *The Sun* newspaper based on the results in Table 4.3.8. That this distribution and frequency of editorial coverage tallies with the distribution and frequency of coverage for other entries other than editorials as have been presented in the earlier tables only strengthens the inference that in the period 2013-2015 for *The Sun* newspaper Boko Haram, the 2015 Presidential elections and corruption were important in the order they were mentioned.

Just like in the case of none-editorial entries where *Leadership* had more entries related to the themes of the study, the editorials sampled have shown that *Leadership* editorialized more on

the themes of the study than *The Sun* with 20 editorials for Boko Haram, the 2015 presidential elections and corruption in comparison to *The Sun*'s 18. Two possible reasons can be adduced to account for the higher reportage and editorials by *Leadership*. Firstly the North Eastern region was the epicenter of the then escalating Boko Haram insurgency. This is supported by the equivocation of one of the interviewees, who, in response to the question whether *Leadership* was a regional newspaper given the geopolitical origin of the proprietor (Sam Nda Isaiah, Niger State) remarked that "I have not agreed that we are a regional newspaper, but we look at the North critically because when we wake up it is the North we see." The second reason is also adduced from the interview. This is the point that from the beginning *Leadership* was a political project (Interview 2015). This means that probably the centrality of the three (3) themes of the study to the political contest that preceded the 2015 election accounts, in part, for the larger reportage it received from *Leadership* newspaper

Apart from the finding that none of the editorials in the two newspapers came out to openly support or criticize either the North or South, or any of the geopolitical zones, in the sense of monolithic entities pursuing divergence political and or ideological interests, in fact the newspapers never framed their editorials in terms of the geopolitical zone. Simply put, by their official positions *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers were not manifestly mouth pieces of any "North" or "South." This is in agreement with the position Yusha'u (2009) that one of the characteristics of regional parallelism is that it is not absolute. Thus where as it was buttressed earlier on with reference to one of the interviewees that *Leadership* newspaper caters predominantly to the news requirement of its immediate environment (the Northern parts of Nigeria), the discussion of the sampled news articles and editorials, which did not evince strong

evidence of bias along the regional line, affirms Yushau's notion that regional parallelism is not absolute in its operation within the Nigeria press landscape.

While the absence of any geopolitical reference in the tables that have to do with the editorials indicates that by their official positions the newspapers here studied did not view the issues through the lenses of a monolithic north versus another monolithic south, in other non-editorial entries we see references to not only the North and the South but also groups like Ndigbo, Igbo, Afenifere, South West, Ijaw and Yoruba. According to the theoretical guide of this study, that is the framing theory, in understanding media frame as dependent variable, we should ask the question: "what factors influence the way journalists and other social groups frame certain issues?" The answer to this hypothetical question based on the sources of the non-editorial entries would be groups like the Igbo World Union, Northern Elders Council, Ijaw Youth Council and elites like Ayodele Fayose and Muazu Babangida Aliyu, the purveyors of the ethno-regional frames in the entries sampled. And with reference to the interviews conducted another factor that determined the framing is competition since one of the interview respondents explained that consideration for the fact that other newspapers would report a particular story influences the choice of what to include or exclude from a newspaper. This point is supported by the appearance of Ayodele Fayose's remark about then presidential aspirant Muhammadu Buhari's unworthiness which appeared in *The Sun* of 19th March, 2015 as well as *Leadership* of 19th March, 2015.

Based on the above discussion, it can be inferred that in the instances where the newspapers under study report issues using the north and or south, as well as groups like Ndigbo, Yoruba, Ijaw, South West, the sources of these frames are individuals and groups in the Nigerian society as well as the forces of competition for readers. Put differently when the newspapers

studied display the statistically insignificant level of partisanship presented in the earlier tables, they are merely reflecting the divisions in the Nigerians society; as Adesina (2014) argues “Newspapers do not create stories, they only merely reflect what happens, and they try to do it as responsibly as possible without compromising the ethics of journalism.”

4.5 Interview Responses for the Direction of Editorials and News Stories for the *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspaper.

The opinions of respondents discussed here are on the question of bias along regional line, that is the geopolitics of information thesis or what Yusha’u (2009) calls regional parallelism. On this question, one of the respondents for *Leadership* newspaper contends that: “*Leadership* Newspaper is a national newspaper; we print simultaneously at Abuja to satisfy the northern audience, Asaba to satisfy south and south East and Lagos to satisfy south west. We look at the north critically, I have not agreed that we are a regional newspaper but we look at the north critically; because when we wake up it is the north we first see is that correct? (interview 2015)”

The view expressed above was echoed by another respondent for *Leadership*. After having answered a straight “no” to the question of whether *Leadership* is not a regional paper given the fact the publisher is from the North, the interviewee explains that:

Leadership is one newspaper that you can say is purely national if you take a look at the map set which tells you who and who leads the paper, its a reflection of what the paper is about so you see people from Ibo, you see people from Hausa, you see people from Fulani;... the daily editor is a guy from Kano for instance the Friday editor is guy from Yobe. I, who run the weekend paper, I am an Ibo, the guy who runs *The Sunday* newspaper is from Benue state so what does this tell? you see a mix and then coming again we have a press we print from Asaba the Delta state capital what does that do that help us to make an imprint and of course stamp our presence in the south south part of the country and then we print from Lagos for the Lagos axis, the enugu zones to go through the south west part of the country and of course here in Abuja Abuja takes care of the North (interview 2015)

The respondent further contended that the daily newspaper is a market plays of ideas. Once newspapers ensure that the journalistic ethics of objectivity, fairness and openness have been followed, then even news that might be overly critical or supportive are published. But here the contention by the respondents is that there is a difference between the opinions of journalist as individuals which can be partisan and the stand of a newspaper expressed in its editorial. Echoing this idea, in its editorial of 2nd April 2014 regarding the resignation of Sam Nda Isaiah from the editorial crew, *Leadership* newspaper explained that: “The editors have agreed that Nda Isaiah could maintain his Monday column for now. While he bears responsibility for what he says, the views of the newspaper are not necessarily his own.” Similarly, one of the respondents for *The Sun* newspaper explained: “Everybody is allowed to express their views. If the view happens to be pro or anti government majorly then so be it those are the views of the people, the various reporters and various editorial people (Interview 2015).” In other words biased views on the pages of a newspaper does not amount to partisanship on its part, since, the newspaper merely ventilates the views of others. This point appears more credible in view of the fact none of the editorials coded was biased either in favour of the North for *Leadership* or the South for *The Sun*.

In contrast to the views of Abati (1999) that: “The ... argument is that the media in Nigeria has always being partisan to the extent that it openly and unapologetically champions ethnic, religious or party interests, and dramatizes, on that basis, several compelling forms of power images, and in the process reproduces the structure of the Nigerian society, its politics and internal contradictions” (Abati 1999:70), the data here presented concedes only that partisanship appear not as a matter of policy for the papers covered in this study, but merely as a reflection of the views and opinion of Nigerians which

the newspapers only “*objectively*” report; as another respondent avers: “During the last election we were doing our job objectively. Like I said when you are writing opinion you can take your stand and you can see some people taking a stand to say that PDP was a better choice, and you see others taking a stand to say APC was, and all of them they appear in the paper so everybody APC has something to read that favour them; APC has and other parties also do, so we don’t support any group we maintain that nationality that *The Sun* is a national newspaper (Interview 2015).” This point is borne out by the fact that President Muhammdu Buhari’s Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, Femi Adesina- regarded as a Buharist because of his Friday columns mostly supportive of then Presidential Aspirant Muhammadu Buhari-was in the helms of affair as Managing Director (MD) and Editor in Chief of *The Sun* throughout the duration of the campaign in 2015. The reason behind this example is that individuals wont to posit a North-South line of partisanship for the Nigerian press also view presidential elections in Nigeria mostly through this prism. If President Muhammadu Buhari contested the presidency on behalf of the North, and Nigerian newspapers are similarly divided, would a Buharist be at the helms of affairs for *The Sun*, a southern newspaper, at such a critical moment when, arguably, the media war was at an all time high?

