

Framing of Terrorism in African Media: A Comparative Study of Frames Employed in Reporting Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al-Shabab in Kenya

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Abstract: The study undertook a comparative framing analysis of media coverage of terrorism in the Nigerian and Kenyan media deploying both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The theoretical underpinning for the study is the Frames analysis theory propounded by Erwing Goffman. The found that similarities exist in media pattern of reporting terrorism in the both countries, but the frames employed differ. It is recommended that continent-wide uniform training programmes be put in place for African journalists to make for more positive approach in the effort to curb terrorism using targeted information methods. This project can be undertaken by international non-governmental organisations working in the area of conflict resolution.

Key words: News • Frames • Terrorism • Media • Terror Framing

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is not new to the world, perhaps what is new is the dimension it has taken in recent time. According to Abimbola and Adesote, [1], terrorism in its very first form started over 2000 years ago as a struggle against Roman rule by a radical offshoot of a Jewish sect known as the Zealots during the 1st century AD. The sect fought against Roman colonisation mainly through acts like assassination of Roman officials in full view and in crowded places where there will be many witnesses with a form of dagger known as sica.

The next time the world witnessed a similar incident was when a set of Islamic group known as the Assassins which operated between 1090 to 1272 resisted Christian Crusaders in the area occupied by modern day Syria. They operated in ways similar to terrorist groups of today by engaging in suicide attacks believing that there was a special reward in the next world for those courageous enough to die defending their faiths [2].

According to the United States Department of Defence, terrorism is “the calculated use of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological”. In the past, terrorism was restricted to a few isolated places like the Middle East, Northern Ireland and

Northern Spain, but since the birth of the new millennium, terrorists have targeted almost all the continents of the world (Awake, 2006 cited in Ochonogor & Orlu, 2011:359)[3].

Perhaps the most publicized terror attacks of our time was that of the early hours of Tuesday, September 11, 2001 when the entire world was shocked by media report of terrorist attacks on the United States of America. On that fateful day, a group of hijackers hijacked four planes and crashed two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing everyone on board, including most of those working in the buildings. The hijackers crashed a third airliner into the American Defence Headquarters, in Arlington, Virginia, just outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanksville in rural Pennsylvania after some of its passengers and flight crew attempted to retake control of the plane, which the hijackers had redirected toward Washington, D.C. to target either the Capitol Building or the White House. [3].

The casualty figures show that the attack resulted in the death of almost 3,000 deaths, including the 19 hijackers, the 246 victims on the four planes, 2,606 in the World Trade Centre and on the ground and 126 at the Pentagon and another 292 others at the street level by burning debris and falling bodies of those who had jumped or falling from the World Trade Centre [4].

Africa has had its own share of terrorist activities, guerrilla warfare, insurgencies and civil wars ranging from crude operations launched to resist colonial rule to genocides and repressive regimes. However, none of these compares to the modern day brand of terrorism being witnessed in some regions and countries today.

In Nigeria however, the first major terrorist act linked to the country or her citizen was that of December 25, 2009 when a 23-year old Nigerian, Umar Faruk Abdul Mutallab was nabbed in an attempt to blow up a Northwest Airlines flight 253 with 278 passengers and 11 crew members from Amsterdam as the plane prepared to land at Detroit. [3]

Since after the December 2009 experience, what could be described as terrorists act in the country remained some form of kidnappings and bombings of churches, mosques, oil pipelines, schools and market places until the early 2010s when Boko Haram surfaced. According to [2], the origin of the sect is still shrouded in controversy as debates rage as to whether they are an offshoot of the Maitatsine movement, have links with the Taliban of Afghanistan and Al Qaeda, even the exact time of the group's emergence still remains unknown. [3] however reveal that extant literature suggest that the group was founded by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, from where it spread to other parts of northern Nigeria and that its members are mainly from the ranks of the socially oppressed, frustrated, unemployed and unemployable youths of the Northern region as well as the youths from neighboring Chad Republic. Their biggest offensive that made the biggest headlines worldwide and attracted a lot of attention was the reported abduction of over 200 teenage students at the Federal Government College, Chibok, Borno State on April 15, 2014. Till date, the group remains a major security threat in Nigeria.

