# GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF RADIO NIGERIA KADUNA PROGRAMME *DUNIYA MAKWANTA RIKICI*

## BY

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## P13SSPS9008

**BEING A DESSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this dissertation titled Global War on Terrorism: A Case study of Radio Nigeria Kaduna Programme Duniya *Makwanta Rikici* was carried out by me, the researcher, Abba Zayyan, under the supervision of Professor P.P. Izzah and Dr. E.C. Agubamah. All information obtained from the literature has been acknowledged in the text, as well as the list of reference. No part of this study has been previously presented for any degree or diploma at any University.


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**Abba Zayyan** **Date**
*P13SSPS9008*

## CERTIFICATION

The dissertation titled Global war on terrorism: A Case study of Radio Nigeria Kaduna Programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici,* by Abba Zayyan, meets the regulations governing the award of degree for Master of Philosophy by the Post graduate School of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. It is also approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.


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## DEDICATION

To all victims of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

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# ABSTRACT

The media influence has ushered us into a new world order of media imperialism. Information plays a paramount role in International Relations both as a means of communication between people and as an instrument of understanding and knowledge between nations. The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici (DMR)* a creation of Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) is a response to the unending crises and conflicts around the world in an attempt to give the listeners the ''other side of the story and of the analysis" in a balanced and factual representation of the issues at hand devoid of sentiments or propaganda. However, when the war in Iraq ended and the programme dedicated to the Iraqi war called "*Mu Kewaye Duniya Mu sha labari''* lost its relevance, Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) replaced it with *Duniya Makwanta Rikici (DMR)* in view of the proliferation of conflicts across the globe. The researcher adopts the convenience sampling method with a sample of 150 people as subjects from Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi, Nasarawa and Zamfara States and direct interviews with some key stakeholders of the programme both in and outside the Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK). The finding reveals that majority of the respondents who are listeners of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) of Radio Nigeria said the programme provides an alternative view on World affairs contrary to the Western media as it addresses the lopsided nature of Western media against Islam and Africa. The way and manner Islam and Africa are presented by the Western media as violent and uncompromising terrorists poor, corrupt and timidly uncivilized people is really of great concern to the majority of the respondents as they view the programme as a counter narrative to the Western media propaganda and therefore, it does not affect them on issues relating to Islam and Africa. It was therefore recommended among others that the management of Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) should ensure effective measures are taken regarding the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR). There should be proper monitoring and evaluation in addition; a yardstick should be in place in the selection of Producers and presenters of the programme. Care must be taken in the way and manner the resource persons are selected for the programme to avoid derailing or below standard performance. The management of Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) should device a feedback mechanism in order to assess the entire production.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 9/11 | September Eleven US attacks |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BCNN | Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CNN | Cable Network News |
| DW | Deutsche Welle |
| DMR | Duniya Makwanta Rikici |
| FRCN | Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria |
| ICSA | Interim Committee Services Agency |
| IDI | In depth Interview |
| ISWAP | Islamic State West African Province |
| KGB | KomitetGosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security). |
| MI5 | Military Intelligence Section 5. UK's Domestic counter intelligence and   security |
| MI6 | Military Intelligence Section 6. UK's Foreign Intelligence Agency |
| MOSSAD | Ha Mossad le Mod 'in UleTafkidimMeyuhadim. Israeli National Intelligence Agency |
| NBC | Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation |
| NBC | National Broadcasting Commission |
| RNK | Radio Nigeria Kaduna |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| US | United States |
| USA | United States of America |

WMD                    Weapons of Mass Destruction

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**CHAPTER ONE**

**INTRODUCTION**

## 1.1 Background to the study

The prevalence of terrorism and insecurity in most African countries and the incidence of global terrorism are indicators of global danger. Global insecurity and devastating effects of terrorism to world peace are worrisome. They are indicators that the modern world is increasingly growing more insecure. Reports of national and international news media are dominated by stories of terrorism in different parts of the world. With the African continent alone, terrorism has claimed thousands of lives and several thousands more in refugee camps in different sections of the country.

Terrorism is usually hinged on an ideological power of a cause as a base for their actions. Consequently, as watchdogs of society and major stakeholders in bringing about positive change of values and reorientation of the citizenry, the media's role cannot be undermined towards championing a front role in public awareness and security crusade. The media works with relevant agencies for the prevention of terrorist activities. It also enlightens the people on security awareness. Furthermore, the media as intervening agents sensitizes the public on the dangers posed by terrorism. This is in line with Opubor's (1985) opinion about the basic function of the mass media which is fact finding, determining what is, and saying that it is and saying that publicly.

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terrorism to world peace are worrisome. They are indications that the modern world is increasingly growing more insecure. Reports of national and international news media are dominated by stories of terrorism in different parts of the world. With the African continent alone, terrorism has claimed thousands of lives and several thousands more in refugee camps in different sections of the continent. A few examples of trouble spots in Africa are Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan and Nigeria. Europe, Iraq, Pakistan and Palestine, United States of America and even Britain are not left out.

The mass media through their agenda setting function should give the issue of terrorism and its menace great attention in their reportage. In the views of Folarin (1998, p.68), "agenda setting implies that the mass media pre-determine what issues are regarded as important at a given time in a given society. Agenda setting theory does not ascribe to the media the power to determine what we actually think; but it does ascribe to them the power to determine what we are thinking about.

The media are relevant as stakeholders in the process of any social, political and religious transformation. They dictate the direction of societal shifts. They are so relevant that they influence every aspect of human existence and therefore whoever controls the media gains the influence. The mass media through their agenda setting function gives terrorism and its menace great attention in its reportage. In the views of Folarin (1998, p68) agenda setting implies that the mass media pre-determine what issues are regarded as important at a given time in a given history. Agenda setting theory does not ascribe to the media the power to determine what we actually think, but it does ascribe to them the power to determine what we are thinking about.

Although the heightened attention towards media makes itself appear as a novel development, it goes without saying that the media's role in society is not something new. Also, just as terrorism is not a new phenomenon (Chaliand and Blin 2007), there is nothing new in the connection between actions that have been labeled or label themselves; acts of terrorism, and the representation of these actions in the media. The importance of publicity is, however, not only understood among those who commit actions that in media are reported as terrorism. Also their counterparts, the military and police forces, understand the relevance of affecting the public mind.

With an increasingly mediated society, now boosted by the Internet, the expected dissemination through media of news on dramatic events is continuingly growing. With new techniques that have introduced *real time television* and *prime time war* (Pritchard 2003; Watt 2003) the dissemination of news becomes more rapid than ever (Greenberg et al 2002). This development puts journalism and the conduct of media under severe strain in finding a balance in its reporting of events that by some are considered acts aiming at liberation and by others as acts of terror.

Developing countries, such as Nigeria, depend solely on the foreign media organisations or News agencies for news, (even though, there is the News Agency of Nigeria that is seldomly patronized). Media organisations in Nigeria rely so much on foreign stations as the main source of news. What this implies, is that all news and opinions are manufactured and treated based on the interests and considerations of the emanating country. They set agenda by stating what they want the public to know concerning global affairs and events; they control the narratives and help people form opinions on both domestic and foreign issues.

Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) is a Hausa based station that tells the story of its people, their successes and challenges as well as their fears and aspirations. RNK as part of its mandate of educating, entertaining and enlightening the public disseminates news and programmes to its audience and is largely interested in the positives that would contribute to the development of its people.

Individual nations that really care respond by rendering counter narrative to the western media. In this light Radio Nigeria Kaduna created the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) as a  discussion programme with experts and like minds drawn from the academia, journalism, diplomats, lawyers and other related disciplines to give the listener the other side of the news and of the analysis in different perspective. It dwells on global issues objectively using other sources to balance the discussion.

## 1.2    Statement of the Problem

It has been observed that Western media often portray Africa in bad light i.e. presenting the continent as the seat of all manner of conflicts and insecurity including terrorism. It is in response to this that local radio stations carry out series of programmes in the bid to correct this erroneous notion. One of such programmes is Radio Nigeria Kaduna programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici.* The research examines Radio Nigeria Kaduna RNK and global war on terrorism by critically analyzing the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici (*the world as bedrock of conflicts and crises).The programme is a counter narrative to the skewed western stance on Islam and Africa. It gives the listener the "other side of the news story and of the

analysis" in an African perspective. *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is an alternative source, a total departure to the lopsided western media stance on Africa and Islam.

The mass media has acquired great control over the perception of how we interpret the world around us; it is only when we allow alternative media to develop and expand to greater parts of the world that we will be able to understand different perspectives and work towards understanding the truth. Despite this stance, the Radio Nigeria Kaduna programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is still perceived in a different light. It is still considered as an avenue to further project Northern Nigerian interest and not a counter approach to Western media campaigns about Islam and Africa. It is against this backdrop that this study examines the Radio Nigeria Kaduna programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* with a view to establishing its critical role in the analysis of global war on terrorism from the African perspective.

## 1.3    Research Questions

The study answers the following questions:

a.    What is the role of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) in the global fight against terrorism?

b.    In what way does the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* addresses issues relating to Islam and Africa?

c.    How do listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR)?

## 1.4    Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

    a.     To examine the role of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) in the global fight against terrorism.

    b.     To identify the ways through which the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* addresses issues relating to Islam and Africa.

    c.     To establish how listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR).

## 1.5    Justification and Significance of Study

This study is considered useful and necessary as it examines RNK and the global war on terrorism by critically analyzing the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (the World as bedrock of conflicts and crisis). A local programme designed as a counter measure to the West. Carrying out this study is significant because it has been discovered that the Western media have often framed Islam and Africa in bad light. Western media are biased in issues regarding Islam and Africa. They report Africa as uncivilized, crisis and crime- ridden, corrupt and negative, while branding Muslim as terrorists. Those frames for a very long time have remained highly applicable.

The research explains how the western media dehumanizes Islam by rendering an almost a sweeping statement that all Muslims are terrorists and that nothing good ever comes out of Africa. The position by the western media is inimical to the peace and progress of Africa as their reports constantly reinforces hatred and encourages religious intolerance. In Nigeria for

instance, where the dreaded Boko Haram kills both Muslim and Christians, the study exposed the modus operandi of the terrorists and suggest collective efforts to defeat it.

## 1.6    Research Assumptions

The assumptions of this study are stated below:

a. The Mass Media plays a critical role in the global war against terrorism.

b. *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is effective as a counter reaction to Western media's presentation on Islam and Africa.

c. Radio Nigeria Kaduna's *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* programme is perceived by listeners as a positive national approach.

## 1.7    Scope and Limitations

The study covers 2014 to 2017 on Radio Nigeria Kaduna, (RNK) and the global war on terrorism with an assessment of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*, (the World as bedrock of conflicts and crises). This period was chosen in view of the rise in intensity of terrorist attacks especially in Nigeria. A local programme designed to analyse the spate of conflicts across the world while also creating awareness concerning Western notions on Islam. There may be some unknown conditions or factors within the communities where the respondents reside, work, or study, which could inform biases on the respondents, where such exists, the study will clearly spell out. While collecting data from the elderly, semi-literate or likely illiterate respondents, it is possible that some of their recollections of events, situations, feelings and behaviours could be questionable. The study also employed all appropriate techniques to

extract relevant information. The number of respondents or sample size was arrived at scientifically and it appears adequate to draw information, analysis and conclusions for this study.

## 1.8     Outline of Chapters

This study is structured into five chapters. Chapter one covers the general introduction including the background of study, statement of research problem and the objectives of the study.

Chapter two provides the basis for a literature review and theoretical framework while Chapter three, discusses the research design, including the methodological aspects and procedures on how the research was conducted. Chapter four presents and analyses data. Chapter five contains summary, conclusions and recommendations.

# CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1    Introduction

In order to understand terrorism in an age of interconnectedness and globalization, it is imperative to interrogate the question of the role of communication and the media in the phenomenon of political extremism. Communication and the media cannot, however, be approached in isolation. While the mass media do, generally, cover terrorism worldwide, the press uses the term "terrorist" sparingly, preferring such neutral terms as guerrilla, rebel, and paramilitary, or using no value-laden adjectives at all. This raises the question of the effectiveness of terrorism. The press gives terrorists publicity but often omits the propaganda message that terrorists would like to see accompanying reports of their exploits, thus reducing terrorism to mere crime or sabotage. After considering various definitions and examples of what is and is not terrorism, the chapter looks at the symbiotic relationship that exists between terrorism and mass media. Each exploits the other and terrorism has no meaning without media coverage in this age of mass communication. Terrorists use mass media for both tactical and strategic purposes.

### 2.2    Concept of Terrorism

Despite the unprecedented global attention given to the war against terrorism, and the increasing intellectual interest in the study of the subject, the concept of terrorism has tended to defy any precise definition. The former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan (2005) alluded to the paralysis within the UN due to what he referred to as the "protracted

debate about what terrorism is-whether States can be guilty of it as well as non-State groups and whether it includes acts of resistance against foreign occupation". Kofi Annan's proposition of what he felt should be an acceptable definition of the term did not end the wrangling within the international community over what should constitute terrorism. Kofi Annan (2005) had proposed that terrorism should be seen as any action that is "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or international organization to do something or not to do something".

What is important to emphasize here is that as a result of the discordant voices among the members of the international community over the definition of terrorism, individual role players or groups of role players in the efforts to combat the menace of terrorism simply construct their respective images of terrorism and respond accordingly, while expecting that other members of the international community would follow.