4.6 Discussion of Research Propositions

The propositions put forward in chapter one (1) are discussed here against the back drop of the data presented in this chapter.

1. Proposition: *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers increased the volume of coverage to Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election over the course of the campaign period. The results of the analyses in tables 4.1.1, 4.1. 2 and 4.1.3 has shown that for *The Sun* newspaper the volume of coverage did increase between 2013

and 2014 for Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential elections with Boko Haram increasing from 52% to 67%. Increase in volume of coverage for the 2015 presidential election was from 20% in 2013 to 27% in 2014. Even during the 3 months of 2015 covered by this study there was an increase in frequency of coverage for Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential elections. Because the numbers for 2015 are only for 3 months whereas the aggregates for 2013 and 2014 are for a complete year, the score for 2015 was divided by four to get a comparable score. After the division ($595/4$), Boko Haram has 148.75 entries for 2014 which is higher than the 77 entries for Boko Haram in 2015. In other words, there was a decrease in the coverage of Boko Haram from 148.75 in 2014 to 77 in 2015. For the coverage of the 2015 presidential elections by *The Sun* in 2014, the equivalent of 3 months coverage ($241/4$) was 60.25 entries, a score considerably lower than the 349 score in the 3 months of 2015. This means that for the 2015 presidential elections, the proposition was confirmed for the entire duration of the study (2013, 2014 and 2015). However, for Boko Haram volume of coverage in *The Sun* newspaper, there was increase in volume of coverage between 2013 and 2014 but not in 2015. In the case of corruption the proposition was only confirmed between 2014 and 2015. After having decreased from 157 to 57 from 2013 to 2014, the volume of coverage slightly increased from 14.25 for 2014 to 25 in 2015.

For *Leadership* Newspaper, the same tables have shown that Boko Haram saw an increase between 2013 and 2014 with the number of stories reported in the paper rising from 36% to 63% of the frequency of reportage for the three (3) themes of the study. It was only between 2014 and 2015 that there was a slight decrease. The equivalent of three

(3) months for *Leadership* in 2014 ($693/4=173.25$) was higher than the 168 stories for the first three months of 2015. This means that our proposition holds true for 2013 to 2014 but not 2015. What obtained in the case of *Leadership* newspaper coverage of the 2015 presidential elections also applied in the case of corruption; increase in space allotment was seen from 2013 to 2014 with 14% replacing 17% in 2014. The equivalent of 3 months coverage in 2014 was 37.5, a score less than the 33 entries recorded in 2015. The coverage of the 2015 presidential elections witnessed an increase between 2014 and 2015 where 62.5 was surpassed by 283. Only between 2013 and 2014 was there a decrease from 306 stories in 2013 for the 2015 presidential elections to 250 in 2014. What can be inferred from this result is that the proposition was only partially confirmed in the case of all the three themes of the study.

2. Proposition: *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers gave higher prominence to Boko Haram and the 2015 presidential election than corruption. For *Leadership* newspaper, the results of the analysis in Tables 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.2 has shown that between the period of 2013-2015, Boko Haram had 34.21% of its stories on the front page, corruption had 14.04% on the front page and the 2015 presidential election had 16.32% on the front page. In the case of *The Sun* newspaper Boko Haram still had the most of front page reportage with 22.34% of the 968 stories on Boko Haram on the front pages, the 2015 presidential elections had 13.23% of its reportage on the front page, and, finally, corruption had only 8.78% of the 239 stories on the front page. What this data mean is, in *Leadership* as well as in *The Sun*, the research proposition has been validated by the data; in other words going by page placement as a measure of prominence, for the three themes

of the study in the period 2013-2015, Boko Haram is the most important national issue, the 2015 presidential elections the second and then corruption.

3. Proposition: The tone of news coverage by *Leadership* would be favorable to the North and those of *The Sun* newspaper would be favorable to the South. In the case of corruption no bias for or against the South was shown by *The Sun* newspaper in the period 2013-2015 based on the result of the analysis in Tables 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 The same tables have also shown that while there was no story unfavourable to the south between 2013-2015 in the coverage of Boko Haram, only 1.5% of the 962 entries were favourable to the south. The low scores for favourable means no marked bias for the south was shown by *The Sun* in the reporting of Boko Haram in the period under review. For the 2015 presidential election, table 4.3.3 has shown that of the 698 stories recorded for the elections, 7% were favourable to the South while 6 or 1 are unfavourable to the south. Here again there is hardly any strong evidence for asserting that *The Sun* was biased toward the South in covering the 2015 presidential elections. In other words the research proposition was not supported.

For *Leadership* newspaper, the coverage of Boko Haram from 2013-2015 on tables 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 has shown that there was no significant bias for or against the North as only 1% was favourable to the North and 1% of 1096 unfavourable to the North. Taken together with the fact that no editorial came out to openly support the North, the position of a northern bias can hardly be sustained in the case of *Leadership* coverage of Boko Haram between 2013-2015. The 292 stories for corruption covered by *Leadership* during this period did not show any bias. In the case of the 2015 presidential elections, 4.4% are favourable to the North while 2.5% are unfavourable to the north. In view of this

outcome our research proposition cannot be sustained in the case of the 2015 presidential Election.

4. Proposition: The tone of the news reports in *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspaper is determined by the regional origin of the proprietors of *The Sun* and *Leadership* Newspapers.

This proposition would be discussed with reference to the results of the analysis on tables 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 and the interviews conducted in October, 2015 in Abuja and Lagos. If the this proposition is true, it means that coverage of the themes of the study by *Leadership* should be favourable to the North while the coverage of the themes of the study by *The Sun* newspaper should be skewed in favour of the South. However, what the result of the analysis in the above quoted tables has shown is that there is scarcely any empirical ground for concluding that *The Sun* is biased in favour of the South and *Leadership* biased in favour of the North. In the in-depth interviews conducted also, the respondents were adamant their newspapers were not platforms for advancing either the interest of the North or the South. Respondents from the two newspapers both pointed to the national character of their editorial crew as additional safeguards against regional bias, even though they said editors, writing as individual columnists, are free to express their opinion for or against any groups in the society. Also, the results of the analysis in Tables 4.3.5, 4.3.6, 4.3.7 and 4.3.8 revealed that when the newspaper framed issues in ethno-regional terms, the sources of the frames are mostly groups and individuals in the Nigerian society. To this extent, while the newspaper are only reflecting the Nigerian society when they report some of those divisive news, they share in collateral responsibility since they exercise gate keeping function as was argued earlier on.

4.7 Summary of Findings.

While the main findings presented here are those directly associated with the research objectives, other findings that the data also suggests are presented.

1. With respect to the first research objective, which centers on the volume of coverage given to the Boko Haram, the 2015 presidential election and corruption by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers the study has shown that *The Sun* newspaper increased the volume of coverage for the 2015 presidential election over the entire duration (2013-2015) of the study. The study also discovered that the coverage of the other two themes of the study namely Boko Haram and corruption only partially increased over the duration (2013-2015) of the study. However for *Leadership* newspaper, the finding is that there was only partial increase in the reportage of all the three themes of the study; coverage of Boko Haram increased between 2013 and 2014 but not 2015; coverage of the 2015 presidential elections increased between 2014 and 2015 but not 2013 and 2014; coverage of corruption increased between 2013 and 2014 but not 2014 and 2015.
2. For the second research objective which relates to prominence as measured by page placement, the study has found out that of the three themes of the study namely Boko Haram, Corruption and the 2015 presidential elections; Boko Haram was more prominently treated on the front page than the 2015 presidential elections and lastly corruption. This means if importance to these national issues is assessed on the basis of the page placement as a guide to prominence attached to issues, the most important and prominent national issue is Boko Haram, the second most important and prominent being the 2015 presidential elections and the least important was corruption.

