

**AN ANALYSIS OF PRINT AND ONLINE
NEWSPAPERS ON INSECURITY REPORTAGE:
A STUDY OF FOUR SELECTED NIGERIAN
NEWSPAPERS**

MUSA UMAR MUHAMMAD

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA TERENGGANU**

2025

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MUSA UMAR MUHAMMAD

**Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctor of
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DEDICATION

Alhamdulillah. All praise be to Almighty God, the Lord of mankind. I dedicated this research work to my parents (the late Muhammad Kabiru Ali Maikura and Sa'adatu Umar Sanda). To my uncles and aunties who all departed back to our Lord (Alhaji, Abdullahi Sallau, Umar Ali Maikura, Musa Ali Maikura, Rabi Ali Maikura, Inna Janjama, Baba Asabe, Inna Rabi, and Inna 'Yardawaki). May Allah forgive them and make Jannatul Firdaus their final home. I also dedicated this work to my brothers, Ali and Abu Bakr Umar Muhammad. Finally, I dedicated this work to my mentor and father, Emeritus Professor Munzali Jibril and Engineer Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, for their contributions to education.

Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Malaysia Terengganu in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**AN ANALYSIS OF PRINT AND ONLINE NEWSPAPERS ON INSECURITY
REPORTAGE: A STUDY OF FOUR SELECTED NIGERIAN
NEWSPAPERS**

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2025

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Co-Supervisor 1 : Professor Madya Che Hasniza Che Hoh, Ph.D

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Insecurity is a significant global issue, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, where countries like Nigeria face numerous security challenges, including banditry, *Boko Haram* insurgencies, kidnappings, farmer-herder crises, and militancy. Despite federal government efforts, the situation remains precarious, and stakeholders like the mass media need to support the government's efforts in addressing these security issues. This study examines the insecurity content of print and online newspapers in Nigeria and the efforts of newspaper practitioners to combat insecurity in the country. It aims to explore the differences and similarities in how these newspapers report on insecurity and readers' satisfaction with print and online insecurity content. The study employs a mixed method approach in which content analysis and semi-structured interviews were used to collect the study data. Purposive sampling was used to collect 3,294 news articles from Daily Trust, Leadership, the Sun, and Vanguard newspapers between March 2022 and September 2022, a period in which high-profile insecurity occurred in Nigeria. A semi-structured interview was conducted with newspaper practitioners and newspaper readers. The use of two different sources of data in the study enables the researcher to not only analyze

media content but also to investigate the relationship between documented issues and plain reality regarding the lingering insecurity in Nigeria. The findings of content analysis revealed significant differences between print and online newspapers in relation to insecurity reporting, in which the print editions produce more insecurity news than their online counterparts, with banditry being the most frequently reported issue. The interviews findings indicated that newspaper readers predominantly consume online news more than print news due to its accessibility, affordability, flexibility, and convenience, aligning with the Uses and Gratification Theory. Despite the preference for online newspapers, print newspapers remain relevant by offering detailed coverage of security issues. Additionally, Nigerian newspaper organizations employ various strategies to combat insecurity, including collaborations with stakeholders, informing security agencies, focusing on solution-oriented journalism, and prioritizing government and security-related issues, yet security challenges continue to become prevalent in the country. The government should support investigative journalism projects focusing on exposing the underlying factors and networks behind banditry, kidnapping, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder conflicts, and other related security challenges in Nigeria.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Malaysia Terengganu
sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk Ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**ANALISIS LAPORAN KETIDAKSELAMATAN DALAM SURATKHABAR
BERCETAK DAN DALAM TALIAN: KAJIAN TERHADAP EMPAT SURAT
KHABAR TERPILIH DI NIGERIA**

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Ketidakselamatan merupakan isu global yang penting, terutamanya di Sub-Sahara Afrika, di mana negara seperti Nigeria menghadapi pelbagai cabaran keselamatan, termasuk isu samun, pemberontakan *Boko Haram*, penculikan, krisis petani-penggembala dan militan. Di sebalik usaha kerajaan persekutuan, keadaan masih tidak menentu, dan pihak berkepentingan seperti media massa perlu menyokong usaha kerajaan dalam menangani isu keselamatan ini. Kajian ini meneliti kandungan ketidakselamatan dalam Suratkhbar bercetak dan dalam talian di Nigeria dan usaha pengamal media dalam memerangi ketidakselamatan di negara ini. Kajian ini bertujuan meneroka perbezaan dan persamaan kedua-dua suratkhbar bercetak dan dalam talian serta kepuasan pembaca terhadap kandungan berkaitan ketidakselamatan di Nigeria. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kaedah campuran di mana analisis kandungan dan temu bual separa berstruktur digunakan bagi mengumpul data kajian. Pensampelan bertujuan digunakan bagi mengutip 3,294 buah artikel berita daripada akhbar Daily Trust, Leadership, the Sun dan Vanguard

antara Mac 2022 hingga September 2022, satu tempoh di mana ketidakselamatan berprofil tinggi berlaku di Nigeria. Temu bual separa berstruktur telah dijalankan dengan pengamal media dan pembaca akhbar. Penggunaan dua sumber data yang berbeza dalam kajian ini membolehkan penyelidik menganalisis kandungan media dan mengenalpasti hubungan antara isu yang didokumenkan dengan realiti mengenai ketidakselamatan yang berlarutan di Nigeria. Dapatan analisis kandungan mendedahkan perbezaan ketara antara suratkhbar bercetak dan dalam talian berhubung dengan pelaporan ketidakselamatan, di mana edisi bercetak menghasilkan lebih banyak berita ketidakselamatan berbanding suratkhbar dalam talian, dengan isu samun menjadi isu yang paling kerap dilaporkan. Dapatan temu bual menunjukkan bahawa pembaca akhbar kebanyakannya bergantung kepada berita dalam talian lebih daripada berita bercetak kerana kebolehcapaian, keterjangkauan, fleksibiliti, dan kemudahannya, selaras dengan Teori Kegunaan dan Gratifikasi. Walaupun keutamaan diberikan untuk akhbar dalam talian, akhbar bercetak kekal relevan dengan menawarkan liputan terperinci tentang isu keselamatan. Selain itu, organisasi akhbar Nigeria menggunakan pelbagai strategi bagi memerangi ketidakselamatan, termasuk kerjasama dengan pihak berkepentingan, memaklumkan agensi keselamatan, memberikan tumpuan kepada kewartawanan berorientasikan penyelesaian, dan mengutamakan isu berkaitan kerajaan dan keselamatan. Namun cabaran keselamatan terus berleluasa di negara ini. Kerajaan harus memberikan sokongan kepada projek dalam kalangan wartawan yang melakukan penyiasatan dan pendedahan yang memfokuskan pada pendedahan faktor asas dan rangkaian di sebalik samun, penculikan, *Boko Haram*, konflik petani-penggembala dan cabaran keselamatan lain yang berkaitan di Nigeria.

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APPROVALS

I certify that an Examination Committee has met on 4th June, 2025 to conduct the final examination of Musa Umar Muhammad on his Doctor of Philosophy thesis, entitled “An Analysis of Print and Online Newspapers on Insecurity Reportage: A Study of Four Selected Nigerian Newspapers” in accordance with the regulations approved by the Senate of Universiti Malaysia Terengganu. The Committee recommends that the candidate be awarded the relevant degree. The members of the Examination Committee are as follows:

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Date:

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citations which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted for any other degree at UMT or other institutions.



MUSA UMAR MUHAMMAD

Date: 18/06/2025

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIT	African Independent Television
ART	Assisted Reproductive Technology
AST	Agenda Setting Theory
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRS	Biafra Radio Station
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Science
CA	Content Analysis
CNN	Cable News Network
FRCN	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
GSM	Global System for Mobile
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
IRA	Intercoder Reliability Assessment
MAXQDA	Max Qualitative Data Analysis
MSc.	Master of Science
NTA	Nigeria Television Authority
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
QCAMAP	Software for Qualitative Content Analysis
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
RO	Research Objective

RQ	Research Question
SPSS	Statistical Package of Social Sciences
SSI	Semi-structured interview
UG	Uses and Gratification
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study background, focusing on how information and communication technological breakthroughs (ICT) affect the mass media generally, including newspaper organizations, and how they report various issues, including insecurity challenges. The chapter presents a brief profile of the four newspapers selected for the study. It presents a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research objectives, and research questions. It also discusses the significance of the study, the scope of the study, and operational definitions of terms, among others.

1.2 Background of the Study

In the 21st century, the mass media, including newspapers, have undergone significant transformations in the process of producing, gathering, and disseminating information (Trew, 2018). The transformation, largely facilitated by information and communication technology (ICT) development (Oyelaran-Oyeyinka & Lal, 2006; Servaes, 2022), has interlinked conventional communication channels, including newspapers, making them dependent on each other for fundamental functions (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019). Newspaper journalism, experiencing changes in appearance, content production, delivery, and means of production over time (Boczkowski, 2005;

Miller & Skinner, 2015), has embraced the internet era. This development has empowered newspapers to focus on audience preferences, adjusting content to meet reader demands (Graham & Smart, 2010). (Graham & Smart, 2010). The internet's global accessibility has transformed newspapers into dynamic sources for local and global news consumption, with the interactivity option of reading news via online channels (Nielsen, 2016; Van Dijck, Poell, & De Waal, 2018).

In Nigeria, most newspapers now produce both print and online editions, providing readers with a choice between traditional and digital formats. This development encourages media and communication scholars to investigate the associated changes in newspaper content. Nigerian newspapers cover diverse topics, including education, health, the economy, the environment, religion, and insecurity. Presently, insecurity is a major concern for Nigerians, given escalating issues like kidnapping, banditry, armed robbery, herder-farmer clashes, ethno-religious crises, the Niger Delta, and Biafra Militancy (Aleyomi & Nwagwu, 2020; Igbini, 2020; Onuoha, 2019). Newspapers play a crucial role in addressing insecurity by reporting incidents factually and promptly to reduce challenges and aid victims (Adekunle, Mohammed, & Ismail, 2016). In addition to reporting insecurity issues, newspapers also play a vital role in raising awareness about the root causes of insecurity and advocating for effective solutions. Providing in-depth analysis and investigative journalism contribute to the public's understanding of the complex factors responsible to the lingering insecurity in Nigeria. The study area showing different level of insecurity can be seen in figure 1.1.

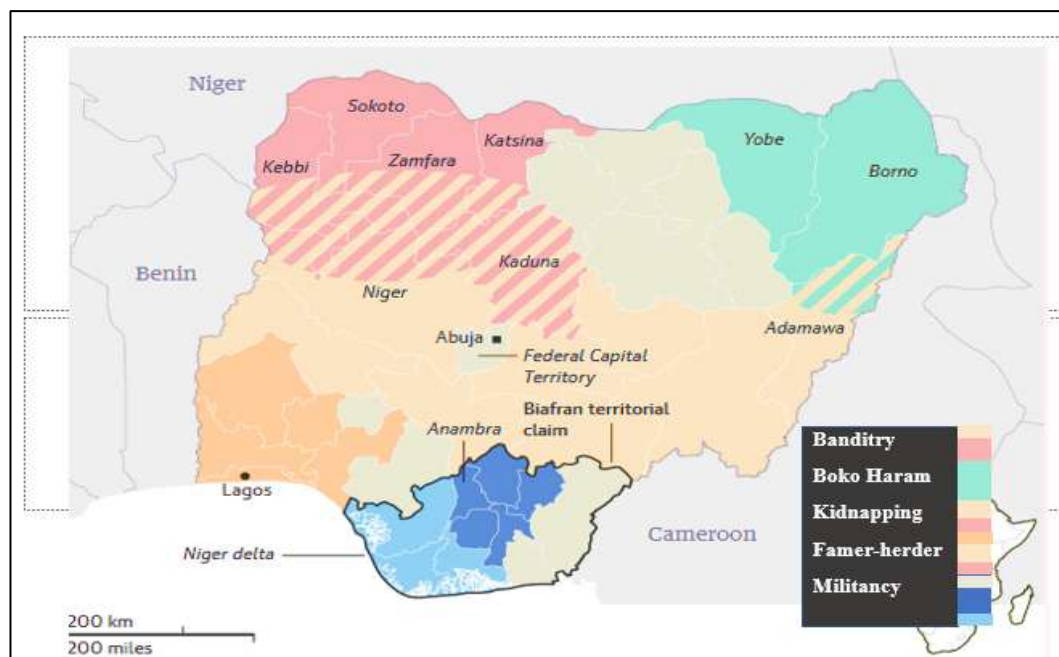


Figure 1.1 The study area showing different insecurity challenges.

Source: Adopted with modification from Guardian Graphics 2022

However, it is on record that the traditional media, especially newspapers and magazines, have historically contributed to insecurity reportage in Nigeria, predating the emergence of online newspapers in 1997 with the defunct Post Express newspaper's online edition (Nwabueze & Ebeze, 2013; Oladosu, Sanni, & Tanimowo, 2021). This study analyzes the insecurity reportage content in print and online editions of four selected Nigerian newspapers: *Daily Trust*, *Leadership*, *the Sun*, and *Vanguard*. The analysis aims to examine the similarities and differences in their coverage of security incidents, as well as the views of newspaper readers on the insecurity content they read in both print and online editions. Additionally, it seeks to evaluate newspaper practitioners' efforts to improve the effectiveness of their reporting in fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria and their views on the potential shortcomings in their reporting that may hinder the overall goal of promoting security and safety in the country.

1.2.1 Brief Profile of the Four Selected Newspapers

Four newspaper organizations in Nigeria were selected for the content analysis section of this study. The selection of the newspapers was made based on their prominence and popularity in the country. These four newspapers include the *Daily Trust*, *Leadership*, *the Sun*, and *Vanguard* newspapers, and they are among the 38 newspapers with wider coverage, readership, and circulation in the country (Chinedu-Okeke, Agbasimelo, Obi, & Onyejelem, 2021; Onwude, Nnomeh, Chima, & Obayi, 2017). The profiles of each newspaper will be enumerated below.

1.2.1.1 Daily Trust

The *Daily Trust* newspaper is one of the major publications of Media Trust Limited, which has its headquarters in Abuja, Northern Nigeria. “The newspaper you can trust” is the company's catchphrase. The *Daily Trust*, *Weekly Trust*, *Sunday Trust*, and the Hausa-language *Aminiya* newspapers are all published by the Media Trust, a privately owned Nigerian newspaper publishing corporation (Apuke & Uhwe, 2020). It is one of Nigeria's top seven media firms in terms of generating advertising income. The *Weekly Trust* began in 1998 with a single production on every Friday of the week. This weekly production served as the foundation of the Media Trust.

However, the organization equally launched the *Daily Trust* in 2001, with daily publication from Monday to Friday. Later on, the company expanded its scope to include publications on Sundays and Saturdays and the biweekly Hausa vernacular

newspaper called *Aminia* (Herbert, Tobechukwu, & William, 2017). Currently, the Media Trust company has an online publication that can be accessed online.

1.2.1.2 Leadership Newspaper

Leadership is another powerful Nigerian daily national newspaper. It was established when Olusegun Obasanjo returned for a second tenure as the democratically elected Nigerian president in 2004 (Olukotun, 2017). The *Leadership* is published by the Leadership Newspaper Group, which has its headquarters in Abuja, Northern Nigeria. “Nigerian must influential newspaper” is the well-known slogan of the Leadership newspaper (Herbert et al., 2017). The editorial policy of the Leadership newspaper is anchored by the following statement as clearly stated on their website:

“We shall stand up for good governance. We shall defend the interests of the Nigerian state even against its leaders and we shall rise our pen at all times in defense of what is right”.

In December 2009, the Leadership newspaper received an award from the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) as “the Best Newspaper of the Year”. The award was received by the Leadership Group Executive Director, Mr. Abraham Nda Isaiah (Oyokunyi et al., 2018). The paper has an online edition, which can be accessed through its website.

1.2.1.3 *Daily Sun Newspapers*

The *Sun* is a daily newspaper published in *Kirikiri* Industrial Layout, Lagos, Nigeria. It was incorporated and began production on March 29th, 2001. The *Sun* newspaper began weekly production on January 18, 2003 (Ita, Ekanyanwu, & Aniebo, 2016). In the same year, on June 16, the publishing company upgraded to begin daily production. Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu, a two-time governor of Abia State, was the chairman of Sun Publishing Limited. A veteran journalist, Mr. Mike Awoyinfa served as the founding managing director and, at the same time, the editor-in-chief of the *Sun* newspaper. With a sudden restructuring in the company in January 2010, Mr. Awoyinfa replaced Tony Onyima (Ita et al., 2016).

Femi Adesina, who was the Special Adviser to President Muhammadu Buhari on Media and Publicity, also became the Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the *Daily Sun* newspaper. With this new development, Eric Osagie replaced Mr. Femi Adesina as Managing Editor-in-Chief of the Sun Publishing Limited in June 2015. The *Sun* reports that, as of 2011, the newspaper had an average daily print run of 130,000 copies and 135,000 for weekend publications (Oyokunyi & Adomi, 2008). The *Sun* becomes one of the best-selling newspapers in Nigeria. Currently, the *Daily Sun* newspaper can be accessed through its dedicated website online.

1.2.1.4 *Vanguard Newspaper*

The *Vanguard* is also another daily newspaper that was founded and published by the Vanguard Media Company in Lagos, Nigeria. Originally an expert and well-known journalist, Mr. Sam Amuka-Pemu and his three friends established Vanguard

Media in 1984. The Vanguard newspaper has a dedicated online version that can be accessed through its active website (DBPedia, 2021). The Vanguard newspaper is among the few Nigerian newspapers that are considered independent of government control. Colonel Raji Rasaki, the military administrator of Lagos State, temporarily halted the Vanguard newspaper in 1990, as a result of the conflict of interests between the publishers and the government. In December 2009 Vanguard Newspaper received a commendation letter from the Niger Delta peace activist, Mr. Cletus Arerebo, as a result of its efforts to report government intentions that helped in convincing the militants to accept the amnesty program (DBPedia, 2021; Wikipedia, 2022).

Table 1.1 Summaries of Four Selected Newspapers

Name of Newspapers	Publisher	Year Established	Location
<i>Daily Trust</i> Newspaper	Media Trust Limited	1998	Abuja (Northern Nigeria)
<i>Leadership</i> Newspaper	Leadership Newspaper Group	2004	Abuja (Northern Nigeria)
<i>Daily Sun</i> Newspaper	The Sun Publishing Limited	2001	Lagos (Southern Nigeria)
<i>Vanguard</i> Newspaper	Vanguard Media	1984	Lagos (Southern Nigeria)

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Mass media generally and newspapers in particular play a critical role in addressing societal challenges, including insecurity, by shaping public perceptions and influencing policy discourses. Insecurity as a global phenomenon is increasingly becoming a major problem in most parts of the world, especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa (Oluwatayo & Ojo, 2018; Opongo, 2018). African countries such as Somalia,

Sudan, Kenya, Nigeria, and many others continue to experience profound security crises, resulting in extensive human suffering, including loss of life, displacement, and economic instability (Chukwuere & Onyebukwa, 2018; Taylor, 2018). According to the United Nations Development Goals SDGs' annual report (2022), one-fourth of the global population lives in violence, as 100 million residents in the world have been forcibly displaced (SDGs Annual Report, 2022). Notably, Africa bears a disproportionate burden of these challenges, with a higher prevalence of insecurity-related violence and instability (Mroszczyk & Abrahms, 2021; Tar & Dawud, 2022).

Consequently, Nigeria is among the countries with higher insecurity challenges and homeless people in the Sub-Sahara Africa region, due to the increase rate of different security challenges facing the country (Afolabi, 2022; Chukwu, 2021; Husted, 2022; Idahosa, 2016). The previous literatures established that, all the six geopolitical regions have their peculiar security challenges, including *Boko Haram* insurgencies in the North East; kidnappings for ransom, cattle rustling, and banditry in the North West, North Central, and South West; militancy and oil bunkering in the South East and South-South. The aforementioned security challenges have caused a lot of fear and pain, for the people who live in the affected areas (Adanlawo & Rugbeer, 2021; Adenike, 2021; Bodo & Gimah, 2020; Enyinnaya & Olomojobi, 2022; Husted, 2022; Obi, 2015; Ogunode & Kolo, 2021; Okpaga, Chijioke, & Eme, 2012; Oyefusi, 2014; Tete, 2020).

However, this heinous act of crime caused much fear and disruption in the country, with many people feeling unsafe to travel by road or by train due to the fear of any of the aforementioned security challenges. According to Bello & Imam

(2022), a train from Kaduna to Abuja was attacked by bandits on March 28 2022, and more than 150 passengers were kidnapped and taken to an unidentified destination. In the same year, on July 5, 2022, suspected *Boko Haram* insurgents broke out of Kuje prison in Abuja and freed hundreds of prisoners. On July 26, 2022, the suspected bandits killed and kidnapped innocent people, including the principal of the government secondary school in Makera and the ward head of the area (Dunamis, 2022). On February 6, 2023, 44 vigilantes were mercilessly killed by suspected bandits in Kankara local government of Katsina state (Francis, 2023). These security challenges in Nigeria not only threaten lives and livelihoods but also undermine societal stability, as reflected in SDG Goal 16, which aims to promote peace, justice, and strong institutions. These security challenges in Nigeria not only threaten lives and livelihoods but also undermine societal stability, directly opposing Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16, which seeks to promote peace, justice, and strong institutions.

Despite the efforts of the federal government to address these security challenges with a range of initiatives, such as launching different counter-insurgency operations and increasing military presence in certain strategic areas, the security situation remains precarious and has not yet been addressed (Oluka, 2022). Thus, the situation necessitates complementary actions from other stakeholders, particularly the mass media. Newspapers, as influential platforms for shaping public discourse, have a unique role in complementing the government's efforts in tackling the myriad security challenges in the country (Okaiyeto, 2021).

Mass media, particularly newspapers, play a critical role in shaping public perceptions and policy discourses around insecurity (Okaiyeto, 2021). As the "fourth

estate of the realm," mass media, newspaper in particular can set agendas, promote accountability, and provide platforms for public dialogue and collaboration with security agencies (Nwabueze & Ebeze, 2013). However, discrepancies in insecurity reportage between print and online newspapers raise important concerns. Print newspapers often provide in-depth analyses, while online newspapers tend to focus on breaking news and summaries, potentially leading to fragmented public understanding (Hassan et al., 2018). These differences may influence how readers perceive insecurity issues and the effectiveness of media in addressing them.

Narrowing down to the newspapers' agenda on tackling insecurity, which is the crucial effort by newspaper practitioners to combat insecurity in Nigerian, yet under examined. Media practitioners have the potential to contribute significantly to peace-building by highlighting root causes, advocating for solutions, and collaborating with stakeholders. However, evidence suggests limited efforts by Nigerian newspapers to set agendas or contribute meaningfully to insecurity resolution (Chukwuma Alphonsus et al., 2022).

However, most previous studies on newspaper content in Nigeria and beyond focused on print media analysis, comparative analysis of print and online newspaper readership, and other emerging issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic, while ignoring other areas of public concern such as the country's current lingering insecurity (Agboola, 2014; Akwaowo et al.; Amann, Sleigh, & Vayena, 2021; Apuke & Omar, 2020a; Ashong & Henry, 2017; Basch, Kecojevic, & Wagner, 2020; Cacciatore et al., 2012; Chukwuma Alphonsus et al., 2022; Martikainen & Sakki, 2021; Onwe et al., 2020; Smith, 2005; Smith, Smith, & Ajayi, 2020; Talabi et al., 2022; Ytre-Arne & Moe, 2021). This gap in practitioners' engagement raises

concerns about the effectiveness of media in addressing insecurity, especially given the SDG's emphasis on inclusive societies and public safety.

Although, the previous studies confirmed that human insecurity is the major problem in Nigeria that needs to be addressed, evidences have indicated that these previous studies did not pay much attention to the newspapers' readers' and media practitioners' perspective on insecurity challenges in Nigeria, and no effort was made by the previous studies to determine the extent to which the newspapers contribute in reducing insecurity challenges in Nigeria. (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2018; Adenike, 2021; Eneji & Agri, 2020). Therefore, the current study will examine the efforts of the Nigerian newspapers for tackling insecurity challenges and how the print and online newspapers pay more attention to the current insecurity challenges in Nigeria.

Similarly, another critical issue is readers' satisfaction with insecurity reportage. Understanding readers' satisfactions and preferences for print or online insecurity content is essential for newspapers to remain relevant and impactful. With the rise of digital platforms, online newspapers in Nigeria face challenges such as limited coverage, insufficient internet infrastructure, and a focus on younger audiences. Nigerian online newspapers primarily publish news summaries or breaking news with young adults as the target audience (Agboola, 2014; Hassan, et al., 2018), which makes it difficult to entirely replace hardcopy publications. The influence of the internet on young adults' preference for online newspapers is significant, but the current internet service is not sufficient to meet the entire Nigerian population's needs as a result of weak internet connections (Kepios, 2022), causing daily paper requests to increase. These factors exacerbate disparities between print and online media, potentially alienating significant portions of the population.

Conversely, print newspapers, despite their detailed coverage, face constraints related to cost and distribution. These disparities exacerbate inequalities in access to information and highlight the need for a balanced approach to insecurity reportage that caters for diverse audiences.

Finally, this study aims to bridge these gaps by analysing the differences between print and online newspapers' coverage of insecurity in Nigeria, exploring newspaper practitioners' roles in addressing these challenges, and assessing readers' preferences and satisfaction. By doing so, the study seeks to provide actionable insights for improving the effectiveness of newspapers in combating insecurity and fostering a safer, more inclusive society. It also aims to strengthen the contributions of print and online newspapers in complementing governmental efforts to address Nigeria's persistent security challenges, thereby aligning with SDG goals 16 for peace and security (Abba, Abbas, & Msughter, 2021; Chukwuma Alphonsus et al., 2022).

1.4 Research Objectives

The study aims to analyse the contents of four Nigerian newspapers and their online versions to explore the extent to which they set an agenda for tackling insecurity and how they pay more attention to the current security challenges. This aim can be achieved through the specific objectives mentioned below:

- i. To identify the differences and similarities of the insecurity reportage between print and online editions of the selected newspapers.
- ii. To evaluate the effort of newspapers practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria.

- iii. To examine the readers' satisfaction in print and online newspapers with regard to insecurity reportage.

1.5 Research Questions

In the course of this study, the researcher will attempt to find answers to the following questions;

- i. What are the differences and similarities between the print and online newspapers based on the insecurity news reportage?
- ii. What are the efforts made by the newspaper's practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria?
- iii. How do the readers satisfy with the print and online newspapers insecurity reportage?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study will be explained based on the theoretical and practical contributions. On the theoretical aspect, the study would broaden the existing body of knowledge in the fields of mass media and newspaper content studies, as well as explore the nexus between media and security studies. By analyzing the specific ways in which both print and online newspapers report on insecurity issues, this study can provide valuable insights into how newspaper reportage influences readers' perceptions and choice of certain insecurity issues.

This study has the potential to enhance both academic understanding and real-world practices in the realm of media and security studies. As such, communication scholars in academia and research institutes can use this research for future academic investigations and professional purposes. For instance, the current curriculum of media and communication studies used in Nigerian universities and colleges recognizes only two types of newspapers: print and online newspapers. This study identified a third type of newspaper, which is known by newspaper practitioners as “electronic newspaper” (a complete copy of a pre-printed newspaper that is distributed electronically via emails and social media outlets such as Twitter, and Facebook).

However, this new classification can help enhance the understanding of the evolving landscape of newspapers in the digital age and may lead to updates in academic curricula to reflect these changes. Additionally, professionals in the media industry can use this information to adapt their strategies for reaching audiences through different types of newspapers. This discovery also challenges the traditional categorization of newspapers and opens up new avenues for research and analysis in the field of media studies. By recognizing the existence of electronic newspapers, scholars can delve deeper into the impact of technology on journalism and the dissemination of news. This research also highlights the importance of staying current with print media industry developments and adapting educational curricula to reflect the changing landscape of media consumption. As technology continues to evolve, it is essential for media and communication scholars to keep pace and equip students with the knowledge and skills needed to thrive in the digital age.

Moreover, the practical implications of this research include potential recommendations for journalists and policymakers on how to improve the accuracy and effectiveness of security reporting in the media. In the same vein, the newspaper experts might use their existing knowledge with this additional information to propose a way forward for the newspaper organizations on how to improve their positive reporting on insecurity issues in Nigeria. Using the information from the present study, the newspaper organizations might understand the needs of their readers and improve accordingly.

The study will equally help tremendously in assisting newspaper organizations in Nigeria to embrace new innovations and changes resulting from the current technological breakthrough, especially when it comes to reporting insecurity-related news. The findings of this study will draw the attention of the newspapers' professionals in Nigeria to respond to the current demand for SDGs through engaging in positive reporting of insecurity-related incidences so as to ensure the general safety of the citizens and to promote a peaceful and inclusive society in line with the 16th goal of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This could be achieved through recommendations to the related stakeholders.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Considering that there are several insecurity issues in Nigeria and many mass media and communication scholars have explored the relationships between mass media and various insecurity concepts like food insecurity, health insecurity, and environmental insecurity that deals with climate change (Adigun, 2019; Ikpi, 2017;

Odesanya, Khadijat, & Akinkugbe, 2015). Therefore, this study is specifically within the scope of human insecurity reports in Nigeria. Similarly, the study focuses on analysing the role of print and online newspapers in reporting on insecurity in Nigeria. It examines how Nigerian newspapers set the agenda for addressing insecurity and the extent of their coverage of key security challenges, such as Boko Haram insurgency, farmer-herder conflict, and banditry, kidnapping, and Niger Delta militancy. The study draws on content analysis of four prominent Nigerian newspapers: Daily Trust, Leadership, the Sun, and Vanguard. These newspapers were selected based on their broad coverage and prominence, as established in previous studies.

The research is situated within the broader framework of media and society, emphasizing the interplay between newspapers and their audience in tackling societal challenges. It incorporates a mixed-methods approach, combining newspaper content analysis with interviews conducted with newspaper practitioners and lecturers who regularly engage with print and online newspapers. The study aims to explore differences and similarities in reportage between print and online editions, evaluate newspaper practitioners' efforts in combating insecurity, and assess readers' satisfaction with insecurity reportage. By focusing exclusively on human insecurity, the study narrows its scope to the most pressing insecurity issues currently facing Nigeria.

There are many human insecurity challenges currently in Nigeria, but this study is limited to the newspaper reports on *Boko Haram* insurgency, farmer-herder conflict, and banditry, kidnapping, and Niger Delta militancy. Consequently, only four Nigerian newspapers were selected for content analysis, which include *Daily*

Trust, Leadership, the Sun, and Vanguard newspapers. The selection was made due to the wider coverage and prominence of these four newspapers in the country as proved by Siraj (2017). In addition to the newspapers' content analysis, interviews were conducted with newspaper practitioners and readers. Nigeria was chosen as a study area due to the higher insecurity challenges in the country (Chukwuma Alphonsus et al., 2022; Harkness, 2018; Yusuf & Mohd, 2023; Zubairu, 2020), also coupled with insufficient data in the area of newspaper and insecurity studies. As such, the mass media are expected to respond to those challenges by complementing government efforts in the fight against the insecurity.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

The following terms would be defined for the purpose of clarity and to suit their application in this study.

1.8.1 Insecurity

Insecurity simply means the state of being exposed to risk, harm, or the anxiety one experiences from feeling exposed and unprotected. It is a term that is used to describe a wide range of negative emotions that individual or group may feel (Udoh, 2015). These emotions can include feeling anxious, stressed, self-conscious, or unsure of one-self. Insecurity is often the root cause of many other mental health issues, such as depression, anxiety and apprehension. When an individual or group of people feels insecure, they may feel threatened and unprotected. This can lead to feelings of anxiety and depression. Insecurity can be caused by many different

factors, such as a change in circumstances, a loss of confidence, or feeling like you are not good enough.

The insecurity challenges are largely caused by socio-economic and political factors such as unemployment, poverty, and illiteracy, ethnic tensions, power struggles, and religious conflicts (Eneji & Agri, 2020). Insecurity in this study covers some aspects of social violence that occur as a result of malfunctioning social, economic, and political systems, such as *Boko Haram* insurgencies, farmer-herder conflicts, kidnapping and banditry, Niger Delta militancy, and Biafra agitators.

1.8.2 Insecurity Contents

Newspaper has variety of contents to include news, opinion columns, and weather forecasts, reviews of local services, obituaries, notices, crosswords, editorial cartoons, comic strips, and advice columns. In this study, insecurity contents refer to news stories, editorial and opinion that fall within the categories of the following insecurity; *Boko Haram* insurgencies, Farmer-herdsmen clashes, Cattle rustling, Armed banditry and kidnapping, Economic insecurity, political insecurity, Health insecurity, Religious and insecurity.

1.8.3 Mass media

The term mass media refers to the social institutions that produce messages, information and entertainment programming. The mass channels of communication include; newspapers, magazines, books, television, radio, the Internet, and outdoor

billboards that reach large numbers of people. The mass media are classified into Print, broadcasting/electronic, digital and outdoor communication media (Weeks & Holbert, 2013).

For instance, print media use physical items like books, comics, magazines, newspapers, or pamphlets to convey message to the large, anonymous and heterogeneous readers. Broadcast or electronic media convey message electronically using media such television, film, radio or recorded music. Digital media include Internet communication using large or small computer and smart mobile phones. Internet media comprise such services as email, social media sites, website and Internet-based radio, television and newspapers (Kumar, 2022). Today almost all mass media outlets have an additional presence on the web as a result of media convergence. In this study, "mass media" could refer to either online or print newspapers or any other form of traditional communication. In the course of citing examples, a researcher may use the term mass media to refer to any of the conventional media such as radio and television.

1.8.4 Newspaper

A newspaper is defined as a complete package of news, events, people, and locations in a specified area and published on a pre-determined frequency on low-cost paper called newsprint. It is also referred to a sheet of paper with printing on it that is meant to be read and documented for future use, as is common with a free daily newspaper that one might find at any newsstand. The first printed newspaper was published in 1605, and the form has evolved much since the birth of early

modern journalism in the 17th century(Raymond, 2013). Newspapers are typically published on a regular schedule and contain information about current events. A newspaper is a periodical in nature containing written information and news, usually published daily, weekly, or fortnightly (Ndonye & Khasandi-Telewa, 2013). It is published in print, online, and via other digital media. Newspapers are published by a newspaper company and contain advertising or pay walls. They cover a wide variety of topics such as current events, sports, business, entertainment, and weather. (Ndonye & Khasandi-Telewa, 2013; Turner, 2002).

1.8.5 Newspaper Practitioners

In this study newspaper practitioner connotes an individual or group of individuals with extensive knowledge and experience in the newspaper profession. The newspaper practitioners are those experts usually involved in the process of production of the newspaper's content. They include news editors, senior reporters and newspapers producers.

1.8.6 Online Newspaper

In this study, online newspapers refer to the electronic newspapers that can be published independently online and can be accessed using internet network. They are online edition of a printed newspaper or other periodicals that offer the greater options to the readers by providing them with faster breaking news. Online newspapers usually allow readers to express their opinions in the comment sections (Weber, 2014). Online newspapers are often free and available to anyone with an

internet connection, making them a great resource for those who may not have access to print copy of a newspaper.

1.8.7 Security

Security according to Akin (2008) is a situation that exists as a result of the establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and properties against hostile persons, influences an action. (Ali, 2013) sees security as the government's efforts to provide a maximum protection for the citizens through its machineries of the government including protecting the state and its citizens from external and internal insurgences. Contributing to the Nigeria's national security, Ali (2013) stated that national security is the protection of the country's resources, territory, sovereignty and lawful institutions with a view to ensuring the just and equitable living conditions for all citizens. Generally, security entails the establishment of a peaceful, considerate and orderly atmosphere that promises the citizens access to their basic needs and freedom, fear or terror (Akpor-Oboro, 2013).

1.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter discussed the background of the study with key focus on newspapers industry and insecurity in Nigeria, and a brief profile of the selected newspapers. The chapter also discussed the statement of problem, research objectives, research questions, and significance of the study. The chapter also highlighted on the scope of the study, and operational definition of terms.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses relevant literature related to the study, reviews empirical findings from related studies, and presents a theoretical framework upon which the study is based. Thus, the chapter is divided into two major parts: reviewing related literature, and suggesting a theoretical framework. Part one (the literature review) is subdivided into three sequential sections with a view to providing empirical and conceptual clarification that will connect the work with previous similar studies. The first section of part one discusses related mass media concepts, historical development of the press, media ownership and newspaper industry in Nigeria.

The second section of Part One discusses related mass media studies in general, with a keen emphasis on the newspaper content. The third section also narrows the review to print and online newspapers and insecurity related studies in Nigeria, which is one of the focus of this research. Part Two of this chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study. It discusses two major theories applicable to the study, which include uses and gratification and agenda setting theories.

2.2 Overview of Mass Media

Media and communication scholars view mass media from two different perspectives. First as a technological device employed to disseminate information to a large and heterogeneous audience. These devices are radio, television, newspapers, magazines, books, films, cinema, GSM, etc. (Nnaemedo, 2019; Pečiulis, 2016; Permana, Mahameruaji, & Indriani, 2023). Secondly, the media is seen as a social institution responsible for the gathering, processing, packaging, and dissemination of information for public consumption (Altheide, 2019; Igben & Ilaya, 2021; Ogwo, Asemah, & Obidike, 2013). The mass media is an indispensable tool for development in any nation, given their irreplaceable contribution to governance as a watchdog and partner in progress with other arms of government. According to Fitzpatrick (2018), through communication media, millions of individuals can communicate from almost anywhere on the planet.

The mass media, as the fourth estate of the realm, plays an essential role in promoting democratic governance and societal stability, and contributes to the fight against insecurity. Omoera (2010) posits that, in a developing country like Nigeria, the mass media have been instrumental in the consolidation of the current democratic experience. With the advent of social media platforms, the reach of the mass media has expanded even further, allowing for instantaneous sharing of information and opinions between the contents' creators and the consumers (Hermida, 2016). This interconnectedness has led to a more informed and engaged populace, which is essential for a functioning democracy. As technology continues to advance, it is important for the mass media to adapt to these technological innovations in order to remain relevant and continue to accomplish its crucial role in societal development.

The power of the media in shaping public opinion and influencing government policies as demonstrated earlier cannot be overstated, making it a vital tool for progress and democracy in any society. In spite of the current changes in communication processes, mass media remain a crucial vehicle for societal development. The media, whether electronic or print, are saddled with responsibilities for keeping people informed in our society. But the fact remains that the media has contributed immensely to societal development (Asemah, 2011).

2.2.1 Historical Development of the press and Media ownership in Nigeria

The historical evolution of the press and newspaper ownership in Nigeria is a dynamic narrative that spans over a century, reflecting the socio-political and technological changes that have shaped the nation's media landscape. It is on historical record that "*Iwe Irohin*," a vernacular newspaper, was the first newspaper in Nigeria during the pre-colonial era (Olaniyan, 2021). Commencing on December 3, 1859, with the introduction of the vernacular newspaper "*Iwe Irohin, fun Awon Ara Egba ati Yoruba*," by Reverend Henry Townsend, the Nigerian press embarked on a journey marked by cultural, social, political, and religious commentary tailored for the predominantly Yoruba audience (Ellah, 2019; Olayiwola, 1991; Sawada, 2012). This pioneering effort laid the foundation for subsequent developments, including the establishment of the Anglo African newspaper by Robert Campbell in 1893, solidifying Lagos as the epicenter of Nigeria's emerging print media (Olabunmi & Ejere, 2023; Oso, 2011).

From the colonial era to the present day, newspapers in Nigeria have been instrumental in informing and mobilizing the public on a wide range of issues, including insecurity and conflict. The diverse ownership of newspapers in Nigeria, from government-owned to privately-owned publications, has allowed for a variety of perspectives and voices to be heard in the public discourse. As the media continues to evolve and adapt to new technologies, newspapers have the opportunity to further enhance their role in promoting peace, justice, and accountability in Nigerian society.

However, a transformative shift in the historical trajectory of the modern press in Nigeria occurred in 1932 with the advent of radio broadcasting, signaling the press's evolution from the traditional publication sector to the burgeoning electronic industry (Chioma, 2014; Ugo, Odey, Odey, & Abu, 2023). The establishment of a transmission station in Lagos expanded the reach of Radio-fusion broadcasts across Nigeria, leading to the formalization of the Nigeria Broadcasting Service (NBS) in 1951 (Akeem et al., 2013). The metamorphosis of NBS into the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in 1957, coupled with the inception of the external service, the Voice of Nigeria, in 1962, marked pivotal milestones in the dynamic evolution of the media landscape (Arthur & Ukelina, 2021; Omoera & James, 2022).

Simultaneously, regional television stations emerged in Western Nigeria (WNTV, 1959), the East (ENBS-TV, 1960), and Northern Nigeria (RKTV, 1962). The consolidation of regional radio stations into the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria in 1979 and the harmonization of regional television stations into the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) in 1976 epitomized the structural changes within the media landscape (Betiang, 2006; Omoera & James, 2022).

The trajectory of newspaper ownership in Nigeria links with broader developments in media ownership, with Asemah (2009) defining media as a conduit for conveying messages to a diverse audience. Until the presidency of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, military administrators wielded complete control over mass media ownership in Nigeria (Apuke, 2016a). Presently, the Nigerian mass media operates through a dual framework of private and government ownership. Government-owned media serves as instruments for projecting official narratives and promoting government initiatives, while privately owned media, driven by profit motives, assume a more serious and sensitive role, often acting as vigilant watchdogs when necessary (Oberiri, 2016). The influence of privately owned newspapers and magazines has notably increased since the 1990s, shifting the media landscape away from dominance by government-owned entities to private ownership (Adebanwi, 2017).

The return of democratic rule in 1999 ushered in a proliferation of newspapers with a national outlook, exemplified by publications like the Daily Independent (2001), The Sun (2003), The Daily Trust (2003), The Nation (2006), Nigerian Compass (2008), and Westerner (2008). The period between 2000 and 2005 witnessed a substantial increase in the number of daily newspapers, signaling a diversification and expansion of the media landscape (Adesoji & Hahn, 2011; Onyemaobi, 2018). This transformative period also witnessed the migration of influential Nigerian newspapers to the Internet in the early 2010s, embracing a multimedia approach while retaining their print editions (Kperogi, 2012). This shift allowed for information to be disseminated more quickly and to a wider audience, changing the way news was consumed in Nigeria. With the rise of digital media in

the 21st century, newspapers are now faced with the challenge of staying relevant and competitive in an increasingly fast-paced and technology-driven world. Similarly, the shift reflects a continued adaptation to emerging technologies and changing audience preferences in the ever-evolving Nigerian media environment.

2.2.2 Newspapers Industry in Nigeria

The historical development of the newspapers industry in Nigeria cannot be completed without mentioning the contribution made by Rev. Henry Townsend, who set up a printing press and printing school in the mission compound in Abeokuta in 1859 (Daramola, 2017). In the same year, on December 1859, Henry Townsend established the first vernacular Yoruba newspaper, which was considered the first vernacular newspaper in the entire African region. Townsend named his newspaper “*Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba*” translated into English language as “Newspaper in Yoruba for the Egba and Yoruba People (Daramola, 2017; Obateru, 2017; Salawu, 2015).

Seven years later, in 1866, Townsend started publishing another two different editions of *Iwe Irohin* in Yoruba and English, which were stopped following the Ifole civil uprising between the Ibadan and Egba traders (Daramola, 2017). The second early newspaper in Nigeria after *Iwe Irohin* was the *Anglo-African newspaper* founded in 1863 by Robert Campbell with an office in Lagos (Bilbija, 2020). The major success of the *Anglo-African newspaper* made Lagos the major center of the Nigerian press (Kperogi, 2016).

However, the progressive newspapers in Nigeria emerged 17 years later with the establishment of '*The Lagos Times*' by Andrew Thomas on November 10, 1880. *The Lagos Times* was published twice a month (a bi-monthly newspaper) and was primarily used to propagate public opinion on topical issues (Kperogi, 2016). In 1882, a veteran journalist, Mr. Blackall Benjamin, established *the Lagos Observer*, followed by the *Mirror newspaper*, founded by Adolphous Mark on March 31, 1887 (Babalola, 2002).

The amalgamation of northern and southern protectorates in 1914 by Sir Frederick Lord Lugard led to the emergence of a new set of Nigerian newspapers with a regional outlook. The *Nigerian Daily Times* was established in 1926 by the Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company, with Mr. Ernest Okoli as its first editor. In 1936, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe established the *West African Pilot*, intending to increase political awareness and national consciousness among the teaming youths of that time. In the same year, in 1936, the Northern Nigerian Government, under the control of Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto, established a Hausa vernacular newspaper called *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*. Chief Obafemi Awolowo also established *the Nigerian Tribune newspaper* in 1946 (Offodile, 2016; Umar, 2005). The primary objective of Awolowo's newspaper was to propagate anti-colonialism campaigns through its critical analysis of the colonial administration (Kperogi, 2016; Mazrui, 2013; Salawu, 2015).

Immediately after the departure of the British colonial administrators from Nigeria in 1960, the Federal Government of Nigeria established its two newspapers, (*the Morning Post and Sunday Post*) with a view to fostering national unity among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria (Mordi, 2018). However, advancement in

literacy levels and the growth of political awareness led to the emergence of private newspapers in Nigeria, such as the *Daily Sun newspaper*, *Daily Trust newspaper*, *Daily Independent*, *The Guardian newspaper*, *The Vanguard Newspaper*, *The National Concord*, *The Punch*, *This Day newspaper*, *New Nigerian newspaper*, *Tribune Comet newspaper*, *The Monitor*, *The Post Express*, among others (A. Ismail, 2011; Jimoh, 2016; Yusha'u, 2018).

However, despite the fact that the majority of Nigerian newspapers mentioned above have online editions, hardcopy newspapers are increasingly becoming relevant in Nigeria due to so many reasons. The hardcopies of the Nigerian dailies carry classified information that is not available online. In Nigeria, government ministries, parastatals, and non-governmental organizations like banks and companies purchase Nigerian newspapers on a daily basis for their staff to read. Furthermore, the accessibility of hardcopy newspapers is far reaching, since people living in rural areas often do not have access to the internet or data for their mobile phones. In spite of the prevalence of online newspapers in Nigeria, hardcopy newspapers still remain a useful, integral part of Nigerian society and a primary means of keeping people abreast of current events and for education, information, recreation, relaxation, and entertainment (Apuke & Omar, 2020b; Mohammed, 2021).

However, Nigerian newspapers do not publish the entire hardcopy online; they usually publish news summaries online or give breaking news that is not in the hardcopy. The emergence of the internet in the era of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), according to Agboola (2014), would not in any way replace a newspaper, just as radio and television did not replace it, due to the fact that the majority of online newspaper readers are young adults. Hassan, Latiff

Azmi, and Yahaya Nasidi (2018) argued that the daily request for hardcopy newspapers could only decrease when the newspapers provided available information on the internet that could satisfy the readers' needs. Unfortunately, the internet service is not strong and available to cater to the entire Nigerian population at the moment.

According to statistics by Kepios (2022b), many developing countries have gone ahead of Nigeria in terms of capacity and number of internet users. For instance, only 51% of the total Nigerian population has access to the internet, while other countries like Malaysia and South Africa have 89.6 and 68.2 percent of internet users, respectively (Kepios, 2022a, 2022c). This statistic suggests that, in every 10 Nigerians, only five have access to the internet, while in every 10 Malaysians, nine people have access to the internet and in every 10 South Africans, seven people have access to the internet. Another factor that makes print newspapers available and relevant in Nigeria is the lack of strong internet connections. Kepios (2022) reports show that Internet connection speed via cellular networks in Nigeria as of 2022 stood at 17.38 Mbps, while in Malaysia it stood at 67.38 Mbps, which is stronger and faster than that of Nigeria (Kepios, 2022a, 2022b). This proves that Nigeria still has a long way to go in providing strong and reliable internet service to its citizens, and until the situation changes, it will be difficult for newspapers in Nigeria to completely switch from a hardcopy version to an online version like in Malaysia.