The problem of finding an agreeable definition of terrorism is derived from the subjectivity with which most people perceive the concept, especially the tendency to rule out one's action in the definition of the term. For instance in their perception of terrorism, some Western powers, including the United States, tend to restrict the term to acts of violence perpetuated by non-state actors to achieve political purposes (U.S. Dept. of State, 2003). They fail to make allowance for those fighting to liberate their territories from foreign occupation and regard the latter as terrorists. In contrast, some "Third World" countries with sympathy for those involved in liberation struggles would prefer to regard the latter as freedom fighters. The OAU, for instance, made allowance for this in its convention on the prevention and

combating terrorism. In the relevant Article, it said: "the struggle waged by people in accordance with the principles of international law for liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonization, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces shall not be considered as terrorist acts". (OAU July 1999, Article 3) It is in this sense that there is much truth in the saying that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" (Carlton and Schaerf, 1981).

By way of finding a basis for appropriate definition of the term, Imobighe (2006:18) highlighted four critical elements of terrorism that could guide us in the conceptualization of terrorism. These include the environment of terrorism, the nature of the actions associated with terrorism, the target of terrorist actions and the objectives for such actions. A look at these four critical elements will convey the following facts about terrorism.

a. Terrorism occurs in an environment of conflict and discord, and hence it is a product of conflict escalation. Though it has been said that terrorism occurs in an environment of conflict, this should not be interpreted to mean that whenever there is conflict there will be terrorism. In other words, the equation is not always direct in the sense that conflict automatically translates into terrorism. It is when a conflict degenerates into violence that terrorism becomes one of the violent instruments for managing it. Thus it is not an accident of history that the places that form the hot beds of terrorism in the world today, such as the Middle East, Iraq, Afghanistan and Chechnya, are also the places where the world's most violent                conflicts                are                taking                place.
b. Terrorism is a violent mode of response to a conflictual relationship. However the violence does not take a particular form; it takes various forms according to the mental and physical

disposition of those involved. The forms the violence takes ranges from hostage taking, assassinations, plane hijacking, to the detonation of bombs and explosives, or release of nerve                                                                                                         gas.

c. The target of terrorism is not limited to the parties directly involved in the conflictual relationship, but includes everybody directly or remotely associated with the principal actors or combatants. In other words, the target usually includes the ancillary interests of the main combatants. Hence innocent civilians too often become victims of terrorism.

d. The objectives of terrorism are varied and not always political. If we incorporate the above four essential elements in our conceptualization of the term, we can simply say terrorism represents "the indiscriminate and random use of different levels of violence against an opponent or the ancillary interests of such an opponent, with whom one has an adversarial relationship in order to strike fear on the latter and impose one's will on it or tailor its action towards a desired goal" (Imobighe, 2006:18).

From the above definitions, it could be seen that terrorism has to do with the different shades of low-intensity violence (usually sporadic and at times vicious) that are available to the opposing sides in any form of violent contestation or struggle for power or influence. Hence different groups irrespective of their ideological dispositions, such as freedom fighters, revolutionaries, insurgents, nationalistic or ethnic groups, as well as national armed forces and other State security agents have been known to have used terrorism redress perceived grievance. We must accept the reality that in our present global system, it has become a readily available instrument of struggle between opposing camps in a violent adversarial relationship. As soon as any disagreement or conflict is allowed to escalate into violence,

those involved choose from the affordable range of options to respond to the situation. As has been noted elsewhere, "in an unequal power relationship, whereas the stronger side may not be constrained in terms of its ability to strike directly at the opponent as to resort to the latter's ancillary interests" (Imobighe, 2006:19).

Terrorism is the exclusive preserve of the champions of ethnic emancipation and inexorably becomes a weapon of the underprivileged, the victims of the prevailing relations of power in international system, acting in self-defense or struggling to shake off the yoke of oppression (Mbah 2001:63). The implication of this line of argument is that terrorism is a revolutionary tactics and nothing else. This explains why some terrorist group assume a larger image of liberation fighters, social revolutionaries and even martyrs of some worthy cause as they can legitimately claim. According to Claver (2002:302), he stated that terrorism is the use of force to impact fear with a view to bring about political, economic or social change. Recently, terrorism has been endemic in all parts of the countries in the world. Claver went on to explain that:

It is true, as is often repeated that man's terrorist is another is an extreme example of an essential contested concept and its preacher's finds to polarize at extent that renders it extremely difficult to return to normal politics (Claver, 2002:303).

Drawing from the above assertion, indicated how terrorism can lead to socio-underdevelopment of a country, though he was not elaborate, but it is worthy to appreciate his view that the practice of terrorism makes the society difficult to return to normal politics.

This can be deduced from the activities of the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria which has been destabilizing socio-economic activities in the northern part of the country.

Taking all the above into consideration, terrorism can be viewed in a more comprehensive manner as it relates to the "indiscriminate use of different levels of violence, ranging from hostage taking and assassinations to the use of explosives and bombs for the management of hostile relationship in which the target is not limited to the main combatants but inclusive of all those with ancillary relationship with the target enemy and in which the overall aim is to impose one's will on the latter." (Imobighe, 2006:20).

The above definition is useful in the sense that it is inclusive of those government agencies who while combating terrorism equally resort to terrorist acts through indiscriminate bombing of settlements, villages, towns and cities, thereby causing not only military but civilian casualties. What is necessary to emphasize at this point is the need to avoid the cloning of official actions that border on terrorism with less culpable terminology simply because they are applied by government agencies. Terrorism is terrorism irrespective of its perpetrator. What we can further emphasize here is the fact encompasses a wide range of violent actions, which opposing sides in a hostile relationship resort to in order to force their will on their opponents. And it is as a result of the variegated nature of the actions that are adjudged as acts of terrorism that some stakeholders have taken the liberty to expand its usage to incorporate all sorts of activities that would serve the purpose of discrediting those opposed to their line of thought. The danger in the present trend is that there is now the increasing tendency to use terrorism as a tool for stigmatizing those opposed to us, as well as use it to mobilize both domestic and external support against them. It is under this confused

setting as to what terrorism represents that the world is trying to evolve a global coalition against the menace.

The term "terrorism" comes from French terrorisme, from error, "great fear" "dread" related to the Latin verb terrere, "To frighten" the terror cimbricus as a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of several of the cimbri tribe in 105 BCE. The French national convention declared in September 1793 that "terror is the order of the day." The period 1793-94 is referred to as La Terreur (reign of terror) Maximillien Robespierre, a leader of French revolution proclaimed in 1794 that terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe inflexible.

The committee of public safety agents that enforced the policies of 'terror' was referred to as terrorists. However, there is no universal agreement on the definition of terrorism. These difficulties arise from the fact that the term is politically and emotionally charged. The United Nations declarations to supplement the 1994 declaration on measures to eliminate international terrorism annexed to the UN general assembly resolution 51/210 described terrorist activities in the following terms;

> "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purpose are in any circumstance….unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or any other nature that may be involved to justify them."

Perhaps, examining terrorism means addressing a number of labeling issues. There is a difference between a terrorist who conducts murderous acts and an extremist who preaches radical change. There is also a difference between an insurgent who attacks the troops of an

occupying army and the terrorist who indiscriminately kills civilians. Labeling an organization as "terrorist" is sometimes accurate, sometimes too sweeping. For instance, the U.S. State Department's list of foreign terrorist organizations included 45 groups as of January 2010. Among these is Hezbollah. Even if one assumes that some members of Hezbollah are terrorists, does that mean that everyone who belongs to Hezbollah is a terrorist? Certainly not, Hezbollah, Hamas, and some other organizations on the list play major political roles in their homelands, and their members include doctors, teachers, and others who have no intention of participating in or endorsing terrorism. So, labeling should be done with care.

The media collectively constitute terrorism's oxygen and how it spread fear and anger among the public. Terrorism, like propaganda, is a form of persuasive communication. Like propaganda, it is a pejorative term. Some have referred to it as propaganda of the deed. It is hard to define because its definition depends on whether one agrees with the message. If one does, neither propaganda nor terrorism is the term that is normally used to describe such activity.

The term "terrorism" is one of the most overloaded and contested terms in contemporary political vocabulary (Collins J Glover R (Eds.2002) *Collateral language. A user's guide to America's new war*) interrogates many of the concepts used in post-9/11 political discourse, highlighting the importance of language in the mobilizing of political consensus, the legitimation of policies, and the very construction of political realities. It is noteworthy, that both Al Qaeda and two Bush administrations have used spectacles of terror to promote their

policies and deconstruct some of their discourse and the ways that they were presented and circulated in the US and global media.

The "reign of terror" followed the radical phase of the French Revolution; the term was used in the nineteenth century to describe the violent activities of Russian revolutionaries. By the late 1960s, the Nixon administration was using the term "terrorism" to describe a wide range of activities and groups. It established a Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism in 1972 and subsequent US administrations continued to develop agencies and task forces to fight terrorism, which became a widespread designation to label groups that the US government or its allies were fighting. But during this era, the US was also widely accused of crimes against civilians in Vietnam and elsewhere, as well as using violence to intervene in other countries' politics, so the term "state terrorism" began to emerge, a term also frequently applied to Israel, (Herman ES1998) The real terror network: Terrorism in fact and propaganda.

Proponents of the 'new terrorism' concept argue that the motivations of terrorists are changing and point to the growth of religious fundamentalism. Hoffman (1998: 87) asserts that 'the religious imperative for terrorism is the most important defining characteristic of terrorist activity today'. Yet, even Hoffman himself believes that historically, religious terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon.

In addition to this point, one should note that many 'old terrorist' organizations are thought to have had close links with and were partly motivated by religion. The most prominent examples being the IRA with a predominantly Catholic membership, the Protestant Ulster Freedom Fighters or Ulster Volunteer Force, the mainly Muslim FLN in Algeria, the Jewish

terrorist group Irgun and the EOKA in Cyprus which was influenced partly by the Greek Orthodox Church (Hoffman 1998/99).

However, it is important to recognise that although the actions of Islamist terrorist groups may be viewed as religiously motivated, a number of authors do point to a certain political agenda. According to them, this becomes apparent when examining the demands and goals of al-Qaeda's or other 'new terrorists' associated with them as many of them represent clear regional political targets rather than global religious aims. For example, the spread of political Islam, the withdrawal of foreign influence from the holy lands, the overthrow of the existing governments in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the creation of a worldwide pan-Islamic Caliphate and the elimination of Israel (Jacquard, 2001; Kepel and Milelli, 2006).

At the same time, one may argue that the 'global aims' of 'new terrorism' are also visible in 'old terrorism'. For example, the Red Army Faction (RAF) could be judged as not only striving for a revolution within Germany but openly propagating their opposition to imperialism, colonialism and capitalism throughout the world. Similar things could be said about the IRA and the PLO. As Martha Crenshaw (2003: 49) points out 'believing in the impossible is not unusual for radial movements'.

Overall, one may also argue that it is extremely hard if not impossible to distinguish between religious and political motivations. Are Hamas' demands for an independent Islamic state down to religious or political motivations? 'Were the Jewish terrorists in British Palestine fighting for religion or against colonialism? Do the Tamil Tigers want their own homeland

because they are Hindus in a Muslim nation or because they are Tamils in a Sinhalese country' (Quillen 2002)

The participation and defeat of the Aum Shinrikyo in the parliamentary elections in Japan in 1989 seems to indicate that even this stereotypical example of 'new terrorism' had political motives and aspirations (Richardson 2006: 85). Furthermore, Chris Quillen (2002: 287) points out that assigning religious motivations to individual terrorist attacks is highly subjective and open to interpretation. He cites the example of the Oklahoma City bombing which one might interpret as an act motivated by Timothy McVeigh's devotion to the Christian Identity movement or as a reaction of a political terrorist against gun control measures and the bloody federal raids at Ruby Ridge and Waco.

## 2.3    Terrorism, Radicalism and Extremism

Radicalism, in various forms, has made significant inroads in several countries of Central Asia and in the Caucasus - in particular the three countries that share the Fergana Valley, namely Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, Chechnya, and the Russian Republic of Dagestan. Known as fundamentalism, it poses a direct challenge to the ideal vision of a state that the newly founded nations of the region have embraced. In addition, the broader ideology names "fundamentalism" represents a serious challenge to the theology and practice of the mainstream Sunni Islam to which most of these nations' populations adhere. Should this radicalized understanding of Islam continue to spread unchecked, radical interpretations could threaten social stability at the local, national, and regional levels and create serious

geopolitical dangers to which neighboring powers, as well as the US and Europe, would have to react.

Today, throughout the world, there has been a wave of radical movements, which sometimes turn militant. What is this movement and how did it spread throughout the Muslim world, and now the Western world? What are its ideological differences with traditional Islam and how are these differences influencing and supporting modern day radical movements? What can be done to diminish the power of these movements in vulnerable states such as those in Central Asia and the Caucasus?

Islam is a pact between man and God and therefore the domain of spirituality. In this belief, there can be no compulsion or force used in religion. From the time of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), peace and tolerance were practiced between different religious groups, with respect to distinctions in belief (Zaheer 2002). The Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) used to present his neighbors or friends that were not Muslim with gifts and flowers, never holding a sword against them, or ever instigating a struggle or a fight. There are many events in Muslim history where the Prophet (pbuh) made peace treaties with non-Muslims. Islam, despite its rapid spread in its first three centuries, never imposed its beliefs on anyone, as attested by the scrolls of history. Extremists, have ruled permissible and recommended the production of drugs and their sale on the streets of Muslim and non-Muslim nations. With such illicit monies, these extremist groups finance the development of their global network, purchase weapons and supplies, and build their front organizations, which represent them under the guise of Islamic activism.

