



**COUNTERING *BOKO HARAM* INSURGENCY AND
TERRORISM: EFFECTIVENESS OF MEDIA
CAMPAIGNS**

**MSS Dissertation
BY**

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*Submitted to the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Daffodil International University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award Masters degree in Social Science (MSS)*

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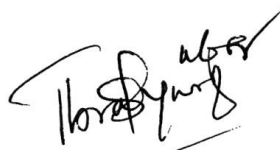
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Dear Sir,

I have successfully accomplished my dissertation titled ‘Countering *Boko Haram* Insurgency and Terrorism: Effectiveness of Media Campaigns’ as a course requirement for my post-graduation programme.

I have tried my level best to work sincerely to cover all aspects regarding the matter to which I have been assigned.

I believe that this dissertation has enriched both my knowledge and experience. I hope you will assess my report considering the limitations of the study. I shall be highly grateful if you kindly accept my project. Your kind approval is solicited.

Sincerely Yours,



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The study has been undertaken *in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Social Science (MSS)* in Journalism and Mass Communication at Daffodil International University

The study is expected to enrich research materials in the field of Journalism and Mass Communication and in future studies related to media campaigns.



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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I do hereby declare that with the exception of works by other authors duly cited and referenced, this dissertation, “**Countering *Boko Haram* Insurgency and Terrorism: Effectiveness of Media Campaigns**” is original research undertaken by me under the supervision of Dr Md. Towfique E. Elahi (Associate Professor).

I affirm that this study has not been submitted either in part or whole elsewhere for the award of any other degree, diploma or certificate.

Sincerely yours,



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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to:

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Sponsors; Hon Usman Ali Zannah, Major General Lucky Irabor and Hajiya Yabawa Kolo

As well as my darling daughter Adawiyya Ibrahim

ABSTRACT

This study assessed selected media campaigns and their effectiveness in the ongoing Counter Terrorism and Counter Insurgency Operations in North East Nigeria. The essence of this research was inspired by the renewed onslaught of Boko Haram activities on soft targets, kidnapping school girls, the use of minors for suicide mission as well as a new tactics of forcefully conscripting youths into their fold. The war has been ideological with a surplus application of bullet approach and suicide mission in some instances. War with such parameters needs a more robust approach; a combination of gun and awareness creation to conquer or subdue the spread of the ideology. The research work therefore, sought to examine the impact of the media campaigns in the fight against *Boko Haram*, its effectiveness in the de-radicalization process. The media patterns and content of media campaigns against Boko Haram were carefully analysed. Discourse analysis and in-depth individual interview methods were employed in the study. The research used data collected from the media campaigns broadcast on radio and television and placed on billboards. The study found that media campaigns mainly portrayed *Boko Haram* as anti-Islam and emphasised on the need for citizens to be security conscious by reporting suspected members of the sect to the nearest security outfit. Public knowledge on security consciousness has increased. There is clarity of information in the messages and they contained central messages like ‘stop killing, repent and surrender your weapons’. The media campaigns were mainly in local languages; Hausa, Kanuri and Shuwa Arab. This study recommended that NTA should allocate more airtime free of charge for the broadcast of the jingles and more jingles on de-radicalization should be produced.

Keywords: *Boko Haram*, De-radicalization, Insurgency, terrorism and media campaigns.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The conduct of this research was inspired by the renewed onslaught of *Boko Haram* activities on soft targets, the use of minors for suicide mission as well as a new tactics of forcefully conscripting youths into their fold. Amnesty International as cited by Sahara Reporters (2017) estimates that about 223 Nigerians have been killed in attacks since April, with 100 killed in August alone. *Boko Haram* has abducted 67 people, mostly young women and girls, in Nigeria in the same time frame.

Warner & Matfess (2017) as cited by CNN analyzed the 434 suicide bombings carried out by *Boko Haram* since 2011, and found that at least 244 of the 338 attacks in which the bomber's gender could be identified were carried out by women. The group has sent 80 women to their deaths in 2017 alone.

Over the years, media campaigns have been increasingly used, in an attempt to change the narrative and shape the behaviour of youths perceived to be the main target of indoctrination or forcefully recruited by the *Boko Haram Terrorists* (BHTs). Notably, such campaigns are geared towards enhancing civil-military relationship, surveillance and also an 'all inclusive approach' to end the guerrilla or ideological war. Typical of such campaigns, have been repeated consistently on radio and television (public and privately owned) stations, inform of public announcements and have reached a significant Nigerian population and beyond including perpetrators of the terrorism acts at a time. These campaigns have also been replicated on outdoor media like fliers, billboards and posters. According to Rao (2014):

The media, such as newspapers, radio and television, are the main way that messages to change attitudes and behaviour are communicated in campaigns. In conflict situations, the media does not necessarily always either promote or prevent conflict, but still acts as an important, influential force in most societies. The media can help inform decisions and counteract hateful and violent messages, but can also undermine peace building processes. There is no single way that the media affects audiences, and the media cannot 'inject' behaviours or attitudes into people's minds but rather

affects the formation of attitudes and beliefs which in turn impact on behaviour.

The above argument presented scholarly support to the fact that media is a catalyst in conflict situation, which if properly explored and exploited would avail appreciable result. The exploration is possible through long, short and medium term campaigns geared towards attitude change and counter-ideologies. This also tells about media role in shaping opinion and ideologies of the audience. Campaigns overtime were targeted toward various ideological ends, where some succeeded whilst others failed.

Since the inception of the *Boko Haram* crisis in Borno State, North-East Nigeria, from 2009 to date, there have been a variety of anti-terrorism campaigns emanating from the military and the federal government through the Ministry of Information and Culture or National Orientation Agency (NOA). The Nigerian Armed Forces who are leading the Counter-Insurgency and Counter-Terrorism Operations in the North East are faced with a series of challenges especially facing the ‘unknown enemy’—since he has no any sign to depict his true identity and betrayal from their sympathisers (host community). The lack of cooperation between the military and civil populace constitute yet another setback to the fight against terrorism.

History has it that the media campaigns play a pivotal role in inciting people towards violence and also subduing the violence to the lowest ebb. These campaigns shape thinking of media consumers towards a certain issue. Media owners and journalists are twin categories of experts whom out of experience familiarize with conflict and terrorism. These two, have over the years dominated media content either as news, spots announcements, jingles or documentary. Media campaigns are now spread all over stations, channels, board and in strategic places that we can’t (not) avoid.

Media campaigns are created to get a message to the target audience and try to influence the behaviour of this audience in some desired way. A media campaign is defined as the universe of measures in order to fulfil a specific objective (University of Twente, 2006). They are series of coordinated messages or other promotional efforts placed on media, purposely designed to achieve a certain goal of objective.

It is not arguable that campaign is a public relations tool used by many institutions, countries and corporate bodies to relate with their public. United State of America used such model in

the Middle East to achieve certain goals in countries like Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Yemen. Such was also demonstrated by international companies, nation states and security bodies. In Nigeria for instance, the war against Boko Haram in the North-East has prompted the military not to only focus on the ‘Gun War’ but the ideological confrontation as well as force applied by the insurgents to recruit the vulnerable villagers. This was the propeller for the establishment of “Lafiya Dole Radio” coined from the Theatre of Operation of the Nigerian Army in the North-East.

Several campaigns that run on the station are said to promote counter-terrorists ideologies, civil-military relationship and reconcile between the aggrieved parties. The establishment of the station and further design of campaign prompted the need to conduct this study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

No country talks of development when there is no peace. The North-Eastern Nigeria where *Boko Haram* operates occasioned by threat and fear of the unknown is no exception. Neither do parents have rest of mind when their children who are supposedly the future leaders of the country have been forced to join an ideology anchored on bloodshed to uphold an Islamic state. Unarguably, sending messages through the media has been effective in other sectors in Nigeria, notably in creating awareness on polio and other child killer diseases, voter mobilization, post election violence and a host of others. Lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate. The ability to make informed decisions strengthens societies and fosters economic growth, democratic structures and the positive outlook on the future (Kuusik, 2010).

The war has been ideological with a surplus application of bullet approach and suicide mission in some instances. Globally, war with such parameters needs a more robust approach using not only the powers of gun but combining the powers that of ideological apparatus to conquer or subdue the spread of the ideology through awareness creation.

Scholars have no doubt developed interest in the activities of the BHTs. However, areas of focus by most researchers such as Shuaibu and Salleh (2015), Christian & Ibrahim *et al* (2014), Ganiyu (2012), Ekweme & Obayi (2012), Warner & Matfess (2017) was tilted towards coverage of *Boko Haram* by Nigerian newspapers, historical evolution of the crisis, exploding stereotype and use of suicide bombers, *Boko Haram* threat and so on. It is pertinent to note that the attacks on media organizations like *This Day* newspaper and threat on the lives of journalists and the organizations they work for, as deterrence to either misquoting

them or for addressing them with *Boko Haram* rather than *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna lid Da'awati Wal Jihad* has constituted a major setback for the effective media coverage and campaigns. Commercialization otherwise the 'Let them pay' policy has hindered media campaigns specifically for the fight against *Boko Haram*. This is so because the Nigerian media (public and private owned) depend solely on the sales of airtime for the daily running of the organizations.

In Spite of these challenges, the Nigerian media have continued to take part in creating awareness on the heinous activities of the group and the need to support security agencies defeat the common enemy. However, there is no known analysis to evaluate the effectiveness of these media campaign in the fight against *Boko Haram* Insurgency.

Premised on this insufficiency, the study set out to ascertain and assess the patterns, tones, themes, impact and effectiveness of these campaigns in the de-radicalization process as well as the frequency to which they are broadcast on Nigerian Television Authority and Radio Lafiya Dole, in the wake of *Boko Haram* insurgency.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

According Osuala (2003), objectives of the study is a quick overview of the study itself. It is the purpose for which the research was sparked. The focus of this study is to take a look at the messages that constitutes media campaigns for creating awareness and countering the BHTs ideology. Therefore, this study is anchored on the following objectives:

1. To analyse the patterns and content of media campaigns against *Boko Haram*
2. To find out the tones and themes of the media campaigns against *Boko Haram*
3. To determine the effectiveness of these media campaigns in the de-radicalization process of youths
4. To find out the frequency of media campaigns broadcast on Radio Lafiya Dole and Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)
5. And also, to examine the impact of the media campaigns in the fight against *Boko Haram*

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions will guide this study:

1. What are the patterns of media campaigns used in the fight against *Boko Haram*?

2. What are the tones and themes of the media campaigns against *Boko Haram*?
3. To what extent are these media campaigns effective in the de-radicalization process of youths?
4. At what frequency are these campaigns broadcast on Lafiya Dole Fm and Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)?
5. To what extent have these media campaigns impacted in the ongoing fight against *Boko Haram*?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The issue in the fight against *Boko Haram* Insurgency and terrorism is whether or not the gun approach alone can suffice. The media plays a pivotal role in forming people's attitude and change in behaviour. The *Boko Haram* Insurgency and other conflicts bedeviling Nigeria, has indeed reawaken media managers and other relevant stakeholders on their roles in curbing the menace that has taken its toll on the socio-economic activities of the country. From early 2015 to 2017, the media has been playing an essential role in increasing society's awareness of, and response to, *Boko Haram*.

The outcome of this research will be of immense important to the entire media organizations and the Nigerian Armed Forces in particular. It will give an empirical data to the military, who have been taking the lead in the de-radicalization process so as to enhance the program. The identification of the content and themes of the messages will help the media build on a more persuading, ethically considerable campaigns that can change or counter the narrative. Also, it is hopeful that this study will give insight to the military and other stakeholders on the importance of media in tackling armed conflict like the BH.

This study shall therefore attempt to highlight and discuss the rudiments of developing a media campaign, its noticeable patterns, types and structures and of course, the effective use of these campaigns in behavioural and attitudinal changes.

Considering the virginity of the issue and insufficiency of vast and objective literature from the perspective of the host community, this research will add to the existing few literature and help researchers who might develop interest to conduct research in future on similar area with literature from a different thought.

Ndolo (2011) posits that the media promote national interests and certain behaviours especially in critical or emergency situations and during times of national crises. He went

further by maintaining that they not only advance national interests in the spheres of politics, war, economic development, work, religion and sports but also mobilize the populace against unpopular policies and dictatorial regimes. The above quote has unequivocally created the window for this study.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study will take a look at the jingles produced in English and Hausa languages and broadcast on Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Radio Lafiya Dole for a period of two years (from December 2015-December 2017). The Nigerian military and the Federal Ministry for Information and Culture have been up to speed in producing media messages aimed at creating awareness on the dangers of the *Boko Haram* sect, through the portrayal of their heinous activities using videos, pictures and sounds. The idea behind this delimitation of boundaries is to avoid embarking on an unmanageable venture as Ohaja (2003) opines.

1.7 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

The key concepts in this study are operationally defined as followed:

Media Campaigns: They are media messages created by a team of people with the purpose of broadening community or audience knowledge on an issue, product or services.

Boko Haram: Is an ideology anchored on upholding Islamic Sharia through jihad (bloodshed) and considers western education and anything attached therewith as filth, unlawful or un-Islamic.

BHTs: Acronym for Boko Haram Terrorists coined by the Nigerian Military.

Insurgency: An armed revolt against a constituted authority.

De-radicalisation: A process of rehabilitating people with extreme views to adopt moderate or liberal views and discard the *Boko Haram* ideology.

Effectiveness: The degree to which the Media campaigns are successful in countering the *Boko Haram* ideology.

Impact: Having effect on someone or something.

1.8 RESEARCH STRUCTURE

This thesis is an assessment of the effectiveness of media campaigns in the fight against *Boko Haram* Insurgency. It basically examines the nature and content of the media campaigns, their tones and patterns, effectiveness and impact on the de-radicalization process of youths. For easy understanding of this research, this thesis has been designed into five (5) chapters. Chapter one gives an overview or background to the study, rationale for doing the research, the research questions to be answered and scope of the study. This chapter also operationalise the definition of key terms associated to research and also define the focus of the study.

In chapter two, the study explores relevant literature for the purpose of connecting the thesis to previous works, thereby crafting what research gaps to fill in order to make thesis a valuable contribution to knowledge. The chapter examines selected literature published by scholars on the issue. Key concepts reviewed include antecedents of *Boko Haram* before and after 2009, mission and vision, the significance of media campaigns, importance of peace in the society, media campaigns for behavioural change. The chapter also elaborates on the theoretical framework for the thesis. Three theories were considered relevant to the subject. The applicability of the theories was justified.

Chapter three outlines the research method and design. It discusses the procedure followed in the thesis and gave a clear picture of how the study was conducted. Based on the research objectives and inferences from the literature review, the study adopts qualitative approach. A combination of In-depth individual Interview, Discourse Analysis and observation was used in obtaining data. The chapter also gave a brief profile of the two media organizations (Nigerian Television Authority NTA and Lafiya Dole Fm) as well as justifies the reason for selecting the method.