There are many newspapers in Nigeria that have an online version. To strike a balance and ensure equal representation between the southern and northern parts of the country, the researcher purposefully selected four newspapers (the Daily Trust,

Leadership, Sun News, and Vanguard) due to their online popularity, highest readership, and wider coverage (Hassan, Musa, Azmi, Abdullah, & Abdullah, 2020; Newspaper, 2019; Olumuji, 2021). All of these newspapers have a physical presence in most of the major cities of the country, and their online versions are accessible to readers in both the northern and southern parts of Nigeria. The Daily Trust and the Leadership newspapers, on the other hand, are the best and leading newspapers published in northern Nigeria, which is occupied by predominantly Muslim people. The Vanguard and The Sun newspapers, on the other hand, are also among the leading newspapers published in southern Nigeria, which has a non-Muslim majority in the region (Omo & Idegbekwe, 2020).

Despite the different religious and cultural backgrounds of the northern and southern parts of Nigeria, these newspapers have been able to bridge the gap and provide readers from both regions with relevant news, commentary, and analysis of national interest. They equally provide a common platform for Nigerians of all backgrounds and beliefs to stay informed about developments in their country, especially with the current lingering insecurity challenges in all parts of the country (Asogwa & Asemah, 2012).

Communication and media scholars agree that the central functions of mass media, including newspapers, are to educate and inform the public about current events and shape their perceptions of the world (Akarika, Ikon, & Kierian, 2019; Dunaway & Graber, 2022; Gil de Zúñiga, Diehl, & Ardèvol-Abreu, 2018). However, beyond these primary functions, mass media have a wide range of additional purposes, such as providing a platform for discussion of issues, facilitating engagement in public issues, serving as a tool for social change and making people

aware of different societal problems like insecurity, and providing a platform for addressing such insecurity (Agudosy, 2017).

As a result, mass media can be used to highlight injustices, increase social accountability, and foster long-term peace in society by providing a platform for public discourse and engagement in debates, encouraging people to question their beliefs, and leading to a better understanding of issues from different perspectives. Mass media can thus be a powerful tool for initiating and driving social change, mitigating social crises, and addressing insecurity challenges (Altheide, 2019; Baú, 2018; Casero-Ripollés, 2020). Figure 2.1 shows the timeline of newspaper industry in Nigeria from 1925 to 2024.

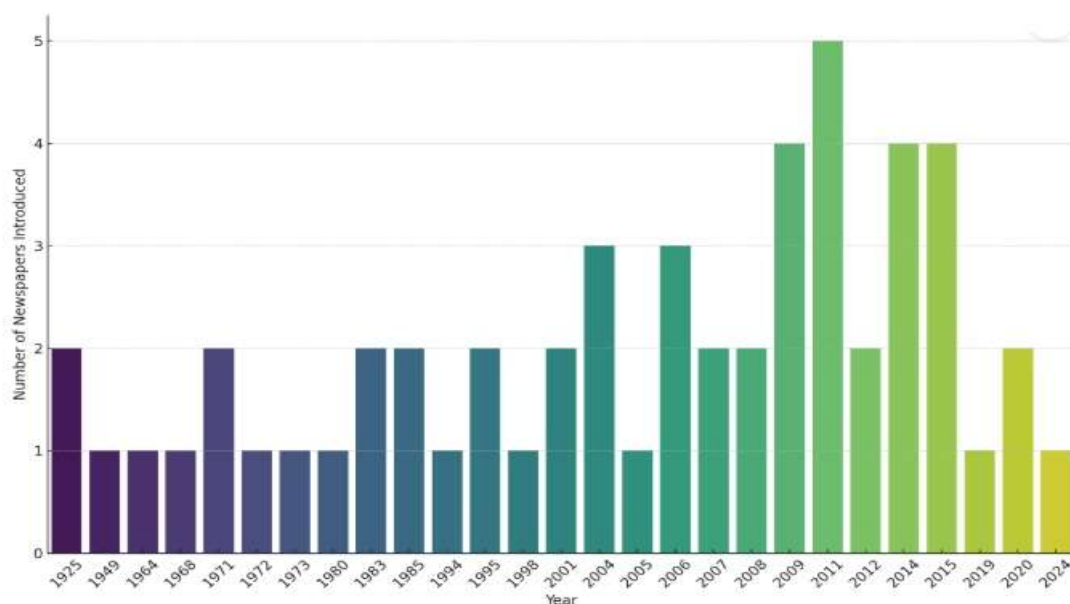


Figure 2.1 The timeline of historical evolution of newspaper industry in Nigeria.

Figure 2.1 is a bar chart showing the timeline of newspaper industry in Nigeria indicating the historical evolution of Nigerian newspaper industry from 1925 to 2024. The horizontal axis clearly shows the frequencies of newspapers while the vertical axis indicates the year in which various newspapers established in the

country, providing a clear overview of the historical timeline. The detailed textual of the timeline can be seen in appendix 6.

2.3 Mass Media Content Studies

Mass media content studies explore the impact of media messages and how these messages affect individuals and their immediate environment. That is why media scholars employ diverse methodologies to examine the messages conveyed through media platforms. Communication and media scholars and content analysis experts like Krippendorff (2018) and Berelson (1952) recognize qualitative and quantitative content approaches to the study of media content. For instance, Berelson's (1952) works on content analysis serve as the foundation for the study of modern media content analysis, and more recently, Krippendorff's (2018) work on qualitative content analysis (QCA) focuses on understanding the underlying meanings, contexts, and ideologies embedded within media messages. Krippendorff (2018) further confirms that qualitative content analysis elucidates the nuances and socio-cultural implications of media messages, which could be understood through close reading and interpretation of a media message.

Contrary to Krippendorff (2018), Neuendorf and Skalski (2009) conducted research on quantitative content analysis and collective identity measurement. The two researchers contend that the quantitative content approach analyses communication messages quantitatively and relies on scientific method such as objectivity, reliability, validity, replicability, generalizability, and hypothesis testing. Other studies within mass media content analysis have uncovered various themes and

trends across different media platforms. Scholars, like Zafri, Afroj, Nafi, and Hasan (2021), Silas (2021), and Ajakaiye et al. (2021), focused on newspaper content analysis and other topical issues like the Chibok girls' abduction, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the framing of President Muhammadu Buhari's human rights abuse. Other scholars, such as Onyemaobi & Okpoko (2023) and Asogwa et al. (2020) focused on electronic media and have examined the contents of television programs in relation to ethno-religious conflict and internally displaced victims in Nigeria.

Other media content studies that analyze mass media messages include the studies conducted by (Smith et al., 2020; Apuke and Tunca, 2019; Opeyemi, 2020; Gever and Nwabuzor, 2018). For instance, Smith et al. (2020) examined the content of six Nigerian newspapers in relation to how they play a significant role in combating the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria. The results suggest that the mass media has contributed enormously to eradicating the pandemic in the country by timely reporting the pandemic. The result reveals that there were 14,585 reports on the pandemic outbreak between January and March 2020. The study also suggests that future studies should focus more attention on interviews with professionals and front-line health workers about the pandemic for proper prevention measures.

Apuke and Tunca (2019) explored how news of internally displaced persons was reported on television and in online newspapers in Nigeria. The study reveals that the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), which is owned by the government, and African Independent Television (AIT), which is privately owned, covered issues of internally displaced persons in various camps using positive and neutral tones. The

study's findings show that the Naija.com online newspaper adopted a more negative tone in contrast to the two television stations. The study also finds that the electronic media in Nigeria did not report many issues involving internally displaced people. Additionally, the study suggests that more research should be conducted through in-depth interviews with conventional media practitioners to understand why the mass media did not report many issues of internally displaced persons in Nigeria.

Again, Olaseinde and Ogwuche (2022) explored the electronic media content with a view to understanding the audience perception of the television representation of domestic violence against men in Nigeria. The researchers used qualitative content analysis and a survey to collect the data from 200 respondents across four local government areas in Ogun State. The result of the study shows that the high level of exposure by female respondents to domestic violence content on television is contributing to the gradual shift in domestic violence from men violating their wives to women violating their husbands. The study suggests the need for more research on audience exposure to domestic violence contents on social media in Nigeria so as to bring another perspective on this violence exposure. Contrary to Olaseinde and Ogwuche's (2022) findings, Ekweonu (2020) examined the content of three Nigerian newspapers in relation to their coverage of domestic violence against women. The researcher used content analysis to review the content of the three selected newspapers from March to June 2020. The results revealed that the selected newspapers did not perform creditably in their coverage of domestic violence against women throughout the period of study. The study recommended that the media should key into its social responsibility functions by exposing the harmful effects of domestic violence against women in Nigeria.

Similarly, Asogwa et al. (2020) conducted a study on how the television stations frame an ethno-religious conflict in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria, using the contents of Channels Television and the Nigerian Television Authority. Accordingly, the study's findings revealed a significant relationship between the two television stations in terms of official sources of stories on ethno-religious conflict in the study area, which did not give a chance for opposing voices. The study also suggests that the television stations in Nigeria should not only depend on official sources but also make an effort to contact the victims of the conflict in order to strike a balance between the two major sources.

In the same vein, Nwafor and Omeovah (2019a) conducted a study to investigate how the Biafra radio station was used as a vehicle for mobilization and instigation of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) members to partake in the various illegal protests in Anambra State, Nigeria. The researchers analyzed the excerpts from the IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu's broadcasts aired on the Biafra radio station based on framing and agenda-setting theories. The study's findings indicated that the agenda and exposure to Biafra radio broadcasts (BRB) played a significant role in influencing the respondents to partake in the various pro-Biafra agitations in Nigeria. The study advised the Biafra radio station to focus more on setting agendas that could promote the history and cultural heritage of Igbo and Nigerians rather than using the medium for violence and disintegration.

Another study was conducted by Gever and Nwabuzor (2018) to investigate how foreign and local broadcast media pay attention to the coverage of the *Boko Haram* insurgency in Nigeria, using three local and three international broadcasting media stations (NTA, FRCN, AIT; CNN, BBC, and Al Jazeera). The result shows

that the foreign media promote more negative frames of fear, horror, and war, while the local media promote more positive frames of hope, peace, and unity. The study calls on the United Nations (UN) and other international and regional organizations to expand their global campaign to emphasize the need for electronic media to focus more on combating international terrorism, insurgency, and other extreme ideologies in their news programming. The study further recommends that the foreign broadcasting media should refrain from being biased in their coverage of the insurgency in Nigeria and should always consider the interests of humanity in their agenda.

Again, Ezegwu et al., (2021) conducted a study to explore the audience perception of media coverage of banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria with a view to identifying how residents of Benin City, Nigeria, perceive the effect of media coverage of such insecurity on the audience. The study's findings show that the private broadcasting stations report more kidnapping and banditry issues than the government-owned stations. The results further disclose that the residents of Benin City have a positive perception of the broadcast media coverage of kidnapping and banditry in Nigeria. The study also suggests that the public electronic media should devote more air time to covering issues of kidnapping and banditry in line with their social responsibility roles in society.

Apeh and Adegboyega (2021) investigate the role of the Nigerian Tribune newspaper in reporting ethno-religious crime in Nigeria using quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The publications of the Tribune from 2015 to 2019 were taken as a sample for content analysis. The result of the analysis shows that the Nigerian Tribune is doing its best to maintain fair, accurate, and balanced

reporting of ethno-religious crimes based on its mission and vision statements. The finding also indicates that the editorial reports of the Nigerian Tribune focused more on providing solutions to many ethno-religious crimes in Nigeria. The study suggests that journalists should focus more on educating the public about the dangers caused by the activities of ethno-religious crime through accurate and timely reporting of such crimes and the way forward for their escalation.

Recently, there have been increasing efforts and interests by communication and media scholars in Nigeria and beyond towards studying different mass media and their content. Evidently, it has been observed from the foregoing reviews that scholars studying media content paid less attention to the content creators (journalists) and content consumers (audiences), as few studies attempted to explore the views of media content creators and consumers (Ezegwu et al., 2021) while examining mass media content, which is a significant gap to be addressed by the current study.

2.4 Print and Online Newspaper Content Studies

Newspaper content studies have been a significant area of research in media studies, journalism, and communication scholarship with a long history as they provide insights into the representation of various social issues, political events, security, and cultural phenomena (Krippendorff, 1989; Neundorff, 2002; Prasad, 2008). Early newspaper content studies focused on the quantitative analysis of news content, examining variables such as news sources, content types, and medium tone

with a view to understanding the production of news and the socio-political contexts in which news is created (Riffe, Lacy, Fico, & Watson, 2019; Tuchman, 2013).

Later research expanded on these quantitative approaches, incorporating qualitative content, framing analysis, and critical perspectives. For example, scholars have examined the framing of news stories (Entman, 1993; Nimegeer, Patterson, & Hilton, 2019), the linguistic and stylistic of newspaper reports (Agu, 2015), gender representation in the editorial and reportorial of newspapers (Enwefah, 2016), the construction of news narratives (Bennett & Edelman, 1985), and the newspaper content analysis of assisted reproductive technology (ART) (King et al., 2014).

Nimegeer et al. (2019) studied the content of national newspapers in the United Kingdom (UK). They specifically placed emphasis on media framing of childhood obesity and used quantitative content analysis to study 757 articles that were related to childhood obesity found in six daily and five Sunday newspapers from 1996 to 2014. The study data were analyzed using an integrated statistical software package (STATA). The study suggested that the media should pay more attention to social issues that support public health objectives. Employing the quantitative content analysis, the researchers carefully explained the sampling techniques, coding procedures, and method of data analysis. They clearly explained how they chose 1199 articles from the selected newspapers, but the process of selecting a final sample of 757 articles was not fully explained.

In the same vein, Agu (2015) examined the linguistic and stylistic aspects of three selected newspaper reports in Nigeria. The researcher selected five (5) reports that were subjected to three levels of linguistic analysis, focusing on graphological,

lexical, and syntactic. The researcher adopted a descriptive and analytical research design. The findings revealed the patterns of news reports among the three selected newspapers. The findings further stated that the first category of journalists reported objectively, the second isolated themselves from the stories, and the last category infused their own prejudices, biases, and feelings into their news stories. The researcher called on newspaper reporters to make their headlines clear with a view to attracting the attention of prospective readers. However, the researcher did not clearly explain the method of data collection and analysis.

Enwefah (2016) studied the gender representation in the editorial and reportorial staff of four newspapers in Nigeria. The researcher used quantitative content analysis for the collection of data from the four selected Nigerian newspapers. The data was analyzed using tables and simple percentages. The study's findings reveal that male editors and reporters dominated the newspaper organizations in Nigeria in comparison with their female counterparts. The study suggests that the presence of diversity in those media organizations might contribute to the creation of more flexible and inventive cultures that focus on reader-relevant news content.

Like Agu (2015), Enwefah's study is well written, but the author failed to explain his methodology in detail; for instance, Enwefah (2016) did not explain the sampling procedure for selecting the news stories and the procedure for data analysis, which are the significance components of a research study. However, these methodological weaknesses deteriorate the overall credibility of the study and suggest that more transparency and methodological rigor are needed in future

research on newspaper content, and of course, this is among the responses of the present study.

Recent studies have also explored the evolving nature of print and online newspaper content in the digital age, incorporating innovative methods and theoretical perspectives to address the complexities of contemporary media landscapes. For instance, Richardson and Stanyer (2011) studied how British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers contents offered interactive opportunities to their readers in the digital age. The two researchers employed both quantitative and qualitative analysis to collect data from the websites of the selected newspapers, which were analyzed using SPSS and thematic analysis. The study found that the interactive opportunities brought by the newspapers' websites were underutilized by the target readers as few of them could post a comment. However, the study did not make any specific recommendation that could guide a direction for future studies in the area.

Furthermore, another study related to print and online newspapers were conducted by Patterson, Emslie, Mason, Fergie, and Hilton (2016). The researchers specifically examined the contents of print and online newspaper representations of women's and men's 'binge' drinking in the UK. They analyzed 308 articles published in the 7 UK national newspapers and the BBC News website between January 1, 2012, and December 31, 2013, using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The result obtained revealed that articles associated women with 'binge' drinking were more frequent than those of men and presented women's drinking as more problematic. According to the study's findings, men were more frequently characterized as violent or disorderly, while women were characterized as

out of control, putting themselves in danger, harming their physical appearance, and burdening men. The study recommended collaboration between health practitioners and mass media with a view to promoting evidence-informed messages about single-episodic drinking to help better align reporting on harmful drinking and improve public understandings of harmful drinking behaviors. The researchers also advised on media communication strategies that could seek to avoid stereotypes against binge drinking women.

Ngoge and Nyabera (2017) also examined the contents of print and online newspapers with a view to assessing the extent to which the online newspaper differs from the print newspaper in Kenya. The researchers used qualitative content analysis, and their findings showed that online newspapers are better as they provide readers with more opportunity for feedback compared to print newspaper. The online newspaper, according to these scholars, was highly interactive and hence gave an opportunity for updates. The study's findings are in line with those of Richardson and Stanyer (2011), in which they confirmed that the newspaper websites provided useful interactive opportunities to their target readers. The major challenges discovered in this study are that Ngoge and Nyabera (2017) recommendations did not tally with their findings. The researchers found that the online newspaper was better than the print newspaper but recommended the enhancement of online newspapers so as to match the standards of the print newspaper. This, however, justifies the need to conduct other studies to understand other relationships and differences between other elements of print and online newspaper contents. This, of course, is one of the focuses of the current study.

Smith (2005) conducted research on content differences between print and online newspapers in the five largest newspapers in South Florida. The researcher used a quantitative content analysis to collect a sample of 635 stories on the front pages and metro section front pages of the selected papers. The study's findings indicated that about 96% of the stories that appeared in print newspapers were also found on their online websites. The findings also showed that 58% of the online stories of the selected newspapers had at least one or more elements of the print editions. The researcher recommended future studies in the area of newspaper content. Hence, the current study responded to Smith's (2005) advice by exploring the differences and similarities of insecurity reportage in print and online newspapers in Nigeria.

2.5 Mass Media and Insecurity Studies

There are several security challenges that have contributed to the slow development in Nigeria. Investors and tourists are no longer coming to the country like in the past due to a higher rate of insecurity in all parts of the country (Dillimono & Dickinson, 2015; Jelilov, Ozden, & Briggs, 2018). This insecurity has been attributed to a wide range of factors, including the activities of militant groups, political instability, farmers versus herders' conflict, and inadequate policing (Achumba, Ighomereho, & Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2018; B. Bello, & Abdullahi, M. M. , 2021).

Udoh (2015) identified the factors responsible for the lingering insecurity in all parts of the country, to include: open borders; the free flow of

migrants from other countries to Nigeria; proliferation of arms and ammunition; illegal armed groups such as the Niger Delta Militants, Oduduwa groups, and 'Bakassi Boys'; oil bunkering; labor activists, who are usually hijacked by miscreants and inflicted with pains; kidnapping; militancy; distrust in government; unemployment; and religious extremism. With the current rampant causes of insecurity in Nigeria, no country will enjoy true socio-economic development. Hence, the mass media (print, electronic, and online) must perform their correlation role by relaying societal happenings to the public (Oloyede, 2011).

However, studies have been conducted by different media and communication scholars to investigate how the mainstream media, including newspaper, report insecurity issues. Among the studies that deal with newspapers and insecurity is research conducted by Chukwuma Alphonsus et al. (2022) on media and banditry in Nigeria. The researchers used two newspapers and television stations to explore the extent to which the mass media set agendas for insecurity in Nigeria. According to the findings of their studies, the mass media, particularly newspapers, did not effectively set the agenda on the problem of banditry, which is Nigeria's most serious insecurity challenge and has claimed the lives of thousands of innocent people. The major challenge of the Chukwuma Alphonsus et al. (2022) study is the isolation of both the media professionals and the audience, which are key determinants in Agenda Setting Theory.

In the same vein, Amos (2015) studied the three daily newspapers and four television stations in Kenya using content analysis in order to find out how journalistic reporting insecurity adheres strictly to professional and ethical principles. The study finds that the media does not frequently use experts' opinions in their

insecurity news reporting, which usually leads to sensational and unjustified news reporting. Amos (2015) recommends that journalists reporting on insecurity should from time to time use the expert's opinion in their news reports, offer the victims of insecurity attacks the opportunity to express their feelings on such problems, and ensure credibility in their news reports.

Like Chukwuma Alphonsus et al. (2022), Amos (2015) did not consult the opinions of media professionals and the audience. This omission could be detrimental to the validity of Amos's (2015) study as it leaves out important voices, such as those who work in the media and those who consume it. Consequently, it is important to also include the opinions of media professionals and the audience to ensure that a holistic approach is taken in determining how news reports related to insecurity can be improved. This can be accomplished by including interviews with those who work in the media, those who are affected by insecurity, and the audience to determine their opinions and concerns regarding news reports related to insecurity.

Similarly, Chuks (2019) examined how six Nigerian newspapers construct insecurity and to understand the major sources of the newspapers while reporting the farmer-herder conflicts in the country. The study's findings revealed that newspaper correspondents and herders' representatives dominated the sources of the selected newspapers. The study suggests that journalists should seek out a reliable source for their news and project themes that highlight the key issues in the crisis.

On the other hand, Geldens and Marjoribanks (2015) conducted research on job insecurity in Australian newspaper organizations. They interviewed 20 staff

members of the selected newspaper organizations with a view to understanding how the new media could affect their future careers. The study found that the changes brought to newspapers by the new media could endanger the future of the newspaper printing press. The researchers also suggested that the newspaper industry must quickly adapt to the changes in the media landscape to remain relevant and competitive. The study further advised newspaper organizations to increase their digital presence by embracing new technologies and finding innovative ways to produce more engaging content.

Nwabueze and Ebeze (2013) examined the role of mass media in fighting against the increase in crime that led to the incessant insecurity in Nigeria. The researchers employed a qualitative approach in assessing the relationship between insecurity and the mass media. The researchers stated that the mass media remain the key actors in fighting insecurity through their surveillance and correlation functions. The researchers further stated that the mass media could provide useful information to the people, which are used in opinion molding and attitude adoption. The researchers recommended that journalists should be trained and retrained on terrorism and acquire modern skills that could be used in ensuring effective use of the mass media in addressing insecurity in the country. The study also advised journalists and other media workers to engage in responsible journalism that could assist in reducing acts of insecurity in Nigeria. Although the researchers argued that the Nigerian press is facing serious challenges, they did not specifically explain the nature and types of the challenges.

In another dimension, Obi (2015) explored the challenges of insecurity and terrorism for national development in Nigeria. The data for the study were obtained

from Nigerian newspapers, the Central Bank of Nigeria's statistical bulletin, and publications in journals on security-related topics. The results of the study revealed that terrorism and insecurity have negative effects on economic development in Nigeria. Based on the study's findings, the researcher recommended that the government stand firmly against terrorism by using advice from international communities. However, the research method was not clearly explained, and the researcher did not discuss the process of collecting data or the sampling technique. The current study will respond to the inadequacy and methodological limitations of Obi's (2015) study by providing methodological details for collecting and analyzing newspaper contents.

Ojobah et al. (2021) examined the role of social media in the documentation and dissemination of insecurity issues in Nigeria in the post-COVID-19 era using content analysis and narrative theory. The researcher found that social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc. have considerably assisted in gathering and circulating essential information related to insecurity in Nigeria. The study also recommends that social media platforms and their owners should be empowered and protected so that they can discharge their duties with confidentiality.

Another study was carried out by Jacobs (2021) to investigate the relationship between the new media, youth mobilization, and insecurity in Nigeria. The study used both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. The researcher used questionnaires, interviews, and observations to collect data from 120 respondents who were selected using the purposive sampling technique. The data were analyzed using simple percentages. The study's findings reveal a significant correlation

between the new media, youth mobilization, and insecurity in Nigeria. The researcher recommended an awareness campaign on the dangers of the negative effects of the new media on national development. Like Obi (2015), Jacobs (2021) failed to explain critically how he analyzed both the qualitative and quantitative data interchangeably, which might question the dependability of the study's findings.

Apuke (2016) examines the impact of social media on journalism practice in Jalingo, Nigeria. The researcher used a quantitative research approach and administered questionnaires to 75 purposively selected journalists, and 70 questionnaires were duly answered and retrieved. He then analyzed the data using SPSS version 20. The study's findings revealed that 71.4% of respondents are computer literate, while 92.9% have internet access. Apuke (2016) recommended the training and workshop for journalists and media practitioners so that they would learn online networking apparatuses, social networking, and interpersonal interaction devices to enhance their skills. Although Apuke's (2016) study focused only on journalists neglecting media content, which remains a significant component in media studies, the current study went further to explore both media content and the views of journalists and media consumers.

Other media and insecurity studies include a study conducted by Gever and Essien (2019) on the newspaper coverage of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Benue State, Nigeria, which remains a lingering insecurity issue in northern Nigeria. The study samples were collected from the *Daily Sun and Daily Trust* newspapers, while content analysis and a survey were used in the study. The study's findings disclosed that the newspapers reported the conflict as it happened but

paid little attention to victims involved in the conflict. The researchers recommended that Nigerian newspapers set a good agenda for conflicts. They equally recommended that future related studies include more newspapers in their sample. Like Gever and Essien (2019), Nwachukwu, Ajaero, Ugwuoke, and Odikpo (2021) investigated the Nigerian newspapers' coverage of the herdsman and farmers conflict with a view to finding out if there is ethnic othering in their reports. The study's data were collected from *the Punch, the Sun and Leadership* newspapers. The study's findings showed that the newspapers gave adequate coverage of insecurity and confirmed the existence of ethnic othering in the three newspapers' reports. The study advised the media to be neutral in reporting conflict issues through objectivity, fairness and balance in order not to create negative impressions that could jeopardize efforts to resolve a conflict.

However, the majority of the available literature in the area of media and insecurity focused much on the media content and paid little attention to the readers and media practitioners. Only a few studies attempted to explore media content and the views of journalists and media consumers on insecurity issues (Apuke, 2016b; Jacobs, 2021). Similarly, other scholars suggested further studies on the media agenda on conflict and insecurity in Nigeria (Gever & Essien, 2019; Nwafor & Omeovah, 2019b). In response to the limitations and recommendations of the previous studies, the current study focuses on media content analysis and interviews with both readers and journalists. Hence, De Vreese et al. (2017) affirmed the use of content analysis and interviews; thus, content analysis is concerned largely with content patterns, but nothing can be highlighted on the effects or implications of any given phenomenon since a researcher directly deals with contents. The study will equally respond to the recommendations of the previous studies to explore how

newspapers in Nigeria set agenda for insecurity challenges (Chukwuma Alphonsus et al., 2022).

2.6 The Theoretical Framework of the Study

In academic research, theories provide guidance for a researcher to make sense of what method will actually help to answer the research questions (Collins & Stockton, 2018). Communication and media scholars used several theories to explain how media messages are created, transmitted, and received by individuals and groups, as well as how such mediated messages affect the audiences.

Some of the prominent theories coined by the communication and media scholars include normative theory of the press which was developed by Fredrick Siebert, Wilbur Schramm, and Theodore Peterson to understand the role of mass media in the society (Christians, 2009; Muller, 2021; Nerone, 2018); Communication flow theories were developed by Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld and his associates to describe how mass media messages follow certain stages to reach the target audience (Aggarwal & Gupta, 2001; Katz, Lazarsfeld, & Roper, 2017); media imperialism theory which was coined by Herb Schiller in 1973 to describe how information flows from the developed west to the developing third world countries (Lydia & Damilola, 2020); technological determinism theory was formulated by Marshall McLuhan to explain how the medium determine the communication content (Mardiana & Daniels, 2019); media dependency theory was proposed by Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Deflur in 1976 to describe the power of the mass

media and how the audiences depend on media information to meet their needs (Suleiman, 2020).

Other theories used by media and communication scholars include the magic bullet theory, which was coined by a renowned communication scholar, Wilbur Schramm, in 1948 to illustrate how mass media messages have a direct and powerful impact on the audiences (Salman, 2022; Zhao, 2019); the uses and gratification theory (U&G) was coined by Katz and Blumler in the early 1940s to examine how people use the media and the gratifications they seek for using such communication media (Haridakis & Humphries, 2019); and the agenda-setting theory (AST) was developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1973 to explain how mass media set agenda for the public to follow (Valenzuela, 2019). However, this study adopted two mass media theories. The first one is ‘Uses and Gratification Theory’ (U&G), which focuses on readers’ needs and media choice. The second theory is the agenda-setting theory, which involves how mass media presents certain issues frequently and prominently with a view to influencing a large segment of the public to consider such issues more important than others (Coleman, McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2009).

2.6.1 Uses and Gratification Theory

The Uses and Gratification Theory (U&G) emerged in the early 1940s, with the foundational work of Katz and Blumler serving as its cornerstone (Haridakis & Humphries, 2019). The theory sought to shift focus from traditional perspectives of media as a one-way communication tool to one where audiences actively engage

with media to fulfil specific needs (Mehrad & Tajer, 2016). Unlike earlier mass communication models that viewed audiences as passive receivers, U&G posits that media consumers are active participants in their media selection and use (Sichach, 2023).

The theory conceptualizes media usage as a means of satisfying psychological and social needs, such as information, personal identity, integration, entertainment, and escapism. Media audiences are seen as rational decision-makers who evaluate the benefits of different media options to achieve desired outcomes (Kinnally & Bolduc, 2020). This theory also emphasizes the dynamic relationship between media users and content, asserting that individuals can shape media practices by influencing content demand. In the context of this study, U&G is particularly relevant in examining readers' satisfaction with print and online newspapers regarding insecurity reportage. By exploring why readers choose specific media platforms whether print or online, the theory provides insights into how individuals seek to fulfil their information needs about insecurity. For example, some readers might prefer online newspapers for immediacy and accessibility, while others might turn to print editions for in-depth analysis and credibility. Additionally, the theory underpins the exploration of differences in content consumption patterns between the two formats and offers a framework for understanding how these choices relate to gratification.

Scholars utilizing U&G theory to study both the conventional and online media for instance Cleofas, Albao, and Dayrit (2022) applied qualitative and quantitative (mixed method approach) and U&G theory to examine how users respondents adopt social media platforms during the COVID-19 pandemic to meet

three developmental needs of autonomy, intimacy, and identity. In the same vein, Steiner and Xu (2020) employed a qualitative semi-structure interviews and U&G theory to explore how binge-watching culture and technology influence the viewers' understanding and interaction with television medium with a view to expanding the uses and gratifications (U&G) theory. The study found that portability and navigability of streaming video technology influence binge-watching rituals. The researchers further contended that the changing motives and rituals of TV viewers can be used by the future studies to bolster the quantitative research approach so as to address the lingering criticisms of U&G theory.

In addition, the theory assumed that media compete with other forms of communication for selection. Hence, this can be used to identify the differences between the online and print versions of the selected newspapers towards insecurity reportage in the study area. Likewise, the theory is based on the assumption that people select and use communication sources and messages to satisfy their needs. Thus, this theory plays a vital role in explaining how readers' satisfaction in both print and online newspapers in relation to insecurity reportage in the study area, since media use is a means to satisfy wants or solve personal dilemmas. Similarly, the theory assumed that communication behaviour such as media use is typically goal-directed or motivated as it has consequences for people and society. Applying to the choice between print and online newspapers, the theory suggests that readers make their choices depending on the specific gratifications they seek from each edition of the medium.

2.6.1.1 Assumptions of Uses and Gratification Theory

Rubin (2002) identifies key assumptions underlying the contemporary Uses and Gratification Theory, which highlights the active role of individuals in engaging with media. These assumptions include:

- i. Goal-directed and motivated media use: Media consumption is typically driven by specific goals or motivations. Individuals actively seek media content to satisfy their needs, such as reducing uncertainty, solving personal dilemmas, or acquiring information to make informed decisions. This goal-directed behavior underscores the functional role of media in addressing both individual and societal challenges.
- ii. Functional consequences for individuals and society: Media use has implications that extend beyond the individual. By fulfilling personal needs, such as the desire for information, entertainment, or social connection, media consumption also shapes societal values, norms, and collective understanding of issues.
- iii. Selective engagement: people choose communication sources and messages based on their perceived relevance to their needs or interests. For example, individuals may prioritize news content that addresses pressing societal issues, such as insecurity, to better understand and navigate their environment.
- iv. Mediating role of social and psychological factors: Media effects are mediated by social and psychological circumstances. Variables such as personality traits, social categories, and opportunities for interpersonal interaction influence how individuals consume and respond to media content.
- v. Competition among communication channels: Media compete with other forms of communication to capture the audience's attention and satisfy their needs. This competition highlights the dynamic interplay between traditional media,

interpersonal communication, and emerging digital platforms in shaping public discourse.

- vi. Audience agency: Individuals are not passive recipients of media messages. Instead, they actively engage with media content, shaping their media consumption habits and preferences based on personal and contextual factors.

2.6.2 Agenda Setting Theory

One of the objectives of the current study is to evaluate the effort of newspaper practitioners in fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria; therefore, the agenda-setting theory stands as a supporting theory in explaining how mass media significantly impacts its audience by instructing them on what they should think about rather than what they actually think (Luo, Burley, Moe, & Sui, 2019). The Agenda-Setting Theory was developed by McCombs and Shaw (1972) as part of their seminal research during the 1968 U.S. presidential election. The theory postulates that mass media have the power to influence public perception by determining the salience of issues, essentially telling audiences "what to think about," if not "what to think." Over time, the theory has evolved to encompass second-level agenda-setting, which focuses on how media shape the attributes of the issues they prioritize (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020).

According to the AST, mass media often set agenda based on what, on the other hand, would passively consume such information and adopt certain manipulated agenda by the media, as described in Figure 2.1. The AST has evolved from the descriptive and clarifications of the influence that mass media generally

have on audiences' opinions about important societal issues (M. McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020). Hence, the AST can help the researcher by asking and answering important questions on issues bordering a particular country (M. McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020). Figure 2.1 shows the theoretical framework of the study.

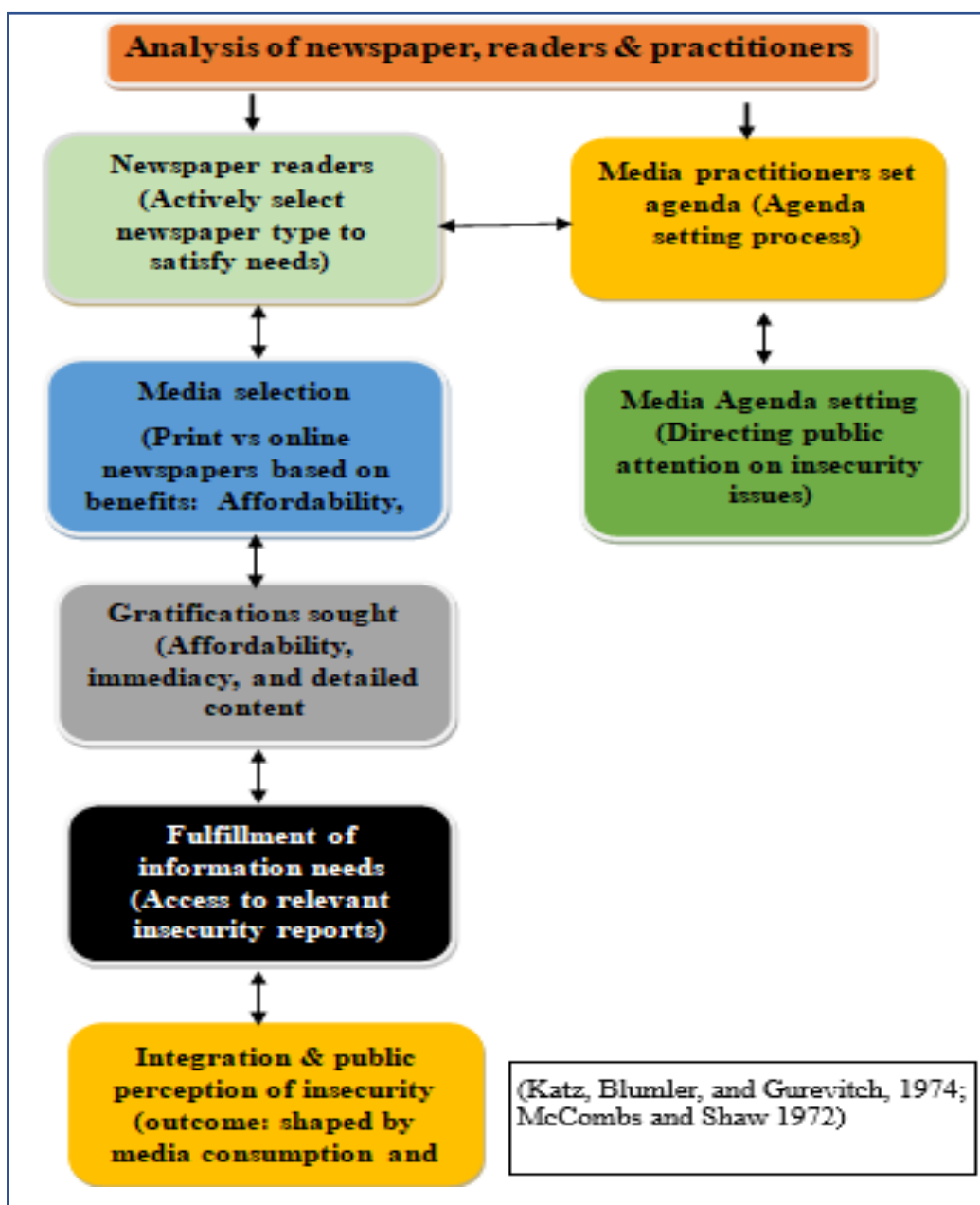


Figure 2.1: The Theoretical Framework of the Study

Over the past two decades, communication and media scholars have been applying the AST to study media coverage using qualitative and quantitative research

designs. The AST has indeed been a significant framework for understanding how media influences public perception and priorities. For instance, Kwansah-Aidoo's (2001) study is a notable example of how qualitative research can be effectively combined with AST to explore mass media coverage of environmental issues. The study highlighted the media's role in shaping the public agenda on these topics and suggested that qualitative approaches could address some criticisms of AST, particularly regarding the use of statistical methods for causal inferences. Likewise, Mohammed, Mojaye, and Adedokun (2022) examines the prevalence of Agenda-Setting Theory in Africa-focused studies between 2000 and 2020 using quantitative content analysis, meta-analysis, and NVivo software for analysis to evaluate usage progression, dominant disciplines, countries, and regions of focus in Africa. The study found that the major perspectives of the AST-related articles within the study period encompass mass media, particularly newspapers, with relevant issues related to political advocacy, governance, and social activism; rural, national, and regional transformation and development; and social representations and framing.

More recently, Yousaf, Hu, and Raza (2023) used a cross-sectional approach to investigate news media exposure and community consensus on terrorism in a developing country, specifically Pakistan. They employed newspaper/TV content analysis and a survey with agenda-setting theory as the theoretical framework. The study found that by stressing specific characteristics of terrorism, news media helped to diminish gaps across demographic categories and lead to social consensus. The researchers recommended that mass media must be free from political and ideological pressures to form informed public opinion.

2.6.2.1 Assumptions of Agenda-Setting Theory

The agenda-setting theory has invariably evolved and been used by communication and mass media scholars to include nuanced insights, as highlighted by M. McCombs and Valenzuela (2020), Minooie (2018), McCombs and Shaw (1972), Shoemaker and Vos (2009), and Weaver (2007). Its core assumptions include:

- i. **Media's Agenda-Setting Power:** The media have the capacity to shape public priorities by determining the salience of specific issues. This power is critical in contexts like Nigeria, where insecurity dominates public discourse and requires sustained attention.
- ii. **Role of Media as Gatekeepers:** Media organizations act as gatekeepers, filtering and prioritizing issues through editorial decisions. These decisions determine which topics gain prominence and influence public perceptions.
- iii. **Limited Cognitive Resources of Audiences:** Individuals rely on the media to filter and prioritize information due to limited cognitive resources. The media's ability to simplify and highlight complex issues, such as insecurity, makes them a key player in public agenda-setting.
- iv. **Gradual Nature of Media Effects:** Agenda-setting effects often develop over time, requiring repeated exposure to specific issues for them to gain prominence in public consciousness. For instance, consistent coverage of security challenges in Nigeria can gradually shift public focus and policy discussions.
- v. **Cross-Media Applicability:** The agenda-setting effect is not confined to any single medium but extends across newspapers, television, radio, and online platforms. This assumption underscores the importance of an integrated media strategy in addressing insecurity.

- vi. Two Levels of Agenda-Setting: First-Level Agenda-Setting: Involves influencing which issues the public considers important (e.g., prioritizing insecurity as a national concern). Second-Level Agenda-Setting: Focuses on shaping how individuals think about these issues, often by framing specific aspects such as causes, solutions, or responsible entities.
- vii. Active Audience Engagement: Audiences are not passive recipients of media messages. They engage actively with media content, contributing to the complex interplay between media influence and public perception. This highlights the role of public agency in shaping and responding to media agendas.

2.6.2.2 Integration of UGT and AST in Fighting Insecurity

When applying UGT and AST to newspaper practitioners' efforts to address insecurity in Nigeria and media choice, these theories provide a comprehensive understanding of the media's role. UGT emphasizes the active participation of individuals and government in seeking media content that informs and empowers them to address security concerns. Similarly, newspaper readers as proposed by UGT are active users who choose between print and online editions to meet their needs. Meanwhile, AST underscores the media's responsibility to set the agenda by prioritizing insecurity as a critical national issue and framing it to promote actionable solutions. These theoretical perspectives highlight the symbiotic relationship between media practitioners and the public in fostering a more secure and just society. Additionally, the interaction between the readers' or audience's media selection (guided by UGT) and Newspaper's agenda setting on insecurity (guided by AST) shape the understanding of newspaper insecurity reportage in the study area.

2.6.3 Assumption of Media Content Approaches

Available literature in the field of mass media content studies shows that many studies have examined the content of mass media using a research technique known as content analysis. According to Berelson (1952) content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Generally, content analysis concerns mainly with the manifest or surface content of communication because only this content can be studied objectively. They are objective due to the fact that a researcher must explain precisely how he or she conducted a study, providing others the opportunity to look into and duplicate the phenomenon (Berelson, 1952). The content analysis technique is both qualitative and quantitative. However, some scholars employ qualitative content analysis techniques in an effort to investigate the underlying meaning contained in media messages. Such studies, according to Perry (2002) cannot be replicated, and they run the danger of disclosing more about the researcher's perspective than the study's actual subject matter.

Researchers conducting a content analysis follow specified rules to categorize content. For instance, a researcher studying coverage of a presidential campaign may simply quantify, in column inches, how much space a newspaper allocates to the different contenders, and how the categories relate to the candidates. Consistency and reliability are the essential features of these categories. Good content analysers precisely define their categories and offer proof that another researcher might follow the same steps and produce identical results. Studies without any supporting data on their dependability should be taken with low objectivity (Perry, 2002). The content analysis enables academics to examine a

variety of claims and research hypotheses about mass media content (Drisko & Maschi, 2016). Most studies of media content assume that the content has some meaningful effect on media audiences. Besides serving as a starting point for effects studies, analyses of media content may also serve as an important indicator of culture in a society, as it can help assess how well the media are living up to their social obligations (Perry, 2002).

Although communication scholars in Nigeria, such as Anyanwu et al. (2022); Aondover (2018); Oyetunji et al. (2021); Smith et al. (2020) have conducted several studies on online newspapers and their contents, few of the studies looked at the angle of analysing the insecurity content of prints and online newspapers as disclosed by the available literature. This might be connected with the researchers' interest in using content analysis alone in their studies without complementing it with another research technique. Thus, this study intends to analyse the insecurity reportage contents of both print and online newspapers. Thereafter, a comparative assessment will be done with the view of finding the differences between the two versions in terms of their prominence of insecurity reportage, after which the views of newspaper practitioners and readers will be sought to compliment and support the data to be obtained through the analysis of both print and online newspaper contents.

2.7 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter discussed the conceptual viewpoints related to the study and suggested a theoretical framework. The conceptual discussions include a brief overview of mass media, the historical development of the press and newspaper

ownership in Nigeria, and the newspaper industry in Nigeria. The chapter also reviewed related previous studies, which include mass media content studies, print and online newspaper studies, and mass media and insecurity studies, among others. The chapter concluded with a theoretical framework and a brief highlight on media content approaches.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of the methodology used in conducting the current research. Basically, it discusses the research paradigms, design, population and sample size of the study, the source of data, the research instrument and material used for data collection, the type of data to be collected, the procedure for collecting data, and the technique employed for analyzing the data after the interviews and collection of newspaper contents. In addition, the section concludes by presenting the results of the pilot study and content reliability.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

Researchers conduct academic research to understand a phenomenon, address a specific question, and uncover new information or knowledge (Recker, 2021). Essentially, the methods chosen to develop such knowledge are shaped by the researcher's beliefs and assumptions anchored by a comprehensive system of interconnected practices, which refer to research philosophy or research paradigms. Researchers often make claims and ask questions about certain realities, which is referred to as 'ontology'; how to know such realities, 'epistemology'; what values to give to that reality, which is referred to as 'axiology'; how we write about such realities, which is referred to as 'rhetoric; and the processes for studying the reality, known as 'methodology (Bibi, Khan, & Shabir, 2022).

However, there are five philosophies or schools of thought to which the knowledge or certain realities are investigated: the positivism paradigm, the interpretivism paradigm, the constructivism paradigm, the postpositivism paradigm, and the pragmatism paradigm. Three of these philosophical paradigms (positivism, interpretivism, and pragmatism) are widely applied and used in social sciences and media studies (Bibi et al., 2022; Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Sinclair, 2020). The advocates of a positivism paradigm assume that there is a single reality that can be measured and understood objectively. Therefore, the researchers under this philosophical paradigm believe that knowledge and reality could be measured and understood through the application of quantitative methods in their studies. Research in the positivism paradigm is usually conducted in an objective manner and statistically investigates the existence of quantitative relationships between variables instead of looking for the qualitative reasoning behind those relationships. Researchers who subscribe to this paradigm also believe that the results of one study can be generalized to a similar situation (Bibi et al., 2022). This paradigm is frequently applied in natural sciences and other social studies.

The interpretivism paradigm, on the other hand, believes in the existence of multiple realities rather than a single reality. This is the research philosophy frequently used by the majority of qualitative studies conducted in the humanities and social sciences. Interpretivism argues that because human behaviour is so complex, it cannot be studied by probability and statistical models, such as those used under positivist paradigms. Knowledge can only be created by interpreting the meanings that people put on behaviors and events (Pervin & Mokhtar, 2022). As such, any study employing this framework is inevitably subjective and is

significantly affected by the researcher's bias and viewpoint with non-generalizable results.

Likewise, pragmatist researchers hold that reality is dynamic in nature as it changes amid the flow of frequently changing situations. As such, these researchers often employ a combination of positivism and interpretivism philosophies (qualitative and quantitative techniques) to study a given phenomenon in objective and subjective ways. Pragmatists argue that the ideal research approach is one that could effectively address the research questions, and they coined the term mixed method (May & Perry, 2022). However, the current study employed a pragmatism paradigm (mixed method) to examine the differences and similarities of the insecurity reportage between print and newspapers and to evaluate the effort of newspaper practitioners in the fight against insecurity challenges in Nigeria.

3.2.1 Justification for Using Pragmatism (Mixed Methods) in this Study

The choice of pragmatism philosophy as the guiding research paradigm for this study is justified by the multifaceted nature of the research objectives, which seek to examine the differences and similarities in insecurity reportage between print and online newspapers, readers' content preferences, and the efforts of newspaper practitioners in addressing insecurity in Nigeria. Pragmatism provides a flexible framework for integrating both qualitative and quantitative methods, allowing the study to address complex research questions comprehensively (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Kaushik & Walsh, 2019). Similarly, pragmatism emphasizes practical problem-solving and action-driven inquiry, making it particularly suitable for studies that investigate real-world issues, such as media coverage of insecurity (Allemang,

Sitter, & Dimitropoulos, 2022). By combining quantitative content analysis and interviews with media practitioners and newspaper readers (mixed-method), this study captures both the measurable patterns of insecurity reportage and the comprehensive interpretations of stakeholders. This approach aligns with the pragmatic focus on achieving actionable insights and understanding the consequences of media practices in the context of insecurity.