The clash of civilization or the future war is viewed by many with terrifying inevitability. It is a general war between Islam and the west; such a war, it might seem has all the three sorts of potential igniter, ideology, skin colour and conflict of interest. (The Economist 1994). The extremists who have turned militant declare war against anyone with viewpoints contrary to theirs; thus, declaration of war against a government is commonplace. In Egypt, they oppose their government. Similarly in Jordan, they oppose their government. In Syria, Pakistan, Algeria, and many other countries. The approach of these movements is to infiltrate mosques, Islamic teaching centers, and charitable organizations from where they indoctrinate religiously oriented people with their ideas and methods. They forcefully impose their views on weak societies, in hopes of conquering one and establishing a base for further control. They justify their militant acts and illegal means of financing their cause by claiming to wage a "jihad" for the preservation of Islam (Achette2013)

However, the use of the word Jihad must be understood carefully while studying terrorism "jihad." "Jihadi" and "terrorist" are often used interchangeably in the news media and elsewhere, but that approach is debatable. As noted by the religion scholar Karen Armstrong, the Arabic root of the word jihad "signifies a physical, moral, spiritual and intellectual effort." She wrote that numerous Arabic words denoted armed struggle, but jihad is truly "a struggle on all fronts—moral, spiritual, and political—to create a just and decent society." This internal jihad is distinguished from that related to war.

Alnatour (2001), As an American Muslim, wrote, 'I am tired of condemning terrorist attacks being carried out by inherently violent people who hijack my religion. I am tired of condemning these attacks to people who are calm and apathetic when Muslims are killed by

these same radicalized terrorists. "I am tired of hearing the word terrorist" I am tired of the "mentally disabled" excuse being recycled when the suspect in a terrorist attack is a Caucasian. I am tired of seeing hundreds of terrorist attacks carried out by non-Muslims not get the same coverage of even a single terrorist attack where the suspect happens to be Muslim. Above it all, I am tired of having to repeatedly say that Muslims are not terrorists. It is time we silence this [Islamapobia](#)"

## 2.4    Statistical Incidents of Terrorism Worldwide

According to the US National consortium for the study of terrorism and response to terrorism; annex of statistical information reports on terrorism 2015, by the Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism they are a total of 11,774 terrorist attacks occurred worldwide, resulting in more than 28,300 total deaths and more than 35,300 people injured. In addition, more than 12,100 people were kidnapped or taken hostage. In this research, patterns of worldwide terrorist activity with respect to changes during the year are highlighted on geographic concentration, casualties, perpetrator organizations, tactics, weapons, and targets.

On average, there were 981 terrorist attacks, causing 2,361 deaths, and injuring 2,943 people per month worldwide in 2015. There were 2.5 deaths and 3.3 people injured per attack, including perpetrator casualties. The total attacks worldwide peaked in January 2015 and gradually declined throughout the year. The months with the most combined casualties (people killed and injured) were June, July, August, and September.

This global pattern differs from the monthly variations in 2012, 2013, and 2014, during which total attacks and casualties worldwide generally peaked in May or June, coinciding with the onset of spring "fighting season" in Afghanistan. In 2015, the number of total attacks in Afghanistan did increase 127% between February (88 attacks) and May (200 attacks); however, this trend is obscured in the global statistics due to considerable decreases in the number of terrorist attacks in Iraq, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, and Nigeria during the first six months of the year. The total number of people killed in terrorist attacks peaked in April and July 2015, driven by especially lethal attacks carried out by ISIL in Iraq during these months.

Of the 28,328 people killed in terrorist attacks in 2015, 6,924 (24%) were perpetrators of terrorist attacks. Perpetrators were killed intentionally in suicide attacks, accidentally while attempting to carry out attacks, or by security forces or victims responding to attacks. This is an 11% increase in the number of perpetrator deaths, compared to 2014. Terrorist attacks took place in 92 countries in 2015; however, they were heavily concentrated geographically. More than 55% of all attacks took place in five countries (Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Nigeria), and 74% of all deaths due to terrorist attacks took place in five countries (Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria, and Pakistan). Globally aggregated statistics do not represent uniform patterns worldwide. They are produced by diverse trends in violence and heavily influenced by events in several key locations (US Bureau of Counterterrorism).

## 2.5    Global War on Terrorism

The war on terror (WOT) also known as the Global war on terrorism is an international military campaign that was launched by the US government after the September 11 attack in the 2001. The naming of the campaign uses a metaphor of war to refer to a variety of action that does not constitute a specific war as traditionally defined. On 20 September, 2001, during a televised address to a joint session of congress, George Bush said "our war on terror begins with al Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated."

The Al-Qaida began to be important in the 1990s, when most nationalist Islamist groups gave up violence, because they recorgnised its negative consequences, to enter the political arena. The 9/11 attacks brought the rift into the open. Almost all the legal or underground Islamic groups and Muslim religious authorities condemned the indiscriminate violence of the jihadists and their ideology and their ideology as contrary to the message of the Qur'an. The media paid little attention to the schism and indiscriminate Islamophobia which seized western opinion and, dependent on prejudice and sloppy media presentation, confused Islam, Islamism, fundamentalism, jihadism and terrorism.

September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon near Washington, DC were shocking global media events that dominated public attention and provoked reams of discourse, reflection, and writing. These media spectacles were intended to terrorize the US, to attack symbolic targets, and to unfold a terror spectacle Jihad against the West, as well as to undermine the US and global economy. The World Trade Center is an apt symbol of global capitalism in the heart of the New York financial district, while the Pentagon stands as an icon and center of US military power (Kellner, 1999)

The 9/11 attacks were a gift to neo- conservatives, an invitation to roll out their programme of imperial expansion: occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, as prelude to the invasion of Iran; reinforced military presence in central Asia and the Gulf; control over oil resources; replacement of regimes refusing to bow to the new international order. All these to be done, in the name of the "global war on terrorism" (Rouleau, 2007).

Global terrorism was highly constructed and contested with one group's "terrorists" another group's "freedom fighters." Varied political groups labeled as terrorists have long constructed media spectacles of terror to promote their causes, attack their adversaries, and gain worldwide publicity and attention. There had been many major terror spectacles before, both in the US and elsewhere. Hijacking of airplanes had been a standard form constructing spectacles of terror, but the ante was significantly upped in 1970, when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hijacked three Western jetliners. The group forced the planes to land in the Jordanian desert, and then blew up the planes in an incident known as "Black September" which was the topic of a Hollywood film. In 1972, Palestinian gunmen from the same movement stunned the world when they took Israeli athletes hostage at the Munich Olympic Games, producing another media spectacle turned into an academy award-winning documentary film.

In 1975, an OPEC (Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries) meeting was disrupted in Vienna, Austria when a terrorist group led by the notorious Carlos the Jackal entered, killing three people and wounding several in a chaotic shootout. Americans were targeted in a 1983 terror campaign in Beirut Lebanon orchestrated by a Shiite Muslim suicide bomber, in which 243 US servicemen were killed; this led the US to withdraw its troops from

Lebanon. In 1985, US tourists were victims of Palestinians who seized the cruise ship Achilles Lauro, when Leon Klinghoffer, 69, a crippled Jewish American, was killed and his body and wheelchair were thrown overboard.

In 1984, the Reagan administration, which had significantly expanded the CIA – run program of funding the jihadi militants in Afghanistan, employed the term "war against terrorism" to pass legislation aimed at countering terrorist group in the wake of the 1983 Beirut barracks bombing that killed 241 U.S and 58 French Peace keepers. According to James Madison global war on terror is a series of persistent, targeted efforts to dismantle specific network of violated extremists that threaten us.

In 1993, the World Trade Center was assaulted in New York by Islamist radicals linked to Osama bin Laden, providing a preview of the more spectacular September 11 attack. In 1995, an American-born terrorist, Timothy McVeigh, bombed the Alfred P. Murray Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and wounding more than 500. And the bin Laden group assaulted US embassies in Africa in 1998 and a US destroyer harbored in Yemen in 2000. Consequently, terror spectacle is a crucial part of the deadly game of contemporary politics and the bin Laden group had systematically used spectacle of terror to promote its agenda. But the 9/11 terror spectacle was the most extravagant strike on US targets in its history and the first foreign attack on the continental US since the war of 1812.

Ahmed (1987) observed that the tone of the western media was against Islam, and the western media portray Islam as a violent and destructive religion for individuals and civilization (p, 93). During the 1979 hostage crisis in Iran, ABC commentator Frank

Reynolds over film footage Muslim Shi'ites chanting "Allah Akbar" meaning "God is Great" said that the he supposed the real meaning was "Hatred of America"

In a global media world, extravagant terror spectacles have been orchestrated in part to gain worldwide attention, dramatize the issues of the groups involved, and achieve specific political objectives. Previous Al Qaeda strikes against the US hit a range of targets to try to demonstrate that the US was vulnerable to terrorist attacks. The earlier 1993 World Trade Center bombing in New York, the embassy assaults in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the strike on the US Cole in 2000 combined surprise with detailed planning and coordination in well-orchestrated, high concept terror spectacle.(Kepel 2002)

## 2.6    History of Radio in Nigeria

Radio was introduced into Nigeria in 1932 when the Colonial Masters introduced BBC re-diffusion relay stations in Lagos and some states in Nigeria. Later the FGN converted these re-diffusion stations in Enugu, Calabar, Port-Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna, Jos and Zaria to full radio stations (Udomisor, 2013).  By 1952, all the radio stations came under the newly established Nigeria Broadcasting Service (NBS).  This equally, gave birth to the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation NBC in 1957 as an arm of the Ministry of Information. The NBC functioned until 1978, when it was replaced with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). In 1976, the News Agency of Nigeria was established. Television broadcast in Nigeria, however, started in as early as 1951, when the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) was commissioned. The WNTV was equally active in the agitation for independence of Nigeria. After the independence of Nigeria, private ownership of the media was no allowed

due to implications on national security. In 1992, however, many private media organizations were established when Decree No 32 was promulgated. Consequently, Nigeria had one of the largest and most active press community in Africa with about 497 electronic media organizations comprising of both radio and television stations, as against Kenya's 125 and South Africa's 143. This includes Ray Power 100.5 FM 11, the African Independent Television (AIT) and Channels Television among others.

Today the print and electronic media in Nigeria continue to increase in number with various regulatory bodies aimed at regulating their activities. These regulatory bodies include the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), the Nigerian Press Council (NPC) the Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE). Others are the Newspapers Proprietors' Association of Nigeria (NPAN) and the Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria (BON). Aiyesimoju opined that these regulatory bodies despite their statutory powers, have not effectively streamlined the role of media organisations in curbing insurgencies in Nigeria (Aiyesimoju, 2015). Consequently, the lack of effective institutional framework has negative impact on media reportage of current COIN operations in NE Nigeria. Thus, institutional framework is an issue in COIN operations for enhanced national security in Nigeria.

## 2.7    Evolution of Radio Nigeria Kaduna

RNK previously known as the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) was established on 15 March 1962, under a tripartite partnership between the defunct Northern Nigeria Regional Government, the Granada Television of Manchester and the Electrical Musical Industries (EMI) of Hayes, United Kingdom.  Established in order to promote,

project and protect the individual and collective interests of the people as well as facilitate the development process of the region while consciously safeguarding their freedoms and identity in the context of Nigerian Nation.

B.C.N.N. began its radio and television broadcast in Hausa and the nation's official languages, English. Later, other Northern ethnic languages were used for further dissemination. These include Fulfulde, Kanuri, Nupe, Igala, Idoma, Tiv, Igbira and Yoruba.(Shehu 2012). The station, to a large extent, was able to succeed amidst hardships and miraculous vicissitudes of survival and turbulent existence. Variously caused by, a gross misunderstanding of its historical circumstances and the desire by some forces that are determined to cut its perceived influence on the minds of audiences. (Daily Trust 11 March 2012).

As an institution RNK, appropriately tells the story of the North; its successes and challenges, as well as its fears and aspirations. The station through the magic box became a companion and a key informant in most households in rural and urban Northern Nigeria. Its signals were picked in different parts of West African sub- region extending to places like Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Chad, Niger, Cameroons and Gabon in Central Africa. It is however important, to appreciate that the average northerner is an ardent radio listener, partly because of the oral nature of the cultures in the environment and factors like low income and low reading culture. The radio has for obvious reasons of cost, access and relevance remained the most popular source of public information for the people. (Daily Trust 11th March 2012)

RNK became powerful medium due to its credibility and sense of belonging. Perhaps there are number of factors responsible for this credible and influential status. The power of RNK can be attributed to the three sources of media power identified by Guerevitch and Blumler. These sources of media potency are structural, psychological and normative in origin.

The structural strength of RNK lies in its unquestionable ability to reach out to an estimated fifty million audience which can hardly be delivered by any other radio stations in the country. This is a result of the powerful transmitters the station inherited from the defunct BCNN. The psychological basis of the power of RNK emanates from its historical evolution and the professional excellence the pioneer workers displayed over time. This gradually earned the station a commanding respect from the listeners whose collective and, to some extent, individual expectations were being reflected in the radio programmes.

As for the normative factors responsible for the power of RNK, mention can be made of its efficient delivery of entertainment, religious and cultural programmes by virtue of which listeners come to love and identify themselves with virtually all of the station's programmes. Such have been the socio-political vicissitudes of RNK. All the way, it has been enjoying full support, commendation and salutation from its listeners who demonstrate their feelings through letters of praises and constructive criticisms to Editors and Producers of certain programmes. (Shehu 2012).

RNK has impacted significantly in the history of the North and Nigeria as a whole. It maintained offices and provided one or two correspondents in all states of the federation to cover activities and strengthens its reach, influence and dominance.  The way and manner the

station covered the Nigerian civil war was indeed remarkable; the successes or failures of various Military regimes, coups and counter coups d'état, enlightenment programmes, mobilization towards civil rule and keeping people in politics cannot be ignored.