In Kenya, terrorism in the modern period consists of mass murders and bombings such as the Friday, August 7, 1998 bombing at the United States embassies in Nairobi, Kenya [3] and the Westgate Mall, Nairobi, attack of September 21, 2013 as well as the Garissa University mass murders in northern Kenya where about 150 students were killed.

The main terrorist group in Kenya is the Al shabaab that originated from neighbouring Somalia. The political ideology of the group is to establish an Islamic state in Somalia. By that, the organisation aims to overrun Somalia and eventually spill-over its ideology throughout the Horn of Africa, [4]. Al-Shabaab seeks the establishment of an Islamic Emirate in Somalia including the north-eastern region of Kenya, the Ogaden region of Ethiopia as

well as Djibouti, according to the Australia National Security (August 21, 2009).

This study compares news frames of Boko Haram reports and the El Shabab in the media. By news frames, we mean the nuances, biases, opinions and meaning journalists introduce to stories on the subject with a view to breaking down complex realities for readers and viewers. In most modern societies, terrorism is rated a crime and the carnage wrought by terrorists easily eclipse every attempt to hold on to the journalism ethics of fair hearing and objectivity. Whichever side the reporter is on the terrorism divide, it is always hard not to introduce bias due to the emotions terror activities evoke.

Statement of the Problem: A lot of scholarly work and empirical studies have been done on the complex relationship between the media and terrorism [5-7]. Also numerous empirical studies and research works exist on news framing of terrorism [8-11]. However, most of the studies focused on framing of terrorism in countries outside Africa and on terror groups that are not strictly based in Africa.

Even more scarce are comparative analysis of news framing of terrorism on two countries or regions in Africa; herein lies the rationale for this study which sought to critically analyze and compare the frames employed by the media in reporting terrorism in Nigeria, West Africa and Kenya, East Africa.

A study of this nature is useful for continent-wide policy formulation and action on terrorism. It also provides raw materials for determining areas of emphases in continent-wide information/propaganda interventions in the war against terrorism.

Objectives of the Study: The main objective is to compare the framing of terrorism by the media in Nigeria and Kenya with a view to discovering similarities and differences in approaches. The specific objectives are:

- To determine framing pattern of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigerian news media.
- To determine framing pattern of Al-Shabab terrorism in Kenyan news media
- To compare the framing patterns of terrorism in Nigerian and Kenyan news media.

Research Questions:

- What is the framing pattern of of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigerian news media?
- What is the framing pattern of Al-Shabab terrorism in Kenyan news media?

- What are the similarities and the differences in the framing patterns of terrorism in Nigerian and Kenyan news media?

Conceptual Review

Framing of News: In news media, news frames serve as journalistic tools through which journalists recount a story in a limited amount of space and place an event within its broader context [12] cited in [11] (2013:86). Zillmann, Chen, Knobloch, & Callison [12] believe that media frames give meaning to events and issues and that, when used appropriately, they instigate readers' attention and interest.

Framing, according to Entman [14] essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment for the item described. He adds that, "frames, then, define problems – determine what causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits usually measured in terms of common cultural values, diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies – offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects [14].

Framing of Terrorism and Effects: Ekwueme and Obayi [15], note that the mass media play huge roles in public perception, acceptance or rejection of criminal behaviour the world over. Hence the media could influence public acceptance of some ordinarily illegal steps taken by government in combating the activities of Boko Haram by the way the media frame and present them. Similarly, the way the media frame and shape the Boko Haram insurrection in the people's mind can shape and condition the way the public views and responds to their attacks.