Similarly, pragmatism integrates the strengths of both positivist and constructivist paradigms. While the quantitative component ensures objectivity by statistically analyzing the frequency of insecurity-related reports, the qualitative component explores subjective meanings, such as the readers' preference and satisfaction with media content and how journalists navigate the challenges of reporting on insecurity. This research approach allows the study to address both "what" is reported and "why" it is reported in certain ways, providing a holistic understanding of media practices (Biesta, 2010). Several mass media studies have successfully employed mixed methods to explore complex phenomena. For instance, Mustapha-Koiki (2019) used content analysis alongside interviews to study the impact of *Boko Haram* attacks on news content and journalists' routine of reporting news in Nigeria. Their research demonstrated how the application of mixed method enriched the study's findings by revealing the motivations behind specific framing strategies. Equally, Apeh and Adegboyega (2021) combined quantitative and qualitative research techniques to investigate the role of the Nigerian Tribune newspaper in reporting ethno-religious crime in Nigeria, highlighting the complementary strengths of mixed methods in media content studies.

Other scholars used mixed methods to study media content and audience, including Jacobs (2021), who examines the relationship between the new media, youth mobilization, and insecurity in Nigeria. Gever and Essien (2019) also studied newspaper coverage of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Benue State, Nigeria. Richardson and Stanyer (2011) explored how British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers contents offered interactive opportunities to their readers in the digital age. These studies highlight the diverse ways in which mixed methods can be applied to analyze media content and its impact on society. By combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, researchers are able to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complex relationships between media, audience, and societal issues. The use of mixed methods in media content studies allows researchers to uncover nuanced insights that may not be possible through a single methodological approach.

3.3 Research Methodology

This study used quantitative content analysis and an in-depth interview (semi-structured). Hence, the study adopted the mixed method research approach, utilizing qualitative research designing and quantitative content analysis interchangeably. The qualitative research design can be seen as a means of coping with a new form of social reality that deals with collecting, processing, and analyzing any non-numerical information that could be in the form of text, picture, video, or audio, with a view to understanding a particular concept, experience, opinion, or any phenomenon under investigation (Bhandari, 2020; Kuckartz, 2014). Qualitative research is a method for

investigating and comprehending the meaning that individuals or groups attach to a social or human situation (Hammarberg, Kirkman, & de Lacey, 2016).

This method of enquiry encompasses developing questions and procedures, data collection in the participant's environment, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher providing interpretations of the data's meaning (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The major aim of qualitative data analysis is to recognize a phenomenon rather than to draw generalizations from the study sample to the population based on statistical inference (Forman, 2007). As such, the quantitative content analysis allows researchers to systematically and objectively analyze numerical data, supplying statistical answers to questions through frequencies and percentages with a view to exploring meaningful patterns within a dataset. In mixed method studies, researchers employ different research designs to explore, understand, and interpret any given phenomenon within their natural environment. Thus, the researcher employed phenomenological research design and content analysis.

3.3.1 Phenomenological Research Design

Phenomenological research is a form of qualitative study that involves deliberate and concerted efforts to explore and understand the essence of human experience of a given phenomenon through interviews with subjects and examining their views about their experience (Bowie & Wojnar, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2016). A phenomenology that looks in-depth at non-numerical data relies often on interviews and observation notes as the major sources for generating the study's data (Oranga &

Matere, 2023). Khan (2014) maintained that phenomenology is a research design under a qualitative method that enables a researcher to obtain rich, diverse information for a descriptive narrative that captures the complexity of experiences and could enable the readers to connect with the participants' stories on a profound level. According to Flood (2010) and Zainal (2007), phenomenology allows a researcher to collect data from a specific context because it often deals with a small number of people or other phenomena as the participants of any given study that uses it.

Based on the above scholarly views of phenomenology, the current study focused on evaluating the efforts of newspaper practitioners in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria and exploring the views and experiences of newspaper readers of both print and online newspaper insecurity contents through semi-structured interviews. The researcher collected the study's data using two different strategies (application of content analysis and semi-structured interviews) and analysing the data using NVivo qualitative data analysis software and SPSS quantitative data software with a view to achieving and maintaining validity in the study (Flick, 2004). The researcher's decision to collect and analyse data using different techniques was due to the fact that the reliability and credibility of a study can be improved through the application of multiple sources of data collection (Flick, 2004; Fusch, Fusch, & Ness, 2018; Moon, 2019).

The use of multiple data sources in the current study involves the application of semi-structured interviews and content analysis. Content analysis mostly deals with content patterns, while the interviews further explain what is behind those patterns and provide insights into the participants' perspectives and experiences (De

Vreese et al., 2017). Additionally, the application of semi-structured interviews and content analysis enhances the trustworthiness and validity of the current study. The convergence of in-depth narratives and systematically analysed content provides a more robust understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

3.3.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis is an analysis based on the manifest content of the mass media message (Asemah, Gujbawu, Ekhareafo and Okpanachi 2012). Krippendorff (2018) sees content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. The texts refer to any written communicative material that is intended to be read, interpreted, and understood by people other than the analysts. Content analysis originally derived from the analysis of mass media and public speeches, has spread to the examination of any form of communicative material, both structured and unstructured (Krippendorff, 2018).

Similarly, content analysis could be both qualitative (focused on understanding and interpreting data) and quantitative (focused on measuring and counting data); hence, the two approaches were employed in the current study to provide a comprehensive analysis of the data collected. By utilizing both qualitative and quantitative content analysis, researcher was able to not only uncover underlying themes and meanings within the data but also quantify the frequency of certain patterns or categories based on the Fraenkel, Wallen, and Hyun (2018) suggestion as explained that in content analysis, frequencies is normally used for interpretation of

the findings of content analysis and enable a researcher to report the number, percentage or proportion of a particular occurrence or incident located within a study data.

In a quantitative content analysis, information is deductively categorized and coded based on predetermined criteria, allowing for statistical analysis and generalization. This approach is often used in extensive media studies where researchers aim to identify patterns or trends within a large dataset (Krippendorff, 2018). On the other hand, qualitative content analysis involves a more inductive approach, where themes and meanings are derived directly from the data. This method is often used in more exploratory research, where the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter (Kibiswa, 2019). Therefore, the researcher will commit more time and carefully engage in close reading of a transcribed text so that the relevant themes will be identified. Once themes are identified, the content analyst will then look for thematic patterns within the text (Krippendorff, 2018).

Qualitative content analysis always enables a researcher to manipulate or count information content and analyze it to detect patterns in the data. As such, employing both content analysis and interviews (mixed method) in this study is imperative because it enables researchers to generate findings that are broad in scope. The model below describes how the researcher used content analysis and followed it up with a semi-structured interview.

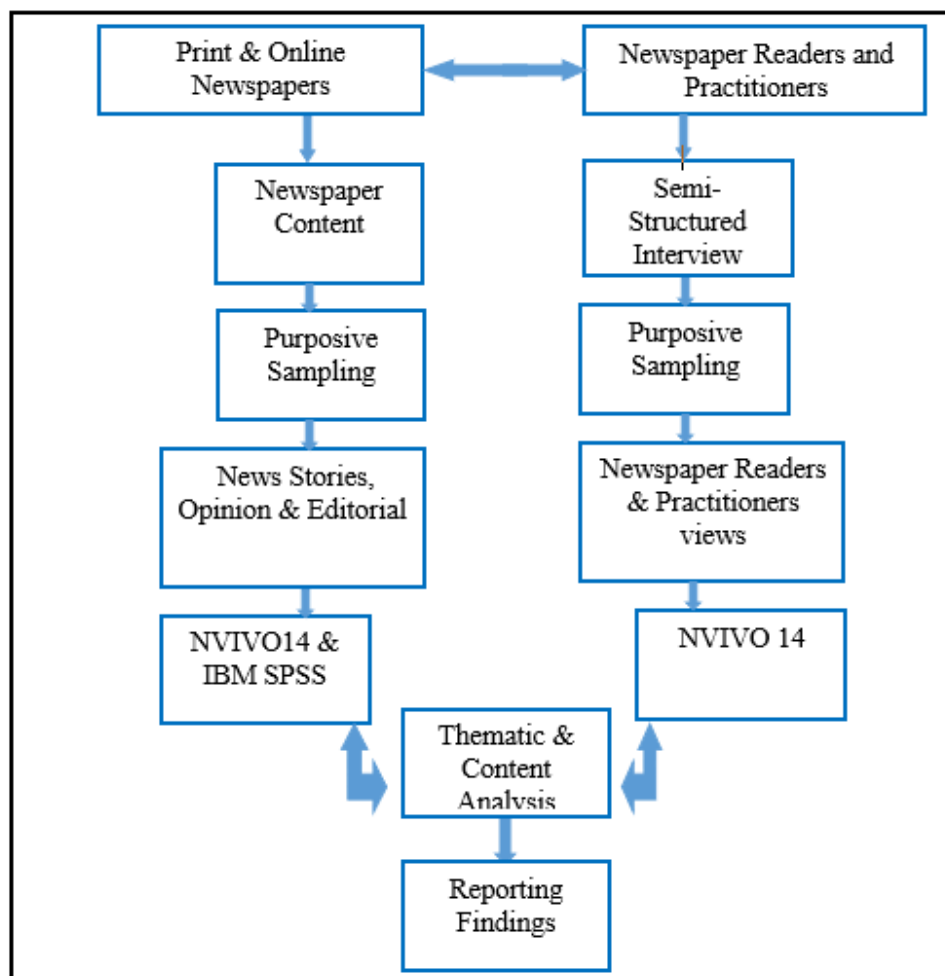


Figure 3.1: A Sequential model showing Research Procedure

As depicted in Figure 3.1, the researcher employed a mixed method approach in which content analysis and semi-structured interviews were used. Purposive sampling was used to collect both newspaper samples and interviewees. NVivo and SPSS software were used to analyse the collected data thematically. The use of different ways of generating data to examine a given phenomenon under study is crucial (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Four Nigerian newspapers and their online editions were selected and analysed due to their prominence and wider coverage (Isu, 2019; Siraj, 2017).

3.4 Population of the Study

In research, the group to be studied is referred to as the population. Pandey and Pandey (2021) described the population as all the members of any well-defined class of people, events, or subject to which we wish to generalize the results of our research. A population encompasses all conceivable elements, subjects, or observations relating to a certain phenomenon of interest to the researcher (Ramadass & Aruni, 2019). The population of this study comprises the Nigerian newspapers, the newspaper experts, and the newspaper's readers. There are 150 online newspapers in Nigeria (Siraj, 2017). Therefore, all the newspaper organizations in Nigeria with online editions are one segment of the research population to be used for the content analysis, and only the following four were chosen (*Daily Trust, Leadership, the Sun, and Vanguard newspapers*). While practitioners from newspaper organizations and newspaper readers comprise the second population segment for the semi-structured interview, it is a culture of most of the Nigerian universities that they buy newspapers on a daily basis and keep them in the library for the staff to read;

therefore, the newspaper readers among the staff of the Federal University of Lafia will be selected as participants.

3.5 Sample Size Selection and Procedure

Simply put, sampling is a process of selecting a part of the population and using it to represent the entire population (Bhardwaj, 2019). Pandey and Pandey (2021) noted that researchers rarely sample all possible events, but they rely on a portion of the data to draw conclusions. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2014a), a sample is a subject of a population that is representative of the entire population. To Kothari (2004), sampling is the process of choosing a portion of an aggregate or totality from which a conclusion or judgment about the aggregate or totality is drawn. In other words, it is the process of obtaining information about an entire population by examining only a part of it (Sharma, 2017).

In many situations, however, an entire population cannot be studied as a result of time and resource constraints. Studying every member of the population is also generally prohibitive and usually confuses the research (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014a). To this end, purposive sampling was used in this study because it permits a researcher to choose a case that demonstrates some features or procedures in which the researcher is interested. Purposive sampling, according to Asemah (2012), is a sample method in which the researcher uses his or her judgment to choose respondents and select those that best meet the purpose of the study. In light of this, the following four newspapers (*Daily Trust, Leadership, the Sun, and Vanguard*) were purposefully selected for this study due to their wider coverage and popularity

(Siraj, 2017). All four newspapers are among the most powerful and largest, with wider coverage in Nigeria (Isu, 2019).

Sampling can be done at different levels of content analysis research, depending on the nature of the study. However, a researcher conducted an internet search on the active websites of the chosen newspapers using the following five keywords: bandit, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder conflict, kidnap, and militancy to determine the number of editions for analysis among the four target newspapers. The search was made based on the alphabetical order of all newspapers' websites, beginning with 'bandit' and ending with 'militancy' keyword.

It is important to note that banditry, *Boko Haram* insurgency, farmer-herder conflict, kidnapping and militancy were considered in the current study due to the fact that they are among the major insecurity challenges bedevilling Nigeria in recent times, as indicated by the available literature (Igbini, 2022; Omitola, Adedire, Akinrinde, Omodunbi, & Sackflame, 2021). According to Odalonu (2022), Nigeria is increasingly facing serious security challenges, which include militancy, terrorism, *Boko Haram* insurgency, farmer-herdsmen clashes, armed banditry, kidnapping, political and ethnic crises, ritual killings, and communal and religious conflicts, among others. Similarly, Nigeria's security annual report (2022) confirms that banditry, kidnapping, farmer-herder conflicts, and *Boko Haram* (ISWAP) are among the serious security challenges in Nigeria (Ndubuisi, 2022). Likewise, a report on the tracking of mass atrocities across Nigeria for 2023 shows that, in the first quarter of 2023, about 658 Nigerians, including 79 security personnel, were kidnapped in the country. A report further stated that banditry, herdsmen-related killings, and *Boko Haram* (ISWAP)-related atrocities remain the largest cause of violent deaths across

the country, which led to the deaths of over 900 Nigerians in 2023 (M. A. C. Report, 2023).

However, the purpose of the search using the above outlined keywords is to identify the online publications that carry related insecurity news stories based on the study's focus on insecurity challenges in Nigeria. Krippendorff (2018) confirmed the suitability of the application of internet-based data for content analysis. Also, the hardcopy editions of four newspapers were equally collected for analysis. The preliminary sample search was made on the four newspapers using the five keywords, "bandit, *Boko Haram*, Farmer-herder, kidnap and militancy" and the result yields the following number of articles, as indicated in the table below:

Table 3.1 Showing search results using five keywords

Search keywords	Newspapers				No. of Stories found
	Daily Trust	Leadership	The Sun	Vanguard	
Bandit	29,700	1,160	11,810	2,300	44, 970
Boko haram	29,816	970	11,200	6,750	48, 736
Farmer-herder	5,920	890	2,010	2,270	11,090
Kidnap	36,750	2,450	18,200	7,030	64,430
Militancy	2,400	75	1010	120	3,605
Total	104,586	5,545	44,230	18,470	172,831

Due to the large number of articles found, the researcher used purposive sampling to collect manageable articles. However, six-month sample of articles from all four newspapers were selected. The selection was done between March 2022 and September 2022, a period in which high-profile insecurity occurred in Nigeria, such as the Kaduna-Abuja train attack, the Kuje prison break by suspected bandits, and

many other insecurity challenges. (Agbaenyi & Ezeanya, 2022; Analytica, 2023). A coding sheet designed by a researcher was used to record both print and online insecurity contents. A coding sheet that contains four segments could ease collecting newspapers' contents. The first segment contains the names of the four newspapers, newspaper editions, and reporting time and date. The second segment contains columns for recording headlines, a lead (intro), and a surface for commenting. The last segment carries content categories (types of insecurity), which include bandit, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder, kidnapping, and militancy, and the unit of analysis (news story, opinion, and editorial).

The researcher then subjected all articles to scrutiny for possible exclusion of all news stories that have no direct relation to the insecurity in Nigeria based on the definition stated by the researcher. This process will ensure that the study focuses only on relevant data that could provide accurate results (Hassan, 2018). Finally, 1,467 news stories, opinions, and editorials that directly related to the insecurity content as defined by the researcher were generated from the online editions. Similarly, 1,827 news stories, opinions, and editorials were also collected from the print editions of four selected newspapers; this gave the sum of 3,294 news stories, opinions, and editorials for both the print and online newspapers. Table 3.2 below shows the number of newspapers' content finally collected from both print and online editions of four newspapers based on the three units of analysis (news story, opinion, and editorial) and five content categories (bandit, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder, kidnapping, and militancy).

Table 3.2 showing the final samples selected from four newspapers

Banditry reporting in four selected print and online newspapers									
Newspapers	Daily Trust		Leadership		Sun		Vanguard		Grand Total
Unit of Analysis	Print	online	print	Online	print	Online	print	online	
News	188	142	85	81	175	109	161	126	
Opinion	18	14	7	6	4	2	4	2	
Editorial	6	2	2	0	1	0	2	1	
Total	212	158	94	87	180	111	167	129	1138

Boko haram reporting in four selected print and online newspapers									
Newspapers	Daily Trust		Leadership		Sun		Vanguard		
Unit of Analysis	Print	online	print	Online	print	Online	print	online	
News	78	71	34	27	55	52	149	136	
Opinion	7	4	2	0	2	0	2	0	
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	85	75	36	27	57	52	151	136	619

Farmer-herder conflict reporting in four selected print and online newspapers									
Newspapers	Daily Trust		Leadership		Sun		Vanguard		
Unit of Analysis	Print	online	print	Online	print	Online	print	online	
News	62	56	84	81	175	109	161	126	
Opinion	9	7	7	6	11	4	3	2	
Editorial	6	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	
Total	77	65	93	87	186	113	165	128	914

Kidnapping reporting in four selected print and online newspapers									
Newspapers	Daily Trust		Leadership		Sun		Vanguard		
Unit of Analysis	Print	online	print	Online	print	Online	print	online	
News	141	139	66	57	43	39	47	47	
Opinion	6	6	2	1	1	1	1	0	
Editorial	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	149	145	68	58	44	40	48	47	599

Militancy reporting in four selected print and online newspapers									
Newspapers	Daily Trust		Leadership		Sun		Vanguard		
Unit of Analysis	print	online	print	Online	print	Online	print	online	
News	12	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	
Opinion	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	14	7	1	1	1	0	0	0	24
									3,294

There is a varying degree of agreement among scholars as to the number of respondents to be used for the interviews. In this regard, Cobern and Adams (2020) suggests, from the point of view of conventional wisdom, that the number of respondents for an interview should be between 15 and 20. In the same vein, Alase (2017) suggested between 2 and 25 respondents from a phenomenological point of view. Based on this, the current study considered a total of 12 respondents. Similarly, for the semi-structured interview, six practitioners working with newspaper organizations in Nigeria and six newspaper readers from the Federal University of Lafia were selected using the same purposive sampling technique. The selection of

the six respondents (newspaper readers) was based on the following criteria: knowledge of the subject matter and willingness and capacity to participate in the study (Hassan, 2018).

Based on these criteria, the six academic staff members of the Federal University of Lafia who are knowledgeable on the subject matter and read both online and hardcopy newspapers were purposefully selected to share their experience with regard to the insecurity news they read on a daily basis and, at the same time, to provide valuable insights into the consumption patterns and preferences of insecurity content in print and online newspapers among readers. The experience and knowledge of the selected respondents would enable a researcher to obtain relevant, useful, and in-depth information that would help in answering a research question (Palys, 2008).

Similarly, the selection of six expert practitioners in the newspaper industry was due to their experiences and knowledge of editorial policies and long periods of service in the industry. This is in line with the position of Younes, Azmi, and Hassan (2020) that the participants for the interviews are to be selected purposively based on their experiences and knowledge in the particular area of study. The researcher's decision for the selection of respondents in a purposive way, was based on certain criteria which include good knowledge of the research issue, capacity, and willingness to participate in the research (Hassan, Latiff Azmi, Abubakar, Yahaya Nasidi, & Shehu, 2021).

3.6 Source of Data

The study deals with two types of data; secondary and primary data. The sources of secondary data include books, articles, journals, theses, the proceeds of academic conferences, and any useful information that will add value to the study. The primary data for the study were collected from the interviews and newspaper content analysis of both the print and online versions of four selected newspaper organizations. For the interview, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the practitioners from the newspaper's organisations in Nigeria and the newspaper readers from the Federal University of Lafia, Nigeria.

The interview questions were developed based on the suggestion offered by Roberts (2020) suggests that, the researcher conducting a qualitative interview should either design the interview questions directly from the main research questions or use a literature review to identify certain related themes that could be addressed within the interview. Based on this, in this study, interview questions were designed from both the main research questions and a literature review to explore the extent to which newspaper organizations are fighting insecurity in Nigeria through their daily reportage. Another interview was conducted with the newspaper's readers to understand their views and satisfactions with insecurity news reports they read in both the print and online editions.

To ensure the validity and credibility of the instruments, two experts were engaged by the researcher to verify the interview questions. First, a senior lecturer at the Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin (UniSZA) checked the interview questions, compared them with research objectives, and made an input, which was documented

in Appendix 2. After the first verification, the updated questions were sent to the department of English and Nigerian Languages at Yusuf Maitama Sule University in Kano for the second verification, and the certified letter was documented in Appendix 3. Finally, the responses obtained from the interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis. For the newspapers, the data from the two versions (print and online) of four selected newspapers were equally collected using a coding sheet for analysis, see Appendix 4.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

This section explains the procedures used for data collection in the study. As depicted in the 3.1 model above, the researcher began with the collection of both online and print newspapers for content analysis, followed by a semi-structured interview. The instruments of data collection used in the study include a coding sheet for collecting newspaper contents for analysis and semi-structured interview in which open-ended interview questions were prepared by a researcher with the intention of asking a follow-up question. The objective of this interview is to collect additional data in order to explore the extent to which newspaper practitioners set an agenda for tackling insecurity. Also, to find out the readers' satisfaction in either the print or online newspapers with regard to insecurity reportage and to find out from the views of newspaper readers the differences in insecurity contents among the two editions of the publication.

3.6.1 Coding and Analysis:

A coding sheet was prepared along with coding guidelines for recording both online and print newspapers' contents. The units of analysis in this study include news stories, opinions, and editorials found in the selected newspapers. The features to consider for categorization and analysis of content are topical insecurity issues, including *Boko Haram* insurgencies, farmer-herder clashes, armed banditry, kidnapping, and militancy. It is pertinent to note that content analysis is applicable to all forms of written texts, regardless of where the material comes from and there are no specific rules that must be followed (Bengtsson, 2016). A content analyst could determine the categories of analysis by carefully reading the transcribed material.

In analysing media content, according to Bengtsson (2016), a unit of analysis refers to the sample, and the researcher has to determine whether a particular piece of content is to be analysed in its entirety or divided into smaller units. A researcher went through the headlines first to identify the insecurity related news item for easy coding and categorization. First of all, the researcher will collect the online newspapers from their active online websites based on the search terms indicated in table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3 Showing search terms and keywords

Newspapers	Search Terms				
	Bandit	<i>Boko Haram</i>	Farmer-herder	Kidnap	Militancy
Daily Trust					
Leadership					
The Sun					
Vanguard					

After the collection of the e-copies, the researcher went through the content for the second time to examine all the news stories, editorials, and opinions so as to find out the insecurity reportage and then record them in a coding sheet for analysis. A sample coding sheet can be seen in Appendix 4. The researcher then compared all the above-mentioned elements of the prints and online newspapers to find out whether the insecurity reports that appear in the prints also appear on the online copy of the same edition. The researcher looked at the news stories' headlines, then the lead (intro), which is the first paragraph of each story, to identify whether there were any similarities or differences between the two versions and compare whether any insecurity news stories were repeated in both editions. To enable the researcher to easily identify differences between the print and online content of four newspapers, the researcher considered all differences between the headline and lead (intro) as a result of some minor changes in one or two words as "minor differences." While the changes between the headlines or lead as a result of major changes to clauses or phrases were coded as "major changes" in either the headline or the lead of the story.

The photographs and reporting date (time) of the two editions were equally examined and compared with a view to identifying their differences and similarities. This is where the researcher will answer RQ1. Hence, to find out the differences and similarities between print and online newspapers based on the reportage of insecurity news. The process of collecting and comparing the two sets of data is summarized in Figure 3 below:

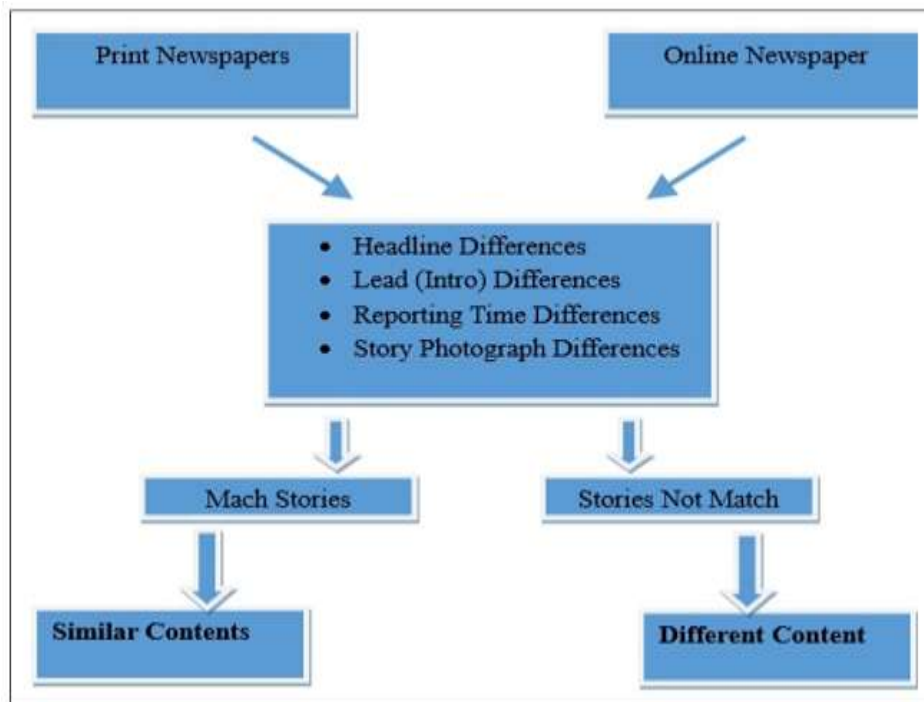


Figure 3.2: Showing the process of comparing the print and online editions

3.6.1 Semi-structured Interview

The researcher conducted a semi-structured interview, which is qualitative in nature, to complement the data collected from the print and online newspapers and to explore the views of the newspaper practitioners on their efforts in fighting against insecurity challenges in the county. Creswell (2012: 217) stated that “a qualitative interview occurs when a researcher asks one or more participants general, open-ended questions and records their answers.” The researcher then transcribed and typed the data into a computer file for analysis.” A semi-structured interview (SSI) has no straight-jacket pattern like a structured interview. It is a conversational interview with one respondent at a time. SSI is frequently the best method for understanding the motivations behind people’s choices and their attitudes and beliefs on certain issues of great importance (Raworth, Sweetman, Narayan, Rowlands, & Hopkins, 2012).

It usually employs a combination of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up questions that might arise from the responses of the interviewees (Newcomer, Hatry, & Wholey, 2015). The aim of the semi-structured interview is to collect information that can assist the researcher in answering research questions two and three: RQ3) How do the newspaper readers satisfy with the insecurity news contents found on the print and online copies? RQ3) What are the efforts made by the newspaper's practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria?

The interviews were conducted with practitioners from newspaper organizations (newspaper practitioners) and newspaper readers. All participants responded to the same drafted questions at different times, unless follow-up questions emanated from the participants' responses. The interviews were conducted in two different ways; face-to-face and using phone calls. Prior to the interviews, the consent of the respondents was sought by the researcher, and the suitable time, venue, and method of the interviews were agreed upon by the respondents and researcher. A smart digital recorder (SDR) and a smart phone were used to record the interview, and the recorded audio was transferred to the computer and saved on Google Drive for security purposes. During the interview session, the researcher allowed all the participants to freely express their opinion on the subject matter (questions) in a conversational way to ensure objectivity and avoid being biased. The conversational nature of the interview could help the participants clarify the details of their experiences with regard to the subject matter (Ruslin, Mashuri, Rasak, Alhabsyi, & Syam, 2022).

The researcher considered the normal duration for effective face-to-face interviews as reported by Irvine (2011), which is within the range of 15 to 96 minutes. The consent of the 12 participants for the interview was sought as mentioned earlier by giving them a request letter for participation, and the letter explained the aims and objectives of the study as well as assured them of the confidentiality of the information they would give. Similarly, privacy and confidentiality are fundamental ethical issues in any research that uses data gathered from human subjects. Anonymization should generally be used with published research data to guarantee that research subjects are not harmed by the sharing of sensitive information (Ross, Iguchi, & Panicker, 2018). To ensure privacy and confidentiality, the names of respondents in this research were anonymized. The newspaper practitioners were tagged “participant 1-6” (p1-p6), while the newspaper readers were tagged "participant 7-12” (p7-12), respectively. Appendixes 7 shows the background of the newspaper practitioner as extracted from the result of the analysis using NVivo software. The matrix tree shows how all 12 respondents (P1-P12) were connected to their gender, age, educational level, years of experience, and profession. Table 3.4 below summarizes the backgrounds of the two different participants (newspaper practitioners and readers).

3.4 Table Background of the 12 participants

Participants		Age	Profession	Years of Experience	Qualification
ID	Gender				
P1	Male	54	Journalist	26	MSc
P2	Male	43	Journalist	14	MSc
P3	Male	39	Journalist	14	MSc
P4	Male	59	Journalist	27	BSc
P5	Male	39	Journalist	10	MSc
P6	Male	46	Journalist	12	MSc
P7	Male	38	Lecturer	4	MSc
P8	Female	33	Lecturer	4	MSc
P9	Male	30	Lecturer	7	BSs
P10	Male	33	Lecturer	3	Bsc
P11	Male	40	Lecturer	11	MSc
P12	Male	55	Lecturer	27	MSc

As indicated in Table 3.4 above, the participants of the study are 12; six of them are journalists working with various newspaper organizations (P1–P6), while the remaining six are lecturers working at the university (P7–P12). Five out of six journalists (practitioners) have a master's degree, and only one of them possesses a bachelor's degree. These six journalists are all male and have experience in the newspaper industry, as they spent between 10 and 27 years working with the newspaper organizations, and they are at liberty to speak extensively on how the newspaper organizations contribute to fighting against insecurity in Nigeria based on their experience, while the remaining three possess bachelor degrees. Similarly, five of the newspaper's reader participants are male, with only one female. Four of them have a master's degree, while two of them have a bachelor's degree. The six newspaper reader participants spent between four and 27 years in service, and they testified that they read both print and online newspapers before the interviews.

3.7 Procedure for Data Analysis

Data analysis assists a researcher in answering the research questions and interpreting the phenomena investigated in a meaningful and understandable way. This could be done by adhering to certain conventional and rigorous processes, usually referred to as data analysis (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018; Dey, 2003; Thorne, 2000). The nature of the study often determines the method of data analysis (Green et al., 2007). In this study, both qualitative and quantitative content analysis and thematic analysis were used to examine the study's data. The method of analysis chosen depends on how closely the researcher attempts to reflect the respondents' statements about a particular subject within the analysis. In qualitative content analysis, the data collected are presented in words and themes, which makes it possible to draw relevant interpretations and explanations of the results, (Bengtsson, 2016). On the other hand, the data collected and analyzed using quantitative content analysis are presented using frequency and percentage to describe and showcase the appearance of the variables under study (Bozkurt et al., 2015; Riffe et al., 2019).

To meaningfully analyze the media contents, a researcher will either select a latent analysis or a manifest one, depending on the objectives they set to achieve. In latent analysis, a content analyst is expected to find out the underlying meaning of the text and emphasize more what the text under study is talking about. While in a manifest analysis, a researcher reports exactly the content under analysis, stays very close to the text, uses the words themselves, and describes the visible and obvious in the text (Bengtsson, 2016). Both latent and manifest analysis was used interchangeably in this study when analyzing the newspapers' contents. Similarly, Fraenkel et al. (2018) posit that the use of frequencies is a common procedure for

interpreting the findings of content analysis that enables a researcher to understand and report the number, percentage, or proportion of a particular occurrence or incident located within the data under study.

For the interview, a semi-structured interview was conducted due to the opportunity it offers a researcher to ask follow-up questions that might arise in the course of answering an outlined question. A semi-structured interview happens when a researcher prepares his questions while keeping in mind that he or she might ask follow-up questions that are not written by the researcher. A researcher asked all respondents open-ended questions at different times and recorded their responses. Thematic analysis was equally used to analyze the interviews' data

The thematic analysis approach is one of the most popular methods for data analysis in qualitative research that involves interviews (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Thematic analysis is a technique for finding, examining, and reporting patterns in data. It thoroughly explains the data set (Bengtsson, 2016). A researcher's decision is paramount in determining what a theme would be and a theme must capture something important in relation to the overall research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) further identified the following steps for thematic analysis: familiarizing data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. NVivo software tool and IBM SPSS assisted the researcher for analysing the transcribed data and newspapers' contents. Figure 3.3 below illustrates the procedures for data analysis in this study.

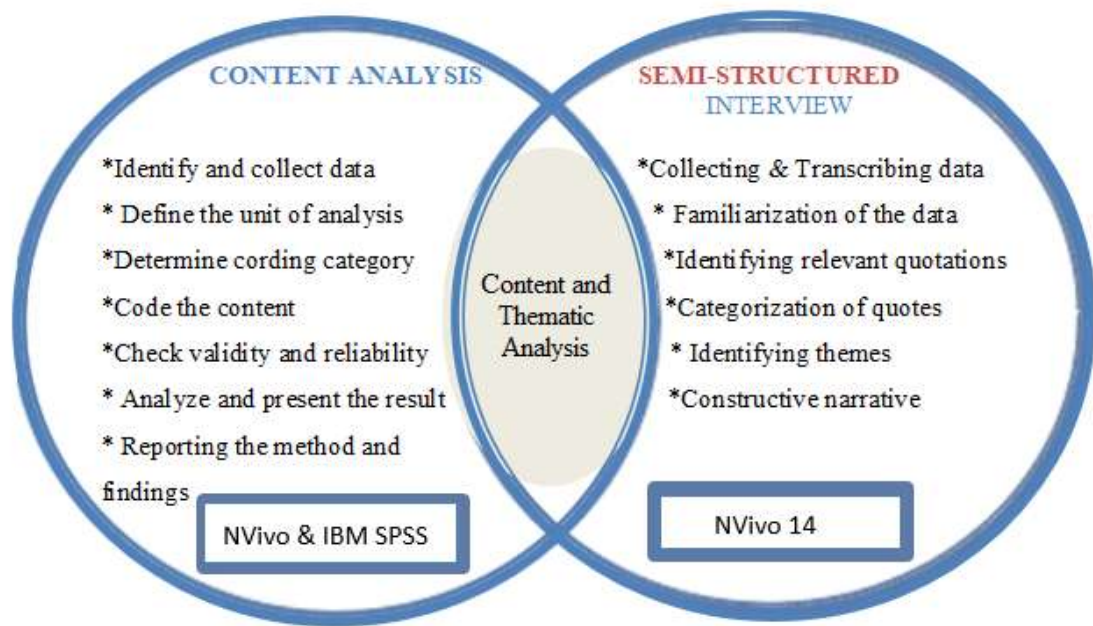


Figure 3.3: A Simple Model Depicting Method for Data Analysis.

3.7.1 The Use of NVivo14 and IBM SPSS for analysis in the study

In mixed method studies, researchers have multiple choices for using different ways to present the outcomes of their studies (findings). The research designs and analytical tools often determine the most suitable method of presenting the findings (Pandey & Pandey, 2021; Rassel, Leland, Mohr, & O'Sullivan, 2020). For example, using modern analytical tools in qualitative data analysis such as NVivo, Atlas.ti, MAXQDA, QDA Miner, QCAMAP, etc. enables researchers to present their findings using different options for data visualization and display, such as charts and graphs (Bernard, Wutich, & Ryan, 2016; Muthiah et al., 2020). NVivo software was used for analysing the interviews and the newspaper content. The researcher followed certain procedures during data analysis using the NVivo software.

The process began with creating a new project and uploading the refined transcript into the software as suggested by (Adu, 2019). Creating the containers for the research questions and coding began by identifying relevant codes from the uploaded transcript. Then the relevant codes were dragged and dropped inside the relevant containers. The next step was the categorization of codes to develop themes and subthemes through creating clusters from the existing codes, taking cognizance of the dominant codes with the highest code counts. In essence, the multiple codes were merged and grouped based on their relationship with the research question or research objectives to create the final themes under each research question. The next steps of analysis using NVivo are to visualise the findings and report the findings using different NVivo's options, such as matrix trees, chats, tables, and word cloud maps, among others. Figure 3.4 below shows the summary of data analysis using NVivo data analysis software.

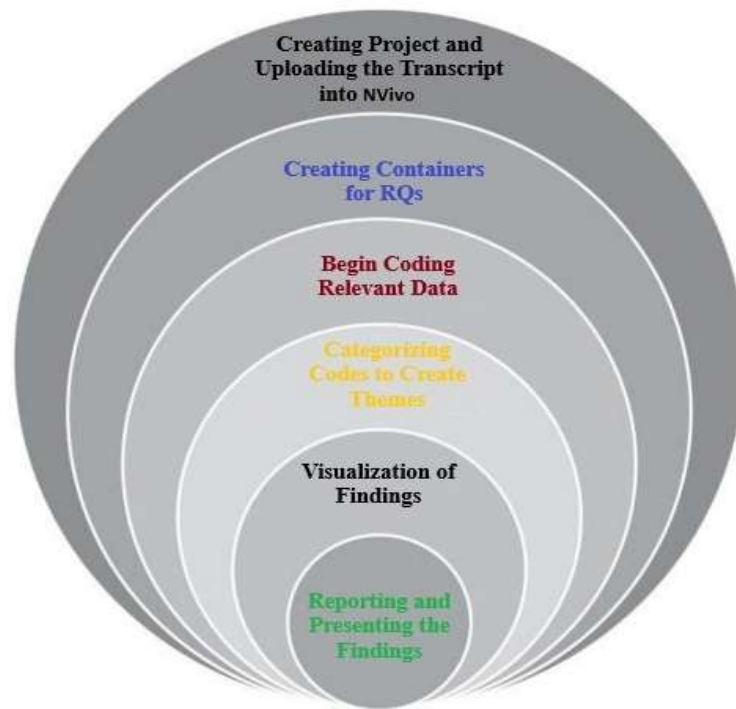


Figure 3.4 Summary of data analysis using NVivo software

3.8 Intercoder Reliability Assessment

Intercoder Reliability Assessment (IRA) is one of the important methods of ascertaining the validity and reliability of the data in content analysis. It refers to the degree to which a large portion of a coding scheme produces the same result when applied by different human coders. IRA helps a researcher increase clarity and objectivity and provide a sound interpretation of the data (Burla et al., 2008). Based on this, the researcher engaged a second coder, who assisted the researcher in reviewing the coding guidelines. The second coder also coded a copy of the same data using the coding guideline. The reliability of the first and second coder results was assessed using Cohen's Kappa agreement in IBM SPSS software. The researcher and the second coder reached a significant level of agreement in all the variable measures, as indicated in Table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5 Result of Inter-coder Reliability Test

Cohen's Kappa Agreement	No. of Contents	Categories test
0.933	1138	Bandit
0.976	621	<i>Boko Haram</i>
0.965	914	Farmer-herder
0.886	599	Kidnapping
0.511	23	Militancy

As shown in Table 3.5 above, the two coders (R1 and R2) have achieved a substantial level of agreement in all the contents related to banditry, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder, and kidnapping, with the exception of militancy, which has a 0.511, which is within the acceptable moderate range of Cohen's Kappa inter-coder agreement. Cohen's Kappa proposed the following inter-coder reliability values: ≤ 0 indicates no agreement, 0.01-0.20 as slight, and 0.21-0.40 as fair. 0.41-0.60 as moderate. 0.61-0.80 as substantial, and 0.81-1.00 as perfect agreement (Goyanes, Demeter, Grané, Albarrán-Lozano, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2020). Appendix 8 shows the details of Cohen's Kappa intercoder agreement test in the study.

3.9 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to ascertain whether the instrument would generate the needed information and to also test the validity and reliability of the instrument. Conducting a pilot study has the benefit of alerting a researcher to any unforeseen weaknesses in the current study with a view to making necessary adjustments before conducting the actual research (Malmqvist, Hellberg, Möllås,

Rose, & Shevlin, 2019). Additionally, a pilot study helps in determining the feasibility of the research design and methodology, permitting researchers to identify any potential challenges or limitations that may arise during the main study and at the same time improve the quality of the current study and enable the researcher to refine his or her instruments before conducting the main research (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Malmqvist et al., 2019).

According to James (2023), the purpose of a pilot study is to gather information from a limited group of participants in order to improve and develop certain abilities that will be useful and maintain consistency for the main research (N. Ismail, Kinchin, & Edwards, 2018). Similarly, Kim (2011) and Majid, Othman, Mohamad, Lim, and Yusof (2017) noted the following advantages of carrying out a pilot study in qualitative research: ascertaining the interview questions and simple strategies for enlisting possible participants; providing a chance to involve oneself in research linked to the ongoing study; facilitating the identification of some unexpected barriers; helping a researcher test the procedure for gathering data; and providing an opportunity for a researcher to practice interview response transcription, which is an important part of open-ended interviews.

3.9.1 Designing and Sample of the Pilot Study in the current research

The importance of a pilot study to our research cannot be overemphasized due to its multiple relevant aspects (Hazzi & Maldaon, 2015; Vogel & Draper-Rodi, 2017). A researcher needs to identify a target sample for a pilot study, which could be a small portion of the target population. In a pilot study, a sample ranging in size

from 10 to 20%, or 10 to 40% of the actual study's sample size, will be selected by a researcher for pilot study purposes (Connelly, 2008; Hertzog, 2008). However, since the population of the current study involves four newspapers and 12 interviewees (participants), therefore, two respondents tagged (R1 and R2), representing 16.6% of the population sample, were interviewed in this pilot study. Similarly, one major newspaper (The Nation), representing 25% of the newspapers for this study, was chosen and analyzed during the pilot study. The idea behind conducting a pilot study in this research is to find out whether the target respondents and the selected newspaper could provide essential information to answer the research questions and achieve the three specific objectives of the current study.

3.9.2 Method of Data Collection and Analysis

A semi-structured interview and content analysis were used for collecting data in this pilot study. One journalist with vast experience in newspaper journalism and one newspaper reader who is a lecturer at the Federal University of Lafia were purposefully chosen for the interviews based on the submission of Younes, Azmi, and Hassan (2020) that the interview participants are to be selected purposefully based on their experiences and knowledge in the particular area of study. During the interview, a midget digital recorder and mobile phone were used to record the interviews, after which the interviews were transcribed by a researcher. NVivo software was used to analyse the transcribed interviews, in which the two interviewees were tagged Respondent 1 and Respondent 2 (R1 and R2) for easy thematic analysis on NVivo software. For the newspaper (The Nation), IBM SPSS and NVivo were used. The IBM SPSS was used to describe the quantity and

frequency of insecurity contents in the print and online editions of the same newspaper within the period of study (March 2022, 1st to August 31st, 2022). The NVivo was also used to identify some key differences between the two editions of the Nation newspaper (print and online editions).

3.9.3 Findings of the Pilot Study

The findings of this pilot study will be presented based on the interviews conducted with one journalist (R1), one newspaper reader (R2), and the print and online contents of the Nation newspaper, which was tagged (N1). However, the pilot study's findings are presented below in two different segments: the results from the newspaper content analysis and the interviews with R1 and R2.

3.9.3.1 Results from the Analysis of Newspaper Content

The result from the analysis of the newspaper in this pilot study is divided into two parts. The result obtained from the analysis using IBM SPSS and the result from the analysis using NVivo software.

3.9.3.2 Result from IBM SPSS Software Analysis of Newspaper Content

IBM SPSS software was used in this pilot study to quantify the qualitative data with a view to finding out which edition between print and online carries more insecurity contents. The result shows that the print and online editions of the Nation newspaper produced 699 contents that comprise news stories, opinions, and editorials

throughout the period of study, of which 404 for the print edition and 295 for the online editions related to content categories that include banditry, *Boko Haram* , farmer-herder crises, and kidnapping. The results are presented in tables below.

Table3.6 Frequency Differences Between Print and Online Insecurity Contents

Unit of Analysis	Types of Newspaper						Total
	Print			Online			
	News	Opinion	Editorial	News	Opinion	Editorial	
Banditry	106	26	3	89	13	2	239
Boko Haram	69	14	2	47	12	1	145
Farmer-herder	32	16	2	25	9	2	86
Kidnapping	101	23	4	77	11	2	218
Militancy	3	2	1	2	2	1	11
Total	311	81	12	240	47	8	
		404			295		699

3.9.3.3 The Nation Newspaper Reporting of Banditry

Banditry					
Type	Newspaper	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Print	135	56.5	56.5	56.5
	Newspaper Online	104	43.5	43.5	100.0
	Newspaper Total	239	100.0	100.0	

Table 3.7: The Nation newspaper reporting of Banditry

Table 3.7 above shows the frequency of banditry reporting between print and online editions of the Nation newspaper during the period of study. The result shows that the print newspaper reported 135 issues related to banditry during the period of study, representing 56.5%, while the online edition of the same, the Nation

newspaper, produced 104 stories related to banditry. This shows that the print edition carries more banditry news than its online counterpart.

3.9.3.4 The Nation Newspaper Reporting of *Boko Haram* Insurgency

Table 3.8: The Nation newspaper reporting of *Boko Haram*

<i>Boko Haram</i>					
Newspaper Type		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Print Newspaper	85	35.6	58.6	58.6
	Online Newspaper	60	25.1	41.4	100
	Total	145	60.7	100.0	
Missing System		94	39.3		
	Total	239	100.0		

The result presented in Table 3.8 above shows how both the print and online editions of the Nation newspaper reported *Boko Haram* related issues during the period of study. The result shows that the print edition reported more issues of *Boko Haram*, with 85 contents representing 58.6%, which comprise news, opinion, and editorials, while the online edition of the same newspaper carried 60 *Boko Haram* contents, representing 41.4%. This shows the difference in the number of *Boko Haram* contents published between the print and online editions of the Nation newspaper, with the print edition having more contents than its online edition counterpart.

3.9.3.5 The Nation Newspaper Reporting of Farmer-herder's conflict

Table 3.9: The Nation newspaper reporting of farmer-herder

Farmer-herder's conflict					Cumulative
Newspaper Type		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Print Newspaper	50	20.9	58.1	58.1
	Online Newspaper	36	15.1	41.9	100.0
	Total	86	36.0	100.0	
Missing	System	153	64.0		
	Total	239	100.0		

The result presented in Table 3.9 above shows that the print edition of the Nation newspaper recorded 50 news stories, opinions, and editorials related to farmer-herder conflict, representing 58.1%, while the online edition recorded 36, representing 41.9%, on the same farmer-herder issues within the same study period. This is an indication of the fact that not all farmer-herder crisis content can be found online.

3.9.3.6 The Nation Newspaper Reporting of Kidnapping

Table 3.10: The Nation newspaper reporting of kidnapping

Kidnapping					Cumulative
	Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Print Newspaper	128	53.6	58.7	58.7
	Online Newspaper	90	37.7	41.3	100.0
	Total	218	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	21	8.8		
Total		239	100.0		

Table 3.10 above shows the frequency of kidnapping reporting between print and online editions of the Nation newspaper during the period of study. The result indicates that the print newspaper reported 128 issues related to kidnapping during

the period of study, representing 58.7%, while the online edition of the same newspaper produced 90 stories, representing 41.3%, related to kidnapping. This shows that the print edition reported more banditry issues than the online edition.