3. In addressing the third research objective which sought to ascertain the tone of the news reportage of *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers, the study also found out that the two newspapers studied did not significantly show any evidence of bias along the North-South lines; *Leadership* newspaper was not overwhelmingly biased in favour of the North in its reportage of Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 general elections and *The Sun* was also not manifestly biased in favour of the south in its reportage on boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential elections during the period covered by the study.
4. A corollary finding in respect of the tone of the reportage of the two newspapers here studied is that the 2015 presidential election evinced the highest level of bias or potential for polarization. While there was no story on corruption that was biased either for or against the North or South during the entire duration of the study, the 2015 presidential election did show some level of bias. This means that while on the whole there was no significant level of bias along North-South lines, the 2015 presidential election was characterized with more bias than Boko Haram and corruption.
5. It was also discovered by the study that the little level of bias that was shown by the newspaper was not the official position of the newspapers. Put differently, going by the editorial which is the official position of the newspaper, the newspapers studied did not show partisanship either for the north or the south.
6. In respect of the last objective which revolves around the factors that determine the tone of reportage, the national character of the staff of the newspapers, competition and regard for profit influence the tone of reportage.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study with summary, conclusion and recommendations.

5.2 Summary

The study was undertaken to investigate how the press reported three national issues namely Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 general elections with a view to ascertaining whether these issues were covered using regional lens, what has come to be known as the geopolitics of information thesis. *The Sun* and *Leadership* newspapers were used to assess press reportage using Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential elections as themes. The period the study covered was 2013-2015. From the research problem was articulated these specific objectives: To establish the volume of coverage given to Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election by *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers; To establish the level of

prominence given to Boko Haram, corruption and the 2015 presidential election *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers; To establish the tone of news reports and editorials of *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers; To identify the factors that account for the tone of the news reports and editorials in *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers. Research questions and assumptions were accordingly derived from these objectives.

In addressing these objectives, content analysis, supplemented by in-depth interview, formed the methodology.

From the literature reviewed, it was established that indeed the press has carved for itself a place in the country's politics, even though the issue of the precise nature of the role of the press in the country's as well as the factors accounting for the tenor of the said role are far from agreed to. In the body of the literature proximity to regimes, political party affiliation, geopolitical affinities, ethno-religious leanings and economic consideration are the variables held to account for how the press framed national issues. In this explanatory matrix the geopolitical location as a factor in the press reportage of national issues was particularly recurrent. In line with this trend of thinking in the literature, the study used the framing theory as theoretical guide to discuss how *The Sun* and *Leadership* framed the themes of the study.

In addressing the research objectives, volume (frequency), prominence, and tone were the dimensions along which the reportage was examined. The interview supplied the data that was used to confront the research objective that revolved around the factors that determined the tone of reportage in the two (2) newspapers selected. The discussion of the data generated by the study has shown that the themes of the study did receive rising coverage over the course of the duration of the study (2013-2015) which coincided with the campaign period of Nigeria's intensely contested 2015 presidential elections. For the second aspect of the research, which is

the question of press bias along North-South lines, neither did the content analysis nor the in-depth interview show any significant evidence that the themes of the study were covered from the prism of the geopolitics of information thesis. Also, the study discovered that the newspapers do not view themselves as mouth pieces of the regions they are located in.

5.3 Conclusion

This study has once again underscored the growing significance of the press to politics in Nigeria. In respect of the three (3) themes which guided the study namely Boko Haram, the 2015 presidential elections and corruption, it has been shown that in respect of volume and prominence as measured by page placement, *Leadership* and *The Sun* newspapers did adequately covered the themes of the study. In order of importance, what the study has found out is that going by frequency and placement Boko Haram was the most important, the 2015 presidential elections the second most important based on the same yardsticks and bringing up the rear was corruption. In terms of the tone of reportage, the two (2) newspapers were however not highly biased. This means while the press in Nigeria may be biased along either the regime, political party or region, the study has underscored the significance of thorough investigations before conclusions on partisanship are made. It is also significant that researchers consider where there has been evidence of partisanship whether this is as result of the compromise of the professional journalistic ethics of objectivity, balance and fairness or the media is merely reflecting the Nigerian society with all its contradictions. Neither the change in the structure of media ownership nor the pluralistic nature of the Nigerian society which underlie and necessitate the type of ownership structure, nor the imperatives of the market conduce to fixed bias along any lines. Researches on the media thus have to duly acknowledge the changing nature of Nigeria's political landscape as well as its implication for how researches are conducted.

5.4 Recommendations

- a) Nigerian newspapers should, as a matter of policy, ensure that social problems like corruptions are adequately covered.
- b) Nigerian newspapers should endeavor to ensure that their staff reflects the ethnic, religious, and geopolitical character of the country as a safeguard against bias.
- c) Also, in every day relationships with members of society, academics, as opinion moulders, must consciously desist from rehashing the pigeon-holed notion of the existence of permanent press divide between the North and the South.
- d) There should be increased supervision and monitoring of the activities of Nigerian newspapers during election seasons since the study has shown that election seasons heightens the possibility of partisanship.
- f) To the press: The Nigerian press must increase professionalism in the conduct of their business. Journalists must discharge their duties with a high sense of responsibility to the Nigerian state. Proprietors of newspapers must see to it that only professionals are employed. g) The practice of journalism has to be brought into alignment with global best practices. To this extent, participation in conferences organized outside the country must be prioritized and other forms of capacity building encouraged to increase the professional proficiency of the journalists. Positive and negative sanctions must be imposed both in-house and by the Nigerian Union of Journalist and Nigerian Guild of Editors to dissuade journalists from colluding with politicians to subvert the country's nation building effort.

REFERENCES

- Abati, R. (1999) *The Media in Nigeria: Patriots or Cynics* in Oseni, Tunji (ed.) *The Media, Transition and Democracy*, Tosen Consult, Lagos.
- Abdu, H. and Taiwo (2009) *The Print Media and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna in Yorom*, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Adebanwi,W. (2009) *The Press, Oodua Peoples Congress and Democratic Governance in Yorom*, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Adedayo, F. and Agaje, A. (2010) “A Decade of Democratization: The Nigerian Press and Ethno-proprietorial Influences” in Olurode, Lai (ed) *Reflections on a Decade of Democratization in Nigeria* Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung
- Adamu, S. (1994) *The Press and Nigerian Unity* In Abdullahi Mahadi et-al *Nigeria: The State of The Nation and Way Forward*, Proceedings of The National Workshop Organized by Arewa House Kaduna, Centre For Historical Documentation and Research of The Ahmadu Bello Univerisity Zaria.
- Carson, J.L. (2008). *The Effect of the Partisan Press on US House Election 1800-1820*. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Chinenye, N. and Ezegwu, D. (2012). Geopolitical Orientation and Media Coverage of Terrorist Activities in Nigeria: A Content Analysis in *Zaria Journal of Communication (ZAJCOM)* Volume 1 Number 1.
- Coleman, S., Anthony, S. and Morrison, David, E. (2002) *Public Trust In The News A Constructivist Study of the Social Life of the News*, Reuters Institute For the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

- Danladi, K. and Mohammed, A. S. (2012) Press Coverage of the Post Election Violence in Bauchi and Kaduna: A Content Analysis of *Daily Trust* and *Punch* Newspaper Headlines From April 1-May 31” in I.S. Ogundiya, T. Garba and I.M. and Dankani (eds) *Nigeria: Implications For National Integration” in 50 Years of Nigeria’s Nationhood: Issues and Challenges For Sustainable Development* A Publication of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto.
- De Vreese, H. C. (2005) News Framing: Theory and Typology in *Information Design Journal* © 2005 John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Egbon, M. (2002) The Mass Media in Nigeria’s Democratic Dispensation in *Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria (1999-2001)* Attahiru Jega et al ed. Mambaya House, Bayero University, Kano.
- Ekhareafu, D. and Ngonso, B. (2013) “Agenda Setting for Political Communication: A Study of One Man One Vote Political Campaign in Nigeria” in *New Media and Mass Communication* www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-3267 (Paper) ISSN 2224-3275 (Online) Vol.18, Accessed 9th October, 2016
- Ekeanyanwu, N. T. (2007). “The Nigerian Press Coverage of Political Conflicts in a Pluralistic Society” in *Global Media Journal*. [URL:www.sunac.za/gmja](http://www.sunac.za/gmja). pp 64-69.
- Ekeanyanwu, N. T. and Olaitan, J. (2009) “Analysis of the Content of Nigerian Newspapers Editorials” in *Oko Journal of Communication and Information Science*, A Biannual of School of Information Technology (SIT) Federal Polytechnic Oko, Anambra State, Volume, 1 Number 2 September.
- Ekeanyanwu, N. T. and Olaniyan, O. (2010) “Newspaper Coverage of People’s Perception of President Yaradua’s Pre-election Campaigns” in *Journal of Communication and Media Research*. Volume 2 number 1.
- Ekerikevwe, S. A. (2013) “The Role of Newspaper Editorial in The Death of the Third Term Agenda: A Study of The Guardian and Vanguard” in *Zaria Journal of Communication*

(ZAJCOM), Volume 2 Number 2, Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Entman, R. B. (1993). "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51–58."