Dalei and Mishra [16] agree that religious issues, for instance, can almost suddenly transform into huge political crises in case of extreme objective coverage by the media. Media must know what type of coverage is likely to create tensions and differences and cannot afford to be absolutely objective when sensitive religious issues are concerned. They further explained that:

Objective and extensive coverage of terrorist attacks may also be detrimental to the interests of the nation instead of being beneficial. Today's terroristic acts

are 'Tria Juncta in Uno' requiring along with a perpetrator and a victim, the public, for who it is all carefully choreographed, to gain maximum attention. Grievance claims, self-display and propaganda all come together in a theatrical performance for an audience whose participation is solicited."

Recognition of the power of frames led to the writing and acceptance of the six principles developed by the Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Martin E.P. Segliman committee after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, New York. Entitled 'Six Rules for Government and Press on Terrorism: Undercutting Fear Itself'. It suggested that the media through framing reports should reduce helplessness, blunt availability, reframe, tell the story of survival, preach courage and use safety signals.

'Nuanced' reporting of news on terrorism is believed to be capable of reducing carnage. Terrorists are believed to thrive on media attention and can through the media gain fame, wealth, be able to recruit due to a great deal of attention, according to Frey [17] and [5]. They asserted that not attributing terror acts to one organization, starves them of fame which is their oxygen.

Orebiyi and Orebiyi [18] believe that media policies on conflict are engendered in agenda setting through the means and methods adopted by the political and military leadership for effective handling and harnessing of campaigns. The range of those policies is wide, encompassing such components as propaganda in its different forms, censorship, denial of access, technical or legal restrictions, to the provision of information and the creation of news. Thus, the media strategy defines a coherent mix of the media policies set to bolster or enhance the political aims of a campaign.

On the effects of framing, Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon [19] agree that the public's lack of awareness, along with their reliance on media for information and decision-making, make them more likely to be influenced by framing. They observed that:

When the media place stories in specific frames, they lend a different meaning to the news. The media increase or decrease the salience of issues, which allows the public to remember and make judgments on such issues. Framing assumes that subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation might affect how audience members think about the situation

Conceptualising Terrorism: For this study, terrorism is defined as the unlawful use or threat of violence by disgruntled factions or extremists who have an ethnic, social, religious, or political agenda against state actors, or a group of citizens, with intentions to intimidate, frustrate, or coerce a government, individuals or groups, or any sector thereof" [17]. The most common types of insurgencies include anarchy, egalitarian, traditionalist, pluralist, secessionist, reformist, preservationist. [4] cited in [18] expanded further thus:

The anarchist goals are elimination of any political structure, societal laws or social framework of the country that they are targeting. This problem is further enhanced by the fact that the anarchist groups generally have no intention to replace the deposed government or rule of law, leaving a power vacuum that external agencies or criminal organizations could fill. Egalitarianism seeks to impose a new system based on centrally controlled structures and institutions to provide equality in the distribution of all state resources. Further to this, traditionalist insurgents seek to overthrow or remove the established order and implement their own government, laws and societal framework that link these to past beliefs, customs and ideals. Similarly, pluralist entails many of the values that form the basis of many Western Societies such as personal freedom and liberty. Pluralism is the most uncommon form of insurgent movement. The secessionist movement does not wish to overthrow or completely change the current system. It primarily wants to separate itself from an independent organization or structure. Reformist insurgencies carry the least risk for the insurgent group, as they do not directly target the ruling party instead they fight for political, social and economic reforms. Preservationist groups will attack any organization or system that endangers the current regime. Preservationists will target opposition groups that support change as long as they benefit from the current authority. Likewise, counter insurgency embraces all of the political, economic, social and military actions taken by a government for the suppression of insurgent resistance and revolutionary movements.

Boko Haram: The emergence of Boko Haram, a socio-political fundamentalists group, which also goes under the name-"al-Sunnahwaljamma", or followers of

Mohammad's teaching in Arabic with socio-political ideology that rejects Western education and culture is still a subject of debate in the public sphere. Available evidence in extant literature suggests that the group was founded by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, from where it spread to Yobe, Kano, Bauchi and other parts of northern Nigeria. It draws its members mainly from the socially oppressed, frustrated, unemployed and unemployable youths of the Northern region as well as the youths from neighboring Chad Republic. The group operated mainly underground until July 2009 when it clashed with security forces in Bauchi. According to media report, an estimated 400 people lost their lives in the clashes. The federal government had to send a detachment of the Nigerian army to engage the fundamentalists who had initially set many police stations, schools and public places on fire in what could be best described as a war. It was during this 'war' that Yusuf was killed by security forces after being captured alive on July 30, 2009 [20].