3.9.3.7 The Nation Newspaper Reporting of Militancy

Table 3.11: The Nation newspaper reporting of militancy

		Militancy			
	Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Print Newspaper	6	2.5	54.5	54.5
	Online Newspaper	5	2.1	45.5	100.0
	Total	11	4.6	100.0	
Missing	System	228	95.4		
	Total	239	100.0		

The result presented in Table 3.11 above shows how the print and online editions of the Nation newspapers reported militancy issues between March 1st and August 31st, 2022. The result reveals that the print newspaper reported only 6 issues related to militancy during the period of study, representing 54.5%, while the online edition of the same newspaper reported only 5 stories, representing 45.5%, related to militancy. This shows that both the print and online editions did not report more militancy issues compared to kidnapping, banditry, and *Boko Haram* insecurity issues.

3.9.4 Result from NVivo Software Analysis of Newspaper Content

This section presents the result of the pilot study based on the analysis of the Nation newspaper using NVivo qualitative research software. Figure 3.6 below shows the differences and similarities between the insecurity content of the print and

online editions of the Nation newspaper.

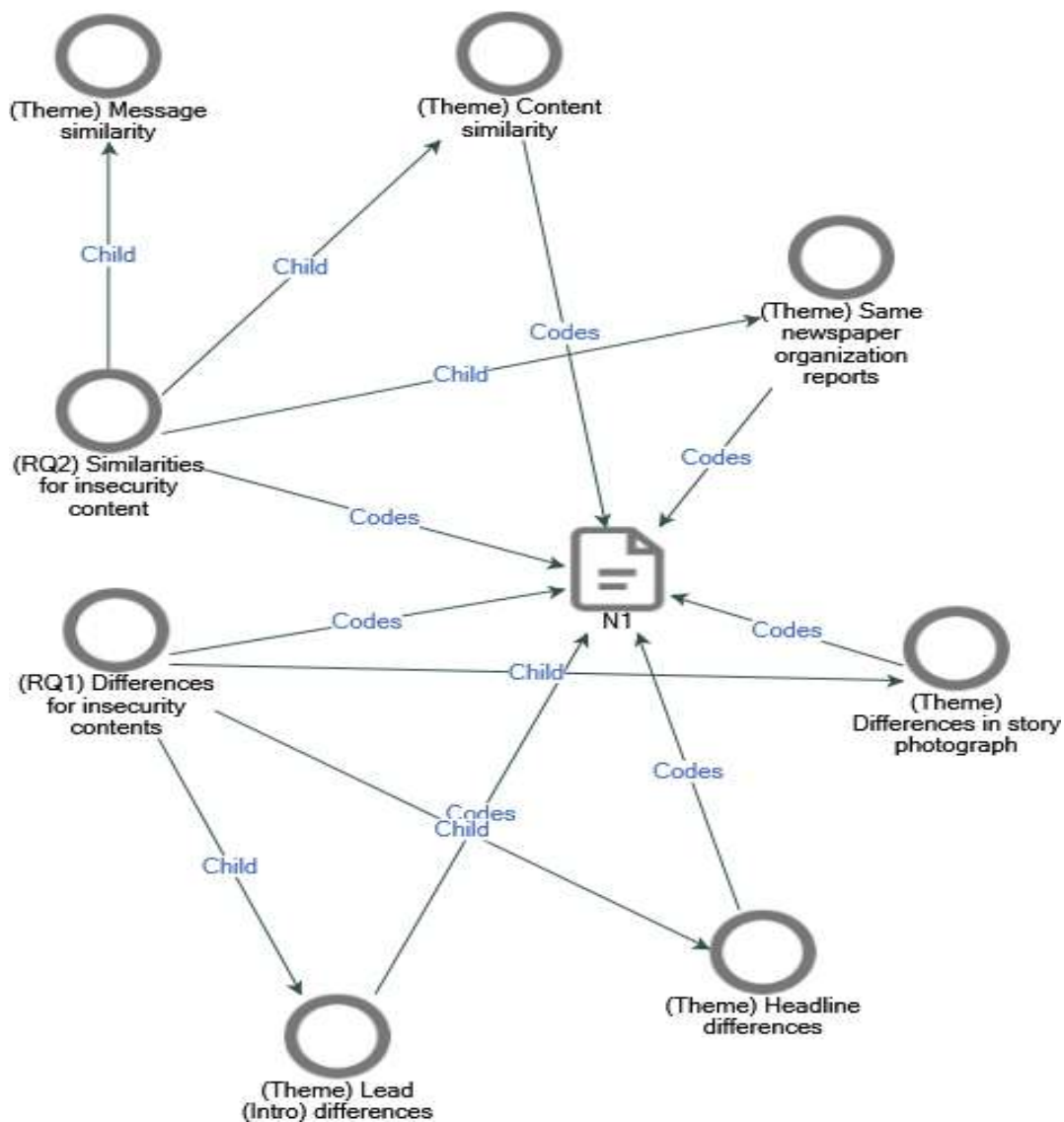


Figure 3.7: Differences and similarities between print and online insecurity content

The pilot study result presented in Figure 3.6 above indicates three similarities and three differences between print and online newspapers insecurity contents. The similarities, as shown in figure 3.6, include message similarity and

content similarity, and both the message and content came from the same newspaper organization (the nation). Message and content similarities connote how both print and online editions of the Nation newspaper carry the same insecurity content that conveys the same message. Consider the following excerpt from print and online editions of the *Nation newspaper* published on 30th June 2022, with similar content and the same meaning in the two editions.

1. Print edition published on 30th June 2022

Headline: Matawalle signs death sentence for bandits

Lead: *Zamfara State Governor Bello Matawalle has signed the Anti-Banditry and Other Related Offences Bill into law. The law, which comes into force with immediate effect, has death penalty for those found guilty of banditry and other related offences in the state.*

2. Print edition published on 30th June 2022

Headline: Matawalle signs death sentence for bandits

Lead: *Zamfara State Governor Bello Matawalle has signed the Anti-Banditry and Other Related Offences Bill into law. The law, which comes into force with immediate effect, has death penalty for those found guilty of banditry and other related offences in the state*

Similarly, the pilot study result of the analysis of print and online newspaper insecurity content as shown in Figure 3.6 above reveals four key differences between

the two editions of the newspapers, which include headline differences, lead (intro) differences, differences in story photographs, and reporting time differences. Consider the following samples from the print and online editions of the Nation newspaper:

i. Headline and reporting time differences

Print edition 29th July, 2022

Headline: Hanifa's killer-teacher to die by hanging

Online edition 28th July, 2022

Headline: Court sentences Hanifa's teacher to death by hanging

Both the headline and reporting time in the above stories from the print and online editions of the Nation newspaper are different, while the content and message remain the same.

ii. Difference in lead (intro)

A story was published by both print and online editions of the Nation newspaper on August 7th with the headline "Gunmen kill four police officers in Imo, Raze Station." The online edition began directly with the lead story, while the print edition of the same story began with the following outline summary before the lead began:

- Loot, burn shops, vehicles, houses in community
- Police, IPOB trade blame over attack
- Buhari vows speedy investigation into killings

Imo State Police Command has blamed members of the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its militia affiliate, Eastern Security Network (ESN) for the early hour attack on Agwa Police Station which left four officers dead.

iii. Story photograph differences.

The pilot study results also reveal photographic differences between the print and online editions of the Nation Newspaper's insecurity content. Although some identical stories appeared in print and online editions with the same photograph, many of the identical stories carried different photographs, as can be seen below:

3.1 Photo: Showing two identical stories from print and online editions of the Nation newspaper with different photographs



The above two photographs show the differences in story pictures between the two identical stories from the print and online editions. It can be seen that the print edition's picture shows Inspector General of Police (IGP) Muhammad Baba Alkali wearing a blue police uniform with the rank of Assistant Inspector General of Police, while the same Alkali appears in the online edition wearing a black police uniform with his current rank of Inspector General of Police.

3.9.5 Results from the analysis of interview with journalist and newspaper reader

This section presents the results of a pilot study conducted with one journalist who has experience in newspaper journalism and is also a newspaper reader. Figures 3.8 and 3.9 below show the results of the interviews as analysed using NVINO qualitative data analysis software.

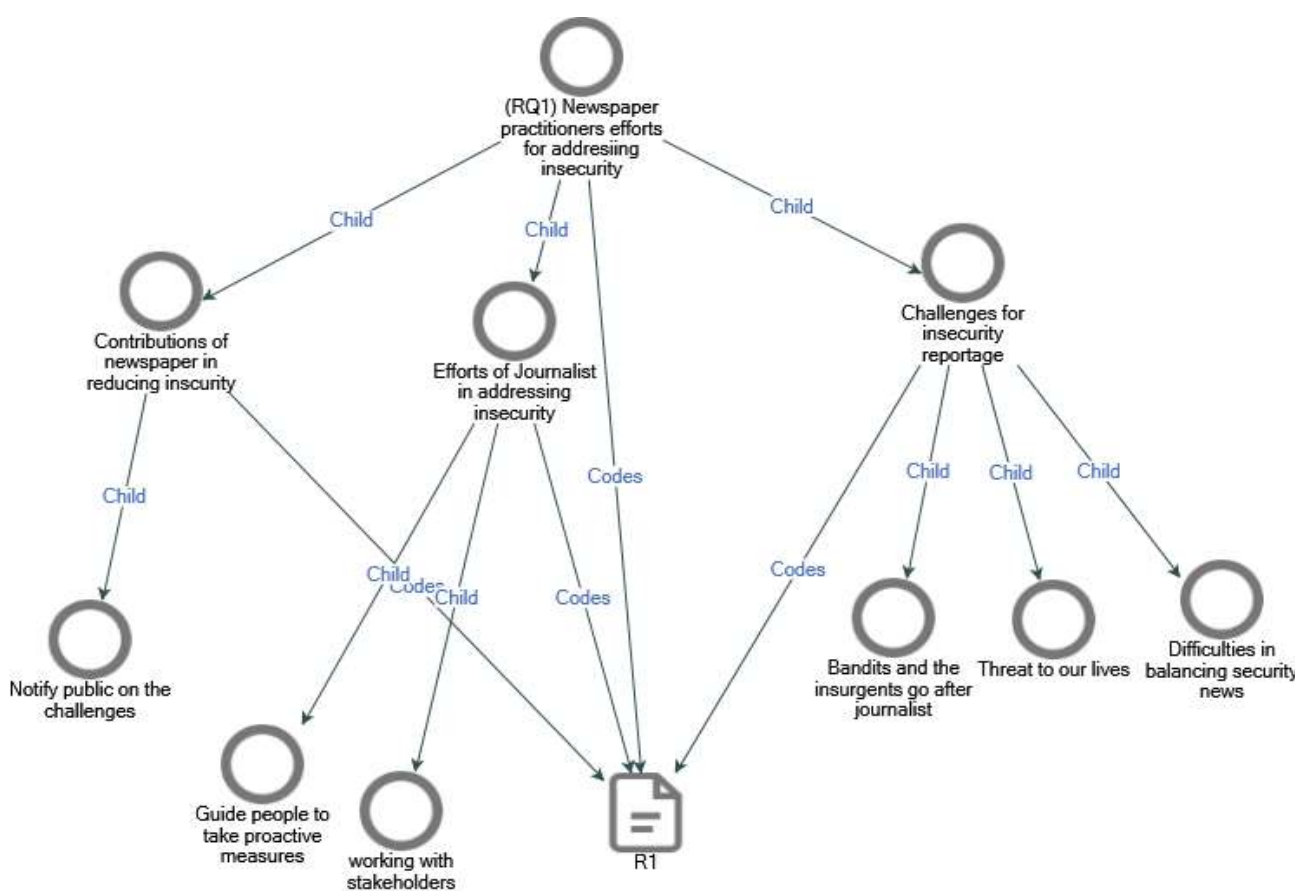


Figure 3.8: Results of interview with one journalist

The results of the pilot study, as presented in Figure 3.8 above, show the different themes and sub-themes (codes) that emerged from the interview with the journalist (R1). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the essence of this pilot interview is to understand if the instrument will yield the expected result. Respondent

1 (R1) was asked questions related to the efforts of newspaper practitioners in fighting insecurity challenges in Nigeria. However, the findings from the pilot interview revealed three major themes, as follows: 1. the efforts of journalists to address insecurity 2. The contribution of newspaper organizations to reducing poverty in Nigeria and 3. Journalists face challenges in reporting insecurity issues. For example, when the R1 was asked this question: “What are the efforts made by your newspaper organization to tackle insecurity in Nigeria?” R1 responded as follows:

Actually, my newspaper organization is doing well and making serious efforts to work with security agencies to tackle insecurity in the country. We always respond to the security agency’s invitation to report an insecurity event, no matter the risk associated with it.

Similarly, when the R1 was asked whether his newspaper organization was making any contribution to ending the current insecurity in the country, the R1 had this to say:

We are notifying the public of the challenges associated with these security challenges through our factual reporting of insecurity issues. We inform people of the dangers associated with certain dangerous places, especially where bandits terrorize innocent Nigerians. For instance, when there were frequent serious security challenges on the Kaduna-Abuja highway towards the Rijana village axis and other places in northern Nigeria, our reporters did not relent. We kept enlightening the public and worked hand in hand with security agencies.

Respondent 1 was also asked, “What are the challenges you encounter when reporting insecurity challenges?” R1 responded as follows:

We are facing so many challenges when reporting security challenges in the country. One of such challenges is associated with the threat to our lives. The bandits and insurgents go after any journalist reporting their heinous activities, especially those who always feature them in a negative way. We sometimes encounter the problem of finding it very difficult to balance our related security news due to having different contradictory information from eyewitnesses and security agencies.

However, Figure 3.6 below shows the result of the interview with the second interviewee (R2) of the pilot study.

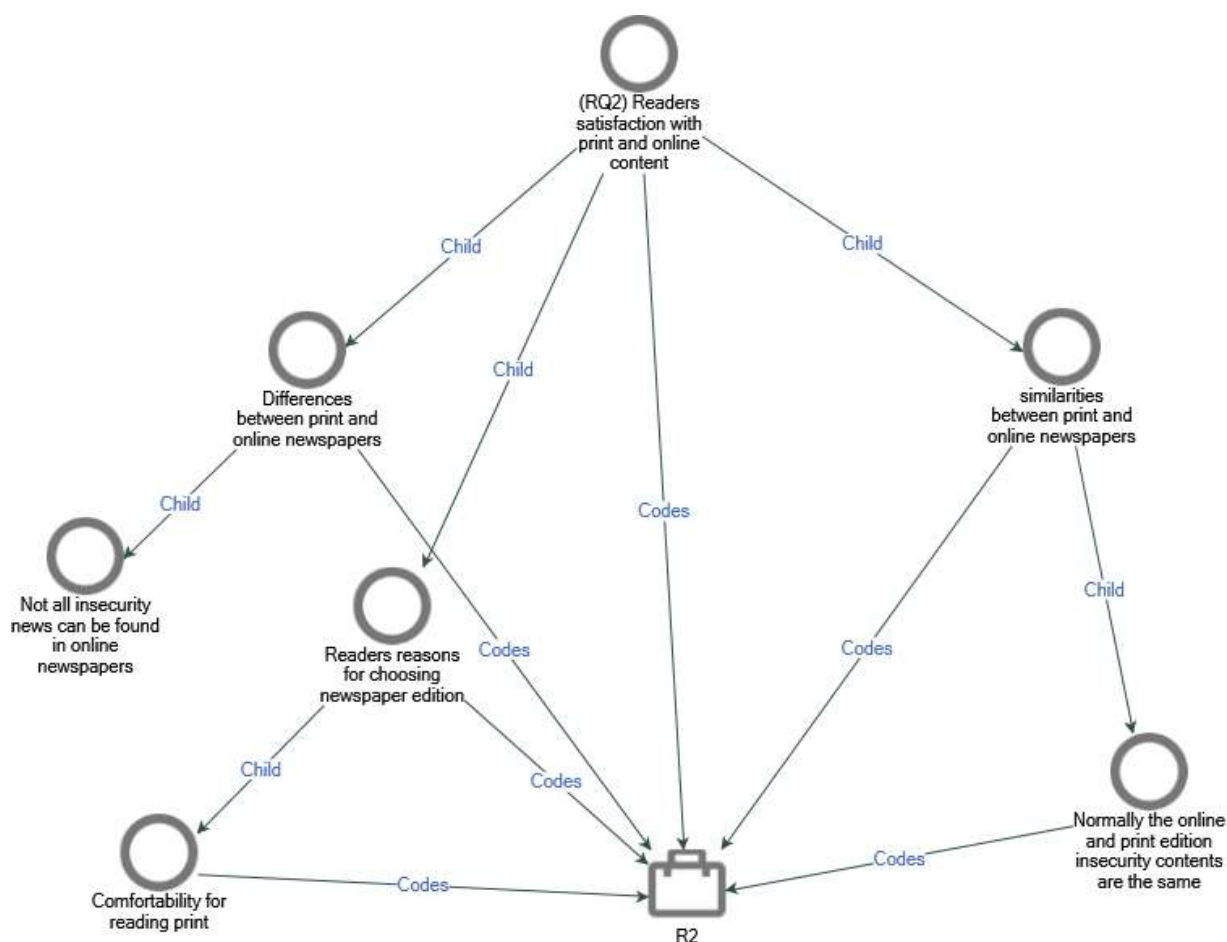


Figure 3.9: Results of interview with one newspaper reader

The results from the interview with the second respondent of the pilot study, as presented in Figure 3.9 above, show three themes and sub-themes that emerged from the analysis of the interview transcript using NVivo software. The reason behind this interview is to find out if the instrument will yield the expected result. Respondent 2 (R2) was asked questions related to the readers' satisfaction with the insecurity content found in the print and online editions of Nigerian newspapers as well as his opinion on the differences and similarities between the two editions of newspapers. Respondent 2 responded to the question related to the readers' satisfaction with insecurity content found in print and online newspapers as follows:

Actually, I prefer reading insecurity news and indeed other contents in the print newspaper because I am comfortable reading them at any time. When you purchase a copy of a print newspaper, it will remain with you forever, in contrast to online news stories, which are transient and floating. I used to read from the online edition too, but the most annoying thing is that when you are reading a story from the online edition, if you go out of that newspaper website and return later, you may not see the story you started reading due to its fleeting nature. You have to keep searching and scrolling through the website pages. Reading in print is indeed a pleasure for me.

When R2 was asked this question again, “Based on your reading experience of both the two editions, have you ever witnessed any differences or similarities between the insecurity contents found in the two editions? R2 responded as follows:

Well, as I told you at the beginning of this interview, I used to read both the print and online editions, and the differences I noticed between the two editions were that you couldn't find all the insecurity-related news stories that appeared in the print in an online edition. Sometimes you can see the same insecurity news story in print with little difference, either in the headline or some page arrangements. In print, the content appears in a vertical column for easy reading, while the whole page appears in an online newspaper. I also noticed that, normally, the online and print editions insecurity contents are the same, with the exception of the few differences I mentioned.

The results of the pilot study enable the research to discover some of the efforts made by the journalists to reduce the insecurity challenges in Nigeria through their reportage. Such efforts, in the opinion of R1, include working with stakeholders and guiding the public to take proactive measures against the insurgents and bandits' activities. The pilot study equally enabled the researcher to explore some differences and similarities between the insecurity contents found in the print and online editions of the Nigerian newspaper, as well as important key issues related to the current study, such as reader satisfaction with either the print or online edition or the reason for choosing a certain newspaper over another. This pilot study assisted the researcher considerably in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the instruments proposed to be used in the current study. Similarly, the instruments were refined accordingly for the data collection of the current study.

Table 3.12 Summary of research process

Research Objectives	Research Questions	Research Design	Data Collection	Data Analysis
To identify the similarities and differences of the insecurity reportage between print and online versions of the selected newspapers.	What are the similarities and differences between the print and online newspapers based on the insecurity news reportage?	Mixed method (Quantitative and Qualitative Research Design)	Content Analysis	SPSS & NVivo
To evaluate the effort of newspapers practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria	What are the efforts made by the newspaper's practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria?	Qualitative Research Design/Narrative	Content analysis Interview	NVivo
To examine the readers' satisfaction	iv. How do the readers satisfy with	Qualitative Research	Interview	NVivo

in print and online newspapers with regard to insecurity reportage.	the print and online newspapers insecurity reportage?	Design/Narrativ e/ Phenomenology
--	---	--

3.10 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter presents the research method and design for the study. The study employs qualitative approaches in which the contents of four selected Nigerian newspapers were analyzed, and the semi-structured interviews were equally conducted to complement the findings of content analysis. The chapter discusses the research design, the population of the study, sample size selection techniques, sources of data, methods of data collection, including content analysis techniques, and a semi-structured interview. The procedure for data analysis and the intercoder reliability test have also been discussed in this chapter. The chapter also presents the findings of the pilot study and the summary of the research process, which is presented in tabular form.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the analysed data that were collected from the four selected newspapers and interviews with media practitioners and newspaper readers. Thus, the study's findings comprise the outcome of newspapers' content analysis and semi-structured interviews. The content analysis focuses mainly on understanding the key similarities and differences between the insecurity news stories found in print and their online versions in the selected newspapers. Hence, the results from content analysis are presented using IBM SPSS's analysis results of frequency, simple percentage, and the outcomes of NVivo qualitative analysis software based on the Fraenkel et al. (2018) proposition as explained in Chapter 3, that in content analysis, frequencies is normally used for interpretation of the findings of content analysis and enable a researcher to report the number, percentage or proportion of a particular occurrence or incident located within a study data. The interviews also focus on the newspaper practitioners' efforts in the fight against insecurity, how the editorial agenda of the newspaper organizations assists in reducing the insecurity challenges, and how the newspaper readers are satisfied with the insecurity contents found in both print and online newspapers. The study's findings were analysed and presented based on the research questions.

4.2 RQ1: What are the differences and similarities between the print and online newspapers based on the insecurity news reportage?

The first research question aims to find out the differences and similarities between the print and online insecurity contents of four newspapers. Newspaper contents related to human insecurity focusing on banditry, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder conflict, kidnapping and militancy were collected and studied in both print and online editions of four newspapers. The newspapers' contents were analysed in two different ways using IBM SPSS 25 and NVivo, a software for qualitative data analysis. At the beginning a researcher collected all insecurity related contents that include news stories, opinion and editorial from both print and online newspapers and recording them on coding sheet prepared by a researcher. All the collected contents were tabulated and analysed quantitatively using IBM SPSS with a view to understanding which edition between print and online newspapers carry more insecurity contents. Although content analysis method is both qualitative and quantitative in nature when collecting, coding and categorization of study data but the findings could be quantified and reported using relative frequencies and percentages (Hasan, 2018; Riffe et al., 2019).

Secondly, all the collected contents of the two editions were carefully read, observed and sorted out all the contents of print and online newspapers that appeared in the same edition but differed either in headline or the lead of a story. The differences observed were analysed and presented using NVivo qualitative data analysis software. Therefore, the findings of this section under RQ1 are presented in two different sequences i.e. 1. Similarities and differences based on the findings of IBM SPSS quantitative data analysis and, 2. Similarities and differences based on the findings of NVivo Qualitative data analysis (mixed method approach).

4.2.1 Differences based on the findings of IBM SPSS analysis

The findings under this section would be presented based on the result obtained from the data analysis using IBM SPSS. The four newspapers altogether produced 1,827 news stories, opinions and editorials for the print editions while 1,467 news stories, opinions and editorials were recorded for the online edition respectively. Both the print and online contents figures were inputted into IBM SPSS for analysis. The purpose was to identify how the contents of the two editions (print and online) differed and where they share certain similarities taking into considerations the content categories that include banditry, *Boko Haram*, farmer-harder, kidnapping, and militancy which can easily be identified using content analysis. Descriptive content analysis is the easiest way to check a reality, trait or characteristics of certain phenomenon (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014b). The table below presents the total number of all news stories; opinions and editorials produced by print and online newspapers based on the content categories of banditry, *Boko Haram*, farmer-harder, kidnapping, and militancy.

Table 4.1 Number of Insecurity contents produced in the print and online newspapers

Unit of analysis		Content Category															Total
		Banditry			Boko Haram			Farmer-Herder			Kidnapping			Militancy			
		News	Opinion	Editorial	News	Opinion	Editorial	News	Opinion	Editorial	News	Opinion	Editorial	News	Opinion	Editorial	
Print	609	33	11	316	13	1	482	30	9	297	10	2	12	2	0	1,827	
Online	458	24	3	286	4	0	372	19	2	282	8	0	9	0	0	1,467	
Total	1,067	57	14	602	17	1	854	49	11	579	18	2	21	2	0	3,294	

4.2.1.1 Banditry reporting in four selected print and online newspapers

Banditry is among the current insecurity issues in Nigeria today that are being reported by both print and online newspapers in the country. This criminal activity involves armed individuals or groups who engage in robbery, abduction, and other violent acts, often targeting remote communities and travellers (Ojo, Oyewole, S & Aina 2023; Okoli & Abubakar 2021). The rise in banditry in recent time in Nigeria which led to a significant increase in the number of internally displaced persons in Katsina, Zamfara, Niger, Kaduna and Zamfara states has attracted the attention of mass media including newspapers to concentrate on reporting such issues. This section presents how both the print and online newspapers studied reported insecurity between March 1st, 2022 to August 31st, 2022. Table 4.2, table 4.3 and table 4.4 show how print and online newspapers reported insecurity during the period of study.

Table 4.2: News reporting of banditry in the print and online newspapers

News				
Newspaper Types	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	609	57.1	57.1	57.1
Online	458	42.9	42.9	100.0
Total	1067	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.2 above shows that 609 news stories related to banditry issues were found in print newspapers. These 609 figures constituted 57.1 percent, while the online editions produced 458 news stories on the same issue, which stand at 42.9 percent. This clearly shows that print newspapers carry more banditry news than their online counterparts.

Table 4.3: Opinion reporting of banditry in the print and online newspaper

Opinion

Newspaper Types	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	33	3.1	56.9	56.9
Online	25	2.3	43.1	100.0
Total	58	5.4	100.0	

Opinion writing is a significant way for the public to express their concern on certain important issues and infiltrate their opinion into the public, which in turn could further transform the media agenda since the extent or frequency to which the news media report an issue determines its successful acceptance and retention by the audience (McCombs & Valenzuela 2020; Coleman, et al., 2009; Wanta 2023). The result in Table 4.3 above indicates that 33 opinions, equivalent to 56.9%, were recorded in the print editions of four newspapers, while 25 opinions were recorded in an online edition. This is a clear testimony that print editions carry more opinion than the online edition. However, it is important to note that the opinion writing in an online edition may have a wider reach and potentially influence a larger audience due to its accessibility and convenience. Therefore, both opinion content in print and online editions of newspapers continue to contribute to the formation of public opinion, albeit in different ways.

Table 4.4: Editorial reporting of banditry in the print and online newspaper

Editorial

Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	11	1.0	78.6	78.6
Online	3	0.3	21.4	100.0
Total	14	1.3	100.0	

Editorial writing remains the best way in which newspaper organizations express their positions on certain issues of public importance (Firmstone, 2019; Mont'alverne & Marques, 2022). This specialized reporting provides a platform for informed analysis and commentary that shapes public discourse and influences public opinion, as well as advocating for specific policies that could help address negative actions that may be detrimental to the people's security (McCombs & Valenzuela 2020). However, Nigerian newspapers write editorials on different insecurity issues. Table 4.4 above indicates that the print newspapers studied produced 11 (78.6%) editorials on banditry-related issues, while only 3 editorials, representing 21.4 percent, were found in an online edition. This difference between the two newspapers suggests that print newspapers in Nigeria remain relevant in informing public about insecurity related issues in their editorials. Attesting to this fact, Alfred & Oyebola (2019:4) argued that the newspaper organizations used their editorials to express their feelings and suggest solutions that would address the current security challenges in Nigeria.

4.2.1.2 *Boko Haram* reporting in four selected print and online newspapers

The *Boko Haram* insurgency has been a lingering security challenge in Nigeria for the last two decades. The group, which originated in north-eastern Nigeria and later spread to other northern parts of the country, has carried out numerous attacks on government officials, security forces, and sometimes civilians (Agbibo, 2021; Dowd, 2017). Newspaper organizations in Nigeria have been reporting the *Boko Haram* issue extensively, providing updates on the group's activities, government responses, and the impact on affected communities. The newspaper coverage, as

stressed by Demarest et al. (2019), has played a crucial role in raising awareness both domestically and internationally about the severity of the insurgency and the need for concerted efforts to address it. Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 below indicate the frequency with which print and online newspapers in Nigeria reported *Boko Haram* issues during the period of study.

Table 4.5: News reporting of *Boko Haram* insurgency in the print and online newspaper

News				
Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	316	50.6	52.5	52.5
Online	286	45.8	47.5	100.0
Total	602	96.5	100.0	

As shown in Table 4.5 above, the print newspapers studied produced 316 news stories on the *Boko Haram* insurgency, which constituted 52.5% of the total news report during the study period. The result also indicates that 286 news stories were recorded in the online editions of the four newspapers analysed. This shows the difference in the number of news stories published between print and online platforms. It is worth noting that the online editions accounted for 47.5% of the total news coverage on the *Boko Haram* insurgency, highlighting the growing importance of digital media in reporting insecurity issues in Nigeria.

Table 4.6: Opinion reporting of *Boko Haram* in the print and online newspaper

Opinion					
Type	Newspaper	Frequency	Perc ent	Valid Percent	Cumulativ e Percent
	Print	13	2.1	76.5	76.5
	Online	4	0.6	23.5	100.0
	Total	17	2.7	100.0	

The results in Table 4.6 show the differences between print and online newspapers in using opinions while reporting *Boko Haram* insurgencies. Only 13 opinion articles (76.5%) were found in the print newspapers, while 4 opinion articles (23.5%) were found in the online editions within the period of study. This suggests that, in spite of the limited number of opinion articles in both the print and online newspapers in Nigeria, the print versions reported more opinion than their online counterparts. However, the limited number of opinion articles on *Boko Haram* in both print and online platforms might be associated with the government's effort towards fighting against the insurgency, which reduces the activities of *Boko Haram* in the country (Ikeanyibe et al., 2023). The finding could also indicate that it is possible that the government's efforts to combat *Boko Haram* have resulted in a decrease in the number of opinion articles related to the insurgency, both in print and online platforms.

Table 4.7: Editorial reporting of *Boko Haram* in the print and online newspaper

Editorial				
Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print Newspaper	1	0.2	100.0	100.0
Online Newspaper				
Missing	623	99.8		
Total	624	100.0		

As shown in the result in Table 4.7 above, only one editorial was found in print newspapers related to the *Boko Haram* insurgency throughout the study period. The result also shows that no editorial was found in the online edition during the study period. These findings suggest that the government's efforts to combat *Boko Haram* may have been successful in not only reducing the activities of the insurgency but also in curbing public discourse and media coverage on the issue. However, it is possible that this lack of editorial content reflects a shift in public attention and media focus towards other pressing matters of public.

4.2.1.3 Farmer-herder conflict reporting in four selected print and online newspapers

Farmer-herder conflict remains one of the deadlier crises that, over the years, have become rampant in northern Nigeria. As discussed in the literature, the conflict occurred frequently between Fulani herders and the farmers, who always challenged the herders for illegal encroachment and grazing in their farmlands (Ajakaiye et al., 2022). The conflict has resulted in the loss of lives, the destruction of properties, and the displacement of communities, exacerbating the already dire humanitarian

situation in northern Nigeria (Achoba & Abraham, 2023). The mass media have been reporting this endless conflict, shedding light on the devastating consequences it has on the local communities and the urgent need for resolution. Table 4.8, table 4.9 and table 4.10 below indicated how print and online newspapers in Nigeria reported farmer-herder conflict during the period of study.

Table 4.8: News reporting of farmer-herder conflicts in the print and online newspaper

Newspaper Type	News			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	482	56.4	56.4	56.4
Online	372	43.6	43.6	100.0
Total	854	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.8 above shows the differences between how print and online newspapers report farmer-herder conflicts between March 1st, 2022, and August 31st, 2022. The result indicates that print newspapers produced 482 news stories on farmer-herder conflicts, which represent 56.4 percent of the total news stories. The online editions of the same newspapers produced 372 news stories on the same issue, which stand at 43.6 percent. This clearly shows that print newspapers carry more farmer-herder news than their online counterparts. This result is in line with the findings of Fredrick (2023) in which he found that the newspapers in Nigeria have been placing emphasis on the farmer-herder crisis, especially how they used pictorials to showcase the devastating impact of the conflict that is yet to be addressed. Similarly, the study conducted by Nwachukwu et al. (2021) in which they obtained 598 news stories related to farmer-herder conflicts from three newspapers

within a seven-month period, has equally supported the findings of the current study in relation to the frequency of the news stories retrieved by the researcher.

Table 4.9: Opinion reporting of farmer-herder conflicts in the print and online newspaper

Opinion					
Type	Newspaper	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Print	30	3.5	61.2	61.2
	Online	19	2.2	38.8	100.0
	Total	49	5.7	100.0	

The result in Table 4.9 above indicates how the print and online newspapers studied reported opinion contents between March 1st, 2022, and August 31st, 2022. Whereas the print newspaper produced a total of 30 opinion articles related to farmer-herder conflict, which constitutes 61.2 percent, the online edition produced only 19 opinion articles on the same subject, which accounts for 38.8 percent. This suggests that the print newspaper had a higher focus on covering the farmer-herder conflict compared to its online counterpart. The difference in the number of opinion articles could be attributed to various factors, such as editorial priorities or audience preferences. This finding is also in line with the suggestion made by one of the participants in this study (P9), who advised that the newspaper organization should be giving people the same opportunity to express their opinion in an online edition of the newspapers as they do in the print edition.

Table 4.10: editorials reporting of farmer-herder conflicts in the print and online newspapers

Newspaper Type	Editorial			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	9	1.1	81.8	81.8
Online	2	0.2	18.2	100.0
Total	11	1.3	100.0	

The result of this study, as shown in Table 4.10 above, indicates that the print newspapers reported nine editorial articles on farmer-herder conflict, which is 81.8 percent higher than the editorials found in the online editions, which are only 2 and 18.2 percent of the total. This indicates a significant difference in the coverage of farmer-header conflicts between print newspapers and online editions.

4.2.1.4 Kidnapping reporting in four selected print and online newspapers

Kidnapping is among numerous security challenges currently bedevilling Nigeria, the most populous country on the African continent (Mahmoud, Ibrahim, & Mustapha, 2019; Odi, 2023; Olowe, 2021). Newspaper organizations have been playing a crucial role in reporting kidnapping issues with a view to enlightening the public to take precautions on its dangers (Ajakaiye et al., 2022; Shortland, 2019). Table 4.11, Table 4.12, and Table 4.13 below indicate how print and online newspapers in Nigeria reported kidnapping cases in the country during the period of study.

Table 4.11: News reporting of kidnapping in the print and online newspapers

Newspaper Type	News			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	297	51.3	51.3	51.3
Online	282	48.7	48.7	100.0
Total	579	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.11 shows the pattern of news reporting of kidnapping in print and online newspapers between March 1st, 2022, and August 31st, 2022. The result indicates that 297 news stories (51.3%) were found in print newspapers, while 282 (48.7%) news stories were equally found in online newspapers. These findings suggest that the news coverage of kidnapping incidents in print and online newspapers is relatively balanced, with a slight difference in which the print newspapers recorded highs with only 2.6%. However, it is important to note that the difference in coverage between the two mediums is not as significant as the difference observed in farmer-header conflicts.

Table 4.12: Opinion reporting of kidnapping in the print and online newspapers

Newspaper Type	Opinion			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	10	1.1	55.6	55.6
Online	8	0.9	44.4	100.0
Total	18	2.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.12 show the differences between print and online newspapers in using opinions while reporting kidnapping issues. In the print newspaper, 10

opinion articles representing 55.6% were found, while 8 opinion articles representing 44.4% were found in the online editions within the period of study. This finding suggests that, in spite of the limited number of opinion articles in both the print and online newspapers on kidnapping issues in Nigeria, the print versions reported more opinion than their online counterparts. According to Opene and Opene (2023) kidnapping is currently among the major security challenges in the country, with incidents occurring frequently and affecting both individuals and communities. The underreporting of opinion articles in print newspapers may indicate newspaper organizations' lack of emphasis on public discourse and analysis of the kidnapping issue in Nigeria. This could potentially hinder the development of informed opinions and that could suggest solutions to address this pressing security challenge bedevilling the country. Newspaper organizations in Nigeria need to create an avenue for the audience to ventilate their opinion on the security issues as one of the respondents (P5) rightly stated.

Table 4.13: Editorials reporting of kidnapping in the print and online newspapers

Editorial				
Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	2	0.2	100.0	100.0
Online	0	0	0	
Total	2	0.2	100.0	

Table 4.13 above shows the pattern of editorial reporting on kidnapping-related issues between print and online newspapers during the period of study. The result indicates that the print newspapers produced only two editorials related to kidnapping issues, representing 100% of the editorials found on the topic throughout the study period. The result also indicated that no single editorial was found in an online newspaper related to kidnapping issues. This inadequate editorial coverage on kidnapping issues among the newspapers studied is concerning, as it suggests a potential gap in raising awareness and promoting discussions on this important security challenge. However, editorial writing is a powerful and important voice for newspaper organisations, as it allows them to express their opinions and influence public discourse (Al-Subhi, 2023). It is crucial for newspapers to dedicate more editorial space to addressing pressing issues like kidnapping in order to inform and engage their readership. Through editorial writings, newspaper organizations advocate for effective solutions and hold authorities accountable for addressing the issue of kidnapping and other security challenges.

4.2.1.5 Militancy reporting in four selected print and online newspapers

Militant activities have been a lingering problem in some parts of southern Nigeria, particularly in places like Delta, Rivers, and Bayelsa states (Rufus & Cocodia, 2023). These militant groups have been destabilizing and terrorizing Niger Delta areas through kidnapping expatriate oil workers, illegal oil bunkering, and killing innocent people (Olaniran, 2019). The mass media, as the fourth estate of the realm, is saddled with responsibility of exposing such heinous activities through news and editorial writing (Diri & Ekiye, 2019). Unfortunately, the results obtained

and presented in Tables 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16 below have confirmed how the four print newspapers and their online editions underreported militant activities throughout the period of this study.

The lack of editorial coverage on kidnapping issues in both print and online newspapers may hinder efforts to address this security challenge effectively. It is crucial for media outlets to prioritise reporting on such issues to ensure that the public remains informed and engaged in finding solutions to combat militant activities and protect the affected communities.

Table 4.14: News reporting of militancy issues in the print and online newspapers

News				
Newspaper Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	12	1.4	57.1	57.1
Online	9	1.1	42.9	100.0
Total	21	2.5	100.0	

The result presented in Table 4.14 above shows the pattern of news reporting of militancy among the four print and online newspapers between March 1st 2022, and August 31st, 2022. The result indicates that 12 news stories representing 57.3% were found in print newspapers, while 9 news stories representing 42.9% were equally found in online newspapers. These findings suggest that the militancy incidents were underreported by both print and online newspapers during the period of this study. This underreporting may be due to various factors, such as limited resources for journalists to cover all incidents, or it is possible that some newspapers have chosen not to prioritize reporting on militancy and focus on other news topics that they deem more newsworthy. However, this paucity of news stories related to militant activities

may also be attributed to the government's efforts to address militancy through amnesty programs, which rehabilitated and reformed many militants and integrated them into society (Agba, Okpa, & Ogar, 2020).

Table 4.15: Opinion related to militancy issues in the print and online newspapers

Newspaper Type	Opinion			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Print	2	0.2	100.0	100.0
Online	0	0	0	
Total	2	0.2	100.0	

The result in Table 4.15 above shows how the four print and online newspapers reported opinion contents related to militant activities between March 1st, 2022, and August 31st, 2022. While the print newspaper produced only two opinion articles related to militancy, representing 100%, no single opinion article was found in the online edition during the same period. This paucity of opinion articles on militant activities in both the print and online editions of the four newspapers may be attributed to the previously mentioned reasons for insufficient news stories related to militancy, such as the security measures taken and government amnesty initiatives as pointed out by Agba et al. (2020) that the amnesty programs initiated by the Nigerian government has contributed enormously toward addressing militant activities in Niger Delta region as many of the trouble militants acquired various skills in pipeline repairs installation.

Table 4.16 Cross-tabulation result for print and online newspapers content

Newspaper Type		Content Type			Total
Print	Count	News 1716	Opinion 88	Editorial 23	1827
	Expected Count	1732.2	79.3	15.5	1827.0
	Count	407	55	5	1467
Online	Expected Count	1390.8	63.7	12.5	1467.0
	Count	3123	143	28	3294
Total	Expected Count	3123.0	143.0	28.0	3294.0

Table 4.16 shows the result of cross-tabulation that indicates the differences between print and online newspapers in relation to the content types they carry. The table presented also shows the observed count and expected count for the newspaper and content types. According to the above result of the cross-tabulation test, 1732.2 is the expected count for the print newspaper and 1390.8 is the expected count for the online newspaper, which is different from the observed count of 1716 for the print newspaper and 1407 for the online newspaper. The data set also shows that print newspapers are significantly higher in all content types, with a total of 1827 observed counts compared with online newspapers, which have a total of 1467 observed counts. Based on the presented data, we can conclude that there are statistical differences between print newspapers and content types on the one hand and online newspapers and content types on the other. However, the cross-tabulation could not specifically determine the level or significance of the differences observed. Therefore, the chi-square test helps determine if the result counts are different enough for the test to be significant.

Table 4.17 Chi-Square Tests of newspaper types and content type

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.542a	2	.005
Likelihood Ratio	11.425	2	.003
Linear-by-Linear	9.297	1	.002
Association			
N of Valid Cases	3294		

Table 4.17 above shows the result of the Chi-square test of significance between the newspapers type (print and online) and content type. The table presented shows that the Pearson Chi-square test statistic result is 10.542a with .005 as the corresponding two-sided P-Value. Since the P-Value obtained (.005) is less than .05, we can conclude that there are significant differences between print and online newspapers based on the types of content the two newspapers reported during the study period.

Table 4.18 Cross-tabulation result for newspapers types and insecurity reports

		Insecurity reports					Total
		Banditry	Boko- Haram	Farmer- herder	Kidnapping	Militancy	
News paper Type	Observed	653	330	521	309	14	1827
	Count						
	Expected	631.2	343.9	506.9	332.2	12.8	1827.0
	Count						
	Online Observed	485	290	393	290	9	1467
	Count						
	Expected	506.8	276.1	407.1	266.8	10.2	1467.0
	Count						
	Total Observed						
	Count	1138	620	914	599	23	3294
	Expected						
	Count	1138.0	620.0	914.0	599.0	23.0	3294.0
	Count						

Table 4.18 reveals the results of cross-tabulation that show the differences between print and online newspapers in relation to the different insecurity reports by the two newspapers. As depicted in the above results of the crostabulation test, there are 653 (banditry), 330 (*Boko Haram*), 521 (farmer-hearder), 309 (kidnapping), and 14 (militancy) observed counts for the print newspaper's insecurity reportage, which is different from 485 (banditry), 290 (*Boko Haram*), 393 (farmer-hearder), 290 (kidnapping), and 9 (militancy) observed counts for the online newspaper. It is evident from the above results that print newspapers have more insecurity reports compared to the insecurity reports observed in online newspapers. The result of the Chi-square test below illustrates the significance level of differences between the newspaper types and insecurity reports.

Table 4.19 Chi-Square Tests of newspaper types and content

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.746a	4	.101
Likelihood Ratio	7.735	4	.102
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.386	1	.122
N of Valid Cases	3294		

Table 4.19 above shows the result of the Chi-square test of significance between the newspaper type (print and online) and insecurity reports. The table presented shows that the Pearson Chi-square test statistic result is 7.746a, with .101 as the corresponding two-sided P-value. Since the P-Value obtained (.101) is greater than .05, we can conclude that there are no significant differences between the

newspaper type and insecurity reports the two newspapers reported during the study period.

4.2.2 Differences based on the findings of content analysis using NVivo qualitative data analysis software.

The findings of this section would be presented based on the content analysis findings using NVivo qualitative data analysis software. As explained in Section 4.2 above, the contents of both print and online newspapers were carefully read, observed, and sorted out. All the contents of print and online newspapers that appeared in the same edition but differed either in headline or the lead of a story were clustered and uploaded to NVivo software for analysis. However, the results under this section are presented below based on the following two subsections: 1. differences between insecurity contents in print and online newspapers; and 2. similarities between insecurity contents in print and online newspapers.

4.2.2.1 Differences between print and online newspapers insecurity contents

The result of the analysis of print and online newspaper insecurity content reveals four key differences between the two editions of the newspapers, which include headline differences, lead (intro) differences, differences in story photographs, and reporting time differences. Figure 4.1 below shows the result of the content analysis that indicated the above-mentioned difference.

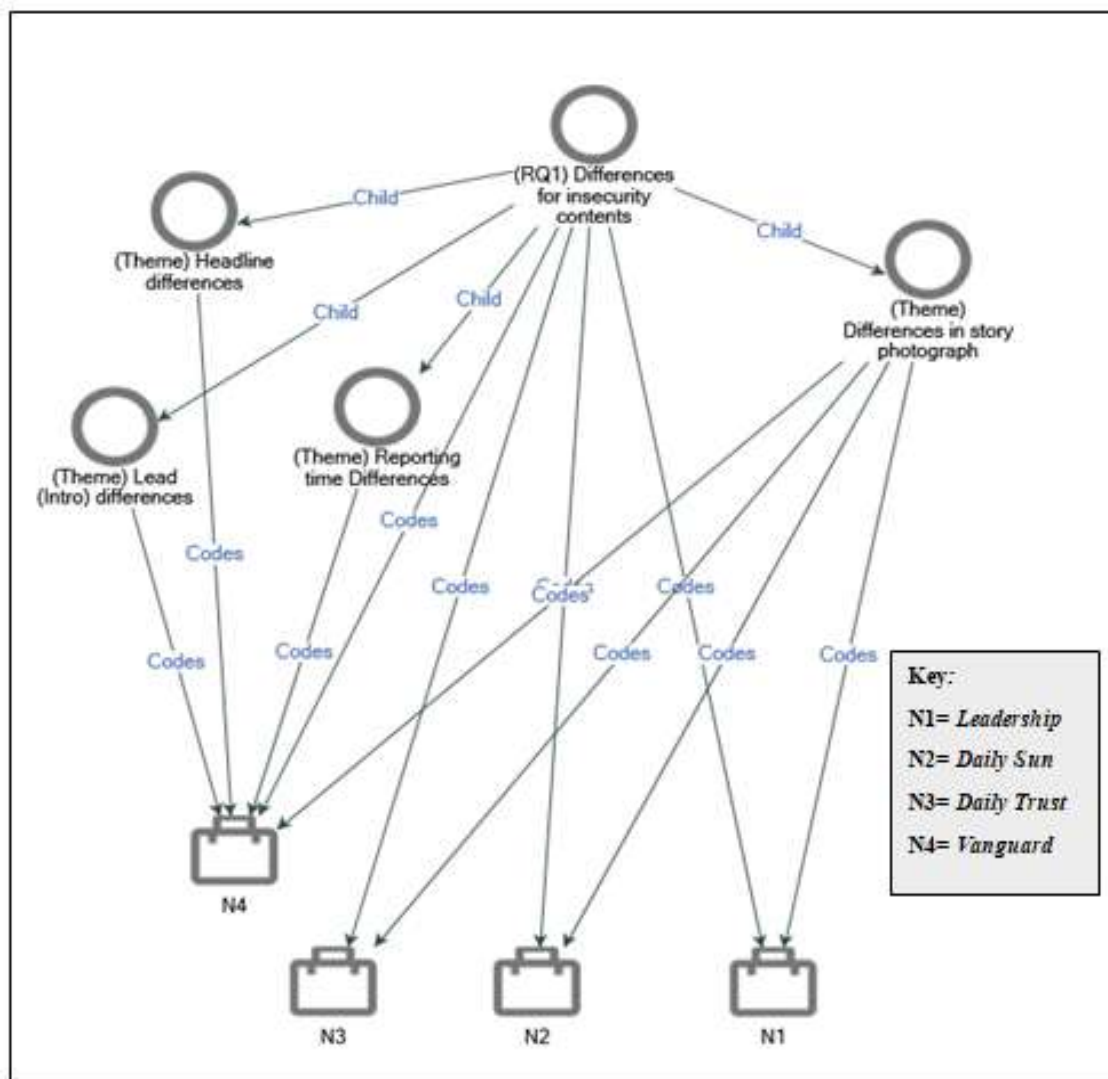


Figure 4.1 Differences between print and online insecurity contents

Figure 4.1 above indicates the differences between the insecurity contents of print and online newspapers. It shows how the four major differences emerged from the newspapers' content analysis and how the four newspapers are connected with the four main differences. Boxes (N1, N2, N3, and N4) represent both the print and online editions of the four newspapers, while the four theme circles also represent the differences among print and online editions. Similarly, N1 stands for *Leadership* N2 for *Daily Sun*, N3, for *Daily Trust* and N4 stands for *Vanguard*. Similarly, the terms 'code' and 'child' are used by the NVivo software to connect the newspapers, major

contents, which include differences as a result of major changes and differences as a result of minor changes. The major changes, as shown in Figure 4.2 consist of rewriting one of the two headlines (print and online of the same edition) or by changing or adding a phrase to one of the headlines while the lead of the news story conveys the same message and meaning. Consider the following samples:

Sample 1.