The 1990 Orka led coup was partly aborted by RNK when General Hassan Usman Katsina, though denouncing the existence of Kaduna Mafia physically went to RNK to instruct that Lagos network should not be linked up because the mutineers were making the coup broadcast, General Hassan, further ordered the GOCs in Kaduna and Jos to announce their detachment from the uprising against Babangida. RNK was perfectly used for that (Shehu 2012). It is probably true that the Northern elements in the military power bloc wanted to exploit the Sardauna legacy in order to propagate their own ideology. This could be done without necessarily taking over the BCNN. More so, the financial and political control of the radio station was undertaken by four of the six Northern States after Kwara and Benue Plateau States opted out of the commitment by the Interim Common Services -Agency (ICSA) to finance the BCNN (FRCN, 2008).

However, the decision of the four ICSA member-States (North-Central, Kano, North Western and North Eastern) to retain the BCNN had two implications. First, there was serious lack of sufficient funds to cater for the station's operational and servicing needs. Secondly, if they were able to maintain the radio station, the four states were likely to continue to use the BCNN for propagating regional politics which the federal government wanted to eliminate. These two issues underscored the bold memorandum Alhaji Dahiru Modibbo, then Managing Director of the BCNN, submitted to the ICSA Secretariat in 1975:

> 'The whole BCNN question must be seen in a Federal context and against the background of probable future developments in the Northern states... In my opinion, the best hope of maintaining the present radio services of the BCNN lies in a Federal Government takeover of the entire company...

Modibbo's memo did not receive any positive acclaim from ICSA; as such it was turned down. Two years later, however a crisis situation developed between the then Federal Commissioner of Information, Chief Ayo Ogunlode and the then Military Governor of Kaduna State, Group Captain Usman Jibrin over the frequency, reach, the power and the role of the BCNN. 'This crisis', according to Modibbo, 'led to the departure of both of them from government and the takeover of the station by the Federal Government.'

That was how the BCNN was taken over and merged with the NBC to form the FRCN on the first of April, 1978 when the Federal Government promulgated Decree No.8 (later amended to the Act of Parliament No.8 of 1979). It states that Radio Nigeria Kaduna (FRCN) is Nigeria's publicly funded radio broadcasting organization. Its corporate vision is "To be an impartial, credible, creative and digitized medium in the forefront of Nigeria's National development, unity and progress. It also holds a mission statement that states: "To create and maintain broadcast outfits that will serve as models in Nigeria and Africa in terms of standards, professionalism and character", and a scintillating mandate that goes: "To uplift the people and unite the nation", (FRCN, 2008).

However, despite this, the average Northern Christian believes that FRNK is an exclusive preserve of the Muslim Hausa/Fulani and that explains why a Christian has not been appointed to head the station. This can be underscored by the statement of the Former Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Kaduna chapter during the 50th anniversary of RNK

in his paper 'Religious Harmony and Peaceful Coexistence in the North'. He stated that 'if truly the north wants to be one, we expect that the MD of RNK, a Christian should be appointed'. This position was also shared by Kukah (1993) when he posited that RNK is exclusively a northern instrument for the propagation of northern interests and values as espoused by the Late Premier of Northern Nigeria and Sardauna of Sokoto Alhaji Ahmadu Bello.

Radio Nigeria today, has the highest number of radio broadcast professionals in Nigeria and most professional staff of private and state radio stations nationwide are products of Radio Nigeria. Its strengths include: network reach, creativity, credibility (it is most often quoted as a source of vital information), and goodwill associated with its name. Professional ethics, standards, commitment to excellence, corporate and individual resourcefulness, good taste, good judgment and high local programme content are all the grit of FRCN. The range of services includes news, current affairs, culture, public enlightenment, family enlightenment, family support, entertainment, education, religious, science and technology, fashion/styles and recreation, special events, and information support services and mobilization.

Therefore, studying Radio Nigeria Kaduna (FRCN Kaduna) and Global war on Terrorism with critical analysis of Duniya Makwanta Rikici (DMR) a programme produced and aired by the station in order to serve as counter narrative to the western media propaganda on third world particularly Africa. The public rely so much on the media for information and decision making. There has been series of religious crisis in Kaduna and the North at large and this study may assist policy makers and the public in taking decisions that will bring about peace and harmony in Nigeria.

This research is also treasured because of its envisaged value in the task of understanding the progressive, attitudinal change in people due to what they hear from radio as attuned to the personal processes and our national aspirations. In context, it is expected that the study would be of some use to philosophers, historians, social scientists, educationists and various arms of Government concerned with the continued peaceful progress of the country.

As part of its mandate of educating, entertaining and enlightening  the public, RNK only disseminates news and programmes   is largely interested in the positives that would contribute to human and nation building. One of the difficulties in attempting to analyse the relationship between the media and terrorists is that there is no clear consensus on the premium terrorist organizations place on getting the exact sort of publicity they want, or whether they will settle for anything that gets them in the public view. However, there is more evidence to suggest that the former rather than the latter is the case.

Barfield, (1996) gave an engaging account of early radio's contributions to social and cultural life, and brings together varied perspectives of listeners who recall the programs that delighted and entranced them. He demonstrates thereby just how important and influential radio was in the lives of ordinary Americans. He traces the changing perceptions of radio listener and offers responses to every major program type, including news reporting and commentary, sportscasts, drama, comedy series, crime and terror shows, educational and cultural programs, children's adventure series, soap operas, audience participation shows, and musical presentations.

Terrorists and the media have an interesting relationship. In recent events it would appear that, they carefully select their targets in knowing where the most media coverage will be accessible or in which events that would draw the most attention. The attacks on New York City on 11 September 2001 by al-Qaeda for example, made media coverage highly accessible, that the media was readily available to give firsthand accounts and acquire footage of photographs and videos for the media to show the world. In some instances it is debated that the media are the principal authors of the stereotyped and clearly negative vision that society has of terrorist organization's participants and activities. By this perception the media is considered to be "mere extensions of the enemy. One manner in which news media shape perceptions of key events is through the act of 'Framing'. Therefore, the study will highlight how RNK counter the western media on global terrorism in its own way by giving the listeners the other side of the story and of the analysis with a special focus *on Duniya Makwanta Rikici.* (DMR)

In news media, news frames serve as journalistic tools though which journalists recount a story in a limited amount of time, space and place an event within its broader context (Hallahan 1999:207). He used a framing metaphor to interpret news frame as a "window or portrait frame drawn around information that delimits the subject matter and, thus, focuses attention on key elements within." Lippmann (quoted in Papacharissi and Oliveiia, 2008: 52) notes that news is responsible for providing the "pseudo-environment" upon which people rely to experience and understand events they cannot observe directly and that news frames are important on how these events are reported since they reflect a process of recurring selection and emphasis in communicating perceived reality. They concluded that, frames in

media are key components in the study of selection and interpretation of news. As Bullock (2001:20) notes, framing affects how a story is told and influences public perception. One reason for this, according to Auerbach and Block Elkon (2005:13) is that the public's lack of awareness, along with their reliance on media for information and decision-making, make them more likely to be influenced by framing. They observed that:

> When the media place stories in specific frames, they lend a different meaning to the news. The media increases or decreases the salience of issues. Framing assumes that subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation might affect how audience members think about the situation.

Research shows that news dealing with unrest and crisis, like terrorism,, influences public perceptions and concerns. When such events cause destruction in the society, it severely affects members in that community. Generally, these events allow researchers to assess the degree to which media influence the public on selected news and shape their view (Brunkeri, 2006: 2). Therefore this study intends to critically analyse the contribution of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) of RNK with regards to the global war on terrorism as a counter narrative to the western media propaganda.

## 2.8    Duniya Makwanta Rikici (DMR)

News broadcasting deals with various news event and other information with emphasis on reports, while   current affairs, as a unit in the news department is a genre of broadcast journalism that dwells on detailed analysis and discussion of topical issues as presented in news stories that have recently occurred or are ongoing at the time of broadcast. The news and current affairs of Radio Nigeria Kaduna RNK is an operational division responsible for

the gathering and broadcasting of news, its analysis and discussion of topical issues found in the news story.

The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* was introduced in 1998 as a product of the News and Current Affairs Department of RNK x-rays situations of conflict and war prone areas of the world. Africa for a very long time experienced various dimension of violent fragmentations of states leading to the loss of many lives and property as seen in many African countries like, Liberia, Algeria, Sierra Leone, Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria etc (Auwalu 2018).

*Duniya Makwanta Rikici* was not the first of its kind in RNK, for instance, in early 1990s, when Africa was engulfed in series of wars (Angola (1975- 2002, Liberia 1989-1991, Sierra Leone 1991 and Rwanda 1990 1994) the management of RNK responded with a programme called '*Afrika a yau*' to give the listeners firsthand account of these wars in different perspective as against the skewed reportage of the western media on Africa. Subsequently, during the Gulf war in 1992, RNK again launched 'Mu kewaye *Duniya musha labari'* another counter to the western propaganda on the true reflections in Iraq. In other words, both programmes '*Afrika a yau'* and 'Mu kewaye *Duniya musha labari'* are precursors to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. Programmes like *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* became absolutely necessary considering lopsided nature of news particularly foreign news emanating from the western media such as the BBC, VOA, CNN, DW, RFI, and REUTERS etc.

Media blitz in the west against third world countries exert media power over countries especially those lacking in a strong media presence. They display News and Discussions, Movies, Video, Pictures, Music, and the internet. Over a period of time, it has been clear that

the western media has had a large influence over our perception of the society in which we live. As a counter narrative to the western propaganda, on Islam and Africa, The management of RNK believed that most of this crisis is largely due to the role the western world played as colonial imperialists. The west initiated as an enterprise aimed at creating source of raw material supplies a well as markets for manufactured goods of European countries was turned into political game in which the distant pawns of Africa, Asia, and Latin America were arranged to reflect the changing political power constellations in Europe. Political, economic, social, and cultural factors combined to establish which by force of arms, in equitable treaties and many other devices oppressive measure were imposed and promoted over native people with a view to exploiting the resource of their land for the benefit of European mother countries.

The west has been fanning the ambers of crisis and conflict in Africa under the guise of democracy, human right abuses, corruption and bad governance. Violent conflicts of one type or another have afflicted Africa and exacted a heavy toll on the continent's societies, polities and economies robbing off their developmental potential and democratic possibilities. Africa has records of wars and conflicts resulting to loss of lives and property. It encompasses colonial wars, wars of independence, secessionist and separatist conflicts. Major episodes of national violence, like riots, massacres etc. and global conflicts in which Africa was a theatre of war. (Zeleza 2008)

In order to checkmate these atrocities of the west, programmes like *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* were designed by RNK to give the listeners the ''other side of the story and of the analysis'' in an Africa perspective with a view to conscientize the public on world events particularly

Africa (Shehu, 2017). *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* was originally named Africa and world affairs, where major happenings around the world were reviewed and highlighted. There was the Hausa version of the programme called 'Mu kewaya Duniya mu sha labari'. By 2000, the then Assistant Director News and Current affairs, Buhari Auwalu, directed that the programme "Mu kewaya Duniya mu sha labari" had outlived its relevance and therefore, needed to be replaced, hence the introduction of the programme *'Duniya Makwanta Rikici.''(*Sani, 2017).

The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* was conceived in view of the proliferation of conflicts across the globe during the 2000s. Crises such as, the ones in Iraq, waged by the US and the western world, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Congo, Burundi, and Afghanistan, where all eyes were on the Taliban regime. The purpose of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR is to sensitize Nigerians, particularly listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna on world events. As a colonized country, we have challenges of war and conflicts. And these crises have direct or indirect link and consequences with the interest of the west, otherwise the colonial masters (Shehu, 2017).

As part of the imperialist's agenda, of continued dominance and control the resources of third world countries particularly Africa, most of the conflicts and crises were ignited and supported by the west in order to destabilize Africa all in hope to gain unfettered access to their wealth and resources. The West sees nothing good in Africa and the Middle East, because they are endowed with human and natural resources, hence their resolve to employ means of getting those resources to themselves. Majority of the Arabs are Muslims as such any attempt to destabilize them will be viewed as fighting Islam in addition to the long

existing feud between the Arabs and the Jews (Israel) the injustices of the west in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya and African countries and so on.(Shehu, 2017).

However, all these cannot be done easily, except through crises and conflicts. When you are at war, you buy arms and ammunitions to kill yourselves and destroy property and the west is called or is giving the contract to rebuild. For instance Iraq and Libya where western companies were giving the contract to reconstruct (Shehu, 2017). The current affairs unit created a think tank that meets from time to time to evaluate and offer suggestions and various approaches that will help shape the programme not to lose focus. They closely monitor the activities of the programme and at the end of every month evaluate it. The think tank members include, BuhariAuwalu, Rabiu Isa Kaita, Sama'ila Shehu, Suleiman Shehu and Dahiru Muhammad Sani

Most of the resource persons for DMR are from the academia, Civil society organizations (CSOs), they independently conduct research on issues to be discussed without been influenced by the media. Some of the prominent resource persons include,

      Prof. Kabiru Mato

      Kabir Garba

      El Haroun Muhammad

      Late Dr.Sabo Bako

      Nuhu Ramalan

      Abdulhamid Babatunde

Regarding whether there was any yard stick for measuring and evaluating the programme, perhaps, there was none but however the think tank committee meet from time to time to ensure the programme never lose focus. This is in addition to the usual Departmental meetings and the responses we receive from visiting listeners on almost weekly basis (Sani, 2017).