Chapter four is devoted for result finding and discussions. In this chapter, the data is analysed in a qualitative form. Numbers, tables and coding sheet were used in exceptional places to discuss the data obtained. The final chapter, chapter five discusses recommendation, conclusion and limitations of the study.

1.9 SUMMARY

This introductory chapter set the tone for the thesis. It gave a backgrounder on the subject, the research objectives and questions as well the research gap expected to be filled. This chapter

also gave a skeletal insight on the preoccupation and expectations of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

“The power of media in warfare is formidable. It can be a mediator or an interpreter or even a facilitator of conflict. If only by editing away facts that do not fit the demands of air time or print space, many wars would be avoided,” Elizabeth Rehan.

The emergence of *Boko Haram* as religious sect and its evolution to become terrorist groups had a lot of impact from the media. Initial silence of authorities on the surge and early activities of the sect contributed in no small ways. The gap created was filled by the international media such as BBC and VOA with respect to attachment of name and importance which has been x-rayed as tool that contributed in the swell of the fight, thus giving the *Boko Haram* global publicity.

Scholars, researchers and public affairs commentators have written so much on the history, scope, operations and matters arising therein, with the *Boko Haram* insurgency. The issue of *Boko Haram* insurgency has continued to gain local and international attention. This is so because of the extreme and complexity of the armed conflict. This chapter therefore attempts to bring together a collection of researches conducted on *Boko Haram* Insurgency and synthesize the issues raised by the writers and scholars in relation to the media campaigns. The review therefore, seeks to focus on the following issues;

1. Overview of *Boko Haram* Crisis
2. Concept of Media Campaigns
3. Media Campaigns during Conflicts
4. Media campaigns for Behavioural and Attitudinal Change
5. Why Media campaign on *Boko Haram*?
6. Commercialization and media campaigns
7. Theoretical framework

2.1 OVERVIEW OF BOKO HARAM CRISIS

The overall view of *Boko Haram* can be seen in two different styles, as a quiet group and as a violent group. As a quiet group, the leader of *Boko Haram* Mohammad Yusuf was a student of a renowned Nigerian Sunni scholar, Late Sheikh Ja’afar Mahmud Adam, believed to be

murdered by the same *Yusufiyya* sect members in April 2007. Yusuf established his sect because of more strict perspective on some Islamic affairs. He founded it in 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of the north-eastern state of Borno. It was formed as a Sunni Islamic fundamentalist group advocating strict Sharia law and opposing the westernizing of Nigerian society which further accounts for the name 'Boko Haram' meaning 'Western Education is forbidden'. Yusuf used existing infrastructure in Borno of the Izala society, a popular conservative Islamic sect originally welcomed into government to recruit members before breaking away to form his own faction. His radical views first became public when the then Borno State Governor, late Mala Kachallah named him as a member of the Shari'a Committee between 1999 to 2002.

The sect operated in a quietist nature, conducting its operations more or less peacefully during the first seven years of its existence. They then withdrew from society into remote area of the metropolis but were soon to change into a Salafist-Jihadi group known for terrorist attacks since 2009 with a goal of creating an Islamic state. In 2009, due to Boko Haram extremist motives and increasingly militant character of the sect, government directed the police and military to begin investigation into the affairs of the sects in an assignment code-named 'Operation Flush'.

On the violent scene, 26th July 2009 marks the beginning of this scene, when security forces arrested nine Boko Haram members, sequester weapons and bomb making devices. The erstwhile leader and promoter of this ideology, a sect well known for its extreme preaching and rigid doctrines, opposing western education, civilization, and public service system within the secular state, unleashed a military campaign on Maiduguri. Locals in Borno and neighbouring Yobe states, where this ideology was fast gaining acceptance and popularity often referred to them as *Yusufiyya*, because they (the sect members), tend to disagree and dissociate themselves with all the existing sects in the country. Thus, residents decided to address them with their leader's surname. The Muhammad Yusuf's sect never gave itself a name. They claimed to be true Sunni Muslims as mentioned earlier.

The name Boko Haram, a combination of Hausa and Arabic words, came to limelight when BBC Hausa and VOA Hausa services concurrently used the phrase to describe the violent attack in 2009. Subsequently, it became saturated in the news content of International Media outlets. Be it as it may, the phrase- Boko Haram, simply connotes 'western education is forbidden'. This however, does not augur well for the sect members, who consider the name as 'mischievous', by the unbelievers despite been a major proponent of their ideology. Upon the extra judicial killing of the pioneer leader of the sect, his second in command Abubakar

Shekau, however coined a name as ‘*Jama’atu Ahlis Sunnah, Lid da’awati Wal Jihad*’, meaning - a group that follows the prophetic tradition and upholds Jihad. Presently, the group is estimated to have more than 6,000 fighters.

The group established a loyalty to the Islamic State (IS) and Al-Qaeda, when its current leader Abubakar Shekau made the declaration that the Boko Haram and IS operate toward similar goal. This has changed the step of the fight to establishing Multi-national Joint Task Force (MNJTF) by the Lake Chad countries in order to give it a holistic shot. The idea was born out of fear that the IS might send down fighters through the porous borders of these countries which might likely add to the danger of the Boko Haram sect.

“Operation Lafiya Dole” was a Nigerian Army’s giants stride to revamp the fight and crushed down the remnants of the sect in the region. The combined national and international efforts have now forced the insurgents to launch suicide attacks on soft targets using under-aged and vulnerable. This also made the group one of the deadliest of all time in the history of terrorism and conflict.

2.1.1 MISSION, IDEOLOGY AND AGENDA

In discussing ideology, it is common for sociologists experts in that area, to begin by acknowledging, if not bemoaning, the plurality of different ways of using the term “ideology” (Eagleton 1991).

According to Althusser as cited by Holmes (2005);

Ideology only exists by the subject and for the subject, and its function is to constitute people as subject. Individuals are unified, autonomous beings whose consciousness and unique personality are the source of their ideas and beliefs. While the subject is the ‘centre of initiatives,’ responsible for the its actions, it is also a subjected being who submits freely to the authority of the subject-God, Father, Institution, the boss etc-that is, a subject through the subject and subjected to the subject.

The Boko Haram sect has a mission of creating an Islamic Caliphate. They are on a mission of imposing Shari’a law from a ‘perceived’- [wrong] perspective, after the planned Jihad was successful. It considers anybody that embraces western education, public service and any other practice alien to their ideology as an ‘unbeliever’. For us in Maiduguri, we can attest to

the fact, the sect members only observe the compulsory five daily prayers and other prayers including Ed in their headquarters called 'Markaz'. They marry only from within those they consider 'Yaana'; meaning brothers, transact business among them and live in isolation, as some members have abandoned their homes and relocated to the headquarters.

According to a 2015 report titled 'Threat Tactics Report: *Boko Haram*;'

The primary goal of Boko Haram is to institute an Islamic state throughout Nigeria based on a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law with an inevitable regional expansion. The founder and spiritual leader of Boko Haram, Muhammad Yusuf, and his followers originally believed in a peaceful transition and made what the current Boko Haram leadership considered illegitimate concessions to and compromises with secular and government leaders.

2.1.2 BOKO HARAM BEFORE JULY 2009

The period before July 2009 was characterized by rigid preaching, break of law and order by the sect members and stiff opposition to democratic principles and practice and modern science. Muhammad Yusuf and his followers have for long time declared all Muslims that does not belong to their sect as infidels, especially if you are working for government. In his public preaching and Friday sermons, the leader of the sect continuously oppose all those in government payroll, especially military and Para-military personnel, Lawyers and the Nigerian constitution. Through these sermons and public lectures in nooks and crannies of Maiduguri, Muhammad Yusuf, who many describe as a 'motivational speaker', was able to garner support from the teeming youths. His followers were moved by his articulation and style of criticism to the government. Many became school drop outs, tore their school certificates and resigned voluntarily from public service. In addition, families were separated from their loved ones. The increase in the followership of Muhammad Yusuf became a source of worry to parents, because his followers chose to adhere strictly to all the laid down principles of the ideology against the wish of their parents. Most of his die-hard followers abandoned their parents and guardians and relocated to *Markaz*.

The followers of *Yusufiyya* became above the law. Those with motorcycles and other vehicles used the turban instead of the helmet enforced by the then Ali Sherrif led administration. Against the normal two-on-one per motorcycle, his followers ride over loading and the security personnel inaugurated into a Joint Task Force coded 'Operation Flush', overlooked

them. The sect members never avail themselves for security checking. In fact, they close from preaching session lately, when the curfew time has started and never obeyed such orders, on the grounds that they are man-made laws. Additionally, they submitted their helmets for mass destruction.

Islamic scholars in Maiduguri and beyond, against the style of his preaching and particularly his ideology, were listed among those infidels to be executed after the successful takeover of Maiduguri. In an open letter to the then President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, Yusuf vowed to conquer Nigeria and hoist an Islamic flag. This open letter was sequel to the brutal attack Yusuf's followers were subjected to by personnel of Operation along the ever-busy custom road, when they were on their way to bury one of their own at Gwange graveyard. Yusuf equally vowed to revenge this ill-treatment on the security apparatus. Government and people became reluctant on this threat to attack Maiduguri, because the population of the sect was not up to a local government in Borno, so how dare attack government with an intact security. Besides, the sect members became popular, moving around with sticks to disguise, or while guarding their members in *Markaz* during prayers. They were taken for granted, until members started unleashing attacks with brand new AK-47 rifles.

While this was happening in the capital city of Maiduguri, there are other incidences recorded in Biu and Bama, where clerics loyal to Yusuf campaigned for him to gain the confidence of the locals. This was noticed when issues of sporadic shootings, murders and gun shots started occurring in such remote locations. By then, many people's heart have been won and host of them relocate to Maiduguri while others settle in their local governments and started unleashing terror on Islamic Scholars mostly scholars of the *Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'a wa Ikamatus Sunnah*, which is a sect that criticized Yusuf plainly and openly.

The above issues of relocation have saw many of them sold their properties worth millions and relocate to Maiduguri with their wives and children to stay at the *Markaz* to prepare for the fight. The *Markaz* became like a military camp which contain things were unknown to the Nigerian Army, intelligence and the public. That sense of secrecy gave them opportunity to prepare and wage war against the Nigerian Army and Prisons.

The very first encounter between Nigerian forces led by General Saleh Maina and the *Yusufiyya* followers lasted four days. This led to the destruction of their base, while a significant number of the sect members, security forces and civilians died. Unfortunately,

many of the members and the second in command of the leader Shekau escaped to an unknown place. Nigerian forces succeeded in dislodging their base, and dispatched others.

2.1.3 BOKO HARAM AFTER JULY 2009

After the four day fight that ensued between contingents of the Nigerian Armed Forces and the *Yusufiyya* fighters, normalcy was restored to Maiduguri. Traditional leaders were summoned for an emergency security meeting, and they were mandated to expose all members of the sect hiding in their domain. This directive led to the capture and prosecution of some members who did not participate in the war but were taking part in other activities like attending the weekly Tafsir session at Dokeri and Friday Prayers. The arrest compelled others to escape to unknown hide outs considered safer havens. The group was silent for about one year or so until 2011 when it resurfaced with a guerrilla tactics of eliminating traditional leaders, security personnel and all others that played role in exposing their members, which subsequently led to their prosecution.

2.1.4 EMERGENCE OF CIVILIAN JOINT TASK FORCE (CJTF)

A known fact that has posed set back to the counter insurgency was the inability of the local community to assist security personnel in routing the *Boko Haram*. This is for reason not farfetched from the tighter security measures put in place, in addition to the continuous threat of losing one's life, his loved one or relation that dare give vital information to security operatives, leading to either arrest, or thwarting a planned attack. It is worthy of mention, that, security presence in Maiduguri and environs had compounded the situation, because the number of security check-points within the town and beyond, and the curfew had made life unbearable for residents. The security men considered every resident as a 'prime suspect' due to how some 'sympathisers' give them cover after attacks. As first time timers to Maiduguri, the security personnel seems not familiar with the terrain, hence it was advantage to the *Boko Haram* members to easily escape through the nooks and crannies of the volatile areas of Maiduguri.

Moved by the continuous pressure from both sides of security and the *Boko Haram* members, residents of Maiduguri-youths decided to take the bull by the horn.

While the campaign against Boko Haram went on, hundreds of innocent youth ended up in detention camps of various security operatives in Maiduguri and other places. This was in addition to the arrest of actual suspects. Observers believe that this alleged "brutality" coming

from the then JTF troops coupled with extreme hardship caused by the declaration of State of Emergency prompted youths in Maiduguri to rise fearlessly against Boko Haram sect members by cobbling together what would be known today as ‘Civilian JTF’,(Daily Trust, March 29, 2014).

2.1.5 SAMBISA FOREST AS *BOKO HARAM* CALIPHATE

On August, 24, 2014, leader of *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Wal Jihad* Abubakar Shekau, in a new video he released on YouTube, declared that fighters of the sect have taken over Gwoza local government, hoisted their flag at the Emir's Palace, and is now an Islamic Caliphate. The video which lasted 24 minutes showed Shekau, the spiritual leader flanked by four masked fighters holding sophisticated guns, speaking in Arabic and Hausa interchangeably. In his traditional threatening messages, Shekau declared all those that did not accept the *Boko Haram* doctrine as unbelievers and vowed to continue the fight until they take over the entire nation.

The 1,300 square-kilometre Sambisa forest – is the most fortified base of the terror group since 2013. The forest is now almost mythical for so many people within the Lake Chad Basin who have come to align the complex north-eastern vegetation with Boko Haram, instead of the game reserve the colonialists meant it for (The Nation, April 29, 2014). Sambisa forest, formally a game reserve established by the colonialists basically to attract tourists from across Nigeria and neighbouring Republic of Cameroun, is located in the hills of Gwoza and became the operational base of the Boko Haram sect. Surrounded by Mandara Mountains which separates Nigeria from Republic of Cameroun, the porous nature of the forest gave the sect members the free-will to operate and take cover from Nigerian ground forces. The forest equally served as a breeding ground where the sect members keep hostages. The sect members appeared to be more conversant with the terrain of volatile forest than the contingents of the Nigerian Armed forces-who, mostly, are of North West, North Central or origins of other geographical zones. Perhaps, the kidnap of a prominent Associate Professor of the Geography Department, University of Maiduguri, Abba Kagu PhD, was reported to have aided the operational capacity of the group. The held University Don was reported to have been forcefully engaged in map readings for the group. In addition, Indigents of Gwoza, who were believed to be among the major followers of Muhammad Yusuf from the inception of the group to date, have played a pivotal role in directing their cohorts the nooks and crannies of the forest. Earlier, when the sect members were dispatched from

Markaz, and people including traditional leaders started exposing them, they had no option than to escape to their original places of abode-Gwoza, Bama and other local communities within and outside Borno. There are more than 18 operational camps in Sambisa. Most prominent and notorious among them-where the Spiritual leader, Abubakar Shekau is believed to have been operating is ‘Camp Zairo.’