Edition: Online (Sun newspaper)
 Date: 20th August 2022
 Headline: Bandits force residents of 8 villages to flee in Kebbi
 Lead (Intro):

No fewer than eight villages in Augie Local Government Area of Kebbi have been deserted due to attacks by bandits.

Edition: Print (Sun newspaper)
 Date: 21st August 2022
 Headline: Bandits displace 8 Kebbi villages
 Lead (Intro):

No fewer than eight villages in Augie Local Government Area of Kebbi State have been forced to flee for fear of attacks by bandits.

Sample 2.

Edition: Online (Daily Trust)
 Date: 2nd March 2022
 Headline: Security Operatives kill over 200 terrorists in Niger
 Lead (Intro):

Over 200 terrorists have been killed by security operatives in Niger State in the last four days.

Edition: Print (Daily Trust)

Date: 3rd March 2022

Headline: 200 terrorists killed in Niger- Official

Lead (Intro):

About 200 terrorists have been killed by security operatives in the last four days in Niger state.

The major differences can be seen in the above two Samples. For instance, *the Sun* newspaper published a story in its online edition on August 20, 2022, with the following headline: **“Bandits force residents of 8 villages to flee in Kebbi.”** Subsequently, the same newspaper published the same story the following day (August 21, 2022) on the print version with the following headline: **“Bandits displace 8 Kebbi villages.”** Looking at the two headlines, we can observe that the second headline from the print edition is entirely different from that of the online edition. The phrase **“forced residents of...”** is missing in the online edition. Similarly, in a story published by the Daily Trust newspaper online edition on March 2, 2022, with the following headline, **“Security Operatives kill over 200 terrorists in Niger,”** The same Daily Trust published a similar story on March 2, 2022, in its online version with the following different headline: **“200 terrorists killed in Niger- Officials.”** Looking at the headline on the online editions, we can see that it carries some words like **“Security operatives... over”** that are missing on the print edition.

The minor changes, as indicated in Figure 4.2.2.1.1, consist of changes or differences as a result of changing or adding one or two words to one of the headlines. Samples 3 and 4 below show the minor differences between the print and online versions.

Sample 3.

Edition: Online (Daily Trust)

Date: 01 March 2022

Headline: Bandits block Minna-Suleja Road, operate for hours

Lead (Intro):

Bandits on Monday blocked the Minna-Suleja road, around Lambata-Kwakuti, stopping travellers from moving for about two hours.

Edition: Print (Daily Trust)

Date: 01 March 2022

Headline: Bandits block Minna-Suleja Road for hours

Lead (Intro):

Bandits yesterday blocked the Minna-Suleja road, around Lambata-Kwakuti, obstructed vehicles movements for about two hours.

Sample 4.

Edition: Online (Sun newspaper)

Date: 10th June 2022

Headline: *Boko Haram* kills over 22 youths in Borno town

Lead (Intro):

Over 20 youths scavenging for disused metal and twisted iron have been killed by Boko Haram in a town in Borno.

Edition: Print (Sun newspaper)

Date: 11th June 2022

Headline: Bloodbath as *Boko Haram* kills over 20 youths in Borno town

Lead (Intro):

Over 20 youths scavenging for disused metal and twisted iron have been killed by Boko Haram in a town in Borno.

We can observe from samples 4 and 5 presented above how the print and online insecurity contents have a minor difference. The Daily Trust newspaper online edition published a story online with the headline “**Bandits block Minna-Suleja Road, operate for hours.**” The same story was published in a print edition of the Daily Trust on March 1, 2022, with some changes to the headline, “**Bandits block Minna-Suleja Road for hours.**” A single word, "operate," was added to the first headline of the online edition, which makes it different from that of the print edition. Similarly, on June 10, 2022, the Sun newspaper published a story online with the headline “***Boko Haram* kills over 22 youths in Borno town,**” and the following day, on June 11, 2022, the same story was published in print with the headline “**Bloodbath as *Boko Haram* kills over 20 youths in Borno town,**” adding only “as Bloodbath” at the beginning of the headline.

4.2.2.3 Lead (Intro) differences for print and online newspapers insecurity contents

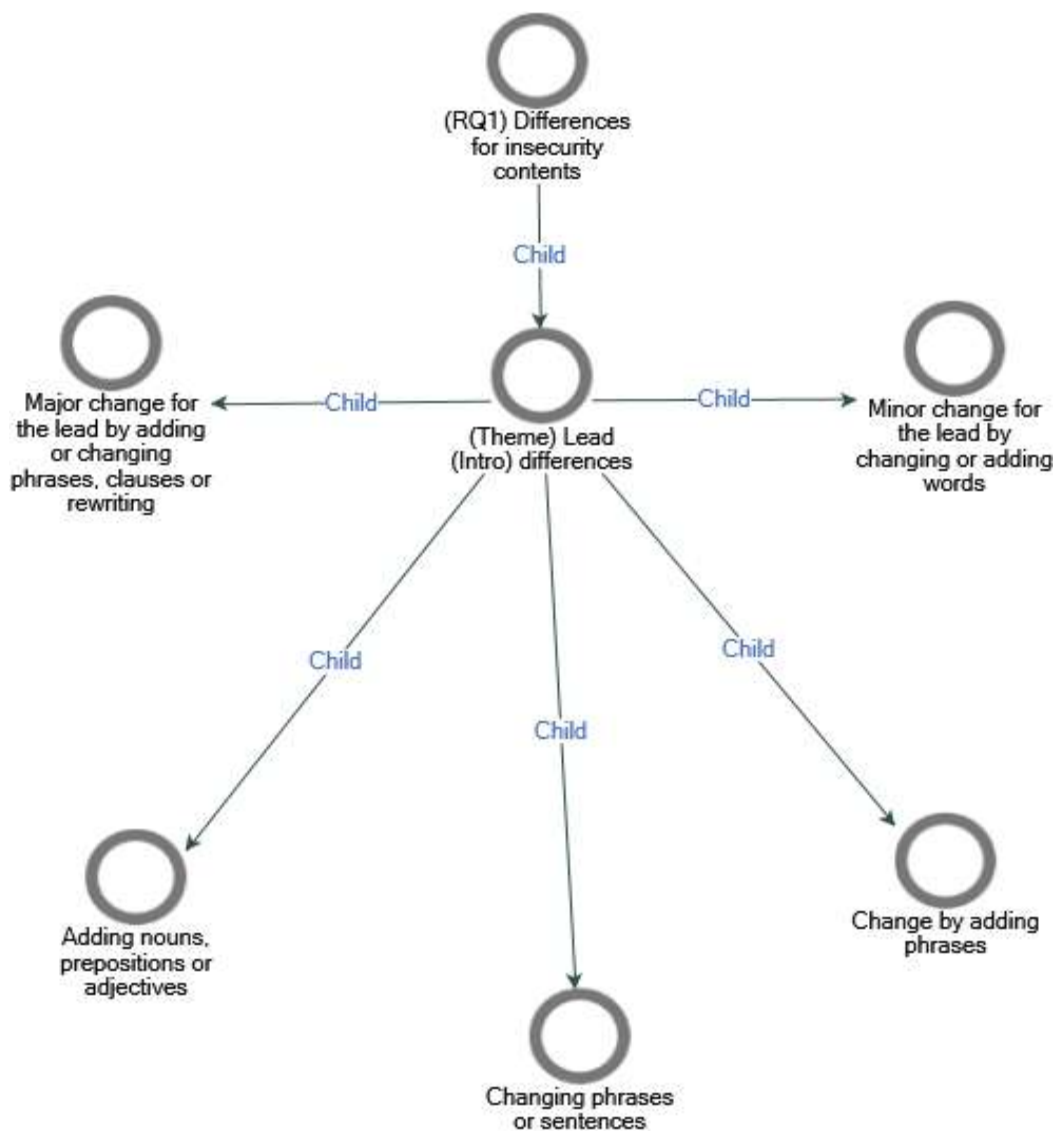


Figure 4.3: Lead (Intro) differences for print and online newspapers insecurity contents

Figure 4.3 above shows the differences in the news story's lead (intro) between the print and online newspapers insecurity contents. The result presented also indicates two major differences that emerged in the lead of the two editions of the newspaper's insecurity contents. The first difference is the major changes as a result of adding or

changing phrases, clauses, or rewriting the whole lead (intro). The second change is a minor one that involves adding or changing a few words on one of the leads (intro). Below are some samples of major and minor differences in the lead (intro) of the insecurity news in print and online newspapers.

Sample 1. (Major changes)

Edition: Online (Daily Trust)

Date: 27th August 2022

Lead (Intro):

Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Zamfara State, Alhaji Kabiru Attahiru, on Saturday said that at least 75 secondary schools in the state are still closed due to security concerns.

Edition: Print (Daily Trust)

Date: 28th August 2022

Lead (Intro):

At least 75 secondary schools in the state are still shut because of security concerns. Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Alhaji Kabiru Attahiru made this known in Gusau yesterday.

Sample 2 (Major changes)

Edition: Online (Sun)

Date: 10th June 2022

Lead (Intro):

Over 20 youths scavenging for disused metal and twisted iron have been killed by Boko Haram in a town in Borno. Dozens of young men went into a remote liberated community in Dikwa Local Government in the central part of Borno in search of disused metal. (Sun 10th June 2022)

Edition: Print (Sun)

Date: 11th June 2022

Lead (Intro):

Boko Haram insurgents operating in a town in Borno state where dozens of young men went into a remote liberated community in Dikwa Local Government in the central part of Borno in search of disused metal. They were ambushed on the way and all metal collected from them by Boko Haram men.

Sample 3 (Minor changes)

Edition: Online (Sun)

Date: 7th March, 2022

Lead (Intro):

At least twenty persons are reportedly killed as killer herdsmen attacked Tor-Damsa community in Donga local government area of Taraba state in the early hours of Monday.

Edition: Print (Sun)
 Date: 8th March, 2022
 Lead (Intro):

At least 20 people were reportedly killed as herdsmen attacked Tor-Damsa community in Donga local government area of Taraba state in the early hours of yesterday.

Sample 4 (Minor changes)

Edition: Online (Daily Trust)
 Date: 7th July 2022

Lead (Intro):

A Catholic priest, Reverend Father Peter Amodu, was kidnapped along Otukpo-Ugbokolo road in Benue State, on Wednesday. Our correspondent gathered that the incident happened while the priest was on his way to a nearby community to celebrate Holy mass.

Edition: Online (Daily Trust)
 Date: 8th July 2022
 Lead (Intro):

A Catholic priest, Reverend Father Peter Amodu, has been kidnapped on the Otukpo-Ugbokolo road in Benue State. Our correspondent gathered that the incident happened at about 5pm on Wednesday while the priest was on his way to a community in the area to celebrate Holy mass.

The major differences can be seen in the above two samples, 1 and 2. For instance, *the Daily Trust* newspaper published two similar stories in its online and print editions on August 27, 2022, and August 28, 2022, respectively. The lead in the online edition as presented above begins with the name of the Permanent Secretary, who disclosed the situation: **“Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Zamfara State, Alhaji Kabiru Attahiru,”** while that of the print edition begins with the actual situation on the ground: **“At least 75 secondary schools in the state are still shut down because of security concerns.”** Although the two leads (intro) of the print and online editions presented above share similar meaning and convey the same message, they differ in terms of usage of words and writing style. Similarly, a lead (intro) story published by the Sun newspaper online edition on June 10, 2022, begins with the victims who were killed by the *Boko Haram* insurgents; thus, **“Over 20 youths scavenging for disused metal and twisted iron have been killed by Boko Haram in a town in Borno.”** While the print edition of the same Sun newspaper published a similar story on June 11, 2022, and its lead (intro) begins with a background of the killers (*Boko Haram* insurgents), thus, **“Boko Haram insurgents operating in a town in Borno State where dozens of young men went into a remote liberated community in Dikwa Local Government in the central part of Borno in search of disused metal.”**

However, samples 3 and 4 above also show the minor differences in the lead (intro) of print and online insecurity contents. The *Sun newspaper* 07 Mach 2022 published an insecurity news story on its online edition and began with the following lead (intro): **“At least twenty persons are reportedly killed as killer herdsmen attacked...”** On March 8, 2022, another similar story was published in its print edition with the lead story, **“At least 20 people were reportedly killed as**

herdsmen attacked." The two leads (intro) in both print and online editions are the same and carry the same message, but only differ in a few words. A word 'people' was used in an online edition, while a word person was used in the print edition. Similarly, a word killer in the online edition was not written in the print edition, making the two leads have minor differences.

On July 7, 2022, and July 8, 2022, the Daily Trust newspaper published an insecurity news story in its online and print editions, respectively. The two news stories from different editions are the same but only differ in the minor changes as a result of adding a few words. The online edition reads, "**A Catholic priest, Reverend Father Peter Amodu, was kidnapped along Otukpo-Ugbokolo road in Benue State on Wednesday.**" While the print edition that was published on a subsequent date reads, "**A Catholic priest, Reverend Father Peter Amodu, has been kidnapped on the Otukpo-Ugbokolo road in Benue State.**" The only minor difference between the two is that while the online edition used "was," the print edition also used "**has been**" to convey the same message to the newspaper readers.

4.2.2.4 Differences in reporting time between print and online newspapers

A matrix tree presented below shows reporting time differences between print and online editions of four newspapers. It also shows how the theme "Reporting time differences" is connected to the four newspapers, as indicated in figure 4.4 below.

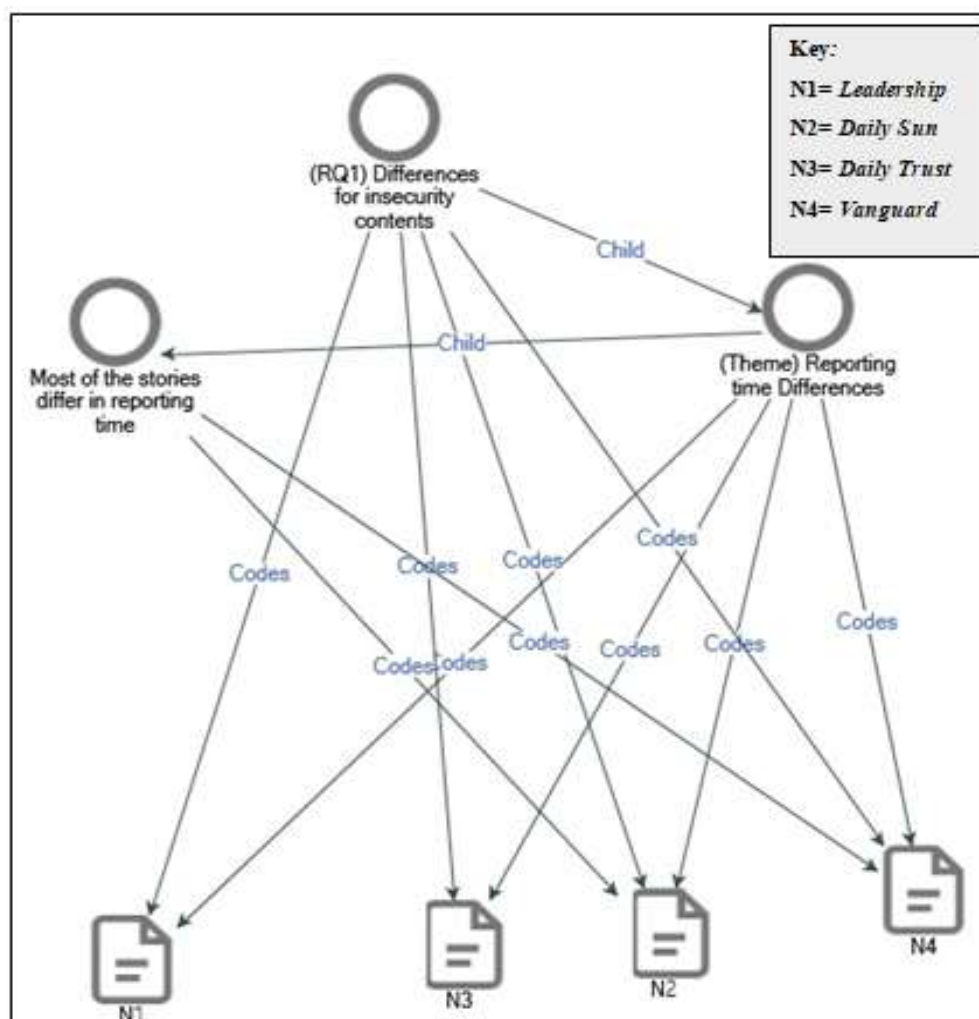


Figure 4.4 Differences in reporting time between print and online newspapers

The result presented in figure 4.4 above shows that both the print and online editions of four newspapers differ in reporting times. As mentioned earlier, boxes N1, N2, N3, and N4 represent both the print and online editions of four newspapers. However, the result indicates the reporting time disparity as another difference between the print and online editions of the four newspapers studied. According to the result presented above, most of the insecurity contents of print and online newspapers differ in reporting time. Table 4.17 below shows the time differences between the insecurity contents of print and online editions from the samples of four newspapers.

Table 4.17 shows the time differences between the insecurity contents of print and online editions from the samples of four newspapers

Newspaper Organization	Headline for news story	Reporting Time/Date	
		Online Edition	Print Edition
N1= Vanguard	Police kill 4, as gunmen attack Imo gov's home town	March 20, 2022	March 21, 2022
N1= Vanguard	Insecurity: DSS warns of more bomb explosions in public places	April 26, 2022	April 27, 2022
N2 = Sun	20 killed as herdsmen attack Taraba community	March 07, 2022	March 08, 2022
N2 = Sun	Boko haram commanders killed in clashed with hunters in Borno	May 31, 2022	June 01, 2022
N3= Leadership	Terrorist bomb Kaduna rail, track, 970 passengers stranded	March 28, 2022	March 29, 2022
N3= Leadership	48 hours after Kuje prison attack: 2 policemen arrested over phone calls with escaped terrorists	July 6, 2022	July 8, 2022
N4= Daily Trust	Insecurity: 75 Zamfara secondary schools still shut	August 27, 2022	August 28, 2022
N4= Daily Trust	Catholic priest kidnapped in Benue	July 7, 2022	July 8, 2022

The findings from the contents of the four newspapers collected and analysed indicated that, there are differences in reporting the same news stories in the print newspapers and their online editions. Table 4.16 above shows the differences in reporting time of insecurity contents of print and online newspapers. The result presented also indicates that the news story appears in online edition a day before they appear in the print version the following day. Therefore, in most cases news stories appear first in online edition as they happened in that very day then make a little modification that could not change the meaning and publish the same story on the print edition as explained earlier in 4.2.2.1.2 above. This difference in reporting time is in line with the view of the Participant 7 and participant 10 (P7 and P10) as they pointed out that the differences they noticed between print and online

newspaper insecurity content is that insecurity news could appear first in online immediately and appear later in the print edition.

4.2.2.5 Differences in story photograph of print and online newspapers

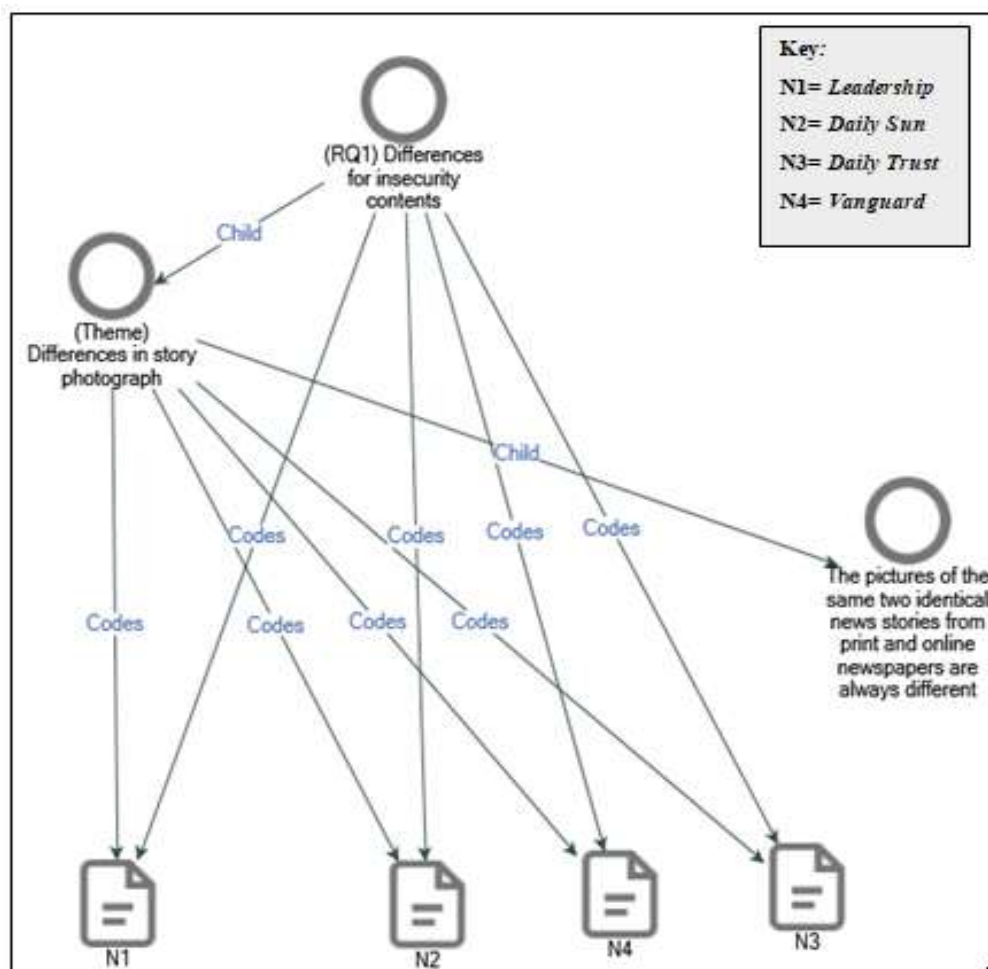


Figure 4.5: Differences in story photograph of print and online editions

The result presented in Figure 4.5 above shows that the story pictures appear in insecurity news stories of online edition are frequently different from that of the print edition of the same newspapers and the same issue. Some of the excerpts from the insecurity contents of online and print of four newspaper are presented below showing the identical news stories carry different photographs.

Photo2: Leadership newspaper: The same story with different photographs in print and online editions

Online and print editions of Leadership newspaper published on July 6, 2022 and July 8, 2022



Vanguard newspaper: The same story with different photographs in print and online editions

T

Online and print editions of Vanguard newspaper published on July 26, 2022

Varsity union strike: NLC to commence 3-day warning strike after protest

3 soldiers injured as gunmen attack presidential guard troops

Why we attended Shettima's unveiling, say clerics

Manufacturers adopt survival strategies

www.vanguardngr.com

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VOL. 27, NO. 64539 TUESDAY, JULY 26, 2022 N200

WORLD RECORD

Pay TOBI AMUSAN

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND US DOLLARS

US\$ 100,000

WE GRW ATHLETICS

Date: 24-07-22

AMUSAN, WORLD CHAMPION, RECORD BREAKER...

The new host of the athletics world, Nigeria's Obimolake Amusan performed the astonishing feat of winning the 100m sprint in 12.35 seconds to win the Women's 100m sprint gold at the World Athletics Championships. The time was wind-aided but her 12.35 was a World Record, which earned her \$100,000.

ABUJA-KADUNA TRAIN KIDNAP:

Families of 41 victims protest, ground Transport Ministry

Black entrance gate, blast First Lady for 'saying nothing, doing nothing'; recall Patience Jonathan's famous 'there is God' lamentation; Is terrorists demand N4.1bn to free abductees; Give me time to intervene, new minister pleads; Con negotiators in bush for three weeks - PERMSEC; Terrorists release 4 more victims; Oron, Najo'ahu Mohammed, ACI

vanguardngr.com/2022/07/abuja-kaduna-train-kidnap-families-of-41-victims-protest-ground-transport-ministry/

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Vanguard HOME NEWS • AFCON 2023 POLITICS METRO BUSINESS SPORTS EDITORIAL COLUMNS ALLURE E-EDITION

METRO July 26, 2022

Abuja-Kaduna Train Kidnap: Families of 41 victims protest, ground Transport Ministry

#FreeKadunaTrainAttackVictims

PRESIDENT

Sun Newspaper: The same story with different photographs in print and online editions

Online and print editions of Daily Trust newspaper published on March 8, 2022

THE Sun
Voice of the Nation

COLUMNS BUSINESS POLITICS OPINION ENTERTAINMENT THE SUN TV

20 killed as herdsmen attack Taraba community

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f t in



DAILY Sun

Price of The Nation N200

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 2022 VOL. 16 NO. 4953

20 killed as herdsmen attack community in Taraba

FG warns against recruitment of Nigerians to fight in Ukraine

Tension, confusion in APC

Gov Bello takes over as party's acting chair, says Buhari okayed move

7 govts, state chairmen storm secretariat

APC averse to internal democracy - Wike

Reps endorse Adamu as party chairman

Strike: Why renegotiation of agreement with ASUU, others lingered - FG

Give committee 3 months to renegotiating pact with lecturers

Anglican priest resigns, accuses Bishop of harassment, persecution

Cocaine deal: Kyari, others arraigned, deny charges

14-kill blast placed to be re-investigated in NDC's custody

Insecurity: South East monarchs, bishops hit FG, governors over silence

Seek urgent meeting with Buhari

IPOB unmasks 'unknown gunmen, sponsors in SEast

Police recover mutilated body of

Suspended 977 Jozan, Abba Kyari (left) and others accused of drug offences, during their arraignment at the Federal High Court, Abuja, yesterday

PHOTO: MUSA GHURU KONDA

Court bars Buhari, NASS from amending

Daily Trust newspaper

Online and print editions of Daily Trust newspaper published on March 5, 2022



4.2.2.6 Similarities between print and online newspapers insecurity contents

The result of the analysis of print and online newspaper insecurity content shows four similarities that emerged between the two editions of the newspapers, which include content similarity, message similarity, reporting from the same newspaper organizations, and the same reporters. Figure 4.6 below shows the result of the content analysis that indicated the above-mentioned similarities.

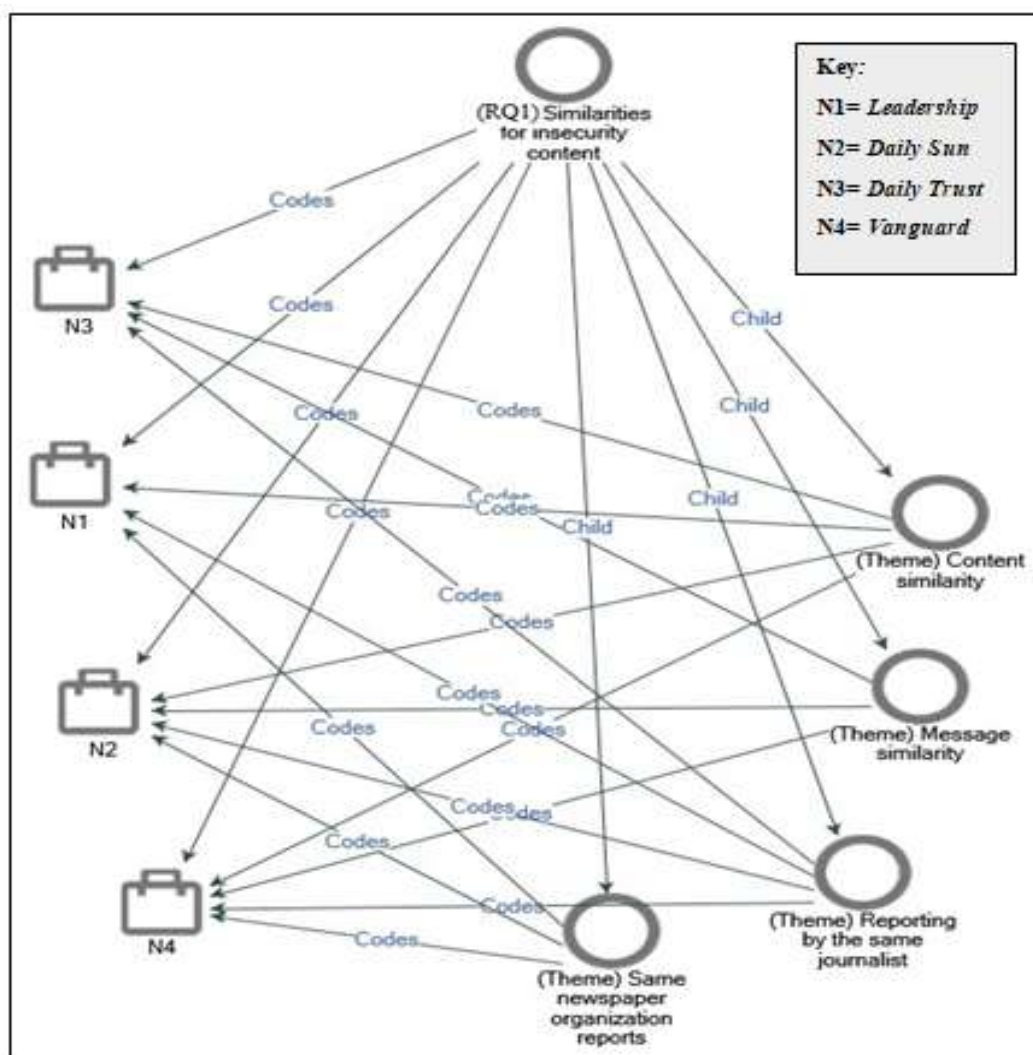


Figure 4.6 Similarities between print and online insecurity contents

Figure 4.6 above shows the similarities between the insecurity contents of print and online newspapers. It shows how the four major similarities emerged from the newspapers' content analysis using NVivo software and how the four newspapers are connected with the four similarities. In the matrix three, N1, N2, N3, and N4 represent both the print and online editions of the four newspapers, while the four theme circles also represent the similarities among print and online editions. However, each of the four themes will be presented under the subunits below.

4.2.2.7 Content similarities between print and online newspapers insecurity news

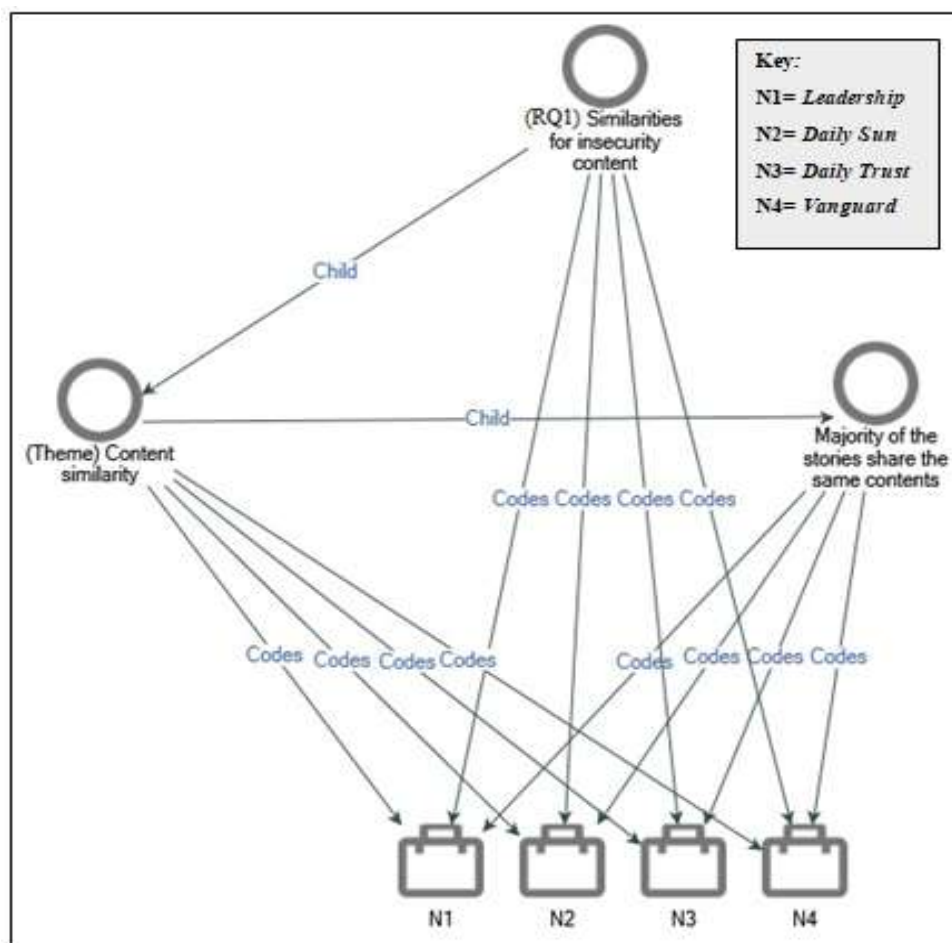


Figure 4.7: Content similarities between print and online insecurity articles

Figure 4.7 above shows the similarity between print and online newspapers insecurity contents. The result presented also indicates that, despite the differences between the two editions of newspapers, most of the insecurity contents found in the two editions of a newspaper share the same content. For instance, the data collected and analysed revealed that there are either similarities in the content of headlines or a lead in both the print and online news articles reported by the same newspaper on the same insecurity issue. Consider the following samples:

1. *Leadership* Newspaper: July 12, 2022

“Bandits demand N100m from Niger communities for ceasefire”

(Reported by Abu Nmodu).

This is a headline reported by the online edition of the *Leadership newspaper* and was repeated exactly without any change in the print edition of the same *Leadership*.

2. *Daily Sun* newspaper: July 09, 2022

“Kuje prison attack: Police recapture *Boko Haram* escapee in Nasarawa”

(Reported by Abel Leonard).

This is another headline reported by the online edition of the *Daily Sun newspaper* and was repeated exactly without any change in the print edition of the same *Sun newspaper*.

3. *Daily Trust* newspaper: March 05, 2022

“It is surprising I became a bandit- Turji” (Reported by Abdulaziz Abdulaziz, Abas Jimoh & Idowu Isamotu).

The *Daily Trust* newspaper on 5th March 2022 reported the above headline in both the print and online edition with similar headline.

4. *Vanguard* newspaper: July 26, 2022

“Abuja-Kaduna train kidnap: Families of 41 victims protest, ground Transport Ministry” (Reported by Peter Duru, Dirisu Yakubu & Ibrahim Hassan).

The above headline was a report from the Vanguard online newspaper, and the same content was repeated in print exactly without any changes. All the above samples show how some print and online editions share similar contents. In all four samples presented, the online editions of four newspapers reported the story, and the headlines appeared exactly in the print editions without any changes. This clearly shows content similarity between print and online editions.

4.2.2.8 Message similarities between print and online newspapers insecurity

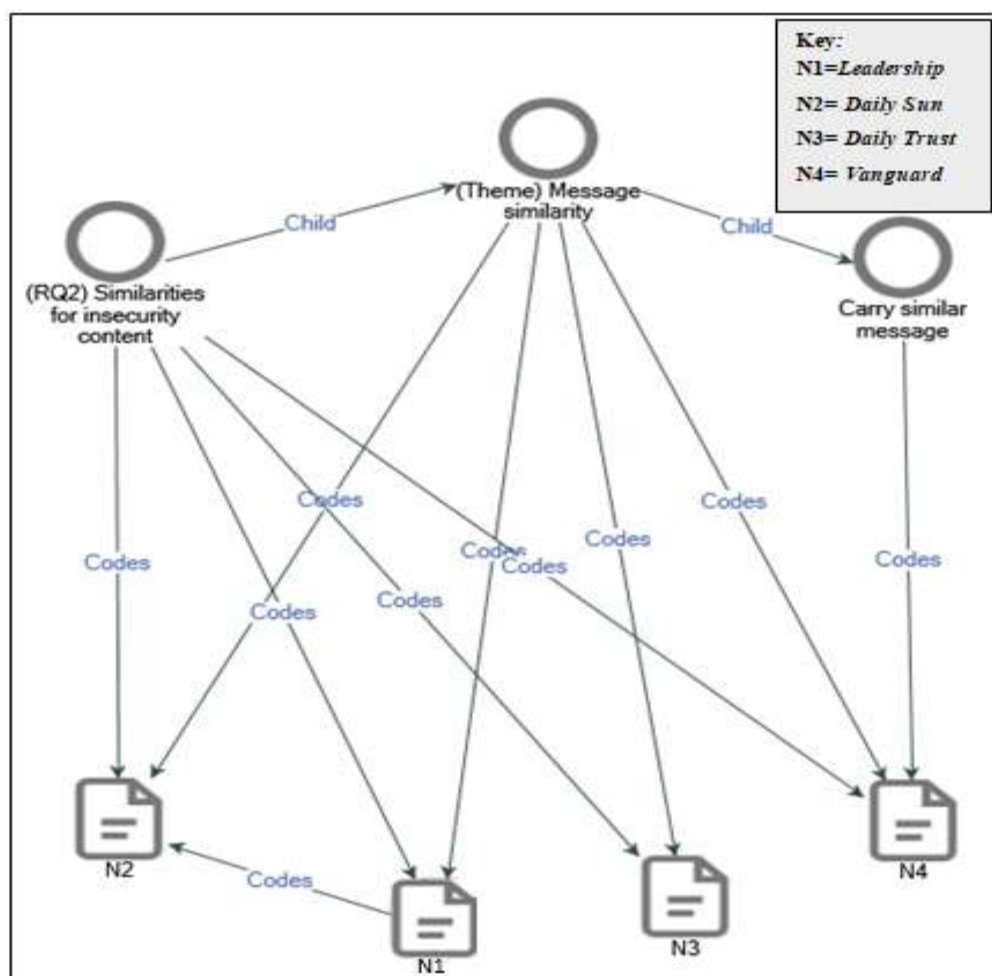


Figure 4.8: Message similarities between print and online newspapers

Figure 4.8 above shows the message similarity in the news story's headlines and lead (intro) between the print and online newspapers insecurity contents. The result presented above shows that most of the insecurity contents found in the two editions of a newspaper share similar message.

Leadership newspaper on 15th June, 2022 reported the following story in both its print and online editions.

“Suspected bandits have attacked the Ungwan Sola community close to Federal Medical Centre, now Teaching Hospital Katsina and kidnapped eight people”

Daily Trust newspaper on 18th August, 2022 reported the following story in both its print and online editions carrying the same message.

“Kaduna state government yesterday said troops of Operation Forest Sanity in the early hours of Tuesday carried out a raid in the Kuriga and Mariri communities of Chikun Local Government area and rescued six people.”

The above news stories reported by both print and online editions of *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* newspapers show message similarity in the two editions. The story's lead of online edition was repeated in the print edition, carrying the same message without any changes.

4.2.2.9 Reporting insecurity news articles in print and online editions by the same newspaper organization

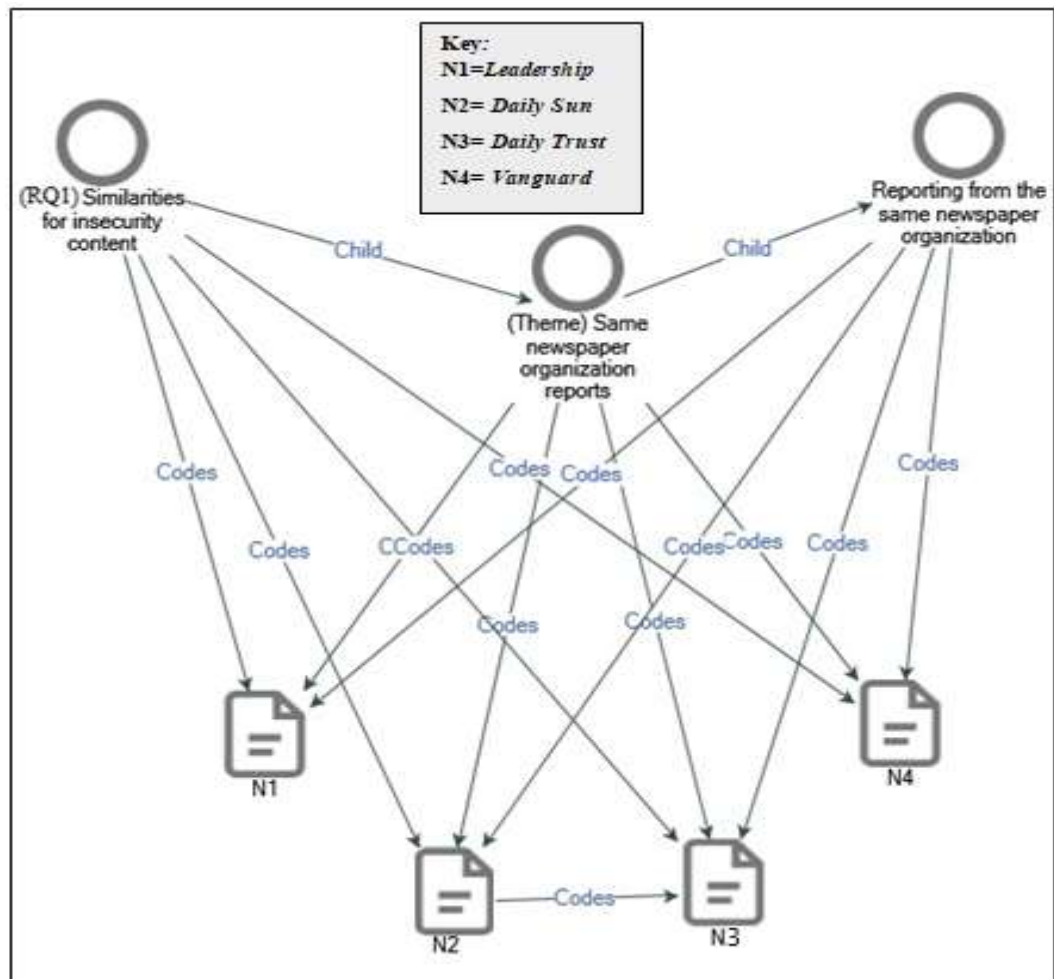


Figure 4.9: Print and online insecurity reporting by the same newspaper organizations

The result presented in Figure 4.9 above shows how the print and online editions of the four newspapers report insecurity news stories. As such, both the print and online insecurity news stories are reported by any of the four newspapers. Each newspaper has its print and online edition.

4.2.2.10 Reporting insecurity news articles by the same reporter in print and online editions

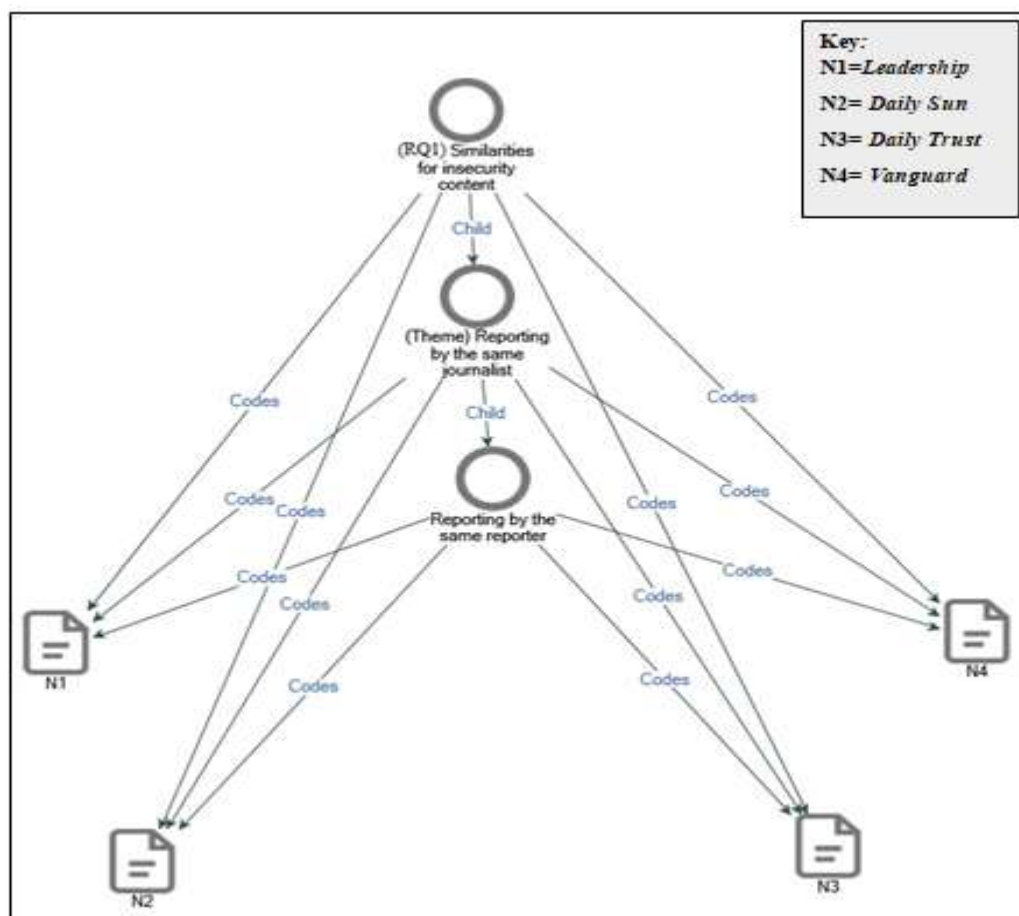


Figure 4.10: Print and online newspapers insecurity reporting by the same reporter

Figure 4.9 above shows that the majority of the reporters of the online edition of a particular newspaper are equally the reporters of the print editions. They usually report insecurity issues that appear online, and the same news report appears in print editions carrying the same by-line as the reporter. The samples presented in Unit 4.2.3.2 above clearly showed how the same reporters reported for the print and online editions of their respective newspapers.

4.3 RQ2: What are the efforts made by the newspaper's practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria?

The second research question aims to evaluate the efforts of newspaper practitioners in fighting insecurity challenges in Nigeria. Six media practitioners working with various national dailies were interviewed, and the interviewees expressed their opinions with regard to their contributions to tackling various security challenges. However, the findings would be presented based on the excerpts from the responses and the major themes, sub-themes, or codes that emerged from the analysis of the collected data. In this RQ2, three major themes were identified: 1. Efforts of newspaper practitioners to fight insecurity 2. newspaper editorial agenda on insecurity; and 3. practitioners' challenges for reporting insecurity issues. Figure 4.1 below is the result of the analysis, which shows how the major themes and sub-themes emerged from the practitioners' responses. All three major themes and sub-themes are presented sequentially based on the results from the analysis and the excerpts from the interview transcripts.

Therefore, the analysis results for all the themes would be presented, supported by the views of the respondents in the transcription. Similarly, in the figures presented in this section P1-P6 refer to the participants 1-6 while the 'codes' and 'child' were used by the NVivo software to connect the major themes with the six participants (P1-P6).