The content programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is often used to write News commentaries and News, all in order to achieve certain goal or set an agenda for the listeners. The programme through such efforts was able to shape the minds of Nigerians particularly northerners, on social and political issues of the world. However Nigerian Government became weary on taking position or reaction on world affairs particularly on political and religious matters. For example crisis in Algeria on Islamic Salvation Front and Desert Storm where the Government took cognizance of the religious implications before it acted (Shehu, 2017).

> At some point Government was worried on the pattern of the programme and the timing. I remember when the US and the allied forces launched the Desert storm in Iraq against Saddam Hussein in 1992, the News and Current Affairs had earlier issued a special promo on the planned programme which was aired almost two weeks to the date the Desert storm was to be launched, the programme was to give live firsthand account of the assault bearing in mind the already established propaganda against Saddam and the war by the western media. As the Iraqis claimed the war to be a Holy war, seeking support from all Muslims around the world, the Government had to ask for the programme to be delayed not to be aired live and to be careful as the issue had generated serious religious concerns. This tells you the influence and importance of the programme DMR and how it was used at different occasions to counter the west and on issues regarding Islam and Africa (Shehu, 2018: 23).

The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* dwells on situations in conflicts and war prone areas of the world. The program is interactive in nature where experts are invited with a topic

for discussion. The programme is recorded mostly in the studios of RNK at the discretion of the producer and presenter. The duration of the programme is 30 minutes and Hausa is used as the medium of communication (Sheriff, 2017). Both "*Duniya Makwanta Rikici*" and its English version "The Spotlight," were meant to highlight and discuss the crises that shaped the present world starting with the second world war, the conflicts between India and Pakistan over Kashmir etc. it was also meant to discuss the crises in different parts of the world particularly Africa, giving the African perspectives to the crises and preferring solutions. Topics or areas of conflicts that are discussed in the programme are selected based on their currency and relevance (Sani, 2017).

The program is first broadcast on every Monday at 1830hrs -1900hrs and repeated every Thursday by 14:00hrs -14:30hrs. The current affairs unit adopted an alternative source of information for DMR, bearing in mind the lopsided nature of the western media and the west. The unit utilized fully the News Agency of Nigeria NAN, Russian and Chinese news agencies for so many reasons.

1.    NAN was at the time very functional, it has reporters across the world.

2.    NAN news stories are presented to the public in African perspective. They had some reporters like Abubakar Matazu and Muktar Muhammad who were very resourceful and dependable, their approach to issues were objective contrary to the western media.

3.    Chinese and Russian news agencies were more objective than the western media. They give diverging reports

Over the years, *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* has recorded huge success in concertizing the public and promoting Nigeria in good light. The big brother posture of Nigeria was promoted through various interventions and peace keeping missions in the programme.

## 2.9    Theoretical Framework

The theory of agenda setting can be traced first to Walter Lippmann's book *Public opinion* (1992). Lippmann argues that the mass media are the principal connection between events in the world and the images in the minds of public. Without using the term agenda setting Walter Lippmann was writing about what we today would have been called agenda setting. Following Lippmann, in 1963, Bernard Cohen observed that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. As early as the 1960s, Cohen had expressed the idea that later led to the formalization of agenda setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1968).

The concept of agenda setting was launched by McCombs and Shaw during the 1968 presidential election in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. They examined Lippmann's idea of construction of the pictures in our heads by comparing the issues on the media agenda with key issues on the undecided voters' agenda. They found evidence of agenda setting by identifying that salience of the news agenda is highly correlated to that of the voters' agenda. McCombs and Shaw were the first to provide the field of communication with empirical evidence that demonstrated the power of mass media and its influence on the public agenda. The power of the news media to set a nation agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well documented influence.

Walter Lippmann (1992)  news media are primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world public affairs, a world that for most citizens is" out of reach, out of sight, out of mind," what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influenced the priorities of the public. Element prominent on the media agenda became prominent in the public mind.

The study is fashioned on these viewpoints and therefore settles on the agenda setting theory of Dr. Maxwell McCombs and Dr. Donald Shaw in 1972. This theory describes the ability of the news media to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda. The theory exerts a significant influence on what people considered to be the major issues in their lives. It is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the media.

Agenda setting has two levels. The first level enacts the common subjects that are most important, and the second level decides what parts of the subject are important. These levels of agenda setting lead into three parts according to Rogers and Dearing. (*Agenda Setting Research) the* first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public thinks, this is referred to as public agenda, ultimately, the public agenda influences the policy agenda. Furthermore, the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda (Littlejohn, 1972).

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw have brought the importance of agenda setting when they carried out the Chapel Hill study. Their emphasis and goal was that agenda setting

issues found in the news media and among the general public is what sets the media agenda. The agenda setting theory, gives the media power to establish what news we see or hear and what part of the news is important to see or hear. It is used to establish the media agenda and to retrieve the opinion of the public.

Price and Tewksbury, (1995), view agenda setting, as one variant of priming or framing. They do not differ, however, from other scholars in their definitions of both concepts. Agenda setting looks on the story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issues, importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not in which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented, on the way public problems are formulated for the media audience. The mass media are distributors of ideology (Gitlin 1980) this ideology is created and distributed primarily through framing or the way information is organized and presented. (Charlotte Ryan 1991) describes framing as how news stories are made ie how pieces of information are selected and organized to produce stories that make sense to their writers and audiences.

Agenda setting occurs through a cognitive process known as "accessibility" this implies that, the more frequently and prominently the news media cover an issue, the more instances of that issue become accessible in audience's memories. When respondents are asked what the most important problem facing the country is, they answer with the most accessible news issue in memory, which is typically the issue the news media focused on the most. The agenda setting effect is not the result of receiving one or few messages but is due to the

aggregate impact of a very large number of messages, each of which has a different content but all of which deal with the same general issue.

Mass media coverage in general and agenda setting in particular also has a powerful impact on what individual think that other people are thinking, and hence they tend to allocate more importance to issues that have been extensively covered by mass media. This is also called Schemata theory. In Psychology and cognitive science, a schema describes a pattern of thought or behaviour that organizes categories of information and the relationships among them.

The Agenda setting theory as presented above basically emphasizes the role of the media in informing the public on critical issues in society. In this respect *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* can be viewed as one of the media's means of reaching out and enlightening the public on global affairs especially by presenting Africa's true conflict/terrorism profile. Thus, RNK sets the Agenda from Africa's standpoint while also countering western notions about the continent. In this light, the Agenda Setting theory aptly fits into this study as a tool of analysis.

## CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1    Introduction

This study sought to find out whether there are any influences that have led to formed opinion, or behaviours and attitudes based on Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) and global war on terrorism with critical analysis of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. The study was structured around the major precepts of Agenda Setting Theory of Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972). This chapter therefore presents the steps taken to gather data used in the study.

**3.2 Research Design**

This study carried out an in depth analysis of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* with the attempt to try and prove or disprove, if certain news items and/or programmes broadcast from western media do excite and/or have effects on listeners, wherefore, they could be influenced by the sensitive and volatile information pertaining to Islam and Africa. The study therefore adopted the qualitative and quantitative research designs for data collection. For the qualitative design, the in depth interview was used as the methodology while the survey methodology was adopted for the quantitative research design.

**3.3 Population**

The population of a study is the group of interest to the researcher. It is the group or individuals to which the results or outcomes of the study become generalizable. For the survey methodology, the population consisted of regular listeners of the Programme Duniya Makwanta Rikici and these are individuals who gave necessary information on the subject matter. The survey was conducted in Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, Nasarawa and Zamfara States. For the in depth interview, the population consisted of nine (9) persons i.e the Zonal

Director RNK (Respondent 1), Producers/ Presenters of DMR, past and present and Resource persons. They are outlined below:

1. Buhari Auwalu Zonal Director

2. Suleiman Shehu- Production

3. Dahiru Muhammad Sani- Presenter

4. Hauwa Sheriff- Producer and Presenter

5. Prof. Kabiru Mato- Resource Person

6. Prof Mohammed Dikwa- Resource Person

7. Kabiru Garba- Resource Person

8. Abdulhamid Babatunde- Resource Person

9. ElHaroun Muhammad- Resource Person

## 3.4    Sample Size and Sampling Technique

With the survey method, the work focused on 150 ((one hundred and fifty) respondents and these are individuals who gave necessary information on the subject matter. In choosing respondents for the survey method, the convenience sampling technique was adopted. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. The subjects would be easy to recruit for the study but would not be strictly representatives of the entire population. There is an infinite population to this study and the area stretches to as far as the radio waves could reach. It was also limited to Hausa listeners and those who understood the Hausa language. It would be ideal to test the entire population, but in this case, the station has a very long reach, the population of listeners has a large spatial spread that a random

sampling method would be cumbersome and highly tasking. This is the reason why the work relied on the convenience sampling as a preferred survey technique because it is fast, inexpensive, easy, as the subjects are readily available.

Furthermore the study interviewed some resource persons of the programme including Prof. Kabiru Mato, Prof. Mohammed Dikwa, Kabir Garba, El Haroun  Muhammad and Abdulhamid Babatunde, and they constitute the sample size for the in depth interview. They were sampled purposively because they stood the chance of giving the required data needed for the study. The sample size therefore, stands at 159 respondents.

## 3.5    Instruments

The instrument used for data collection for the survey was questionnaire. The questionnaire which is a collection of short and specific questions directly related to the research is divided into two parts. The first part consisted of questions that bordered on the respondents' bio-data, while the second section contained questions that related to the subject matter of the research. The respondents gave appropriate answers to all the questions.

Interview guide was the instrument used for the interview. It summarizes the content that researchers cover during interviews. At one extreme, they may provide very minimal directions, leading to "less structured" interviews that are designed. Interview guides can be helpful to researchers who are conducting semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews. Unstructured interviews were conducted with relevant stakeholders. These include personnel stated above.

The justification for using the questionnaire and interview guide is to collect first-hand and independent opinions to back up and indeed validate or invalidate the secondary sources and the research questions.

## 3.6 Validity and Reliability

The validity of the instruments was ensured using two measures. Firstly the reliability of the data collection instrument was pre-tested and necessary corrective measures taken. Some questions were added, some rephrased to enhance comprehension while the others were discarded entirely. Secondly, the trustworthiness of the key informant responses was ensured through cross reference questions.

## 3.7 Method of Data Presentation and Analysis

Data obtained from various sources were analyzed using quantitative and qualitative methods to arrive at deductions from which the findings of the study were made. While the quantitative statistical descriptive analysis handled the survey data, systematic qualitative descriptive analysis took care of the interview data. Statistical measures of simple percentages and frequency distribution tables were used to sum the mass of the information that were generated during field work. Appropriate analytical methods were further applied to assess the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (the world as bedrock of conflicts and crises).

# CHAPTER FOUR

## DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

### 4.1    Introduction

This chapter has to do specifically with presentation, analysis and interpretation of data of the data collected from the field. The results obtained from the field through quantitative method are presented in tables using both frequencies and percentages which illustrate the level of responses gotten during the survey. A total of 150 sample size questionnaires were administered to listeners of Radio Nigeria. The analysis was however based on the 120 questionnaire returned. The presentation and analysis of the results are based on the objectives of the study.

### 4.2    Data Presentation

This section presents the data gotten from the field. Data for the survey method is presented using statistical tables while data from the in depth interview is presented in narrative form.

### 4.2a Data Presentation for the Survey Research Method

A total of one hundred and fifty (150) copies of the questionnaire were distributed to listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna. However, a total of one hundred and twenty (120) copies of the questionnaire were retrieved and considered valid. The data is therefore presented thus:

**Table 4.2.1: Sex of Respondents**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Male | 92 | 76.7 |
| Female | 28 | 23.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.1 reveals the sex of respondents who participated in the survey. It shows that 76.7% of the respondents from the population are males, while 23.3% are females. This goes further to show that male participants as respondents are more in the survey. This also reveals that the male respondents listen to the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* compared to their female counterparts.

**Table 4.2.2: Age of Respondents**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| 18-30 years | 30 | 25.0 |
| 31-45 years | 48 | 40.0 |
| 46 years above | 36 | 30.0 |
| No response | 6 | 5.0 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.2 shows that the between 18-30 years participated in the survey comprising of 25% of the sample, while the age between 31-45 years make up 40% o of the respondents, and 30% is made up of the 46 years and above. Although, 5% of the respondents did not respond. This implies that 40% of the respondents between the ages 31-45 is significant and shows that the active population of the respondents listens to programmes of Radio Nigeria Kaduna.

**Table 4.2.3: Marital Status of Respondents**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Married | 80 | 66.7 |
| Single | 36 | 30.0 |
| No response | 4 | 3.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.3 shows the marital status of respondents and that 66.7% of the respondents are married while 30% are single. This goes further to imply that most of the married respondents are active and listen to programmes of Radio Nigeria Kaduna. This is an indication that the married are aware of Radio Nigeria Kaduna programmes and at the same time are more enlightened.

**Table 4.2.4: Educational Qualification of Respondents**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Masters | 28 | 23.3 |
| Degree/HND | 48 | 40.0 |
| Diploma/NCE | 18 | 15.0 |
| SSCE | 22 | 18.3 |
| No response | 4 | 3.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.4 shows the educational qualification of respondents who participated in the survey. 23.3% of the respondents have Masters Degree, 40% of the respondents have degree and HND, on the other hand 15% have diploma and NCE while 18.3% have SSCE and 3.3% did not respond. This implies that a significant number of the respondents who listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna are educated and they have degree and HND from various institutions. This goes a long way to enable them understand the role of Radio Nigeria Kaduna towards enlightenment and awareness on various programmes.