2.2 CONCEPT OF MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

Series of media campaigns have been carried out the in the past for a variety of purposes. These campaigns are geared towards persuasion, creation of public awareness; improve in behaviour, sustaining support or change in attitudes and beliefs. For every message to get across a large number of audiences at a time, the involvement of mass media is sacrosanct. Messages are developed everyday based on different intentions and for different people. Planners of such media campaigns create such campaigns with the intention of generating specific outcomes or effects among a relatively large group of people through an organized set of communication activities, to last for a specific period of time.

Mass Media campaigns simply put are verbal or non-verbal communication drafted in form of spot announcements, jingles or short messages that reach members of public through the channels of communication. The channels can be radio, television, social media, newspapers, magazines, leaflets, billboards and even books. Southwell and Yzer (2007) noted that contemporary media campaigns have featured advertisements, public service announcements, and, more recently, Internet-based tools and other interactive digital applications.

Wakefield *et al* (2014) noted that the great promise of mass media campaigns lies in their ability to disseminate well defined behaviourally focused messages to large audiences repeatedly, over time, in an incidental manner, and at a low cost per head.

Alexander & Hanson (1997) posits that;

Not long ago, ‘mass’ media referred to messages that were created by large organizations for broad, heterogeneous audiences. The concept no longer suffices for contemporary media environment. Yes ‘mass’ media still exist in forms of radio, television, film and general interest newspapers and magazines; but many media forms today are hybrids of “mass” and “personal” media technologies that open a new realm of understanding about how audience process the meaning of messages.

Media campaigns, an offshoot of public communication campaign; may involve a conventional mix of brochures, posters, advertisements, and commercials or a different array of communication methods” for the purpose of achieving certain objectives.

Public communication campaign as defined by Rice & Atkin (2009) is a purposive attempt to inform or influence behaviors in large audience within a specified period of time, using an organized set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels generally to produce noncommercial benefits to individuals and society. Mediated messages here imply that the messages pass through the channels of communication.

2.2.1 STRUCTURE AND TYPES OF MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

An effective communication campaign requires a definite structure, usually expressed in these nine elements:

- Situation analysis,
- Goal/objectives,
- Target audience,
- Strategy,
- Tactics,
- Media of choice,
- Calendar/timeline,
- Budget, and
- Evaluation.

Research plays a vital role within each of the nine elements.

In evaluating media messages, Krueger (2017) noted that the best way to achieve media literacy is to evaluate all the messages that bombard you. Ask these questions to understand the message:

Who created, or paid for, the message? The company, group or institution that creates a media message or that pays for the creation of a message has a reason or motive.

Who is the target audience? Message producers direct their message to specific groups. When the producers want to reach several groups, they typically produce separate messages targeted at each group.

What is the product? Media messages, especially in advertising, have something to promote. Usually, the product or service is obvious; sometimes, the product or service isn't clear until the end of the message.

What are the direct messages? Direct messages are easy to identify. They include the name of the product and price, and its benefits to the consumer are stated explicitly in text, dialogue or voice-overs.

What are the indirect messages? Indirect messages are not stated directly, either in text, dialogue or voice-overs. These messages may be just as powerful as the direct messages.

What is omitted from the message? In advertising, messages often highlight the positive qualities of their product, service or cause. They downplay any negative qualities. Often, they just don't talk about anything that would cause consumers to dislike what the message is promoting. Ask yourself what is missing from any message you read, see or hear.

2.3 MEDIA CAMPAIGNS FOR BEHAVIOURAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGE

In situations like that of *Boko Haram* crisis, media messages are driven by an agenda-persuasion. Persuasion is a form of communication that takes place on a daily basis within our society. It is a term that is used when one is attempting to get another to change their mindset or action in one form or another. Persuasive communication is any message that is intended to shape, reinforce, or change the responses of another or others. Such responses are modified by symbolic transactions (messages) which are sometimes, but not always, linked with coercive force (indirectly coercive) and which appeal to the reason and emotions of the target (Miller, 1980).

Mass media campaign is a critical tool in behaviour and attitudinal change. Early in the history of media studies, it was believed messages conveyed by media had tremendous power to influence people's attitude and behaviour. This power has remained up to this moment, even though not all audience receive the messages at a time. Media campaigns may also involve the use of propaganda that is manipulation of information to influence public opinion

which may result to change in behaviour and attitude. However, war itself implies the use of propaganda to defeat the common enemy. Propaganda according to Baran & Davis (2006) refers to the no-holds-barred use of communication to propagate specific beliefs and expectations. The ultimate goal of propaganda is to change the way people act and also persuade or scare others into adopting their beliefs, whether it's political, religious or philosophical.

The outcomes of behavioural and attitudinal change vary in proportion to such factors as the dose of information, qualitative potency of messages and the proper integration of mass media. For media campaigns to attain a strong impact on behavioural and attitudinal change, exposure of audience to such messages is critical. Audience must also have access to the media by which the message passed through.

2.3.1 STRATEGIC APPROACHES

1. Prevention: in seeking to influence behaviour and attitude, media campaigns maybe tilted towards promoting positive behaviours (like being a law abiding citizen, sanctity of human lives, avoiding indecent dressing among others) to avoid chaos. Atkin & Rice (2012) noted that traditionally, prevention campaigns fear appeals to focus attention on negative consequences of a detrimental practice rather promoting the desirability of a positive alternative.

The fear appeal in the prevention approach can be divided into two approaches: the threat and recommendation approach. In the threat approach, messages should present the risk information especially the severity of the risk and the individual's susceptibility to this particular risk. The recommendation approach on the other hand should present information on the recommended behaviour to cope with the risk; the response efficacy- the effectiveness of the recommendation in removing the threat, and self-efficacy, which refers to the individual's capability to enact the recommended behaviour. The issue of *Boko Haram* engaging minors (females) as suicide bombers is a detrimental practice by the group. Using the fear appeal approach can lead to audience scepticism; caution them on the deterrence and in the long champion the change in the behaviour and attitude of the audience.

2. Message Content: Content of media messages can generally be informative, educative or persuasive. Awareness messages simply inform the audience what to do and how it should be done. Awareness messages give cues and answers to what, who, where and how questions

while persuasive messages covers the ‘why’ aspect. Persuasive messages advocates and give answers to why this is a preferable or acceptable action and attitude. Media campaigns based anchored on persuasion come along with incentives to attract the audience change their attitudes and behaviours. For instance, the *Boko Haram* fighters leaving in the dreaded Sambisa Forest can be persuaded to stop killing and be re-integrated to the society by granting them amnesty and psycho-socio support.

It is however important to note that *Boko Haram* fighters that are too extreme in their ideology consider the government and military as enemies. The messages may also be regarded as offensive, boring, full of deceit, lies, misleading and a counter to their own understanding. Therefore, the impact of the media campaign on the extreme members might take a longer period to become effective, even though it is aimed at the members of the public including potential recruits, who are pleased with the actions of the group members.

2.4 WHY CAMPAIGN ON *BOKO HARAM*

Like any other terrorist group in the 21st century, Boko Haram insurgent group, aside being the most deadliest has resort to seizing some advantages to recruit people of vulnerable features. However, this does not mean there is absent use of channels of mass communication to spread their ideologies. The group was known with high syllogism and good public speakers capable of convincing locals to join the terrorists groups. It is also notable as reported by some media outlets that some parents after being convinced by the terrorist or otherwise forced into the act, donate their children to be used for suicide mission. This adversely constituted a situation whereby the group (Boko Haram) continues to gain followers in the region.

Moreover, the group’s link to international terrorist organisations like ISIS and Al-Qaeda signalled a very horrible and atrocious ideological support that could infer more harm to the people. Similarly, it provides for possibilities of the bigger organisations to support them with arms and strategies. In the same vein, the U.S declaration of Boko Haram as terrorist group added a huge thought provoking analysis to the situation in the North-East and status of the group.

It is then realised by the military, government, civil society groups and the general public that the force application is not enough to win the war within a realistic period of time. Moreover, the scenario of Boko Haram establishes a situation whereby many people are frustrated and

aggrieved which further presented a possibility of more tragedy. This situation also needs to be arrested before it surface to cause mayhem.

Linking the above fact with another line of issue that prompted for campaigns against terrorist ideologies is the inadequacy of TV channels and radio stations. The available media as at the outbreak of the crisis was Nigerian Television Authority, Borno Radio Television and Peace FM. This is too meagre to handle information and communication needs of the people of the state. It is out of these and more that radio station was established, to give room for more campaigns to flow and reach higher number of listeners.

The Nigerian Television Authority being a government owned outfit, was set on the pace of the counter-terrorism media campaign. It was a joint effort between the National Orientation Agency and Ministry of Information and Culture. The central campaign was tagged “Nigeria Unite against Terrorism”. Another concerted effort was initiated in the Lafiya Dole Radio, which broadcast campaign and programmes about the success of the Nigerian Army in the fight against Boko Haram as well as effort of government to reconcile between people. There was also campaign which targeted to sensitize people to report suspicious movement and people to security operatives and abstain from embracing any ideology alien to their own or that which they have no knowledge on.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Media research is a cycle. Theories are propagated from results of research and theoretical propositions set basis for research. This implies that any scientific study should have a backing from the barn of theoretical propositions. It is called theoretical framework. Because of the nature of the area of study, the review of related literature suggested the use of four theories to lay a theoretical background for the study. Each of the theories addresses a distinct part of the research target.

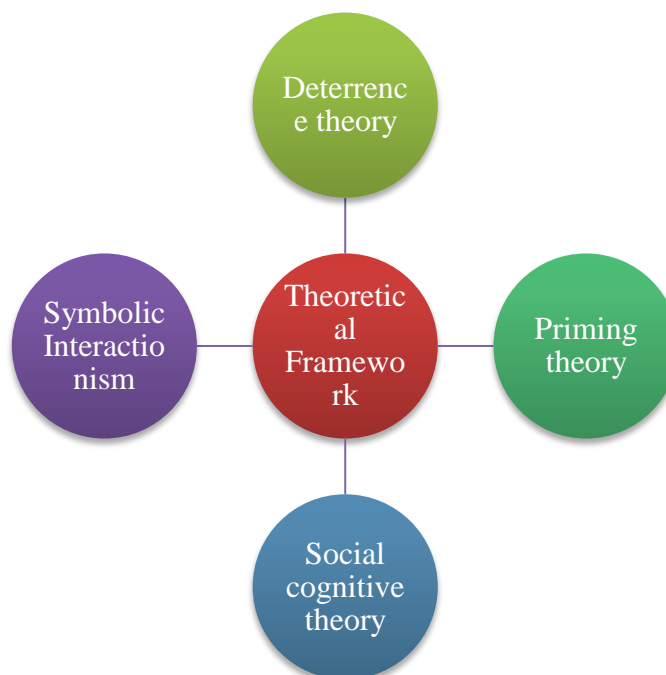


Fig. 1: Theories selected for the study

1. Symbolic Interactionism

George Herbert Mead, an influential professor of philosophy, pioneered the development of this theory. He was well-known for his the theory of social self, and the concepts of 'I' and 'me'. Mead's ideas were never published until after his death. The word symbolic interactionism was coined by Blumer, Mead's chief disciple in 1969. It is the process of interaction in the formation of meanings for individuals. It is the ongoing use of language and gestures, in anticipation of how the others will react, a conversation. Blumer (1986) states that symbolic interactionism rests on three premises: that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings of things have for them; that the meaning of such things derives

from the social interaction one has with one's fellows; and that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process.

The basic idea this theory put forward is that people behave based on the meaning they have given to things or persons. The symbolic interactionism analysed society by the descriptive meanings that people have given to objects, events and behaviours. The behavioural pattern of the people will be based on these descriptive meanings because people behave according to their descriptive beliefs rather than objective truth. According to Baran & Davis (2006), Social interactionism is a theory that people give meaning to symbols and those meanings come to them. Thus, it posits that our actions in response to symbols are mediated (or controlled) largely by those same symbols.

This theory helps media researchers better understand the field because of the important role the media plays in creating and propagating shared symbols. Because of the media's power, it can construct symbols on its own. By using symbolic interactionism theory, researchers can look at the ways media affects a society's shared symbols and, in turn, the influence of those symbols on the individual (Jansson-Boyd, 2010).

APPLICABILITY

One way the media uses symbol to affect the individual is advertising and commercials. When the media uses pictures of explosives and scenes of bomb blasts, what comes to the minds of the mass audience is the unethical, unreligious and unacceptable culture of killing innocent lives. The audience therefore thinks of an image of a *Boko Haram* member, who is bent on killing innocent people using guns or improvised explosives devices. A gun in reality can mean weapon. An armoured vehicle or the presence of troops in the North East may symbolise the strength of Nigerian Army in protecting innocent lives and property. The presence of *Boko Haram* flag in local communities on the other hand may mean that *Boko Haram* fighters are in total control of that territory.

2. Deterrence Theory

The deterrence theory of punishment can be traced to the early works of classical philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1678), Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794), and Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). Together, these theorists protested against the legal policies that had dominated European thought for more than a thousand years, and against the

spiritualistic explanations of crime on which they were founded. In addition, these social contract thinkers provided the foundation for modern deterrence theory in criminology.

Paternoster & Bachman (2012), states that we are affected by both the costs and rewards that are consequent to our behaviour. In other words, we tend to behave based on the expectation that we will receive some type of reward for doing it while hoping to avoid some type of punishment for not doing it or doing something else.

The theory of deterrence that has developed from the work of Hobbes, Beccaria, and Bentham relies on three individual components: severity, certainty, and celerity. The more severe a punishment, it is thought, the more likely that a rationally calculating human being will desist from criminal acts. To prevent crime, therefore, criminal law must emphasize penalties to encourage citizens to obey the law. Punishment that is too severe is unjust, and punishment that is not severe enough will not deter criminals from committing crimes.

APPLICABILITY

Recently, a federal high court sitting in Niger State, begun the trial of suspected *Boko Haram fighters*. Die hard fighters who have refused to heed to the governments advice of surrendering themselves and their fire arms to security operatives nearest to them will have themselves to be blame in the event they get caught.

3. Priming Theory

The study also used the priming theory as a propositional background. In some cases priming theory is regarded as hypothesis which according to Iyengar and Kinder (1987:63) as cited in Scheufele (2000) states that mass media, by making some issues more salient than others, influence “the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged”. In this tune, the priming effect serves as outcome of Agenda-Setting effort. However, series of experimental studies conducted to test the theory on the impact of network newscasts on viewers’ perceptions. The studies used judgment about political candidate as criteria. Iyengar and Kinder (1987:72) hypothesized that “the salience of certain issues as portrayed in mass media influences individuals’ perceptions of the president because respondents will use issues that they perceive as more salient as standards for evaluating the president. Even though they considered priming “a robust effect” they found mixed statistical support for their hypothesis.

APPLICABILITY

The theory is similar to Agenda-setting in one strong argument. The arguments that, media stressed issues tend to have more of audience attention than otherwise. The priming remained off-shoot of the Agenda-setting proposition. The media globally and Nigeria in particular have used many ways of identifying salient issues and primed them as important. The issues of fight against terrorism, fight against corruption and discipline in handling public funds occasioned by the Federal Government were at the peak in this direction. Recently, the Minister of Information and Culture, Director General, National Orientation Agency and the Special Assistant to the President on Media and Publicity agreed to face the media in Nigeria with the campaign to fight against terrorism, extremist's ideologies, religious violence, hate speech and corruption. The campaigns have since taken the public sphere and the media in Nigeria.