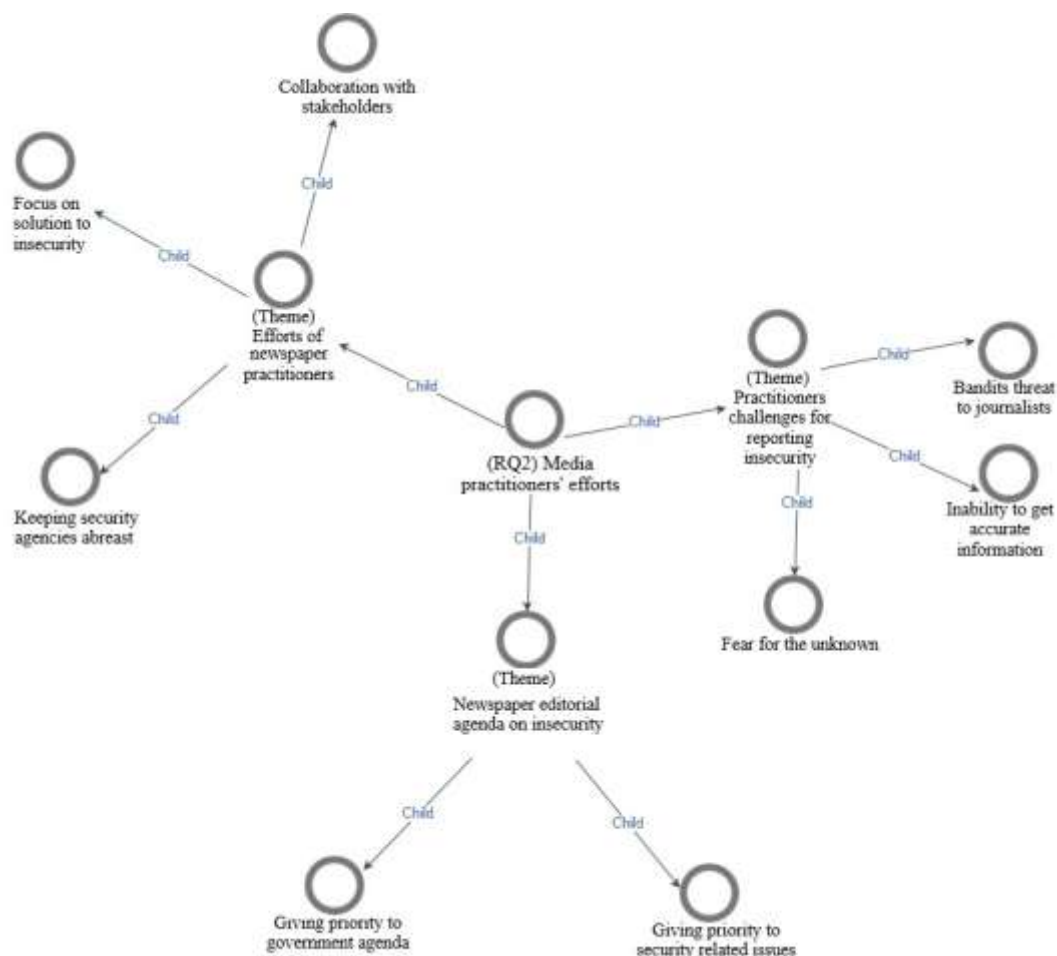


Figure 4.6: Media practitioners' efforts in addressing insecurity

4.3.1 Efforts of newspapers practitioners for fighting insecurity

The researcher asked the participants (P1–P6) to express their opinion on the efforts made by their newspaper organizations to tackle insecurity in the country. The data collected and analysed shows that media practitioners employ different strategies to contribute their quotes towards tackling insecurity challenges in the country. These strategies include focusing more on solutions to insecurity challenges, collaboration with stakeholders, and keeping security agencies abreast of the insecurity challenges



As mentioned in figure 4.2 above, focusing on solutions to insecurity challenges is one of the strategies used by media practitioners in their efforts and commitments to complement the security agencies efforts in tackling insecurity in the country. The researcher asked the respondents this question: “What are the efforts made by your media organization so far to tackle insecurity in the country?” Some of

the respondents believed that focusing on the solution to insecurity challenges in their daily reporting was among the strategies adopted to assist the relevant security agencies to tackle numerous security challenges in the country. The views of the respondents were expressed as follows:

My newspaper organization gives prominence to the issue of insecurity in our daily publication; we give prominence to it, and we report it not in the manner of celebrating the insecurity but in the way that there will be a solution to the insecurity in the country and in a way that it will trigger a response for the president to act upon.

(Excerpt from the P1)

My newspaper is making a significant effort to ensure that the current security threat in the county is minimized or eliminated if possible, and we do this through giving priority to reports that will provide solution to this security challenges. We constantly reminding the government that, they should do what is needed to ensure that what the criminals and insurgents are doing in the country has come to an end.

(Excerpt from the P3)

We are making efforts in this regard, we focus on the solution journalism in such a way that, we report and publish some editorials on the back page of our paper regarding security situation in the country; sometimes they include the views of security experts on how to tackle security challenges, and sometimes they draw the attention of the government. That is what you should do to tackle

this insecurity. Our paper sometimes accommodates articles from the public that will criticize and motivate the government in its efforts to fighting insecurity. We publish them as an opinion of Nigerians. We also draw the attention of the government through editorial reports on what they should do to tackle a particular problem. If there is information about the infiltration of bandits or terrorists into another state, our paper also publishes that to draw the attention of the security agencies to do the needful.

(Excerpt from the P6)

It could be seen from the respondents' views presented above, some of the interviewees believed that, their various media organizations focused on the reports that could provide solutions to the current insecurity challenges in the country. However other respondents argued that, they focus on the news reporting that would keep the security agencies well-informed in their efforts to ensure the security challenges that are currently ravaging almost all parts of the country are reduce. Their views are presented under the following sub-theme:

4.3.1.2.1 Keeping security agencies abreast

Keeping security agencies well informed on insecurity issues, according to some respondents, is another way in which the newspaper organizations in the country assist the security agencies towards tackling the security threats in Nigeria. The following are excerpts from the respondents:

Our paper plays a significant role in this insecurity issue. For example, as a newspaper, through the editorial news story, we inform the government in

power about what is going on so that the government, through its security agencies, should take reasonable actions before the issue escalates to something else. ...and if the government sees a reason that these editorials could assist in managing the situation, they will take it with pride.

(Excerpt from the P2)

As you are aware, our newspaper organization reports from around the federation. Whenever there is significant security issue in the nation, we notify relevant security agencies of these security challenges and counsel them to take appropriate action. Our editorials frequently keep government well-informed and prompt them and other relevant parties to take the appropriate action as at when due.

(Excerpt from the P4)

Yes, my media organization reports issue the way they are; we don't hide any fact as long as it happened in a particular area. We publicized and gave prominence to Boko Haram and the banditry currently going on in areas like Maiduguri, Zamfara, Katsina, and the rest. Our newspaper organization in particular plays a significant role in keeping government abreast, giving them good advice on various critical security issues.

(Excerpt from the P5)

4.3.2.1 Collaboration with stakeholders

Collaboration with stakeholders as shown in figure 4.3 and explained in 4.3.1 is one of the strategies used by newspapers practitioners in their efforts to fight against insecurity. When the researcher asked the respondents the question “How does your media organization collaborate with other stake holders in tackling insecurity in the country?” The respondents expressed their views as follows:

The issue of insecurity is a herculean task which requires a collective responsibility, and all hands must be on deck to make sure that the menace is reduced. We supported the security agencies through team work and effective collaboration with all people involved. reporting that could assist in tackling insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P1)

Our newspaper gives more priority to insecurity issues, especially because sometimes we get and publish information obtained from security agent sources. We do collaborate with the security agents and they themselves invited us for a media briefing. They sometimes invite many medical organizations and religious leaders to seek our advice on how to overcome the current tension.

(Excerpt from the P2)

When it comes to the issue of security, we don't take it lightly at all. As far as the stakeholders are concerned, we work hand in hand with security

personnels and the traditional rulers. Any other information, any statement, or any release, as far as the sensitization comment and advocacy from those security personnels and traditional rulers, my media organization does not take it lightly. We publish, we give voice and space, we accommodate issues from the critical stakeholders, and we give them the opportunity to ventilate their voice, their opinion, and their call for action, either to the government or to the international community.

(Excerpt from the P3)

My media organization at times collaborates and joins other stakeholders to ensure for a sustainable solution to the security challenges in Nigeria. We often discuss security issues with the security agencies about the ongoing challenges and efforts to tackle the problems.

(Excerpt from the P4)

We relate with various stakeholders, especially the security agents. We work hand in hand with security agents. Yes, sometimes when they would go out for an operation, they do invite our reporters to follow them to cover their operation. Sometimes, when they arrest bandits, invade the terrorist den, or the bandits hide out and sack them, they will invite our reporters to go and report it.

(Excerpt from the P5)

The view of the majority participants from the above excerpts and the Figure 4.3 indicates that the media practitioners believed that tackling

insecurity problems is not the function of the relevant security agencies alone, rather it requires the collective efforts of the security agencies and various stakeholders like the mass media, the community leaders, the religious leaders and the general public.

4.3.3 Newspaper editorial agenda on insecurity

The newspaper editorial agenda on insecurity is another major theme emanating from RQ2. The respondents were asked, “How does the newspaper editorial agenda of your organization assist in reducing the insecurity challenges in Nigeria?” Different responses by the interviewees, as could be seen in figure 4.3 below, brought about two important findings as sub-themes that include 1. giving priority to security related issues and 2. priority to government agenda. These findings clearly show the agenda of newspaper organizations on tackling insecurity in Nigeria based on the interviewees’ responses. The two sub-themes will be presented using the excerpts from transcripts.

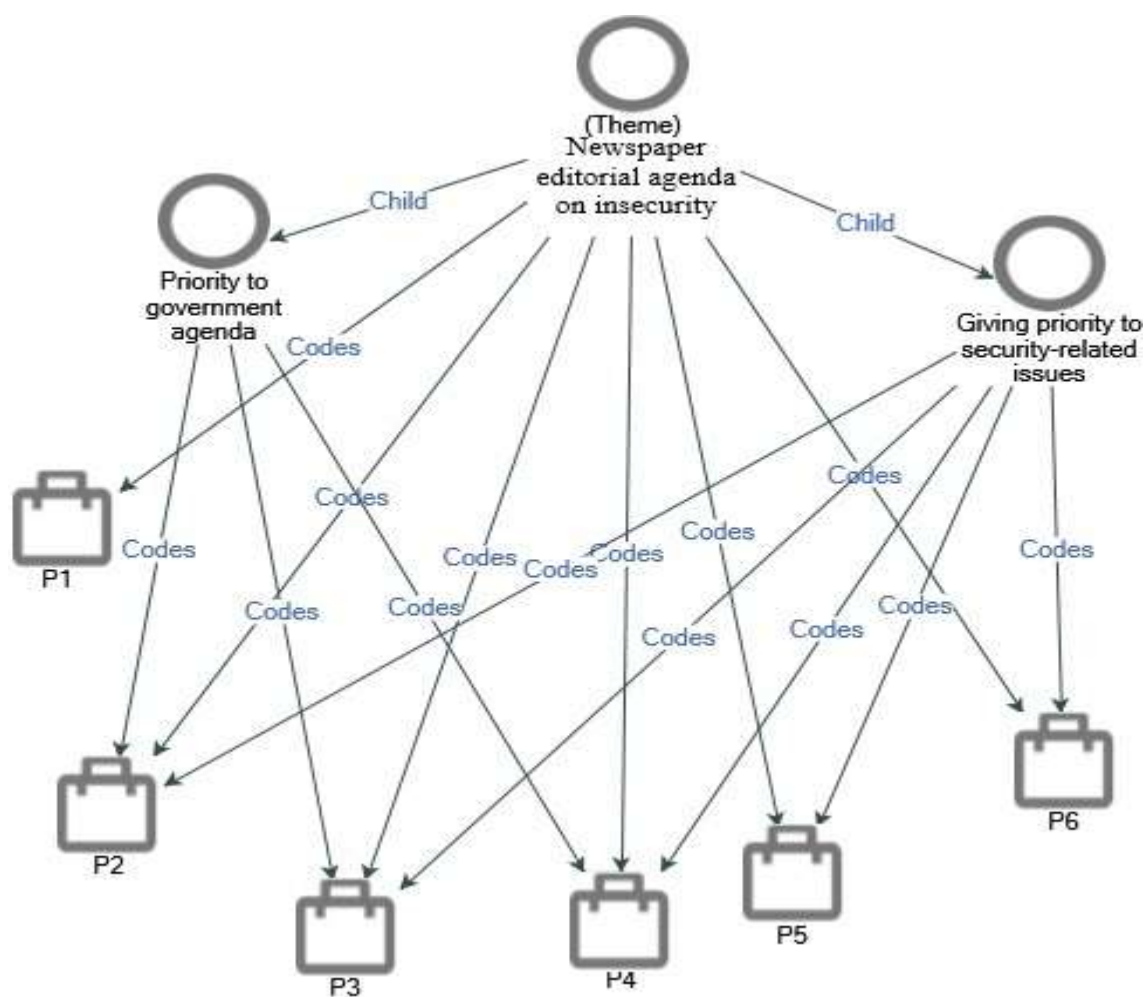


Figure 4.8: Newspaper editorial agenda on insecurity

4.3.3.1 Newspaper organizations' priority to government agenda

The data excerpts from the interview confirm that newspaper organizations give priority to government agenda in their news coverage of insecurity issues. When the researcher asked the respondents their views on the newspaper editorial agenda on fighting insecurity, their responses are presented below.

As I mentioned earlier, as part of the editorial agenda for fighting insecurity in the country, my newspaper organization is working in line with the policies of the government in power to ensure that it achieves its targets for ensuring a free-crime society, and of course we are giving them all the necessary support. The government already has a blueprint on the ground for handling the security challenges in the country, and we are supporting them through our publications so as to ensure a lasting solution to the problem of insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P2)

My media organization gives priority to the government agenda and insecurity issues because anyone can be affected by their consequences. Through our daily reports, we inform people not to visit or follow certain affected areas. For instance, on the Kaduna/Abuja Road, when there is any insecurity challenge on those roads, we keep telling people not to follow such routes. You know, we do this through both editions of our paper including our electronic edition carries all contents of the print and distributed electronically. One can easily subscribe to it. So, when the travellers read our paper, they could take precautionary measures not to follow that route any more until the security situation normalizes.

(Excerpt from the P4)

Well, for the past two decades that I have been in practice, I can say editorially that the Nigerian newspaper has been doing a lot in terms of setting an agenda for ensuring security in the nation because insecurity has become a topical issue almost everywhere there are issues of insecurity. So virtually, hardly will you see

a whole month pass by without an editorial on an insecurity issue. Let me take you back to the issue of insecurity that led to the abduction of a Chibo girl. My newspaper has taken it as part of its corporate social responsibility to continue coverage while the girls were in captivity.

(Excerpt from the P5)

However, other respondents were asked the same question: “How does the newspaper editorial agenda of your organization assist in reducing the insecurity challenges in Nigeria?” Their responses show that giving priority to security-related issues is part of their media organizations’ agenda for addressing insecurity, as presented below from the respondents’ viewpoints.

4.3.3.2 Giving priority to security related issues

Respondents one, three, and six are of the view that giving priority to security-related issues is part of the newspaper organizations’ agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria, and their responses are presented in the excerpts below.

My newspaper organization, like any media outlet, gives priority to security-related issues in the country through our daily reporting. We educate, inform, and enlighten the general public on the current happenings of insecurity and certain areas that are affected by the problem. However, my editorial board often calls attention to coverage through our special editorials.

(Excerpt from the P1)

Majority of the newspaper's organizational editorial agenda particularly my newspaper organization, always focus on security related issues especially the impact and implications of insecurity in this country. The newspapers, as a mouthpiece of society, play a significant role; they are always there to remind the government to do the needful, especially when it comes to ensuring that the security organizations and arm forces are provided with the needed equipment in terms of weapons needed to ensure that they handle the responsibilities entrusted to them efficiently, effectively, and adequately.

(Excerpt from the P3)

Well, giving more emphasis to insecurity and other related crimes is part of our editorial agenda, and we often draw the attention of the government to what they should do to tackle this particular problem. I have joined my media organization since November 2011, and not long ago, in January 2012, Boko Haram stroked Kano. You remember, since then we have been reporting insecurity happenings in the state. My senior reporter then was working in tandem with the spokesperson of the Nigerian Army, Kano Zone. Whatever happens, he will call our reporter, or our reporter will call him. They would discuss, and that of course contributed to tackling the Boko Haram insurgency in Kano because our paper dedicated time and effort to reporting such insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P6)

4.3.4 Newspaper practitioners' challenges for reporting insecurity

The newspaper practitioners, especially those involved in reporting human insecurity issues, face so many challenges, like their counterparts working with broadcast media and reporting the same insecurity issues. In an effort to explore the challenges those media practitioners face when reporting insecurity, the respondents were asked, “What challenges have you encountered so far when reporting insecurity issues?” Their responses led to the emergence of three sub-themes, which can be seen in figure 4.4 below and presented based on the views of the respondents among newspaper practitioners.

4.3.5 Inability to get accurate information

In ability to get accurate information from the security agencies is part of the challenges the newspaper practitioners encounter when reporting insecurity. Many of the respondents expressed frustration and disappointment with the lack of transparency and cooperation from the security agencies in so many occasions. They emphasized the need for improved communication channels and access to reliable sources in order to effectively and adequately report on issues of insecurity in the

In ability to get accurate information from the security agencies is part of the challenges the newspaper practitioners encounter when reporting insecurity. Many of the respondents expressed frustration and disappointment with the lack of transparency and cooperation from the security agencies in so many occasions. They emphasized the need for improved communication channels and access to reliable sources in order to effectively and adequately report on issues of insecurity in the

country. The following are the view of the respondents from the interview's transcript on this issue.

One major challenge with regard to reporting insecurity is the inability to get an accurate official figure. Sometimes security agents may not be willing to give out information about the victims affected, which really makes it very difficult to report accurately. A journalist can also be a victim of the security challenge, so if care is not taken, he should be targeted by bandits or Boko Haram insurgents. We are having some difficulties reporting accurate insecurity news due to the nature of the security-related story. You must go to the relevant security agency or call their public relations officer to balance the story even before your media organization publishes it. But sometimes they do not respond to our calls.

(Excerpt from the P1)

We are having difficulties trying to balance our stories, especially the news that has to do with victims of insecurity. For instance, when you have figures from the security agents, they will tell you a different number of casualties from the ones obtained earlier from the eyewitnesses. So, we are often left with no option other than to employ a special angle that would carry all sources along in such a way that Bandits themselves will say you have tried avoiding bias. This approach often ensures that our news coverage remains impartial and unbiased, presenting a comprehensive view of the situation.

(Excerpt from the P2)

One of the challenges we encounter in reporting insecurity in the country has to do with how we get accurate information from the security agencies, like the military and police. Sometimes security personnel do not allow us to have access to vital information for public consumption, especially about the affected people. This, of course, affected the way we report insecurity news.

(Excerpt from the P3)

The paucity of information from security agents is also among the problems we are facing in reporting insecurity. For example, most security men you know may give incomplete information different from that of the eyewitnesses. Let me tell you, this lack of transparency and inconsistency in information further erodes trust in the reporting process, making it even more difficult to address insecurity issues effectively.

4.3.6 Fear for the unknown

However, other parts of the findings from the practitioners' responses confirm that fear for the unknown is among the common challenges media practitioners face when reporting insecurity issues. Some respondents argue that:

.... another major challenge is being scared to live because we have seen a situation whereby most of our colleagues were killed while going about to handle their lawful assignment, so everybody is more conscious of their personal security as a result of fear for the bandits and insurgents. So, security of life is one of our major challenges. Under normal circumstance, a journalist

is at liberty to go anywhere to get information, but during that insecurity, we are highly restricted. Your boss will tell you that your personal security and safety will come first. It is indeed fearful by the time the Boko Haram calls you by your name and tells you where you are living, the type of car you are driving, the colour of your clothes, etc., meaning that you have to be very conscious of what you are reporting.

(Excerpt from the P3)

Yes, fear of the unknown is the major challenge for every average journalist, especially those reporting insecurity issues. You may be a victim of circumstances; you need to hold your peace and keep distances in case of insecurity when things are happening here and there. You need to be alive in order to report an event; otherwise, if they kill you, everything is gone. You have to be very conscious to be alive while reporting an insecurity issue.

(Excerpt from the P4)

The challenges we personally face while reporting insecurity are fear of the unknown and uncertainty for our safety as journalists. Usually, the insurgents would go after a journalist when he reported something contrary to their wishes. We also face some difficulties in our efforts to harmonize the information from the eyewitnesses with the official information from the security agent or relevant government agencies.

(Excerpt from the P5)

Yes, actually, there are many challenges and one of them is uncertainty and fear. There was a time we received a report early in the morning that Boko Haram members attacked the community in Farawa along Maiduguri Road, Kano. So, my editor from Abuja asked me to go to the scene and report it. Actually, at that time, I couldn't go because I was afraid; I didn't know what was going to happen. Another challenge I faced was that when there is a bomb blast, you will see the remnants of the victims affected. It was a terrible experience.

(Excerpt from the P6)

4.3.7 Bandits threat to journalists

Bandits' threat to journalists is another challenge facing media practitioners in Nigeria. The majority of media practitioners interviewed gave similar views when they were asked the question, "Bandits and insurgents have targeted media practitioners and their organizations on various occasions, blaming them for bias and a lack of objectivity. How does this attack affect your reporting on the country's security issues?" Hence, their views are presented below based on the excerpts from the transcripts.

The frequent threats by bandits and insurgents really affect us in such a way that, as a journalist, you will even be scared of the information you are reporting and of certain areas to visit. when I was reporting from Katsina, where the issue of banditry is rampant, and whenever we have an

assignment in those affected areas, we used to find ourselves in a serious dilemma due to the fear of the uncertainty around the affected area.

(Excerpt from the P1)

We are negatively affected by the bandits' attack. You know, you must live to write a story, or else some people will write a story after you. Bandits have created fear in the minds of the reporters to the extent that one has to use common sense before writing a story that has to do with the bandits and insurgents. Whether we like it or not, the bandits and the insurgents have already been affected by the way we get and write insecurity-related stories.

(Excerpt from the P2)

Yes, it actually affects the objectivity of our report, and the bandits' threat sometimes determines the angle which journalists take to report. You see, when this issue of insurgency was at its peak in most of the northern parts of the country, there was a time when the bandits called the managing director of my media organization and told him to stop downplaying their activities in our reports and stop addressing them as 'insurgents', we would be calling them 'Boko Haram' or else they would take action against us. Journalists in the North, during the climax of insurgency, must report, as it is without downplaying other side due to fear. Because only God knows how the insurgents operate, they may call you through your phone number and warn you. Therefore, you cannot downplay the action of the insurgent anyhow.

(Excerpt from the P3)

Journalists nowadays become targets of bandits and insurgents. If they happen to establish that you are a journalist, they will be after you because they don't want you to report the reality of their activities or their location. As such, a journalist must be very careful when reporting an insecurity issue.

(Excerpt from the P4)

Well, the attack by bandits has greatly affected the way the majority of journalists report insecurity issues. But let me tell you one thing: my paper was the first to even interview the bandits; they allowed our reporter to go around with them and take a video. They told our reporter the reasons why they engaged in banditry. I also happened to be a victim during the Boko Haram attacks. I received a threat letter and a text message from Boko Haram insurgents indicating the location of my house. They accused us of supporting the government; this is the hazardous nature of our job and a horrific experience for all journalists in the country.

(Excerpt from the P5)

This sincerely affects the operation, or rather, the practice of many reporters, because there are some reporters in my operation base who received a threat from the bandits. You see, we journalists are put in a dilemma if you report something that the bandits or Boko Haram look at as a pro-government report. The least they can do to you is to warn you.

Sometimes if you report an actual security issue, then the security agents see it as you are favouring the terrorist, which is also a problem. So, these are the challenges we are facing. We want to report reality, but the actors; that means the terrorists and security agents put us in the middle. Whatever we do that goes against the other side is a problem. Recently, the bandits invaded the house of one of our colleagues in Abuja. God was so kind that he received a report that he should leave his house because those terrorists were coming to attack him. So, he packed his things, and his family fled, and he reported to police headquarters that his life was in danger.

(Excerpt from the P6)

However, the above excerpts from the interviews transcripts clearly show that all the six media practitioners interviewed agreed that the bandits' threat have seriously affected the way they report insecurity issues in the country. Figure 4.6 below is the summary of coding processes showing the three major themes and sub-themes that emerged from the analysis of question two responses.

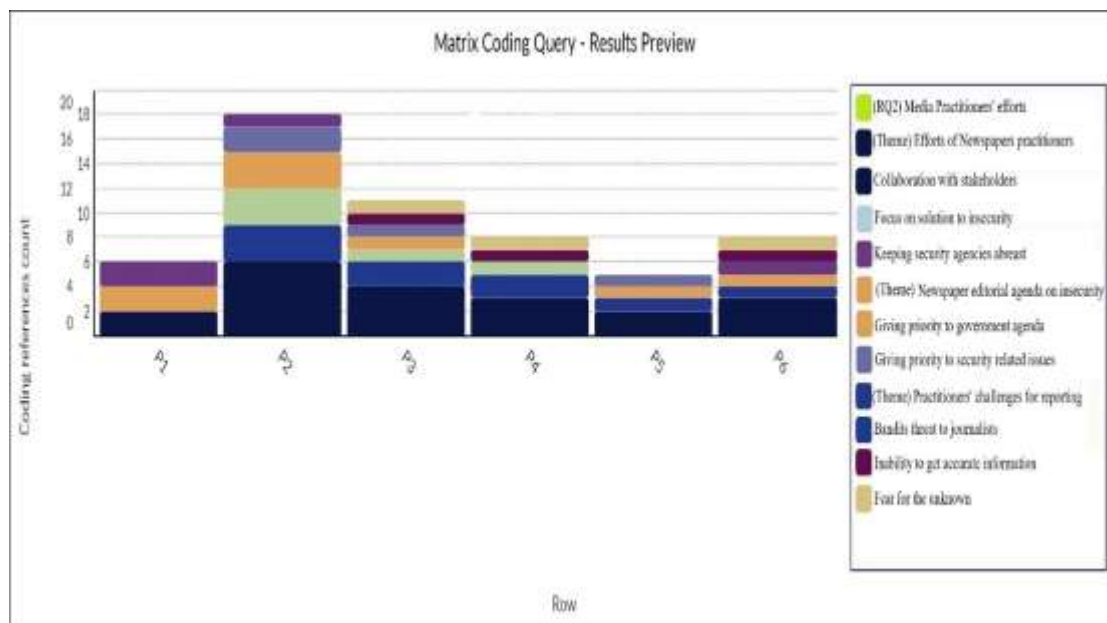


Figure 4.10: Summary of coding process for RQ2

4.4 RQ3: How do the readers satisfy with the print and online newspapers insecurity reportage?

The findings of this section are presented from the data analysed and the interviews' transcripts. As mentioned in Chapter 3, under the caption "demographic information of the respondents," the six lecturers working with the Federal University of Lafia were interviewed as newspaper readers. The interviewees were tagged from Participant 7 to Participant 12 (P7–P12) for easy reference and identification during data analysis and when presenting the results of the analysis. As explained in the previous section, participants 1–6 (P1–P6) were used to represent the results of the data analysis emanating from six media practitioners that were interviewed. However, the results of the data analysis from the P7-P12 interview transcripts under RQ3 brought about four major themes, which include: 1. readers' satisfactions and preferences with insecurity content 2. Readers' awareness of the newspaper's agenda of insecurity 3. Readers' views on similarities and differences

between print and online newspapers 4. Readers' advice on how newspaper organizations will assist the security agencies in tackling insecurity. However, the analysis results for all four themes and sub-themes are presented in Figure 4.11 below and supported by the excerpts from the interview transcripts:

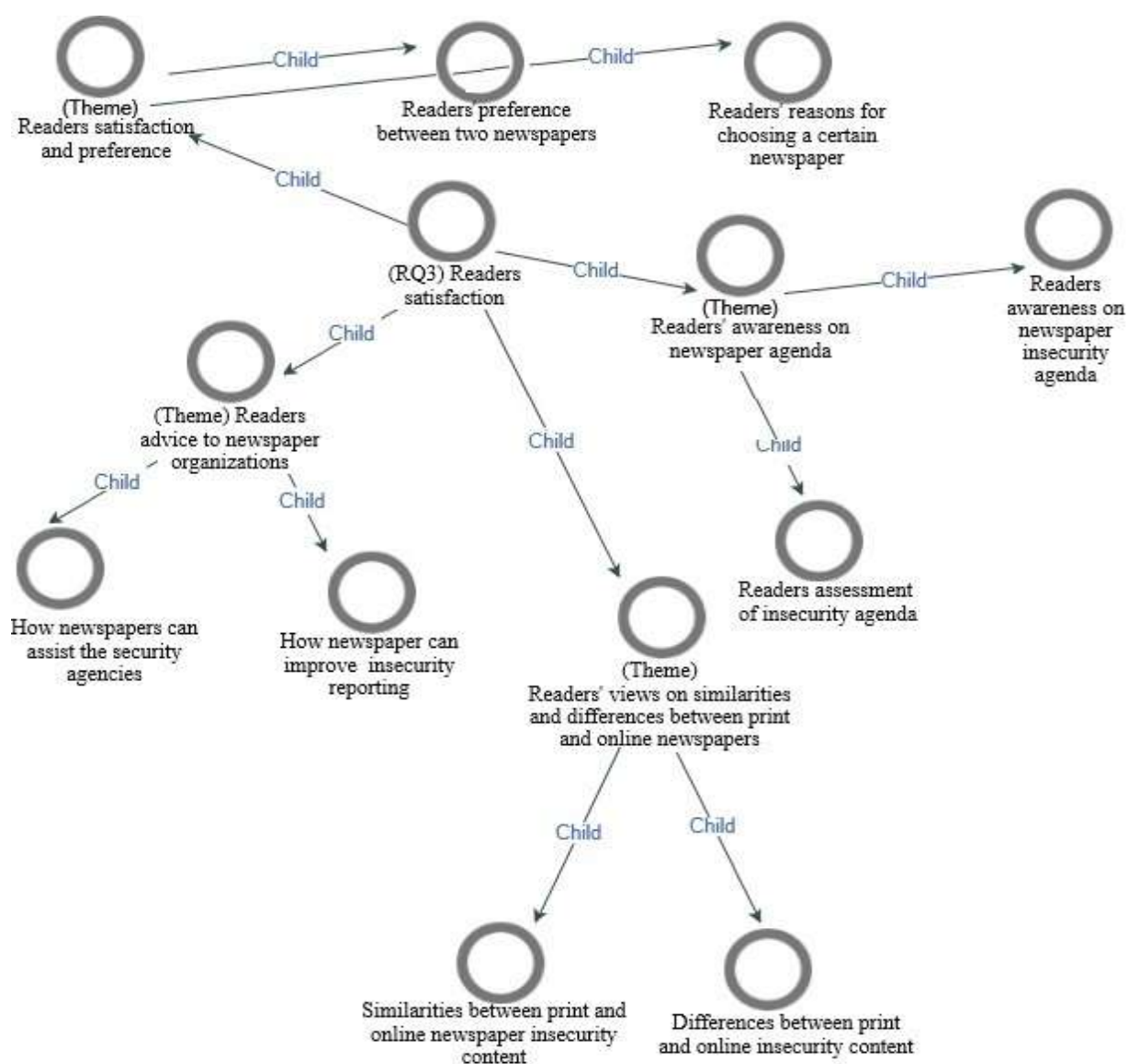


Figure 4.11: Result from RQ 3 on Readers' views on print and online editions

4.4.1 Readers' satisfaction and preference on Newspaper insecurity content

With regard to readers' views on their satisfaction and preference between the insecurity content found in both print and online newspapers, the data collected from sixth participants (P7–P12) who were newspaper readers revealed two sub-themes, which include readers' preferences between print and online newspapers and readers' reasons for choosing a certain newspaper. Therefore, these two sub-themes are presented in Figure 4.12 below and explained using the respondents' views from the transcripts' excerpts.

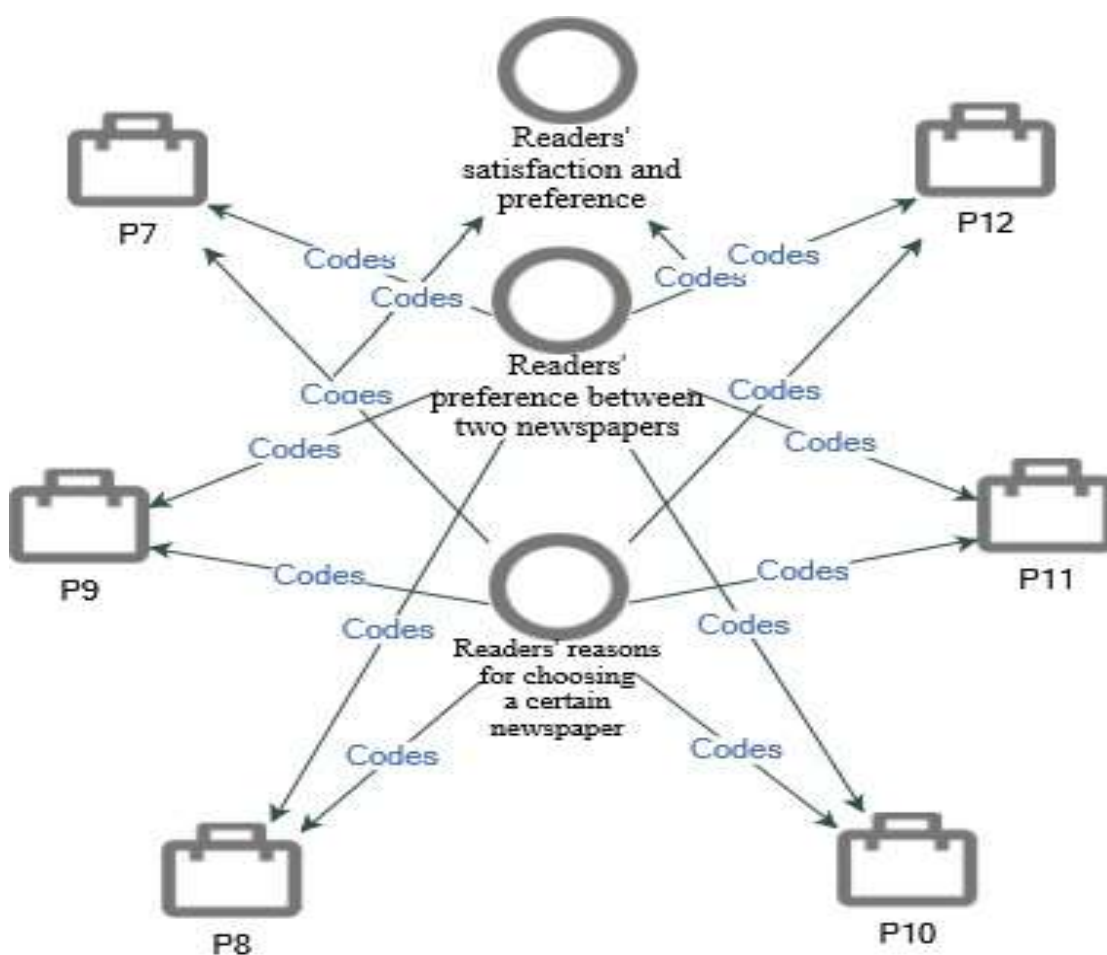


Figure 4.12: Readers' satisfaction and preference

4.4.2 Readers' preference between the insecurity content of print and online newspapers

Under this sub-theme, the respondents expressed their different views regarding their satisfaction or preference between print and online newspapers. Some of them prefer print editions to online editions, while others are more satisfied with online content than their print counterparts. The respondents were asked this question: "Can you explain your satisfaction or preference for insecurity contents found in print and online newspapers?" Their responses based on the excerpts from the interviews' transcripts are presented below.

Due to the current technological advancements, I prefer reading insecurity news from online newspapers more than in print; it is the source of my insecurity news. A few years ago, I read in print almost every day, but now I read more in online newspapers.

(Excerpt from the P7)

I do read print newspapers from time to time for insecurity and other news stories; actually, my preference now shifts from print to online newspapers. Currently, online newspapers satisfy my needs, and I seldom read a print copy nowadays for so many reasons. Of course, technological innovation led us to accept these online newspapers.

(Excerpt from the P8)

Though I am a digital person, nevertheless, I prefer to read security-related issues in a hard copy or print newspaper than in an online newspaper because a print copy is friendlier for me. If I get a hard copy of the newspaper, I can move it anywhere, read it again and again, and keep it for reference.

(Excerpt from the P9)

Well, I prefer reading insecurity news stories from the traditional media, i.e., the print version. Despite the fact that print media is expensive, unlike online editions, I still prefer the traditional newspaper. You see, a reader can move around with a copy and circulate it to friends who did not purchase it.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Okay, basically, I prefer reading the insecurity content of the online version to the print one. Online newspapers are more accessible and flexible compared to hardcopies. As long as you have your phone connected to the internet, you can access different newspaper news stories.

(Excerpt from the P11)

As far as I am concerned, I prefer reading online newspapers for insecurity news over print copies. You see, you can read online newspapers everywhere you are and everywhere you go without any difficulties.

(Excerpt from the P12)

The findings presented above indicate that the majority of the participants are more satisfied with the insecurity content of online newspapers than with print or traditional editions. The four respondents (P7, P8, P11, and P12) out of six interviewed, as indicated by both the results of the analysis and excerpts from the interview transcripts, prefer reading insecurity news from online newspapers more than in print versions. Only P9 and P10 indicated their satisfaction with reading insecurity news from the print newspapers. Below are other responses on the reasons for readers' choice of insecurity content for print and online newspapers.

4.4.3 Readers' reasons for choosing a certain newspaper

The six participants (P7-P12) were asked "Can you explain the reasons for choosing to read the insecurity content of a certain version of the newspaper over another?" Their different responses are presented below:

The reason for my preference for reading from an online newspaper is that, if you have your Android or smartphone and you have your data that you subscribed to for N200 to N300 for one gigabyte, you can read many online papers due to easy accessibility, you know, and virtual space nature. But for print media, you have to buy a copy at a price like N300, N400, or even 600, depending on the type of newspaper you like.

(Excerpt from the P7)

One of the reasons I choose to read insecurity news online is because of the convenience. Actually, if I have my mobile phone, I can access so many online

versions and read many insecurity news stories, even in my comfort room. I can read it without the stress of going out to buy the hard copy of the version of the title of the paper. Like I said, the convenience, the cost, and the flexibility make me prefer the online version to the hard copy, which is the print version of the newspaper title.

(Excerpt from the P8)

Yes, the reason why I prefer reading insecurity news in print is that online newspapers are vulnerable to fleeting contents and other distractions. Sometimes a reader finds it difficult to read some insecurity news online due to the fleeting nature of the online content. So sometimes you just read a headline that has to do with something about insecurity, and when you click on it to read, you see a lot of cookies that are coming to distract you.

(Excerpt from the P9)

Well, the reason for my preference for reading print over online is that sometimes the traditional media or print copy is more elaborated, more detailed, and more descriptive, while the online media somewhat appears to be in summary form.

(Excerpt from the P10)

The first reason for my choice is the issue of accessibility and flexibility. Accessibility, in the sense that online newspapers are easily accessible, means you don't need to go to the newsstands before getting a copy for yourself. As long as you have your phone connected to the internet, you can surf the internet as much as you want. But for the print one, you must get to the newsstand before picking up a copy for yourself.

(Excerpt from the P11)

I choose to read insecurity news online because of convenience. And another point is that you can read it anywhere, as I mentioned, and you can change from one paper to another at the same time without any difficulty in doing this.

(Excerpt from the P12)

4.4.4 Readers' awareness on newspaper organizations' agenda for addressing insecurity

The researcher asked the participants (P7–P12) to express their views on whether they are aware that the newspaper organizations in Nigeria have an agenda for addressing insecurity in the country. The results of the analysis and the excerpts from the transcripts show that most of the participants are aware of the newspaper organizations' agenda for addressing insecurity. However, the results under this major theme will be presented based on the two sub-themes: 1. readers' awareness of newspaper organizations' agendas on insecurity and 2. readers' assessment of newspaper organizations' insecurity agendas. Therefore, the two themes are presented in Figure 4.13 below and explained using the respondents' views.

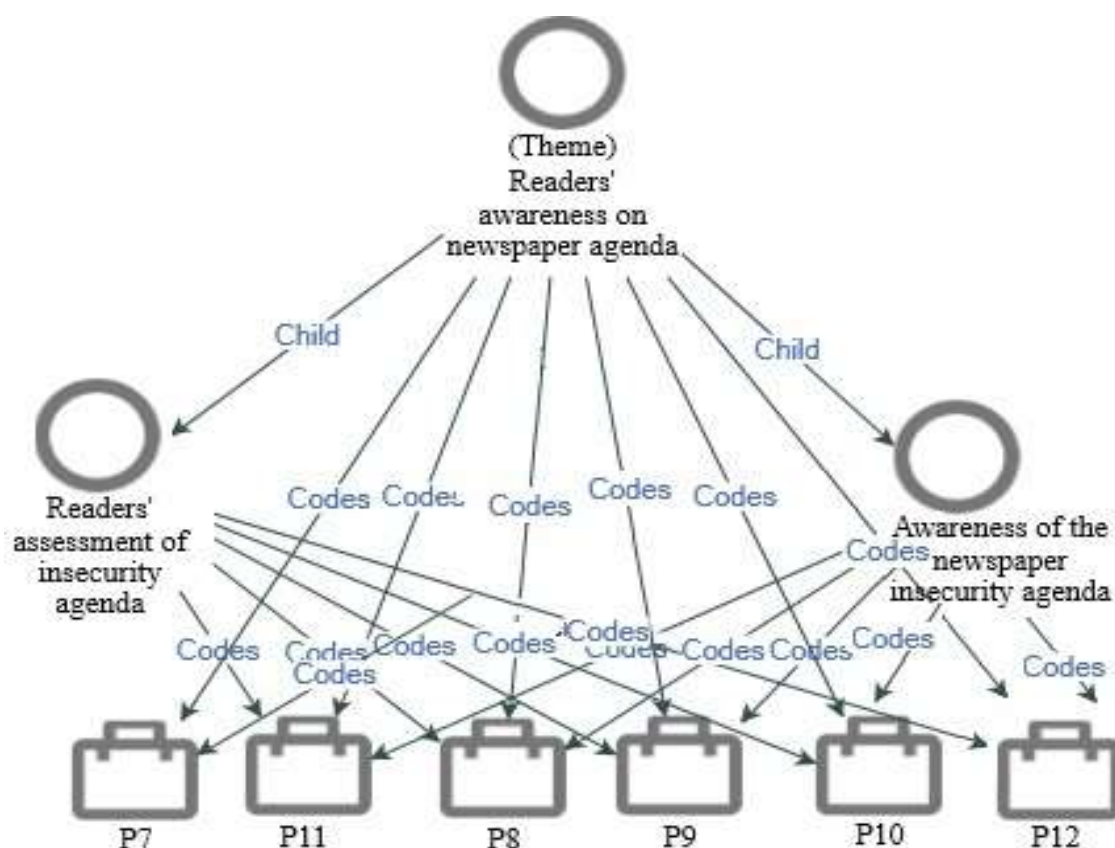


Figure 4.13: Readers' awareness on newspaper insecurity agenda

4.4.5 Readers' awareness on newspaper organizations' agenda on insecurity

With regards to the readers' awareness of newspaper organizations agenda on insecurity, the researcher asked the participants (P7–12) this question: “Are you aware that the newspapers set an agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria?” The views of the six respondents are presented below based on excerpts from the interview transcripts.

Yeah, every media outlet, especially the newspapers we read like the Daily Trust, Vanguard, and what have you, must have an agenda and the rationale behind publishing particular news that talks about insecurity. So, but I can not only tell you why they are doing that. But honestly speaking, there must be a reason or agenda behind disseminating insecurity information, which is very likely to enlighten people and caution them so that they know what, is happening.

(Excerpt from the P7)

Actually, I am aware that print media set agendas to tackle insecurity in the country. Most of the insecurity reports are brought to the table for discussion, government decisions, and whatever action they want to take. Mostly, it's because of the level of this reportage regarding insecurity that people come to know about it, discuss it, and even reach the level of trust in the government to take a decision.

(Excerpt from the P8)

Of course, definitely; it is one of their primary functions to set an agenda. They set an agenda to inform and educate the people, so we get to know many crisis and security events that have happened in Nigeria through the newspaper, and at the same time, the newspaper tells us how to make decisions about this crisis, where to go and where not to go, where to stand, and the measures to put in place to avert the impending dangers.

(Excerpt from the P9)

Yes, the newspaper organizations set an agenda through their editorials and news writing, especially to call the attention of relevant stakeholders in the fight against all kinds of security breaches.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Yes, the newspapers set an agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria through the framing of their news in terms of headlines and even how they report details in their write-ups. Basically, they use peace-oriented journalism. Their motive is to create awareness among the people involved in the insecurity, the victims, and even the people who are after the victims. They create awareness for governments to come in and tackle such problems.

(Excerpt from the P11)

Yes, the newspapers in Nigeria have been setting an agenda for helping security agents fight the insecurity in the country. They do this through frequent reports of insecurity to enlighten people about the dangers of certain locations. This, however, will drastically reduce the security challenges in the country.

(Excerpt from the P12)

As we can see from the above excerpts, the majority of the respondents are fully aware of the newspaper organizations' agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria. For instance, some of the respondents opined that the newspaper

organizations in Nigeria have been setting the agenda for assisting security personnel in their effort to fight the insecurity menace in the country, while other respondents believed that there is a rationale behind publishing insecurity issues by the newspaper organizations as they educate and inform the general public about security-related issues in the country.

4.4.6 Readers' assessment of newspaper organizations' insecurity agenda

Readers' assessment of newspaper organizations' insecurity agenda is another sub-theme that emerged from the result of the interviews analysis. The six participants (P7 – P12) were also asked this question: “How can you assess the agenda of newspaper organization for addressing insecurity challenges in Nigeria?” Their responses are presented below.

Yes, I can assess their agenda on tackling insecurity higher. Well, every media house has its own specific interest in which they want to educate, enlighten, or communicate with people. So, to the extent I can say, it is quite making an impact on our daily lives. And no one can dispute that. We understand the current situation of insecurity through the media' With the knowledge of insecurity, if I'm told that something has happened in Zamfara or Katsina states, at least it would make an impact on our day-to-day life activities.

(Excerpt from the P7)

Actually, I can say that most of the newspapers I read have a positive agenda on insecurity issues, as they are reporting it to a large extent. They report it to a large extent, which may be because insecurity issues are attracted to people nowadays. So, they report more on insecurity to a large extent compared to other issues.

(Excerpt from the P8)

The newspapers I am reading certainly are doing their best. Their primary agenda is to inform, to educate and to enlighten the public on any seen and unforeseen danger for them to take a right action, and of course the newspapers are doing this role well. I can rate them above average. Of course, in terms of giving priority to security issues, I can give the newspapers 80 or 90 percent because, traditionally, the newspaper organization doesn't have a choice not to report an insecurity issue. The reason is that conflict is the bread and butter of the news, and any issue that has to do with conflict, people love to read about it, and it sells their paper, so even if they don't want to report it because of their primary functions, they want to report it because it will generate income for them, so they report it a lot as it happens, even more than any other news.

(Excerpt from the 9)

The newspapers are doing well in reporting insecurity; honestly, in most cases, you can see insecurity news virtually in all the newspapers, it may be because they have correspondences everywhere. So, this gives them an edge over other communication media. The print media go to the extent

of investigating the root of a security issue through features and opinion writings. It's just that my only regret is that they don't do follow-ups, which is very important. As a news media outlet, if you don't do a follow-up, there may be some updates. And if you miss the updates, your news will just remain stale.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Okay, let me say that, in terms of assessment I will give them above average, like 60 percent. It's okay because they dedicate most of their time to other news, not mainly to insecurity. Some of the newspapers give more priority to entertainment, sports, and other things and advertisements that can fetch them money, and of course some are doing better at reporting insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P11)

Newspapers, especially print, are doing their best for reporting insecurity in Nigeria, and I can give them like 70 marks for their efforts. Their reporters sometimes risk their lives to follow the military to the bandits' hideout or Boko Haram territory. When you observe the dangers, their reporters go through in the reporting insecurity events we can no doubt score them higher.