Enwefah, C. (2010) "Media Ownership and Direction of Editorials in Four Nigerian Newspapers" in *Journal of Communication and Media Research*. Volume 2 Number 1.

Freyenberger, D. D. (2013) Amanda Knox A Content Analysis of Media Framing in Newspapers Around the World. A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Communication East Tennessee State University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Masters of Arts in Professional Communication <http://dc.etsu.edu/etd>

Gambo, D. and Hassan A. H. (2007) "Editorial Mission of The Press in Northern Nigeria" in Oso, Lai and Pate, Umaru (eds) *The Mass Media and Society in Nigeria*, Malthouse Ibadan.

Hydle, L. H. (1973) "The Press and Politics in Nigeria", Unpublished Ph D. Thesis Submitted to the University of Columbia.

Hassan, R. (2004). *Media Politics and the Network Society*, Open University Press. England.

Ibrahim, H. M. (2006). Role of Print Media in 2003 Presidential Election. A Comparative Analysis of the Nigerian Tribune, Punch, Daily Trust and the New Nigeria Newspapers. *Unpublished Masters Thesis*. Submitted to the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Izah, P. (No Date) *Empirical Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Unpublished.

Jibo, M. and Okoosi-Simbine, A. (2003) The Nigerian Media: An Assessment of Its Role in Achieving Transparent and Accountable Government in the Fourth Republic in *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 12(2): 180–195 University Press: New York.

- John, G. D. and Olaniyi, R. (2009) The Mass Media and Conflicts in Plateau State 2001-2002 in Yorom, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Kukah, M. H. (1993). *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*. Spectrum Books: Ibadan.
- Levendusky, M. S. (2011). *Do Partisan Media Polarize Voters?* Paper Given at the 4th Annual CEES-NYU Experimental Political Science Conference.
- Lozanov, G. and Spassov, O. (2011). *Media and Politics, Foundation Media Democracy*. Conrad Adenauer Stiftung: Bulgaria.
- Mazzoleni, G. and Winfred, S. (1999) Mediatization of Politics: A Challenge For Democracy? *Political Communication* 16: 247-261
- McCombs, Maxwell (2005) A Look at Agenda-setting: Past, Present and Future in *Journalism Studies*, Volume 6, Number 4, 2005, pp. 543_557. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- McComb, E. M. and Shaw, D. L. (1972) The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* Volume 36, number 2 176-187
- Muazu, A. (2009) The Evolution, Structure and Functions of The Nigerian Media in Yorom, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Nwabueze, C. and Onyekah, E. (2010) Framing the Agenda: Press Coverage of the 2008 Teachers Strike in Nigeria in *Journal of Communication and Media Research* Vol. No. 2 pp 113-120. Delmas Communication Limited.
- Ofuafor, M. (2008) Media Corruption and National Security/Insecurity in Nigeria, Paper Presented to the 53rd Annual Conference of the Historical Society of Nigeria at Gombe State University, Gombe.
- Ogbeidi, M. M. (2012) *Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria Since 1960: A Socio-economic Analysis* *Journal of Nigeria Studies* Volume 1, Number 2.

http://www.unh.edu/nigerianstudies/articles/Issue2/Political_Leadership.pdf Accessed 23th September, 2016.

Ogundiya, I.S. (2010) Corruption: The Bane of Democratic Stability in Nigeria *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences* 2(4): 233-241, 2010 ISSN: 2041-3246 © Maxwell Scientific Organization, <http://maxwellsci.com/print/crjss/v2-233-241.pdf> Accessed 23th September, 2016.

Okoro, E. (2013) The Media, Development Communication, and Governance in Nigeria: The Press for National Integration in *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* November 2013, Vol. 3, No. 11 ISSN: 2222-6990 541 www.hrmars.com/journals DOI: 10.6007/IJARBSS/v3-i11/374 URL:<http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v3-i11/374>

Okwuchukwu , O. G. (2014) The Influence of Media Ownership and Control on Media Agenda Setting in Nigeria. in *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education* (IJHSSE) Volume 1, Issue 7, July 2014, PP 36-45 ISSN 2349-0373 (Print) & ISSN 2349-0381 (Online) www.arcjournals.org ©ARC Page 36 Accessed 9th October, 2016.

Ojebuyi, B. R. and Ekennia, C. U. (2013) “Godfatherism, Ownership Influence and Media Treatment of Political Conflicts in Oyo State, Nigeria” in *Covenant Journal of Communication* (CJOC) Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 2013.

Olutokun, A. and Seteolu, D. (2001) The Media and Democratic Rule in Nigeria, Development Policy Network.

Olayiwola, R. O. (1991). Political Communications: Press and Politics in Nigeria's Second Republic in *Africa Media Review* Vol. 5 No. 2. African Council For Communication Education.

Olayiwola , A. O. (2013) Media and Security in Nigeria in *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No.9 , pp 1-19, December 2013. P.P. 20 – 38 URL: <http://www.ejbss.com/recent.aspx> ISSN: 2235 -767X

- Ojo, E. O. and Adebayo, P. F. (2013) Many Sins of the Mass Media in Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal of The Media in A Decade of Nascent Democracy in *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* Volume 5 Number 8. <http://www.academicjournals.org/JMC>
- Omebije, A. Y. (2012) Coverage of Boko Haram Activities by Selected Nigerian Newspapers: A Comparative Analysis in *Zaria Journal of Communication (ZAJCOM)* Volume 1 Number 1, Department of Mass Communication, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Omenugha, Kate. A. and Oji, M. (2008) News Commercialization, Ethics and Objectivity in Journalism Practice in Nigeria: Strange Bedfellows? in *Estudos em Comunicação* no3, 13-28 Abril de 2008.
- Onoja, I. (2005) The Political Economy of News Reportage and Presentation of News in Nigeria: A Study of Television News. A Thesis in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies, University of Jos, Jos, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) of the University of Jos.
- Omu, F. (1978). *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937*. Humanities Press: Nigeria.
- Okidu, O. (2011). One State, Many Nations, Media Portrayal of Multiple Identities in Nigeria. In *Mass Media and Society*. Lai Oso and Umaru Pate (eds). Malthouse: Lagos.
- Okpoko, J. I. (2014) The Mass Media and Search For Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, ABU Press, Zaria.
- Oso, L. (Undated). "Press and Politics in Nigeria: On Whose Side?" Lagos State University, Ojo.
- Oso, L. (1991) The Commercialization of the Nigerian Press: Development and Implications in *Africa Media Review* Vol. 5 No. 3 1991 ©African Council for Communication Education.
- Oso, L. (2013) Media and Democracy In Nigeria: A Critique Of Liberal Perspective in *New Media and Mass Communication*. www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-3267 (Paper) ISSN 2224-3275 (Online) Vol.10, 2013.