4. Social Cognitive Theory

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) started as the Social Learning Theory (SLT) in the 1960s by Albert Bandura. It developed into the SCT in 1986 and posits that learning occurs in a social context with a dynamic and reciprocal interaction of the person, environment, and behaviour. The unique feature of SCT is the emphasis on social influence and its emphasis on external and internal social reinforcement. SCT considers the unique way in which individuals acquire and maintain behaviour, while also considering the social environment in which individuals perform the behaviour. The theory takes into account a person's past experiences, which factor into whether behavioural action will occur. These past experiences influences reinforcements, expectations, and expectancies, all of which shape whether a person will engage in a specific behaviour and the reasons why a person engages in that behaviour.

Bandura's Social Learning Theory posits that people learn from one another, via observation, imitation, and modelling. The theory has often been called a bridge between behaviourist and cognitive learning theories because it encompasses attention, memory, and motivation. People learn through observing others' behaviour, attitudes, and outcomes of those behaviours' (Bandura, 1977). "Most human behaviour is learned observationally through modelling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action." (Bandura). Social learning theory explains human behaviour in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioural, and environmental influences.

The failure of Social learning theory to adequately account for how we develop a whole range of behaviour including thoughts and feelings compelled Bandura to modify and rename

it to Social Cognitive theory in 1986, as a better description of how we learn from our social experiences, (McLeod, 2016). This is so, because we have a lot of cognitive control over our behaviour and just because we have had experiences of violence does not mean we have to reproduce such behaviour.

Feldman (2010) alleges, 'research on modelling shows that people frequently learn and imitate the aggression that they observe'. But, just because children can learn from observation that doesn't necessary mean that they actually will carry out real-life aggression, unless they are born with aggressive tendencies, or have severe psychological disorders, or they become angry and frustrated'.

APPLICABILITY

The Social cognitive theory is considered significant for this study because the core assumption considers the unique way in which individuals acquire and maintain behaviour, taking into account the social environment in which individuals perform the behaviour. The theory is also relevant because it takes into account a person's past experiences, which factor into whether behavioural action will occur. These past experiences can influences reinforcements, expectations, and expectancies, all of which shape whether a person will engage in a specific behaviour and the reasons why a person engages in that behaviour. *Boko Haram* members have their own behaviours which they try to instil in to the people of Borno and North East as a whole. These behaviours, of course are different are alien to the behaviours of Borno people. Therefore, depicting past experiences (especially peaceful and hospitable nature of the state) in the media campaigns will influence rebirth in attitude and behaviour.

2.6 SUMMARY

The chapter carried an extensive review on the antecedents of *Boko Haram* as an organization from their inception in 20012 and beyond. The review equally covers the rudiments of media campaigns, its structure, and why are media campaigns relevant in scenarios like that of *Boko Haram*. The chapter equally made attempts on discussing media campaigns and the commercialization policy in Nigeria. However, the chapter reviewed the theoretical perspective of the study within the specific context of media campaigns. Four theories were considered relevant and chosen for the study.

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CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the procedure followed in the research and provides an understanding on how the research was conducted. Methodology in research encompasses the method of data collection, instruments of data collection, sampling technique and size, population and method of data analysis. According to Fajonyomi and Fajonyomi (2003), research methodology is the approach adopted by the researcher to obtain relevant information or data that could be used to test stated hypotheses or answer the research questions. This approach can be categorized into two; namely, qualitative and quantitative methods and it is employed by the researcher to gather information about the topic under review.

This study is explanatory in nature and adopts a combination of qualitative and partial quantitative research designs. Explanatory research is also called analytical study. According to Given (2008), explanatory research is a systematic inquiry and procedure intended to explain why and how, rather than simply describing the phenomena under study.

The success of every research is measured by the efficacy of the methodology applied. This is because, the method of study not only defines the study but gives an insight on the procedures of data collection and analysis so as to achieve not only a valid but reliable and acceptable result. This chapter therefore, provides a clear explanation on how the research will be carried out.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

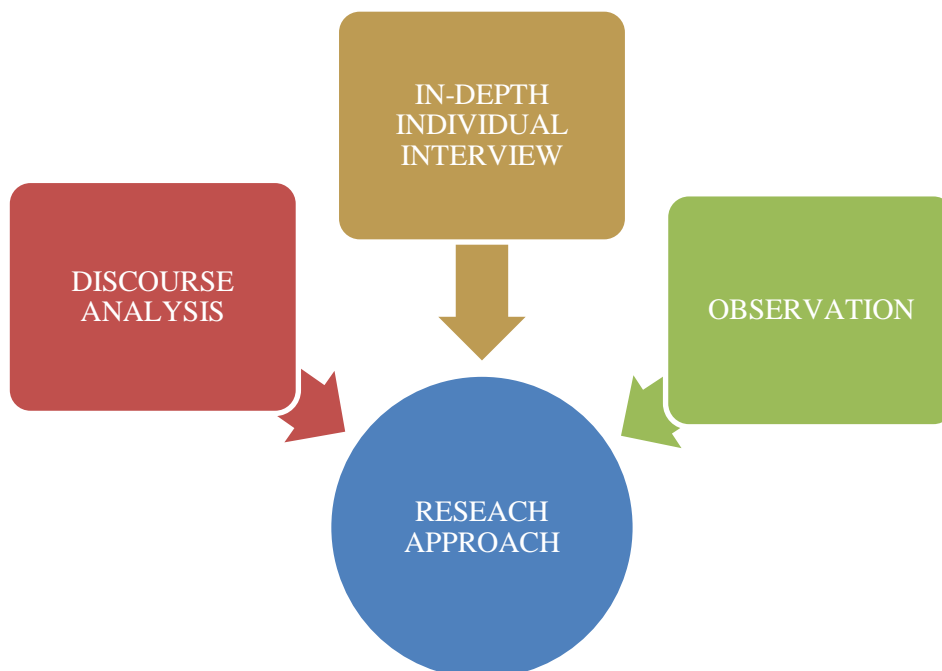


Fig. 2: Research Design.

A research design is simply a blueprint for conducting the study. According to Kerlinger (1986), research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigations so conceived, so as to obtain answers to research questions or problems. It is a complete scheme or programme of the research that describes the procedures for conducting the study, including when, from whom and under what conditions data were obtained.

Research design is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent (and achievable) empirical research. In other words, the research design articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyse these data, and how all of these are going to answer your research question. The purpose of a research design as noted by McMillan and Schumacher (1993) is to provide the most valid accurate answers as soon as possible to research questions. To ensure an adequate and reliable data collection, the design for this study is explanatory design.

The study adopted discourse analysis, in-depth individual interview and observation. Islam and Kabir (2015) defined discourse analysis as a methodology for analysing social

phenomena that is qualitative, interpretative and constructionist. It explores how the socially constructed ideas and objects are created and used in the media content.

Discourse analysis can be characterised as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. In this sense, discourse analysis is neither qualitative nor quantitative method, but a manner of questioning the basic assumptions of quantitative and qualitative methods. Discourse analysis does not provide a tangible response based on scientific research but it enables access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind a project, a statement, a method of research, or-to provide an example from the field of Library and Information. Discourse analysis deals with a conversation or text, a collection of text or conversation. Maclure 2003 posits that

“...analysing text involves much more than whatever is ‘in’ those texts. ... The point... is not to get the text lay bare its meaning (or its prejudices), but to trace some of the threads that connect the texts to others”.

In other words, Discourse Analysis will enable study to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. Expressed in today's more trendy vocabulary, Critical or Discourse Analysis is nothing more than a deconstructive reading and interpretation of a problem or text (while keeping in mind that postmodern theories conceive of every interpretation of reality and, therefore, of reality itself as a text. Every text is conditioned and inscribes itself within a given discourse, thus the term Discourse Analysis). Discourse Analysis will, thus, not provide absolute answers to a specific problem, but enable us to understand the conditions behind a specific "problem" and make us realize that the essence of that "problem", and its resolution, lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that "problem". By enabling us to make these assumptions explicit, Discourse Analysis aims at allowing us to view the "problem" from a higher stance and to gain a comprehensive view of the "problem" and ourselves in relation to that "problem". Discourse Analysis is meant to provide a higher awareness of the hidden motivations in others and ourselves and, therefore, enable us to solve concrete problems - not by providing unequivocal answers, but by making us, ask ontological and epistemological questions. Taylor (2013) Discourse analysts work with language data, including talk, documents and broadcast material. Researchers in different traditions study interactions and social practices, meaning-making and larger meaning systems, and contests and conflicts around collective identities, social norms and subjectification.

Dominick and Wimmer (2006) observed that intensive or in-depth interviews are essentially the hybrid of one on one interview. It uses smaller samples but provides detailed background and allows for lengthy observations. To evaluate the effectiveness of media campaigns in the fight against *Boko Haram* requires a small sample, hence made the use of an in-depth interview relevant to the study.

Hitchcock (2011) in his article “In-Depth Interviews, Advantages of In-Depth Interviews over Focus Groups Discussions” itemized the following:

1. Deeper insight: In-depth individual interviews allow you to plumb deeper with a particular and to gain greater knowledge and insight.
2. Greater flexibility: In-depth Individual Interviews can be physically set up anywhere even over the phone and are far easier to schedule.
3. Better Researcher Refinement: Refinements and enhancements can be implemented quicker with in-depth individual interviews, maximizing the opportunity to collect better data.

From the above, it is clear that some issues related to the effectiveness and impact of the campaign needs to be thoroughly discussed. In-depth interview is usually an open-ended discovery-oriented method that is well suited for describing both the processes involved and outcomes from the perspective of the key stakeholders. An in-depth interview is a conversation with an individual with the aim of exploring deeply the respondents' point of view on an issue. To elicit depth responses, In-depth individual Interview was considered appropriate.

Marshall and Rossman (1989) defined observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study. It is a systematic data collection approach which allows researchers to use their senses and examine people in natural settings or naturally occurring situations. Observation can also mean a non-verbal technique of collecting data directly from the field. Observation is a method of data collection in which researchers observe within a specific research field. It is sometimes referred to as an unobtrusive method. This method is useful to researchers in a variety of ways. It provide ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and check for how much time is spent on various activities (Schmuck, 1997). Observation in research fosters an in depth and rich understanding of a phenomenon, situation and/or setting and the behaviour of the participants in that setting. It is an essential part of gaining an

understanding of naturalistic settings and its members' ways of seeing. Because, the media campaigns are mostly produced in audio, video, posters, banners and leaflets formats, observing directly the primary data will offer the study a more descriptive and interpretative approach. Finding answers to the research questions on the patterns, tones and themes can be accurately achieved and verified.

3.3 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The study population refers to the total number of individuals within the area of study. Evborokhai (2003) noted that population of the study is the entire subjects which the researcher is investigating; any group of persons, organizations, events, animals, plant or other objects that is being studied by an investigator constitute the population. According to Davies and Mosdell (2006), population is the group from which a sample is drawn and which it represents.

Population, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), is a group or class of subjects, variables, concepts, or phenomena. Asika (2005) notes that a population comprises all conceivable elements, subjects or observations that relate to a particular phenomenon of interest to a research. In this study, the population include the number of Media campaigns produced and selected in addition to the media they are being broadcast- Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Lafiya Dole Radio. The media houses were selected based on their consistency in the broadcast of these media campaigns, ownership, accessibility and location, and of course based on researcher's discretion.

3.3.1 PROFILE OF THE SELECTED MEDIA HOUSES

(i) LAFIYA DOLE FM

Lafiya Dole FM, formerly Zaman Lafiya FM started operating in March 2015, in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital, basically to serve as a radio station used in the Counter-Insurgency and Counter Terrorism Media Campaign in the North East. Transmitting 108 Frequency Modulation, the station's signal from inception was limited to the state capital and parts of Kamyamla in Konduga, Mafa and Jere local governments, until sometime in March 2017, when it was upgraded to cover the nooks and cranny of Maiduguri.

From the onset, the radio mainly broadcast musicals and subsequently makes announcements from press releases issued by the 7 Division, Theatre Command or Army headquarters on security related issues. There are two segments of transmission; morning and evening; 0800hr

– 1600hr morning hours while 1800hr – 2300hr evening hours. Due to its security links, the station has gained acceptance, prominence and has been adjudged as the ‘most listened radio station’ in Maiduguri. This can be attested to from the rate at which listeners call during LIVE programmes. This, therefore has made the sister organization to wake up to the challenges of reintroducing informative, educative and entertaining programmes aimed at creating awareness on the dangers of the sect as well as promoting peace in the state.

Programmes beyond Security Jingles

Suffice to say that, programmes being aired on Lafiya Dole Fm are tilted towards restoring peace in Borno as well as de-radicalization and awareness on the dangers of *Boko Haram*. Because majority of the listeners are rural dwellers who understand local languages, the programmes are geared towards such category of people. As part of their social responsibility, during all programmes, presenters preach peace, encourage listeners to support the military fight against insurgency. This prompted ardent listeners to create a platform tagged “Afadi alheri ko ayi shiru” meaning “say good or keep mute”. The motive of the platform is to continue to pray fervently for troops on the frontline as well as inform member of the public with the negative notion about military to consider the military as custodian of lives and property not enemies.

The radio station has a number of human angle programmes mainly to educate, enlighten, entertain and inform the public. These programmes include the news broadcast, sports, health, women, religious and of course musicals. One unique feature of Lafiya Dole Radio that differentiate it from other mainstream media is the consistent broadcast of religious programmes (*Tafsir* that is translation of the verses of the Holy Qur’an) that categorically condemns in strong terms the activities of *Boko Haram* sect. Some of these programmes are a repeat broadcast while others are LIVE. Islamic scholars mainly from the *Sunni* sect who oppose to the teachings of the sect are invited to continuously create awareness by countering the sect’s perceived ‘wrong’ or rather ‘misleading’ views.

Like every other stations, Lafiya Dole Fm is headed by a General Manager assisted by other staff. Since it is a replication of a community radio, few staff (mostly civilians) pilots the affairs of the station. The radio station is strictly non-profit and doesn’t accept commercials except public service announcement. It is co-funded by the Theatre Command Operation Lafiya Dole and the 7 Division, Nigerian Army. The radio station is headquartered in Borno State but has an offshoot called Defence radio in Abuja, Nigeria’s capital.

(ii) NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY (NTA)

The NTA is a Parastatal in the Federal Ministry of Information. It was established by the Nigerian Television Act Cap 24 of 1976. It is the National Television Broadcasting Network for Nigeria, expressly mandated to provide as a public service in the interest of Nigeria, independent and impartial television broadcasting for general reception within Nigeria. But following amendments and modifications of the enabling Act by Government, the public service (non-profit) activity of the NTA has sustained corresponding modifications.