The actual period of emergence of this Islamic militant group in the country is yet unknown. There are series of conflicting reports on their emergence in the northern part of the country. Information at the disposal of the different security agencies pieced together by Sunday Tribune of 12th February, 2012 indicated that contrary to the widely-held belief that the Boko Haram started around 2003, the group has been existing since 1995. It was, however, confirmed that the entry of slain Mallam Mohammed Yusuf successfully radicalised the group and opened it to foreign collaboration, especially with the Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). Although Yusuf's religious activism was linked to Kano, where he had brushes with popular Islamic clerics, he was said to have laid the foundation for the growth of the organization." [1].

Another major issue about this Islamic sect has to do with the strategy being employed in carrying out its activities which have taken series of dimensions since its emergence. This development has made a number of scholars and stakeholders in the country as well as international community to conclude that the sect has different kinds of support from known terrorist nations of the world. First, the modus operandi of the Boko Haram movement, which has been fashioned after the Taliban in Afghanistan, has made some to conclude that the sect must have sent its members to Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iraq, Mauritania and Algeria for training. Other argued it could be that the Boko Haram modeled itself

after the Taliban simply to acknowledge its source of inspiration. Some equally said that it was meant to attract sympathy and support from the Taliban or related groups. Another view was that, it could also be that the links actually exist. For instance, the Operation Sawdust that was carried out in 2005 by the military and the police and which covered North-East geo-political zones of Borno, Bauchi and Yobe, led to the arrest of some Islamic fundamentalists whose activities posed a threat to the security of the Nigerian state. Among those arrested was Yusuf Mohammed, the leader of the Boko Haram movement. These arrests provided the first clues about the links between Boko Haram and the Al-Qaeda terrorist group as those arrested along with Yusuf Mohammed revealed they had been trained in the act of terrorism in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Iraq. Items recovered during the operation included maps and diagrams of government establishments and of some directions to specific government buildings in Abuja. [1].

Al Shabab: Al-shabaab is essentially part of the persisting problems in Africa arising from the imposition of colonial borders, whereby the Somali nation was carved up, parts of it served to Kenya and others to Ethiopia. As a result, Somali nationalists have been calling for a country in which the people who share the same language and culture can live within the same borders. But Kenyan and Ethiopian governments, in spite of the illogical nature of the colonial borders, have stood in the way of this ideal, leading to a low intensity warfare that occasionally flares up and inevitably leads to many Somali deaths. It was only recently that the Kenya government owned up to the 1984 Wagalla massacre that killed hundreds of Kenyan Somali [21].

Their main political ideology is to establish an Islamic state in Somalia. By that, the Organization aims to overrun Somalia and eventually spill-over its ideology throughout the Horn of Africa [4]. Initially, al-Shabaab pursued the establishment of an Islamic Emirate in Somalia including the north-eastern region of Kenya, the Ogaden region of Ethiopia as well as Djibouti [6].

.Al-Shabaab, was born out of the Islamic Court Union, a loose formation of Islamic judicial systems that managed to restore some sort of civil order after years of a violent anarchy in Somalia, opening the Mogadishu airport and earning the support from a Somali majority. "The Courts achieved the unthinkable, uniting Mogadishu for the first time in 16 years and re-establishing peace and security," according to a 2007 briefing paper by the respected Chatman House.

From the start there was nothing ideal about the ICU; it was holding together a coalition of interests that ranged from the best of the moderates to the worst of the militants. This worried the United States because it believed that Somalia might with time become a terrorist haven. Ethiopia, with the approval of the United States, subsequently invaded Somalia and splintered the ICU, with the moderates going into exile and the militants forming Al Shabab [21].