(Excerpt from the P12)

With regard to the readers' assessment of the insecurity agenda of newspaper organization all six participants believed that the newspaper organizations in Nigeria are doing their best in terms of their agenda on insecurity, which is primarily to inform, educate, and enlighten the public on any seen and unforeseen dangers associated with the security challenges.

4.4.7 Readers' views on differences and similarities between the insecurity content found on the print and online newspapers

The findings under this major theme are presented based on the two sub-themes that emerged from the results of the interview analysis. The participants (P7–P12) were asked to express their views on the differences and similarities between the insecurity content in print and online newspapers. The views of the six respondents are presented in Figure 4.14 below and explained using the respondents' views from transcript excerpts.

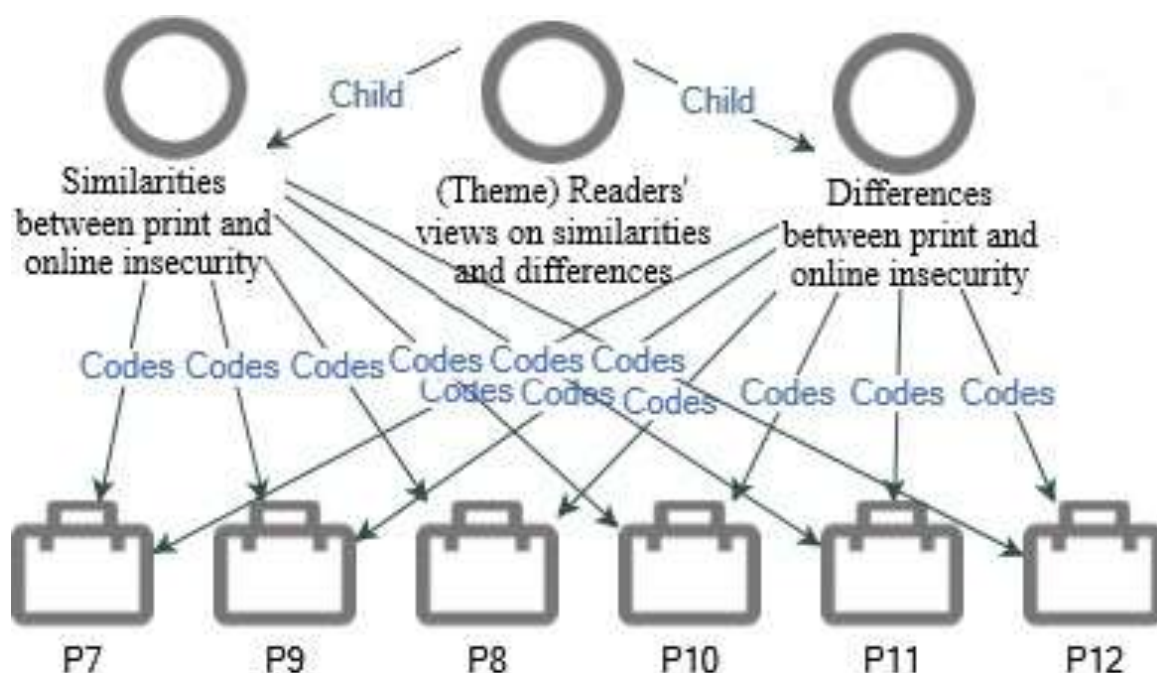


Figure 4.14: Readers' views on differences and similarities between the insecurity content found on the print and online newspapers

4.4.8 Differences between print and online insecurity content

The six participants (P7–P12) were asked to express their views on the differences they noticed between the insecurity content found in print and online newspapers. The following responses were given by the participants:

Yes, there must be a difference in terms of coverage of the story and the length of the story. For online media, I know there are certain news stories that you don't see because I'm used to reading both, as I told you earlier. So, if you are reading online news, what comes through your news feed or your thread is the only thing that you can read. But for print, you have the opportunity to read as usual; based on the tradition, you have to follow themes, politics, sports, commerce, and what have you.

(Excerpt from the P7)

Like I said previously, what is in print is actually what you also see in the online version. I have not seen any major difference in insecurity news there, with the exception of the fact that not all the insecurity news and articles in print could be found online and sometimes insecurity news appears online before it appears in the print version the following day.

(Excerpt from the P8)

I think there are a lot of differences. In the hard copy newspapers, you can find two, three, or more headlines of insecurity, sometimes with banner headlines, or a combination of kickers and riders, and all of that. But in the case of online, you may only see one, you understand, and sometimes it may not provoke the urge in you to read, like in print copy.

(Excerpt from the P9)

The differences between print and online newspapers in terms of insecurity news emanate from their detailed nature. Like I told you earlier, the traditional media is more elaborate and more descriptive; you can capture the entire story more vividly in the traditional media than in the online media. But that is not to say the online media is not detailed enough. It's just that they are more concise and adopt a method of brevity.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Yes, there are a lot of differences. You know, there is what is known as follow-up news or updates, which can only be found in the online version. What I observed is that when there is an insecurity issue, you can see it immediately online, and they will add another update the following day on the print version that will appear in the morning. You see, online has flexibility for releasing updates. But in the printed version, as far as it is being printed, there is no way you can edit or add parts to the story. In terms of short stories, the online version will not always give you the details. They will just give you the update, which usually comprises the lead and the introductory aspect of it as it is happening, and sometimes they may say “the detail later.”

(Excerpt from the P11)

The only difference I would say I noticed between the insecurity news in print and online newspapers is that, you have the whole package of the story in the print copy, while the online version comes in brief, not the whole package. They mostly repeat the print version online, but the other difference I notice is that the hard copy is printed on paper while the other one is virtually online.

(Excerpt from the P12)

All six participants interviewed agreed that there are differences between print and online editions which include detailed nature of the print and brevity of the online edition. The online insecurity content could be updated which is not possible to the insecurity content of the print edition. Another difference noticed from the

participants is that not all the insecurity news found in the print would be found online.

4.4.9 Similarities between print and online insecurity content

With regards to the readers' views on the similarities between print and online newspapers, the participants (P7 - P12) were asked to respond to this question: "Can you explain the similarities you have noticed (if any) between print and online newspaper insecurity contents?" Their responses are presented below:

Yes, the only similarity I can say between a print newspaper and its online edition is that the news comes from the same company, followed by the style and the correspondence. So, nothing more than this, I can say from my own understanding.

(Excerpt from the P7)

I think the insecurity news stories that are in the print newspaper are actually what you also see in the online version of the same paper. You can find the headlines, which are similar, byline, and even writing styles. In a nutshell, I can say what is in the online edition is a mere repetition of the print copy.

(Excerpt from the P8)

Yes, the two share certain similarities. The insecurity contents coming from the same online newspaper and its print version sometimes share certain similarities, like by-lines. Even though it is difficult to find the details in an

online newspaper, you can sometimes see the same reporter acknowledged in both the online and print versions.

(Excerpt from the P9)

The similarity I can say is that of reporting by the same news reporters or the same editorial writer. Despite the differences, I noticed that the reporters for the print edition are the same as those reporting for the online edition.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Yes, print and online newspapers share some things in common, like the headlines. The headline that appears on the print version also appears on the online version of the same newspaper. Even in the byline, the person who reports the story is the same person who will appear in print and online. Even the pictures that are used in the story in print sometimes appear in the online version. Even in the language, you can see it reported in English; if you go online, you also see it reported in English.

(Excerpt from the P11)

In my opinion, which is based on my experience as a newspaper reader over the years, I would say that I noticed so many similarities between the insecurity news in print and online newspapers. The stories for the two versions print and online are the same. They mostly repeat the print version online without any

physical changes in terms of the whole content, from the headline, byline, intro, and body of the news story, editorial, or feature writing.

(Excerpt from the P12)

The participant views indicated that there are certain similarities between the insecurity content found in the print and online editions. The similarities found include bylines, headlines, and reporting by the same newspaper practitioners.

4.4.10 Readers' advice to newspaper organizations on how to assist security agencies to address insecurity challenges

Under this theme, the participants (P7–P12) were asked to advise the newspaper organizations on how to improve their insecurity reporting and also their views on how they think the newspaper organizations in Nigeria can assist the security agents in gathering relevant information to tackle insecurity problems. The results of the analysis under this main theme brought about the following two sub-themes: 1. Readers advise on how newspaper organizations can assist the security agencies to tackle insecurity, and 2. readers advise on how newspaper organizations can improve their insecurity reporting. Hence, the two themes are presented in Figure 4.15 below and explained using excerpts from the interview transcripts.

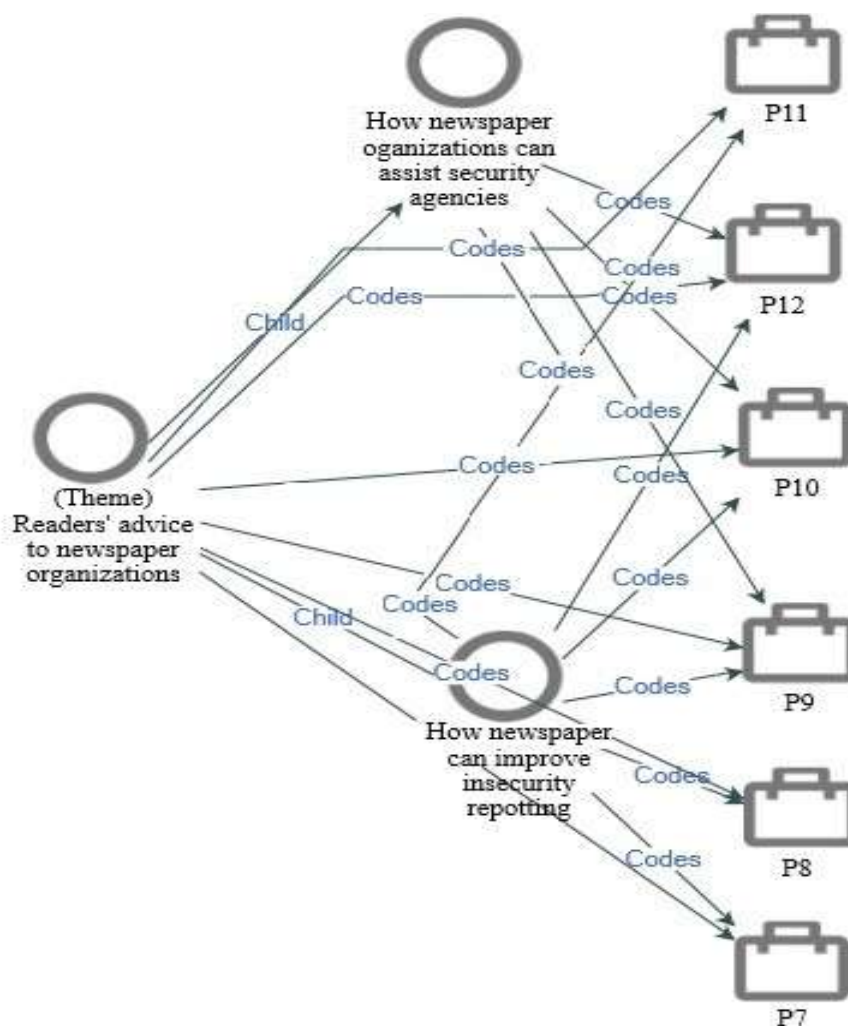


Figure 4.15: Readers' advice to newspaper organizations

4.4.11 Readers advise on how newspaper organizations can assist the security agencies to tackle insecurity

The six newspaper readers (P7–P12) were asked this question: “How do you think the Nigerian newspapers can assist the security agents in gathering information to tackle insecurity in the country?” The participants' responses are presented below:

Yes, the newspaper organizations can assist the security agencies by regularly going deep into the situation and trying to find out the authentic news stories that have to do with insecurity. So let them go deep into the situation and

understand it before reporting. By doing this, the security agencies responsible for handling security issues will get important information from them. I think print media should try as much as possible to make sure that they bring to the public what is authentic, not misleading, or give them unreliable security related information.

(Excerpt from the P7)

One way to support security agencies is that the newspaper organizations should be able to be a partner in this insecurity fight, not just escalate its news proportionally. They should be trying to bring out the news in such a way that they can give the security agency a new way to go about tackling these insecurity problems. They should try to be objective and contribute to peace building. So, in this way, the security agencies will be able to get some reasonable interest that will help them tackle the insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P8)

They can assist the security agencies by prioritizing their primary functions, as Harold Laswell rightly put it: their primary functions are to educate, inform, and mobilize people. So, if the newspaper sees things that are wrong in society as signs of danger, they should quickly call the attention of law enforcement agencies and invite these people to discuss how to be able to tackle such issues that have to do with security threats. The security agency should also collaborate with the print media and work harmoniously with them.

(Excerpt from the P9)

The newspaper organization in Nigeria can assist the security personnel by providing relevant information to them. Well, sometimes you see that information gathering is not an easy job, but there are times that you can find yourself with very sensitive information that is not for public consumption, and you think it is for security men. You forward it to security men so that they can dig further on their part. These are the only ways Nigerian newspapers can help security outfits cover insecurity in the country.

(Excerpt from the P10)

Well, let me say that they will create more spaces basically for individuals to contribute in terms of writing their opinion on insecurity issues in an online newspaper. It could be letters to the editor, as in the print version. They can give columns in an online version to people who are experts in the field of insecurity, like the army, navy, and air forces. By doing so, those people will write and possibly give guidelines and techniques on how to tackle insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P11)

The newspapers will assist the security agencies in the fight against insecurity in so many ways. First of all, journalists reporting insecurity should apply the policy for downplaying the insurgent attack over the security agencies. The journalists should also encourage the security personnel by over reporting their successes.

(Excerpt from the P12)

The above excerpts from the respondents have indicated the readers' views on how newspaper organizations in Nigeria can assist the security personnel in tackling insecurity challenges in the country. Some of the respondents believed that the newspaper organizations could assist the security agencies by providing them with relevant information and understanding the security situation before reporting any sensitive security issues. Other respondents advised the newspaper to give the security experts a frequent chance to discuss relevant security issues in their respective newspaper organizations, while other respondents called on the organizations to adopt the habit of downplaying the insurgent attack on the security agencies so as to encourage the security personnel in their effort to address insecurity in the country.

4.4.12 Readers advise on how newspaper organizations can improve insecurity reporting

The findings from the interviews with newspapers' readers also show the views of the participants (P7 – P12) on how the newspaper organizations can improve their reporting on insecurity issues. The respondents were asked "What advice can you give to the newspaper organizations on how to improve their reporting on insecurity issues?" The participants' responses with regard to the analysis result are presented below:

As I told you just earlier, print media houses should adhere to the ethic of journalism; they should know who they will contact to get reliable

information so that they inform people accurately about what is happening. Thirdly, they should always balance any news that has to do with security challenges.

(Excerpt from the P7)

The advice I would give them is that, whether they are newspapers or not, this issue of insecurity is for all of us. Security is everybody's business. So, whatever they do, they should not only consider how to get money; they should also be employing what we call solution journalism. They should try to adopt this principle in reporting insecurity issues in their coverage in order to find solutions to the myriad of insecurity challenges in the country, not just focus on sensational news that attracts their readers to sell their copies or attract traffic to their websites.

(Excerpt from the P8)

First of all, they should know that the profession of journalism has to do with information dissemination; it has to do with educating the masses. The print media should always place the masses as their primary priority. People should be their primary focus when reporting insecurity.

(Excerpt from the P9)

You see, there is an ethic of secrecy that permits print media to publish only certain information that is allowed, and in that situation, they have to ensure that any insecurity news to be published is of utmost importance to security

agents in their fight against these security challenges. They shouldn't publish any insecurity information because some security information could be labelled as a security threat, so such information can only be given to security agents.

(Excerpt from the P10)

It should not be a blame game; they should be looking for ways forward, like using a language that is diplomatic in nature, encouraging, and polite in terms of reporting security issues. They should be well paid as well. You need to encourage them with a good salary. Those who are going to report insecurity also should be economically and spiritually balanced so that they will do their job to the best of their ability. The newspaper organization should be giving people of different classes avenues to contribute their quota to the insecurity. They should not only restrict their interviews to top-ranking people, politicians, or security personnel. There are common people who have in-depth knowledge of insecurity in our country. Give them the avenue, interview them, and give them enough time so that they will give you information about insecurity. I think by so doing, they will assist massively in terms of tackling insecurity issues in our country.

(Excerpt from the P11)

As I mentioned earlier, the newspaper organization will employ an approach to downplaying the insurgent activities and encouraging the security personnel by overreporting their successes. I think through this style of news reporting; their insecurity reporting can be improved.

(Excerpt from the P12)

The data presented above, which comprise the excerpts from the interview transcripts and outputs from the NVivo's analysis, revealed four major themes that emerged from the newspaper readers' responses. The four major themes that emerged include readers' satisfaction and preference between print and online newspapers, readers' awareness of newspapers' agendas on insecurity, readers' views on similarities and differences between print and online newspapers, and readers' advice to newspaper organizations on insecurity issues. Figure 4.7 below is the summary of coding processes, showing the four major themes and sub-themes that emerged from the analysis of question three responses, with theme one "readers' satisfaction and preference" having the highest coding count among the four major themes.

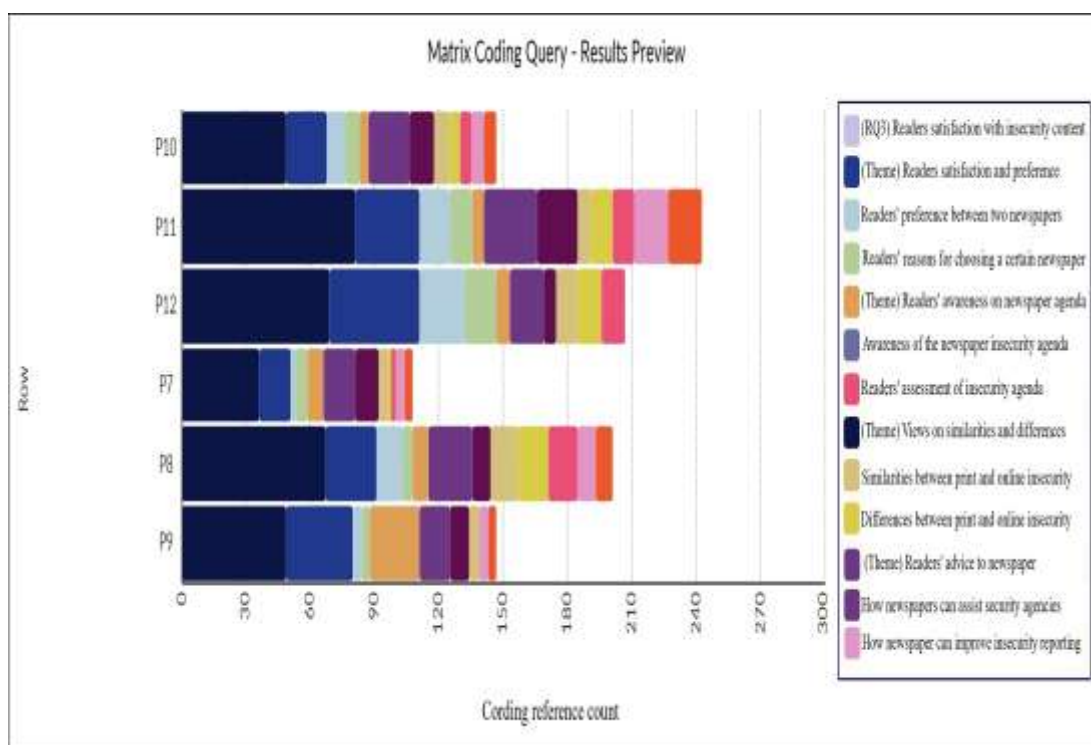


Figure 4.16: Summary of coding process for RQ3

4.4 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter presents the study findings from the content analysis of four newspapers and the interviews with newspaper practitioners who are experts in print journalism and newspaper readers. The four newspapers analysed produced 3,294 news stories, opinions, and editorials related to banditry, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder conflict, kidnapping, and militancy. The findings from the newspaper's contents and interviews with newspaper practitioners and readers provided significant information that answered the research questions, which will be elaborated on in the discussion section. The findings were presented based on the three research questions and the study's objectives. The findings under the first research question aimed to explore the similarities and differences between insecurity contents found in the print and online editions of the selected newspapers. Frequency, simple percentage, and matrix trees were used in reporting the findings under research question one. Four key differences between the two editions of newspapers were discovered in the analysed data, which include headline differences, lead differences, reporting time differences, and differences in stories' photographs. The frequency table also indicated that the print edition reported more insecure contents than the online editions of four newspapers within the period of study.

The second research question, which involves semi-structured interviews with the newspaper practitioners, focused on the efforts of the practitioners in fighting the insecurity problem, which is the current challenge in Nigeria. The results presented reveal how the practitioners employed different measures in their reporting to contribute to the fight against insecurity, such as focusing on solutions to insecurity, collaboration with stakeholders, keeping people abreast of security issues,

giving priority to government security agendas, and giving priority to security-related issues, among others. Under this research question, the newspaper practitioners' challenges were equally presented.

However, the findings under research question three presented the relevant findings that related to newspaper readers preference and satisfaction between the print and online editions, readers' awareness of newspaper agendas and insecurity, and readers views on similarities and differences between the two editions of newspapers. The findings of this study are consistent with many related studies in the area. The findings of this study also raised many questions that will attract more inquiry about the existing differences among print and online newspapers in Nigeria. For instance, print editions carry more insecurity contents than online editions of the same papers, therefore giving other researchers a window to find out the reasons for these editorial decisions.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings already presented in Chapter 4 and the conclusion of the study. The chapter gives a detailed explanation of the differences that emerged between the print and online insecurity contents of the selected newspapers and how the differences relate to the views of the newspaper readers. It equally discusses the readers' preference between print and online insecurity contents, the reasons behind their choice of reading insecurity contents from a particular edition of newspaper, and also highlights the efforts of newspaper practitioners on tackling insecurity in Nigeria as well as the problems these practitioners face while reporting insecurity issues in the country. The chapter equally discusses newspaper organizations' editorial agenda for addressing insecurity highlighting on the nexus between the study's findings and the theoretical framework adopted in the study.

The chapter showcases how the U&G and AST were used to examine the newspaper's readers satisfactions with the insecurity content of the print and online newspapers and how the available literature on media and insecurity was examined to provide a comprehensive understanding of the topic. The chapter also gives a summary of the study's findings in relation to the study objectives. Additionally, the chapter explores the implications of the study's findings for newspaper practitioners and policymakers in addressing the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. It also

discusses the study's limitation and suggests the areas for further research to deepen our understanding of the relationship between mass media, newspaper organization in particular and insecurity in the country. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion.

5.2 Differences between print and online newspapers insecurity content

The available literature related to communication and media studies justified the paucity of studies focusing on the differences and similarities between print and online newspapers, as only a few studies exploring this important area were found (Bucher & Schumacher, 2006; Burggraaff & Trilling, 2020; Maier, 2010; J. E. Smith, 2005; Van der Wurff et al., 2008). This lack of research is surprising considering the significant shift towards online news as younger generations started migrating to online newspapers (De Waal, Schönbach, & Lauf, 2005; Jenkins & Nielsen, 2020; Tewari, 2016). The studies conducted by Maier (2010) and Van der Wurff et al. (2008) found that online newspapers and news sites carry more entertainment and news for celebrities than they do in print editions. Since insecurity challenges are among the current problems in Nigeria, one of the current study's objectives is to identify the differences and similarities between print and online newspapers insecurity content.

The findings of this study reveal that print newspapers produce more insecurity news articles than online newspapers. Insecurity news in Nigeria, as revealed in the findings of this study, is mostly about negative happenings associated with activities of bandits, *Boko Haram*, kidnapping, farmer-herder conflicts, militancy, etc. This important finding is supported by the position of the renown

scholars Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) who posited that negative news are newsworthy due to their negative nature and as such the negative news could evoke the sympathy of the victims of such negative incidence.

The findings of this study reveal differences in terms of frequency of reporting insecurity issues among the two editions of the newspaper. The print newspaper recorded 1,827 insecurity contents throughout the study period, as opposed to the online edition, which had only 1,467 insecurity news articles. Similarly, the results of the Pearson Chi-square statistical test of 10.542a with .005 as the corresponding two-sided P-Value confirmed the significant differences between print and online newspapers contents. Scholars like Maier (2010) and Van der Wurff et al. (2008) posited that online newspapers carry more entertainment and celebrity contents compared to print newspapers that report less of such contents. As such, considering the findings of the current study, one may argue that the print newspapers in Nigeria carry more hard news that is mostly associated with insecurity and other negative happenings, while the online editions carry more soft news such as celebrities, sports, and entertainment.

In addition to the frequency reporting differences between print and online insecurity contents, the results obtained from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews affirmed the findings obtained from the newspaper contents. Respondents P8, P9, and P10 (see unit 4.4.3.2) shared the same opinion as they mentioned that not all the insecurity that appeared in the print edition could be found online. Respondent P7 also noted that “there are some insecurity news contents that a reader could not see online because a reader could only see what comes to his news feed and a reader can easily forget the insecurity news he read online”. This findings is in line with the

outcome of a study conducted by Santana, Livingstone, and Cho (2013) in which they found that the fleeting nature of online news makes the online reader's experience different from the print reader, as such the print reader can significantly remember the story read than the online reader does.

5.2.1 Insecurity news reporting in print and online newspapers

Different insecurity news stories, such as banditry, kidnapping, the farmer-herder crisis, *Boko Haram*, and militants' activities, were collected and analysed in this study. The study's findings indicated that the four newspapers analysed reported more bandits' activities than any insecurity issues throughout the study period. The results show that 609 news stories related to banditry were found in the print editions, while 458 news stories related to the same subject were found in the online editions of the four newspapers. This finding is in agreement with the positions of Olapeju and Peter (2021); Sanchi, Alhassan, Ajibade, and Sabo (2022); and Ojo, Oyewole, and Aina (2023a), in which they argue that banditry as a new phenomenon becomes rampant in most parts of Nigeria and needs to be addressed.

Similarly, farmer-herder-related news articles rank second in terms of the number of news stories reported by the four newspapers. The study's findings show that 482 news stories related to the farmer-herder crisis were found in the print newspaper, while 372 were found in the online editions on the issue. Then the news related to *Boko Haram* and kidnapping, with 316 and 297 numbers of related news stories found in the print editions, and the online editions reported 286 and 282 numbers of news stories related to *Boko Haram* and kidnapping, respectively. This indicates that the farmer-herder crisis remains a prominent issue in Nigeria after

banditry, followed closely by the threats posed by *Boko Haram* and the increasing incidents of kidnapping. The significant presence of these insecurity issues in both print and online editions highlights the urgency to address these challenges and ensure the safety and security of the Nigerian population. The newspapers' consistent coverage of these issues in Nigeria also reflects the media's role in raising awareness and promoting public discourse on these pressing issues.

5.2.2 Opinion reports in print and online newspapers

Scholars such as Richardson and Stanyer (2011), and Hermida (2011) agreed that opinion news articles remain an indispensable channel through which both print and online news readers could express their voices. The findings of this study show the opinion articles published in the four newspapers on different insecurity issues during the study period. 33 opinions related to banditry were published in the print editions, while 25 were published in the online edition, respectively. Similarly, 30 opinion articles related to the farmer-herder crisis and 13 related to the *Boko Haram* insurgency were found in the print edition, while only 19 and 4 news stories were found related to the same insecurity issues in the online editions respectively. This inconsistency between the number of opinion articles published in print and online editions suggests that print newspapers carry more opinion articles than the online counterpart.

Moreover, the differences between the two editions in the number of opinion articles could also be attributed to the preferences of readers and their consumption habits. It is possible that print newspaper readers are more interested in opinion pieces related to insecurity issues, while online readers may be more inclined to other

contents, possibly entertainment and other soft news such as celebrity gossip as opined by Aji and Astari (2023). However, this raises concerns about the potential narrowing of perspectives and the limited range of readers' opinions being heard in online platforms. In line with the finding of this study one of the participants (P9) advised the newspaper organizations to be giving people an opportunity to express their opinion in an online newspaper. This view raised by the P9, could assist the online news readers to participate actively in shaping content of online newspapers by providing a valuable insight into the current insecurity in Nigeria.

5.2.3 Editorial reports in print and online newspapers

According to Firmstone (2019) and Mont'alverne & Marques (2022), editorial writing is still the most effective means for newspaper organizations to express their opinions on important public issues (such as the current insecurity challenges in Nigeria). The study's findings show that, although the newspapers analysed carry editorials on insecurity issues in both print and online editions, the editorials found on insecurity are insignificant compared to the news stories and opinion insecurity content. Whereas the print edition carried 11 editorials on banditry, 1 on *Boko Haram* , 9 on the farmer-herder crisis, and 2 on kidnapping issues, the online editions carried only 3 editorials on banditry and 2 on the farmer-herder crisis.

However, this finding suggests that the newspapers analysed were prioritizing news coverage and opinions on insecurity over editorials contents. Additionally, the study revealed that the editorials on insecurity that were published tended to focus more on providing information and reporting facts on banditry, *Boko Haram* , herder-farmer crisis, and kidnapping and no insecurity related editorial was found

related to militancy in both print and online newspapers analysed. This could be attributed government amnesty program in which the militants in the Niger Delta were pardoned and employed to guard pipeline in the region (Odalonu, 2018). Similarly, the differences between the print and online newspapers on editorial contents suggests that print newspapers in Nigeria continue to remain relevant in informing the public about insecurity-related issues in their editorials as Alfred & Oyebola (2019) submitted that the newspaper organizations used their editorials articles to express their position and suggest solutions to the current insecurity in Nigeria.

5.3 The roles of newspaper organizations in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria

Newspaper organizations in Nigeria play a critical role in addressing the country's security challenges by adopting different strategies that align with the principles of Sustainable Development Goal 16 (SDG 16), which seeks to promote peace, justice, and strong institutions. Using semi-structured interviews, this study explores the roles of both newspaper organisations and practitioners in fighting insecurity. The results obtained from the semi-structured interview with the newspaper practitioners revealed three major themes that affirmed the roles of newspaper organisations in tackling insecurity in the country. These major themes include (1) collaboration with stakeholders, (2) focusing on solutions to insecurity issues, and (3) keeping security agencies abreast of security issues. Collaboration with stakeholders was found to be crucial in combating insecurity as it allowed for the exchange of information and resources between the security agencies and newspaper organizations. The study findings indicated that newspaper organisations

played an active role in facilitating this collaboration by giving voice to the critical stakeholders, including government officials, security agencies, and community leaders.

Additionally, the study found that newspaper organisations were committed to shifting the narrative from merely reporting on insecurity to actively seeking and promoting solutions. They did this by highlighting the success of the security agencies, showcasing community initiatives on security, and advocating for holistic action. According to the findings of this study, newspaper practitioners collaborate with stakeholders to tackle insecurity through amplifying the voices of marginalized communities and security experts, ensuring their concerns and recommendations reach policymakers. This aligns with SDG 16's focus on building inclusive institutions through promoting transparent and participatory decision-making processes. Some of the practitioners interviewed opined that tackling the insecurity issue is a herculean task that requires collective responsibility, collaboration with the security agencies, community leaders, and all the critical stakeholders involved. Another practitioner opined that, their newspaper organizations do not relent effort in cooperating with security agencies through reporting their activities and giving them important information that could assist in the fight against insecurity in the country.

The newspaper organization also compliments security agencies' efforts to tackle insecurity by focusing on the news reports that could provide proper solutions to the myriad insecurity challenges bedevilling the country. This could be achieved gradually over time, in line with one of the Agenda-setting theories' suppositions: that the Agenda-setting effects may not be immediate and can occur gradually over time through repeated media exposure to certain issues (McCombs & Guo, 2014;

Takeshita, 2006). Lastly, the study revealed that newspaper organisations played a vital role in keeping security agencies informed about new security threats and challenges. By reporting on emerging issues and providing timely updates, they helped security agencies stay ahead of the curve and take proactive measures to address the evolving security landscape in the country. The role of newspaper organizations in Nigeria go beyond traditional reporting of event. Through collaborating with stakeholders, promoting solutions, and keeping security agencies informed, they serve as critical agents in the fight against insecurity. These efforts directly support SDG 16's objectives of promoting peace, justice, and strong institutions, reinforcing the importance of media in driving sustainable development.

5.3.1 Newspaper organizations' editorial agenda for addressing insecurity

Communication and media scholars have examined media content in relation to the media effect of Agenda-setting theory and the analysis of insecurity content such as banditry, *Boko Haram* insurgency, and farmer-herder conflict (Alfred & Oyebola, 2019; Luo et al., 2019; Shuaibu, 2023). To the best of my knowledge, only a few studies attempted to explore a newspaper organization's editorial agenda on addressing insecurity (Chukwuma et al., 2022; Edochie & Okri, 2023). Newspaper organizations' editorial agenda on insecurity is among the three major themes emanating from the second objective of this study. The study employed semi-structured interviews in which journalists working with newspaper organizations (newspaper practitioners) were interviewed in relation to the newspaper organizations' editorial agenda for addressing the current insecurity challenges in most parts of Nigeria.

The findings of the study revealed that newspaper organizations' editorial agenda on insecurity was anchored on the following two sub-themes: (1) giving priority to government agenda, and (2) giving priority to security related issues. The first sub-theme, giving priority to government agenda, was found to be prevalent among newspaper organizations. Majority of newspaper practitioners interviewed acknowledged that their editorial agenda was heavily influenced by government directives and policies. Thus, this indicates a strong alignment between the newspaper organizations and the government's approach to addressing the current insecurity. This finding is in line with the position of Uscinski (2009), as he noted from the policy-driving model that the government agenda determines the media agenda. This is because the government provides media practitioners with an issue of public interest to report to the public, and for the media to produce newspaper every day it requires an organized bureaucratic system (government) as a source of information (McCombs & Shaw, 2005).

Similarly, some of the newspaper practitioners interviewed opined that the media organizations are working assiduously in line with the government's policies to ensure a free-crime society. The respondents pointed out that the government already has a blueprint on the ground for handling the security challenges in the country; therefore, the newspaper organization could support the government through their reporting by highlighting the success stories and initiatives taken by the government to combat the security challenges. Furthermore, by aligning their agenda with the government's policies, the media organizations aim to create a positive narrative that encourages public trust in the government's ability to address security issues in the country.

On the other hand, the second sub-theme, giving priority to security related issues, highlights the newspapers' commitment to informing the public about the threats and challenges posed by insecurity in Nigeria. This suggests that newspaper organizations recognize the importance of raising awareness and providing accurate information to the public regarding security matters. Generally, these findings shed light on the editorial decision-making process within newspaper organizations and their role in shaping public discourse on insecurity. In line with this, some respondents (P1&P3), stated that giving priority to security related issues is part of the newspaper organizations editorial agenda for addressing insecurity. The newspaper organizations according to one of the respondents (P5), take it as social responsibility to continue reporting an insecurity issue. This finding is aligned with one of the postulations of the Agenda-setting theory, that the degree of media coverage of an issue determines its prominence (Folarin, 1998). As such, frequent reporting of an issue determines the prominence given to it and has the possibility of drawing people's attention to that particular issue, leading to increased awareness and potential action.

Similarly, the study findings indicated that the newspaper readers have supported the views of practitioners for having an editorial agenda in tackling insecurity. Participants (P7, P8, P9, P10, P11, and P12) are of the view that the newspaper organizations set an agenda on insecurity through editorials and news writing to inform and educate people certain on insecurity issues. Another participant (P7) also noted that the newspaper organizations employed peace-oriented journalism in assisting the security agencies to tackle the myriad security challenges in the country. The participant view agrees with the submission of Bratic (2008) that

when the environment is impacted by the messages of peace-oriented media, such an environment can be conducive to the cultural transformation of violence.

Another newspaper reader interviewed (P12) advised journalists covering insecurity to apply the policy of downplaying the successes of insurgents over security agencies and encouraging security personnel to overreport their successes. Downplaying the insurgents' successes, as suggested by P7, is crucial and in line with one of the elements of agenda-setting theory that "the degree of conflict generated by the report can create a negative perception of the issue being reported (Hasan, 2018)". According to the findings of this study, newspaper organisations and reporters covering insecurity issues in Nigeria take note of this singular fact as they engage in underreporting and downplaying the successes of the bandits and insurgents to allay any negative perception from the public. This strategic approach of downplaying the successes of insurgents, aims to maintain public confidence and prevent panic, create a sense of security and stability among the public, which is essential for maintaining social peace and order.

5.3.2 Readers' awareness on newspaper editorial agenda for addressing insecurity

With regard to newspaper readers' perceptions of newspaper organizations' agenda on tackling insecurity in Nigeria, all six participants (P7, P8, P9, P10, P11, and P12) expressed their awareness of the newspaper's editorial agenda on tackling insecurity in the country. They all agreed that the newspapers had been consistently highlighting the issue of insecurity in their news articles and editorials. For instance, P7 pointed out that the majority of the newspapers they read, like the Daily Trust,

Vanguard, etc., must have an agenda and rationale behind publishing particular insecurity news, which might be to enlighten people on what is happening. One of the primary functions of the mass media, according to P9, is to set agenda with a view to educating the public on insecurity issues. P9 further added that the newspaper tells us how to make decisions about the crisis and where to go and where not to go. This opinion agrees with the current discovery in agenda-setting theory that suggests that “the media not only tell us what to think about but also how to think about it and, consequently, what to think” (McCombs & Shaw, 1993:65).

In essence, the mass media including newspaper play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing the way people perceive, think, and understand issues such as insecurity. By setting the agenda and providing information on the crisis, the media guides individuals on how to make informed decisions and navigate through the uncertainties. This perspective aligns with the agenda-setting theory, which asserts that the media not only dictates the topics for public attention but also shapes the thought processes and perspectives through which these issues are interpreted as submitted earlier by McCombs & Shaw (1993).

Generally, the media's power to define what is important and how it should be perceived cannot be underestimated. Similarly, P11 identified another significant point that vindicated the newspaper organizations' agenda in tackling insecurity, thus; “the newspapers set an agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria through the framing of their news and reporting details through using peace-oriented journalism. In addition to P11's view on the newspaper organizations' agenda on insecurity, P12 also pointed out that the newspapers in Nigeria have been setting an agenda with a view to assisting the security agents to fight insecurity through frequent reports to

enlighten the public about the dangers associated with certain locations in the country. The aforementioned view of the P12 agrees with another assumption of agenda-setting theory that the news media have the power to set agenda by influencing the salience of issues in public consciousness (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020; McCombs, 1997; Weaver, 2007; and Weaver & Choi, 2017). However, the above highlighted views of the newspaper readers have justified the newspaper organizations' agenda-setting power. This is because by providing frequent reports and highlighting the dangers in certain areas, the newspapers are able to shape public perception and bring attention to important security issues. This ultimately helps in creating awareness and mobilizing action towards combating insecurity in the country. Therefore, it can be concluded that the agenda-setting power of newspaper, as demonstrated by the participants, plays a crucial role in addressing security challenges in Nigeria.

5.4 Challenges faced by newspaper practitioners reporting insecurity news

It is not something odd to most news media content creators and content consumers that newspaper practitioners, especially those involved in reporting insecurity issues, face so many challenges on a daily basis when discharging their responsibilities as the fourth estate of the realm's agents, as described by Ward (2009). From the constant threat of physical harm to navigating ethical impediments that have to do with the verification and balancing of news before publishing it, these journalists often put their safety and well-being on the line to bring important insecurity issues to the public. According to the findings of this study, the challenges faced by newspaper practitioners while reporting insecurity issues include bandits'

threat to journalists, fear of the unknown during reporting, and the inability to get accurate information from security personnel. Therefore, these challenges are enumerated below:

5.4.1 Bandits threat to journalists

Bandits' threat to journalists is among three sub-themes emerged from the analysis of the interviews with the newspaper practitioners. The findings of this study reveal that the threat of bandits to journalists poses a significant risk to their safety while covering insecurity issues. Newspaper practitioners often have to navigate dangerous terrain and confrontations with armed individuals in their effort to report important insecurity issues to public. This constant threat of violence can create a sense of fear and anxiety among journalists, making their job even more challenging. Attesting to this fact, all the newspaper practitioners who participated in the interview (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6) believed that bandits' threat to journalists is among the major challenges facing media practitioners in Nigeria.

The participant three (P3) further emphasized that the threat from the bandits continues to affect the objectivity of their reportage. This is because it determines the angle in which a journalist takes to report and write insecurity news which is known as self-censorship. Moreover, the journalist self-censorship usually is as a result of a constant threat and attack by bandits and insurgents leading newspaper practitioners to withhold important information out of concern for their safety. Attesting to this fact, Dandurand, de Lugo, Madueke, and Zombre (2022) stated that, since the beginning of 2020, there have been the increase of several attacks on journalists, particularly since which leads some of the journalists resort to self-censor. However,

this challenge has ultimately hindered the ability of the newspaper practitioners to provide the public with accurate and unbiased news coverage.

5.4.2 Fear and uncertainty during reporting

Like a bandit threat to journalists, fear of the unknown during reporting adds another layer of complexity to their work. The newspaper practitioners reporting insecurity issues may not always know what they will encounter while discharging their lawful assignment, leading to heightened stress and uncertainty. The study's findings reveal that fear of the unknown is among the common challenges media practitioners encounter when reporting insecurity issues. One of the participants (P3) pointed out that the major challenge practitioners face is being scared to live because they have witnessed a situation whereby their colleagues were killed by the bandits and insurgents when going about their lawful assignment.

Another participant (P5) stated that, most of the time, the insurgents could go after the journalist when he reports something contrary to their expectations. Similarly, another participant (P6) recounted his fearful experience of the insurgent activities; thus, "*Boko Haram* members attacked a community in Farawa, along Maiduguri Road, Kano. My editor told me to report the event. I was afraid because I didn't know what was going to happen. When there is a bomb blast, you will see the remnants of the victims. It was a terrible experience." The opinions of the participants, as enumerated above, have illustrated the dangers that newspaper practitioners face when reporting on insecurity issues. The fear and uncertainty surrounding reporting insecurity issues in Nigeria can have a lasting impact on the journalists involved in reporting such insecurity issues.

While it is important for journalists to report insecurity issues, newspaper practitioners should prioritize their safety and personal security when reporting on bandits and insurgent activities. It is crucial to weigh the risks and potential consequences before covering such incidents. Participant five (P5) captured this reality, thus: "You need to be alive in order to report an event; otherwise, if they kill you, everything is gone. You have to be very conscious to be alive while reporting an insecurity issue." P5's words serve as a reminder that, without prioritizing personal security, practitioners may not be able to continue reporting on these critical security issues. Therefore, staying alive is essential for newspaper practitioners in order to continue reporting on insecurity and keeping the public abreast.

5.4.3 Inability to get accurate information from the security agencies

The inability to obtain accurate information from security personnel can hinder journalists' ability to report effectively on insecurity issues. It is part of journalism's ethics for a practitioner to balance certain news stories that involve a third party before publishing them for verification and reliability (Maras, 2013; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2012). This practice enhances the consistency of the information source, especially when reporting insecurity issues. In line with this, newspaper practitioners often attempt to verify certain information from the security agencies; unfortunately, many of the participants in this study expressed their disappointment and frustration over the lack of transparency and cooperation from the security agencies on so many occasions. According to P1, sometimes the security agents are not willing to give information to journalists, and they (journalists) are having some difficulties reporting accurate insecurity news due to the nature of the

security-related story. You must go to the relevant security agency or call their public relations officer to balance the story even before your media organization publishes it. But sometimes they do not respond to calls.

Similarly, another participant (P2, P3, and P4) stated that security personnel, especially police and military, do not allow journalists to have access to vital information for public consumption. For instance, security agents usually give different figures of casualties than those obtained earlier from eyewitnesses, and of course, this affects the way we report insecurity issues. Another participant (P1) noted that for a journalist to balance insecurity information, he must go to the relevant security agency or call their public relations officer to balance the story before publishing it. However, the officer never responded, leading to conflicting reports being published by various media organizations. This lack of cooperation from security agencies can make it difficult for journalists to accurately report on insecurity issues in the country.

5.5 The Emergence of alternative newspaper

What is actually known in recent times with regards to the types of newspapers is that there are only two types of newspapers (print and online editions). The print edition is produced using papers and ink, while the online edition is produced and copies made available on the newspaper's website (Boczkowski, Mitchelstein, & Suenzo, 2020; Supadiyanto, 2020). The online edition could be accessed for free on the active website of a particular newspaper (Apuke & Omar, 2020b; Chyi & Ng, 2020; Edge, 2019). Currently, there is a third type of newspaper, which seems to be the alternative to both print and online editions. This newspaper

is called the electronic edition. The electronic edition, which is more composed and reach than the online edition, is synonymous with print editions, as it encompasses the whole package of a newspaper, but it is distributed electronically through the subscriber's email address. The electronic edition according to one of the newspaper practitioner respondents also carries all insecurity contents that could be found in the print edition and offers the convenience of receiving the newspaper directly in one's inbox, eliminating the need for physical copies.

However, subscribers can easily access and read the electronic edition on their electronic devices, such as laptops, smartphones, and tablets. Furthermore, the electronic edition is environmentally friendly, reducing paper waste and the carbon footprint associated with the production and distribution of print editions. Additionally, the electronic edition provides a more efficient and cost-effective solution for the newspaper industry. However, this innovation, as opined by one of the participants, eliminates the expenses of printing, distribution, and delivery, allowing newspaper readers to read insecurity news in an interactive way. Moreover, the electronic format enables newspapers to reach a wider audience, as readers from around the world can easily access and subscribe to the publication without any geographical constraints. This accessibility expands the readership and enables the readers to easily understand certain insecurity challenges in some parts of the country with a view to taking precautionary measures. By providing an interactive platform, readers can engage with the content, ask questions, and share their own experiences, fostering a sense of community and collective understanding.

5.6 Summary of the findings based on the research objectives

This section brings a summary of the study's findings based on the three research objectives with a view to providing a clear and concise overview of the results. The first objective focused on examining the differences and similarities between print and online newspapers insecurity reportage. The second objective explored the efforts of newspaper practitioners in the fight against insecurity challenges in Nigeria, highlighting the challenges the practitioners face while reporting insecurity issues. Lastly, the third objective aimed to examine the newspaper readers' satisfaction in print and online newspapers with regard to insecurity reportage.

5.6.1 RO1: To identify the differences and similarities of the insecurity reportage between print and online editions of the selected newspapers.

The first objective of this study is to identify the differences and similarities in insecurity reporting between print and online newspapers. The findings of this study reveal two key differences between the two editions of newspapers. The differences in terms of frequency of reporting insecurity issues among the two editions of the newspaper show that print newspapers produce more insecurity news articles than online newspapers. Hence, the findings justified the views of the participants that there are certain insecurity news in the print that are not online. The second difference emanates from the newspapers' contents, which include headline differences, intro (lead) differences, news stories' photographs, and reporting time differences.

Similarly, the findings obtained from the newspaper content analysis using NVivo reveal the following similarities between n the insecurity news in the print

and online editions: content similarity, message similarity, reporting by the same reporter, and the same newspaper organization.

5.7 RO2: To evaluate the effort of newspapers practitioners in the fighting against insecurity challenges in Nigeria

The results from the analysis of the interviews with newspaper practitioners reveal the efforts of those practitioners fighting insecurity challenges in the country, which include collaboration with stakeholders, focusing on solutions to insecurity, keeping security agencies abreast of insecurity related issues, giving priority to the government's security agenda, and prioritizing security related issues. These efforts demonstrate a strong commitment to addressing the security challenges facing the country.