In the first instance, its exclusive right for television broadcasting in Nigeria was revoked. Secondly, the mandate to operate as a non-profit public service entity was partially revoked. It is now a Public Service partly funded by Government, partially commercialized but operates strictly within the enabling public service guidelines, the Broadcasting code and civil service structure. Thirdly, the broadcasting mandate of the NTA has been expanded from only broadcasting to Nigeria to broadcasting to Nigeria and the world at large.

The Director General is the Chief Executive Officer. He is assisted by a team of Executive Directors who are heads of the News, Programmes, Engineering, Finance and Admin, Marketing, Training and Capacity Building and Special Duties Directorates. Presently, NTA has 101 Stations spread across Nigeria making it the largest Television Network in Africa. Currently, there are 10 operational network centres. These centres generate and uplink network programmes for the network service. They are NTA Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Enugu, Sokoto, Benin, Port Harcourt, Makurdi, Jos and Maiduguri. Each Network Centre is headed by a Zonal Director who oversees all stations within his/her zone.

3.4 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES AND SAMPLE SIZE

Sample generally, refers to the subject of the population, taken to be representative of the entire study. What matters in this definition most is “representative”. Sampling to Tajumaiye (2003) is a technique of selecting a suitable sample. In a similar view, Sobowale (2008) said the purpose of sampling is to take or select some elements in the population to represent the whole.

To select a sample, Sobowale (2008) has distinguished two types;

1. Probability sampling and;
2. Non-probability sampling.

This research therefore has adopted purposive sampling which is a type of non-probabilistic sampling. Purposive sampling implies the deliberate selection of elements that have feature and attribute that the researcher has interest. According to Tajumaiye (2003), purposive sampling is a type of non-sprobability sampling whereby a sample is selected on the basis of specific qualities or characteristics and elimination of those that fail to meet these criteria. It is sometimes called judgmental sampling because the researcher purposely decides on whom to be his sample. It may be based on age bracket, gender or experience and expertise.

It is a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data. The rationale for choosing this approach is because it gives room for selection based on purpose.

In view of this, 21 jingles were identified and selected. Also, four (4) personalities were selected for the in-depth interview. They include;

1. Major General John Eneche, Director Defence Information.
2. Abdullahi Mustapha, General Manager Lafiya Dole Radio.
3. Laraba Sali Bello, Assistant Director Programmes, Nigerian Television Authority.
4. Yahaya Imam, Director National Orientation Agency, Borno State.

These people were selected based on the fact that they are key stakeholders and have played significant roles in the production and broadcast of the media campaigns.

3.5 CONTENT CATEGORIES

Categories are divisions into which the units of analysis to be analysed are grouped. Onabajo, (2011), defines content categories as words that have the same meanings and are used to classify media content into categories that are mutually exhaustive and exclusive.

Content categories of this study include: messages on de-radicalization, surveillance and information sharing.

CONTENT CATEGORIES	DESCRIPTIONS
Call for action	These are the campaigns on de-radicalization of youth.
Vigilance	These campaigns categorically explain the need for reporting suspicious movements and putting an eye on the environment.

Deterrence	These campaigns serves as lesson for others who might want to join the fold of the group.
Encouragement and Advice	These campaigns specifically deal with encouraging the members to take the bull by the horn and shun the group.

Table 1: Showing Coding Sheet

These categories were chosen because the study in question touches the above areas either directly or indirectly.

3.6 INSTRUMENT OF DATA COLLECTION

The study used Coding Sheet as instrument for data collection. Coding data, it means assigning attributes to specific units of analysis, such as paragraphs, sentences, or individual words. In a media campaign, producers usually use a combination of audio and visual or words and photographs as the case maybe.

The Coding Sheet was drawn based on the categories outlined in order to tie contents of the media campaigns to be studied based on the kind of category they belong. The comments were read and categorise accordingly.

3.7 METHOD OF DATA PRESENTATION

Data presentation is crucial part of a research project. Presenting data is about organizing data and breaking it down into easily understood parts. This will enable the researcher answer initial research questions. According to Kumar (1996), the main format for the presentation of a qualitative research data is narrative. However, tables and charts will be used where necessary especially when answering research question three which specifically deals with frequency that is number of slots allocated by the media organizations to these media organizations.

3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed about the method of study employed in the study. The study adopted s a combination of discourse analysis, in-depth individual interview and observation. 21 media campaigns including audio, video, banners and posters were purposely selected for the study. This is in addition, to the four stakeholders considered very relevant for the interview. The chapter explains the modus of how the discourse analysis. Also, a brief on the two media houses Lafiya Dole Fm and Nigerian Television Authority was highlighted.

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CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents analyzed data collected for this study from various discourses and respondents. All the data collected (with the exception of the frequency) are presented in a qualitative form and analyzed in an essay form that is headings and subheadings. The frequency however, will be quantified graphically using histogram to explain the number of slots allocated by NTA and Radio Lafiya Dole for the media campaigns for the period under review.

The research used discourse analysis method which is used for intensive analyses of the discourse either written or spoken; in-depth individual interview and observation in collecting data. The interviews were conducted separately through WhatsApp.

4.1 DATA PRESENTATIONS AND ANALYSES

The study collected three forms of data. Data from the discourse analysis process; data from in-depth individual interview; data from observation would be presented. Each form will be exclusively presented because of its nature. The analysis is based on research questions of the study.

4.1.1 Data Collected from Discourse Analysis Process

A total of 21 counter insurgency and violence campaigns on Lafiya Dole Fm and NTA were identified, recorded, transcribed and categorised. The campaigns and jingles are transmitted within the period of the study mostly at peak periods of transmission that is periods believed to have higher number of audiences (listeners and viewers) who tune to listen and watch news and other current affairs issues.

However, discourse analysis connotes that in order to identify the key messages and tone of a particular spoken or written piece there is need for macro-proposition analysis. Macro proposition analysis according to Dijk (1980) is based on an identification of the most relevant collection of information in a text, derived from local meanings of words and

sentences by macro rules, such as deletion, generalisation and construction. Wilson and Gapsiso (2014) put that such rules combine similar meanings with construct different meaning constituents in higher-level events or social concepts which enable one to identify the main idea news item or multiple news or comments.

RQ1. What are the patterns of the media campaigns?

The patterns of the media campaigns are in audio and visual forms. Audio is for radio stations while the visual is to television. Also, posters were produced and leaflets for the campaigns and placed at strategic positions.

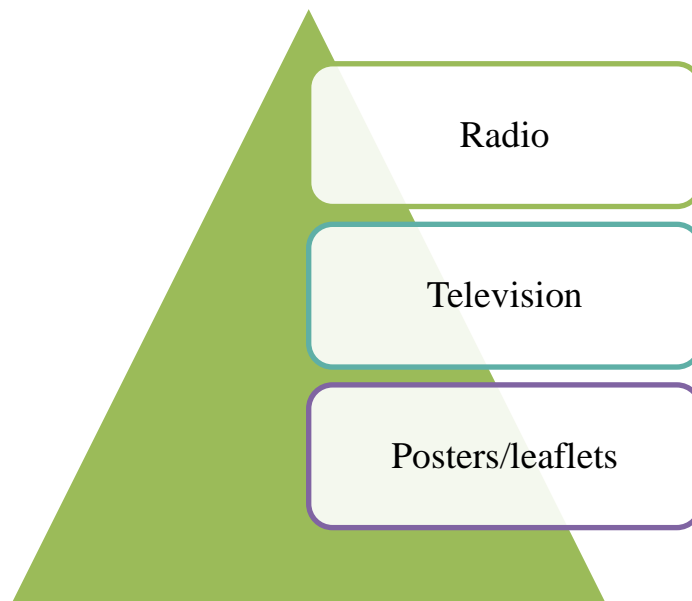


Fig. 3: Pattern of Media Campaigns

The campaigns

S/N0	MEDIA CONTENT	PRODUCER	DURATION	MEDIUM
1.	Reject <i>Boko Haram</i> and join your family to make Nigeria a better place. Reject violence for your sake and family. Be a builder, not a destroyer. Remember, that one day you will give account of your deeds before Allah. Be a faithful follower of true Islam.	Defence Headquarter	31 seconds	Radio

	Repent now!			
2.	<p>Operation Safe Corridor is real.</p> <p>For sake violence , Shelve your sword, for violence does not pay.</p> <p>Surrender now, be secured, safe and enjoy the benefits of a full citizen of Nigeria.</p> <p>God hates violence, embrace peace today.</p> <p>Be a defender not a fighter.</p>	Operation Lafiya Dole	35 seconds	Radio
3.	<p>Don't be afraid, Your villages are safe now.</p> <p>The military is your friend and brother.</p> <p>Boko Haram has destroyed families and properties.</p> <p>War is not in our culture; let us live in peace and harmony.</p>	Defence Headquarters	27 seconds	Radio
4.	<p>Nigerians! Do you know what an improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs)</p>	Federal Ministry of Information and Culture	1 minute 4 seconds	Radio and television

	<p>are?</p> <p>IEDs come in different shapes and sizes.</p> <p>They can be hidden in bags, boxes and all kinds of containers.</p> <p>Small IEDs can be put in drink bottles.</p> <p>Large IEDs can be stored in the boot of a car.</p> <p>IEDs are dangerous.</p> <p>IEDs can be anywhere, at any time.</p> <p>Do you know the look of a suicide bomber?</p> <p>They are in loose or heavy clothing, visually inappropriate for the weather.</p> <p>They tighten them in their heads, or keep them in their pockets.</p> <p>They are unaware of their surroundings.</p> <p>They are always alone and nervous.</p> <p>So, be vigilant. Be security conscious.</p> <p>Report suspicious persons, objects and movements to the police and other security agencies.</p> <p>The security of our nation</p>			
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	<p>is a duty for you and me.</p> <p>Nigerians unite against terrorism.</p>			
5.	<p>Islam is peace.</p> <p>Islam encourages seeking of knowledge be it western or Arabic.</p> <p>Turn down your weapons and embrace peace.</p> <p>Peace is the only option for development, economic activities, social interaction and self reliance.</p>	<p>Defence Headquarters</p>	30 seconds	Radio
6.	<p>Surrender now.</p> <p>Suicide bombing is not Islam.</p> <p>Whoever takes his/her life through suicide bombing will go to hell fire forever and ever.</p> <p>Be wise. Reject suicide bombing.</p>	<p>Defence Headquarters</p>	30 seconds	Radio
7.	<p>Nigeria our father's land.</p> <p>Indeed, we don't have any other country apart from Nigeria.</p> <p>Remember, a peaceful nation lies in peaceful co-existence and socio-economic development.</p> <p>Therefore, join hands by reporting suspicious</p>	<p>Operation Lafiya Dole</p>	53 seconds	Radio

	<p>movement, persons or any threat to peace and security of lives and property of citizenry, places of worship, markets or sporting arena to security operatives nearest to you. (Translated from Hausa)</p>			
8.	<p>Let us accept one another. There is no compulsion in religion. Do yours and allow me to do mine. Boko Haram is not in line with the teachings of Islam. Anybody who takes a life by mistake is to fast for 60 days. Are you killing by mistake or intentional? What will be your position in the eyes of Allah? For killing intentionally is not good. Boko Haram is not in line with the teachings of Islam. Be a builder not a destroyer.</p>	<p>Defence Headquarters</p>	44 seconds	Radio
9.	<p>Nigerians suicide bombers are not spirit. They are not ghost. They are human beings</p>	<p>Federal Ministry of Information and Culture</p>	46 seconds	Radio and television.

	<p>like you and me. They live amongst us.</p> <p>They are your neighbours. They are your friends today but terrorists tomorrow. So you must know your neighbour now. Security begins with you and me. Know your neighbour now. Be vigilant, be security conscious. Report suspicious persons, objects and movements to the police and other security agencies. The security of our nation is a duty for you and me. Nigeria, unite against terrorism.</p>			
10.	<p>I, Major General Lucky Irabor, Theatre Commander Operation Lafiya Dole. I like to talk to the youths. Every youth must listen to me. This is my message to you, and I believe as you heed to this advise, anyone coming up with issues that has to do with Boko Haram ideology or whatever ideology that is outside what you know or what you are taught, by</p>	<p>Operation Lafiya Dole</p>	<p>1 minute 14 seconds</p>	<p>Radio and television</p>

	<p>those who you think of course are your role models, please desist from listening to them. I can only thank you for listening and want to believe that very soon, we will meet one on one, for us to shake hands and the whole world is looking up to you, to live a life that God has given to you. To live in peace.</p>			
11.	<p>Hello Nigerians!</p> <p>The Nigerian Army is at it again. At what again? The Nigerian Army has introduced a new initiative to guarantee our safety and end incessant bombings in the North East.</p> <p>Now report a suicide bomber and get reward.</p> <p>Really? Oh yes. The Nigerian Army is offering the sum of five hundred thousand naira for any information that leads to the arrest of a suicide bomber or discovery of transit house or factory of suicide bombers.</p> <p>Hmmm!!! Is it that easy?</p>	<p>Headquarters, Directorate of Army public Relations</p>	<p>1 minute 37 seconds.</p>	<p>Radio only</p>

	<p>So how can I report the information?</p> <p>You can call the Theatre Commander Operation Lafiya Dole Maiduguri on 09064823221 or GOC 7 Division Maiduguri 09078599985 or Whatsapp the Commander26 Brigade Gwoza 080972179992 or Director Army Public Relations Abuja 07080216992.</p> <p>Wow! But I hope my identity will not be exposed.</p> <p>All information will be treated with utmost confidentiality.</p>			
12.	<p>If you hear a bomb explosion or gunshot, that might be a terror attack. In such situation always remember the three action words RUN, HIDE, REPORT. Do not rush to the terror scene to save the situation because there might be a second bomb blast or another attack. Yes it is in our nature to sympathise over hurt but remember, only trained</p>	<p>Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation Agency</p>	<p>1 minute</p>	<p>Radio and Television</p>

	<p>personnel can help in such situation. When in a security environment call relevant agencies and help will come. For anonymous reporting call 096303250-5 or 08132222106. If you see something, say something. Nigeria Unite Against Terrorism.</p>			
13.	<p>Oh you people! For the past 9 years, we are battling with Boko Haram especially in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. One way to get out of this turbulent situation is for all of us to join forces together and face the common enemy. It is time for our youth and children who are eventually members of Boko Haram to surrender to security agencies in the interest of peace. Thank God, majority of them have started submitting themselves and their weapon as you will hear in this voice;</p> <p>Insert BHT member voice</p> <p><i>I am 11 years old. My dad took me alongside my mom</i></p>	Operation Lafiya Dole	4 minutes 37 seconds	Radio only