Empirical Framework: In their work, "Print Media Framing of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Content Analytical Study of the Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard and Thisday Newspapers," [11] adopted such frames as Response, Religious, Human interest, Political, Powerlessness, Attribution of responsibility, Labeling, Economic, Conspiracy and Ethnicity frames. They content-analysed four Nigerian newspapers for a period of one year (January to December, 2012) and reported that:

Out of the ten (100%) categories, used for determining the frames in the coverage of Boko Haram activities by the four newspapers, six representing (60%), were prevalent (i.e, common) in the coverage by the newspapers. These frames included the following: Response frame, Human interest frame, Political frame, Powerlessness frame, Attribution of responsibility frame and labeling frame. Those that were not prevalent include: the Economic frame, the Conspiracy frame and the Ethnicity frame. They were not prevalent because not all the newspapers used them in their coverage. For instance, the *Guardian* newspaper did not use the Powerlessness frame. In the same vein, the *ThisDay* newspaper did not use the Ethnic frame, while the *Daily Sun* newspaper, did not use the Economic and Conspiracy frame [11].

They also found contrasting patterns in the frames used. The Guardian, Vanguard and ThisDay emphasized the Response frame (24%). Out of the ten frames, the Response frame led by recording 26.3%. Frames were used in 60% of stories on Boko Haram published by the four newspapers, according to findings by the researchers.

In their study, News Frames Terrorism: A comparative Analysis of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in United States and United Kingdom Newspapers, [8] adopted frames that differed from those

used by [11] though like [11] they also used the content analysis method. They undertook a comparative analysis of leading newspapers in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, by combining qualitative and quantitative methods to identify frames in reports on terrorism events. The newspapers they focused on were the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *London Financial Times* and the *Guardian*, for the duration of one year. The units analysed included news reports, features, news analyses and editorials. Their study revealed that, the U.S papers engaged in more episodic coverage, while the U.K. papers were more interested in thematic coverage of terrorism and terror-related events. They further observed that, the U.S papers were consumed with reporting news related with the military approach, whereas, the U.K papers were oriented toward diplomatic evaluations of terrorist events.

The most detailed study on Kenya media framing of terrorism was part of the “Ethical and Professional Glimpse Report,” prepared by the Media Council of Kenya and the German Cooperation entitled, “Re-Looking At Media Coverage of Terrorism In Kenya.” It was a content analysis of media handling of CNN reports that Al-shabaab was planning more attacks in Kenya and its partners including the USA. The frames used in the media coverage and response to this threat were analysed. The television stations were K24, KTN and NTV. K24 9 pm news, KTN’s investigative piece “Jicho Pevu” and NTV’s “Foul Winds” were analyzed. The Media Council pointed out that these reports typified media handling of terrorism stories in Kenya (Kenya Media Council, 2014).

Analysing the Kenya terrorism reports using [11] frames typology, the prevalent frames isolated from the reported findings would be the Labeling, Religious, Attribution of responsibility, Ethnic and Conspiracy frames. “Based on the information analyzed, it can be argued that the media provides terrorists with a platform to publicize their messages and this helps terror organizations conduct their activities: recruitment, attacks...” and based on this information, it is clear the media presents terrorist activities, encourages or glorifies war-like activities etc and hence the report becomes a one-sided, terrorist selling their messages to the public” were some of the comments accompanying the analysis.

Fredrick Ogenga[22] in a study entitled, “Is Peace Journalism possible in the ‘war’ against terror in Somalia? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and the Standard represented Operation Linda Nchi,” examined framing

based on the peace/war frames. The two methodologies that were triangulated were quantitative and qualitative content analysis. However, qualitative content analysis was chiefly used, because research on media representations of reality is qualitative in nature. A quantitative content analysis served to determine the frequency of occurrence of various units of analysis related to textual narratives representing the operation and the results were then subjected to a qualitative analysis. The analysis was performed on a total of 26 main headlines in 26 newspaper editions between October 16 and November 21, 2011. This time period was selected because it coincided with the military operation and the two newspapers extensively covered it. The analysis focused only on the headlines, because “headlines are windows that attract readers to a story and thereby help to sell newspapers” [22]. The war frame was overwhelming, according to the findings.