- Santas, T. and Ogoshi, J. D. (2016) An Appraisal of Mass Media Role in Consolidating Democracy in Nigeria. in *African Research Review An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia* Vol. 10(1), African Journals Online: www.ajo.info Serial No.40, January, 2016:73-86 ISSN 1994-9057 (Print) ISSN 2070--0083 (Online) Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afrev.v10i1.7> Accessed 9th October 2016.
- Suleiman, H. M. and Salau, S. (2012) Press Coverage of Ethno-Religious Violence in I.S. Ogundiya, T. Garba and I.M. and Dankani (eds) *Nigeria: Implications For National Integration” in 50 Years of Nigeria’s Nationhood: Issues and Challenges For Sustainable Development* A Publication of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto.
- Scheufele, D. (1999). *Framing as a Theory of Media Effects, International Communication Association.*
- Tomasky, M. (2003) Whispers and Screams: The Partisan Nature of Editorial Pages. The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy Research Paper Series Shorenstein Fellow, Spring Contributing Editor, New York magazine Research Paper R-25 July 2003 Copyright © 2003, President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved.
- Tsebee, K. A. (2010) Mass Media and Political Culture in Nigeria in *Journal of Communication and Culture: International Perspective* Vol.1 No.3, December, 2010
- Udoudu, J. A. and Osak, O. M. (2008) The Nigerian Press and National Crises, Paper Presented at the 53rd Annual Conference of The Historical Society of Nigeria, Gombe State University, Gombe.
- Usman Y.B. (1987) *The Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria*, Centre For Democratic Development Research and Training, Zaria.
- De Vreese, C.H.. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design*, 13(1), 51-62.

- Wakili, H. (2009) *The Press and Ethno-religious Conflicts in Metropolitan Kano, 1991-2001* in Yorom, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Wimmer, R.D. and Dominick, J. (2011). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Wadsworth: Canada www.sunnewsonline.com www.Leadership.ng
- Ya'u, H. (1985). *Press and Politics: The Delegitimization of the Gowon's Regime by the Nigerian and Daily Times- A Reconsideration of the Current Perspective on the Nigerian Press*. Paper Presented at the Staff Seminar in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Yoroms, J. G. (2009) *The State, Media, and Conflict Management: A Conceptual Approach in* Yorom, Gani Joses and Muazu, Abubakar (eds) *Conflict Management and The Media in Nigeria*, Centre For Research and Development.
- Yusha'u, M.J. (2009) *Coverage of Corruption Scandals in the Nigerian Press: A Comparative Analysis of Northern and Southern Newspapers*, A Thesis For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Submitted to the Department of Journalism Studies University of Sheffield United kingdom
- Zaller, J. (1999). *A Theory of Media Politics*. University of Chicago Press: USA.

APENDIX A

Department of Political Science and International Studies,

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Ahmadu Bello University,

Zaria.

Dear Respondent,

INTERVIEW

Attached here with are questions the answers to which would go a long way in helping this Post Graduate student complete his thesis on the topic: “The Press and Political Partisanship In Nigeria Under Democratic Rule: A Study of *Leadership* and *The Sun* Newspapers 2009-2014.”

Please be assured that all information supplied would be used strictly for academic purpose and treated with confidentiality.

Thanks.

Yours Faithfully,

Abdulnasir James.

SECTION A: BIODATA

1. Name:
2. Organization:
3. Rank in the organization:

SECTION B.

QUESTIONS

1. Who is the publisher of *The Sun* Newspaper?
2. Given his antecedents as a politician, what level of independence does the editorial crew of *The Sun* have?

3. What internal rules and protocols do you have in place to guard against partisanship in *The Sun* newspaper generally and the editorial policy specifically?
4. Describe the editorial policy of *The Sun* newspaper?
5. Can you provide us with any documents which contained the editorial policy of *The Sun* newspaper?
6. How would you describe the impact of the profit motive on the quality of the news story and editorials of *The Sun* newspaper?
7. Despite the existence of the Nigerian Guild of editors, Nigerian Union of Journalist and the Nigerian Press Council, allegations of partisanship both by journalist and academics are rife. How would you rate the extent of compliance to the professional ethics of journalism by the press generally and *The Sun* newspaper specifically?
8. Newspapers in Nigeria are accused of being partisan along geopolitical, ethnic, regime, political party, and to a lesser extent, religious lines. Appraise the extent of influence of these variables on the editorial orientation of *The Sun* newspaper.
9. Would you agree that *The Sun* newspaper is a regional newspaper given the geopolitical origin of The Publisher?
10. The use of words like “The North,” “The South,” “Muslim North,” “Christian South,” etc tends to point to the direction of the framing of editorials and news reports along the lines of the old fault lines of the country. Where these words are used in your editorial and news story, do you not think they reflect that news report and editorials in your paper are framed in terms of the geopolitics of information thesis (clarification: the geopolitics of information thesis is the view that there is a contingency between the geopolitical location of the newspaper and the interest it stands for and advances)?

APENDIX B

INTERVIEW CONDUCTED AT THE GMD'S OFFICE IN *LEADERSHIP* HEADQUARTERS

ABUJA, 16TH OCTOBER, 2015

Name: Mike Okpere

Rank: Group Managing Director, (GMD) *Leadership* Newspaper

Organization: *Leadership Newspaper*.

1. Who is the publisher of *Leadership* Newspaper?

Answer

Sam Nda Isaiah

2. Given his antecedents as a politician, what level of independence does the editorial crew of *Leadership* have?

Answer

OK let's put it in proper perspective. Ehm sometime last year before the publisher indicated interest in participating in politics he had informed the world, and he resigned as the chairperson of *Leadership* newspaper group, and a new chair person was appointed. The reason for that was to 1) allow the editorial team to independently play their role independently of his political interest and for the paper to be seen and known to be independent. Eh what may however has been misconstrued is the fact that the paper from the be paper from its inception has been as a very political newspaper, and then a paper that has criticized government eh from the government of Yaradua from Obasanjo to Jonathan. The paper has been critical of government position where the paper feels the government is not doing enough or is lacking in vision, eh so to that extent therefore it was the belief of people that the paper is an opposition paper. The fact of it is that eeh like our mantra says: for God and for country. We had always believed that we would defend the common man no matter who we will offend in the process.

3. What internal rules and protocols do you have in place to guard against partisanship in *Leadership* newspaper generally and the editorial policy specifically?

Answer

Let's put it this way the daily newspaper house is a market of ideas and being a market place of ideas and being a market place it is very very difficult to gag anybody from expressing his or her opinion so we have a robust team in our editorial unit that eh are allowed eh freedom to express their view no matter who's eh whether it is favouring the politician of the day or not like I said the paper stands to defend the ordinary man and defend good governance that is what it stands for so based on that there is no censorship and so everybody is allowed to express their views if the view happens to be pro or anti government majorly then so be it those are the views of the people, the various reporters and various editorial people.

After the interviewer inquired that: in media house you have what is called media gate keeping, that is, the process whereby the newspaper as an institution allows news in but has to decide on the basis of some criteria what is left to reach the public:

Let me put it this other way again a few minutes ago I said to you that I am not a journalist that I am group managing director of a news paper but am not a journalist so I can assure you that just as you saw this newspaper today was the way I also saw it today so if there was a deliberate attempt to manipulate what would come into the paper I should have been aware I should have been part of those manipulating those views. Are you getting. So it is true that people may have those belief about this gate keeping and the rest of it but I can assure you that in *Leadership* because of the structure and the way we are positioned people are allowed to air their views and take their positions independently

4. Describe the editorial policy of *Leadership* newspaper?

Is to defend the ordinary man. Do be a watchdog over government and ensure that good governance prevails at all times as we have seen from today it would seemingly... there is a feeling that this paper may be in support of the current government but we tell you if the current government stops or fails to do the bidding of the populace this paper would go against it and you know that is the way that is that has been the way we are here to defend the ordinary man to ensure that we all have eh good governance. Our mission statement states: we are a national newspaper in the Federal Capital Territory we shall stand for good governance we shall defend the interest of the Nigerian people even against their rulers and we shall raise our pen at all times to do what is right. These are the values we want to be assessed by.

5. Do you not still think that the editorial independence of the paper has been compromised by the political ambition of the proprietor?