<p><i>and my siblings to the bush, informing us that we will study. I don't know anything on it. We spent about one and half year. They gave me explosives and didn't give me any instructions though I am with my mother. My dad has divorced my mother because my mom refused to follow their path of ideology and that she will not do anything contrary to her believe. That was how he divorced her and left us in her custody. But he went away with my elder sister. After a while, he came again and picked me and my mother.</i></p> <p><i>My father had re-married from among the follower of Boko Haram ideology. We became four in number and I don't know the rest. Two are kids while the other two are adolescent. They tightened some explosives in our body in the bush, then they transported us via motorcycle to the entrance of the town. The</i></p>			
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	<p><i>explosives were tightened in twos and they instructed to go directing us to the path we will follow using a torch light.</i></p> <p><i>We entered the town four of us and we were arguing on who will detonate the explosive first. I left their place and followed another direction. Immediately I left, I heard a loud sound. Then I immediately removed the explosives with me and threw them away. Nobody saw me. I was moving and heading to a different location and all of a sudden, I met with Civilian JTF, who apprehended me and took me to a military custody. I told the soldiers and they went to the scene and diffused the explosives.</i></p> <p><i>I don't want to kill people. Parents should not take their children. Children should not agree. They should run and come to military. Nothing will happen to them.</i></p> <p>End of insert.</p>			
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	<p>People should be carefully and be extra vigilant. Support the military end <i>Boko Haram</i> in the country.</p>			
14.	<p>This is my contribution to foil and halt suicide bombing by <i>Boko Haram Terrorists</i> and other issues. The Boko Haram Terrorists have different spheres of group. The suicide bombing department is called <i>Majmu'ul Taffir</i>, those responsible for conducting suicide bombing or explosions. Their work is to pollute the mind or indoctrination of would-be suicide bombers most of whom are either male or female children. They try to convince the potential suicide bombers to agree to commit such acts based on the wrong notions that it was legitimate and rewarding. The group is led by a renowned Boko Haram</p>	<p>Army Public Relations</p>	<p>6 minutes 56 seconds</p>	<p>Radio only</p>

	<p>Terrorist called Musa Abuja. He is reputed to be very clever and has the nark for detecting and avoiding cameras. Where ever they are or concealed. This is why up till this moment no one has his photograph. He is the sole representative of Abubakar Shekau in suicide bombing matters.</p> <p>Next to Musa Abuja is Abu Darda alias money. Abu Darda is one of the Boko Haram terrorists that was released in exchange with one of the abducted Chibok School girls. His work commenced once the potential suicide bombers have been selected and sufficiently indoctrinated. Usually, Musa Abuja calls out the names of those selected for suicide bombing mission after the training and indoctrination and hands them over to Abu Darda. He also informs him the selected targets based on Abubakar Shekau's directive. Abu</p>			
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	<p>Darda is an expert in map reading. He Knows every nooks and cranny of the North East. His main duty is to parry the selected suicide bombings from the forest to the selected areas. He does that either on phone or motorcycle. He knows how to evade security check points or any military presence. That is how he manoeuvres to reach his target destination. When they brought the suicide bombers into town, they usually split and put the bomber in front and follow him or her from behind till he reaches his target destination. Once he detonated, Abu Darda or any of the group members withdraw back to the forest and report to Abubakar Shekau on the success or otherwise through Musa Abuja, who will in turn report back to Abubakar Shekau.</p> <p>The terrorist group leader will then direct a release of video clip of the suicide</p>			
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<p>bombing to the public, claiming responsibility. It is pertinent to know that Boko Haram terrorists have a lot of people assisting them embedded among the public through spying and provision of information. In most cases, these people select suicide bomb attack targets. They also communicate to their colleague's terrorist mostly in their hideouts in the forest. In addition, they give them real time intelligence and map out routes to assist them reach selected targets for attack in any given place.</p> <p>Consequently, it is advised that members of the public particularly those that reside in areas prone to Boko Haram terrorist's attacks have to be more security conscious.</p> <p>Be wary of any stranger especially individuals with minors either male or females. Be very observant of the distance between the persons and the minors.</p>			
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	<p>People should be cautious of pedestrian roads that lead in and out of the town. Be vigilant especially in the night and early morning or evening.</p> <p>There should be volunteers that will consistently patrol such a route. They should be concerted efforts of enlightenment of the public on the dangers of terrorism and suicide bombings contrary to the teachings of Boko Haram terrorists. Contrary to their belief, anybody that commits suicide bombing has committed crime against Allah and humanity. As such, he will go to hell fire.</p> <p>There is also the need to have local intelligence networks that can report suspicious persons and activities promptly. This will no doubt, assist in halting acts of suicide bombings.</p> <p>Similarly the inhabitants and residents of the areas prone to suicide bombing needs to critically examine</p>			
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	<p>themselves especially during public gatherings. This could be at places of worship, markets, schools, and ceremonies. Youths could also be engaged in scrutinizing persons during such events.</p> <p>Above all, people have to intensify prayers to God, to expose Boko Haram terrorists and their sympathisers.</p> <p>May Allah answer our prayers and bring peace.</p>			
15.	<p>Listen attentively, you that left people in the town and went hiding in the forest, killing people without any due cause!</p> <p>The God we worship has instructed us to live in peace and shun violence.</p> <p>Islam is a religion of peace not violence. Some people are exploiting you to enrich themselves and upgrade their status in this world.</p> <p>They have deceived you to die while they and their children are enjoying life to the foulest.</p> <p>Beware that Nigerian</p>	Operation Lafiya Dole	One minute 48 seconds	Radio Only

	<p>troops are ever ready to crush the terrorists and restore peace to our troubled land.</p> <p>Nigerian troops are ready to accept you, whenever you surrender yourself and weapons.</p> <p>Always remember that peaceful co-existence is far better than violence. Therefore, surrender now without further delay.</p> <p>We are aware that you are tired of killings couple with hunger confronting you and you are not on the right part.</p> <p>Don't deceive yourself, surrender now and reunite with your family to live a good life.</p> <p>Wise ones amongst you including commanders have since surrender.</p> <p>So, you can also surrender, embrace peace and have peace of mind as well as good living.</p> <p>Surrender now to the nearest military and submit your weapons.</p> <p>Distance yourself from this</p>			
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	<p>violent group and become useful to yourself, parents, relatives and the entire society. (translated from Hausa)</p>			
16.	<p>The general public is advised to be security cautious, vigilant and pay attention to movements of unfamiliar faces, strange or hidden objects around them.</p> <p>The suicide bomber can be a man or woman, boy or girl, who dressed inappropriately.</p> <p>They look strange and are not familiar with the environment.</p> <p>Be security cautious in crowded areas such as market places, social gatherings and during prayer time in church and mosque.</p> <p>The North East is for all of us irrespective of our differences.</p> <p>If you see something, say something. Dial 193 to report any suspicious movement.</p> <p>Don't forget that security is</p>	<p>Civil Military Affairs, Army Headquarters.</p>	55 seconds	Radio only

	everybody's business. Let's stay alive			
17.	<p>Nigerian Army Headquarters is glad to announce to the general public its new programme titled Operation Safe Corridor. It is a programme aimed at rehabilitating Boko Haram Terrorists to make them good citizens. Indeed living in peace is better than becoming the son of a king. The moment terrorists surrender to the Nigerian military, they are safe and they will be well taken care of. Embrace peace now, as Allah has cursed perpetrators of violence. Strive hard to be good citizens not perpetrators of evil. (Translated from Hausa)</p>	Nigerian Army	33 seconds	Radio only
18.	<p>Terrorism is an evil Act. Refrain from it. Expose and fight it. Support the military and other security agencies fight terrorism. Enough is enough.</p>	Operation Lafiya Dole	19 Seconds	Radio only

	Say no to terrorism forever and ever.			
19.	<p>What does MAIDUGURI stands for?</p> <p>M means good people</p> <p>A stands for hardworking</p> <p>I Stands for a place where everyone wishes to visit</p> <p>D means the world knows your value</p> <p>U mother to all states in Nigeria</p> <p>G stands for a state with history</p> <p>U stands for blessed with places with beautiful names</p> <p>R means sun that gives everybody work</p> <p>I means Number one in Qur'anic education</p> <p>This is Maiduguri. We must distance ourselves from acts of terrorism (translated from Hausa).</p>	7 Division Nigerian Army	36 seconds	Radio only
20.	<p><i>No doubt Boko Haram</i> are perpetrating heinous acts like killing people without due cause, killing students, kidnapping children and women, destroying places</p>	7 Division Nigerian Army	32 seconds	Radio only

	<p>of worship, seizing people's cattle and food.</p> <p>Are you safe from these acts?</p> <p>Therefore, Boko Haram is evil. Stay away from it. Fight it and create awareness to people on its dangers. (Translated from Hausa)</p>			
21.	<p>Fight <i>Boko Haram</i> Terrorists.</p> <p>Terrorism is evil.</p> <p>Terrorism leads to hatred and malice.</p> <p>Call on people to shun acts of terrorism.</p> <p>Unity promotes development and sustainable growth.</p> <p>(Translated from Hausa)</p>	7 Division Nigerian Army	20 seconds	Radio only

Table 2: List of the Transcribed Media Campaigns on Boko Haram Indicating The Producer, Duration And Medium Of Broadcast

RQ2. What are the tones and themes of the media campaigns?

Themes of the campaigns

S/N	Content Categories	Number of Campaigns
1.	Call for action	7
2.	Vigilance	3
3.	Deterrence	6

4	Encouragement and Advice	5
Total		21

Table 3: Showing themes of the campaigns

A total of 21 campaigns were identified and analysed based on the various themes. There are campaigns identified as call for actions. Since it is a moment beyond bombs and bullet and Nigerian Army wants to incorporate the public into peaceful resolution to the conflict, the call for actions were targeted at some needful actions and abstinence from non-peaceful conducts. Example of such are;

“Reject Boko Haram and join your family to make Nigeria a better place. Reject violence for your sake and family. Be a builder, not a destroyer. Remember, that one day you will give account of your deeds before Allah. Be a faithful follower of true Islam.....Repent now”.

“Hello Nigerians!.....The Nigerian Army is at it again. At what again? The Nigerian Army has introduced a new initiative to guarantee our safety and end incessant bombings in the North East.

Now report a suicide bomber and get reward.

Really? Oh yes. The Nigerian Army is offering the sum of five hundred thousand naira for any information that leads to the arrest of a suicide bomber or discovery of transit house or factory of suicide bombers.

Hmmm!!! Is it that easy? So how can I report the information?

You can call the Theatre Commander Operation Lafiya Dole Maiduguri on 09064823221 or GOC 7 Division Maiduguri 09078599985 or Whatsapp the Commander26 Brigade Gwoza 080972179992 or Director Army Public Relations Abuja 07080216992.

Wow! But I hope my identity will not be exposed.....All information will be treated with utmost confidentiality”.

“Let us accept one another. There is no compulsion in religion. Do yours and allow me to do mine. Boko Haram is not in line with the teachings of Islam. Anybody who takes a life by

mistake is to fast for 60 days. Are you killing by mistake or intentional? What will be your position in the eyes of Allah? For killing intentionally is not good. Boko Haram is not in line with the teachings of Islam. Be a builder not a destroyer”.

There are campaigns identified as raising security vigilance. Some of them are targeted at creating consciousness and awareness on the issues of suicide bombing and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) which are used for suicide missions. Examples of campaign with such composition include:

“Nigerians! Do you know what an improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) are? IEDs come in different shapes and sizes. They can be hidden in bags, boxes and all kinds of containers. Small IEDs can be put in drink bottles. Large IEDs can be stored in the boot of a car. IEDs are dangerous. IEDs can be anywhere, at anytime. Do you know the look of a suicide bomber? They are in loose or heavy clothing, visually inappropriate for the weather. They tighten them in their heads, or keep them in their pockets. They are unaware of their surroundings. They are always alone and nervous. So, be vigilant. Be security conscious. Report suspicious persons, objects and movements to the police and other security agencies. The security of our nation is a duty for you and me. Nigerians unite against terrorism”.

“Nigerians suicide bombers are not spirit. They are not ghost. They are human beings like you and me. They live amongst us. They are your neighbours. They are your friends today but terrorists tomorrow. So you must know your neighbour now. Security begins with you and me. Know your neighbour now. Be vigilant, be security conscious. Report suspicious persons, objects and movements to the police and other security agencies. The security of our nation is a duty for you and me. Nigeria, unite against terrorism”.

“If you hear a bomb explosion or gunshot, that might be a terror attack. In such situation always remember the three action words RUN, HIDE, REPORT. Do not rush to the terror scene to save the situation because there might be a second bomb blast or another attack. When in a security environment call relevant agencies and help will come. come. For anonymous reporting call 096303250-5 or 08132222106. If you see something say something. Nigeria Unite Against Terrorism”.

Some of the comments were titled toward deterrence. Deterrence connotes issuing red alert on some acts of terror by highlighting the stiffer penalties and consequences of such action. There are 2 campaigns in this direction. Some of the campaigns in this category indicate how strong the military operations are. Some of these are:

"Operation Safe Corridor is real. For sake violence.....Shelve your sword, for violence does not pay. Surrender now, be secured, safe and enjoy the benefits of a full citizen of Nigeria. God hates violence, embrace peace today. Be a defender not a fighter".

"Surrender now!!!. Suicide bombing is not Islam. Whoever takes his/her life through suicide bombing will go to hell fire forever and ever.....Be wise. Reject suicide bombing".

The last categories of the campaign are those that were titled toward encouragements and advices to the public. The encouragements were targeted at boosting the people who have been devastated both mental and physical. The campaigns were also targeted at discouraging the notion of vengeance in people's mind through citing religious stands on violence, terrorism and forgiveness. Some of these include:

"Don't be afraid,.....Your villages are safe now. The military is your friend and brother. Boko Haram has destroyed families and properties. War is not in our culture; let us live in peace and harmony".

"Islam is peace.....Islam encourages seeking of knowledge be it western or Arabic. Turn down your weapons and embrace peace. Peace is the only option for development, economic activities, social interaction and self reliance".