Theoretical Framework: The theoretical underpinning for this research is the frame analysis theory. Baran and Davis [23] posit that the Frame analysis theory as developed by Erving Goffman is a “microscopic theory that focuses on how individuals learn to routinely make sense of their social world. But this theory can be combined with macroscopic concerns to create a conceptual framework that considers (1) the social and political context in which framing takes place and (2) the long term social and political consequences of the frames learned from the media”. [14] elaborated on this theory in 1974 in his book, *Framing analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*.

Framing is basically used to explain how the mass media promote a particular definition of an issue through selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration [24]. McQuail [25] pointed out that a large number of textual devices can be used to perform these activities and they include using certain words or phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or film, giving examples as typical and referring to certain sources.

Previous research has provided sufficient evidence that mass media have the power to select and “pack” the events and, thus, to influence the way audience/readers perceive the surrounding reality. Framing is one of the media effects theories, largely used to analyze how the mass-media filters information and, thus, influences the public’s reactions to a whole range of external stimuli [26]. [7] analyzed how public attitudes are shaped as a result of media framing of a subject. He notes further that there are

two factors that facilitate the adoption of frames “the accessibility of an issue and the correlation between a subject and the audience’s pre-existing opinions.” In other words, framing effects are not independent (Azlan, 2012). On the other hand, Shuck & de [26] have established that attitudes and knowledge that exist before media exposure play an important role in determining the framing effects. Also, [19] have found correlations between low levels of political information, on one hand and the predisposition to adopt frames, on the other hand. Interestingly, [4] and [7] have shown that, in general, the public is more affected by negative frames than by the positive ones.

[10] cited in [25] describes US reporting of two similar air tragedies in which military action caused the deaths of large numbers of civilians. One was the Korean aircraft (KAL 007) shot down in 1983 by a Soviet plane; the other was an Iranian civil flight (Iran Air 655) shot down in 1988 by a US naval vessel in the Persian Gulf. The events were reported quite differently in ways that reflected both ethnocentrism and the international tensions of the times. KAL tragedy was reported as deliberate and as an attack while Iran Air disaster was made to look like a mistake and a tragic event.

Data Presentation:

	Res	Hu	Rel	Econ	Pol	Pow	Cons	AR	Lab	Eth	Sum
Guardian	17(29)	2(3.5)	4(7.0)	6(10)	5(8.7)	0()	2(3.2)	5(8.7)	13(22.8)	3(5.2)	57
Vanguard	16(38.1)	3(7.1)	5(11.9)	3(7.1)	5(11.9)	4(9.5)	1(2.3)	2(4.7)	1(2.3)	2(4.7)	42
ThisDay	18(34.6)	5(9.6)	2(3.8)	6(11.5)	5(9.6)	5(9.6)	1(1.9)	1(1.9)	9(17.3)	0()	52
DailySun	6(9.2)	10(15.3)	18(27.6)	0()	2(3.0)	4(6.1)	0()	1(1.5)	5(7.6)	19(29.3)	65
TOTAL	57	20	29	15	17	13	4	9	28	24	216

Source: (Okoro and Odoemelam, 2012, p. 93)

Fig. 1: Showing prevalence of frames in newspaper coverage of Boko Haram)

In the print media framing analysis of four Nigerian newspapers, the researchers adopted ten frames, Response, Religious, Human interest, Political, Powerlessness, Attribution of responsibility, Labeling, Economic, Conspiracy and Ethnicity. The table above from the data presentation of [11] shows that out of the 10 (100%) categories used for determining the frames in the coverage of the Boko Haram crises by the four Nigerian newspapers, 6, representing (60%), were prevalent (i.e,common) in the coverage by the newspapers. These frames included the following: Response frame, Human interest frame, Political frame, Powerlessness frame, Attribution of responsibility frame and labeling frame. Those that were not prevalent include: the Economic