**Table 4.2.5 Respondents view on whether they listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna RNK**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 114 | 95.0 |
| No | 6 | 5.0 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

From table 4.2.16 above it can be observed that 95.0 % of the respondents indicated that they have been listening to Radio Nigeria Kaduna, while only 5.0% of the respondents said that they have not been listening to Radio Nigeria Kaduna. This implies that Radio Nigeria Kaduna gives update of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici.* This is so because the activity of Radio Nigeria Kaduna gives update and information on programmes, events and current happenings. This gives the study a strong basis of analysis in view of the number of respondents who listen to the programme.

**Table 4.2.6: Respondents view on whether *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) provides alternative view on World affairs contrary to the Western Media**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 88 | 73.3 |
| No | 8 | 6.7 |
| No response | 24 | 20.0 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

The findings from table 4.2.6 reveal that 73.3% of the respondents said that they the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* gives them the view and perspective on world affairs which is contrary to the Western media. While 6.7% of the respondents do not see *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as an alternative view of World affairs compared to the Western media, and 20.0% did not respond. This implies that a significant number of the respondents see *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a programme that provides alternative view and perspective on world affairs which is contrary to the Western media. This goes further to ascertain that the listeners are open minded and see the programme as an alternative which gives them knowledge on development, World affairs compared to that of Western media.

**Table 4.2.7: Respondents' opinions and their description of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a programme**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Objective | 90 | 75.0 |
| Biased | 4 | 3.3 |
| No response | 26 | 21.7 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

The table above reveals the opinion of respondents in describing *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a programme. The table shows that 75% of the respondents opined that the programme is objective, while 3.3% opined and are of the view that programme is biased while 21.7% did

not respond. The implications of the findings show that the *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is an objective programme that has yielded positive results in terms of portraying Africa and Islam in positive light.

**Table 4.2.8: Respondents' Assessment of the Contributions of the Resource Persons invited for the programme**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Reliable and useful | 92 | 76.7 |
| Not reliable | 6 | 5.0 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.8 show that 76.7% of the respondents made an assessment of the contributions of the resource persons that were invited for the programme as reliable and useful, 5.0% said that the contributions of the resource persons invited for the programme are not reliable and 18.3% did not respond. The implication is that the resource persons have contributed their quota in ensuring that the programme develops and gives useful knowledge to listeners. This

goes further to say that, reliability is a vital tool for information dissemination which encourages dependability on the part of the programme and its ability to be sustained for a long period of time.

**Table 4.2.9: Respondents' views on whether *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is addressing the lopsided nature of western media against Islam and Africa**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Good | 46 | 38.3 |
| Fair | 40 | 33.3 |
| Poor | 12 | 10.0 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

The data in table 4.2.9 above clearly shows that there is a general consensus that the programme Duniya Makwanta Rikici is addressing the lopsided nature of western media against Islam and Africa. This is corroborated by the assertion that the media in the African nations affected by the extremists' activities, in some instances, use frames that supress the negative influence and perceived dominance of the terror groups on the public peace in the African continent, while in most cases the media use frames that could highlight the negative influence and image of terror in manners that could negatively affect the public psyche and global perception of Africa.

To Identify How the Backlash of Western Media Imperialism affect Radio Nigeria, Islam and Africa.

**Table 4.2.10 Respondents' views of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 84 | 70.0 |
| No | 14 | 11.7 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.10 reveal respondents perspective of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media. The response rate reveal that 70.0% of the respondents said yes they see the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media, while 11.7% do not see Duniya Makwanta Rikici as a counter narrative to the Western Media and lastly 18.3% did not respond. The result reveals that there is a significant response, given that most of the respondents are of the view and they see *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media. This shows that the respondents are up to date, they listen to the programme, they are aware of global issues regarding the message and views of Western Media and conscious of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici.*

**Table 4.2.11 Respondents' views on the Counter Approach of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici***

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 96 | 80.0 |
| No | 2 | 1.7 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |

| Total | 120 | 100.0 |
|---|---|---|

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

In Table 4.2.11 above, the respondents were asked if *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* actually serves its purpose of countering western notions about Islam and Africa. The table shows if the respondents agree in their own view on the approach of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. The table reveals that 80.0% agreed on the approach of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*, while 1.7% do not agree on the approach of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. Lastly the 18.3% of the respondents did not respond. This implies that a significant number of the respondents are in support of the approach of the programme which serves to enlighten the listen and gives them up to date messages on global issues.

**Table 4.2.12 Respondents' views on whether the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* treats issues of conflicts/terrorism objectively**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 90 | 75.0 |
| No | 8 | 6.7 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| Total | 120 | 100.0 |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.12 reveals that 75.0% of the respondents are of the view that the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* treats issues of conflict/terrorism objectively, while 6.7% of the respondents said the programme does not treat issues of conflicts/terrorism objective and 18.3% did not respond. Impliedly, the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* does not treat issues of conflicts/terrorism biased motive, but its objectivity enhance positive enlightenment campaign for growing listeners around the globe especially in Nigeria. This programme has a way of creating and impacting positive lessons towards a peaceful and egalitarian society in Nigeria.

**Table 4.2.13 Respondents' views on whether all Muslims are considered to be terrorists**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 4 | 3.3 |
| No | 114 | 95.0 |
| No response | 2 | 1.7 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

The table 4.2.13 reveals that 3.3% of the respondents said yes that all Muslims are considered to be terrorists, while 95% said that not all Muslims are terrorists and 1.7% did not respond. This further implies from the result that a significant number of the respondents are of the view that not all Muslims are terrorists. So therefore we conclude and say that from the listeners' perception, they consider that not all Muslims are terrorists.

**Table 4.2.14 Respondents view on whether Islam supports and encourages terrorism**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 10 | 8.3 |
| No | 110 | 91.7 |
| **Total** | **120** | **18.3** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.14 shows the respondents view as regards to whether Islam supports and encourages terrorism. The table reveals that 8.3% of the respondents said that "yes" Islam supports and encourages terrorism while 91.7% said "no" Islam does not support and encourage terrorism. The implication is that a significant response showing that Islam does not support and encourage terrorism. This goes further to ascertain that only majority of Islam are against terrorism masterminded by a few to tarnish the image of Islam in the World as terrorists. This finding is in line with table 4.2.15, which shows the opinion of respondents saying that 95% of Muslims are not terrorist, which is significant.

**Table 4.2.15: Respondents' views on whether the global war on terrorism particularly against Islamic countries is about safeguarding oil supplies to the West**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 100 | 83.3 |
| No | 20 | 16.7 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 120 | 100.0 |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.15 above reveal that 83.3% of the respondents said that "Yes" the global war on terrorism especially on Islamic countries is about safeguarding oil supplies to the West, while 16.7% said "No" the global war on terrorism particularly on Islamic countries is not about safeguarding oil supplies in the West.

**Table 4.2.16 Respondents views on whether demonizing Africa by Western media is an attempt to permanently control Africa**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 106 | 88.3 |
| No | 14 | 11.7 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.16 shows that 88.3% of the respondents are of the view that the Western media demonizes Africa in an attempt to control Africa, while 11.7% indicated that are of the view that the Western media is not demonizing Africa in order to permanently control her. This further implies that a significant number of respondents have made a good observation and are convinced without doubt that the Western media have in their various activities attempted to control and demonize Africa.

**Table 4.2.17 Respondents' views on how often they listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Regularly | 64 | 53.3 |
| Occasionally | 48 | 40.0 |
| No response | 8 | 6.7 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.17 above as can be observed that 53.3% of the respondents reveal that they regularly listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna, while 40.0% of the respondents said they listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna occasionally. The implication is that listeners of Radio Nigeria are regular and have update on issues, programmes and events. It also shows that these regular respondents have interest in listening to programmes of Radio Nigeria Kaduna.

**Table 4.2.18 Respondents' views on whether they have ever heard of the programme** *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Yes | 100 | 83.3 |
| No | 20 | 16.7 |
| Total | 120 | 100.0 |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.18 shows the various views of respondents as regards to whether they have ever heard of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. The responses reveal that 83.3% of the respondents said that they have heard of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici,* while

16.7% said they have not heard of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. This implies that majority of the respondents ability to listen to the programme is significant. It is significant probably because the programme is educative and serves to update majority of the respondents to be aware of issues and events concerning *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*.

**Table 4.2.19: Respondents' views on frequent listening to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici***

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Weekly | 70 | 58.3 |
| Monthly | 26 | 21.7 |
| Nil | 24 | 20.0 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

The response rate in table 4.2.19 reveal that 58.3% of the respondents indicate that they listen to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* on a weekly basis; while21.7% said they listen to the programme monthly, while 20.0% said they don't listen to the programme. This implies that significant number of respondents listens to the programme weekly; this is because the Hausa programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is a global issue that treats current happenings around the world.

**Table 4.2.20: Respondents' views on how long they have been listening to the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici***

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1-3 years | 44 | 36.7 |
| 3-10 years | 32 | 26.7 |
| Above 10 years | 22 | 18.3 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| Total | 120 | 100.0 |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

Table 4.2.20 reveals how long respondents have been listening to the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. It shows that 58.3% of the respondents have been listening to the programme between the periods of 1-3 years, 26.7% have been listening to the programme for a period of 3-10 years, while 18.3% have also been listening to the programme for more than ten years. Lastly, 18.3% of did not respond.

**Table 4.2.21: Respondents view on whether they believe the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is still useful and focused**

| Response | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, very relevant | 84 | 70.0 |
| No, it has derailed | 14 | 11.7 |
| No response | 22 | 18.3 |
| **Total** | **120** | **100.0** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2018**

The respondents view in table 4.2.21 reveal that 70% said yes, the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is very relevant, while 11.7% said no, the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* has derailed, and 18.3% did not respond. This implies that there is a significant percentage response revealing that the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is still relevant, useful and focused.

## 4.2b Data Presentation for the In Depth Interview

Total number of respondents for the in depth interview is nine (9). These consist of the Zonal Director of RNK, Producers/ Presenters and Resource Persons. Basically the in depth interview focused on the programme, why it was created and what it hoped to achieve. It also focused on the approach or pattern of the programme; how the West sees Africa, DMR and the imperial West.

In the view of Mato (2018): he said:

> "The Western media have taken a well-articulated measure to dehumanize Islam and demonize Africa in order to continue to control the resources of these countries. Most of the crisis today, in Africa and perhaps the third world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimensions and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners".

There have been claims and counter claims as to how Africa is stereotyped by the Western media. While some journalism scholars believe that foreign media predominantly use negative frames to project Africa, others argue that this claim is as a result of misrepresentation or is a myth. Despite aggressive debates on this controversy, there

are yet scholarly studies, especially from Nigeria, to test the veracity of this claim, at least from the perspective of African journalism scholars.

Suleiman Shehu also opined (2017),

> "The West sees nothing good in Africa and the Middle East, because they are endowed with human and natural resources, hence their resolve to employ means of getting those resources to themselves. Majority of the Arabs are Muslims as such any attempt to destabilize them will be viewed as fighting Islam in addition to the long existing feud between the Arabs and the Jews (Israel) the injustices of the west in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya and African countries and so on. However, all these cannot be done easily, except through crises and conflicts. When you are at war, you buy arms and ammunitions to kill yourselves and destroy property and the west is called upon or is giving the contract to rebuild".

The trends from the forgoing empirical reviews show that on the whole, foreign news media report terrorism in the Sub-Saharan Africa in a way that could not only project Africa as a continent replete with all forms of crises, but also further escalate the spate of terror in the region.

Prof. Mohammed Dikwa (2017) confirmed thus;

> "Ironically, the performance of African media in respect of their coverage of terrorism in the Sahel is ambivalent and less impressive, not in terms of quantity of coverage, but in respect of their ideological slants.

Again Babatunde (2018) asserted that;

> "The programme discusses crises and conflicts in the World particularly Africa. It is a counter to the Western dominated media. The programme has sympathy for Africa and Islam contrary to the Western media as it uses its influence and reach to demonize Africa and dehumanize Islam as part of the Western imperialism."

According to Kabir Garba (2018) interviewed, he said,

> The USA as we fondly call her in Hausa Kanwa Uwar Gami (catalyst of the highest magnitude) has been responsible for igniting conflicts around the world; the public

must be made to understand the international conspiracy between nations and its implications to our wellbeing".

El Haroun Mohammad (2018): also agreed that,

"As part of the imperialist's agenda of continued dominance and control, the resources of third world countries particularly Africa, most of the conflicts and crises were ignited and supported by the west in order to destabilize Africa all in hope to gain unfettered access to their wealth".

Buhari Awwalu (2018) corroborated thus;

"Therefore, a counter to these imperialist's agenda was necessary. *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) was created to x- rays situations in conflicts and war prone areas of the world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimension and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners".

Dahiru Mohammad Sani (2017) also believed that,

"The programme has contributed immensely in providing background information on the conflicts that happened or are still happening in the world. Some of the listeners to the programme confirmed to me that they enjoyed it so much so that they abandoned BBC Hausa service every Monday 630 a.m. just to listen to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) because it was educative'.

## 4.3.    Discussion of Major Findings

This section discusses the findings of the study in relation to the research objectives and previous empirical works done by other scholars. Many of the findings were made from analysis and interpretation of data collected from the field. For better understanding of the findings, the objectives are re-instated as follows: to examine the effect of the pattern of broadcast of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) in the way it relates to western media propaganda. To identify how the backlash of Western media imperialism affect Radio

Nigeria Kaduna (RNK), Islam and Africa, to establish how listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR).

The finding revealed that the effect of the pattern of broadcast of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* which in way relates to western programme have significant effect on listeners. This is because Table 4.2.6 on page 49 reveals that 73.3% being the majority of the respondents who are listeners of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* of Radio Nigeria said the programme provides an alternative view on World affairs contrary to the Western media. This is also manifested in a situation where a large majority of the listeners described *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as an objective programme and Table 4.2.9 on page 53 empirically show that the programme is good because it addresses the lopsided nature of Western media against Islam and Africa as attested by 38.3% of respondents.