"Nigeria our father's land.....Indeed, we don't have any other country apart from Nigeria. Remember, a peaceful nation lies in peaceful co-existence and socio-economic development. Therefore, join hands by reporting suspicious movement, persons or any threat to peace and security of lives and property of citizenry, places of worship, markets or sporting arena to security operatives nearest to you. (Translated from Hausa)"

"I, Major General Lucky Irabor, Theatre Commander Operation Lafiya Dole. I like to talk to the youths. Every youth must listen to me. This is my message to you, and I believe as you


heed to this advise, anyone coming up with issues that has to do with Boko Haram ideology or whatever ideology that is outside what you know or what you are taught, by those who you think of course are your role models, please desist from listening to them. I can only thank you for listening and want to believe that very soon, we will meet one on one, for us to shake hands and the whole world is looking up to you, to live a life that God has given to you. To live in peace”

4.1.2 Data collected from Observation of post bills







<p>SEE (RECOGNISE SIGNS OF A BOMB) SUICIDE BOMBER</p> <p>Unusual or chemical smell from improvised explosives</p> <p>Tunnel vision - eyes focused on target</p> <p>Suspicious bulges or backpack or packages</p> <p>Hands in pockets or trigger/wire in hand</p> <p>Heavy clothing, inappropriate for the weather</p>  <p>SUICIDE BOMBER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alone and nervous. Loose or bulky clothing, inappropriate for weather. Exposed wires/and or Eyes appearing to be unaware of surroundings. Rigid mid-section. May indicate hidden rifle or bomb. Tightened hands or hands kept in pockets. May indicate clenching of a detonation device. 	<p>INFORMATION ON IED PLACEMENT AND USE</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> IED can be hidden in bags of various types to resemble trash along the roadways. Secondary IED's may be placed in locations away from the first explosion in an attempt to attack security personnel or others responding to the event. Small IEDs like soda cans with explosives and short fuses can be thrown by suspects as they flee the area. IEDs can be used to distract the attention of Nigerian Security Forces. After explosion, attackers may use other IEDs or gun fire to continue the attack. VBIEDs have been used to attack compounds or buildings to cause large scale damage and casualties. These vehicles typically ram emplaced diversions (this is why airbags have been removed from the car). Sometimes, suicide vest are worn by the drivers of the VBIEDs/car bombs. IEDs can be placed anywhere. They have been found inside and outside buildings, parking lots, by the side of roads or open fields. Metal containers of various types are used: Low pressure gas cylinders, cooking oil containers, powdered milk containers, and large barrels 	<p>PROTECT YOURSELF FROM SUICIDE BOMBERS AND CAR BOMBS</p> <p>HOW TO STAY SAFE FROM BOMBING ATTACKS</p> <p>SEE:</p> <p>Recognise the potential signs of a</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Device (VBIED)/Car Bomb Suicide Bomber <p>ACT:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Get clear of the area Alert other people <p>CALL FOR HELP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contact: Military, Security Guards, Civil Defence, Police or SSS.
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**SEE (RECOGNISE SIGNS OF A BOMB)
VEHICLE BORNE IEDS (VBIED)**

The VBIED comes in all shapes, colours and sizes. From a simple passenger car, to a large delivery or sewage truck (sedans are most often used).



THE DRIVER MAY:

- Drive erratically; drive too slow or too fast
- Ignore orders to stop or try to circumvent a security checkpoint
- Attempt to drive too close to people, markets, or buildings
- Look unusual
- Wear inappropriate dress for the environment

**SEE (RECOGNISE SIGNS OF A BOMB)
VEHICLE BORNE IEDS (VBIED)**



Unusual items inside the vehicle: such as gas cylinders, wires, leaflets, large bags or boxes, and batteries besides the normal car battery



ACT

Leave the area

- Move at least 100m away from the suspicious device (The further, the better).
- Do not allow anyone near suspected bomb

Alert other people

- Raise Alarm
- Move people away

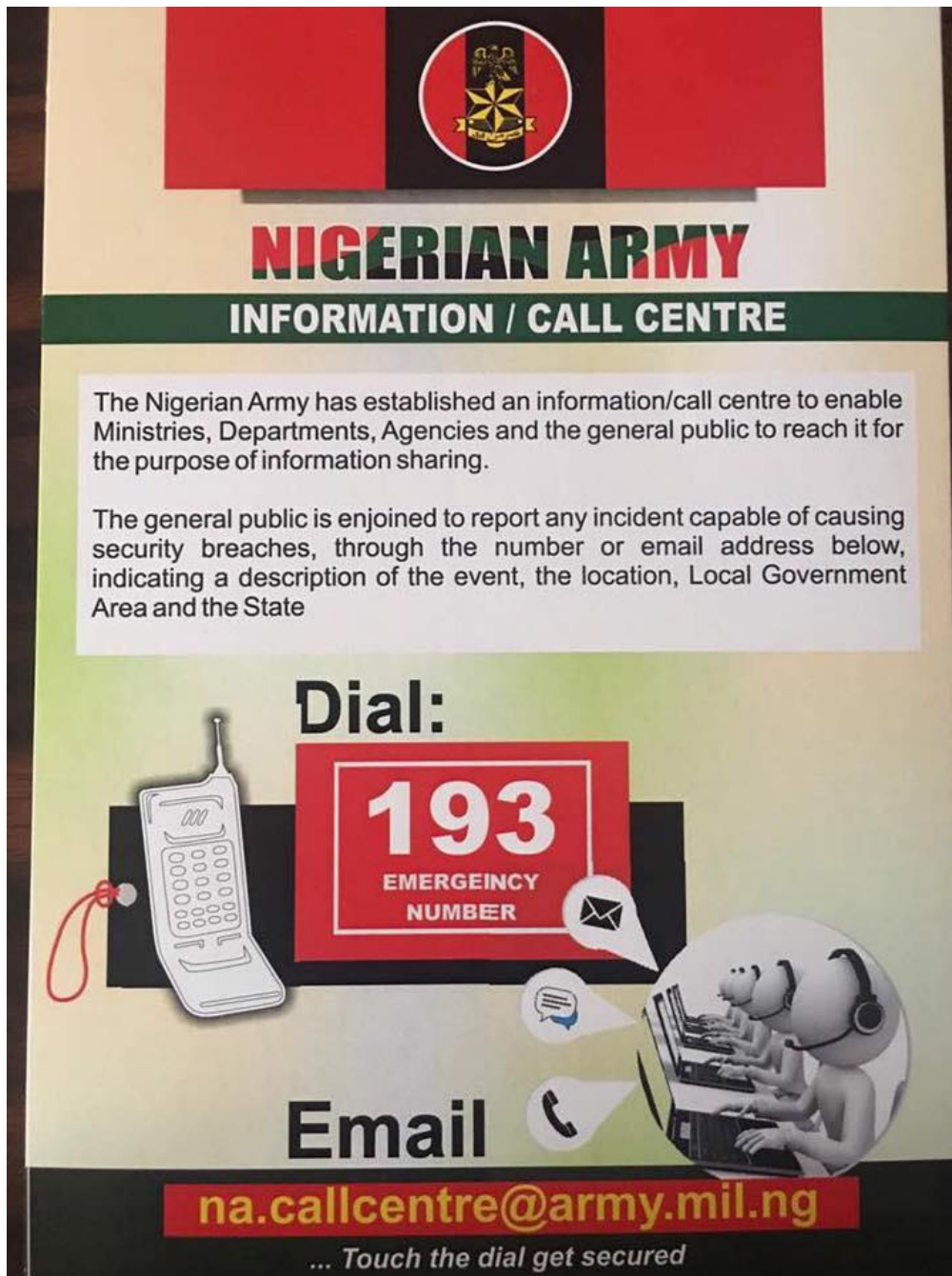
Call for Help

- Contact: Military, Security Guards, Civil Defence, Police or SSS.

CALL FOR HELP

Make sure you have as much of this information to give the authorities:

- **WHO:** Who was carrying/driving/left bomb. If you can't identify, use general descriptions (woman, boy, girl, height, build, etc...)
- **WHAT:** What kind of bomb? (VBIED, PBIED, abandoned bag, etc...)
- **WHEN:** Date and time you discovered the bomb or incident
- **WHERE:** Name of town, market, garage, motor park, place, etc...



The poster features the Nigerian Army crest at the top center, set against a red and black background. Below the crest, the text "NIGERIAN ARMY" is written in large, bold, green and red letters. Underneath, a dark green banner contains the text "INFORMATION / CALL CENTRE" in white. The main body of the poster is white and contains two paragraphs of text. The first paragraph states that the Nigerian Army has established an information/call centre for information sharing. The second paragraph asks the public to report security breaches via a specific number or email. The number "193" is prominently displayed in a red box, labeled "EMERGENCY NUMBER". To the left of the number is an illustration of a mobile phone, and to the right is an illustration of a call center operator. At the bottom, the email address "na.callcentre@army.mil.ng" is written in yellow on a red background, with the slogan "... Touch the dial get secured" below it.

NIGERIAN ARMY

INFORMATION / CALL CENTRE

The Nigerian Army has established an information/call centre to enable Ministries, Departments, Agencies and the general public to reach it for the purpose of information sharing.

The general public is enjoined to report any incident capable of causing security breaches, through the number or email address below, indicating a description of the event, the location, Local Government Area and the State

Dial:

193
EMERGENCY NUMBER

Email

na.callcentre@army.mil.ng

... Touch the dial get secured

RQ3 To what extent are these media campaigns effective in the de-radicalization of youths?

The respondents of the in-depth Individual Interview spoke on the effectiveness of the campaigns. According to Imam (2018), “the media campaigns have been very effective in fighting insurgency especially in the aspect of information dissemination. The campaigns contained information that enlightens people on the devilish activities of Boko Haram insurgents”.

Also, Agim (2018) corroborated by saying the media campaigns have played significant role in countering radicalization among the youths. A lot of tactics were employed in drafting and

producing the jingles that made them effective. These tactics include the use of local languages understood by the majority of the residents in the affected areas and involvement of voices that can speak to convince and persuade the audience from engaging in such acts.

The campaigns have been effective because the rate at which people (of course, unknown sources) call the dedicated lines to provide useful information is commendable.

RQ4 Frequency of broadcast on Lafiya Dole Fm and NTA

In finding out the frequency broadcast on the two stations, the programme schedule was obtained. Below is the breakdown of the frequency that is spots per jingle;

Table 4: Lafiya Dole Fm

DAYS	FREQUENCY(SPOTS)	TIMING
MONDAY	123 spots	8:10-8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
TUESDAY	113spots	8:10-8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
WEDNESDAY	109spots	8:10am -8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
THURSDAY	117spots	8:10am -8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
FRIDAY	119spots	8:10am -8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
SATURDAY	119spots	8:10am -8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm,

		12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
SUNDAY	127spots	8:10am -8:30am, 8:50-8:59am, 9:55am, 10:25am, 10:55am, 11:50-11:59am, 12:10pm, 12:20pm, 12:55pm, 01:50-02:00pm, 2:55pm, 3:50pm-4:00pm.
TOTAL	827	

Source: Lafiya Dole Radio

Table 5: Radio Lafiya Dole Spot Distribution

MONTHS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
December 2015-April 2016	17954	19.7
May 2016-September 2016	18253	20.0
October 2016- February 2017	18076	19.8
March 2017- July 2017	18362	20.1
August 2017- December 2017	18515	20.3
TOTAL	91,160	100

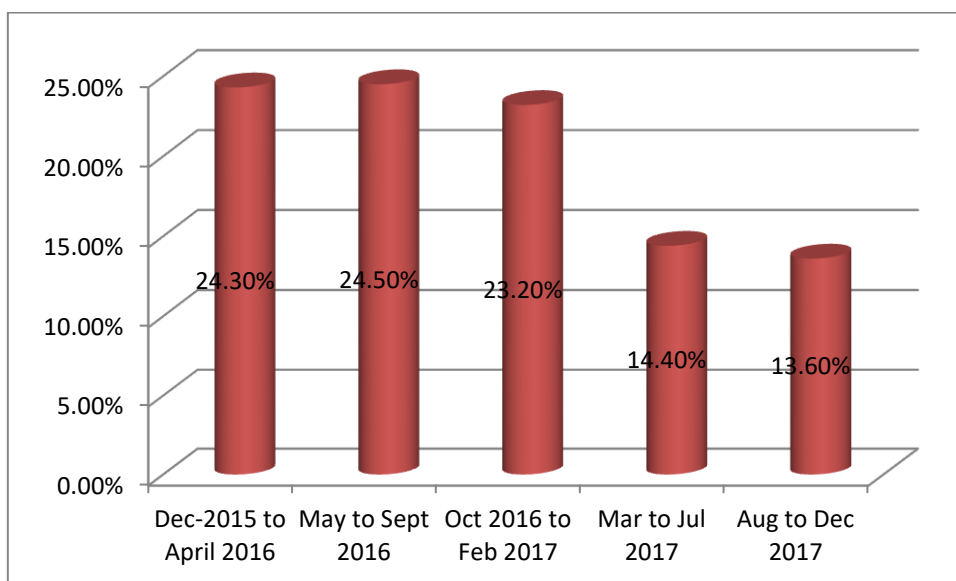


Fig. 4: Lafia Dole Spots Distribution (n=91160)

Table 6: Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)

DAYS	FREQUENCY(SPOTS)	TIMING
MONDAY	8 spots	6:55am, 7:30am, 8:55am, 3:55pm, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
TUESDAY	8 spots	6:55am, 7:30am, 8:55am, 3:55pm, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
WEDNESDAY	7 spots	6:55am, 7:30am, 8:55am, 3:55pm, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, and 9:45pm
THURSDAY	8 spots	6:55am, 7:30am, 8:55am, 3:55pm, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
FRIDAY	8 spots	6:55am, 7:30am, 8:55am, 3:55pm, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
SATURDAY	6 spots	6:55am, 8:55am, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
SUNDAY	6 spots	6:55am, 8:55am, 6:55pm, 8:55pm, 9:18pm and 9:45pm
TOTAL	51	

Source: Nigeria Television Authority

Table 7: NTA Spot Distribution

MONTHS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
December 2015-April 2016	1107	24.3
May 2016-September 2016	1115	24.5
October 2016- February 2017	1057	23.2
March 2017- July 2017	656	14.4
August 2017-December 2017	612	13.6
TOTAL	4547	100

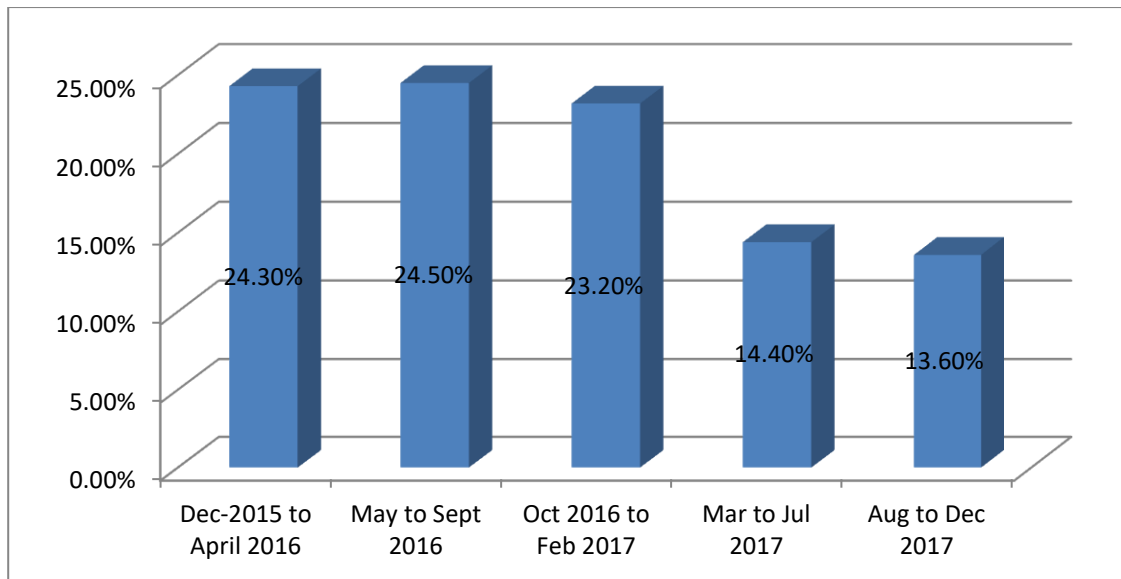


Fig. 5: NTA Spots Distribution (n=4547)

RQ5 To what extent have the media campaigns impacted in the fight against *Boko Haram* Insurgency?