Methodology: This study undertook a comparative framing analysis of media coverage of terrorism as reported by prominent Nigerian newspapers and Kenyan newspapers and television stations combining quantitative and qualitative methods. It compared a print media framing content analysis of four Nigerian newspapers: *The Guardian*, *The Vanguard*, *ThisDay* and *The Daily Sun* with the framing content analysis of the reports of three Kenyan television stations, K24, KTV and NTV as well as the terrorism coverage of two Kenyan newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*.

The print media framing analysis of four Nigerian newspapers was undertaken by [11]. The framing content analysis of the reports of three Kenyan television stations was part of the “Ethical and Professional Glimpse Report,” prepared by the Media Council of Kenya and the German Cooperation entitled, “Re-Looking At Media Coverage of Terrorism In Kenya.” [9] carried out the print media framing analysis of two newspapers, entitled “Is Peace Journalism possible in the ‘war’ against terror in Somalia? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and the Standard represented Operation Linda Nchi.” The two methodologies that were triangulated in his research were quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

frame, the Conspiracy frame and the Ethnicity frame. They were not prevalent because not all the newspapers used them in their coverage. For instance, the *Guardian* newspaper did not use the Powerlessness frame. In the same vein, the *ThisDay* newspaper did not use the Ethnic frame, while the *Daily Sun* newspaper, did not use the Economic and Conspiracy frame.

Other data presented by the researchers showed that the dominant frame identified in the coverage, was the Response frame, 26.3%. Their findings also showed that there was 60% prevalence in the use of the frames by the newspapers in the coverage. On the other hand, finding showed that there was 40% non-prevalence in the use.

Adopting [11] typology of frames to analyse the Kenya media framing of terrorism as contained in the “Ethical and Professional Glimpse Report,” prepared by the Media Council of Kenya and the German Cooperation entitled, “Re-Looking At Media Coverage of Terrorism In Kenya,” the prevalent frames isolated from the descriptive presentation of findings were Labeling, Religious, Attribution of Responsibility, Ethnic and Conspiracy frames.

Fredrick Ogenga’s study entitled, “Is Peace Journalism possible in the ‘war’ against terror in Somalia? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and the Standard represented Operation Linda Nchi,” examined framing based on the peace/war frames. The war frame was overwhelming, according to his findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of data from the three framing studies, one from Nigeria and two from Kenya, reveals that news frames terrorism in the Nigerian media as 60% framing prevalence was found and in mostly Policy Response style which is adjudged a positive frame. This provides an answer to research question 1 and solves research objective one. The qualitative analyses of the Kenyan media framing studies show that news frames terrorism in Kenya with the adjudged negative Labeling, Religion, Ethnic, War and Conspiracy frames. This solves research objective 2 and answers research question two.

A comparison of the data showed that the frames favoured by the media in Kenya are not in much use by the Nigerian media. There are differences in terms of the prevalent frames used by the media in the two countries. We can safely posit that framing of news on terrorism takes place in the media of both countries but while the Nigerian media tilt towards the positive frames, the media in Kenya use mostly the negative and divisive frames.

CONCLUSION

From the data analysed, it can be stated that:

- Policy response frame is the prevalent frame adopted by news media in Nigeria in framing the Boko Haram terrorism.
- The news media in Kenya predominantly frame terror news of Al-Shaba with the labeling, religious and conspiracy frames,
- Similarities exist in media pattern of reporting terrorism in the both countries, but the frames employed differ.

Recommendations: Based on the findings and conclusions, the study recommends:

- That continent-wide uniform training programmes be put in place for African journalists to make for more positive approach in the effort to curb terrorism using targeted information methods. This project can be undertaken by international non-governmental organisations working in the area of conflict resolution.
- Global collaborative efforts are required to combat terrorism worldwide.

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