Like I said to you he does not partake in the editorial meeting you know and I can say again to you the line of reportage of any newspaper runs from low to up Apart from the chairman the chairman is the number one person in the organization is that correct the second person is the group managing director so if the chairman wants to give instruction he does not go to an editor straight he must talk to me I am saying to you I saw this newspaper just the way you saw it so that invariably means that he also saw this paper just the way you and me saw it because if there is interference I should have seen this paper before going to bed do you understand; so I am saying to you that as we speak the editorial board have freedom once journalistic ethics have been observed and part of this observation is that if the allegation against a person you must give the second person opportunity to express his view, you must investigate stories before you report

them you understand and as much as possible you give the platform available to everybody who wants to express their views. There is of course the need intermittently to ensure that what comes out in the paper is not libellous you understand alright, and those responsibilities rest with the editors of each of the title like you know we have *Leadership* which is Monday to Thursday then we have *Leadership* Friday *Leadership* weekend *Leadership* Sunday and then *Leadership* Hausa

6. How would you describe the impact profit motive on the quality of the editorial of your newspaper.

Answer

The first thing is that every newspaper must have a vision and then you must have a primary audience Ok *Leadership* newspaper is a national newspaper; it is embedded in the federal capital, and looks after the north, looks after the north so that means we have a large northern follower you understand. Now there are certain positions of course a paper may take in defence of people that may be offensive to government that may reduce patronage and I can say to you that in the last few years of the last administration *Leadership* suffered because of our opposition to bad governance because deliberately the federal government gave instruction that no federal advert government advert should come into the paper so if we were to panther to the needs because of material remuneration we probably would not have taken the sort of position we took against the last administration now if our paper can wheather the storm and take such position and suffer such humiliation and such deprivation and survive, are you getting it means therefore that our primary concern is to defend the people not because of the material gains we are going to get. Do you understand I hope that has answered your question.

7. Despite the existence of the Nigerian Guild of editors, Nigerian Union of Journalist and the Nigerian Press Council, allegations of partisanship both by journalist and academics are rife. How would you rate the extent of compliance to the professional ethics of journalism by the press generally and *Leadership* newspaper specifically?

Answer

When a person, a body, an organization makes an accusation, it could be right it could be wrong it could even be because of lack of adequate information and knowledge do you understand? Good. So, it is not all allegations that are correct all right so it is true that we have the guild of editors, NUJ and the rest of them they are playing wonderful roles in their respective fields and calling now so over the period reportage that does not favour certain persons are frowned at in order to destroy such allegation reduce the effect of such allegation all sort of aggregations positions can be taken so if take a position say against a state government he says to you it is because it is because you are supporting his opponent that is why you are taking that position but what is instructive is that each case should be investigated down the line because when they are investigated it is then we would know empirically whether it is true, whether it is correct, whether is mere fabrication whether it is because of lack of knowledge, you understand? you know the greatest fault a man can have is not to know that he does not know. Another problem a man may have is to lie to himself, you understand? so if you are a government and you think you are performing and everybody knows not performing and you lie to yourself you are performing when people tell you are not performing you say they are opposition.

Interjection by the interviewer: In a word *Leadership* newspaper does it adhere to the ethics?

Of course I told you before the rest is on the editors of the various platform to ensure that everything published is ethical once they are such it is ethical and it is not libellous as a market place of ideas it would find a place in one of our platform if is news worthy and probably society friendly

8. Newspapers in Nigeria are accused of being partisan along geopolitical, ethnic, regime, political party, and to a lesser extent, religious lines. Appraise the extent of influence of these variables on the editorial orientation of *Leadership* newspaper.

Answer

Interjects while the question was being read: They are not supposed to be accused; newspaper have a position you take, in setting up a newspaper you must have a focus and a vision alright a lot of newspapers in the world are regional very few newspapers are national in outlook so if you take a paper for example like Tribune is a paper for western Nigeria so if you and me here wants to know what happens at Ibadan we need to get a tribune to appreciate the truth so because they are also near to the grass root their reportage would be more factual and more indepth than a *Leadership* or a daily trust that is coming from the north do you understand so it is not supposed to be an accusation it is a matter of fact that certain newspaper are fromed and out in place to defend certain positions and those positions may be regional but there must be an interest a proprietor must have a goal lets extend it this way Fox the television they call fox is a republican television and there is no apology so if you turn to fox you should expect what you would receive are following so fox is known as a republican television so its not a question of allegation that is what they have set out to do so there shouldn't be any accusations the proprietor or the people putting the paper together have a goal this is our goal so there is no accusation

9. Would you agree that *Leadership* newspaper is a regional newspaper given the geopolitical origin of The Publisher?

Answer

I think I have answered this question earlier. Let me re-answer this question again. *Leadership* Newspaper is a national newspaper we print simultaneously at Abuja to satisfy the northern audience, Asaba to satisfy south and south East and Lagos to satisfy south west we look at the north critically I have not agreed that we are a regional newspaper but we look at the north critically; because when we wake up it is the north we first see is that correct?

10. The use of words like “The North,” “The South,” “Muslim North,” “Christian South,” etc tends to point to the direction of the framing of editorials and news reports along the lines of the old fault lines of the country. Where these words are used in your editorial and news story, do you not think they reflect that news report and editorials in your paper are framed in terms of the geopolitics of information thesis (clarification: the geopolitics of information thesis is the view that there is a contingency between the geopolitical location of the newspaper and the interest it stands for and advances)?

Answer

As much as possible we do not like to use these words because they are divisive in nature so as much as possible we do not say..... use these words we do not; again *Leadership* is a unique paper the northern population is 80% Muslim is that correct but the proprietor is a Christian so you see we can never be caged into such mundane thinking in our positions

APENDIX C

INTERVIEW WITH STANLEY KINSLEY NKWOCHA AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF *LEADERSHIP* NEWSPAPER UTAKPO DISTRICT ABUJA

Name: Stanley Kingsley Nkwocha

Organization: *Leadership* Newspaper

Rank In the Organization: Editor *Leadership* Weekend

1. Who is the publisher of *Leadership* Newspaper?

Answer

The publisher is the gentleman from Niger state, a pharmacist by profession in the person of
Mr Sam Nda Isaiah

2. Given his antecedents as a politician, what level of independence does the editorial crew of
The Sun have?

Answer

That's one thing that's being misunderstood. People think when you are a politician automatically you allow your medium to be dictated by the stand of your party or by the interest of your party but its not always the case, we are in a very competitive market a business that is driven by competition the moment you try to take sides and allow your party or party interest to dictate the editorial content or the editorial content or stand of your paper you find out that you, you definitely get out of the market, and if the aim of every market is to maximise profit what it means is that you have to keep your own competitors on the edge keeping your competitors on the edge means that out there you have to be seen to be really competitive, you have to be seen to be outstanding you have to be seen to be doing extra ordinary things that other papers are not doing you have to be able to outwit your opponents in several fora of competition, so, as to what extent it is, I tell you he is one man that has actually not allowed his interest to..his political inclination to dictate the editorial content of the paper and that's why if you take a good look at *Leadership* you would find out that when it comes to balanced reportage you can really, really give to us we have always stood by the truth and then try to always be ahead of our competitors knowing quite well that the market is intense, so as to what extent the proprietor and or the chairman has actually allowed us he has given space for everybody to assert his freedom of expression and ensure that the tenet of journalism are well merged of course guided in our responsibility..

3. What internal rules and protocols do you have in place to guard against partisanship in *The Sun* newspaper generally and the editorial policy specifically?