Speaking on the extent to which campaigns impacted the fight, Agim (2018) stated that as a result of the unrelenting public campaign, the fight against Boko Haram terrorist has gotten a boost. Public awareness has also increased.

Mustapha (2018) noted that there are a lot of impact from the media campaigns been broadcast on Lafiya Dole FM. We have developed a feedback mechanism for measuring the reaction of the public. As a public station, we give our esteemed listeners the ample opportunity to provide information to security agencies. Through this, members of the public are not only eager but also cautious and ready to support the military end *Boko Haram* Insurgency. This feat, is attributed to consistent broadcast of the media campaigns, which has helped in enlightening the public on what to do to be safe.

4.2 DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

4.2.1 AUDIO VISUAL PRESENTATION

Audio Visual presentation refers to works with both a sound and a visual component. The audio presented in the jingles are self explanatory. The visuals especially that of the scenes of bomb blast or victims (particularly) minors were blurred. Audiovisual communication breaks down the traditional barriers of written communication to ensure that your audience understands the message easily, resulting in better discussion and collaboration in business,

education and personal applications. Audio and visual cues, when combined, increase message retention.

By adding videos, visual aids and sound clips to your presentation, you create a multimedia experience. This helps your communication become more engaging to the audience using a variety of media, from mp3s to video footage to still-image slideshows and online social media.

4.2.2 COMPLETENESS OF THE JINGLES

One important question here is that are the jingles containing all the important messages? What are the key information that perhaps made the jingles complete? From the above questions, it can be deduced that the voluminous nature of the information contained in some of the jingles, is responsible for the long narration and of course, exceeding the normal one minute standard for jingles.

4.2.3 CLARITY OF INFORMATION, SOURCES AND CREDIBILITY

Clarity means making your content easy to understand. If people can't understand what you're trying to say, then your content is not useful, right?

On the other hand, if you can produce sharp, clear, intelligent, and easy-to-understand content, it become much easier for people to see the value in it.

One of the main benefits of audiovisual media for communication is clarity. Audiovisual input enables both parties to observe facial expressions and gesture, hear tones and inflections in the voice and use both audio and visual cues to clarify each other's meanings and positions. The media jingles commenced with positioning statements like 'Operation Safe Corridor is real', 'Nigerian Army is at it again'.

The messages were kept short. The duration of the jingles are mostly 60 seconds or less than with the exception of few jingles. This made people easily remember the core messages. Sentences like 'if you see something, say something' and 'report any suspicious movement to the nearest security agencies'.

The messages were simple and evocative. There was no military jargon. The language was plain and self explanatory. Some unfamiliar terms like IEDs were further explained. For instance, in one of the jingles, it commenced with a question asking; do you know what an IED is? It means Improvised Explosives Devices.

To further underscore the clarity in the media campaigns, the statements below sum it all;

- Touch the dial, get secured.
- Raise alarm.
- Leave the area and so on.

4.2.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The National Broadcasting Code, referred to as ‘The Code’, a document first drafted in 1993 and amended in 2016 contains the universal standard of broadcasting with specific application to Nigeria. The purpose is to guide broadcasters to apply the provisions of The Code and to assist the public to uphold them as the benchmark for their “...right to quality broadcasting”. In crisis period like the *Boko Haram*, Chapter 1 of The Code mandate broadcasters to carry out public announcements on natural disasters as part of social responsibility covering their area of coverage. In the case of NTA, the jingles were used free of charge in spite of the commercialization. However, the usage of the jingles was not as consistent as that of Lafiya Dole Fm. This is so because the latter was established primarily to serve as media for the counter terrorism and counter insurgency operations in the North east.

According to the Code ‘No broadcast shall encourage or incite to crime, lead to public disorder or hate, be repugnant to public feelings or contain offensive reference to any person or organization, alive or dead or generally be disrespectful to human dignity’.

excessive portrayal of physical suffering and pain or the exhibition of dead bodies or blood are avoided except for the purpose of conveying a message, in which case it shall be preceded with a caution.

VIOLENCE, CRUELTY, PAIN AND HORROR 3.9.1 Broadcasting is highly susceptible to imitation, especially by children. A Broadcaster shall therefore, ensure that:

- a. the portrayal of violence, cruelty, pain and horror with the potential of causing moral or psychological harm are not broadcast.
- b. a programme portraying excessive physical violence or horror is not broadcast, unless relevant to character development or to the advancement of the theme or plot; despite this, graphic and gory details is avoided.
- c. violence is not depicted as glamorous.
- d. where violence, cruelty or horror is depicted, the consequences to the perpetrators are made manifest.
- e. the portrayal of dangerous activities which could invite imitation, shall not be broadcast;

3.9.2 A Broadcaster shall not transmit a programme that incites or likely to incite violence among the populace, causing mass panic, political and social upheaval, security breach and general social disorder.

There seems to be a violation of ethical practice in the presentation of the victims.



The above picture is a minor, carrying explosive devices tight to her waist. As prescribed by the Nigerian Press Council, that a minor (under the age of 16) involved in cases concerning sexual offences, crimes and rituals or witchcraft either as victims, witnesses or defendants.

Similarly, one of the suicide bomber intercepted by the military and undergoing rehabilitation at one of their centres was interviewed. Her voice has saturated the airwaves. In the interview, she disclosed how the *Boko Haram* members forced her to embark on such disastrous mission.

However, while it is unethical to interview a minor, the military out of what could be described as deterrence decided to allow her voice to go on air with the intention of cautioning would be suicide bombers and their parents from engaging in such inhumane mission.

Her interview inserts reads as follows;

I am 11 years old. My dad took me alongside my mom and my siblings to the bush, informing us that we will study. I don't know anything on it. We spent about one and half year. They gave me explosives and didn't give me any instructions though I am with my mother. My dad has divorced my mother because my mom refused to follow their path of ideology and that she will not do anything contrary to her believe. That was how he divorced her and left us in her custody. But he went away with my elder sister. After a while, he came again and picked me and my mother.

..... I told the soldiers and they went to the scene and diffused the explosives.

I don't want to kill people. Parents should not take their children. Children should not agree. They should run and come to military. Nothing will happen to them....

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that the military's intention of interviewing the 'repentant' *Boko Haram* member was not geared towards exposing her identity. Her name and that of her parent was not mentioned, neither her address or was disclosed. The purpose was to among other things inform members of the public on the breakthrough of the military in de-radicalization process. It was believed that the jingle will go a long way in convincing other perpetrators to accept the offer by the military and submit themselves voluntarily. Her face should have been blurred instead.

It is a well known rule in broadcasting that all spot announcements should not exceed 60 seconds. However, some have exceeded the time limit. Jingles of such nature are only aired on Lafiya Dole Fm.

4.2.5 APPROPRAITENESS OF THE THEMES

The themes selected for the media campaigns have a purpose. Each theme conveyed a specific message and addressed a pressing problem at the time. The theme usually tallies with an issue at stake.

4.3 SUMMARY

This chapter was dedicated for data presentation and analysis. Having presented and discussed the findings in this chapter, one important point needs to be buttressed. The fact that it is essential for the Nigerian broadcast media especially to allocate more time for airing media campaigns may not guarantee absolute change in behaviour and attitude. For people especially *Boko Haram* repentant members to completely do away with the wrong ideology of bloodshed, there is the need for a combination of the media campaigns and interpersonal communication involving youths and Islamic scholars, traditional rulers and parents among other stakeholders to effectively monitor, guide and change the attitude and behaviour of potential BHTs recruit (youths) through consistent counselling and mentoring.

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CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CNCLUSION, LIMITATION OF THE STUDY AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

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5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes this study and is, therefore, a reflection of the entire thesis. It contains a summary of this thesis, emphasising its purpose and the unique values it offers in terms of contributions to the field of communication. The chapter further justifies the approach adopted in this thesis. In light of the theoretical framework, the research argues the relevance of symbolic interactionism, deterrence, social cognitive and priming, to the central focus of the study. Conclusions was drawn based on the findings of this thesis and within the context of Nigeria, pin points the limitations of the study and also makes some valuable recommendations for further studies.

5.1 THIS STUDY IN SUMMARY

This thesis is an assessment of the effectiveness of media campaigns in the fight against *Boko Haram* Insurgency. It basically examines the nature and content of the media campaigns, their tones and patterns, effectiveness and impact on the de-radicalization process of youths. A background was laid on the *Boko Haram* crisis and related with how efforts were made to end it using various approaches including the media. It was designed into five (5) chapters for easy understanding. Chapter one gives an overview or background to the study, rationale for doing the research, the research questions to be answered and scope of the study. The chapter gave the definition of key terms associated to the research and also defined the focus of the study.

In chapter two, the study explores relevant literature for the purpose of connecting the thesis to previous works, thereby crafting what research gaps to fill in order to make the thesis a valuable contribution to knowledge. The chapter examines selected literature published by scholars on the issue. Key concepts reviewed include antecedents of *Boko Haram* before and after 2009, mission and vision, the significance of media campaigns, importance of peace in the society, media campaigns for behavioural change. The chapter also elaborates on the theoretical framework for the thesis. Three theories were considered relevant to the subject. The applicability of each of the theories was justified.

Chapter three outlines the research method and design. It discusses the procedure followed in the thesis and gave a clear picture of how the study was conducted. Based on the research

objectives and inferences from the literature review, the study adopts qualitative approach. A combination of In-depth individual Interview, Discourse Analysis and observation was used in obtaining data. The chapter also gave a brief profile of the two media organizations (Nigerian Television Authority NTA and Lafiya Dole Fm) as well as justifies the reason for selecting the method.

Chapter four is devoted for result finding and discussions. In this chapter, the data is analysed in a qualitative form. Numbers, tables and coding sheet were used in exceptional places to discuss the data obtained. The final chapter, chapter five discusses recommendation, conclusion and limitations of the study.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Having summarised the content of this thesis, this study concludes from these angles as follows;

- The study revealed that the radio jingles produced the Nigerian Armed Force and aired on their radio station has no specific duration. It ranges from 20 seconds to 10 minutes.
- The study found a categorization in content of the media campaigns. Some are geared towards de-radicalization, while others conveyed a message of vigilance, call to action or seek for assistance from security agents and others served as deterrence to discourage others from joining the fold of the terrorists group.
- Radio Lafiya Dole tends to air more of the jingles than NTA. This is because of the commercialization of media content.
- The consistent used of media campaigns have helped in persuading members of the public to support the Nigerian Armed Forces in the fight against *Boko Haram*.
- These media campaigns have equally enhanced rapport or rather sustained civil military relations. Members of the public are now more enlightened on the tactics and modus operandi of the terrorists especially with respect to the use of minors as suicide bombers among others.
- The study observed these media campaigns are not only broadcast on radio and television but also played in outside vehicles during mop-up operations in the forest. This was done in order to give the repentant *Boko Haram* members the ample opportunity to voluntarily surrender to the military.
- The exposure and publishing of the pictures of the wanted members of the group has enabled the public to know those behind perpetrating the violence. However, in spite

of publishing the list, members of the public are yet to report or give information that led to the arrest or death of any of the members to claim the reward announced by the Nigerian Army.

- The English version of the jingles has less or no impact on the public residing in the epicentre of the *Boko Haram* crisis. This is because significant number or majority of the target audience understands more of the local language than the official English language.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

A few recommendations emerged from the findings of this study. They are;

- A quantitative approach to this study needs to be conducted. A study to examine the public opinion on the media campaigns produced by the military and other governmental agencies specifically about their perception on the quality, content and strategic approaches of the media campaigns. This will further reveal or confirms the clash of interest between the public and military if at all exist.
- The study recommended that Nigerian Television Authority should allocate more airtime free of charge for the broadcast the jingles.
- The military and other governmental agencies should not relent; more campaigns with themes focusing on de-radicalization should be produced.
- There is no need for replicating the media campaigns in English. Priority should be given to local languages only.
- The military radio station should be established in other affected states of the North East. This will pave way for the broadcast of more jingles that will reach a significant number of audiences.
- Ethical issues like portraying minors and time limit should be considered.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to note that for every study conducted within the framework of certain objectives, a defined timeframe, geographical context and other considerable factors, there are bound to be limitations. This study is not an exception. Therefore, it is pertinent to note the following points as the limitations of this thesis.

- There is no scientific basis for selecting two years time frame for the discourse analysis. The time frame was only justified using the availability of the media campaigns produced within this period.

- The sample selected for the interview need to have covered the repentant BHTs, and some undergoing rehabilitation. However, only four important key stakeholders were interviewed. An official of the National Broadcasting Commission should have also been interviewed to find out on the ethical violations contained in the media campaigns.
- The effectiveness of these media campaigns can further be measured through survey of the public's opinion. However, members of the public were not included.
- The study only examined the frequency at which the media campaigns were broadcast in two media houses. Ideally, it should have covered more media organizations.

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APPENDIX

Department of Journalism and Mass
Communication,
Faculty of Humanities and Social
Science,
Daffodil International University,
Dhaka, Bangladesh.
December 28th, 2017.

Dear respondent,

REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW

My name is Ibrahim Uba Yusuf, with the identity number 172-28-252 and a postgraduate student of the above named Department. I am currently researching titled '**Countering *Boko Haram* Insurgency and Terrorism: Effectiveness of Media Campaigns from December 2015 to December 2017**', as my dissertation, in partial fulfilment for the award of Master of Social Science.

I am presently in Dhaka, and couldn't come to Nigeria for data collection, therefore, will like to conduct the interview through Whatsapp. The research is a combination of discourse Analysis and in-depth individual interview of selected media campaign produced by the Nigerian military and National Orientation Agency.

I hereby humbly request for your permission to be part of this research by answering the questions below as candidly as possible. Data generated will be published in my Master's Thesis and lodged with the University's Library in Bangladesh. Rest assured that all information provided will be treated as confidential and strictly for academic purposes.

Thank you for your anticipated and understanding and corporation.





Ibrahim Uba Yusuf,

Researcher

QUESTIONS

1. Can you please introduce yourself in details?
2. How are these media campaigns produced?
3. What are the common reactions you get from the public as a result of broadcasting these jingles?
4. Why do you engage in media de-radicalisation campaign?
5. What are the areas of coverage of the de-radicalisation campaign?
6. What is the magnitude of the campaign?
7. Are there tangible outcomes in the use of media campaign against radicalisation?
8. What are the impacts of the media campaign on the fight against insurgency?
9. What do you think have accelerated these impacts?
10. Are the media campaigns effective in the fight against insurgency?
11. To what extent are they effective?
12. What is your general assessment of the media campaigns?
13. Follow up questions as they arise.

PLAGIARISM REPORT

	Ibrahim Uba Yusuf	COUNTERING BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY AND TER...				
28%			*		929621172	13-Mar-2018