This corroborates the assertion by Papacharissi and Oliveiia, (2008) that news is responsible for providing the "Pseudo-environment" upon which people rely on to experience and understand events they cannot observe directly and that news frames are important on how these events are reported, since they reflect a process of recurring selection and emphasis in communicating perceived reality. Mato (Respondent 6) asserted that the Western media have taken a well-articulated measure to dehumanize Islam and demonize Africa in order to continue to control the resources of these countries. Most of the crisis today, in Africa and perhaps the third world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimensions and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners.

The implication is that the manner in which the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is designed in relation to its activities reported has a way of influencing the listeners of the programme. This is in line with Babatunde's (Respondent 8) view that the programme discusses crises and conflicts in the World particularly Africa. It is a counter to the Western dominated media; we invite knowledgeable persons on issues and events where we focus on the perspective that is not influenced by the West.

As regards to objective two which deals with identifying how the backlash of Western media imperialism affect Radio Nigeria, Islam and Africa. The findings revealed that Western media imperialism has not affected the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* about Islam and Africa. This is because the empirical result in Table 4.2.10 shows that majority (70%) indicate that listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna said *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is a counter narrative to the Western media and therefore, the Western media, does not affect the listeners Radio Nigeria about Islam and Africa. Again the finding in Table 4.2.11 goes further to show that 80% of the respondents said they like the style and approach of Radio Nigeria. This accounts for why majority of them said they support similar activities of Radio Nigeria.

From objective three which is to do with establishing how listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*. The findings revealed that the listeners of Radio Nigeria have perceived *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* with a wide coverage. Where the findings in Table 4.2.12 reveal that majority (75%) of respondents listen *to Duniya Makwanta Rikici*, also in Table 4.2.17 indicate that majority showing 53.3% regularly listen to Radio Nigeria programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* and majority 58.3% as seen in Table 4.2.19, listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna programme on a weekly basis. This further affirms

how the listeners perceive the programme of Radio Nigeria Kaduna which gives them the opportunity to be enlightened and up to date on issues and events across the World.

Specifically speaking, the major findings of the study are stated in the following paragraphs:

There have been claims and counter claims as to how Africa is stereotyped by the Western media. While some journalism scholars believe that foreign media predominantly use negative frames to project Africa, others argue that this claim is as a result of misrepresentation or is a myth. Despite aggressive debates on this controversy, there are yet scholarly studies, especially from Nigeria, to test the veracity of this claim, at least from the perspective of African journalism scholars. The trends from the forgoing empirical reviews show that on the whole, foreign news media report terrorism in the Sub-Saharan Africa in a way that could not only project Africa as a continent replete with all forms of crises, but also further escalate the spate of terror in the region.

The implications of the findings show that the *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is an objective programme that has yielded positive results in terms of portraying Africa and Islam in positive light. Duniya Makwanta Rikici is addressing the lopsided nature of western media against Islam and Africa. This is corroborated by the assertion that the media in the African nations affected by the extremists' activities, in some instances, use frames that supress the negative influence and perceived dominance of the terror groups on the public peace in the African continent.

The study reveals that there is a significant response, given that most of the respondents are of the view and they see *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media. Mato said the Western media have taken a well-articulated measure to dehumanize Islam and demonize Africa in order to continue to control the resources of these countries. Most of the crisis today, in Africa and perhaps the third world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimensions and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners

The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* does not treat issues of conflicts/terrorism biased motive, but its objectivity enhance positive enlightenment campaign for growing listeners around the globe especially in Nigeria. This programme has a way of creating and impacting positive lessons towards a peaceful and egalitarian society in Nigeria.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1    Summary

The media are relevant as stakeholders in the process of any social, political and religious transformation. They dictate the direction of societal shifts. They are so relevant that they influence every aspect of human existence and therefore whoever controls the media gains the influence.   The mass media through their agenda setting function gives terrorism and its menace great attention in its reportage.

This study examines the effect of the pattern of broadcast of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR) in the way it relates to western media propaganda, it also identifies how the backlash of Western media imperialism affect Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK), Islam and Africa, and to establish how listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* (DMR). Data was collected through questionnaire and In-depth Interview. The study revealed that there is an effect of the pattern of broadcast of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* in the way it relates to western media propaganda.

This is manifested in the finding, which revealed that the effect of the pattern of broadcast of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* which to Western programme have significant effect on listeners. This is because majority (73.3%) of the respondents who are listeners *of Duniya Makwanta Rikici* of Radio Nigeria said the programme provides an alternative view on World affairs contrary to the Western media. This is also manifested in a situation where a large majority of the listeners described *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as an objective

programme and 38.3% empirically show that *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is good because it addresses the lopsided nature of Western media against Islam and Africa.

The finding further revealed that in identifying how the backlash of Western media imperialism affects Radio Nigeria, Islam and Africa. The findings show that Western media imperialism has not affected the listeners of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR on Radio Nigeria Kaduna, about Islam and Africa. This is because majority (70%) of the listeners of Radio Nigeria said the programme is a counter narrative to the Western media propaganda and so the Western media does not affect them on issues relating to Islam and Africa. Again the finding goes further to show that 80% of the respondents said they like the style and approach of Radio Nigeria. This accounts for why majority of them said they support similar activities of Radio Nigeria.

The study further established how listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna perceive the coverage of *Duniya Makwanta Rikici.* The findings further revealed that the listeners of Radio Nigeria have perceived *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* with a wide coverage. Where the majority (75%) of respondents listen to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici,* also the majority comprising of 53.3% regularly listen to Radio Nigeria programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* and 58.3% listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna programme on a weekly basis. This further affirms how the listeners perceive the programme of Radio Nigeria Kaduna which gives them the opportunity to be enlightened and up to date on issues and events across the World.

## 5.2    Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that the listeners of Radio Nigeria see the programmes as a counter narrative to the Western media and so the Western media do not affect the listeners of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* about Islam and Africa. Again the finding goes further to show that majority of the listeners like the style and approach of Radio Nigeria. This accounts for why majority of them said they support the similar activities of Radio Nigeria.

The implications of the findings show that the *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is an objective programme that has yielded positive results in terms of portraying Africa and Islam in positive light. *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* is addressing the lopsided nature of western media against Islam and Africa. This is corroborated by the assertion that the media in the African nations affected by the extremists' activities, in some instances, use frames that supress the negative influence and perceived dominance of the terror groups on the public peace in the African continent.

The study reveals that there is a significant response, given that most of the respondents are of the view and they see *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* as a counter narrative to the Western Media. The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* does not treat issues of conflicts/terrorism biased motive, but its objectivity enhance positive enlightenment campaign for growing listeners around the globe especially in Nigeria. This programme has a way of creating and impacting positive lessons towards a peaceful and egalitarian society in Nigeria.

## 5.3    Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that;

i. Radio Nigeria through *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* should be more realistic and show professionalism in broadcasting its programmes, so as to enlighten listeners of the Radio Nigeria.

ii. The National Broadcasting Commission NBC as a regulating body for all broadcast media in Nigeria should insist on the 60% local content covering all facets of human endeavor as it affects the socio cultural development of Nigerians. The NBC should encourage similar programmes as DMR in various languages that will counter the western media on global issues.

iii. The management RNK should ensure effective measures is taken regarding the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR. There should be proper monitoring and evaluation in addition; a yardstick should be in place in the selection of Producers and presenters of the programme.

iv. Care must be taken in the way and manner the resource persons are selected for the programme to avoid derailing or below standard performance. The management of Radio Nigeria Kaduna should device a feedback mechanism in order to assess the entire production.

5. Nigerian Government should build an optimistic and better approach in addressing issues relating to global issues, enlightenment and campaigns to further boost confidence of the listeners of Radio Nigeria.

## APPENDIX I

### Sample of Research Questionnaire

Dear Respondent,

I am a graduating student of M Phil International Studies in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria carrying out a research titled "Global War On Terrorism: A Case Study Of Radio Nigeria Kaduna Programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici*" The purpose of this questionnaire is to elicit response on the above subject matter. In view of this, you are humbly requested to kindly provide answers to the attached questions as appropriate. I assure you that all the information provided will be held in strict confidence and will be used for the purpose of this research work only. Grateful for your kind cooperation please.

Yours faithfully,

Abba Zayyan

**Section A: Bio Data**

1. Sex: Male ( )  Female  ( )

2. Age: 18-30 Years ( ) 31-45 Years (   ) 46 years and above ( )

3. Marital Status: Married ( )  Single ( )

4. Educational Qualification: Masters ( ) Degree/HND ( ) Diploma/NCE ( ) SSCE ( )

**Section B**

| S/N | Description | Response | |
|-----|-------------|----------|---|
| 1. | Do you listen to Radio Nigeria Kaduna RNK? | Yes | No |
| 2. | How often do you listen to RNK | Regularly | Occasionally |

| 3 | What programme do you listen most in RNK? | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Have you ever heard of the programme Duniya Makwanta Rikici (DMR)? | Yes | No | |
| 5. | How frequent do you listened to DMR? | Weekly | Monthly | NIL |
| 6. | For how long have you been listening to the programme DMK? | 1-3 years | 3-10yrs | above 10 yrs |
| 7. | Do you consider DMR as a counter narrative to the western media? | Yes | No | |
| 8. | Do you agree with the style and approach of the programme DMK? | Yes | No | |
| 9. | Does the programme DMR treat issues of conflicts / terrorism objectively? | Yes | No | |
| 10. | Does DMR provide alternative view on world affairs contrary to the western media? | Yes | No | |
| 11. | In your opinion how would you describe DMR as a programme? | Objective | Biased | |
| 12. | How do you assess the contributions of the resource persons invited for the programme? | Reliable and useful | Not reliable | |
| 13. | Do you believe the programme DMR is still useful and focused? | Yes, very relevant | NO, It has derailed | |
| 14. | Is DMR addressing the lopsided nature of the west media against Islam and Africa? | Good | Fair | Poor |
| 15 | How do you rate the resource persons invited for the weekly programme DMR? | Excellent | Good | Fair |
| 16 | Do you consider all Muslims to be terrorists? | Yes | No | |

| 17 | Does Islam supports and encourages terrorism? | Yes | No | |
|-----|---|-----|-----|---|
| 18 | Do you believe global war on terrorism is a war declared against Islam? | Yes | No | |
| 19 | Global war on terrorism particularly against Islamic countries is about safeguarding oil supplies to the West? | Yes | No | |
| 20 | Demonizing Africa by Western media is an attempt to permanently control Africa? | Yes | No | |
| 21. | Does portraying Africa in bad light by the Western Media affirm the true reflection of the continent? | Yes | No | |

## Appendix II

## Interview Guide

1. Do you consider *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR as a counter narrative to the western media?

2. Do you agree with the style and approach of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMK?

3. Does the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR treat issues of conflicts / terrorism objectively?

4. Does *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR provide alternative view on world affairs contrary to the western media?

4. In your opinion how would you describe *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR as a programme?

5. Do you believe the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR is still useful and focused?

6. Is *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR addressing the lopsided nature of the west media against Islam and Africa?

7. Is demonizing Africa by Western media is an attempt to permanently control Africa?

8. Does portraying Africa in bad light by the Western Media affirm the true reflection of the continent?

**Table 1: Terrorist attacks and casualties worldwide by month, 2015**

| Month | Total Attacks | Total Deaths* | Total Injured* | Total Kidnapped/ Hostages |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 1270 | 2340 | 2781 | 1726 |
| February | 1078 | 2127 | 2713 | 894 |
| March | 903 | 2378 | 2829 | 1214 |
| April | 928 | 2919 | 2650 | 1155 |
| May | 1017 | 2676 | 2705 | 1725 |
| June | 929 | 2727 | 3407 | 535 |
| July | 986 | 2946 | 3645 | 1204 |
| August | 993 | 2400 | 3349 | 1260 |
| September | 881 | 2266 | 3491 | 543 |
| October | 1040 | 2300 | 2722 | 877 |
| November | 928 | 1610 | 2581 | 769 |
| December | 821 | 1639 | 2447 | 287 |
| Total | 11774 | 28328 | 35320 | 12189 |

*Source: US Bureau of Counterterrorism*

**Table 2: Ten countries with the most terrorist attacks, 2015**

| | Total Attacks | | Total Deaths* | | Deaths per Attack* | | Total Injured* | | Injured per Attack* | | Total Kidnapped/ Hostages | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 |
| Iraq | 2418 | 3370 | 6932 | 9926 | 2.99 | 3.07 | 11856 | 15137 | 5.23 | 4.79 | 3982 | 2658 |
| Afghanistan | 1708 | 1594 | 5292 | 4507 | 3.24 | 2.91 | 6246 | 4700 | 4.00 | 3.15 | 1112 | 719 |
| Pakistan | 1009 | 1823 | 1081 | 1761 | 1.10 | 0.99 | 1325 | 2836 | 1.36 | 1.61 | 269 | 879 |
| India | 791 | 764 | 289 | 418 | 0.38 | 0.57 | 508 | 639 | 0.68 | 0.89 | 862 | 305 |
| Nigeria | 589 | 663 | 4886 | 7531 | 9.29 | 12.81 | 2777 | 2251 | 7.67 | 6.31 | 1341 | 1298 |
| Egypt | 494 | 292 | 656 | 184 | 1.34 | 0.63 | 844 | 452 | 1.73 | 1.55 | 24 | 29 |
| Philippines | 485 | 378 | 258 | 240 | 0.54 | 0.65 | 548 | 367 | 1.16 | 1.00 | 119 | 145 |
| Bangladesh | 459 | 124 | 75 | 30 | 0.16 | 0.24 | 691 | 107 | 1.52 | 0.87 | 4 | 7 |
| Libya | 428 | 554 | 462 | 435 | 1.24 | 0.90 | 657 | 567 | 1.85 | 1.21 | 764 | 336 |
| Syria | 382 | 232 | 2748 | 1698 | 7.99 | 8.24 | 2818 | 1473 | 9.78 | 9.32 | 1453 | 872 |
| Worldwide | 11774 | 13482 | 28328 | 32763 | 2.53 | 2.57 | 35320 | 34785 | 3.30 | 2.86 | 12189 | 9461 |

*Source: US Bureau of Counterterrorism*

**Includes perpetrators**

Four countries listed in Table 2 were not among the ten countries with the most deaths in 2015. These include: India (ranked 14th in terms of total deaths), Philippines (16th), Bangladesh (30th), and Libya (11th). Likewise, four countries not ranked in Table 2 among those with the most attacks, but were among the ten with the most deaths in 2015. These include Somalia (ranked 13th in terms of total attacks), Yemen (15th), Cameroon (23rd), and Niger (34th).