Yes there are laid down rules which of course governs the ethics here internally and of course externally, external factors are too external factors which guide you are the core principles of journalism which entails that you must be balanced, you must be fair in your reportage and allow

all sides of the people to speak here in the house there channels upon which stories are published of course if you have any assignment for instance you don't just throw it on paper it has to go through some desk it goes through the news editor, it goes through the assistant editor, the deputy editor before it comes to the editor in normal stories no problem but in stories that are deemed to be controversial stories that are deemed to be likely eh troublesome in quote you understand there is always what they call editorial meeting for us to decide what is the strength of this story, how credible is the source? is the source of this story how true is the source of this story? and so on you are allowed to dig in, digging in properly envisages that you do your due diligence you go behind the scenes and try to find out whether the fact of the stories are right and then most times in the evening its not..the decision to put stories in the front page is not the sole responsibility of one person you have what is called the editorial meeting which takes every evening by the time reporters must have submitted their stories it is the responsibility of who ever that is in charge in most cases the news editor to collect all the stories for the day and then in a meeting that has 6,7 folks you know decide which of the stories you have lined up is actually the strongest of the stories and so when you have the strongest of the stories it is based on the strongest of the stories and of course don't forget you are guided by marketing principles and so you also have to make sure that the story you are throwing out is one that would attract the reader take for instance the president has appointed ministers and everybody is going to report it is now left for you to be different to be unique to be creative, to give the reader out there something different something that would make him attracted to you and then if anybody goes out of his way to abuse the editorial stand and content of the newspaper there are already check mechanisms, check mechanism entails punitive measures like suspension they include surcharges they include outright dismissal of such persons who indulge in such activities so its

not as if its a free for all you know for you to just there are laid down rules we are guided by principles externally and that in house too there are check mechanisms which entails that folks don't abuse the privileges they have

4. Describe the editorial policy of *The Sun* newspaper?

Answer

The statement mission of my newspaper is for God and for country, and what it entails is that in all your reportage and obligation to the persons out there you must be guided by the fear of God in your reportage, fear of God in doing our duty fear of God in ensuring that look eh our job is not to bring down persons unnecessarily if they are not wrong and for we to be guided by..... for we do be guided by selfish interest in our dealings there are laid down rules like I have stated that you just actually have to adhere to and talking about for country, for country just means that look the media the fourth estate of the realm deeply ensures that look by the time you have the executive, the legislative arm of course the judiciary arms of government the media is just the unofficial arm of government that just come to checkmate these other three (3) arms of government because why if you do not have the media to watch out the excesses and inactions and lapses of this particular and arms then totally you are going to be that you would create room for chaos but again too its not just about watching out for the negatives of course too it is expected that when some persons perform remarkably well or perform feats which are incredible we also mention it or identify with such persons and such act in the society you know. So far us we are guided by those principles ensuring that look you in the discharge of our duties nobody is hurt we perform our duty creditably well we are fair in the discharge of our duties and of course eh for the country side we ensure that in all our dealings in all our publishings in all our jobs the

interest of Nigeria must come first we must ensure that look we are entrusting that Nigeria is the benefit over all benefit of our productions here.

5. Can you provide us with any documents which contained the editorial policy of *The Sun* newspaper?

Answer

Its open, there is no big deal if you open the paper you would see it, it's there its nothing serious. Our editorial policy is straight forward you find them embedded in the newspapers and for us here it's a straight forward thing our editorial policy is to be open to make sure that, look, we are objective in our reportage that all our reports are balanced, objective ensure that at the end of it all the country is better of because of our undertaking

6. How would you describe the impact of the profit motive on the quality of the news story and editorials of *The Sun* newspaper?

Answer

I understand what you are trying to say first and foremost of there exist aside working for publishing newspaper we must understand that each and every newspaper exists for profit maximisation in other words you must be seen to be in business and the ethics of every the essence of every business is that your marginal revenue must be more than your marginal cost if your marginal revenue is less than your marginal cost you are running at a profit if your marginal revenue is equal your marginal cost what is means is that you are neither here nor there so at all instances you just must break even in doing this some newspapers cut corners there is no two ways about it some newspapers cut corners but here in *Leadership* we quite aware of the competition out there so what we try to do is to be ingenious each and every newspaper has adverts; adverts are the core reasons the core basic ways in which

newspapers get all their funds those are the core there is not ways about that advertises mainly that is the source when these adverts that are coming in are not enough to care of the overheads clearly you in big problem because, why? don't forget that for you to put to continue to have newspaper in the newsstand every blessed day you have to take care of the overheads you have to take care of the newsprint, you have to care of the staff, the generator is there, you have to power it every blessed day, and for a newspaper like ours that has correspondents spread across the 36 states of the country that tells you how large the marketing enterprise is the business enterprise is how do you put together all of this not talk of the operational expenses and ensure that at the end of it all you are making you know what ever we are doing aside the adverts we have ingenious ideas through which we get money and that is why things like special project coming and so you have the marketing department which continues to on a daily basis develop ideas develop strategies through which genuine income come to the company genuine funding come to the company marketing initiatives that you could use to of course get one of the things that ensures you to still be in the market is the retainship of your client, of your readers out there and the moment you once you begin to cut corners once you begin to compromise the standard of your newspaper it tells on you immediately because why you begin to experience a drop in your sales, a drop in the number of adverts you have always gotten before now at the end of it all the overall effect is that the revenue of the company begins to shrink and the moment that begins to set in you know you are in trouble if you are a smart organization what you now do is to ensure that you keep up to the quality and standard of your paper to ensure that it continues to be on the rise and then also balance it with your operational expenses given the fact that you have a very viable marketing department that is always ingenious and not

just relying on adverts going out of its way getting special project that I talked about and spoke about ehn All things being equal you continue to be in a good shape of business but then again there are also issues like debt management you know like every business organization expected to be owed so how you navigate that matters a lot too but ehm its the simple truth that for you to remain in business first and foremost you must get the editorial content right you must continue to be seen as a very fierce competitor in the media market and ensure that what you put out continues to appeal to your readership as you continue to retain your market, your readers out there and if need be continue to poach the readers of other papers but don't allow one single client of yours to be poached

7. Despite the existence of the Nigerian Guild of editors, Nigerian Union of Journalist and the Nigerian Press Council, allegations of partisanship both by journalist and academics are rife. How would you rate the extent of compliance to the professional ethics of journalism by the press generally and *The Sun* newspaper specifically?

Answer

What we do here is a lot of people have said that man by his nature is a politician so virtually you should expect that but allowing your inclination your interest political party wise to rub off on the content of the paper is what we do not accept here and its a straight forward thing like I said the control mechanism is not enshrine or embedded in a single hand here we ensure that for you to get any story published it goes through 1,2,3,4 and so if you have worker "A" that is a man of the PDP by the time the story goes to worker c that is an apc man there is definitely going to be some objection if that is the case you understand but here in this place we ensure that we are driven by a sense of fairness and justice and so in all our dealing we ensure that look our stories are well packaged in such a way that despite the fact that my chairman happens to be an APC

man he does not call you every day to ask you who did this and who did that he allows you so long as you are guided by your own principle and in your own heart of hearts you know that look your conscience is clear your conscience is free you are totally right in what you are doing its objective and its for the interest of the country your editorial reportage does not seem to be libellous does not seem to be sensational does not seem to be to to inflame the mindset does not seem to abusive to the culture religion and faiths of others you expect all those factors you balance them up there are instances where those things happen when a particular newspaper is not doing well there are rooms for redress yes you have mentioned that there are bodies saddled with the responsibility, but it also tells on you that if you exhaust these bodies you are not comfortable to find redress you approach the courts and here its an obvious its an open thing at some point in time when we had an issue with the former president of the country he took us to court of course we went to court to sought things out so those are the channels through which you can actually settle your scores when you feel aggrieved but when you feel you have been hurt and you do not approach the right quarters for redress and you continue to criticise the media for taking some stance and for being bias then you are not being fair to the system I expect that if am hurt I should seek redress and if I am not comfortable with the response that these agencies or bodies you have mentioned have given me I should proceed to court and then finally get redress that is suitable for me and that is what it is. Again sometimes when we make mistakes which sometimes are inevitable in this journalism job we do things called corrigendum; corrigendum simply states hey we are sorry for publishing this we found that it was erroneous we found that it was injurious that it was not fair that is what it is you take responsibility for your mistakes and we apologise for whatever errors that we might have committed those are the issues

8. Newspapers in Nigeria are accused of being partisan along geopolitical, ethnic, regime, political party, and to a lesser extent, religious lines. Appraise the extent of influence of these variables on the editorial orientation of *The Sun* newspaper.