Through collaborating with stakeholders and prioritising the government security agenda, newspaper practitioners are actively working towards finding effective solutions to combat insecurity. Keeping security agencies informed and focusing on solutions rather than just reporting on the issues shows a proactive approach to tackling the complex problem of insecurity in the country. The result of this study equally demonstrated the practitioners' effort towards finding a lasting solution to the insecurity when a journalist from one of the newspaper organisations paid a visit to bandits in the forest with a view to hearing from them the reason behind their attack, kidnapping, and other nasty activities, thereafter drawing the attention of the government on the possible solution to the security challenges.

5.7.1 RO3: To examine the readers' satisfaction in print and online newspapers with regard to insecurity reportage

The findings obtained from the interviews with newspaper readers and analysed using NVivo qualitative data analysis software show that the majority of the participants (four out of six) were satisfied more with the online newspaper insecurity content than the print. P7, P8, P11, and P12 preferred reading insecurity news stories from the online edition. The findings also suggest that readers' preferences for consuming insecurity news from online editions are influenced by a combination of factors related to accessibility, affordability, flexibility, and convenience. Only P9 and P10 expressed their preference for reading insecurity news stories in the print edition over the online edition due to the detailed nature of the print edition. This findings agree with Hassan (2015) survey's findings that the majority of the participants in the survey preferred reading online newspapers due to their access to the internet.

However, it is clear that the shift towards digital media, as indicated by the study's findings, has had a significant impact on how readers consume news, particularly when it comes to sensitive issues like insecurity. Similarly, the convenience, affordability, and accessibility of online editions seem to outweigh the appeal of the traditional print edition for many readers. As such, this justified a clear nexus between Uses and Gratification Theory, which suggested that people select and use communication sources to satisfy felt needs (Rubin, 2002), and the study's findings further support the idea that individuals seek out news sources that cater to their specific interests and needs.

The differences in frequency of reporting, content style (e.g., headlines, leads, and photographs), and reporting timelines between print and online newspapers influence readers' preferences and satisfaction. For instance, while print newspapers provide more detailed and in-depth insecurity stories, online newspapers' accessibility and real-time updates appeal more to readers. This suggests that the variations in content presentation and delivery methods contribute to shaping reader satisfaction. The findings for RQ3 indicate that accessibility, affordability, flexibility, and convenience are primary factors influencing satisfaction with online newspapers. These features align with the accessibility and immediacy of online editions described under the findings of RQ1.

Similarly, The Uses and Gratification theory provides a conceptual framework connecting RO1 and RO3. Readers seek content that fulfils their specific needs, accessibility and convenience in the case of online editions, or detailed and structured reporting in print editions. This satisfaction is inherently linked to the content and delivery differences identified in RO1. The study findings suggest that print editions have a higher frequency of insecurity-related news articles, as confirmed by participants who noted that certain stories are exclusive to print editions. Online editions may not consistently match this frequency but compensate through affordability, real-time updates and broader accessibility. Similarly, the differences in headlines, leads, use of photographs, and story depth create distinct consumption experiences. Print editions often offer more detailed, structured narratives, while online editions prioritize brevity and visual appeal for quicker consumption. Online edition on the other hand surpasses in providing real-time updates, and reporting insecurity issues before the print edition does which is a critical factor for readers concerned about immediate insecurity events.

The study's findings also confirm that both print and online editions prioritize insecurity reportage as a significant editorial focus. They actively engage in efforts to combat insecurity by raising awareness and collaborating with stakeholders. Both two newspaper editions aim to cater to their respective audiences' needs, whether through detailed reports (print) or convenient access (online). Majority of participants expressed higher satisfaction with online newspapers due to their accessibility, affordability, and flexibility. However, this preference aligns with the convenience-driven media consumption patterns in the digital era. Despite the shift toward the digital, print newspaper industries in Nigeria retain a dedicated audience who value the detailed and structured content they offer. These readers often perceive print as more authoritative and comprehensive.

The relationship between RQ1 and RQ3 demonstrates how content differences between print and online editions influence readers' satisfaction. While print newspapers excel in detail and structure, online newspapers dominate in accessibility and convenience, leading to higher satisfaction for a majority of readers. These findings highlight the evolving dynamics of media consumption in the digital age and the importance of tailoring content to meet diverse audience needs.

5.8 Contribution of the study

The current study has achieved its primary objectives, which are to identify the differences and similarities between the insecurity contents of print and online newspapers, to explore the efforts of newspaper practitioners in fighting insecurity, and to examine the readers' satisfaction with print and online insecurity content. However, while the study achieves its objectives, it also offers both theoretical

contributions to academic discourse and practical contributions to media practice and policy makers, with significant implications for insecurity reportage, journalism, and media studies.

5.8.1 Theoretical Contributions

The theoretical contribution of this study lies in its application and extension of Uses and Gratification (U&G) and Agenda-Setting Theories (AST) to explore the relationship between media consumption and audience satisfaction, particularly in the context of insecurity reporting. Whereas U&G was used in this study to provide a better understanding of how newspaper readers displayed their power to choose between print and online newspapers for insecurity contents, the AST was also applied in this study to explore and understand how newspaper organizations and practitioners working in these organizations set agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria.

Many scholars used the U&G and AST to explore the readers satisfaction on mass media and to examine the mass media power on setting the agenda for the audience (Hassan, 2015; Liang, Lai, & Ku, 2006; Mairaru, Tyagi, Azeez, & Sharma, 2019; Shahzad, Hussain, & Saleem, 2023; Su & Borah, 2019). As such, the current study employing two theories contributed to the theoretical understanding of how newspaper readers choose between print and online insecurity contents. Hence, the study contributes to the existing discourse related to U&G and AST. As such, the study establishes a theoretical framework that links reader satisfaction with content strategies and the agenda-setting role of newspapers through combining U&G and

AST. This integrated approach contributes to broader media and communication studies, emphasizing how theory-driven research can address real-world challenges like insecurity.

Similarly, the study's findings would be relevant to the academic environment by applying the same method to study other similar issues. In addition, the lectures teaching media and communication studies should benefit from the findings of this study by understanding another type of newspaper (the electronic edition) beside the print and online editions. To the best of my knowledge, before conducting this research, only the two editions of newspapers (print and online editions) were recognized and used among the communication and media scholars (Burggraaff & Trilling, 2020; Mellado, Humanes, Scherman, & Ovando, 2021; Thurman & Fletcher, 2019). With the findings of the current study, media and communication scholars would now recognize the three editions of newspapers, which are print, electronic, and online.

Similarly, the study provides a methodological contribution in the area of newspaper content study by employing a mixed-method approach that incorporates content analysis and semi-structured interviews, and the data obtained from two different sources were equally analysed using two different analytical tools (NVivo and SPSS) based on the Fraenkel et al. (2018) position for using frequency to interpret the findings of content analysis. Therefore, researchers would equally apply the same method in related studies.

5.8.2 Practical Contributions

The practical contributions of this study are directly relevant to newspaper organizations, journalists, and policymakers. The findings help newspaper organizations tailor content to meet the preferences of diverse audiences. While the print newspapers can leverage their perceived authority by continuing to offer detailed, structured narratives, the online newspapers can enhance their accessibility and real-time updates to maximize readers' satisfaction. By addressing audience needs effectively, newspaper organizations can improve reader engagement and organizational credibility.

Similarly, the study highlights the proactive role of newspapers in combating insecurity through collaborating with stakeholders to identify solutions to insecurity, keeping security agencies informed, and advocating for security reforms through investigative journalism. These findings can guide journalists and media practitioners in adopting approaches that go beyond merely reporting events to actively contributing to national security efforts. Additionally, policymakers and relevant security agencies can use the insights of this study to strengthen partnerships with media organizations for disseminating accurate and timely information as well as addressing the systemic challenges faced by journalists, such as threats to their safety and inadequate remuneration, thereby ensuring a conducive environment for impactful reporting.

5.9 Limitation of the Study

The study is limited to journalists and lecturers who consume both print and online newspapers, excluding victims of insecurity who might provide first-hand accounts and valuable suggestions on addressing these challenges. While victims' perspectives could enrich the understanding of insecurity and its impact, they fall outside the study's targeted population. This limitation suggests a potential area for future research, where scholars might focus on victims' experiences and perceptions.

Additionally, the study does not address broader concepts of insecurity, such as food, health, or environmental insecurity, despite their relevance in Nigerian society. Instead, it concentrates solely on human insecurity as portrayed in newspapers, leaving other dimensions for subsequent investigations. The choice of four newspapers, while methodologically justified, may not fully capture the diversity of media perspectives in Nigeria. Furthermore, the study employs a mixed method research design, relying on content analysis and semi-structured interviews based on the positions of Brooks and John (2018). While this approach allows for in-depth exploration, it inherently limits the ability to generalize findings or quantify public perceptions.

However, the media and communication studies in the 21st century focus on media and society, which involves the relationship between media and conflict, elections, religious issues, political issues; media and audience studies; comparative between the mainstream and alternative media; New media or computer assisted communication studies among others (Moser, 2016; Pyng, Mun, Muniandy, Wong, & Wen, 2018). Hence, the current study prioritizes newspaper practitioners' role in

addressing insecurity but does not extensively examine other media platforms or the government's responses, which might also influence public discourse on security. By focusing exclusively on the relationship between newspapers and societal challenges, the study remains within the boundaries of media and audience studies, potentially overlooking other complementary perspectives.

5.10 Recommendations

The study aims to analyse the content of four Nigerian newspapers and their online editions with a view to exploring the differences and similarities among the two editions. Specifically, this study examined the efforts of newspaper practitioners in tackling insecurity in Nigeria, newspaper organizations' editorial agenda on insecurity, and readers' satisfaction with in security content of print and online newspapers. Based on the study's findings, the following recommendations are made:

5.10.1 Newspaper practitioners should consider public in their agenda

The newspaper practitioners covering insecurity issues should consider the public in their agenda for addressing insecurity in Nigeria. Although the findings of this study indicate that newspaper organizations give priority to government agendas in their reporting of insecurity in the country, these practitioners should make additional efforts to include the concerns and perspectives of the public in their insecurity reportage to align with the current trend of news production and distribution in the western world. For instance, newspapers like The New York

Times and The Washington Post often focus on issues of public interest such as healthcare, education, and civil rights (Herman & Chomsky, 2021; Iggers, 2018). These important issues are selected based on their relevance to readers and their potential to stimulate civic engagement. By incorporating the voices of the people, especially those affected by insecurity, newspapers can provide a more comprehensive and balanced view of the issue. However, this will not only increase readers' satisfaction with the content but also contribute to a more informed and engaged public discussion on how to address insecurity in Nigeria.

Similarly, Luo et al. (2019) maintained that there is a positive correlation between the media agenda and the public agenda. As such, prioritizing the public agenda in addition to the government agenda while reporting insecurity issues, can lead to more effective and objective journalism that serves the needs of the government, the readers, and society at large. By giving priority to the public agenda and seeking out diverse opinions and experiences, newspapers can help change existing narratives by focusing on the government agenda alone while reporting insecurity issues. Furthermore, by incorporating public agenda into their reporting, newspapers can play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing policy decisions, as well as fulfilling their role as a watchdog of society and driving positive change in addressing insecurity in the country.

Solutions-oriented journalism (SOJ), according to Lowes and Ferguson (2021), is a new journalism approach that aims to create a positive impact by focusing on solutions to problems rather than just reporting on the issues. Newspaper organizations should prioritize this approach in their coverage of insecurity in Nigeria to provide readers with actionable steps and potential resolutions to the

ongoing problems. By highlighting success stories and initiatives that have effectively addressed insecurity, newspapers can inspire readers and contribute to a more informed and fear-free society.

Although the study's finding indicates that one of the newspaper organizations employed solution-oriented journalism by visiting the bandits in the forest and uncovering the root causes of their noxious actions, other newspaper organizations should imitate such a unique effort in trying to understand the actual nature and remote causes of the security problem. Solution-oriented journalism goes beyond just documenting the security challenges; it focuses on understanding the underlying factors of the challenges and potential solutions. The newspaper practitioners should avoid over-reporting sensational news; instead, they should focus on SOJ when reporting insecurity issues with a view to reducing the harmful effect of such negative tendencies (McIntyre, 2019), associated with insecurity issues. By taking this approach, newspaper organizations can help draw the attention of the government and relevant stakeholders to the original cause of many security challenges in Nigeria.

5.10.2 Special wages for journalists reporting insecurity

The newspaper r organizations should provide a special salary for their reporters covering insecurity issues in Nigeria. This would not only motivate those reporters to thoroughly investigate and report on these critical issues, but also ensure that they have the resources and support needed to do their work effectively. According to Egielewa (2022) media practitioners in Nigeria resort to collecting brown envelopes (bribes) to undermine certain realities in their reports due to their poor salaries. By

improving the salaries of their reporters covering insecurity issues, newspaper organizations can help combat this unethical behaviour and ensure that their reporters are able to provide accurate and unbiased information to the public.

Additionally, investing in the well-being of the newspaper practitioners through good salaries, can lead to increase of job satisfaction, higher quality reporting on important issues like insecurity. In a country like Nigeria, where insecurity is a major concern, it is crucial that journalists should do their jobs effectively without compromise as a result of collecting brown envelopes, since it undermine the integrity of the media practitioners and their profession (Onyebadi & Alajmi, 2023).

5.10.3 Enhancing journalist-security personnel relations

The study's findings suggest that the newspaper practitioners reporting insecurity in Nigeria find themselves in a critical dilemma as a result of prostrations and disappointment from the security agencies. Security agencies do not always provide the needed information related to insecurity to media practitioners, leading to challenges in reporting accurately, in balance, and effectively. This lack of cooperation and openness between journalists and security personnel hinders the ability to create impactful stories that can address insecurity issues in the country.

In order to ameliorate the situation, it is crucial for both parties to work together in harmony in order to effectively address and combat insecurity in Nigeria. The security agencies are advised to always respond to the needs of media practitioners in a timely manner and provide the necessary information to help

journalists report on security issues accurately. However, through transparency and cooperation, the media and security personnel can work together in harmony to address the lingering insecurity and ensure the safety of all Nigerians.

5.10.4 Recommendations for policy makers

It is obvious that insecurity is increasingly becoming uncontrollable in Nigeria, as some unscrupulous security agents were found guilty of conniving with bandits and kidnappers to carry out their illegal activities (Yahaya & Bello, 2020). Between 2022 and 2024, there were many higher profile security threats, such as the Kaduna-Abuja train attack that claimed the lives and kidnapping of many passengers, the Kuje prison break in which many criminal insurgents were escaped, attacks on military bases and airports, and the recent killing of Nigerian soldiers by the militants in Abia State on May 30, 2024 (Chinedu, 2024; Ojo, Oyewole, & Aina, 2023b). These series of heinous activities have confirmed the growing sophistication of these bandits, kidnappers, and militant groups and their powers for deadly operations, which have left the country in perpetual insecurity.

Recently, former Kaduna state governor Mr. Nasir El-rufai confirmed that they knew of the bandits and their hideouts in the forest and advised that the Nigerian Air Force should not be in a defensive position but rather attack and bomb the bandits in their dens (Ojo et al., 2023b). Since government officials are aware of the bandits and insurgent hideouts, it is crucial for them to take immediate and decisive action to eliminate the threat they pose to the safety and security of the country. The Nigerian Air Force, as suggested by Mr. Nasir El-rufai, must launch strategic and coordinated attacks to dismantle these criminal networks and restore peace to the

affected states. It is imperative for the government to prioritize the protection of its citizens and ensure that these dangerous elements are brought to justice. Failure to address this lingering security threats promptly and timely will only result in further escalation of insecurity in the country. Furthermore, it is suggested that the government establish a special task force dedicated to investigating and prosecuting individuals involved in assisting bandits and insurgents. This would send a strong message to anyone willing to assist the perpetrators of insecurity that these heinous activities will not be tolerated.

Since tackling insecurity requires driven security strategies and the collaborative and coordinated efforts of all the stakeholders (Okolie-Osemene & Okolie-Osemene, 2019; Onyutha, 2019), it is essential for Nigerian governments to establish a special joint task force consisting of government officials, security agencies, and representatives from major media houses to ensure seamless communication and coordination. Through these seamless communication efforts, regular briefings and updates will be sustained with a view to keeping all the stakeholders informed about ongoing efforts, security measures, and significant developments related to banditry, kidnapping, farmer-herder conflicts, and other related security threats. The data obtained from interviews with newspaper practitioners showed that the journalists reporting insecurity issues faced serious challenges such as bandits and insurgents' threats of intimidation and loss of life, as well as difficulties in accessing accurate information. Despite these impediments, the journalists remained dedicated to their duty of informing the public and shedding light on the critical security issues facing the country. It is crucial for the government to implement protective measures that could shield journalists reporting insecurity by providing well-armed escorts and offering free safety training to those media

practitioners. Similarly, the interview data indicated that media practitioners are generally under remunerated; the government should provide grants and other forms of support for investigative journalism projects focusing on exposing the underlying factors and networks behind banditry, kidnapping, *Boko Haram*, farmer-herder conflicts, and other related security challenges in Nigeria.

Since the current security challenges in Nigeria not only threaten the lives and livelihoods of its citizens but also undermine societal stability, as highlighted by previous studies, these challenges stand in direct opposition to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16, which seeks to promote peace, justice, and strong institutions. In light of this, it becomes imperative for all stakeholders to play an active role in addressing these pressing issues. Among these stakeholders, media practitioners hold a unique position of influence. Beyond merely reporting on security incidents, the media has the capacity to shape public opinion, foster dialogue, and hold government institutions accountable. By consistently advising and advocating for policies that prioritize peace-building, equitable justice, and institutional reform, media practitioners can serve as catalysts for positive change. This alignment with SDG 16 is not only a call to action but also a pathway to rebuilding trust in institutions, ensuring social cohesion, and securing a sustainable future for Nigeria. Hence, the media's commitment to these goals is essential in encouraging the government and other relevant bodies to implement comprehensive strategies for creating a peaceful and just society.

5.10.5 Recommendations for future studies

The current study employed semi-structured interviews and content analysis to examine newspaper and human insecurity in Nigeria. Future studies can focus on newspaper and other insecurity issues such as health insecurity, environmental insecurity, and food insecurity using the same methodology. The study's data was analysed using NVivo and SPSS; other similar studies in the future can employ other analytical tools like Atlas Ti, QCAMAP, MXQDA, QDA Miner, etc.

The findings of this study raise questions about the differences and similarities between print and online newspapers that should be further explored in future research. Additionally, investigating how different types of insecurity are portrayed in the media and how these representations impact public perceptions and policy decisions could be examined in future studies to provide valuable insight on the same phenomenon.

However, scholars such as Chukwuma et al. (2022) believed that newspaper organizations do not set an agenda for insecurity, which is contrary to the views of newspaper readers and newspaper practitioners that the newspaper organizations have an agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria. Even though Chukwuma et al. (2022) could not have made a generalization statement since they only study newspapers and banditry, their views cannot be discarded as there is a need to conduct more studies in the area with a view to further exploring the relationship between newspaper and insecurity. Additionally, conducting more studies related to newspaper and insecurity can help to validate or challenge the perspectives put forth by Chukwuma et al. (2022) and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the role of newspaper organizations in addressing this critical security challenges.

5.11 Conclusion

This study examined the insecurity contents of print and online newspapers and explored the efforts of newspaper practitioners in fighting insecurity in Nigeria. It could be noted from the previous literature that many studies related to newspaper content mostly focused on print and online newspaper readership and analysis of newspaper content on other issues related to health, environment, etc. while ignoring other areas of public concern such as the country's current insecurity challenges (Agboola, 2014; Akwaowo et al.; Amann, Sleigh, & Vayena, 2021; Apuke & Omar, 2020a; Ashong & Henry, 2017; Basch, Kecojevic, & Wagner, 2020; Cacciatore et al., 2012; Martikainen & Sakki, 2021; Onwe et al., 2020; Smith, 2005; Smith, Smith, & Ajayi, 2020; Talabi et al., 2022; Ytre-Arne & Moe, 2021). Previous literature further confirmed that Chukwuma et al. (2022), Abba et al. (2021) and Ikpi (2017) were among the scholars that studied newspaper content and insecurity in Nigeria.

For instance, Chukwuma et al. (2022) explored how newspapers and television report banditry while focusing on their agenda on insecurity issues. On the other hand, Abba et al. (2021) explored how two Nigerian newspapers reported kidnapping issues. However, the aforementioned scholars isolated readers and content creators (media practitioners) from their studies, hence creating a strong vacuum that needs to be filled and striking a balance between the media content and the views of both the practitioners and audience. Therefore, the present study focused on the analysis of print and online newspaper contents and interviews with newspaper practitioners and readers with a view to bridging the gap between media content and audience perspectives on insecurity issues.

However, the findings of this study revealed that the Nigerian newspaper is making a significant effort to report insecurity issues, which was affirmed by many studies (Abba et al., 2021; Alfred & Oyebola, 2019; Dalhatu & Usman, 2019). The findings obtained from the content analysis further showed that the print edition produced more insecurity news than its online counterpart, with banditry reported more frequently than other insecurity issues. Additionally, the study found that the majority of readers tended to focus more on reading online than print for insecurity news due to accessibility, affordability, flexibility, and convenience. This audiences' choice aligns with the Uses and Gratification Theory, which posits that individuals choose media sources that fulfil their specific needs (Tejumaiye, Simon, & Obia, 2018). Despite these differences among readers found in the current study, the print newspaper remains relevant as it provides readers with detailed insecurity content and the opportunity to document such news for future use as opposed to the online edition.

Furthermore, the current study found that the newspaper organizations in Nigeria employed different strategies in their effort to contribute their quota towards combating insecurity in the country through collaborations with relevant stakeholders, keeping security agencies informed, and focusing on solution-oriented journalism. In addition to that, the study found two key ways in which newspaper organizations in Nigeria set agenda for insecurity, which include giving priority to government agenda and giving priority to security-related issues.

Considering the available literature, the current study is among the few that explored the newspaper insecurity agenda and struck a balance between the newspaper contents and the views of both newspaper practitioners and readers in

such a way that a plain reality emerged with regard to the newspaper agenda in fighting insecurity. The study concludes by encouraging other researchers to use both content analysis and interviews in studying similar phenomena, especially in the process of both collecting and analysing data. This approach is a valuable method for conducting thorough and insightful investigations into important societal issues. It also allows for a more detailed interpretation of the data, which can help uncover hidden biases or gaps that could be associated with collecting data from a single source.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The Cover Pages of Four Selected Newspapers

Plate 1: Front page of Daily Sun Newspapers

DAILY Sun
www.sunnewsonline.com

Voice of The Nation **N200** WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2022 "VOL. 18 NO. 5093

2023: Okowa to Igbo: Don't abandon PDP candidate, your son in-law - 6

Osun: Drama as INEC denies own document at tribunal - 26

Ortom gives Atiku conditions for support - 6

■ Warns PDP candidate of consequences of ignoring 5 govs



• L-R: Govs Seyi Makinde (Oyo), Samuel Ortom (Benue), Nyesom Wike (Rivers), Okezie Ikpeazu (Abia) and Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi (Enugu), shortly after their strategy meeting at the residence of Makinde, in Ibadan, Oyo State... recently

Medical trip: Buhari not transmitting power to Osinbajo unconstitutional -Clark - 28

EFCC arrests Kogi Assembly candidate with cash of N326m; \$610,500 - 4

1 feared dead as fire guts building in Lagos - 4,25

■ 10 unidentified corpses discovered in Edo

Oil marketers dump official ex-depot price as fuel scarcity persists - 2

Outrage as Davido's son drowns at home - 27

■ Police grill 8 domestic staff over boy's death as PDP cancel activities, others mourn

Kalu emerges 2022 Senator of the Year in constituency projects - 3

Mbazulike Amechi: Exit of last titan - 27

■ Soludo, Obi, Kalu, Umeh, others mourn Nigeria's first aviation minister
■ Chibanzie to honour him

Plate 2: Front page of Daily Trust newspapers

THE NEWSPAPER YOU CAN TRUST

Daily Trust

LAGOS EDITION

Wednesday, November 2, 2017
Rab'ul Thani 7, 1444 AH

www.dailytrust.com

11200
Vol. 56, No. 84

48
PAGES

STILL IN CAPTIVITY 11 SCHOOLGIRLS OF FGC, BIRNIN YAUJI 503
1 STUDENT OF BETHEL BAPTIST HIGH SCHOOL, KUTAJAMA 476

How I will end insecurity, create jobs, boost economy – Kwankwaso P162

Bank 'fraud': Kogi Assembly candidate arrested with N326m, \$610,500 P162

Tinubu will end insurgency in 6 months – Shettima P162

Parents cry out as bandits abduct 39 children from Katsina farm

- 2 soldiers, 25 ISWAP fighters killed in gun duel in Borno
- Don't ignore US, UK terror alerts, Reps tell FG
- We've devised tactics to overwhelm enemies – Army chief

P4



■ A motor dispenser (left) refills the tank of a motorcycle rider in Jabi Abuja yesterday. Photo: The Nation

EFCC probing Mambilla project – Power minister

P 21

Tension in Edo community as 10 corpses found inside bush P 16

Senators 'reject' defence budget over minister's failure to honour summons P 16

Emirate council shuts market in Niger over fear of attack P 16

Plate 3: Front page of Vanguard Newspapers

2023: PDP'll win all elections in Rivers, Atiku's victory uncertain —WIKE 9

Energy transition: FG seeks global support for Nigeria's \$1.9trn plan 4

Fitch poll, others fake; we'll spring surprise in 2023, says NNPP 8

THE BIG INTERVIEW 14
We've transformed Nigeria, tackled insecurity, empowered Nigerians —AGF MALAMI

Credit to economy rises 34% to N63.3trn 19
www.vanguardngr.com

Vanguard

...towards a better life for the people

VOL. 39: NO. 9,916 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2022 N200

UK, US terror alert unneeded, situation not so bad — NSA

•Says citizens not in danger, situation under control •As CDS confirms killing of terrorists, who invaded Wawa Cantonment in Niger •Traffic jam at NASS as operation stop and search commences •Nigeria must not become another Afghanistan, Sen Oluwabunwa warns 5

WIKE-LED G5 MEETS IN IBADAN...



From left, Governors Seyi Makinde of Oyo, Samiuel Odeun of Benue, Nyesom Ezenwo Wike of Rivers, Oketile Ikpazu of Abia and Osanyi Ugwuanyi of Enugu State, shortly after a meeting in Ibadan, Oyo State... on Sunday.

Miyetti Allah accuses Orlom of criminal profiling of members, demands investigation 12

Terrorists kidnap 10 in Zamfara, demand N20m ransom 6

Gas flaring: FG targets \$1bn revenue from sale of 50 gas clusters—Investigation 4

Despite challenges, Buhari liberated more Nigerians from poverty—FG 12

2023 polls: You should remain politically neutral, Buhari tells Police 27

Obl disowns LP's manifesto in circulation, says its not approved 11

COLUMNISTS ERIC TENIOLA 18 PETERSIDE 19 EBISENI 19

Mr & Mrs
YOU CHOSE THAT CURTAIN OUT OF ALL THE CURTAINS IN THE WORLD! YOU'RE ALWAYS CHOOSING WRONG THINGS!
BUT I CHOSE YOU OUT OF ALL THE MEN IN THE WORLD!
08052201913

Plate 4: Front page of Leadership Newspapers

21.10.14

FOR GOD AND COUNTRY

LEADERSHIP

www.leadership.ng No. 1,277 TUESDAY

NIGERIA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPER

Small-scale Industrialists Bicker Over Failed Loan Scheme > Page 12

AS WHO CERTIFIES NIGERIA EBOLA-FREE

Survivor Recounts Family's Ordeal

5



“Some of my family members were expelled from work, some were suspended, my younger brother was given a warning letter. It really affected our family. I was supposed to wed on September 27, 2014; the whole thing was just disorganised. All that we invested in the wedding plan was gone — Survivor

Photo: survivor Chinyere Enemakor during a press conference by the representative of the World Health Organisation (WHO) in Abuja, yesterday. (www.pict)

Boko Haram: Soldiers Kill 25 In New Damboa Attack

BY HANEEN KHALIL (USA), (Nigeria)

about 25 soldiers at on Sunday morning as the Damboa town in Borno State insurgents attacked the area. Again, security sources said, of their non-compliance with the declared ceasefire deal announced Friday by the

At least 25 members of the Boko Haram sect died in a

Tambuwal Attends APC Meeting in Sokoto > Page 4

Chibok Diary DAY 190 Schoolgirls: Obama, Oyetimehin Welcome Ceasefire Deal > Page 2

Appendix 2

Questions for the interviews

Questions for Semi-structured Interview

Newspaper practitioners

1. What are the efforts made by your media organization so far to tackle insecurity in the country?
2. How does your media organization collaborate with other stake holders in tackling insecurity in the country?
3. How does the newspaper editorial agenda of your organization assist in reducing the insecurity challenges in Nigeria?
4. What challenges have you encountered so far when reporting insecurity issues?"
5. Bandits and insurgents have targeted media practitioners and their organizations on various occasions, blaming them for bias and a lack of objectivity. How does this attack affect your reporting on the country's security issues?

For Readers

6. Can you explain your satisfaction or preference for insecurity contents found in print and online newspapers?
7. Can you explain the reasons for choosing to read the insecurity content of a certain version of the newspaper over another?
8. Are you aware that the newspapers set an agenda for tackling insecurity in Nigeria?
9. How can you assess the agenda of newspaper organization for addressing insecurity challenges in Nigeria?
10. Can you explain the similarities you have noticed (if any) between print and online newspaper insecurity contents?
11. How do you think the Nigerian newspapers can assist the security agents in gathering information to tackle insecurity in the country?
12. What advice can you give to the newspaper organizations on how to improve their reporting on insecurity issues?

Appendix 3

Certification Letter from Yusuf Maitama Sule University, Kano Nigeria



YUSUF MAITAMA SULE UNIVERSITY, KANO
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES

VICE-CHANCELLOR:
 Professor Mukhtar Atiku Kurawa
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Website: www.yumsuk.edu.ng
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1st June, 2023

The Dean
 Centre for Foundation and Continuing Education
 Universiti Malaysia Terengganu,
 Kampung Gong Badak, 213000,
 Kuala Terengganu,
 Malaysia.

Dear Sir,

CERTIFICATION

I am writing to inform you that Musa Umar Muhammad, a PhD candidate at the Universiti of Malaysia Terengganu with Matric Number **P5318**, submitted his questions to me for proofreading, correction, and certification. The title of his work is **An Analysis of Print and Online Newspapers on Insecurity Reportage: A Study of Four Selected Nigerian Newspapers**.

Having spent years of teaching in the English and Literary Studies Department of Yusuf Maitama Sule University, Kano, Nigeria, I have vast experience as I have edited several works for both individual and corporate bodies in Nigeria. I went through his questions and improved accordingly. I look forward to consolidating this relationship with you in the future through my contact email below.

Best regards



Ado Magaji Mansur
ammansur@yumsuk.edu.ng

Appendix 4

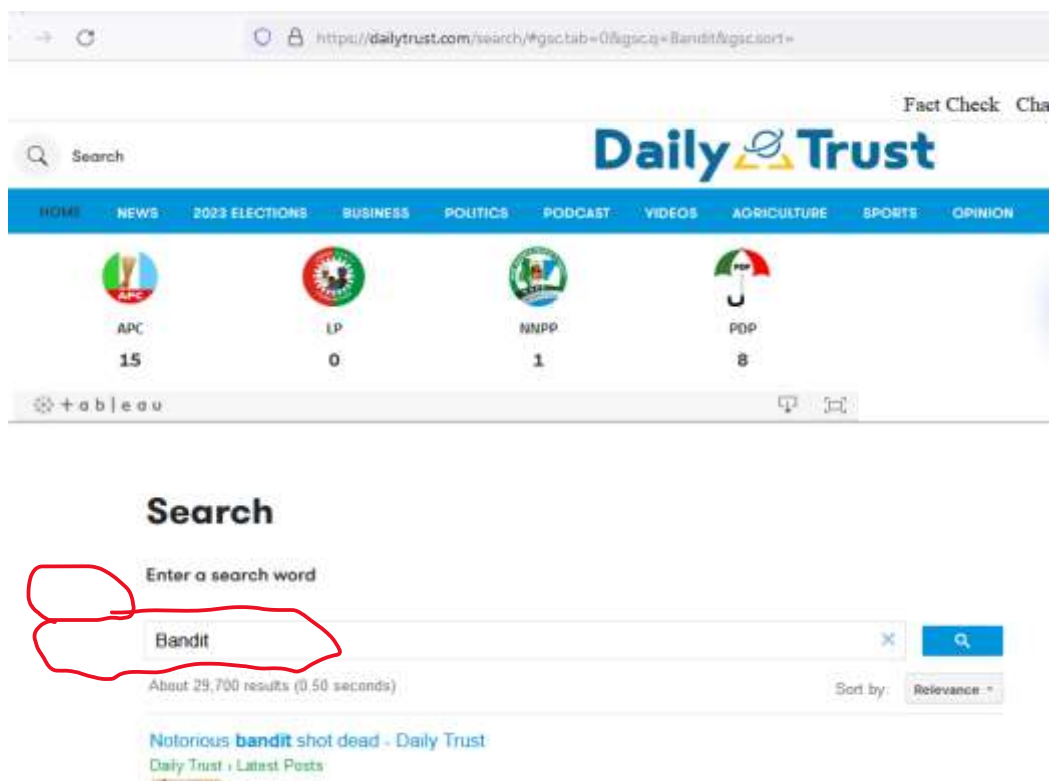
Sample of coding sheet

	Print		Online				
01. Leadership							
02. Daily Sun							
03. Daily Trust							
04. Vanguard							
<u>DATE-MONTH-YEAR</u>							
Headline & Lead of a Story							
.....							
.....							
.....							
.....							
.....							
Comment.....							
Categories				Unit of analysis			
		News stories		Opinions		Editorials	
Banditry							
<i>Boko Haram</i>							
Farmer-herder conflict							
Kidnapping							
Militancy							

Appendix 5

Sample of search result for a keyword 'bandit'

a. Daily Trust result



b. Leadership result

← → ↻ <https://leadership.ng/page/2/?s=bandit>







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Search Result for 'bandit'

bandit 


Troops Arrest 35 Terrorists, Kill 21
BY TAMARA SARPEI • MARCH 10, 2023
 Troops deployed for internal security operations in the North East and North West killed 21 terrorists, arrested 35 and rescued ...

LATEST


The Central Bank of Nigeria Act 2007 stipulates that the Bank shall have powers to print, redesign, destroy, and re-distribute ...


Tinubu Condemns Bandits' Attack In Zamfara, Kano, Condoles With Sheikh Gumi
BY GEORGE AGBA • MARCH 7, 2023
 President-elect Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu has condemned last weekend's attacks by bandits in Maru local government area of Zamfara State ...


 1 2 3 ... 116

c. Sun News result

https://sunnewsonline.com/forbandit

Tuesday, March 21, 2023

Sun
Voice of the Nation

HOME NATIONAL COLIARIS BUSINESS POLITICS OPINION ENTERTAINMENT THE SUN TV SPORTING SUN THE SUN FOUNDATION

Search Result for **bandit**

FRSC Corp Marshal offers suggestions on ending banditry, terrorism in Nigeria
By Ajin Daniels 20th March 2023

Raped by bandits, abandoned by govt
By Raphael 23rd March 2023

Banditry: Police confirm killing of DPO, Inspector in Zamfara
By Ajin Daniels 23rd March 2023

Kaduna: Troops kill 1 bandit, rescue 14 victims
By Raphael 23rd March 2023

Election countdown: DSS arrests bandits, gunrunners, recovers large weapons cache
By David 23rd February 2023

Soldiers arrest 340 terrorists, bandits, oil thieves, drug dealers in 2 weeks
By Ajin Daniels 23rd February 2023

1 2 3 ... 1,188

d. Vanguard result

← → ↻ https://www.vanguardngr.com/page/2/?s=bandit&posts_per_page=10

Vanguard HOME NEWS ▾ 2023 ELECTIONS POLITICS METRO BUSINESS SPORTS EDITORIAL COLUMNS ALLURE E-EI

HOME » YOU SEARCHED FOR BANDIT » PAGE 2

 **bandit**

Visible Articles 5 **10** 15



Kaduna PDP candidate promises to negotiate with bandits

Kaduna PDP candidate promises to negotiate with bandits

By Ibrahim Hassan, Kaduna The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) gubernatorial candidate in Kaduna State, Hon. Isah Ashiru Kudan, has said that to effectively tackle banditry and kidnapping in the state, he would adopt a non kinetic measure by negotiating with the bandits. In an interview with ARISE TV...

March 08, 2023



Again, bandits kill 6 vigilantes at Birnin Gwari check point

Again, bandits kill 6 vigilantes at Birnin Gwari check point

Appendix 6

Time Line of Historical Evolution of Nigerian Newspaper Industry

Timeline of Nigerian Newspapers

Newspaper	Location	First issues	Publisher
Naija News	Lagos	2016	Polance Media Limited
NewsOnline	Lagos	2020	Winner's Media Concept
Softfootball	Lagos	2024	Softfootball Group
TheNiche	Lagos	2014	Acclaim Communications Limited
Newswatch	Lagos	1985	Global Media Mirror Limited
P.M. News	Lagos	1994	Independent Communications Network Limited
ThisDay	Lagos	1995	Leaders and Company
The Herald	Kwara	1973	Leaders and Company
Complete Sports	Lagos	1995	Sunny Obazu-Ojeagbase
Daily Trust	Abuja	1998	Media Trust Ltd
The Sun	Lagos	2001	The Sun Publishing Ltd
Independent Nigeria	Lagos	2001	Independent Newspaper Limited
National Network	Port Harcourt	2004	Network Printing and Publishing Company
Next	Lagos	2004	Timbuktu Media group
Leadership	Abuja	2004	Leadership Group Ltd
Business Day	Lagos	2005	Frank Aigbogun
National Mirror	Lagos	2006	Global Media Mirror Limited
The Nation	Lagos	2006	Vintage Press Limited
Uhuru Times	Ogun	2007	Journal Communication Limited
Peoples Daily	Abuja	2008	Peoples Media Ltd
Newsdiary online	Abuja	2009	NewsDiary Communication Limited
Netng	Lagos	2009	Adekunle Ayeni
TheCable	Lagos	2011	Cable Newspaper Ltd.
Premium Times	Abuja	2011	Premium Times Services Limited
Blueprint	Abuja	2011	Mohammed Idris

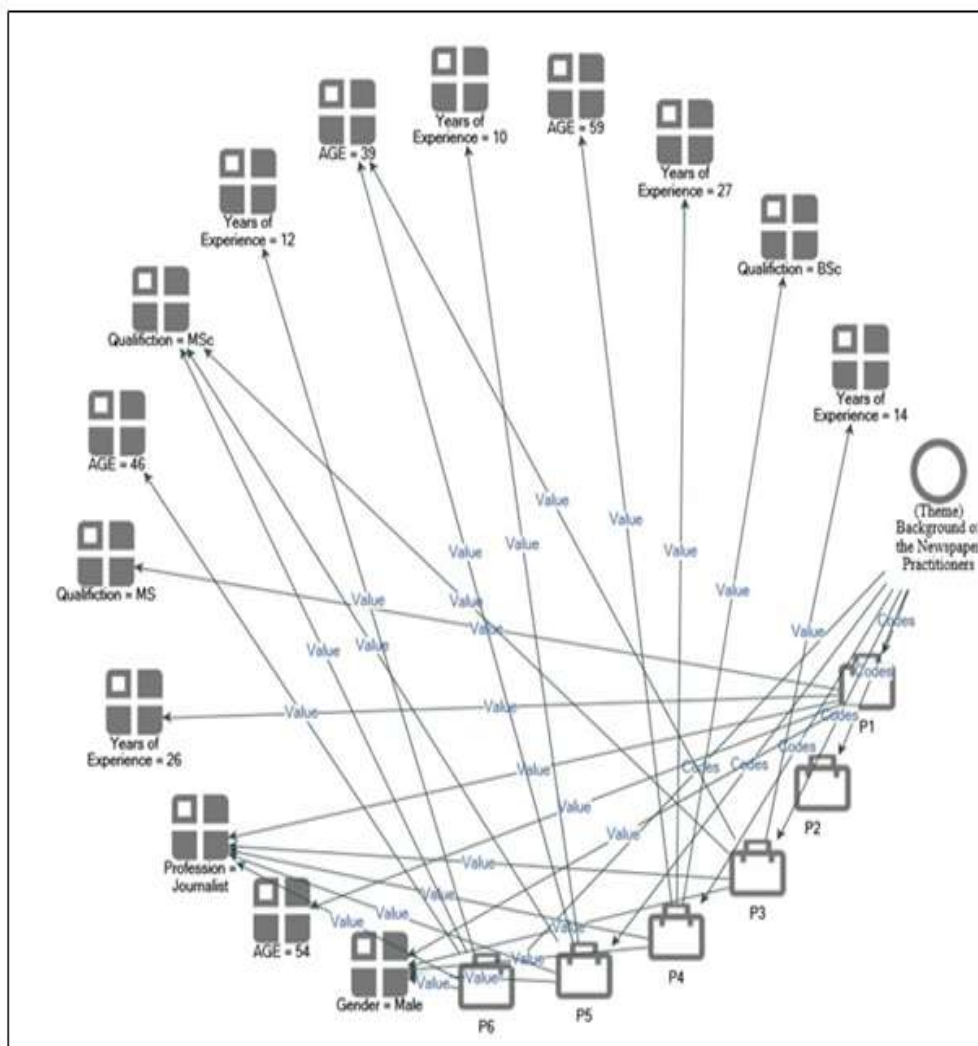
Daylight	Lagos	2014	Azuh Amatus
New Telegraph	Lagos	2014	The Telegraph Publishing Company
The Authority	Abuja	2015	The Authority Media & Publications Limited
Ripples Nigeria	Lagos	2015	Richmond Hill Media Limited
Stears Business	Lagos	2015	Stears News Limited
Politics Nigeria	Lagos	2016	Dumebi Emmanuel
Daily Nigerian	Abuja	2016	Penlight Media Limited
Sahara Reporters	New York City	2006	Omoyele Sowore
Daily Champion	Lagos	2011	Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu
Daily Post	Lagos	2011	Daily Post Media Limited
Nigeria Communications Week	Lagos	2007	Ken Nwogbo
Nigerian Compass	Ogun State	2008	Gbenga Daniel
Urhobo Vanguard	Delta State	2012	Urhobo Vanguard Publishing Ltd
Thinkers Newspaper	Abuja	2015	Thinkers Communications Limited
Vanguard	Lagos	1983	Vanguard Media Limited
The Punch	Lagos	1971	Wale Aboderin
The Guardian	Lagos	1983	Guardian Newspapers Limited
Nigerian Tribune	Ibadan	1949	African Newspapers of Nigeria Ltd
Peoples Gazette	Abuja	2020	Peoples Gazette Limited
The Will	Lagos	2009	Austyn Ogannah
Triumph	Kano	1980	Triumph Publishing Company Limited
Nigerian Observer	Benin City	1968	Bendel Newspapers Company Limited
The Tide	Port Harcourt	1971	Rivers State Newspaper Corporation
Nigeria Standard	Jos	1972	Benue-Plateau Printing Publication Cooperation
Legit.ng	Lagos	2012	Naij.com Media Limited

Obaland	Edo	2009	Obaland Magazine and Multichoice Media House
Osun Defender	Osogbo	2006	Moremi Publishing House Limited
Lagos Daily News	Lagos	1925	Herbert Macaulay
Federal Character	Maryland	2019	Etcetera Ejikeme
Daily Times	Lagos	1925	Folio Communications
Alaroye	Lagos	1985	World Information Agents
Nigerian Daily Sketch	Ibadan	1964	Spark Communications Limited
The Informant ²⁴⁷	Ilorin	2017	The Informant ²⁴⁷ Limited
Nairametrics	Lagos	2015	Obi-Chukwu Ugodre
Prime 9ja Online	Edo	2016	Prime 9ja Online Media
Investors King	Lagos	2014	Investors King Limited

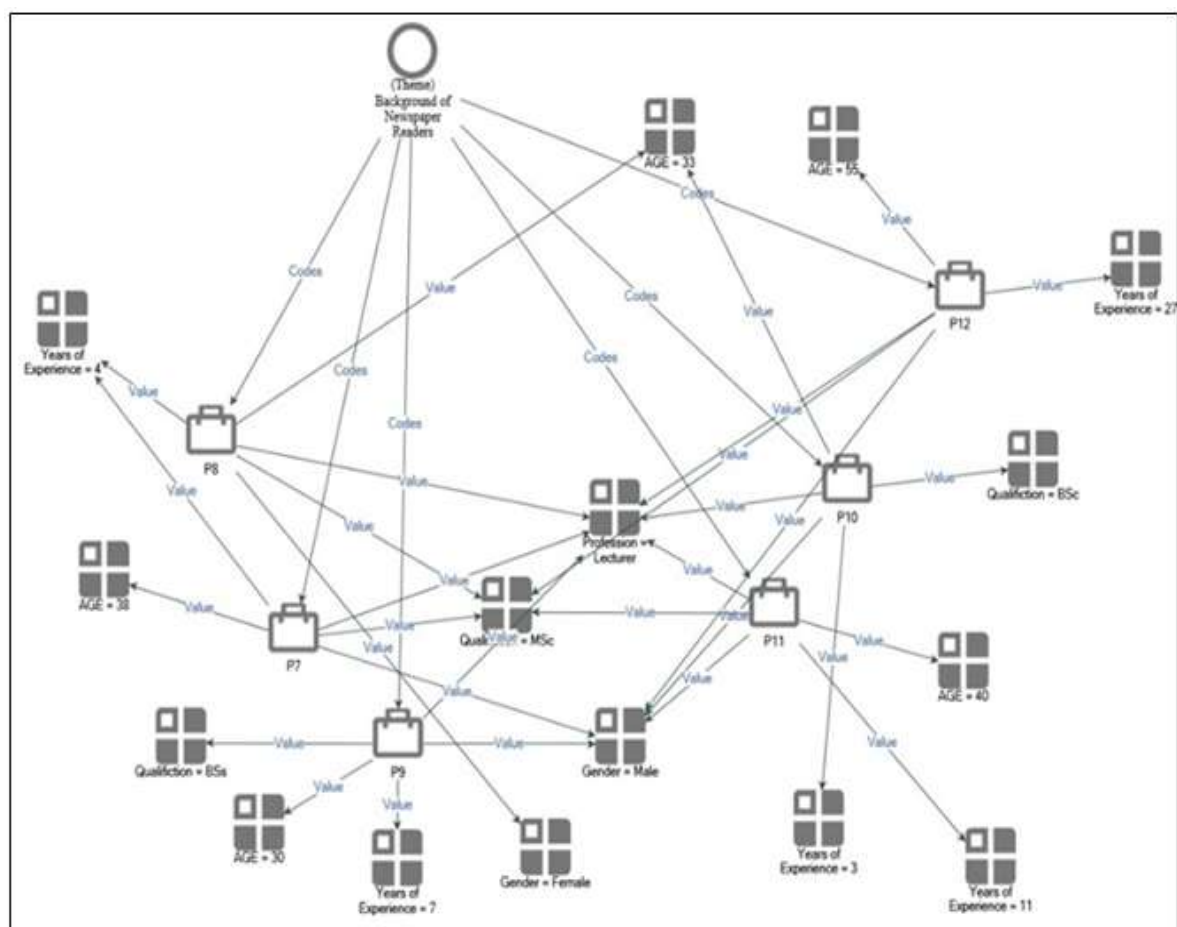
Appendix 7

Background of the Respondents

a. Backgrounds of the newspaper practitioners



b. Backgrounds of the Newspaper Readers



Appendix 8

Cohen's Kappa intercoder agreement test results

Banditry					
Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.933	.021	37.891	.000
N of Valid Cases		1138			
Boko Haram					
Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.976	.024	28.693	.000
N of Valid Cases		621			
Farmer-herder					
Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.965	.010	28.035	.000
N of Valid Cases		914			
Kidnapping					
Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.886	.017	32.926	.000
N of Valid Cases		599			
Militancy					
Symmetric Measures					
		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.511	.230	2.808	.005
N of Valid Cases		23			