**Table 3: Five perpetrator groups with the most attacks worldwide, 2015**

| | Total Attacks | | Total Deaths* | | Total Injured* | | Total Kidnapped/ Hostages | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 | 2015 | 2014 |
| Taliban | 1093 | 895 | 4512 | 3492 | 4746 | 3313 | 954 | 649 |
| Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) | 931 | 1090 | 6050 | 6328 | 6010 | 5859 | 4759 | 3180 |
| Boko Haram | 491 | 454 | 5450 | 6663 | 3318 | 1747 | 1549 | 1217 |
| Maoists/Communist Party of India-Maoist | 343 | 307 | 176 | 191 | 163 | 165 | 707 | 163 |
| Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) | 238 | 47 | 287 | 12 | 580 | 19 | 136 | 68 |

*Source: US Bureau of Counterterrorism*

Includes perpetrators Excludes attacks attributed to declared "provinces" of ISIL

**Tactic and Weapons**

Each recorded terrorist attack can involve one or more tactics in a continuous sequence of actions. Shown in Figure 2, the most commonly used tactic in 2015 involved explosives (52%), followed by armed assaults (23%), which almost always involved firearms

**APPENDIX IV**

**Interviews with the management of RNK, producers and presenters of the programme** *Duniya Makwanta Rikici,* **(DMR).**

    **BUHARI AUWALU**         **Zonal Director RNK, (FRCN KAD)**
       **Date of interview**         **24/01/2018**

The programme was introduced in 1998, but I cannot remember the exact month, even though it was my creation. The reasons and synopsis for the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici,* is not farfetched from the fact that for some time now, people have been hearing of wars such as the Burma, World War II, Congo, India etc but have no idea how these wars started and finally played out.

The aim is to let the people know the genesis of these wars, who were the main actors, and in some cases wars fought through proxies, who were used as proxies. In addition, what was the national or international dimension to these wars?  In other words, what sentiments or politics were used or brought to bear on the wars, was there any involvement or intervention either by other countries or international organizations and why? That is to say, why did they get themselves involved or otherwise?

How was the war waged and how it was finally played out? Who were the victors and losers and what was the aftermath? Was there any multiplier effect and how it was felt?  Questions like was there any lesson learnt from the war whether did Nigeria or any other country learnt anything from these wars.

Therefore, a counter to these imperialist's agenda was necessary. *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR was created to - x rays situations in conflicts and war prone areas of the world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimension and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners.

Radio Nigeria Kaduna (RNK) is a Hausa based station that tells the story of its people, their successes and challenges as well as their fears and aspirations. As part of its mandate of educating, entertaining and enlightening the public, we disseminates news and programmes to our audience and RNK however, is largely interested in the positives that would contribute to human and nation building.

**BUHARI AUWALU**

**SULEIMAN SHEHU**       **Presenter/ Producer**

**Date of interview:**       **18/12/2017**

The programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR was conceived in view of the proliferation of conflicts across the globe during the 1990s to 2000s. The purpose of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR is to sensitize Nigerians, particularly listeners of Radio Nigeria Kaduna on world events. As a colonized country, we have challenges of war and conflicts. And these crises have direct or indirect link and consequences with the interest of the west, otherwise the colonial masters.

The West sees nothing good in Africa and the Middle East, because they are endowed with human and natural resources, hence their resolve to employ means of getting those resources to themselves. Majority of the Arabs are Muslims as such any attempt to destabilize them will be viewed as fighting Islam in addition to the long existing feud  between the Arabs and the Jews (Israel) the injustices of the west in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya and African countries and so on.

However, all these cannot be done easily, except through crises and conflicts. When you are at war, you buy arms and ammunitions to kill yourselves and destroy property and the west is called or is giving the contract to rebuild. For instance Iraq and Libya where western companies were giving the contract to reconstruct,

The current affairs unit created *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR as a counter to the western imperialism to give its listeners the other side of the story and of the analysis. However, a think tank that meets from time to time was established in order to evaluate and offer suggestions and various approaches that will help shape the programme not to lose focus. They closely monitor the activities of the programme and at the end of every month evaluate it.

The think tank members were;

Buhari Auwalu

Rabiu Isa Kaita

Sama'ila Shehu

Suleiman Shehu

Dahiru Muhammad Sani

The programme, *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR dwells on situations in conflicts and war prone areas of the world. The program is interactive in nature where experts are invited with a topic for discussion. The programme is recorded mostly in the studios of Radio Nigeria Kaduna at the discretion of the producer and presenter. The duration of the programme is 30 minutes and Hausa is used as the medium of communication.

Both "*Duniya Makwanta Rikici*" DMR and its English version "The Spotlight," were meant to highlight and discuss the crises that shaped the present world starting with the second world war, the conflicts between India and Pakistan over Kashmir etc. it was also meant to discuss the crises in different parts of the world giving the African perspectives to the crises and preferring solutions. Topics or areas of conflicts that are discussed in the programme are selected based on their currency and relevance.

The current affairs unit adopted an alternative source of information for DMR, bearing in mind the lopsided nature of the western media and the west. The unit utilized fully the News Agency of Nigeria NAN, Russian and Chinese news agencies for so many reasons.

NAN was at the time very functional, it has reporters across the world.
NAN news stories are presented to the public in African perspective. They had some reporters like Abubakar Matazu and Muktar Muhammad who were very resourceful and dependable, their approach to issue were objective contrary to the western media.
Chinese and Russian news agencies were more objective than the western media. They give diverging reports

Most of the resource persons for DMR are from the academia, Civil society organisations (CSOs), they independently conduct research on issues to be discussed without been influenced by the media. Some of the prominent resource persons include,

Prof. Kabiru Mato

Kabir Garba

El Haroun  Muhammad

Late Dr, Sabo Bako

Nuhu Ramalan

Abdulhamid Babatunde

Regarding whether there was any yard stick for measuring and evaluating the programme, perhaps, there was none but however the think tank committee meet from time to time to ensure the programme never lose focus. This is in addition to the usual Departmental meetings and the responses we receive from visiting listeners on almost weekly basis.

The content programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR is often used to write News commentaries and News, all in order to achieve certain goal or set an agenda for the listeners. The programme through such efforts was able to shape the minds of Nigerians particularly northerners, on social and political issues of the world. However Nigerian Government became weary on taking position or reaction on world affairs particularly on political and religious matters. For example crisis in Algeria on Islamic Salvation Front crisis and Desert Storm where the Government took cognizance of the religious implications before it acted.

At some point Government was worried on the pattern of the programme and the timing. I remember when the US and the allied forces launched the Desert storm in Iraq against Saddam Hussein in 1992, the News and Current Affairs had earlier issued a special promo on the planned programme which was aired almost two weeks to the date the Desert storm was to be launched, the programme was to give live firsthand account of the assault bearing in mind the already established propaganda against Saddam and the war by the western media. As the Iraqis claimed the war to be a Holy war, seeking support from all Muslims around the world, the Government had to ask for the programme to be delayed not to be aired live and to be careful as the issue had generated serious religious concerns. This tells you the influence and importance of the programme *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR and how it was used at different occasions to counter the west and on issues regarding Islam and Africa

**SULEIMAN SHEHU**

## APPENDIX V

**HAUWA SHERIFF**          **Producer/ Presenter**

**Date of interview:**          **20//12/2017**

I took over the programme both as presenter and producer in June 2016, after the death of Abbas Dabo Sambo. The programme discusses crises and conflicts in the world particularly Africa. It is a counter to the western dominated media; we invite knowledgeable persons on issues and events where we focus on the perspective that is not influenced by the west. The programme has sympathy for Africa and Islam contrary to the western media as it uses its influence and reach to demonize Africa and dehumanize Islam as part of the western imperialism. The war on terror was an attempt to restructure the world to safe guard oil supplies, corporate profit and US power. It was an imperialist war fought in the interests of the dominant world hegemon and its allies.

The programme has been challenged by many factors; from lack of working tools, to having access to free and unbiased information and to the resource persons.  It is difficult to get the right persons with the like minds for the programme; usually I select my resource persons from the academia, commentators and journalists with bias to international politics and diplomacy.

**HAUWA SHERIFF**

**MUHAMMAD DAHIRU SANI   Producer/ Presenter**

**Date of interview:                   25/12/2017**


1. With regards to the first question, the programme was originally named Africa and World Affairs, where major happenings around the world were reviewed and highlighted. There was the Hausa version of the programme called "Mu kewaya Duniya Mu sha Labari. However, in the year 2000, the then Assistant Director, News and Current Affairs, Alhaji Buhari Auwalu, contacted me as the producer of Africa and World Affairs and said to me that the programme had outlived its relevance and therefore was planning to introduce a new one to replace it. About two weeks after, Alhaji Buhari Auwalu came up with the Programme, "*Duniya Makwanta Rikici*". Just like Africa and World Affairs, I happened to be the producer of both the Hausa and its English versions, spotlight ". So the programme was conceived and named by Alhaji Buhari Auwalu as our unit head then. The programme was conceived in view of the proliferation of conflicts across the globe during the 2000s. Crises such as the ones in Iraq, with the war waged by the US and the Western world, and that of Afghanistan, where all eyes were on the Taliban regime.

On the synopsis of the programme Duniya Makwanta Rikici and its English counterpart, Spotlight, was meant to highlight and discuss the crises which shaped the present world starting with the Second World War, the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, etc. It was also meant to discuss the crises in different parts of the world, including the continent of Africa, such as the Civil Wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, DR Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi etc. The programme discussed the factors which led to such conflicts with a view to showing why conflict does not pay any one and how it brings down development in any country that engages in it.

As time passed by, there was the increasing need to provide analyses for ongoing wars especially the one in Afghanistan and Iraq. For the said reason, topics were selected based on their currency. This is notwithstanding the fact that a historical analyses were also provided by experts in the areas chosen in order to make the listener have a background knowledge of

the conflicts under discussion. The resource person's selection was based on expertise or specialization and availability.

I produced the programme from 2000 to 2007 though I had a break between October 2004 to August 2005 when I was away for my vocational legal training at the Nigerian Law School.

The programme was full of challenges. Firstly, finances that were required to source for material, especially where there was the need to travel outside Kaduna to Zaria. Secondly, non-availability of resource persons in Kaduna. Sometimes one had to travel to ABU Zaria. Even at that not many people were willing to talk on the programme. The willing ones would always ask you to give them time like two weeks to conduct further research. In most cases when you come back they would tell you they have forgotten or they were still not ready. Lack of proper supervision by the superior officers, or one may call it lack of interest in the programme by our superiors.

The programme has contributed immensely in providing background information on the conflicts that happened or are still happening in the world. Some of the listeners to the programme confirmed to me that they enjoyed it so much so that they abandoned BBC Hausa service every Monday 630 a.m. just to listen to *Duniya Makwanta Rikici* DMR because it was educative. So listenership remains the only yardstick of evaluating the programme. This can be done by providing a listener feedback system that works, through any of the social media.


**MUHAMMAD DAHIRU SANI**

# APPENDIX VII

Prof. Kabir Mato (2018),

"The Western media have taken a well-articulated measure to dehumanize Islam and demonize Africa in order to continue to control the resources of these countries. Most of the crisis today, in Africa and perhaps the third world as they appear in the News and have attained international dimensions and present the situation in an unbiased, factual and balanced circumstances for our listeners".

Kabir Garba (2018),

"The USA as we fondly call her in Hausa Kanwa Uwar Gami (catalyst of the highest magnitude) has been responsible for igniting conflicts around the world; the public must be made to understand the international conspiracy between nations and its implications to our wellbeing".

According to El Haroun Mohammad (2018):

"As part of the imperialist's agenda of continued dominance and control, the resources of third world countries particularly Africa, most of the conflicts and crises were ignited and supported by the west in order to destabilize Africa all in hope to gain unfettered access to their wealth".

Abdulhamid Babatunde (2018),

"The programme discusses crises and conflicts in the World particularly Africa. It is a counter to the Western dominated media; we invite knowledgeable persons on issues and events where we focus on the perspective that is not influenced by the West. The programme has sympathy for Africa and Islam contrary to the Western media as it uses its influence and reach to demonize Africa and dehumanize Islam as part of the Western imperialism".

Prof. Mohammed Dikwa (2017).

> "Ironically, the performance of African media in respect of their coverage of terrorism in the Sahel is ambivalent and less impressive, not in terms of quantity of coverage, but in respect of their ideological slants".

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