Answer

These things started since independence *Leadership* is one newspaper that you can say is purely national if take a look at the map set which tells you who and who leads the paper its are reflection of what the paper is about so you see people from Ibo you see people from Hausa you see people from Fulani its you see from all part of the country you find out that they are here in Nigeria so its an open thing the daily editor is a guy from Kano for instance the Friday editor is guy from Yobe I who run the weekend paper I am an Ibo the guy who runs *The Sunday* newspaper is from Benue state so what does this tell you see a mix and then coming again we have a press we print from Asaba the Delta state capital what does that do that help us to make an imprint and of course stamp our presence in the south south part of the country and then we print from Lagos the Lagos axis the enugu zones to go through the south west part of the country and of course here in Abuja Abuja takes care of the North for us so except you are a serious newspaper you cannot really really do some of this things that we have done putting our printing units in across the major zones to take care of the diverse interest if we wanted to be a northern paper we would have just concentrate on the northern axis of the country but then if we have made inroads Lagos we have made inroads in Asaba in the south south what this tells you is that this paper is a serious paper its thinking of opening markets its thinking how each and every person in every part of the country can wake up in the morning and see *Leadership* newspaper that is what it tells me as an individual and that is what we do here so when it comes to

Leadership being a sectional paper I don't wanna go with that and the facts are there for you to see

9. Would you agree that *The Sun* newspaper is a regional newspaper given the geopolitical origin of The Publisher?

Answer

No.

10. The use of words like "The North," "The South," "Muslim North," "Christian South," etc tends to point to the direction of the framing of editorials and news reports along the lines of the old fault lines of the country. Where these words are used in your editorial and news story, do you not think they reflect that news report and editorials in your paper are framed in terms of the geopolitics of information thesis (clarification: the geopolitics of information thesis is the view that there is a contingency between the geopolitical location of the newspaper and the interest it stands for and advances)

Answer

It depends on the context of the story. It depends on what the story is about for instance just last week the northern governors held their meeting in Kaduna and said they are going to reveal the sponsors of Boko Haram those stories are guided by the stories you are running those words are guided by the stories you are running and so if then you had the papers gone awash with northern governors set to expose the sponsors of Boko Haram you then blame the newspapers for carrying such kinds of because why this is the positions of the Northern governors if the southern governors say look the south west governors are going to establish a free trade zone and then the stories read southern governors set to create free trade zones do you blame this newspapers for that of course why because you do not expect them to be

open they have to be categorical and of course specific and in those kind of areas they are purely guided by the content of the story so I think it is being misinterpreted most times you run those stories based on the facts on the ground.

APENDIX D

INTERVIEW WITH ONUOHA UKEH AT HE HEAD QUARTERS OF DAILY SUN
NEWSPAPER, COSCHARIS MOTORS KIKIRI INDUSTRIAL ESTATE APAPA LAGOS,
NIGERIA.

1. Name: Onuoha Ukeh,
2. Position: Editor *The Sun*
3. Organization: *The Sun* newspaper
4. Who is the publisher of *The Sun* Newspaper?

Answer: Dr Orji Uzor Kalu

5. Given his antecedents as a politician, what level of independence does the editorial crew of *The Sun* have?

Answer

We have hundred percent independence because the publisher doesn't interfere with what we do, he set up the newspaper employed professionals and has given us free hand and I say it with all sense of responsibility that he has given us free hand to do our job and that is what we do 6.

6. What internal rules and protocols do you have in place to guard against partisanship in *The Sun* newspaper generally and the editorial policy specifically?

well journalism has rules, ethics and conducts and that is first and foremost do be fair to all then you achieve balance in your reportage then you give everybody voice and opportunity to air or express him or herself that is a cardinal principle in journalism we adopt that so no matter how your own belief or this thing you do your job as a journalist in terms of reporting whatever but if you are now writing opinion you can express your own opinion that is your opinion but in terms of journalism news reports analysis or whatever it is objectivity, fairness and you give every body opportunity

7. Describe the editorial policy of *The Sun* newspaper?

Answer

If you have *The Sun* you would see the mission statement says it all that is the editorial policy and I can read that out to you the mission is “To practice journalism in the classical tradition of presenting the news and features in an exciting style, with impact objectivity and appeal that generate returns to all stakeholders: the society, the investors and the practitioners” and the vision is to be a dominant media content provider and entertainment company in Nigeria and Africa

7. How would you describe the impact of the profit motive on the quality of the news story and editorials of *The Sun* newspaper?

The quality first and foremost is number one because before ok let me say this first *The Sun* is a business it was established as a business and that is the mission says to bring returns to three people the society, investors and practitioners the return to society is to keep them informed then to the investors they have put in money at least they will get money that is business and then to the practitioners you pay them their salaries you pay

them their allowances pay all their entitlements so it's a business first and foremost and for your business to do well you have to be... quality has to be at the top of your priority because if the quality is low nobody would touch product so quality is paramount in whatever we do in terms of whatever headlines we cast the news we get and put in the paper so we practice it we do the best we can because if we do it well business would move and we would make more money

8. Despite the existence of the Nigerian Guild of editors, Nigerian Union of Journalist and the Nigerian Press Council, allegations of partisanship both by journalist and academics are rife. How would you rate the extent of compliance to the professional ethics of journalism by the press generally and *The Sun* newspaper specifically?

Answer

Nigerian journalists are responsible and they do their best to adhere to the ethics and code of conduct and in *The Sun* it is not different that is what we do but allegations of partisanship would always come up but the question you ask is who is making the allegation when stories or reports don't favour some body or group they will say or allege bias but when you it favours them they would say anything that is what is going on there is no it is difficult to satisfy everybody because whether politicians business people or professionals they want what newspapers report to favour them when it doesn't favour them they would allege partisanship

9. Newspapers in Nigeria are accused of being partisan along geopolitical, ethnic, regime, political party, and to a lesser extent, religious lines. Appraise the extent of influence of these variables on the editorial orientation of *The Sun* newspaper.

Answer

Daily Sun is a national newspaper that is first and foremost and we are fair to everybody and even when you look at the staff strength we have workers from everywhere in Nigeria The MD is from Edo state for example which is south south I am from Abia state which is south East the editor of Sunday is Yoruba that is south west the editor of Saturday is Delta south south we have Editor-at-Large Garba Deen Mohammed from the North so it's like that everybody is represented and we don't affiliate to any religion to say that this is a Christian religion we report both Christian and Muslim and others and traditionalist we report everybody ditto political party we report everybody during the last election we were doing our job objectively like I said when you are writing opinion you can take your stand and you can see some people taking a stand to say that PDP was a better choice and you see others taking a stand to say APC was and all of them they appear in the paper so everybody APC has something to read that favour them APC has and other parties so we don't support we maintain that nationality that *The Sun* is a national newspaper but we don't you know as a newspaper conscious of the society if we see anything wrong we come out to say it is wrong whether it is about a particular political party or about a religion or the other we come out to say this is wrong and we say why it is wrong so we don't say we are protecting the interest of Muslims or Christians or Hindu or whatever or that of a political party so if you open *The Sun* you would read about every thing

10. The use of words like "The North," "The South," "Muslim North," "Christian South," etc tends to point to the direction of the framing of editorials and news reports along the lines of the old fault lines of the country. Where these words are used in your editorial and news story, do you not think they reflect that news report and editorials in your paper are framed in terms of the geopolitics of information thesis (clarification: the geopolitics of

information thesis is the view that there is a contingency between the geopolitical location of the newspaper and the interest it stands for and advances)?

Answer

No I don't think so it is just the way it is used and remember Nigeria came together and say let us group the countries into six zones it was at a constitutional conference and they made the proposal and the government adopted it and grouped the state into zones so if you say that Lagos is in southwest you have not done anything to pigeon-hole that is the location of Lagos so in return we can now say the North and it is now using it in a manner to show or derogatory way or to now say you pigeonhole them it is just to describe a geographical location that is how we use it. The press is not divided I have told you that we journalist are conscious of the ethics, code of conduct and they maintain it they do it because it's a cardinal principle but I they have to take positions as individuals they can do that they are free but we say that truth is constant but opinion is free so you stand by the truth but if you are expressing your opinion. A newspaper as an institution is not partisan a newspaper is supposed to be neutral or to report things as they are but when they are about to take a position as an institution it...and gives reasons why so I don't see that the press is divided they do their job conscientiously if you are now talking of individual who are now expressing their personal view of course you know that it would be varied that is how it is.